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Uniwersytet Szczeciński
Instytut Historyczny
PL 71-017 Szczecin, ul. Krakowska 71-79
e-mail: redakcja.sm@usz.edu.pl

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Marek Smoliński

Institute of History
University of Gdansk
mszczuj1294@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0003-1231-6531

Who Were the Slavs who Destroyed the Fortress on the River Trave in 1181? The Origins of the Imperial-Pomeranian Alliance in the Early 80s of the 12th Century

Keywords: Polabian Slavs, Pomeranians, Bogislaw I Duke of Pomerania, Henry the Lion, Frederick I Barbarossa, siege of Lübeck in 1181

The question posed in the first part of the title stems from a reading of an excerpt from the chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck. This work covers the years 1171–1209, and its author was very familiar with the course of the conflict between the Saxon-Bavarian prince Henry the Lion and Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa. The dispute between the two broke out in 1176. A year later it turned into an open war between Henry the Lion and the emperor's supporters in the Reich. An excerpt from the chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck, which forms the basis of the issue presented here, is part of the 1180s, writing about the rebuilding of a castle on the banks of the Trave River (later Travemünde) by Count Adolf III of Holstein. This castle was erected in the second half of the 12th century, Henry the Lion. It was built at the mouth of the Trave River to the Baltic Sea. It was originally built on the river. Count Adolf moved its location to the riverbank. According to the chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck, this fortress was destroyed by some Slavs during the emperor's siege of Lübeck. ("Hac serie dierum Adolfus comes cepit reedificare castrum ad ostium Travene, quod a Sclavis exustum fuerat, quando imperator civitatem Lubeke obsederat"¹). The event, therefore, must have taken place in 1181. The attempt to identify the Slavs who destroyed the fortress on the river Trave, as well as the attempt to place the event within the framework of the ongoing conflict, has so far not been separately considered by historians.

1 Georgius Heinricus Pertz, ed. *Arnoldi Chronica Slavorum ex recensione I.M. Lappenbergii in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis recudi fecit Georgius Heinricus Pertz* (Hannoverae: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1868) (hereafter Arnold), III, 20: 109–110. Chronology adopted after the findings of the chronicle's publisher: Arnold, 61, note 2.

The sphere of scholarly interest in the participation of Slavs in the events surrounding the battles of 1181 has so far included other problems. These included the meeting at Lübeck of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa with an army of Slavs and Holzats,² the passage to the side of the Emperor of Pomerania, Duke Bogislaw I and the paying of tribute to the emperor,³

- 2 In this regard, first of all, Edward Rymar, "Pomorskie wyprawy zbrojne na Łużyce i Brandenburgię w latach 1178–1180," in: *Monumenta manent. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana profesorowi Tadeuszowi Bialeckiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, red. Adam Makowski, Edward Włodarczyk (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2003), 81, note 9.
- 3 In this context, in addition to the tribute itself, the literature primarily debated the legal appropriateness of the ducal title obtained by Bogislaw I from Frederick Barbarossa. See: Friedrich Wilhelm Barthold, *Geschichte von Pommern und Rügen*, Teil 2: *Von der Bekehrung Pommerns zum Christenthume bis zum Tode Barnims I. i. J. 1278. Nebst einer Höhen und Fluß-Karte von Pommern* (Hamburg: Friedrich Perches, 1840), 258; Otto Fock, *Rügen'sch-Pommersche Geschichten aus sieben Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig: Verlag von Veit & Comp., 1861), 95; Ludwig Giesebrecht, *Wendische Geschichten aus den Jahren 780 bis 1182*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Rudolf Geartner Amerlank'sche Sort-Buchhandlung, 1843), 269; Felix Rachfahl, "Der Ursprung des brandenburgisch-pommerschen Lehnungsverhältniss," *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preussischen Geschichte* 5 (1892): 81–82; Wilhelm von Sommerfeld, *Geschichte der Germanisierung des Herzogtums Pommern oder Slavien bis zum Ablauf des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, 1896), 83; Wilhelm Bogusławski, *Dzieje Słowiańszczyzny północno-zachodniej aż do wynarodowienia Słowian zaodrzańskich*, vol. 4, (Poznań: nakładem autora, 1900), 12–13; Paul von Niessen, "Die staatsrechtlichen Verhältnisse Pommerns in den Jahren 1180–1214," *Baltische Studien* NF 17 (1913): 253, 263–265; Martin Philippson, *Heinrich der Löwe, Herzog von Bayern und Sachsen, sein Leben und seine Zeit* (Leipzig: O. Leiner, 1918), 449; Fritz Curschmann, "Die Belehnung Herzog Bogislaw's I. von Pommern im Lager von Lübeck (1181)," *Pommersche Jahrbücher* 31 (1937): 5–34; Kazimierz Myśliński, "Polska a Pomorze Zachodnie po śmierci Krzywoustego," *Roczniki Historyczne* 17 (1948): 2, 23–24; Idem, *Bogusław I książę Pomorza Zachodniego* (Bydgoszcz–Gdańsk–Szczecin: Instytut Zachodni, 1948): 34–36; Jerzy Dowiat, "Ekspansja Pomorza zachodniego na ziemię wielicko-obodrzyckie w drugiej połowie XII wieku," *Przegląd Historyczny* 50 (1959) 4: 717–718; Manfred Hamann, *Mecklenburgische Geschichte. Von den Anfängen bis zur landständischen Union von 1523* (Böhlau–Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1968), 92; Dietmar Lucht, "War Bogislaw I. Reichfürst?," *Baltische Studien* NF 54 (1968): 26–30; Hans-Joachim Freytag, "Der Nordosten des Reiches nach dem Sturz Heinrichs des Löwen. Bischof Waldemar von Schleswig und das Erzbistum Bremen (1192/93)," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 25 (1969) 2: 483; Benedykt Zientara, "Stosunki polityczne Pomorza Zachodniego z Polską w drugiej połowie XII wieku," *Przegląd Historyczny* 61 (1970) 4: 563–564; Karl Jordan, "Deutsche Könige in Nordelbingen während des Mittelalters," in: *Schleswig-Holstein und der Norden. Festschrift für Olaf Klose zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Alfred Kamphausen (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz Verlag, 1968), 27; Jürgen Petersohn, "Pommerns staatsrechtliches Verhältnis zu den Nachbarmächten im Mittelalter," in: *Die Rolle Schlesiens und Pommerns in der Geschichte der deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen im Mittelalter: XII. Deutsch-Polnische Schulbuchkonferenz der Historiker vom 5. bis 10. Juni 1979 in Allenstein/Olsztyn (Polen)*, ed. Rainer Riemenschneider (Braunschweig: Georg-Eckert-Institut für Internationale Schulbuchforschung 1980), 106; Karl Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe. Eine Biographie* (München: Deutsche Taschenbuch Verlag 1993), 116, 205, 207; Hartmut Boockmann, "Barbarossa in Lübeck," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 61 (1981): 14; Odilo Engels, "Friedrich Barbarossa und Dänemark," in: *Friedrich Barbarossa. Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen des staufischen Kaisers*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1992), 382; Detlef Kattinger, "Heinrich der Löwe, Kasimir I. von Demmin und Bogislaw I. von Stettin. Ein Versuch über das Lehnverhältnis Heinrichs des Löwen gegenüber den pommerschen Herzögen," in: *Land am Meer. Pommern im Spiegel seiner Geschichte. Roderich Schmidt zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. Werner Buchholz, Günter Mangelsdorf (Köln: Böhlau, 1995), 81; Hans-Otto Gaethke, "Knut VI. und Waldemar II. von Dänemark und Nordalbingen 1182–1227," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische*

and the possible arrival at Lübeck of the Slav *princeps* Niklot Warcislawic and his participation in the war against Henry the Lion.⁴

When describing the siege of Lübeck, chronicler Arnold mentioned that the emperor crossed the river [Trave], moved to Lübeck, and met the troops of Slavs and Holzats who joined him (“Imperator autem transito flumine venit Lubeke, et occurrit ei exercitus Sclavorum et Holtsatorum”).⁵ The arrival of Frederick I at Lübeck was associated with the closing of the city with a siege ring. The events are dated between late June and early July 1181.⁶ In the next sentence, the chronicler described the arrival of the Danish king, Valdemar I, at the imperial camp. The Scandinavian forces got here most likely by the shortest possible route. It led across the Baltic Sea towards the Bay of Lübeck to the mouth of the Trave.⁷ The voyage of the Danish fleet to Lübeck must have been preceded by the destruction of *castrum ad ostium Travenae*, which blocked the free entrance to the Tave. The surviving sources say nothing about the Danes having to break through the Saxon defensive line formed by the defenders of the aforementioned fortress. Such probably no longer existed at the time. According to Saxo Grammaticus, the Danish fleet that Valdemar I brought to Lübeck was not prepared for battle. Its task was to dazzle the emperor and his entourage with the dignity and power of the Danish ruler.⁸ According to some historians, the Rugian fleet played a major role in the siege of Lübeck. Its task was to blockade Lübeck from the sea.⁹ Undisputed was the fact

Geschichte 121 (1996): 47; Joachim Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe. Eine Biographie* (München: Siedler Verlag, 2008), 342; Christian Lübke, “Arnold von Lübeck und die Slaven,” in: *Die Chronik Arnolds von Lübeck. Neue Wege zu ihrem Verständnis*, eds. Stephan Freund and Bernd Schütte (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang Verlag, 2008), 195; Oliver Auge, *Handlungsspielräume fürstlicher Politik im Mittelalter: der südliche Ostseeraum von der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts bis in die frühe Reformationszeit* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2009), 265–266; Idem, “Behauptung, Unterordnung, Anpassung: Der Weg der slawischen Herren von Mecklenburg und Herzöge von Pommern zu Reichsfürsten (vom frühen 12. bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts),” *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* 150 (2014): 227–228.

- 4 The supposition of Niklot Warcislawic’s sojourn near Lübeck was introduced into literature by Giesebrecht, *Wendische Geschichten*, 269. Following Giesebrecht, this idea was repeated by, among others: Hamann, *Mecklenburgische Geschichte*, 92; Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 207; Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 342; Engels, “Friedrich Barbarossa und Dänemark,” 382; Rolf Hammel-Kiesow, “Die Staufer und Lübeck,” in: *Die Staufer und der Norden Deutschlands*, ed. Karl-Heinz Rueß (Göppingen: Gesellschaft für Staufische Geschichte, 2016), 73; Rymar, “Pomorskie wyprawy zbrojne na Łużyce i Brandenburgię w latach 1178–1180,” 102.
- 5 Arnold, III, 21: 63.
- 6 Curschmann, “Die Belehnung Herzog Bogislaws I. von Pommern im Lager von Lübeck (1181),” 13; Gaethke, “Knud VI. und Waldemar II. von Dänemark und Nordalbingen 1182–1227,” 61.
- 7 Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann, *Geschichte von Dännemark*, vol. 1 (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1840), 306.
- 8 Alfred Holder, ed., *Saxonis Grammatici Gesta Danorum* (hereafter Saxo), (Strassburg: K.J. Trübner, 1886), XV, 651.
- 9 Hans Witte, *Mecklenburgische Geschichte in Anknüpfung an Ernst Boll*, vol. 1: *Von der Urzeit bis zum ausgehenden Mittelalter* (Wismar: Hinstorff’sche Verlagbuchhandlung, 1909), 97; Hamann, *Mecklenburgische Geschichte*, 92.

of the stay at Lübeck of the Rügen ruler Jaromar I. According to Saxo Grammaticus, his declared allegiance to the Danish king aroused the resentment of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa. The emperor was said to have directly articulated it in the camp at Lübeck.¹⁰

Not long ago in literature there was an assumption that the army of Slavs and Holzats that joined the emperor was composed of Holzats loyal to the Holstein Count Adolf III and Pomeranians.¹¹ This assumption requires discussion of Adolf III's participation in the battles of Lübeck as well as identification of the Slavs mentioned in Arnold's chronicle. In its pages there is no information that Adolf III personally took part in the siege of Lübeck.¹² Source news about him in the period 1180–1181 is quite scarce. These include the conflict over prisoners of war, which, initiated by accusations hurled by Count Schwerin Gunzelin, divided Count Adolf III and Henry the Lion. The conflict between Henry the Lion and Adolf III began in the summer of 1179, during a war expedition directed by the Archbishop of Cologne, Philip von Heinsberg.¹³ However, it reached its climax during the attack of Henry the Lion's forces on Thuringia in May 1180.¹⁴ The dispute resulted in the count leaving Henry the Lion's side. Henry the Lion responded by seizing Holstein and its strongest strongholds Plön and Segeberg.¹⁵ The count had to leave his Holstein dominion.

The conflict between Henry and Adolf revealed deep divisions among the Holstein moguls. Some of them openly sided with Henry the Lion. In Henry the Lion's plans, his Holzat governors Luppold of Sigberg and Markward II of Plöne were to play an important role in defence against attacks by the emperor's partisans in the summer of 1181.¹⁶ Faced with the threat, the prince demanded that they bring reinforcements from Holstein. During the fighting at Lübeck, the city was also defended by the Holzats, among others. Thus, Arnold of Lübeck claimed that Count Simon of Tecklenburg,

¹⁰ Saxo, XV, 652.

¹¹ Edward Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich* (Szczecin: Książnica Pomorska, 2005), 120, note 146. For the political divisions that existed in Holstein against the background of Adolf III's domestic politics and deepened after the outbreak of the conflict between Count Adolf III and Henry the Lion see: Ulrich Lange, "Grundlagen der Landesherrschaft der Schauenburger in Holstein," Teil 1, *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte* 99 (1974): 27–28.

¹² Hamann, *Mecklenburgische Geschichte*, 92.

¹³ Arnold, II, 13: 51; Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 200–201; Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 333.

¹⁴ Arnold, II, 13: 51–52, 16: 55–57; Rudolf Usinger, *Deutsch-dänische Geschichte 1189–1227* (Berlin: Druck und Verlag von E.S. Mittler und Sohn, 1863), 77–78; Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 116, 205; Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 337–338.

¹⁵ Wilhelm Meyer-Seedorf, "Geschichte der Grafen von Ratzeburg und Dannenberg," *Jahrbücher des Vereins für Mecklenburgische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 76 (1911): 41.

¹⁶ Arnold, II, 20: 61–62; Gaethke, "Knud VI. und Waldemar II. von Dänemark und Nordalbingien 1182–1227," 61; Detlev Kraack, "Die frühen Schauenburger als Grafen von Holstein und Stormarn (12.–14. Jahrhundert)," in: *Die Fürsten des Landes. Herzöge und Grafen von Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg*, eds. Carsten Porskrog Rasmussen, Elke Imberger, E. Dieter Lohmeier and Ingwer E. Mommsen (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 2008), 36.

Count Bernhard of Frisian Oldenburg and his namesake Count Wölpe, along with Markward II, commander of the Holzats and Emeco of Holte, were in Lübeck during the imperial siege, with “some very brave Holzats” and a very large number of inhabitants.¹⁷ These “brave Holzats,” defenders of the city, were pitted by the chronicler against the Holzats, who had been commanded only a year earlier by Count Adolf III. Arnold of Lübeck wrote of the latter that they were a people “knowing no mercy and most eager for bloodshed.”¹⁸

Adolf III, after his expulsion, was to set off for his native Sachuenburg. However, by the summer of 1180 he was already at the imperial court. Historians point to his presence in the entourage of Henry the Lion’s opponents at the Werle convention (15–18 August 1180).¹⁹ The count can also be found in the imperial entourage in the autumn of that year. He was then noted as a witness to an imperial document issued for the city of Magdeburg.²⁰ This happened during another convention, which was attended by counts who were former supporters of Henry the Lion to the emperor. In addition to Adolf III of Holstein, the counts of Wötzingerode, Scharzfeld, Dannenberg and Ilfeld were present.²¹

Arnold of Lübeck devoted a section of his chronicle to a discussion of events after the surrender of the Lübeck burghers. At the time, the chronicler wrote that Frederick I Barbarossa granted Count Adolf III a half share in the tolls, mills and mint of Lübeck, both for his great services to the empire and as reparation for the exile he had suffered for some time because of it.²² Leaving aside the extent of the endowment and how much the count actually wanted to receive from the Lübeck revenues, this information seems to prejudge the possibility of Adolf III’s participation in the siege of Lübeck. It is reasonable to assume that the count was in Hohenstauf’s retinue when the imperial army entered Saxony. With the emperor he probably also reached Lübeck. The next source information on the count comes from November 1181, indicating that Schauenburg continued to cooperate with the emperor and remained in the entourage of the imperial court. The count then reappeared as a witness to the imperial privilege.²³

The problem is trying to connect the Count’s actions with the Slavs or Pomeranians. There was certainly a possibility that Adolf III interacted with Slavs other than the Pomeranians. They may have originated from Wagria located in the lower

17 Arnold, II, 21: 61; Philippon, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 438–439, 449; Freytag, “Der Nordosten des Reiches nach dem Sturz Heinrichs des Löwen. Bischof Waldemar von Schleswig und das Erzbistum Bremen (1192/93),” 481–482; Lange, “Grundlagen der Landesherrschaft der Schauenburger in Holstein,” 27.

18 Arnold, II, 13: 51.

19 Philippon, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 441.

20 Paul Hasse, ed. *Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgische Regesten und Urkunden* (hereafter SHLRuU), vol. 1 (Hamburg–Leipzig: Verlag von Leopold Voss, 1860), no. 140.

21 See: Philippon, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 441; Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 340.

22 Arnold, II, 21: 62; Philippon, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 450.

23 SHLRuU, no. 142.

reaches of the Trave River. The subjugation of Wagria by Henry the Lion and his German fiefs took place in the 1140s. The lands of the Slavs there were originally divided between Adolf III's father, Adolf II von Schauenburg and Henry von Badewide. Adolf II then received Wagria and Segeberg. Henry von Badewide was to rule the lands of the Polabian Slavs. The ruler of the Slavs there, Prybislav, was forced to recognise Saxon sovereignty. He exercised power, still until 1156/57, only in the coastal strip around Starogard Wagry (Oldenburg).²⁴ After his death, this land was captured by Count Adolf II von Schauenburg and integrated into the Holstein County.²⁵

In addition to Oldenburg, the Slavs lived around Plöne, Ljütenborg, Crempe and Ratkau.²⁶ In addition to the tribute paid to the Saxon prince, they were obliged to provide military reinforcements to Henry the Lion and his fiefs.²⁷ The Oldenburg Slavs were among the ranks of Adolf II's army during his 1164 expedition against their neighbour, Prybislav *princeps* of Obodrites.²⁸ He was supported by the armies of the Pomeranian

24 Gerard Labuda, "Przybysław," in: *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, eds. Bernard Labuda, Zdzisław Stieber, vol. 4 (hereafter SSS), (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1970), 398 (here older literature on the subject); Kazimierz Wachowski, *Słowiańszczyzna zachodnia* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 2000), 117–124; Hans Holm Bielfeld, Jan Branač, Werner Coblenz *et al.*, "Die feudale deutsche Ostexpansion in 12. und 13. Jahrhundert und die Herausbildung der vollentwickelten Feudalgesellschaft zwischen Elbe und Oder," in: *Die Slawen in Deutschland. Geschichte und Kultur der Slavischen Stämme westlich von Oder und Neiße vom 6. bis 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. Joachim Hermann (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985), 383–384; Jordan, *Henrich der Löwe*, 93–94; Kattinger, "Heinrich der Löwe, Kasimir I. von Demmin und Bogislaw I. von Stettin," 69; Gaethke, "Knud VI. und Waldemar II. von Dänemark und Nordalbingen 1182–1227," 47; Petersohn, "Friedrich Barbarossa, Heinrich der Löwe und die Kirchenorganisation in Transalbingen Voraussetzungen, Bedeutung und Wirkungen des Goslarer Privilegs von 1154," in: *Heinrich der Löwe: Herrschaft und Repräsentation*, eds. Johannes Fried, Otto Gerhard Oexle (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag 2003), 249; Lübke, "Arnold von Lübeck und die Slaven," 195; see also: Ehlers, *Henrich der Löwe*, 62–64, 153 and Robert F. Barkowski, *Słowianie połabscy. Dzieje zagłady* (Warszawa: Bellona, 2021), 228–229.

25 After Adolf II occupied the territory, he pursued a settlement policy that promoted the immigrant German and Dutch population. One of the tools of this process was the count's support for the activities of the German Church, which involved numerous church foundations made by Schauneburg. See: Friedrich Lotter, "Die Vorstellungen vom Heidenkrieg und Wendenmission bei Heinrich dem Löwen," in *Heinrich der Löwe*, ed. Wolf-Dieter Mohrmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 33; Ehlers, *Henrich der Löwe*, 153; see also: Gaethke, "Knud VI. und Waldemar II. von Dänemark und Nordalbingen 1182–1227," 53–54; Volker Scior, *Das Eigene und das Fremde: Identität und Fremdheit in den Chroniken Adams von Bremen, Helmolds von Bosau und Arnolds von Lübeck* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002), 213; Ulrich Müller, "Die Slawen im östlichen Holstein," in: *Besonderes aus Ostholstein. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Region: anlässlich des 50-jährigen Jubiläums des Kreises Ostholstein*, eds. Oliver Auge, Anke Scharrenberg (Husum: Husum Verlag, 2020), 15 et seq.; Barkowski, *Słowianie połabscy*, 230–231, 236 et seq.

26 Werner Carstens, "Die Landesherrschaft der Schauenburger und die Entstehung der landständischen Verfassung in Schleswig-Holstein I.," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte* 55 (1925): 311–313.

27 See: Bielfeld, Branač, Coblenz *et al.*, "Die feudale deutsche Ostexpansion," 390.

28 Bernhard Schmeidler, ed., "Helmoldi presbyteri Bozoviensis Cronica Slavorum" editio 3, (hereafter Helmold), in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum Scholarum*,

dukes Boguslav I and Casimir I. The highlight of the described campaign was the battle fought on 6th July 1164 at Verchen. Death was suffered in it, among others, by Adolf II. The chronicler Helmold of Bosau directly accused the Oldenburg Slavs, who were subordinate to Adolf II, of treasonous actions and collaboration with Prybislav and the Dukes of Pomerania.²⁹ Unfortunately, it is impossible to answer the question of how much these events reflected on the attitude of his son Adolf III towards the Slavs, including the Pomeranians. Both of these groups, the count had the right to blame for the death of his father.

It was the Vagrian Slavs who had the best chance to strike castle on Trave in 1181. This is supported primarily by geographical considerations. It is not insignificant that even in 1164, i.e., 17 years earlier, they evidently had a viable armed force. Arnold of Lübeck, however, did not link their attack to the actions of Count Adolf III. Although the chronicler had knowledge that a few years after these events Adolf III rebuilt the destroyed fortress, he had no such knowledge regarding Schauenburg's possible involvement in the earlier destruction of this fortress.³⁰ Following the account of Arnold of Lübeck, it should be assumed that the Slavs attacked the fortress on the river Trave without the participation of the Count of Holstein. If this was the case, then the Holzats, loyal to Adolf III, joined the Slavs from his county even before Frederick I Barbarossa arrived at Lübeck. Arnold of Lübeck described these troops as "exercitus Sclavorum et Holtsatorum" (army of Slavs and Holzats). The order was not accidental in this regard. Apparently, it caught the attention of a chronicler interested primarily in representatives of the German population populating the theatre of warfare he described. Perhaps, then, the Slavs were the majority in the army described by Arnold? They may have attacked the fortress on the river Trave at the instigation of the Count of Holstein. Another option is to assume that they did so as part of a possible collaboration with the Pomeranians, inspired by Bogislaw I.

Between 1179 and 1180, the Pomeranian dukes Casimir I and Bogislaw I, allied with Henry the Lion, carried out several military expeditions against the enemies of Henry the Lion. These attacks affected territories subordinated to the Archbishopric of Magdeburg and the Brandenburg and Lusatian margraves. This was mentioned in the Annals of Pegau, the *Chronicon Montis Sereni* also known as the Lautenberg Chronicle,

vol. 32 (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopoli Hannani, 1937), II, 50: 196; See also: Labuda, "Przybysław, najstarszy syn Niklota," in: SSS, 398.

29 Helmold, II, 196; Bielfeld, Branač, Coblenz *et al.*, "Die feudale deutsche Ostexpansion," 390; Kraack, "Die frühen Schauenburger als Grafen von Holstein und Stormarn (12.–14. Jahrhundert)," 35.

30 In view of Arnold's criticism of Adolf III's policies, the story of his involvement in the attack on the fortress would not have been confused by the chronicler. See: Volker Scior, "Zwischen terra nostra und terra sancta. Arnold von Lübeck als Geschichtsschreiber," in: *Die Chronik Arnolds von Lübeck. Neue Wege zu ihrem Verständnis*, eds. Stephan Freund and Bernd Schütte (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang Verlag, 2008), 158, 164.

Arnold of Lübeck and the *Saxon World Chronicle*.³¹ The latter two sources described the aggressors as either Slavs or Wends. The Annals of Pegau and the Lautenberg Chronicle already defined them more precisely. They mentioned: the Pomeranians, the Lutyks/Lutics (Wilzi) and the Slavs. Thus, we are undoubtedly dealing with Slavic peoples living on both sides of the Oder River basin, Slavs settling in the former territories of the Dolezhan, Chyzan and Czrezipienian tribes (the Wielets/Lutics), and a group of Slavic peoples settled in the Polabian region (the former Obodrites). Among the latter group, the Polabians and Vagrians are traditionally distinguished. Due to the former Pomeranian-Obodric alliance, the influence of the Pomeranian princes certainly extended to the lands of the Polabians and Vagrians. It should also be assumed that the Slavs, to whom the prince had previously imposed his political supremacy, must have fought on the side of Henry the Lion. The Polabians and Vagrians certainly corresponded to this and must have supported the prince.

The reasons that decided the Slavs to go over to the side of Henry the Lion's opponents were directly articulated in the chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck. The death of the Pomeranian Duke *princeps* Casimir I and the fact that his brother Bogislaw I became an "emperor's man" paying tribute ("Circa dies illos mortuus est Kazamarus princeps Pomeranorum, duci amicissimus, et defecerunt ab eo Sclavi, quia frater eius Buggezlaus, imperatori coniunctus, hominum et tributa ei persolvit").³² In this sentence, the chronicler included a flashback covering a period of more than six months. Casimir I died in battle with the troops of Brandenburg Margrave Otto in the autumn of 1180.³³

31 Georg Theodor Pertz ed., "Annales Pegavienses et Bosovienses" (hereafter Pegavian Annals), in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum* (hereafter MGH SS), vol. 16 (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Hahnani, 1895), 263; Klaus Nass ed., "Priester Konrad: Chronik des Lauterbergs (Petersberg bei Halle/S.)", in: MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, vol. 83 (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2020), 146; Arnold, II, 10: 48; Ludwig Weiland ed., "Sächsische Weltchronik," in: MGH *Deutsche Chronike*, vol. 2/1 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1877), 230. Rymar, "Pomorskie wyprawy zbrojne na Łużyce i Brandenburgię w latach 1178–1180," (passim), is the latest on these expeditions with regard to the older literature.

32 Arnold, III, 17: 58. "At this time the Pomeranian princeps Casimir died a very close friend of the prince [Henry the Lion], and the Slavs left him [i.e., Prince Henry the Lion] because Casimir's brother Bogislaw joined the emperor and paid him tribute." There was an attempt in the German literature to discuss the relationship between Henry the Lion and Bogislaw I and Casimir I, which sought to deny the fief relationship linking the Saxon prince and the Pomeranian rulers. See: Kattinger, "Heinrich der Löwe, Kasimir I. von Demmin und Bogislaw I. von Stettin," 63–84. This idea was rightly not evaluated positively – Rymar, "Pomorskie wyprawy zbrojne na Łużyce i Brandenburgię w latach 1178–1180," 81, note 9. Of the numerous works discussing the problem of the Pomeranian invasions, Rymar omitted Hans-Peter Richter's treatise, "Zu den machtpolitischen Hintergründen und Zielen der Pommernzüge von 1178 bis 1180 in die Lausitz und das Land Jüterbog," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 11 (1987): 83–104. Richter's study, however, did not make significant corrections to the picture known in the literature of Pomeranian politics vis-à-vis the dispute between Henry the Lion and Frederick I Barbarossa between 1178 and 1180.

33 On the date sought for the death of Casimir I between October and 11 November 1180, see: Adolf Hoffmeister, "Über eine Handschrift der Sächsischen Weltchronik," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 32 (1907): 127; Kattinger, "Heinrich der Löwe, Kasimir I. von Demmin und

Bogislaw I, in accordance with the principle of assumption of power prevailing in Pomerania at the time,³⁴ as the eldest of the family, took over the lands from his deceased brother. If the problem in taking them was the fief-political arrangement that linked the Griffins to Henry the Lion, then in view of Henry the Lion's difficulties in defending his lands in 1181, such an agreement lost its significance. Difficulties in recognising Bogislaw I's authority in his deceased brother's lands, however, may have arisen with the liquidation of the fief rights held by Henry the Lion. The formal confiscation of the fiefs of the Reich held by Henry the Lion had occurred in the earlier period. The process of depriving Henry the Lion of his ancestral domains began at the end of March 1180 during the Gelnhausen congress. At the beginning of April 1180, Westphalia was separated from Henry the Lion's Saxon dominions, handing them over to the Archbishop of Cologne and the Saxon duchy given to Bernard of Anhalt.

The possibility of establishing contacts with the party of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa opened up to the Pomeranians as early as April 1180, during the aforementioned convention in Gelnhausen. The emperor's court was then visited by Mieszko III the Old, Duke of Poland, seeking help against Casimir the Just.³⁵ The Polish Duke and Bogislaw I were linked by a political alliance concluded before 1177. It was strengthened by the marriage of Mieszko III's daughter to Racibor, son of Bogislaw I of Pomerania.³⁶ Soon Bogislaw I himself also married a second time, this time to Mieszko III's daughter Anastasia.³⁷ With the imperial party fighting against Henry the Lion, Mieszko III the Old was linked by the marriages of his daughters Judith to the Count of Anhalt, and from 1180 the new Saxon prince Bernard, and Elisabeth to the Wettin-derived Konrad of Landsberg (c. 1180).³⁸ With the help of Bogislaw I of Pomerania, by 1181 Mieszko III the Old managed to return to Greater Poland and regain part of his inheritance. So, although the emperor did not directly assist Mieszko III the Old in 1180, the Polish Duke's contacts with Frederick I Barbarossa offered the chance to establish a diplomatic channel between the imperial party and the rulers of Pomerania.

Bogislaw I. von Stettin," 82; Rymar, "Pomeranian Armed Expeditions to Lusatia and Brandenburg in 1178–1180," 91–92; Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, 120; Lübke, "Arnold von Lübeck und die Slaven," 194.

34 In this regard see: Marek Smoliński, *Świętopelk gdański* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2016), 84–85.

35 Karol Pertz, ed., "Annales Colonieses maximi ab O.c. – 1237," in: MGH SS, vol. 17 (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopoli Hannani, 1856), 790; Stanisław Smolka, *Mieszko III i jego wiek* (Kraków: Avalon 2009), 320.

36 Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, 124.

37 Ibid., 115–118.

38 See: Smoliński, *Caesar et duces Poloniae. Szkice z dziejów stosunków polsko-niemieckich w drugiej połowie XII wieku (1146–1191)*, (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2006), 102–146; Maciej Przybył, "Główne kierunki polityki dynastycznej Mieszka III Starego," in: *Totius mundi philo-histor. Studia Georgi Strzelczyk octuagenario oblata*, eds. Małgorzata Delimata-Płoch, Adam Krawiec and Jakub Kujawiński (Poznań: UAM, 2021), 592 et seq.

There should be no doubt that Bogislaw I of Pomerania's transition to the emperor's side was preceded by negotiations. A trace of these can be found in the chronicle of Saxo Grammaticus. However, his account is distorted and characterised by the chronicler's deep dislike of both Frederick I Barbarossa and the Pomeranian Dukes. According to the Danish historian, the emperor came up with the idea of treaties with the Pomeranian Dukes Bogislaw I and Casimir I as soon as he arrived at the camp near Lübeck. Frederick I Barbarossa decided to try to pull the Griffins to his side supposedly out of fear of their military might. Saxo described it as follows: "Qui cum oppidum Lubecum obsidere coepisset Bugyszlavique et Kazymari fratrum vires admodum suspectas haberet, utrique se potentiae et claritatis incrementa daturum subornata legatione promittit, provincias, quas hactenus obscure et sine honorum insignibus gesserint, satraparum nomine recepturis" ("Since [the emperor] had begun the siege of Lübeck, and feared the strength of the brothers Bogislaw and Casimir, he sent a messenger promising them both to increase their power and glory (prestige/importance) if they would accept from him the provinces they had hitherto possessed in a doubtful/clear manner and without signs of authority [i.e., without proper title – M.S.], as satraps")³⁹.

If the emperor was indeed thinking of acquiring the two Pomeranian princes, he must have come up with the idea even before the death of Casimir I (in the autumn of 1180). He could not have conceived the idea during the siege of Lübeck in the summer of 1181. However, the fact that Saxo believed that both Griffins were in the imperial camp near the said city,⁴⁰ seems to depreciate the value of this account to some extent. From the information cited, it is possible to consider as plausible the proposal to recognise in the rulers of Pomerania imperial fiefs, independent to any German feudal states and the Danish king. This would be a promotion from "satraps" to rulers of the Slavs legally positioned in the imperial feudal system. The price was to abandon Henry the Lion and support the intentions of Frederick I Barbarossa.

Negotiations between the emperor and Bogislaw I of Pomerania entered a conclusive phase in the period following the death of Casimir I. At the turn of 1180/1181, Count Bernard of Ratzenburg left the ranks of Henry the Lion's allies. Henry the Lion accused him of treason, imprisoned his son Wolard and seized his county. He also added Ratzenburg to the castles already held by Henry the Lion in Plön and Sieberg. The prince then extended his direct control over territories inhabited by Slavic Polabians. It is not known to what extent they were forced to contribute to the costs of the defence prepared by Henry the Lion and what their attitude was to the ongoing battles.⁴¹ Arnold of Lübeck

39 Saxo, XV, 650; Lucht, "War Bogislaw I. Reichfürst?", 29.

40 Saxo, XV, 632.

41 The Vagrians, and the Obodrites in general, were quite quickly after their conquest drawn into the feudal system in which their German overlords operated. Helmold, I, 12: 25 c. 1170 claimed that the people of the Oldenburg bishopric were already paying a fixed tithe consisting of natural products and money.

mentioned in his chronicle that the Dukes of Saxony-Bavaria, in preparation for it, began to fortify the castles of Plön, Siegeberg and Ratzenburg.⁴²

Count Bernard stayed in Gadebusch for some time. However, another attack by Henry the Lion forced him to defect to Bernard, Duke of Saxony, and consequently join the imperial party.⁴³ These events accelerated a wave of departures of Henry the Lion's former supporters to the party of Frederick I Barbarossa. On the backdrop of Arnold of Lübeck's description of this process, he alluded to the position that the Slavs and Bogislaw I of Pomerania had taken towards the imperial-princely conflict.

The aforementioned chronicler combined the news of the death of the younger of the Griffins in one paragraph with the information about Frederick I Barbarossa's attack on Saxony. By the way, Arnold vividly depicted the process of felicitation of the former partisans of the Saxon-Bavarian prince: "when he [the emperor – M.S.] approached, they surrendered to him all his strongest castles and themselves – whether by necessity or by their own wish. Many of his ministers, who had been raised by him [i.e., Henry the Lion – M.S.] from the cradle and whose fathers had served him continuously, such as Henry of Witha, Lupold of Herzberg, Ludolph of Peine and many others, left the prince and went over to the emperor's side. In this way the emperor strengthened himself, as he captured the castles of Herzberg, Lauenburg, Blankenburg, Heimbürg and Regenstein, and led his army to besiege Lichtenburg, which after a few days was delivered into his hands."⁴⁴

The events described are said to have taken place at the time of the emperor's entry into Saxony in June 1181, that is, before the siege of Lübeck began. The emperor's agreement with Bogislaw I must have occurred even before the siege of Lübeck. So it probably took place in the first half of 1181. Its effect was that the Slavs turned against Henry the Lion and consequently their attack on the fortress on the river Trave. The Pomeranians themselves supported Frederick I Barbarossa with the submission of the Lübeck tribute by Bogislaw I. Before the Pomeranian prince reached the Lübeck camp, however, he sent his envoys to the emperor. According to Saxo Grammaticus, the reason for this behaviour by Bogislaw I was fear of the Danish king, who had already sailed to Lübeck.⁴⁵ The Danish chronicler presented in passing the faithfulness of Frederick I Barbarossa. The emperor was said to have given his word to the Slavs that they would only be dependent on the Empire. Saxo claimed that this broke the emperor's promise to the Danish

Feudal burdens the said population probably also had to pay to the German counts or the Duke of Saxony. These included participation in war expeditions and taking care of the condition of defensive walls or entire castles/chateaux. See: Henryk Łowmiański, *Początki Polski. Z dziejów Słowian w pierwszym tysiącleciu*, vol. V (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973), 287–288.

42 Arnold, II, 19: 61.

43 Meyer-Seedorf, "Geschichte der Grafen von Ratzeburg und Dannenberg," 41–42.

44 Arnold, II, 17: 58.

45 Saxo, XV, 652.

king. The latter had already declared to Valdemar I of Denmark the right to subjugate the Slavs. The consequence of the Emperor–Pomeranian agreement, according to Saxo Grammatik, was that the emperor accepted tribute from the two Pomeranian princes, presented them with imperial eagles and recognised them as princes of the Slavs. This title expressed the emperor's consent to rule in lands previously ruled by the Gryfits. Perhaps, too, it could have served as a guise for intervention in the affairs of the Slavs living west of the Oder part of Pomerania. In any case, it was unacceptable to either Denmark or the Brandenburg March, which was building its territory largely on taking over former Slavic lands.

Admittedly, the presence of Casimir I at Lübeck was not possible. However, the Slavic *principes* who met with the emperor at Lübeck were mentioned not only by Saxo Grammatik, but also by Pegavian *Annales*.⁴⁶ They were informed that the Slavic (i.e., Pomeranian) *princeps* Casimir I died in 1180.⁴⁷ Under 1181, referring to the siege of Lübeck, these annals described a peaceful meeting with Frederick Barbarossa ("in pace occurrente") of the king of the Danes and the Slav *principes* ("rege Danomrum et principibus Sclavorum") ("With the emperor, who set out for Lübeck, the king of Denmark and the Slav *principes* met in peace, [and] all that the prince [i.e. Henry the Lion – M.S.] possessed in these lands, the emperor took possession and returned home as the victor.") Thus, the account of the Pegavian annals uses the plural.⁴⁸ In addition to Boguslav I, other Slavic rulers must have appeared at Lübeck.

Some German historians have surmised that in addition to Boguslav, a Slavic *princeps* Niklot (Nicholas) came to Lübeck. He was the son of Wartislaw, killed in 1164 by Henry the Lion.⁴⁹ Polish scholars, with the exception of Edward Rymar, have hardly dealt with this matter.⁵⁰

Niklot was suitable as an opponent of Henry the Lion for at least two reasons. The first reason was the murder of his father on the orders of the Duke of Saxony-Bavaria in 1164. The second was a dispute over paternal property. Niklot fought over it with his uncle's brother Henry Borwin I. He was the son of Prybislav I Prince of Obodriten (1160–1178), who died in 1178. This *princeps* recognised the supremacy of Henry the Lion. Henry Borwin I was also the husband of Matilda, the illegitimate daughter

46 Pegavian Annals, 265.

47 Hoffmeister, "Über eine Handschrift der Sächsischen Weltchronik," 127; Rymar, "Pomorskie wyprawy zbrojne na Łużyce i Brandenburgię w latach 1178–1180," 91–92; Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, 120.

48 Pegavian Annals, 264–265.

49 Giesebrecht, *Wendische Geschichten*, 269; Hamann, *Mecklenburgische Geschichte*, 92; Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 207; Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 342; Goethke, "Knud VI und Waldemar II," 47; Engels, "Friedrich Barbarossa und Dänemark," 382.

50 Rymar, "Pomorskie wyprawy zbrojne na Łużyce i Brandenburgię w latach 1178–1180," 102.

of Henry the Lion, but also most likely the son of the Pomeranian princess Wojsława.⁵¹ He can be considered one of the few Slavic princes who did not abandon Henry the Lion in 1180/1181. His political declarations were further exacerbated by Niklot's dislike of him.

The invasions of the Pomeranian princes against the Archbishopric of Magdeburg, Brandenburg and Lusatia in 1179–1180 caused the awakening of aspirations of freedom among the Obodritic Slavs. The 14th century chronicle of Ernest Kirchberg mentions that the Slavs attacked and destroyed the Doberan monastery on 10th November 1179.⁵² Niklot, who reigned at the time in the land of the former Circipians, tried unsuccessfully to repel this attack. After losing the battle against the invaders in December 1179, he took refuge behind the ramparts of the Rostock castle.

If this news is considered true, further reasons would appear to count Niklot among the anti-Velphite party. However, this does not provide evidence of his stay in the camp at Lübeck in 1181. Nothing about this is seen by Arnold of Lübeck and Saxo Grammaticus. Both chroniclers knew Niklot from later events. They saw him as an ally of Rügen and Denmark. They were informed of the war Niklot waged against Henry Borwin I, Bogislaw I of Pomerania and indirectly Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa in 1183–1185.⁵³

Saxo Grammaticus, in an excerpt from his chronicle, which treated the events in the camp at Lübeck, unambiguously identified the Slavs he described with the Pomeranians. Since his brother Casimir I could not appear there next to Boguslaw I, perhaps another Griffin should be sought next to this ruler at Lübeck.

His adult son Racibor had the chance to perform at his father's side in the camp near Lübeck. From the second half of the 1170s, he was married to the daughter of Mieszko III the Old. This piastic pairing linked him to representatives of the coalition fighting Henry the Lion. Racibor in the early 1180s became the brother-in-law of the new Saxon

51 Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 204; Hamann, *Mecklenburgische Geschichte*, 92; Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, 109–110; Auge, "Behauptung, Unterordnung, Anpassung," 226–227; Lübke, "Arnold von Lübeck und die Slaven," 196.

52 Ernest Joachim Westphalen ed, "Ernesti de Krichberg, Chronicon Meklenburgicum [...]," in: *Monumenta inedita rerum Germanicarum praecipue Cimbriacarum et Megapolensium*, vol. 4 (Lipsiae: Impensis Jo. Crystiani Martini, 1745), 760; Ernst Boll, *Geschichte Meklenburgs mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Culturgeschichte*, vol. 1 (Neubrandenburg: Im Selbstverlage Verfasser, 1855) 91–92; Friedrich Comaprt, "Geschichte des Klosters Doberan bis zum Jahre 1300," in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte Mecklenburg vornehmlich im dreizehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. Friedrich Schirrmacher (Rostock: Ernst Kun's Verlag, 1872), 11; Bogusławski, *Dzieje Słowiańszczyzny północno-zachodniej*, 14; Witte, *Mecklenburgische Geschichte*, 96–97; Hamann, *Mecklenburgische Geschichte*, 92–93.

53 In this regard see: Smoliński, "Z dziejów stosunków pomorsko-lubeckich w XII i XIII w. (część 1: Geneza sojuszu pomorsko-lubeckiego)," in: *Silesia – Polonia – Europa. Studia historyczne dedykowane Profesorowi Idzemu Panicowi*, red. Jerzy Sperka (Katowice–Bielsko-Biała: Wydawnictwo Cum Laude, Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, 2019), 118 et seq.

prince Bernard of Anhalt and Conrad of Landsberg. In the absence of other source news and in view of Racibor's death around 1183,⁵⁴ unfortunately, nothing can be said about his participation in his father's external politics.

* * *

In conclusion, we can limit ourselves to recalling a few events known from the chronicles of Arnold and Saxo indicating the relationship between the cases discussed by them. An analysis of the accounts of Arnold of Lübeck, Saxo Grammaticus and German annals, especially those of Pegavian, allows us to formulate a hypothesis regarding the participation of Slavs in the battles between the Saxon-Bavarian prince Henry the Lion and Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa in 1178–1181. Initially, due to their political dependence, Slavs, including Pomeranians, fought on the side of Henry the Lion. Their support was shaken by the political situation of the prince, in which Henry found himself in the second half of 1180. The Slavs (the Polabians, living in the former Weleti territories and part of the Pomeranians) left Henry the Lion after the death of Casimir I of Pomerania in the autumn of 1180. After his death, the Pomeranian duke Bogislaw I, who inherited his brother's lands, began negotiations with the imperial party. At stake was the recognition of the political position of the Pomeranian duke, who was to be exclusively an imperial fief. Saxo Grammaticus claimed that Boguslaw had obtained the title of Duke of the Slavs from the emperor. This titulature reconciled Danish and Brandenburg claims to rule over Slavic lands. I do not think that in the discussion about the status of Bogusław I, the researchers who deny recognition of him as one of the dukes of the Reich are right. However, the Duke of Pomerania had to win the acceptance of this state of affairs by his neighbours in the Reich himself. In retrospect, it is clear that he failed.

The attack of the Slavic army in the summer of 1181 can be considered a testimony to the agreement reached. The greatest opportunity to do this was the Polabian (Vagrian) Slavs. Contrary to the silence of historians, dealing with the history of the Slavs in the Polabian region, the participation of these Slavs in the events of 1181 should be taken into account. Perhaps, then, the generally accepted date of 1168 (the fall of Rügen), as the date ending the political importance of the Polabian Slavs, must be revised.

⁵⁴ Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, 123–125; Sébastien Rossignol, *Maiestas principium. Herzogsurkunden als Medien der Herrschaftsrepräsentation in Schlesien, Pommern und Pommerellen (1200–1325)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2019), 51 – The author mistook the dates of the marriage of Boguslaw I and his son Racibor with the daughters of Mieszko III.

The destruction of this castle made it possible for the Danish fleet to enter Trave, which headed to camp near Lübeck. The fall of the fortress on the river Trave made it possible to close Lübeck with a siege ring. At the Lübeck camp, Bogislaw I of Pomerania paid tribute to the emperor. The prince was probably not the only Slavic ruler who found himself in the Lübeck camp. Some researchers claimed that in addition to him, *princeps* Niklot appeared before the emperor. It is possible, however, that in addition to Bogislaw I of Pomerania, his eldest surviving adult son, Racibor, also appeared before the emperor.

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SUMMARY

An analysis of the accounts of Arnold of Lübeck, Saxo Gramatik and German Annales, especially those of Pegavian, allows us to formulate a hypothesis regarding the participation of Slavs in the battles between the Saxon-Bavarian prince Henry the Lion and Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa in 1178–1181. Initially, due to their political dependence, Slavs, including Pomeranians, fought on the side of Henry the Lion. Their support was shaken by the political situation of the prince, in which Henry found himself in the second half of 1180. The Slavs (the Polabians, living in the former Wieleck territories and part of the Pomeranians) left Welf after the death of Casimir I of Pomerania in the autumn of 1180. After his death, the Pomeranian duke Boguslaw I, who inherited his brother's lands, began negotiations with the imperial party. At stake was the recognition of the political position of the Pomeranian duke, who was to be exclusively an imperial fief. Saxo Gramatik claimed that Boguslaw obtained the title of Duke of the Slavs from the Emperor. This titlature reconciled Danish and Brandenburg claims to rule over Slavic lands. The attack of the Slavic army on Travemünde in the summer of 1181 can be considered a testimony to the agreement reached. The greatest opportunity to do this was the Polabian (Vagrian) Slavs. The destruction of this castle made it possible for the Danish fleet to enter Trave, which headed for a camp near Lübeck. The fall of Travemünde made it possible to close Lübeck with a siege ring in the summer of 1181. At the Lübeck camp, Boguslaw I of Pomerania paid tribute to the emperor. In the Lübeck camp, Boguslaw I of Pomerania paid tribute to the emperor. The prince was probably not the only Slavic ruler who found himself in the Lübeck camp. Some researchers claimed that in addition to him, *princeps* Niklot appeared before the emperor. It is possible, however, that in addition to Boguslaw I of Pomerania, his eldest surviving adult son, Racibor, also appeared before the emperor.

Kim byli Słowianie, którzy spalili w 1181 r. twierdzę na rzece Trawnice. Początki sojuszu cesarsko-pomorskiego w początkach lat 80 XII wieku

Słowa kluczowe: Słowianie Połabscy, Pomorzanie, Bogusław I książę pomorski, Henryk Lew, Fryderyk I Barbarossa, oblężenie Lubeki w 1181 r.

STRESZCZENIE

Analiza relacji Arnolda z Lubeki, Saxo Grammatyka i roczników niemieckich, zwłaszcza pegawskich, pozwala na sformułowanie hipotezy dotyczącej udziału Słowian w walkach między księciem sasko-bawarskim Henrykiem Lwem i cesarzem Fryderykiem I Barbarossą w latach 1178–1181. Początkowo, ze względu na swą zależność polityczną, Słowianie, w tym też Pomorzanie, bili się po stronie Henryka Lwa. Ich poparciem zachwiała sytuacja polityczna księcia, w której Henryk znalazł się w drugiej połowie 1180 r. Słowianie (połabscy, zamieszkujący dawne tereny wieleckie i część Pomorzan) opuścili Henryka Lwa po śmierci Kazimierza I pomorskiego jesienią 1180 r. Po jego zgonie książę pomorski Bogusław I, który dziedziczył w ziemiach swego brata, rozpoczął negocjacje ze stronnictwem cesarskim. Stawką było uznanie pozycji politycznej księcia pomorskiego, który miał być wyłącznie cesarskim lennikiem. Saxo Grammatyk twierdził, że Bogusław uzyskał od cesarza tytuł księcia Słowian. Tytulatura ta godziła w pretensje duńskie i brandenburskie do panowania nad ziemiami słowiańskimi. Nie uważam przy tym, że rację mają historycy negujący uznanie Bogusława I za księcia Rzeszy przez cesarza Fryderyka I. Uznanie tego tytułu przez sąsiadów pomorskiego władcy z terenów Rzeszy książę musiał jednak sobie wywalczyć. Wiadomo jednak, że mu się to nie udało.

Za świadectwo osiągniętego porozumienia uznać można atak wojsk słowiańskich na twierdzę na rzece Trawnice latem 1181 r. Największą szansę, by tego dokonać, mieli Słowianie połabscy (wagryjscy). Wbrew milczeniu historyków, zajmujących się dziejami Słowian na Połabiu, należy uwzględnić udział tych Słowian w wydarzeniach roku 1181. Być może więc ogólnie przyjęta data 1168 r. (upadek Rugii), jako termin kładący kres politycznemu znaczeniu Słowian Połabskich, musi ulec zrewidowaniu.

Zniszczenie zamku na Trave umożliwiło wejście na nią floty duńskiej, która skierowała się do obozu pod Lubekę. Upadek tej twierdzy umożliwił zamknięcie Lubeki pierścieniem oblężenia latem 118 r. W obozie lubeckim Bogusław I pomorski złożył cesarzowi hołd. Książę nie był zapewne jedynym władcą słowiańskim, który znalazł się obozie lubeckim. Niektórzy badacze twierdzili, że oprócz niego przez cesarzem pojawił się *princeps* Niklot. Niewykluczone jednak, że obok Bogusława I pomorskiego przed cesarzem pojawił się też jego najstarszy żyjący, dorosły już syn, Racibor.

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Agnieszka Gut

Institute of History
University of Szczecin
agnieszka.gut@usz.edu.pl
ORCID: 0000-0003-0393-2543

From the History of Sigillography and Heraldry of Private Towns in Western Pomerania. A Case Study of the Seal and Coat of Arms of Łobez

Keywords: civic heraldry, Western Pomerania, city seal, Łobez, Labes

The heraldry of the cities of contemporary Western Pomerania seems to be well recognised, as evidenced by the fact that at least a dozen or so cities currently have Polish-language studies of the history of their coats of arms.¹ In many cases there are also older monographs, most notably Otto Hupp's fundamental work *Die Wappen und Siegel der Deutschen Städte, Flecken und Dörfer* from the end of the 19th century.² Particular summaries and synthetic presentations of the civic heraldry of Western Pomerania can also be found in the study by Wojciech Strzyżewski from 1999

- 1 The status as of 2005 has been presented in the article entitled "Heraldyka zachodniopomorska w historiografii polskiej," in: *Wokół znaków i symboli. Herby, pieczęcie i monety na Pomorzu, Śląsku i Ziemi Lubuskiej do 1945 roku*, ed. Agnieszka Chlebowska, Agnieszka Gut (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2008), 16–17. In the following years, I authored several other monographic articles: "Rozwój i symbolika herbu Maszewa," in: *Maszewo i okolice na przestrzeni wieków*, ed. Agnieszka Chlebowska (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Hogben, 2008), 45–58; "Rozwój i symbolika herbu Nowogardu," in: *Nowogard i okolice na przestrzeni wieków*, ed. Agnieszka Gut (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Hogben, 2010), 111–120; "Herb Gryfic," in: *Gryfice – dzieje miasta*, ed. Tadeusz Białecki (Szczecin: Uniwersytet Szczeciński; Oficyna Wydawnicza Archiwum Państwowego "Dokument"; Gryfice: Urząd Miasta, 2013), 551–558; "Herb Koszalina z 1938 roku," *Scripta Historica* 23 (2017): 161–180; "Herb miejski jako medium społecznej komunikacji. Treści symboliczne herbu Kamienia Pomorskiego do końca XIX wieku," *Zapiski Historyczne* 85 (2020), 3: 5–34. I am also familiar with the unpublished expert opinions by Agnieszka Pawłowska on the coat of arms of Gryfino (German: Greifenhagen) and Jerzy Grzelak on the coat of arms of Banie (German: Bahn).
- 2 On Pomorze, see Otto Hupp, *Die Wappen und Siegel der Deutschen Städte, Flecken und Dörfer*, Bd. 1: *Königreich Preussen*, H. 2: *Pommern, Posen und Schlesien* (Frankfurt a. M.: Verlag von Heinrich Keller, 1898).

and Agnieszka Gut from 2014.³ However, the existing literature does not mean that everything is known about the coats of arms of cities as well as civic heraldry of the former Duchy of Pomerania, the Province of Pomerania or the present Western Pomerania. In particular, problems related to the uses and functions of civic coats of arms require research, such as, for example, the place of the coat of arms among other municipal signs (seals, burgher and guild coats of arms, trademarks in the form of lead seals or craft punches, border and mint marks, etc.), the communication function of the civic coat of arms, the use of historical ("German") civic coats of arms on the so-called Recovered Territories by the Polish administration or problems, already signalled in the subtitle, related to the creation and functioning of coats of arms of private towns.

Posing new research questions, however, requires a new look at the source material collected so far, as well as – and perhaps above all – an expansion of its source base. This article is an attempt at such a broad approach, the aim of which is not only to determine the "correct" form of the coat of arms of Łobez (German: Labes), but also to answer the question of what influenced (or could have influenced) the changes taking place over time in the appearance of the seal and coat of arms of the town. Particularly interesting is the period from the moment of its chartering until the beginning of scientific heraldry, which in Western Europe dates back to the 17th century,⁴ whereas on its peripheries, including the contemporary Polish lands and Western Pomerania, of most interest to us, to the broadly understood 19th century.⁵ In the case of Łobez, this time additionally coincides with the moment of political transformations in the Kingdom of Prussia.

3 Wojciech Strzyżewski, *Treści symboliczne herbów miejskich na Śląsku, Ziemi Lubuskiej i Pomorzu Zachodnim do końca XVIII wieku* (Zielona Góra: Wydawnictwo WSP, 1999); Agnieszka Gut, "Gryf w herbach miast, gmin wiejskich i powiatów Pomorza Zachodniego od średniowiecza do współczesności," in: *Pod skrzydłami gryfa* (Szczecin: Zamek Książąt Pomorskich: Archiwum Państwowe, 2014), 70–87.

4 Torsten Hiltmann, "Legenden im Zweifel. Die Frage nach Herkunft der Wappen und das Ende der mittelalterlichen Heraldik im 17. Jahrhundert," in: *Kontinuitäten, Umbrüche, Zäsuren. Die Konstruktion von Epochen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit in interdisziplinärer Sichtung*, hrsg. v. Thomas Kühnreiter, Gabriela Schichta (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2016), 309–329. For more on the origins of the scientific of heraldry in Germany, see Ludwig Biewer, "Wissenschaftliche Heraldik in Deutschland vom 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert. Einige biographische Skizzen," in: *Vom Nutz und Frommen der Historischen Hilfswissenschaften. Beiträge der gemeinsamen Tagung des Herold mit seiner Fachgruppe "Historische Hilfswissenschaften" anlässlich ihres fünfjährigen Bestehens am 5. Oktober 1999 im Museum Europäischer Kulturen in Berlin-Dahlem*, hrsg. v. Friedrich Beck, Eckhart Henning (Neustadt a. d. Aisch: Degener, 2000), 79–90.

5 Beata Możejko, Błażej Śliwiński, "Najważniejsze momenty z dziejów heraldyki i weksylologii wschodniopomorskiej," in: eidem, *Herby miast, gmin i powiatów województwa pomorskiego*, vol. 1 (Gdańsk: Oficyna Pomorska, 2000), 16–19; Agnieszka Gut, "Prawne podstawy pruskiej heraldyki samorządowej w latach 1918–1939," *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 55 (2003), 2: 274–275; Henryk Seroka, "Heraldyka miejska w zaborze austriackim w świetle dokumentów cesarskich z lat 1785–1914," in: *Herby miast polskich w okresie zaborów (1772–1918). Materiały sesji naukowej, Włocławek 5–6 grudnia 1996 r.*, ed. Stefan Krzysztof Kuczyński (Włocławek: Oficyna Wydawnicza WTN „Lega”, 1999), 51–66.

The need to expand the research material has resulted in the decision to use the *case study* method, which, although it will limit the analysis to the seal and coat of arms of one town, will allow full use of the available source material.

The source material, which so far consisted primarily of descriptions of the civic seals of Łobez contained in the study by Otto Hupp and Marian Gumowski,⁶ as well as Georg Sello's remarks on the beginnings of the town and traced copies of civic seals,⁷ has been broadened in this study. The author used not only descriptions by O. Hupp, but also his collection of traced copies and seal impressions and other notes made for *Die Wappen und Siegel...*, located in Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin-Dahlem, and containing i.a. traced copies made in the 18th century by Johann Carl Conrad Oelrichs.⁸ Another 18th-century collection of traced copies of civic seals, *Apparatus Sigillorum Pomeraniae et Rugiae Civitatum*, from the collection of Matthäus Heinrich Liebeherr, a well-known collector from Szczecin (Stettin), was also included in the analysis.⁹ The collection of seals and stamps stored in the State Archives in Szczecin was also used, which in coffer II contains wax reproductions of West Pomeranian city seals. In search of the original impressions of the seal of Łobez, three archival fonds stored in the State Archives in Szczecin, where more of them could have been expected, were also systematically searched. These fonds are: the Ducal Court of Justice in Stargard (Sąd Nadworny w Stargardzie), the Archives of the Dukes of Szczecin (Archiwum Książąt Szczecińskich) and the Regency of Stettin (Rejencja Szczecińska). In order to explain the changes taking place on the seals and coat of arms of Łobez in the 18th century, records of disputes between the town and its owners proved necessary. This evidences the fact that, apart from the iconographic material, one should also delve into the 18th-century history of the town and written sources, which – although in this case they do not provide direct information about the seal or coat of arms – enable the researcher to try to find the intention behind the modifications introduced to the town's symbolism. For the post-war period, the fond

6 Hupp, *Die Wappen*, 11; Marian Gumowski, "Pieczęcie i herby niektórych miast pomorskich," *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 15 (1971), 3: 124–127. For more on M. Gumowski's research, see Agnieszka Gut, "Heraldyka i sfragistyka zachodniopomorska w badaniach Mariana Gumowskiego," *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego seria nowa* 12 (2013): 147–157.

7 *Geschichtsquellen des burg- und schloßgesessenen Geschlechts von Borcke*, hrsg. v. Georg Sello, Bd. 1 (Berlin: J. A. Stargardt, 1901) (hereinafter: UBB).

8 Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin-Dahlem (hereinafter: GStA PK), VIII. HA, I.9 Slg. Otto Hupp, Kasten I, Heft 11–15.

9 Landesarchiv Greifswald (hereinafter: LAG), Rep. 41 Plathe, ref. no. I 41. Recent research by Łukasz Koremba has shown that the collection could have been created between 1742 and 1749 on the initiative of Liebeherr himself, in the academic community of the university (Greifswald) association *Collectores Historiae et Juris Patrii*, see Łukasz Koremba, "«Apparatus Sigillorum» – nieznanne źródło do sfragistyki miejskiej Pomorza Zachodniego. Autorstwo, czas i okoliczności powstania," *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 35 (2020), 1: 5–21.

of the Voivodeship Office of Szczecin (Urząd Wojewódzki Szczeciński) was reviewed, although the search did not bring positive results, thus confirming the earlier findings of Bogdan Frankiewicz.¹⁰ Iconographic reproductions of the coat of arms of Łobez were also taken from the 19th and 20th century armorials, i.e. from the so-called New Siebmacher (*Neuer Siebmacher*),¹¹ from armorials by Otto Hupp¹² and Marian Gumowski¹³ as well as from two heraldic studies from the 1960's.¹⁴ Unfortunately, of little effect was the research on the legacy of the Prussian Ministry of the Interior, containing, among others, opinions issued in the 19th and early 20th centuries in heraldic matters of cities by the Royal Prussian Heraldry Office (*Heroldsamt*), and stored in Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin-Dahlem, as well as one involving heraldic opinions of Szczecin archivists from the 1920's,¹⁵ which proves that the authorities of Łobez were not particularly interested in changes in the existing coat of arms of the town. The article has been supplemented with illustrative material that collects images of the town's seals and coats of arms until 2017, when the new graphic design of the historic coat of arms of Łobez received a positive opinion of the Heraldic Commission functioning at the Polish Ministry of the Interior and Administration.

* * *

The problem of coats of arms of private towns in Western Pomerania is an unexplored issue, and it seems interesting on account of the research on mutual relations between representatives of the townspeople and town owners and attempts by towns to emphasise their "independent" position in the late Middle Ages and early modernity. Particularly interesting may be centres established by knightly families that did not exercise superior authority over a given area and had not created their own territorial dominion. In the case of seals and coats of arms of such towns, attempts at emphasising

10 Łobez belonged to the group of West Pomeranian towns which in the years 1945–1950 used the state emblem on their official seals, and not the pre-war civic coat of arms, see Bogdan Frankiewicz, "Pieczęcie miast i administracji polskiej na Pomorzu Zachodnim z lat 1945–1950," *Szczeciński Informator Archiwalny* 13 (1999): 82–83.

11 *J. Siebmacher's grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch in einer neuen, vollständig geordneten und reich vermehrten Auflage mit heraldischen und historisch-genealogischen Erläuterungen*, Bd. I, Abt. IV: *Städtewappen*, Vol. II (Nürnberg: Verlag von Bauer und Raspe, 1885).

12 Hupp, *Die Wappen*; idem, *Deutsche Ortswappen. Die Wappen des Königsreichs Preußen, Provinz Pommern*, n.p. and n.d. [the 1920's].

13 Marian Gumowski, *Herby miast polskich* (Warszawa: Arkady, 1960).

14 Tomasz Szczechura, ed., *Polskie herby miejskie* (Warszawa: "Wspólna Sprawa" Wydawnictwa Oświatowe, 1963); Mateusz Siuchniński, ed., *Miasta polskie w Tysiącleciu*, vol. II (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1967).

15 GStA PK, I. HA, Rep. 77, Tit. 479, No. 92, Bd. 1–25; Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie (the State Archives in Szczecin, hereinafter: AP Szczecin), ref. no. 753–755.

the degree of independence of the knightly/gentry town owners from their superior rulers can also be observed. That is the situation in the case of Łobez in terms of its seal and coat of arms. In the second half of the 13th century, in the Rega river basin, the Bork (von Borcke) family began the construction of a compact estate complex with the central seat in the Wulfsberg Castle (now Strzmielo), where between the 13th and 15th centuries representatives of the family granted town rights to four centres – Łobez, Resko, Strzmielo and Węgorzyno.¹⁶

The oldest written records of Łobez come from 1271, when the knight Borko, *dominus de Lobis* was mentioned among the witnesses of a document issued by the Pomeranian duke, Barnim I.¹⁷ Before coming to Łobez, Borko was the castellan of Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) of Duke Wartislaw III of Demmin, and after his death (1264) he still remained close to the ruler who united both Pomeranian provinces, i.e. Barnim I. Under unknown circumstances and for unknown reasons, Borko moved from the Kołobrzeg region to the land of Łobez, where he received the town itself and the surrounding lands as a fief.¹⁸ The exact date of conferring civic rights to Łobez is not known, because the chartering privilege itself has not been preserved. However, it must have happened between 1271 (first mention) and 1285, in which, on 6 December, the town council of Łobez sent a letter to the councillors of Kołobrzeg, which they also sealed with its own seal.¹⁹ Rudolf Benl believed that the chartering could have taken place around 1280,²⁰ which indeed seems probable, taking into account the fact that 5 years later there was already a municipal council in town with its own seal at their disposal.

As a result of the chartering, Łobez was probably conferred the Lübeck law, which it certainly used in 1348.²¹ Since 1285, the existence of a municipal council has also been confirmed. The council also elects a mayor from among its members, which is

16 Eberhard Sauer, *Der Adel während der Besiedlung Ostpommerns (der Länder, Kolberg, Belgard, Schlawe, Stolp) 1250–1350* (Stettin: Verlag Leon Sauniers Buchhandlung Stettin, 1939), 198–212; Rudolf Benl, *Die Gestaltung der Bodenrechtsverhältnisse in Pommern vom 12. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert* (Köln–Wien: Böhlau, 1986), 243–246, 250–251.

17 *Pommersches Urkundenbuch* (hereinafter: PUB), Bd. 2, Abt. 1, hrsg. v. Rodgero Prümers (Stettin, 1881), no. 942; Ernst Zernickow, *Geschichte der Stadt Labes in Pommern von der Gründung bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Labes: Otto Schimmelpfennigs, 1922), 5; Jerzy Podrański, “Z dziejów Łobza,” in: *Z dziejów ziemi łobeskiej*, ed. Tadeusz Bialecki (Szczecin: Instytut Zachodniopomorski, 1971), 54–55.

18 Edward Rymar, “Pierwsze generacje rodu pomorskich Borków (XII–XIV w.),” *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 18 (2003), 3: 14–16; Wulf-Dietrich von Borcke, “Pochodzenie rodu von Borcke,” transl. Gabriela Rutkowska, *Łabuź*, Numer specjalny (2002): 28–30 (reprint of: Łabuź, 1997, no. 23).

19 PUB, Bd. VI, bearb. v. Otto Heinemann, (Stettin, 1907), no. 4002. The existence of this document was only pointed out by Benl, *Die Gestaltung*, 246. Earlier, the year 1295 was considered to be the first mention of Łobez as *civitas*. That year, on 12 July, Dukes Bogislaw IV and Otto I decided on the border between the districts of the Duchy of Pomerania divided between them (PUB, Bd. III, Abt. 1, hrsg. v. Rodgero Prümers (Stettin, 1888), no. 1730). Among the many towns that belonged from then on to Bogislaw IV’s Wolgast domain, *civitas Lobese cum castro et terra* were also mentioned here.

20 Benl, *Die Gestaltung*, 246.

21 UBB, Bd. I, No. 205, pp. 205–208; cited on p. 206.

confirmed by the document of 5 February 1369, pursuant to which the mayor and councillors of Łobez sold an annual pecuniary annuity to the vicar in Kamień Pomorski (Cammin in Pommern).²² The same document, however, also confirms the close dependence of the town on the Bork family, because the legal act stipulated in it is made with the consent of the named members of this family, whom the town council calls their lords.²³ Nothing is known about the functioning of the council in the Middle Ages, and the first known names of mayors come from the 17th century.²⁴ Certainly, however, the town did not enjoy full freedom of action, which was limited by its owners – the Bork family. Even at the end of the 18th century, members of the town council, composed of the mayor (who was both a judge and a secretary) and two senators (one of whom was also a treasurer), although being elected by the townspeople, still had to be approved by the gentry owners. The Bork castle court also functioned as the court of appeal against the judgements of the municipal court.²⁵ The independence of the town was brought by the Prussian Municipal Ordinance announced on 19 October 1808, which abolished the division of cities in the kingdom into those directly dependent on the state and private cities.²⁶

Despite the fact that Łobez was a private town for most of its existence, it used its own municipal insignia, and above all the seal, which differed in appearance from the owner's coat of arms. As it has already been stated above, the first mention of the town council having its own seal dates back to 1285,²⁷ and another to 1369.²⁸ Unfortunately, the first of these documents is known only from a copy, while the original of the second of these documents lacks the seal of Łobez which has been destroyed.

The oldest descriptions of the Łobez seal known in the literature refer to the first half of the 15th century. Information about the first one is quoted by Georg Sello, who refers to a letter from Greifswald Professor Albert Georg Schwarz²⁹ dated 1745. The eighteenth-century researcher claimed in it that he had a traced copy of the town's seal attached to a document from 1420. This seal was supposed to depict a crowned

22 UBB, Bd. I, no. 235.

23 Ibidem, 240.

24 Gustav Kratz, *Die Städte der Provinz Pommern. Abriss ihrer Geschichte, zumeist nach Urkunden* (Berlin: In Commission bei A. Bath, 1865), 242.

25 Ludwig Wilhelm Brüggemann, *Ausführliche Beschreibung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes des Königl. Preussischen Herzogtums Vor- und Hinter-Pommern*, II. Teil, 1. Bd.: *Beschreibung der zu dem Gerichtsbezirk der Königl. Landeskollegien in Stettin gehörigen Kreise* (Stettin: gedruckt bey H. G. Effenbart [...], 1784), 322.

26 Alfred Wielopolski, *Ustrój polityczny Pomorza Zachodniego w XIX wieku* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1965), 53–54.

27 PUB, Bd. VI, no. 4002.

28 UBB, Bd. I, no. 235.

29 Theodor Pyl, "Schwarz, Albert Georg," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 33 (1891), 223–226.

fox (sic!) and bear the inscription: *Sigillum burgensium in Labes*.³⁰ Another description of the seal of Łobez attached to a document from 1450 was provided by Otto Hupp. This researcher also knew this seal only from a copy traced by another 18th-century scholar, Johann C. Oelrichs. According to this drawing, the seal bore the inscription: +SECRET:CIVITAT:LABSS (diameter 40 mm) and depicted a wolf with a marked collar around its neck (fig. 1a).³¹ However, both of these descriptions – based on 18th-century sources – seem to be somewhat false. In Schwarz's description, objections are raised by the inscription in which the modern form of the town's name, i.e. "Labes" is surprising, whereas in medieval written sources the dominant form is "Lobese" or "Lobeze". In the case of Oelrichs's drawing, in turn, the existence of a collar on the wolf's neck is hardly credible, as it is certainly absent from the traced copy presented in *Apparatus sigillorum* (fig. 1b). It seems that this addition may be an extrapolation of the appearance of the Borks' coat of arms in the times when the drawing was created. In the 18th century, the Bork wolves actually did have collars on their necks, but this element was not featured on family seals until the 16th century.³² Therefore, it could not appear on the municipal seal in the 15th century.

Despite these reservations, it seems that the image of the wolf could have been included in it from the very beginning of the town's seal. The oldest preserved family seal of Borko himself already depicted two wolves – one above the other (fig. 2). At the beginning of the 14th century, crowns also appeared above the heads of these wolves (fig. 3, 4). Particular attention should be paid here to a fragment of Bork's seal from 1333 and 1338 (fig. 3). The oldest preserved impressions of the town's seal, which were found during the archival research, come from the mid-16th century.³³ They depict a leaping crowned wolf placed on a base, possibly with waves marked below it.³⁴ The stamp which made the impressions, however, seems to be much older and may originate from the 14th century. This seal is round with a diameter of 38 mm. The seal inscription was made with a capital majuscule typical of the 14th century with a characteristic round E and reads: +S:CIVITATIS:LOBEZE (fig. 5). A very similar typeface and spelling of the local name can also be found on the above-mentioned seal of Bork from 1333 and 1338. The silhouette of a wolf in the town's *sigillum* was also stylised in a similar way as on the seal of Bork. The same image appeared on the next known

30 UBB, Bd. I, 96–97.

31 Hupp, *Die Wappen*, 11.

32 UBB, Bd. I, 21.

33 AP Szczecin, Sąd Nadworny w Stargardzie (the Ducal Court of Justice in Stargard), ref. no. 506, no pagination (1550), ref. no. 516, no pagination (1553), ref. no. 565, no pagination (1569, 1572). This seal has not been recorded in the literature.

34 They are only visible on the impression of 1572.

seal, the oldest impression of which dates back to 1630,³⁵ and the last recorded to 1748 and 1750.³⁶ This seal, with the inscription +LABESS.SIGILLUM.CIVITATIS (26 mm), depicts a crowned wolf striding to the heraldic left (sinister) (fig. 6).

New stamps with a modified seal image appeared in the second half of the 18th century. In three of them, a new element appeared in the seal field in the form of the date 1400 placed above the crowned striding wolf. Compared to the earlier period, the waves of the river at the base of the field have also been replaced by a grassy hill. On all three, the inscription is placed in a semicircle above the drawing and reads SIGILLUM CIVITATIS LABES. Two of these seals – recorded in the literature – have an oval shape (30x27 mm and 23x21 mm, respectively) (fig. 7, 8)³⁷ while the third one is probably round (approx. 21 mm).³⁸

In 1777, another new oval stamp (26x23 mm) was made with the inscription [rosette] SIGILLUM:CIVITATIS:LABES [rosette] 1777 (fig. 9).³⁹ A heraldic shield was placed in the seal field, on which a crowned wolf was depicted on a grassy base, walking towards the heraldic right (dexter) side. Above the shield there is also an additional crown with seven (five?) fleurons. This seal was still in use in the 19th century – with a fairly high frequency until the mid-1820's, but occasionally also later.⁴⁰

At that time, Ludwik W. Brüggemann wrote that “Das Wapen der Stadt bestehet in einem gekrönten laufenden Wolfe.”⁴¹ On one of the seals, hatching is visible in the seal field, which indicated that the tincture of the field of the coat of arms was gold.⁴² However, all tinctures of the coat of arms were shown only in 1885 in the “New Siebmacher” in the volume devoted to cities, in which it was stated that since the running wolf comes from the Bork coat of arms, it must be red and placed in a gold field.⁴³

35 AP Szczecin, Archiwum Książąt Szczecińskich (the Archives of the Dukes of Szczecin, hereinafter AKS), ref. no. II/2052, f. 30.

36 Gumowski, “Pieczęcie i herby,” 125; AP Szczecin, AKS, ref. no. I/5811, f. 9.

37 AP Szczecin, Zbiór pieczęci i tłoków pieczętnych (Collection of seals and stamps) – seal impressions, coffer II (hereinafter: Collection of seals), No. 274, 276; UBB, Bd. I, 97; Gumowski, “Pieczęcie i herby,” 125–126. According to information from Sello, the stamp of the smaller seal (fig. 8) still existed even at the beginning of the 20th century (UBB, Bd. I, 97), and the seal itself was still used by the town in 1824. AP Szczecin, Rejencja Szczecińska (the Regency of Stettin, hereinafter: RS), ref. no. I/3219, f. 6, f. 12; ref. no. I/2666, f. 16).

38 In the sources found, this seal was used as a closing seal and all its impressions have been broken, which makes it difficult to determine its shape. The seal was found on documents from 1789–1802. AP Szczecin, AKS, ref. no. I/5818, f. 247 (1789); ref. no. I/5819: f. 32, 58, 59 (1790), f. 261 (1797); ref. no. I/5820: f. 321 (1801), f. 380, 381 (1802).

39 Hupp, *Die Wappen*, 11; Gumowski, “Pieczęcie i herby,” 127; AP Szczecin, Collection of seals, no. 275.

40 AP Szczecin, RS, ref. no. I/3237 (years 1815–1822), ref. no. I/2639 (years 1812–1823), ref. no. I/3225 (1887).

41 Brüggemann, *Ausführliche*, 324.

42 AP Szczecin, AKS, ref. no. I/5818, f. 247.

43 *J. Siebmacher's*, 151.

This is how it was presented in the illustration included in the present study, where the colours were rendered using conventional graphic signs (fig. 14). These colours were recorded in the municipal armorial of Otto Hupp⁴⁴ (fig. 15). The coat of arms of Łobez has been presented in the same colours in all subsequent heraldic publications created after 1945.

The source material presented so far shows, in fact, the permanence of the image on the seal as well as the coat of arms of Łobez in the period when the town was in private hands. It is an abated knightly coat of arms of the town's owners. In the context of mutual relations between the town and its direct overlords, the iconography of the seal indicates the town's dependence on its owner and founder. Emblems of knightly owners were a typical image in the insignia of medieval private towns, most often in combination with other iconographic motifs symbolising other elements important for medieval cities, such as city walls, patron saints or symbols related to their natural and economic landscape. In the case of Łobez, such an element is the waves at the base of the seal's field, which symbolise the River Rega flowing through the town as a characteristic element of the landscape.

From the point of view of mutual relations between the town council and its owners, however, the changes that occur in the seal image in the mid-18th century are more interesting. The newly added element on the seals which draws special attention is the date 1400, which appeared almost throughout the entire subsequent period, until 1945. Marian Gumowski, who did not know the history of the town very well, considered this date mysterious and tried to relate it to the extinction of the Bork family,⁴⁵ although – as we know – this family lives to this day. The mystery of this date was to some extent solved by the German historian of the town, Ernst Zernickow, who linked it with the oldest document kept in the municipal archives of Łobez. It was a transumpt issued by Duke Bogislaw XIV in 1623, in which the duke confirmed an older document issued by nine representatives of the Bork family as a confirmation of all previous privileges, rights and possessions. In the transumpt, this document was dated 3 May 1400. In the opinion of the town's inhabitants, it was also the oldest historically confirmed date in the history of Łobez, and therefore it was placed on the seal and in the coat of arms.⁴⁶ The date 1400 was not removed from the seal image or the coat of arms, when the research of historians from the late 19th century showed that the confirmation of the town's rights made by the Borks was rather issued in 1460.⁴⁷

44 Hupp, *Die Wappen*, 11; idem, *Deutsche*.

45 Gumowski, "Pieczęcie i herby," 125–126. On p. 127, he writes that the last of the family was Sidonia von Borcke, which is obviously a mistake.

46 Zernickow, *Geschichte*, 14–15.

47 Kratz, *Die Städte*, 241; UBB, Bd. I, 331; UBB, Bd. II, 151.

The appearance of this date on civic seals in the mid-18th century seems to be no accident. It is not only about the desire of the townspeople of Łobez to refer to the oldest history of the town, as Zernickow interpreted this addition on the seals and in the coat of arms. The introduction of the date 1400 in the field of the seal can be associated with a great dispute between the town council of Łobez and the owners of the town, i.e. the von Borcke family, which began in 1750 and lasted formally until 1753, but effectively ended only in 1777.⁴⁸ The main issue was the method of selecting and approving the new managing mayor, whom the townspeople wanted to elect independently without any involvement of the town's owners. As an argument in the dispute, the town used the transumpt from 1623, in which the privilege dated back to 1400 was repeated.⁴⁹ The new seals, in which this date was placed, seem to be a propaganda element of the fight waged by the town, and especially by the new mayor – Johann Gottfried Severin (elected in 1752), with the line of the von Borcke family, to which Łobez belonged.

A unique seal made in 1777 can also be hypothetically associated with Johann Gottfried Severin. His figure seems to be extremely interesting in the history of the eighteenth-century Łobez, although it requires more detailed research. However, even the analysis of the letters preserved in connection with the above-mentioned dispute shows that he played a huge role as mayor in the conflict with the Borks. He attempted to secure more funding from the owners to maintain order and security in the town, and he even informed the king himself about the despicable condition of Łobez during his visit to Stargard in 1774. There are many indications that Severin proved at least “a great nuisance” for the Borks. However, to explain the seal with the date 1777 (fig. 9) the most significant fact to take into account is that Johann Gottfried Severin died on the night of 8/9 February 1777.⁵⁰ The process of selecting a new mayor then began, and Samuel Jancke was elected on 1 May 1777. However, it took almost two months for the Borks to approve this result.⁵¹ In the absence of direct information, the making of a new stamp can only be hypothetically related to these events. However, both the date placed in the rim and the appearance of the seal image itself – a wolf placed in the field of the shield topped with a crown – suggest that it was created this time on the initiative of the von Borcke family, the owners of Łobez, and was a propaganda response to the seals with the date 1400.

The date 1400 – although it no longer performed a propaganda function – was on the new seals of Łobez, which were created in the 19th and 20th centuries. None of them

48 AP Szczecin, AKS, ref. no. I/5809, I/5811, passim. Cf. Brüggemann, *Ausführliche*, 322; Heinrich Berghaus, *Landbuch des Herzogthums Pommern und des Fürstenthums Rügen*, II. Teil, Bd. VII (Berlin–Wriesen a/O.: Verlag von F. Riemschneider, 1874), 135.

49 AP Szczecin, AKS, ref. no. I/5809, 29–36.

50 Ibidem, 122–129.

51 Ibidem, 130–162.

was a heraldic seal and all were based on 18th-century *sigilla*. They differed only in shape and small details of the drawing. For the mid-nineteenth century, fragments of a seal with the inscription [...] STADTVORORDNETEN [...] were found, displaying the date 1400 and a crowned wolf's head facing the right (heraldic dexter) side.⁵² In the years 1900–1924, an oval seal measuring 29x27 mm with the inscription: MAGISTRAT DES STADT LABES in a solid line frame in a semicircle above the figure was used. In the seal's field, on a grassy base, there was a crowned wolf striding to the right with its tongue sticking out, above it 1400 (the number one resembles a minuscule T) (fig. 10).⁵³ In November 1924, the first use of a new round seal (28 mm) has been noted. Compared to the previous seal, the differences consisted in the correct drawing of the digits in the date 1400, the lack of the wolf's tongue outstretched and the lack of clearly marked grass (fig. 11). The use of this seal has been registered until 1932.⁵⁴

The inhabitants and the local authorities of Łobez treated the chronological element as part of the image of the coat of arms, which is clearly visible on the 20th century municipal substitute money issued in the 1920's (fig. 12) or in the tradition nurtured by the pre-war German inhabitants of the town displaced after World War II, who – in the publication of 1971 entitled *Labes – unsere liebe Heimatstadt* published by Heimatfreunde der Kreisstadt Labes in Pommern – in the field of the coat of arms also placed the date of the supposedly oldest document confirming the rights and privileges of the town (fig. 13). The date in the shield field of the Łobez coat of arms also appeared in the so-called New Siebmacher (*Neuer Siebmacher*), in a volume published in 1885 devoted to municipal coats of arms (fig. 14). Only Otto Hupp, in his 1898 armorial, removed the date 1400 from the coat of arms of Łobez,⁵⁵ which had an impact on the appearance of the town's coat of arms in the period after World War II.

What happened to the seals and coat of arms of Łobez after 1945, of course, resulted from the aforementioned political changes, as well as changes in the ethnos in the so-called Recovered Territories. Therefore, the coat of arms of Łobez disappeared from the municipal seals at the end of World War II. In the initial period – until 1950 – authorities could still use the coats of arms of their cities on official seals, but this was not the case in Łobez. The first post-war seals of Łobez had a round shape (40 mm), with the following inscription in the rim: ● ZARZĄD MIEJSKI ● in Łobez, and in the seal field the emblem of the state coat of arms.⁵⁶ From 1948, a different seal was used, adapted to the then more common oval form (25x35 mm), in which in the seal field there

52 Ibidem, ref. no. I/3221, f. 17 (1845), 202 (1851).

53 Ibidem, ref. no. I/3223, I/3222, I/3231, I/3233, I/ 3226, I/3230.

54 Ibidem, ref. no. I/3226 (f. 133: first use), I/3230, I/3231, I/3235, I/3234, I/3223.

55 Hupp, *Die Wappen*, 11. Similarly, Kratz, *Die Städte*, 240.

56 AP Szczecin, Urząd Wojewódzki Szczeciński (Voivodeship Office of Szczecin, hereinafter: UWS), ref. no. 2298, 2376 (annual reports of the Municipal Board in Łobez for the years 1946, 1947).

was an image of the state eagle at the top, and an inscription ZARZĄD – MIEJSKI – in Łobez below.⁵⁷ The Act of 20 March 1950 on local bodies of the unitary state authorities (Dz.U. [Journal of Laws] of 1950, No. 14, item 130) abolished local municipal self-government while introducing municipal authorities to the system of state national councils, which was manifested by seals deprived of municipal coats of arms, replaced by the state coat of arms.⁵⁸

This legal situation lasted until 1990, when, after the breakthrough of 1989, the local self-government was restored and, along with it, its right to officially use its own symbols in the form of e.g., a coat of arms and a seal with the coat of arms,⁵⁹ although the coat of arms itself was known and appeared in various armorials published in Poland in the post-war period. The first drawing of the town's coat of arms was published in 1960 by Marian Gumowski in his work entitled *Herby miast polskich (Coats of arms of Polish cities)*. The red wolf in a golden crown was probably modelled on seals originating from the early 20th century. It was neither a running wolf (as in modern descriptions or medieval seals) nor a leaping wolf (as in the widespread version of the coat of arms by Otto Hupp), but a striding wolf – standing on green grass with three paws, and with a raised front paw signalling a move forward (fig. 16).⁶⁰ Equally unusual was the emblem of Łobez coat of arms in the study from 1963, entitled *Polskie herby miejskie (Polish municipal coats of arms)*. Here a red running wolf is shown, but instead of a green hill, a green base was drawn. The wolf is also not crowned, because the gold open crown was placed loose above his head (fig. 17).⁶¹

However, the extensive publication entitled *Miasta polskie w Tysiącleciu (Polish Cities in the Millennium)*, which was issued in 1966–1967, had a much greater impact on the appearance of the Łobez emblem and the entire municipal coat of arms. Its second volume discusses the then Szczecin Voivodeship, in which Łobez was located. The image of the Łobez coat of arms placed there had been modelled on the coat of arms by Otto Hupp, although it differed from it in details. It depicted a leaping red wolf in a golden field on a green hill with its tail tucked, wearing a golden three-point open crown (fig. 18). The coats of arms presented in the aforementioned publication became models of official

57 AP Szczecin, UWS, ref. no. 2634, 3134 (annual reports of the Municipal Board in Łobez for the years 1948, 1949).

58 Marek Adamczewski, *Pieczęcie urzędowe władz lokalnych z obszaru Polski centralnej, cz. 3. Pieczęcie władz miejskich do 1950 roku* (Zgierz: Marek Adamczewski, 2010), 296, 301.

59 Wojciech Drelicharz, Zenon Piech, "Podstawy prawne symboliki samorządowej III Rzeczypospolitej," in: *Współczesna heraldyka samorządowa i jej problemy*, ed. Wojciech Drelicharz, Zenon Piech (Kraków: Oficyna Cracovia Sp. z o. o., 2000), 19–20.

60 Gumowski, *Herby*, 227. The information about the origins of the town is entirely wrong.

61 The editor of the study was Tomasz Szczechura, a historian, researcher of the peasant movement, not specialising in heraldry. The graphic design was provided by the graphic artist Ryszard Sidorowski, who had no competence in the field of heraldry, either. The graphic shortcomings of this study are quite characteristic (the lack of outlines is immediately noticeable).

insignia for Polish cities, which wanted to use their coats of arms in the period of the Polish People's Republic, for example for promotional purposes. This drawing was also repeated in two subsequent heraldic publications created after 1989 – in the study by Tadeusz Białecki *Herby miast Pomorza Zachodniego (Coats of arms of the cities of Western Pomerania)* from 1991 as well as in Andrzej Plewako and Józef Wanag's *Herbarz miast polskich (Armorial of Polish cities)* from 1994.⁶²

When in May 1990 the Act of 8 March 1990 on local government came into force (since 1998 with the title amended to the Act on commune self-government),⁶³ the town council in Łobez on 10 July 1990 passed a resolution on the coat of arms of the town and commune, under which “a red wolf in a golden crown standing on its hind paws against a yellow-green background” was recognised as the coat of arms.⁶⁴ The image of the coat of arms – incorrectly blazoned in the resolution – was presented in the attachment (fig. 19) and was approved in all subsequent statutes of the commune – from 1990, 1996 and 2000. In this form, the coat of arms functioned until 2017. In October 2016, a resolution was adopted to establish the Honorary Medal “of Merit for the Łobez Commune,” (Medal Honorowy “Zasłużony dla Gminy Łobez”) which was to feature the coat of arms of Łobez on the obverse. Pursuant to the applicable regulations, the design of the medal was sent for the opinion of the Heraldic Commission functioning since January 2000 at the Ministry of the Interior and Administration of the Republic of Poland. The Commission rejected the design of the medal mainly due to the lack of its positive opinion on the appearance of the town's coat of arms. For this reason, the beginning of 2017 was spent on the efforts of the council members of Łobez to secure a positive opinion of the commission, which was finally obtained in July 2017.⁶⁵ On 31 August 2017, once again after 1989, the municipal council in Łobez passed a resolution on the town's coat of arms, the appendix to which shows a coat of arms modelled on the image from 1967 (fig. 20)⁶⁶ In this form, the town's coat of arms is still valid today.

In the light of the collected material, in the case of the symbols of Łobez – private town of the Bork family – despite the constant clashes between the superior authority and the townspeople as well as municipal authorities, one can observe the stability

62 Tadeusz Białecki, *Herby miast Pomorza Zachodniego* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Polskie Pismo i Książka, 1991), insert before p. 81; Andrzej Plewako, Józef Wanag, *Herbarz miast polskich* (Warszawa: Arkady, 1994), 117 (wrong spelling of the von Borcke family name).

63 Dz. U. (Journal of Laws) of 1990, No. 16, item 95; Dz.U. of 1998, No. 162, item 1126.

64 Uchwała nr IV/23/90 Rady Gminy i Miasta w Łobzie z dnia 10 lipca 1990 r. w sprawie ustalenia herbu gminy i miasta Łobez (Resolution No. IV/23/90 of the Commune and Town Council in Łobez of 10 July 1990 on establishing the coat of arms of the commune and town of Łobez), paragraph 1.

65 *Herb i Flaga*, accessed 5.05.2022, <https://lobez.pl/herb-i-flaga.html>.

66 Uchwała nr XXXIII/257/2017 Rady Miejskiej w Łobzie z dnia 31 sierpnia 2017 r. w sprawie ustanowienia herbu i flagi Gminy Łobez oraz zasad ich używania [Resolution No. XXXIII/257/2017 of the Town Council in Łobez of 31 August 2017 on establishing the coat of arms and flag of the Łobez Commune and the rules for their use].

of the seal's image and the emblem. The abated coat of arms of the Borks, introduced at the beginning, remained unchanged for years, just as the town was invariably owned by the same Pomeranian gentry family. Interference in the appearance of the seal's image, and then also the coat of arms, was caused only by a dispute between the two authorities in the mid-18th century, in which the then managing mayor, Johann Gottfried Severin, played a leading role. As a result, the date of the privilege that was used in the dispute was added to the seal and coat of arms. And although in the next century the meaning of this date was no longer known, it was still used in urban sigillography and heraldry. This was still the case when, at the end of the 19th century, Otto Hupp's civic armorial was issued, showing an undated coat of arms, and also when it was established that the privilege itself had rather been issued in 1460. This constancy seems to indicate that the local community was attached to the old image, treated it as a memory of the past and did not intend to change it despite the opinion of heraldists.

However, the situation after 1945 was different. First of all, the town's sigillography was obviously dominated by the state emblem, which resulted from the anti-self-government system of the People's Republic of Poland and the takeover of power at all levels by the authorities representing the state. Secondly, in terms of the municipal coat of arms, its image also remained outside the sphere of interest of the local community, which consisted of the Polish ethnos not related to the traditions of the place in any way. In this case, however, the image of the coat of arms was shaped by professional heraldists who based their work on the most famous armorial of the German period, i.e., on Hupp's armorial. And since the coats of arms presented in the publication *Miasta polskie w Tysiącleciu* were of the greatest importance for the post-war city heraldry in Poland, the image shown in it – closely modelled on Hupp's drawing – eventually became the coat of arms of Łobez, still used today and approved by the Heraldic Commission at the Ministry of Interior and Administration.

The conclusions formulated in this article, concerning only one private town in the former Duchy of Pomerania, and then in the Province of Pomerania, and finally in Western Pomerania, obviously do not allow for a conclusion of a general nature. Emphasising its dependence on the owner, or the lack of much interest on the part of local government authorities both in the German and Polish period, do not need to be binding conclusions for all coats of arms of private cities – and not only – in the area of Western Pomerania. It is clear that formulating general conclusions requires further in-depth research on seals and coats of arms of private cities and towns, which in relation to the present findings will allow in the future to create statements regarding seals and coats of arms as media of social communication both in the German and Polish periods.

Illustrations



a)



b)



Figure 2. Seal of Borko from 1282 (UBB, Bd. I, p. 72)

Figure 1. Traced copies of the oldest seals of Łobez in 18th-century scientific collections: a) Traced copy in the collection of J. Oelrichs (GStA PK, VIII. HA, I.9 Slg. Otto Hupp, Kasten I, Heft 12); b) Traced copy in Apparatus sigillorum (LAG, Rep. 41 Plathe, ref. no. I 41, p. 26)



Figure 3. Seal of Borko from 1333 and 1338 (UBB, Bd. I, p. 340 and Siegeltafel II, no. 2)

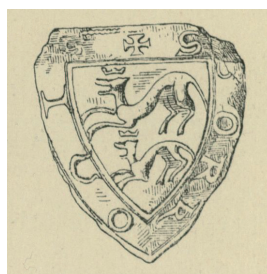


Figure 4. Seal of Borko from 1327 and 1338 (UBB, Bd. I, p. 340 and Siegeltafel II, no. 3)



Figure 5. Impression of the 14th-century seal of Łobez in documents from the 16th century (AP Szczecin, Sąd Nadworny w Stargardzie [the Ducal Court of Justice in Stargard], ref. no. 565)



a)



b)



c)

Figure 6. Seal of Łobez from the 17th–18th century a) Impression from 1630 (AP Szczecin, AKS, ref. no. II/2052, f. 30); b) Traced copy in the collection of J. Oelrichs (GStA PK, VIII. HA, I.9 Slg. Otto Hupp, Kasten I, Heft 12); c) Traced copy in Apparatus sigillorum (LAG, Rep. 41 Plathe, ref. no. I 41, p. 26)



Figure 7. Seal of Łobez from the 18th century (AP Szczecin, Zbiór pieczęci i tłoków pieczętnych [Collection of seals and stamps] – seal impressions, coffer II, no. 274)



Figure 8. Seal of Łobez from the 18th century (GStA PK, VIII. HA, I.9 Slg. Otto Hupp, Kasten I, Heft 12)



Figure 9. Seal of Łobez from 1777 (AP Szczecin, RS, ref. no. 3237, p. 62: impression from 1818)



Figure 10. Seal of Łobez from 1900–1924 (AP Szczecin, RS, ref. no. I/3326, 11)



Figure 11. Seal of Łobez from 1924–1932 (AP Szczecin, RS, ref. no. I/3231, 446)



Figure 12. Substitute money of Łobez from 1921 (accessed 23.12.2016, www.flickr.com/photos/94791180@N06/12908336353)



Figure 13. Coat of arms of Łobez according to Labes – unsere liebe Heimatstadt. Kreisstadt des Kreises Regenwalde. Stadt des Pommerschen Landgestüts (Bd. 1, hrsg. v. F. Wilke, Lübeck 1971)

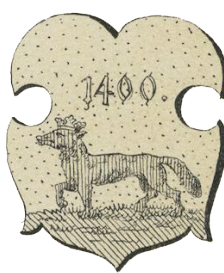


Figure 14. Coat of arms of Łobez according to "New Siebmacher" from 1885 (J. Siebmacher's, table 181)



Figure 15. Coat of arms of Łobez in the study by O. Hupp from 1898 (Die Wappen, 12)



Figure 16. Coat of arms of Łobez in the study by M. Gumowski from 1960 (Herby, 227)



Figure 17. Coat of arms of Łobez in the study Polskie herby miejskie from 1963 (table 25)

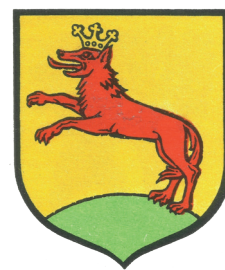


Figure 18. Coat of arms of Łobez in the study Miasta polskie w Tysiącleciu from 1967 (vol. II, table CI)



Figure 19. Coat of arms of Łobez according to the design from 1990 (Załącznik do Uchwały nr IV/23/90 Rady Gminy i Miasta w Łobzie z dnia 10 lipca 1990 r. w sprawie ustalenia herbu gminy i miasta Łobez [Appendix to Resolution No. IV/23/90 of the Commune and Town Council in Łobez of 10 July 1990 on establishing the coat of arms of the commune and town of Łobez])



Figure 20. Coat of arms of Łobez according to the design from 2017 (Załącznik do Uchwały nr XXXIII/257/2017 Rady Miejskiej w Łobzie z dnia 31 sierpnia 2017 r. w sprawie ustanowienia herbu i flagi Gminy Łobez oraz zasad ich używania [Appendix to Resolution No. XXXIII/257/2017 of the Town Council in Łobez of 31 August 2017 on establishing the coat of arms and flag of the Łobez Commune and the rules for their use])

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English version: Radosław Dolecki, Mark Atkinson

SUMMARY

The aim of the present article is to answer the question about the functioning of seal images and coats of arms of private towns in Western Pomerania. Achieving this goal – given the current state of research – is possible only through the use of the case study method, which, owing to the analysis of all available sources, can reveal the intentions of the creators of civic seals, primarily in the early modern period. The seals and coat of arms of one of the Pomeranian private towns – Łobez were selected for the analysis. As a result of the analysis, it has been established that the seal of Łobez manifested the dependence of the town on the owner, but in the 18th century it was used in the propaganda actions related to the struggle for independence from the gentry family von Borcke. The chronological element added at that time proved to be long-lasting still in the times when Łobez became a royal town after 1808. The date was removed from the field of the coat of arms only after 1945, when the German population was replaced by the Polish population.

Z dziejów sfragistyki i heraldyki miast prywatnych na Pomorzu Zachodnim. Studium przypadku pieczęci i herbu Łobza

Słowa kluczowe: heraldyka miejska, Pomorze Zachodnie, pieczęć miejska, Łobez

STRESZCZENIE

Celem artykułu jest odpowiedź na pytanie o funkcjonowanie wyobrażeń napieczętnych i herbów miast prywatnych na Pomorzu Zachodnim. Osiągnięcie tego celu – przy obecnym stanie badań – możliwe jest jedynie poprzez wykorzystanie metody *case study*, która dzięki analizie przeprowadzonej w oparciu o wszystkie dostępne źródła może pokazać intencje twórców pieczęci miejskich, przede wszystkim w okresie wczesnonowożytnym. Do analizy wybrano pieczęć i herb jednego z pomorskich miast prywatnych – Łobza. W wyniku analizy ustalono, że pieczęć Łobza pokazywała zależność miasta od właściciela, ale w XVIII w. wykorzystana została do propagandowej walki o niezależność od szlacheckiego rodu v. Borcke. Dodany wówczas element chronologiczny wykazał także dużą trwałość już w czasach, gdy Łobez stał się miastem królewskim po 1808 r. Usunięcie daty z pola herbu nastąpiło dopiero w okresie po 1945 r., kiedy ludność niemiecka zastąpiona została ludnością polską.

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Carina Damm

Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe (GWZO),

Leipzig

carina.damm@leibniz-gwzo.de

ORCID: 0000-0002-7981-8520

Textually Invisible? *Emporia* on the Southern Shore of the Baltic in Scandinavian Medieval Sources

Keywords: emporia, early medieval trade, Viking Age, Old Norse literature, slavery

Introduction

Exchange, hostile conflicts, but also hospitality have connected the populations of the Southern Baltic region since prehistoric times. For the early medieval period (c. 400–1000), the most evocative elements of these processes are no doubt the trading places along the Slavic Baltic coast in today's territories of Schleswig, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania of which, at present, sixteen have been identified.¹ Starting with Janów Pomorski as the easternmost point and ending with Hedeby in the west, these places specialising in craft production and trade were being founded from the early eighth century onwards.²

Whereas such archaeologically well-researched Viking-Age trading sites as Kołobrzeg, Groß Strömkendorf or Wolin form an excellent source for the presence of Scandinavians on the southern shore of the Baltic and their material culture, the sparse

¹ These are, starting in the east, Janów Pomorski (Truso), Gdańsk, Puck, Bardy-Świelubie, Kołobrzeg, Kamień Pomorski, Wolin, Szczecin, Usedom, Menzlin, Ralswiek, Rostock-Dierkow, Groß Strömkendorf, Alt Lübeck and Starigard/Oldenburger. In addition to the classification by Hauke Jöns and Sebastian Messal, I am including Hedeny/Schleswig as a vital *emporium* in the Slavic territory. See: Hauke Jöns and Sebastian Messal, "Neue Forschungen zur Struktur mittelalterlicher Hafenanlagen an der südwestlichen Ostseeküste," in: *Economies, Monetisation and Society in the West Slavic Lands 800–1200 AD*, eds. Mateusz Bogucki, Marian Rębkowski (Szczecin: Muzeum Narodowe w Szczecinie, 2013), 26; as well as Hauke Jöns and Anna Kowalska, "Scandinavians on the Southern Baltic Coast," in: *Vikings Across Boundaries. Viking-Age Transformations*, vol. 2, eds. Hanne Lovise Aannestad et al. (London/New York: Routledge, 2021), 47.

² Jöns and Kowalska, "Scandinavians," 43.

contemporary textual sources on Slavic-Nordic relations in the region provide only a few mosaic stones that at first can hardly be assembled into a more illuminating picture. Therefore, it is no surprise that in the latest volume on Scandinavian cultural elements in medieval Poland, textual sources do not feature prominently.³ If the southern Baltic shore is at all studied from the viewpoint of mobility, the focus is rather on the eastern colonisation by German settlers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and to the concomitant processes of acculturation and assimilation of the Slavic populations.⁴ Those processes, in turn, accelerated the emergence of a peculiar intercultural sphere known as *Germanica Slavica*, a term coined by the historian Wolfgang H. Fritze in the 1950s, that recently has found a counterpart in the concept of *Slavia Germanica* introduced by Polish research.⁵ Whereas the latter term refers to modern history and is preoccupied with the analysis of archival evidence in the field of cultural studies, *Germania Slavica* serves as a backdrop to investigate the Middle Ages between the rivers Elbe and Saale, and the area's material, onomastic, and textual sources.⁶ The latter evidence suggests a strong Scandinavian agency for territorial claims and hegemony, visible, for instance, in the report of the *Royal Frankish Annals* under the year 808. The source reports on how the Danish king Gudfred (Gøtrik) destroyed the Abodrite emporium Reric (i.e., Groß Strömkendorf near Wismar) and resettled its merchants to Sliesthorp/Hedeby in his own sphere of influence.⁷ However, Scandinavian groups were only one of the many players within the social and trading networks of the early medieval Baltic. From the Anglo-Saxon traveller Wulfstan, who sailed the shores of the southern Baltic for seven days and nights around the year 880, we learn the Old English name for that area: *Weonoðland*, a term reminiscent of the later *Vinðland* ("land of the Wends", i.e., Western Slavs) of the Old Norse accounts from medieval Iceland and Norway. What remains puzzling is that Hedeby (in southern Jutland) and Truso (in the Slavic-Prussian borderland, commonly placed in today's Janów Pomorski near

3 See: Sławomir Moździoch, Błażej Stanisławski, Przemysław Wiszewski, eds. *Scandinavian Culture in Medieval Poland* (Wrocław: Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, 2013).

4 See: Immanuel Ness, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration* (Chichester; Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

5 On the terminology, see: Christian Lübke, "Östliches Europa (Kolonisationen)," in: *Migrationen im Mittelalter: Ein Handbuch*, ed., Michael Borgolte (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 181–192.

6 Jörg Hackmann, "From Germania Slavica to Slavia Germanica?," *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana* 2 (2017) 22: 132.

7 Einhard, "Annales regni Francorum," in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum Scholarum* 6, ed. Friedrich Kurze (Hannover: Hahn 1895), 126; Christian Lübke, "Die Beziehungen zwischen Elb- und Ostseeslawen und Dänen vom 9. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert: Eine andere Option elbslawischer Geschichte?," in: *Zwischen Reric und Bornhöved. Die Beziehungen zwischen den Dänen und ihren slawischen Nachbarn vom 9. bis ins 13. Jh.*, eds. Ole Harck, Christian Lübke (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001), 24–25.

Elbląg) are the only trading settlements mentioned by Wulfstan on his journey. The same problem arises when studying the Old Norse source corpus: these narratives, too, name only two trading settlements in the Slavic lands, again Hedeby (ON *Heiðabýr*/*Heiðabœr*/*Slésvík*) and Wolin (ON *Jóm*/*Jómsborg*) at the bank of the Oder River.

Why, then, one might ask, both Wulfstan and the medieval writers of the North omitted the other numerous *emporia* identified by the archaeologists? The aim of this article is thus, first, to review the extant textual sources on the *emporia* Hedeby and Wolin and to contrast them, in a second step, with archaeological data.⁸ A third task consists in a more thorough analysis of the abundant Old Norse literary material on Slavic-Scandinavian encounters at the southern shore of the Baltic during the early medieval period. Considering the existence of Western *emporia* such as Dorestad or Quentovic,⁹ further questions arise regarding the economic relevance that can be attributed to the Scandinavian settlements along the Southern Baltic and what additional information we can deduce to that respect from the written sources. In attempting this, it will first be necessary to put a new focus on the Baltic, and second, to overcome the division of sources by combining the rich literary material from the high medieval North with latest archaeological insights, especially the inflow in silver and the trade in slaves.

What were the *emporia*?

In order to answer the above-outlined questions, it is necessary to discuss the characteristics of the *emporia* within the early medieval trading networks, and to link them to a broader picture of Scandinavian activities. The Latin *emporium* and its plural *emporia* stem from the Ancient Greek *τὸ ἐμπόριον*, a trading place, especially for maritime trade, and thus a term used already by Herodotus and Thucydides. From the first millennium BC, we know, for instance, of Tartessus on the southern coast of the Iberian Peninsula which flourished on the trade in metal with the Carthaginians and Phoenicians until being destroyed by the former around 550 BC.

For the discussion of *emporia*, and here specifically the sites along the Southern Baltic coast, it appears to be vital to provide a concrete definition of the term which remains, however, to be problematic. Thus, eventually, there is no consensus about what

⁸ See: e.g., Mateusz Bogucki, "On Wulfstan's Right Hand – the Viking Age Emporia in West Slav Lands," in: *From One Sea to Another. Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Conference, Comacchio, 27th–29th March 2009*, eds. Sauro Gelichi, Richard Hodges (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 81–109.

⁹ For coastal settlements on the British Isles and the continent, see: Christopher Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages, c. AD 600–1150* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 302–360.

archaeological features a place should fulfil to be labelled as an *emporium*. Following a recent definition by the archaeologist Richard Hodges, an *emporium* (or *wic*, as the Western sites were called) was a monopolistic trading centre where merchants and local craftworkers produced and sold their artefacts.¹⁰ Furthermore, they were often located in naturally protected places at the mouths of rivers, or on the border of a political or cultural community.¹¹ The artefactual evidence of burials and cemeteries points towards culturally hybrid communities that were shaped by new religious and economic practices.¹² Nodal points characterised by a particularly lively economic activity, such as Hedeby and Wolin, served as centres for the accumulation and distribution of goods, and concentrated an extraordinary number of links within a network of long-distance raiding and trading.¹³ Those hubs, as has been stressed recently by Søren M. Sindbæk, eventually made the large world of the Viking Age “small.”¹⁴

A new focus on the Baltic

The contemporary perceptions of the those seafaring Scandinavians labelled as “Vikings” are primarily shaped by Anglo-Saxon texts such as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* or the works of the English cleric Alcuin (735–804), who bemoaned in 797 the terror of a pagan people laying waste to the British shores.¹⁵ Based on these accounts, modern scholarship, in particular written in English, determined two pivotal dates framing a period of profound cultural, socio-political, and economic transformation known as the Viking Age, namely the year 793, when Scandinavian pirates assaulted the Northumbrian monastery on the island of Lindisfarne, and the year 1066, the date of the battle of Stamford Bridge between the Norwegian king Haraldr harðráði (“Hard-Ruler”, 1015–1066) and the Earl of Wessex, Harold Godwinsson (1022–1066), both claiming to be the legitimate heirs to the English throne.

10 Richard Hodges, *Dark Age Economics. The Origins of Towns and Trade, AD 600–1000* (London: Duckworth, 1982), 6.

11 Bogucki, “Wulfstan,” 82, 87.

12 Ulf Näsman, “Exchange and Politics: The Eighth–Early Ninth Century in Denmark,” in: *The Long Eighth Century: Production, Distribution and Demand*, eds. Chris Wickham, Inge Lyse Hansen (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2000), 35–68.

13 Søren M. Sindbæk, “Urbanism and Exchange in the North Atlantic/Baltic, 600–1000CE,” in: *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*, ed. Tamar Hodos (New York/London: Routledge, 2017), 556–557.

14 Søren M. Sindbæk, “The Small World of the Vikings: Networks in Early Medieval Communication and Exchange,” *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 40 (2007): 59–74.

15 “[...] et numquam talis terror prius apparuit in Brittannia ueluti modo a pagana gente perpassi sumus.” See: Colin Chase, ed. *Two Alcuin Letter-books*. Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 5, (Toronto: The Centre for Medieval Studies by the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1975), 53.

But where were the seafaring Vikings before the spring of 793? The latest archaeological research has proposed an important corrective to the Anglocentric timeframe of the Viking Age. It instead puts a new focus on the Baltic area and, more precisely, on the coastal village of Salme on the Estonian island of Saaremaa. From 2008 to 2012, rescue excavations led by Jüri Peets of Tallinn University revealed two boat burials which became the final resting place for 41 warriors.¹⁶ The richly decorated grave goods complemented by isotopic data suggest that the crew originated in the central Swedish region around lake Mälaren and met a sudden death when exploring the Estonian shores around 750. This unique find leads to nuance the narrative of a Viking Age initiated by Norse pirates raiding the British shores for material wealth and social power. Thus, as richly decorated weapons and two hawks – perhaps diplomatic gifts – suggest, Swedish elite warriors operated in the Eastern Baltic at least half a century prior to the unduly famous Lindisfarne incident. However, to merely shift the beginning of the Viking Age to the mid-eighth century would be “as arbitrary as the plunder of the monastery at Lindisfarne.”¹⁷ Thus, it remains to be explained to what extent the intensive interactions of the ninth century were based on pre-existing trading and raiding networks in the Baltic during the Vendel period (c. 600–800) that involved not only Scandinavian and Slavic but also Baltic and Finno-Ugric actors.¹⁸

As reflected in several recent publications, the finds from Salme sparked a new interest in the Baltic,¹⁹ an area that had played only a subordinate role in the scientific discourse of the past decades. This neglect – which might be explained by linguistic and political barriers in the context of the Cold War²⁰ – conflicts with the fact that the southern Baltic coast attracted for centuries mobility of various kinds. It, thus, offers an excellent background for the study of migration phenomena in general²¹ and the mobilities of early medieval Scandinavians in particular. Differently from the violent Viking incursions against the British Isles and the Frankish Empire, the rich archaeological evidence as well as a few contemporary textual sources testify to lasting cultural contacts

16 T. Douglas Price, Jüri Peets, Raili Allmäe, Liina Maldre, and Ester Oras. “Isotopic Provenancing of the Salme Ship Burials in Pre-Viking Age Estonia,” *Antiquity* 90 (2016), 352: 1022–1037. DOI: 10.15184/aqy.2016.106.

17 Julie Lund, and Søren Michael Sindbæk, “Crossing the Maelstrom: New Departures in Viking Archaeology,” *Journal of Archaeological Research* 30 (2022), 173. DOI: 10.1007/s10814-021-09163-3.

18 See: Charlotte Hedenstierna-Jonson, “Entering the Viking Age,” in: *Relations and Runes: The Baltic Islands and their Interactions during the Late Iron Age and Early Middle Ages*, eds. Charlotte Hedenstierna-Jonson, Laila Kitzler Ähfeldt, Per Widerström, Ben Raffield (Visby: Riksantikvarieämbetet, 2020), 19–20.

19 See: e.g., Moździoch et al., *Scandinavian culture*.

20 Sarah Croix, “The Vikings, Victims of their Own Success? A Selective View on Viking Research and its Dissemination,” *Danish Journal of Archaeology* 4 (2015), 1: 82–96. DOI: 10.1080/21662282.2015.1133944.

21 Oliver Auge, “Ostseeraum,” in: *Migrationen im Mittelalter: Ein Handbuch*, ed. Michael Borgolte (Berlin/München/Boston: De Gruyter, 2014), 193.

between the populations interacting in the southern Baltic Sea region.²² Archaeological finds from Mecklenburg and Pomorze dated to the seventh century indicate that Scandinavians explored the sparsely inhabited southern shore of the Baltic even before Slavic groups migrated to these regions. The earliest landing sites, prefiguring the later *emporia*, may have served as bases for fur hunting and, thus, as an economic pull-factor, although the coastal areas of the southern Baltic must have constituted a constant sphere of interest for seafarers from the North.²³

Silver flows to the North

The emergence of the *emporia* in the Baltic is associated with an intensified wave of migration from Scandinavia in the second quarter of the eighth century, with recent studies suggesting a long-lasting Scandinavian presence in the polyethnic Viking-Age trading centres of Groß Strömkendorf (Reric), Menzlin, Ralswiek on Rügen, Usedom, and Bardy/Świelubie. The economic flows that are characteristic to all *emporia*, are expressed in the numerous finds of silver dirhams that reached northern Europe in enormous quantities in the ninth and tenth centuries, according to Marek Jankowiak up to tens of millions.²⁴ Hoarded as coins, but also recast into necklaces, bracelets and ingots, silver from the Islamic world formed an important economic basis in early medieval northern Europe.²⁵

Emporia: Hubs for the slave trade?

However, both archaeological sources such as silver dirhams, iron chains and bones as well as written evidence as Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii* (c. 865–876), attest to a darker side of intercultural and economic interactions, namely the trade in slaves that has been

22 See: Leszek Gardela, "Vikings in Poland. A Critical Overview," in: *Viking Worlds: Things, Spaces and Movement*, eds. Marianne Hem Eriksen et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015), 213–234.

23 Felix Biermann, "Zentralisierungsprozesse bei den nördlichen Elbslawen," in: *Zentralisierungsprozesse und Herrschaftsbildung im frühmittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa. Studien zur Archäologie Europas 23*, ed. Przemysław Sikora (Bonn: Habelt, 2014), 162.

24 See: Marek Jankowiak, "The Flows of Dirhams to North-eastern Europe and the Rhythms of the Slave Trade with the Islamic world," in: *Viking-Age Trade: Silver, Slaves and Gotland*, eds. Jacek Gruszczyński, Jonathan Shepard, Marek Jankowiak (London/New York: Routledge, 2021), 105.

25 However, the influx of Islamic silver to the North came to an abrupt end in the mid-tenth century, that according to Marek Jankowiak led to a reorientation of the Central-European slave trade to the markets of the Iberian Peninsula, particular al-Andalus. See: Marek Jankowiak, "Two systems of trade in the Western Slavic lands in the 10th century," in: *Economies, Monetisation and Society in the West Slavic Lands*, eds. Mateusz Bogucki, Marian Rębkowski, 143–144.

used by Marek Jankowiak as the main framework to explain the massive inflow of dirhams to the Southern Baltic shores. As has been earlier evidenced by Jankowiak, this is particularly visible in the form of the Khazar dirham imitations that illustrate the slave trade between Kyivan Rus' and the Islamic world.²⁶

Abducted individuals thus provided a major object of exchange, and again, it is the *emporia* with their harbours, specialised markets, and hinterlands that served as potential hubs for the early medieval slave trade. However, silver coins were also found outside of the coastal trading sites, particularly in the large Feldberg type strongholds built in East Holstein, Mecklenburg, as well as in northern parts of Wielkopolska and Brandenburg in the ninth century. Their distribution deep within the Slavic settlement area indicates that Slavs themselves were important actors in the hunt for and trade in slaves. As Felix Biermann suggested, the threat of being captured, enslaved, and sold might also have contributed to processes of economic centralisation and social stabilisation among the Slavs in the south-western Baltic regions.²⁷ Thus, the massive fortifications appear precisely in those regions where written sources, e.g., the *Annales Regni Francorum*, indicate a political development with more complex structures, such as among the Abodrites and Wilzi in Mecklenburg and Pomerania.²⁸ In addition to the centres' peculiar economic dynamics, another characteristic is their ethnic diversity resulting from processes of exchange and cultural transfer between populations of different origins. Decisive are here mainly Nordic dress components and jewellery, but also boat burials (Groß Strömkendorf and Ralswiek) and ship-shaped Viking graves (Menzlin). Comprehensive anthropological studies on the latter revealed the stone settings as Scandinavian female graves containing numerous burial goods like Slavic pottery and Scandinavian jewellery which suggests that Slavic and Scandinavian populations practiced a peaceful "convivencia" in the Slavic settlement areas.²⁹

Taking this general outline on the characteristics of the Baltic *emporia* as a starting point, the following discussion will look more precisely into the literary and textual evidence on the cultural and economic importance of the emporium Hedeby, in order to provide a background for data gleaned from the Old Norse sources.

26 Ibidem, 140.

27 Felix Biermann, "Archaeological Evidence for Slavery Among the Early Medieval North-Western Slavs," in: *The Archaeology of Slavery in Early Medieval Northern Europe: The Invisible Commodity*, eds. Felix Biermann, Marek Jankowiak (Cham: Springer, 2021), 154.

28 Einhard, "Annales regni Francorum."

29 Magdalena Naum, "Convivencia in a Borderland: the Danish-Slavic Border in the Middle Ages," *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 28 (2013), 1: 75–93.

The emporium *Heiðabýr* in literary sources

Due to its convenient location on the inner Schlei firth, about 40 km from the Baltic Sea, Hedeby played a prominent role in the early medieval trade in the North Sea and the Baltic. At the latter's southern shores, we encounter Polabian tribes such as the Abodrites who bordered with Saxons and Franks in the south and with Frisians in the west. Constant exchange and trade determined the apparently mostly peaceful relations between Slavs and Scandinavians. Nonetheless, armed conflicts repeatedly erupted, such as in the case of the earlier mentioned destruction of Reric by the Danish petty king Gudfred which stands as a symptomatic event for the conflicts of interest in the southern Baltic region between the early ninth and the twelfth centuries.³⁰ Benefitting from the settlement of the abducted merchants from Reric, Hedeby/Schleswig quickly developed into one of the most vital trading centres in Northern Europe where goods of different kinds were exchanged, as reported already by Rimbert in his *Vita Anskarii* sometime before the year 876: "[...] in portu [...] Sliaswich vocato, ubi ex omni parte conventus fiebat negotiatorum."³¹ In the northern world, in turn, Icelandic poets, so-called skalds, and writers remembered the importance of the trading centre by applying two different names, namely *Heiðabýr* and *Heiðabær*, interchangeably. These toponyms modified the North Germanic name of the settlement **Haiþa-būwiz* ("heath-settlement") and adapted it to its own West Norse placenames with the endings *-býr*, *-bær* ("settlement"). Less commonly used is the name *Slésvík*, that – being of West Germanic origin – goes back to the toponym *Sliaswich* ("bay at the Schlei")³² and thus a name already attested in Adam of Bremen's *Gesta* that circulated in medieval Iceland.³³ However, when investigating the Old Norse source material, it often remains unclear whether *Heiðabýr* and *Slésvík* are designating the same settlement on the southern bank of the river Schlei. Thus, high medieval accounts often amalgamate the emporium *Heiðabýr* with the later *civitas* Schleswig that was built after an attack by the Norwegian king Haraldr harðráði, and the destruction by the Abodrites in 1066.³⁴

30 See: Lübke, "Beziehungen," 24.

31 "Rimberti Vita Anskarii," ch. 24, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, vol. 55, ed. Georg Waitz (Hannover: Hahn, 1884). Hedeby's attraction was only intensified when in 873 the Danish kings Sigfred and Halfdan guaranteed peaceful exchange of goods in between the bordering region between Denmark and Saxony.

32 See: Wolfgang Laur, "Sprachen, Schriften, 'Nationalitäten' in Haithabu und Schleswig," in: *Von Thorsberg nach Schleswig: Sprache und Schriftlichkeit eines Grenzgebietes im Wandel eines Jahrtausends*, eds. Klaus Düwel, Edith Marold, Christiane Zimmermann (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2001), 61–76.

33 See: "Hamborgar história," in: *Flateyjarbók: En Samling af norske Konge-Sagaer med indskudte mindre Fortællinger om Begivenheder i og udenfor Norge samt Annaler I*, eds. Guðbrandur Vigfússon, C. R. Unger (Oslo: P.T. Mallings, 1860).

34 See: Volker Hilberg, "Auf der Suche nach dem Niedergang eines Handelsplatzes: Haithabu in der jüngeren Wikingerzeit," in: *Geophysik und Ausgrabung: Einsatz und Auswertung zerstörungsfreier*

The itinerary of the Icelandic abbot Nikulás Bergsson, the so-called *Leiðarvísir*, is one of the earliest testimonies of Hedeby in Old Norse literature. This work, the title of which translates as “the guide”, describes Nikulás’ pilgrimage to Rome and the Holy Land between 1149 and 1154. It briefly names the individual stations on his path in their Old Norse form, but also lists places of legendary historical importance.³⁵ In that respect, the guide gives the following information about Hedeby:

From Norway, one must first travel to Ålborg, Denmark. So the Rome-pilgrims say that from Ålborg it is a two-day’s journey to Viborg, then it is a week’s journey to Hedeby, then it is a short journey to Schleswig, then a day’s journey to the mouth of the river Eider.³⁶

According to this directive, pilgrims coming from Scandinavia would have had to travel to the south via Hedeby, in order to arrive again in the northern civitas of Schleswig. This detour might be explained by the fact that the Icelandic abbot does not necessarily report from his own experience but refers to the *romferlar* (“Rome-pilgrims”) as his oral informants.³⁷ This brief mention illustrates the variety of routes to Rome known to Nikulás and other pilgrims, but also shows that Hedeby and Schleswig were just two stations among many, with seemingly no particular importance attached to them. *Gísla saga*, dating to the middle of the twelfth century, confirms that Hedeby was a station on the pilgrimage route to Rome. In this context, it relates that Auðr, the wife of the protagonist Gíslr, travelled from Iceland via Norway to Hedeby, where she and her sister-in-law Gunnhildr accepted the Christian faith (ch. 38). Then their paths led them south (*suðr* = to Rome), from where they never returned to the North.³⁸ Besides of its religious function, Hedeby’s political significance is stressed in *Njáls saga*, the perhaps best-known and most complex *Íslendingasaga* (“saga of Icelanders”), written down around 1280. During a Viking voyage eastwards from the Swedish region of Gautland,

Prospektion in der Archäologie, eds. Martin Posselt, Benno Zickgraf, Claus Dobiat (Rahden: Leidorf, 2007), 189.

35 See: “Leiðarvísir,” in: *Lexikon der altnordischen Literatur*, eds. Rudolf Simek, Hermann Pálsson (Stuttgart: Kröner 2007), 246.

36 After the translation by Edith Marold, “Haithabu in der altisländischen Literatur,” in: *Von Thorsberg nach Schleswig: Sprache und Schriftlichkeit eines Grenzgebietes im Wandel eines Jahrtausends*, eds. Klaus Düwel, Edith Marold, Christiane Zimmermann (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2001), 77–100. *Landafræði* (Alfræði íslensk. Íslandsk encyklopædisk litteratur. 1. Cod. MBR AM 194,8vo), in: *Samfund til Udgivelse af Gammel Nordisk Literatur* 37, ed. Kristian Kålund (København: Møller, 1908), 13: “Úr Noregi er fyrst a[t] fara i Ála-borg. Sva telia Romferlar, ath or Ála-borg se II dag[a] [f]or til Vebiarga, þa er viku fōr til Heida-beiar, þa er skamt til Sles-vikr, þa dag- fōr til Ægis-dyr[a].”

37 See: Dominik Waßenhoven, *Skandinavien unterwegs in Europa (1000–1250). Untersuchungen zu Mobilität und Kulturtransfer auf prosopographischer Grundlage* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag 2006), 79.

38 Björn K. Þórólfsson, Guðni Jónsson, eds., *Gísla saga Súrssonar*, Íslensk fornrit 6 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1943), 118: “Þær Auðr ok Gunnhildr fara til Danmerkr i Heiðabœ, tóku þær við trú ok engu suðr ok kómu eigi aprt.”

the protagonist Gunnarr á Hlíðarenda and his fellow travellers encounter a man named Tófi who, according to his own statement, was a Dane (*danskur maður*) and wished to return to his relatives.³⁹ When Gunnar enquires why Tófi was *í Austurvegi* (“on the Eastern way”), the latter replies that he had been captured by Vikings, who landed him here in Eysýsla (the Old Norse name for the Baltic island of Saaremaa/Ösel), where he had remained since then.⁴⁰ Equipped with ten ships, the Viking Gunnarr eventually sails to “Hedeby in Denmark” (*Heiðabœjar í Danmørk*), where he is well received by King Haraldr Gormsson (Harald Bluetooth, c. 911–987). Following his invitation, Gunnarr spends half a month at his court, is offered an attractive marriage and influence in the country. However, Gunnarr turns down the king’s generosity and explains that he first wants to return to his friends and relatives in Iceland. We can assume from this episode that the author of the *Gísla saga* was aware of Hedeby’s central economic position between Rus’, the Baltic, and Scandinavia in the tenth century. This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that the narrative moves the court of the Danish king from its presumed location in Jelling to Hedeby, perhaps in relation with the incorporation of the *emporium* into the Danish dominion by Haraldr’s father, Gormr, in 945. This followed the conquest of the settlement by the East Frankish King Henry I who in 934 had forced the Danish King Gnúpa/Knut to pay tribute and accept Christianity.⁴¹ After these events, the Danes were able to defend their rule over the trading centre on the Schlei for almost thirty years, until Emperor Otto II (r. 973–983) initiated an offensive against Hedeby in 974.⁴² The description of Otto’s victory over Haraldr Gormsson in Thietmar of Merseburg’s *Chronicon*⁴³ has frequently been interpreted as an account of the conquest of the settlement and of the annexation of the south of Jutland. However, as a recent interpretation by Laura Gazzoli suggests, this reading

39 Einar Ól. Sveinsson, ed., *Njáls saga*, Íslenzk fornrit 12 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1954), ch. 30.

40 Eysýsla designates both in the Old Norse language and in modern Icelandic the Baltic island of Saaremaa/Ösel. It is mentioned several times in the medieval writings of the North, for example in *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, ch. 90. The episode tells how after a five-year expedition in *Gardaríki* (Rus’), the Norwegian jarl Eiríkr Hákonarson devastates Aðalsýsla (presumably the Estonian mainland off the island) as well as Eysýsla, captures four Viking ships from the Danes, and slays all the men on board. See: Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla* I, eds. Alison Finlay, Anthony Faulkes (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 2016), 212.

41 Another indication of royal presence in Hedeby, as indicated in *Gísla saga*, are two rune stones (DR 2 and DR 4) in the immediate vicinity of the settlement, which King Gnúpa’s wife Ásfríðr had erected in memory of her son Sigtrygg.

42 Christian Radtke, Wolfgang Laur, Ralf Wiechmann, “Haiðaby,” in: *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 13, second fully revised and greatly enlarged edition, eds. Beck, Heinrich, Dieter Geuenich, Heiko Steuer (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 1999), 367.

43 Holtzmann, Robert, ed. “Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi chronicon,” in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*. Nova series. Vol. 9 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1935), 103–104.

probably attributes too much importance to Otto's expedition that "sounds more like a border-skirmish than anything else."⁴⁴ Furthermore, new insights obtained from numismatic material support the hypotheses of Hedeby being the centre for the minting of Danish coins⁴⁵ which excludes a "German domination" of the site.⁴⁶ However, Otto II's victory over Haraldr Gormsson did not end the military conflicts in this area until nine years after his expedition when the Danish king Haraldr and the Abodrite prince Mistivoi successfully raised against the Ottonian rule. This conflict is perhaps evidenced by the so-called Skarpi runestone (DR 3) from the vicinity of Hedeby, thought to have been erected immediately after the events of the year 983. Unusually, the monument names a king (Sveinn) as commissioner of the stone in memory of his retainer (*heimþega*) Skarpi, a high-ranked warrior who had set out west, to England or Normandy, but met a premature end in Hedeby:

King Sveinn placed the stone in memory of Skarði, his retainer, who travelled to the west, but who then died at Hedeby.

For a long time, it was controversial which king Sveinn is mentioned on the stone: Sveinn tjúguskegg ("Forkbeard", c. 960–1014) or Sveinn Ástriðarson (c. 1019–1076). Both played a vital role in the Danish attacks on Anglo-Saxon England in 1016 and 1070 respectively. Recent runological dating to the 980s supports a connection with the conquest of the settlement by the former,⁴⁷ who revolted against his father Haraldr Gormsson and relapsed into pagan beliefs. Sveinn Ástriðarson, in turn, was a supporter of the "true faith" among the Polabian Slavs, and collaborated closely with his son-in-law Gottschalk, the prince of the Abodrites. Seeking to establish a unified Polabian-Slavic state legitimised by the Church, Gottschalk was determined to follow the successful example of the Piast state whose northern territories along the southwestern Baltic coast will be analysed in the following regarding their literary evidence in Old Norse sources.

44 Laura Amalasunta Gazzoli, "Cnut, his Dynasty, and the Elbe-Slavs," in: *Anglo-Danish Empire. A Companion to the Reign of King Cnut the Great*, eds. Richard North, Erin Goeres, Alison Finlay (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2022), 399–417.

45 See: King Harold's Cross Coinage: Christian Coins for the Merchants of Haithabu and the King's Soldiers, eds. Jens Christian Moesgaard et al. *Studies in Archaeology and History* 20.2 (Copenhagen: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2015), 50.

46 Paul Gazzoli, "Review of King Harold's Cross Coinage, edited by Jens Christian Moesgaard, Maria Filomena Guerra, Gitta Tarnow Ingvardson, Peter Ilisch, Peter Pentz and Hans Skov," *Revue Belge de Numismatique* 163 (2017): 471.

47 See: Sven Kalmring, *Der Hafen von Haithabu* (Wachholtz: Neumünster, 2010), 48; Judith Jesch, *Ships and Men in the Late Viking Age. The Vocabulary of Runic Inscriptions and Skaldic Verse* (Woodbridge 2001: Boydell & Brewer), 109.

The burning of Jomsborg

Within the Old Norse text corpus, Hedeby is not alone to serve as a setting for encounters in the Baltic: this role is also taken by the Scandinavian stronghold of Jomsborg, usually located on the site of the Polish town Wolin. One of the most prominent Viking-Age poems featuring the settlement is *Hrynhenda*, composed around the year 1046/47 by the Icelandic skald Arnórr jarlaskáld Þórðarson. The poem praises the deeds of the Norwegian King Magnús góði who traversed in 1043 *Salt it Eystra* (“the Eastern Sea” = the Baltic) with warships equipped with *girzku reiði* (“with Greek [= Byzantine] tackle” = sails). The encomium is clearly biased by Magnús’ role as son and successor of Saint Óláfr Haraldsson which explains why his military ventures are translated into divine deeds. Further background is provided by *Morkinskinna* (“the rotten parchment”), written around 1220, where it turns out that Magnús góði’s military campaign targeted Jomsborg. Both sources state how discord between Wends and Danes dominated the relations in the Jutland border region.⁴⁸ The following spring, King Magnús embarks on his war fleet to Jóm (= Wolin), where he devastates both settlements and people:

It is farthest from the Norwegian realm and closest to the Wends and Saxons, who have always waged war on the Danes. [...] Then he sailed across to Wendland and arrived with his army at Jóm. There they landed, harrying and burning both settlements and people.⁴⁹

The main source for this military campaign is Snorri Sturlusson’s *Óláfs saga helga in sérstaka* (*The Separate Saga of St Óláfr*, ch. 264), with additional information in *Magnús saga góða* (ch. 24) in his *Heimskringla*. Earlier historiographical records on the destruction of Jomsborg are once more provided in Adam’s *Gesta* and its contemporary scholia, both authored around 1075. They confirm the events in the *civitas Sclavorum Iumne* for the year 1043:

Attended by a large Danish fleet, King Magnus laid siege to Jumne, the richest city of the Slavs. The losses were the same. Magnus terrified all the Slavs and, being a young man holy and blameless of life, God for that reason granted him victory in every enterprise.⁵⁰

48 *Fagrskinna* (ch. 19) reports of long-standing hostilities (*ufriðr lengi*) in the Danish-Slavic border area and mutual raids in the time of Haraldr Gormsson in the 10th century: “oc var þa ufriðr lengi millum Vinnda oc Dana. oc hæriaðu hvarertvæggiu i annarra lonnd.” See: Finnur Jónsson, ed. *Fagrskinna*. Nóregs konunga tal (København: Møller, 1902–1903).

49 “Þat [Jotland] er first Noregs rike en næst Vindum og Soxum er mikenn ofrid veittu Daunum jafnan. [...] Sidan sigldi hann med flotanum yfir til Vindlandz og kom med herinn vt ath Jomne (Jomune). geingu þeir æ land vpp og heriödu og brendu þar bædi bygdir og menn.”

50 “Magnus rex classe magna Danorum stipatus opulentissimam civitatem Sclavorum Iumnem obsedit. Clades par fuit. Magnus terruit omnes Sclavos, iuvenis sanctus et vitæ innocentis. Ideoque victoriam dedit illi Deus in omnibus.” See: Bernhard Schmeidler, ed. “Magistri Adam Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum,” in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum*

Even though both Adam's *Gesta* from the eleventh century and the Icelandic *Annales regii* treat King Magnús' military expedition against Jónsborg/Jumne as a historical event, the legendary tradition around this violent Scandinavian-Slavic encounter swiftly developed its own momentum.⁵¹ As most impressive example for this process stands, besides the praise poem *Hrynhenda*, another poem by Arnórr jarlaskáld Þórðarson, titled *Magnússdrápa*. Magnús' actions against the pagan people (*heiðit folk*) of Pomeranian Slavs *sunnr at Jómi* ("in the south at Jóm")⁵² are here embedded in a broader context of Scandinavian military mobility in the Baltic region, which served as a demonstration of power against Jarl Sveinn Ástriðarson as a competitor for the Danish royal throne. In addition, the poem's agenda promoted the necessity to ward off westward raids by the Abodrites as Sveinn's allies.⁵³

Conclusion

We can conclude that Hedeby was an important, although not unique, station for commercially, militarily, and religiously motivated journeys within the *Austrvegr* network. This "Eastern Way" led Scandinavian warrior-traders into the vastness of the Rus' with Hedeby and Jónsborg/Wolin in the Oder estuary representing frequent stations on the route that had to be traversed. From the Old Norse literary record as well as archaeological evidence, we obtain a diverse picture of the functions of Hedeby in the long-distance networks of the Viking Age: as trading place for silver, slaves, and not least, as religious centre in the high Middle Ages. This picture is complemented by the evidence of several military conflicts that initiated the decline of the southern settlement starting in the mid-eleventh century and that forced the relocation to the northern successor settlement Schleswig. Further emphasis needs to be put on the fact that the destruction of the early medieval *emporia* along the Baltic did not disrupt the region's economic dynamism, but, on the contrary, contributed to its acceleration. Even though,

Germanicarum in usum scholarum (Hannover: Hahn, 1917), Book II, schol. 56. For the translation, see: Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, trans. Francis J. Tschan, *Records of Civilisation. Sources and Studies* (New York: Columbia University Press, [1959], 2002), 109.

51 Jakub Morawiec, "Slavs and Their Lands," in: *Scandinavian Culture in Medieval Poland*, eds. Sławomir Moździoch, Błażej Stanisławski, Przemysław Wiszewski (Wrocław: Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, 2013), 58.

52 Diana Whaley, "Arnórr jarlaskáld Þórðarson, Hrynhenda, Magnússdrápa 12," in: *Poetry from the Kings' Sagas 2: From c. 1035 to c. 1300. Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages*, vol. 2, ed., Kari Ellen Gade (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 197–198.

53 In her etymological study of the toponym Jumne/Jónsborg, Alexandra Petrulevich likewise emphasises the peaceful mutual contacts between Scandinavians and Slavs that preceded Magnús' expedition. See: Alexandra Petrulevich, "On the etymology of at Jómi, Jumne and Jónsborg," *Namn och bygd* 97 (2009): 82.

by definition, the proto-urban coastal settlements of the Viking Age did not yet fulfil the essential functions of a medieval city, they formed the basis for the emergence of the later trading centres of the Hanseatic League, that dominated the maritime world of the Baltic throughout the late Middle Ages. What the literary sources from the high-medieval North eventually attest to is their literary memory of the Baltic that is, however, restricted to the tenth to twelfth centuries, and clearly attached to royal power, particularly Danish hegemony. Earlier Scandinavian-influenced *emporia* in turn, like Ralswiek or Menzlin, remain unknown. As the archaeological record shows, this stands in contrast to their economic and social importance in the trading networks of the early medieval world in which they have to be considered as equal nodes despite the lack of written evidence on them.

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English version: Mark Atkinson

SUMMARY

The present study focuses on early medieval trading places, so-called *emporía*, along the southern Baltic coast in today's territories of Schleswig, Mecklenburg, and Pomorze, and their prominence in Old Norse literature. Intriguingly, from the archaeologically identified sixteen places, only two are attested in the high-medieval textual sources from Iceland, namely Hedeby (ON *Heiðabýr*/*Heiðabœr*) and Wolin (ON *Jómsborg*). A close text-based analysis on the former highlights Hedeby as a crucial station for commercially, militarily and religiously motivated expeditions along the *Austrvegr* ("the Eastern way") – albeit not unique in its importance for mobile Scandinavians among numerous other places in the Viking world. The textual sources also suggest that the literary memory of the Baltic is restricted to the tenth to twelfth centuries. Hence, we can assume that writing and memory was attached to the emerging Danish royal power as is evidenced in the numerous narratives on Haraldr Gormsson and his son Sveinn tjúguskegg and their presence in the two trading places. Eventually, the article serves as a case study for the functions of the numerous *emporía* that are archaeologically, but not textually visible.

Czy emporia południowego brzegu Bałtyku są widoczne w średniowiecznych źródłach skandynawskich?

Słowa kluczowe: emporia, handel wczesnośredniowieczny, epoka wikingów, literatura staronordycka, niewolnictwo

STRESZCZENIE

Niniejszy artykuł jest poświęcony wczesnośredniowiecznym rynkom, tak zwanym emporiom, położonym na południowym brzegu Bałtyku na obecnych terytoriach Szlezewiku, Meklemburgii i Pomorza, oraz ich obecności w źródłach skandynawskich. Jest intrygujące, że spośród szesnastu zidentyfikowanych archeologicznie emporiów tylko dwa są poświadczone w średniowiecznych tekstach z Islandii: Hedeby (st. nord. Heiðabýr/Heiðabær) i Wolin (st. nord. Jómsborg). Analiza tych tekstów pokazuje, że Hedeby było ważnym przystankiem na *Austrvegr* ("wschodniej drodze") dla kupców, wojowników czy pielgrzymów – nawet jeżeli jego znaczenie nie było wyjątkowe w skali świata skandynawskiego. Źródła pisane również wskazują, że literacka pamięć o Bałtyku była ograniczona do X–XII w. Możemy zatem podejrzewać, że pamięć i tradycje pisane o Bałtyku są związane z formującym się królestwem Danii, jak na to wskazują liczne przekazy o Haraldzie Gormssonie i jego synu Swenie Widłobrodym, i o ich obecności w obu wspomnianych emporiach. Końcowa część artykułu poświęcona jest funkcjom także tych emporiów, które są poświadczone archeologicznie, ale są nieobecne w źródłach pisanych.

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Bert Becker

The University of Hong Kong
Department of History
becker@hku.hk
ORCID: 0000-0003-1887-2942

The M. Jebsen Shipping Company in Apenrade, Schleswig-Holstein: Coastal Shipping in Europe, 1878–1885

Keywords: Transport Revolution, Baltic Sea, Coastal Shipping, Steamship Company, Shipowner, Captains

Introduction

Coastal and short-sea shipping was crucial to global industrialisation and urbanisation of Europe and the United States from the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. The coastal and fluvial transport of heavy, low-value cargoes but also of a whole variety of foodstuffs into the major urban centres by coasters was a vital factor in countries with long coastlines such as Britain, France, Italy, Norway, and Spain. With the application of steam technology to ships the sailing vessel was gradually replaced by the steam coaster which offered speedier journeys and a more reliable timetable. The British business historian John Armstrong has frequently pointed to the fact that the important role of the coaster within the Industrial Revolution has long been either ignored or played down by economic and business historians who instead emphasised the importance of the railway. Indeed, research has shown that even the construction and operation of railways depended on the transport of materials, including coal, on coastal ships. Even later, railways were never able to transport the mass of goods that were handled by coastal ships.¹

Given the importance of coastal shipping for the Industrial Revolution, it is astonishing that there are hardly any source-based studies on coastal shipping companies.

1 John Armstrong, *The Vital Spark: The British Coastal Trade, 1700–1930* (St. John's, Newfoundland: International Maritime Economic History Association, 2009), chapter 6: Coastal Shipping: The Neglected Sector of Nineteenth-Century British Transport History, 91–102.

Although there are often detailed compendia on the merchant fleets of individual countries, as well as works on important shipping lines and important shipowners, there are practically no studies on small and medium-sized coastal shipping companies, which were little known. Hardly any company archives of these small companies have survived either. Given this paucity of surviving records, the archives of the M. Jebsen Shipping Company (in Danish: *Rederi M. Jebsen*, in German: *Reederei M. Jebsen*) is a fortunate exception. The archives survived because they are in Aabenraa, a small coastal town on the Baltic Sea, which was not directly affected by the two world wars. Although the town Aabenraa (German name: Apenrade) and the surrounding region of South Jutland (or northern Schleswig-Holstein) passed from Germany to Denmark in 1920 as a result of the Treaty of Versailles, it was spared any destruction or expulsion of its population. This is even more significant when one considers the fate of the archives of other shipping companies and trading firms in Baltic Sea ports or even of large businesses in German North Sea port cities such as Hamburg or Bremen, many of which were destroyed by air raids during the Second World War. Moreover, the M. Jebsen Shipping Company was owning ships until the late seventies of the twentieth century and the Jebsen and Jessen families, co-owners of Jebsen & Company Limited in Hong Kong,² did not relinquish the shipping company's former headquarters leaving almost the whole interior of the house intact. In 2005, Jebsen & Co. Ltd. decided to set up a proper company archive located close to the previous seat of the M. Jebsen Shipping Company. Since then, the private Jebsen and Jessen Historical Archives (JJHA) have kept the business and personal records of the shipping company dating back to the seventies and of Jebsen & Co. in Hong Kong dating back to the nineties of the nineteenth century. A major part of the voluminous records of the shipping company, mostly from before the First World War, is kept by the State Archives for South Jutland in Aabenraa. The business and private correspondences of the shipping company's founder, Michael Jebsen (1835–99), alone comprise 53 so-called letter copy books of 500, in some cases even 1000 pages, written in the old German handwriting style. Just a little of this material was used by the Hamburg economic historian Ernst Hieke in 1953 for his pioneering study on the history of the M. Jebsen Shipping Company.³ Since 2003, the preserved letter copy books have been transcribed by the author of this article and used for academic

2 Jebsen & Co. was founded in Hong Kong in 1895 by Jacob Jebsen (1870–1941), the eldest son of Michael Jebsen, and his distant relative Heinrich Jessen (1865–1931). Having started as a shipping agency for the M. Jebsen Shipping Company and as general trading company, Jebsen & Co. evolved into a focused marketing and distribution organisation which soon occupied a leading position in the foreign trade of China and Hong Kong. For its history, see e. g., Adolf von Hänisch, *Jebsen & Co. Hongkong: China-Handel im Wechsel der Zeiten 1895–1945* (Apenrade: Self-Published, 1970); Laura Miller and Arne Cornelius Wasmuth, *The Three Mackerels: The Story of the Jebsen and Jessen Family Enterprise* (Hong Kong: Hongkongnow.com, 2008).

3 Ernst Hieke, *Die Reederei M. Jebsen A.G. Apenrade* (Hamburg: Hamburgische Bücherei, 1953).

publications in the English, German, and Danish languages.⁴ As far as other studies on the history of the M. Jebsen Shipping Company or related issues are concerned, there exist only a few works, each with a different focus. Most of them deal, in some detail, with the life and deeds of Michael Jebsen, the history of his family in Aabenraa or the operations of his shipping company in East Asia.⁵

The letter copy books of the M. Jebsen Shipping Company make it possible to trace the firm's early history (1878–1885) in European coastal and short-sea shipping, as well as the pioneering work of its founder and his networks. The extraordinary quantity and quality of the surviving documents gives enormous scope for exploring in a micro and macro perspective the operation of a medium-sized European shipping company and for closing a bit the wide gap in research on coasting and short-sea shipping in Europe. Therefore, this article focuses on network strategies Jebsen employed to keep his steamer fleet profitable in European waters, with a special emphasis on modes he used to instruct and direct his shipmasters, for which not yet published excerpts from his original letters were mostly used. Three central questions we shall discuss in the following article: First, what was the position of the Baltic port of Aabenraa in European shipping markets in the 19th century and how was this position affected by the transition from sail to steam; second, which strategies did Michael Jebsen adopt to establish a steam shipping company in his hometown Aabenraa which was the centre of sailing ships in Schleswig-Holstein; and third, which personal networks and business strategies Jebsen used to profitably operate his company from 1878 to 1885 when several of his ships sailed in European waters.

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- 4 Bert Becker, "The German Colony of Kiaochow and Its Postal Steamer Service, 1898–1914," *International Journal of Maritime History* 21 (2009), 1: 201–238; idem, "Coastal Shipping in East Asia in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch* 50 (2010): 245–302; idem, "Globalisierung und Küstenschifffahrt in der Ostsee und in Ostasien im 19. Jahrhundert," *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* 147 (2011): 397–424; idem, *Michael Jebsen: Reeder und Politiker 1835–1899: Eine Biographie* (Kiel: Ludwig, 2012); - "Skibsreder Michael Jebsen, Aabenraa (1835–1899): En kreativ iværksætter på et globalt marked." In: *Historier fra bybakken: Årsskrift for Aabenraa Byhistoriske Forening*, eds. Kim Furdal, et. al. (Aabenraa: Aabenraa Byhistoriske Forening and Museum Sønderjylland, 2013), 6–26; idem, "Michael Jebsen (1835–1899): Ein politischer Unternehmer in Nordschleswig," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte* 139 (2014): 155–177; idem, *France and Germany in the South China Sea, c. 1840–1930: Maritime Competition and Imperial Power* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021). Most of the publications are available online on the author's website at academia.edu.
 - 5 Emma von Hassel, *Michael Jebsen: Das Leben des Schiffsreeders und die Chronik seiner Vorfahren* (Apenrade: Boje's, 1953), 25–32; Arnold Kludas, "Postdampfer nach Tsingtau: Die Reederei M. Jebsen 1898–1901," in: *Die Geschichte der deutschen Passagierschifffahrt*, vol. 2, ed. by Arnold Kludas (Hamburg: Kabel, 1987), 204–207; Reinhart Schmeltzkopf, "Reederei Michael Jebsen, Apenrade/Aabenraa," *Strandgut* 33 (1994): 27–50; Miller and Wasmuth, *The Three Mackerels*, 8–21; Fion Wai Ling So, *Germany's Colony in China: Colonialism, Protection and Economic Development in Qingdao and Shandong, 1898–1914* (Abington and New York: Routledge), 58–75.

The Local Apenrade Investor Network



Figure 1. The port town of Aabenraa (Apenrade), Denmark, in the late eighteenth century

Source: Hans Schlaikier, *Apenrader Schifffahrts-Chronik* (Apenrade: Wohlenberg, 1929), [no page number].

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, sailing ships were the most important means of transport in the Baltic Sea and on the world's oceans. Large and small ports operated commercial shipping in the form of the traditional ship-owning partnership (in German: *Partenreederei*) where the ships were in the hands of many partners or co-shipowners, who were usually also involved in the shipping industry, i.e., shipbuilding or ship equipment. Many of these ships were sent on cargo voyages between foreign ports. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the port town of Aabenraa formed the leading shipping centre within Danish Schleswig-Holstein with the most intensive global connections. The large and fast full-rigged ships carried cargoes from Europe to East Asia and engaged in coastal shipping there; at times, a whole dozen ships from Aabenraa were moored in Hong Kong harbour at the same time. From about 1860 onwards, several Aabenraa schooners sailed on a profitable liner service with fixed freight and passenger traffic between the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, and Madagascar.⁶ Even during

⁶ Hans Schlaikier, *Apenrader Schifffahrts-Chronik* (Apenrade: Wohlenberg, 1929), 38–39; Catharina Spethmann, *Schifffahrt in Schleswig-Holstein 1864–1939* (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Kiel, 2002), Attachment: “Bestand von Apenrade” [no page number].

the depression in the seventies, sailing ships still made good profits because of their free propulsion technology and their large capacity to carry coal and other bulk goods.⁷

When the first steamships were acquired in the nineteenth century, there were two options for them: either in the form of the traditional ship-owning partnership or in the form of the modern joint-stock companies. In the first case, ownership of each ship was divided into equal parts or shares which belonged to the ship-owning group of several partners or co-owners. Affairs were managed on behalf of them by the managing shipowner (in German: *Korrespondenzreeder*) who was also one of their partners as a co-owner. In the second case, this company needed both a professionally working management for the ships and a larger capitalisation, because dividends or losses were incurred for the whole company and not only for individual ship shares. Such companies were usually founded by well-funded and networked businessmen in larger port cities.⁸ In smaller coastal towns, on the other hand, complete unfamiliarity with the new corporate form of the joint-stock company often prevented the establishment of such firms. In addition, there were other reasons for the discussion of which Aabenraa will be cited as an example. As already mentioned, the town had been one of the bastions of sailing in Denmark since the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1874, the town (then located in Prussia-Germany), with 10,314 tonnes of registered sailing tonnage and not a single steamer,⁹ was clearly different from its main competitor, the neighbouring and much larger port city of Flensburg, where in the same year for the first time a higher steam tonnage than sailing tonnage was recorded. In Apenrade, as in many other smaller port towns on the German Baltic coast, in England and other northern European countries, the partnership still served as the most important form of financing for new ships in Apenrade: a closely connected network of merchants, master shipbuilders, craftsmen, captains, and other professional groups interested in shipping

7 Gerald S. Graham, "The Ascendancy of the Sailing Ship 1850–85," *The Economic History Review* 9 (1956/7): 74–88.

8 In Britain and Germany's larger North Sea ports and some larger Baltic Sea Ports such as Flensburg, Kiel or Stettin, larger investor groups predominantly from the commerce and finance sectors put money into joint-stock companies to build and operate iron steamships. In Flensburg, the "Flensburger Dampfschiffahrt-Gesellschaft von 1869" was established in 1869, and Stettin followed the year after with the founding of "Baltischer Lloyd." Hans-Friedrich Schütt and Emil Lorenzen, "Flensburg," in: *Schiffahrt und Häfen von Tondern bis Brunsbüttel, von Hadersleben bis Schleswig: Ein geschichtlicher Überblick von den Anfängen bis heute*, ed. by Industrie- und Handelskammer zu Flensburg (Flensburg: Westphalen, 1971), 90–107, 125–126; Andrzej Mielcarek, *Rozwój Floty Żegluga Pruskich Portów Południowego i Wschodniego Wybrzeża Bałtyku w Latach 1815–1914* (Szczecin: Uniwersytet Szczeciński, 1993), 216–218.

9 Schlaikier, *Apenrader Schiffahrts-Chronik*, 80; Hieke, *Die Reederei M. Jebsen A.G. Apenrade*, 37; Hans-Friedrich Schütt, "Apenrade," in: *Schiffahrt und Häfen von Tondern bis Brunsbüttel, von Hadersleben bis Schleswig: Ein geschichtlicher Überblick von den Anfängen bis heute*, ed. by Industrie- und Handelskammer zu Flensburg (Flensburg: Westphalen, 1971), 183; Spethmann, *Schiffahrt in Schleswig-Holstein 1864–1939*, 46–47; Erik Møller Nielsen, *Fra klamp til konstruktion: Fra håndværk til ingeniørkunst i Aabenraa's sejskibsbyggeri ca. 1800–1880* (Aabenraa: Museumsrådet for Sønderjyllands amt, 2000), Attachment: Aabenraa's shipbuilding, 1769–1888, 171.

still participated in the building and equipping of sailing ships in which they invested their money.¹⁰

For the complex network of investors in such a “seafaring region,”¹¹ sailing was the tried and tested basis of their existence, which they had held on to in good times and bad. Even in the seventies, they still saw themselves in a favourable position in view of the profitable operation of the fast Apenrade sailing ships. In addition to the economic considerations, there was also the strong personal identification of these professional groups with their tradition, which they wanted to maintain and preserve. As a shipowner, co-shipowner, or master shipbuilder, one was an independent entrepreneur and “one’s own master,” which strengthened the motivation and commitment to investing in shipbuilding. As most of the co-owners had parts in several sailing ships, the acquisition of a steamship would have put the other capital investments at risk. For this reason, it simply made no sense for most investors to put money into a venture that directly competed with the sailing vessels in which they had an interest as co-shipowners. In addition, if they had invested in steamers, a lot of money would have been invested in companies that did not contribute to the welfare of local shipyards for wooden vessels, either through construction or repairs. And finally, an important emotional element was added by the active captains, namely that they perceived the change to steamships as a “degrading exchange.”¹² Because of this personally motivated scepticism, which went even further than purely economic interest, the local Apenrade investor network was not prepared to make the switch from sailing to steam shipping as in neighbouring Flensburg. As the Danish historian Ole Mørkegaard pointed out, they remained trapped in a vicious circle of rejection of steam technology: the builders of sailing ships and their suppliers rejected it for understandable reasons of principle, and the sailing ship captains were generally sceptical. This makes it understandable that the apparently anti-modernisation attitude of refusal in Apenrade can indeed “not simply be interpreted

10 A report in the semi-official journal “Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung,” of 6 December 1884, stated that the ships were “predominantly in the hands of a large number of shipowners who make their living from shipping itself, from shipbuilding, from equipping the ships, etc.” Both retired and active captains formed the main investors in local sailing: “Entire occupational classes live from shipping and are exclusively dependent on earning their living from it in a direct or indirect way.” [the original text is in German; the translation is by the author].

11 Jürgen Brockstedt, “Wirtschaftlicher Aufstieg und soziale Mobilität in deutschen Seefahrerregionen vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert: Probleme einer partiellen und abgebrochenen Modernisierung,” in: *Arbeit, Mobilität, Partizipation, Protest: Gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Deutschland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, eds. Jürgen Bergmann and Hermann-Josef Rupieper (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986), 117.

12 Hans Schlaikier, a former captain of Jebsen from Aabenraa, described this attitude as follows: “With a certain disdain, the seaman of a sailing ship regarded the *koljer* or *smokever* [steamship], as the latter was fondly dubbed, soiled by coal dust and smoke.” Schlaikier, *Apenrader Schifffahrts-Chronik*, 39 [the original text is in German; the translation is by the author].

as an expression of irrational conservatism,”¹³ but is rather to be seen as a complex mixture of quite understandable short-term economic and emotional factors. In the medium and long term, however, this attitude had disastrous consequences for the Apenrade shipping industry. In fact, the history of the founding of the M. Jebsen Shipping Company in 1878 is an example of the difficulty of founding a steam shipping company in a town that traditionally lived from sailing ships.



Die letzten Segelschiffskapitäne von Apenrade

Obere Reihe: Nis Balzer, J. C. Matthiesen, Jac. Bruhn, Jac. Hohlmann.
Untere Reihe: Joh. Peterfen, Hs. Krag, Carl Prehn, Carl Fischer, Nis Esau.

Figure 2. The last sailing ship captains of Apenrade

Source: Hans Schlaikier, *Apenrader Schifffahrts-Chronik* (Apenrade: Wohlenberg, 1929), [no page number].

Establishing the M. Jebsen Shipping Company

As a descendant of a long line of ancestors who had prospered in Aabenraa as local merchant shipowners, the young Michael Jebsen had also gone to sea in 1850 and worked the world's oceans on sailing ships. In South America, for the first time, he became acquainted with steamships when managing a coastal steamship under the Chilean flag.

13 Ole Mørkegaard, "Von Holz und Segel zu Eisen und Dampf: Strukturelle Hindernisse und Konsequenzen eines technischen Umstellungsprozesses in der Apenrader Seefahrt," in: *Seefahrt an deutschen Küsten im Wandel 1815–1914*, ed. by Jürgen Brockstedt (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1993), 69–88.

Equipped with such knowledge, he succeeded in 1874 in becoming the manager of the fleet of the well-known Essen steelmaker Friedrich Krupp whose steamships were based in Vlissingen, The Netherlands, and later in Rotterdam. In order to import, from Spain, the low-phosphorus iron ore needed for the new Bessemer process of steel production, the company had built up its own steamship fleet, the management of which Jebsen took over. His position can be described as a preliminary stage to becoming an independent shipowner, which allowed him to gain diverse knowledge in the logistics of a steamship fleet and in the shipbroking and transport businesses. In 1878, when Jebsen decided to establish a steam shipping company in his hometown Apenrade, his most important reason was his strive for professional independence. His most important goals were both economic-rational and personal-emotional, namely first and foremost to build up a profitable shipping company in order to secure his own and his family's existence, and secondly to return to his hometown of Apenrade, which was full of positive feelings and where many family members and friends lived.¹⁴

When Jebsen decided to acquire the "Signal" (514 gross register tonnes, GRT, or 397 net register tonnes, NRT), a newly built small iron steamer, at a shipyard in Flensburg in order to establish the first steam shipping company in Apenrade, he reverted to the tried and tested form of the ship-owning partnership. For a joint-stock company, he lacked equity capital and suitable local business partners. Despite preliminary talks with potential local investors (mainly owners of shipyards for wooden vessels) no one had shown willingness to financially support the idea and found a ship-owning partnership for steamers. For the financing of his first ship, Jebsen decided to divide the purchase sum into fifty shares, certainly bearing in mind the difficulty of finding interested owners of shares in a steamship in Apenrade at all. However, no significant local investor was willing to invest in the "Signal" due to the vicious circle of rejection described earlier. And that was not all: because of the oversupply of new steamers caused by the global depression of the seventies, and the resulting decline in freight rates, Jebsen needed a great deal of optimism and, above all, the trust and support of his personal friends to find enough investors to finance his first ship. Of the total of fifty shares at four thousand marks each, Jebsen and his brother-in-law Jes Nicolai Jessen each took over six, making a total of twelve shares. Most shares were bought by Jebsen's personal friends, Alfred Longsdon, the London representative of Krupp (thirteen shares), and Jacob Diederichsen, a former engine inspector in Hamburg (ten shares). J. G. Lund, chairman of the German Nautical Association in Hamburg, took over another five shares, and Jebsen's business friends Ruys in Rotterdam and Marshall in Vlissingen acquired four and three shares respectively. The remaining three shares were bought

14 Hieke, *Die Reederei M. Jebsen A.G. Apenrade*, 35–37; Becker, *Michael Jebsen: Reeder und Politiker*, 158–164.

by Captain Heinrich Evers from Kiel, who was later captain of the “Signal.” This example shows that Jebsen alone was too weak in capital and had no local business partners to set up a ship-owning partnership. The only way left was to establish a company in which he himself, a family member and a few friends took over the main part of the shares. With the payment of the first instalment on 23 November 1878, the “M. Jebsen Shipping Company” (in German: *Partenreederei M. Jebsen*) began operating the “Signal.”¹⁵

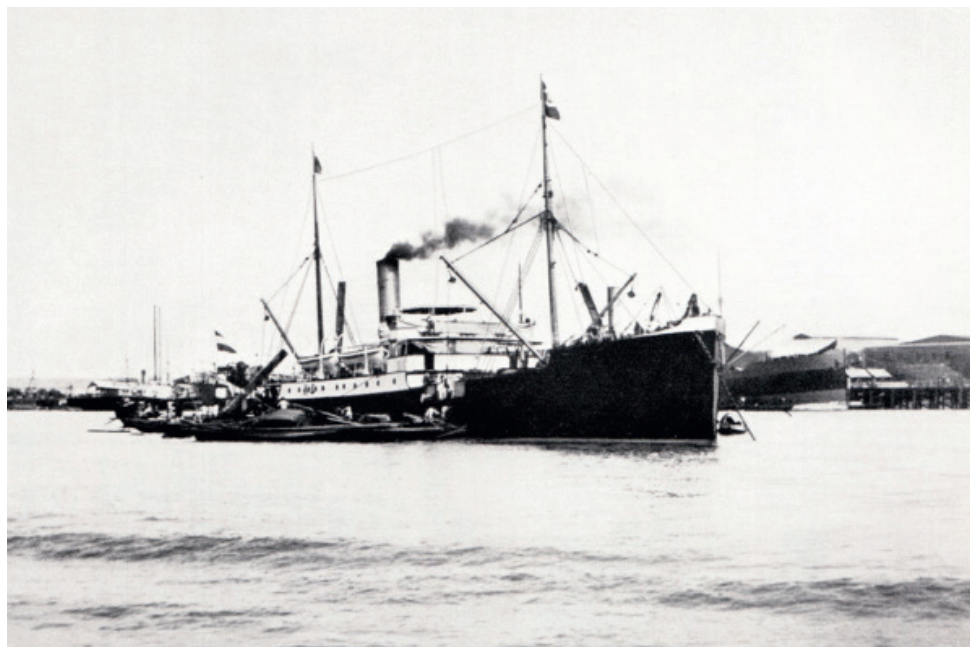


Figure 3. Steamer “Vorwärts” (II) (1027 GRT, 643 NRT) of the M. Jebsen Shipping Company, delivered by Howaldt, Kiel, in 1895
Source: Ernst Hieke, *Die Reederei M. Jebsen A.G. Apenrade* (Hamburg: Hamburgische Bücherei, 1953), [no page number: between 112–113].

A comprehensive review of Michael Jebsen’s business and private correspondences written in the period between 1878 and 1899 (the year in which he died) makes evident that it was Jebsen’s primary goal to make and keep his shipping company profitable in order to expand his business and maintain his professional independence. The most important means he used to achieve these goals were his nautical-technical expertise and his good business skills, which he brought to his work as a managing shipowner, his own financial capital to acquire ship shares and, thus, to build more steamships,

15 Hieke, *Die Reederei M. Jebsen A.G. Apenrade*, 18–38; Schmelzkopf, “Reederei Michael Jebsen, Apenrade/Aabenraa,” 27–28; Becker, *Michael Jebsen: Reeder und Politiker*, 165–176.

and the permanent maintenance of informal and interpersonal networks. The networks Jebsen had at his disposal as an entrepreneur and the functions they fulfilled for him¹⁶ will be briefly explained: the earliest and most important interpersonal network was a group of close business friends and co-shipowners, from the Netherlands and Belgium (Vlissingen, Rotterdam, and Antwerp) and Germany (Hamburg, Essen, Kiel, Apenrade, and Sonderburg), some of whom were also connected by family ties. As mentioned earlier, the initial great resistance to the introduction of steam technology in his home town led to the phenomenon that most of the co-shipowners had to be recruited from outside Apenrade. As dividends were paid out every six months or sometimes not at all,¹⁷ Jebsen, as managing shipowner, had to be in close and constant contact with the co-shipowners in order to explain his business strategies and prepare new shipbuilding. Within this group, the main co-shipowners Jacob Diederichsen (Jebsen's close friend), and Carl and Gustav Diederichsen (wealthy Hamburg coffee merchants) stand out, who, along with Jebsen, had the strongest share in the financing of his shipping company. Due to this decisive position, they were able to turn the shipbuilding business of their relatives, Georg, Bernhard, and Hermann Howaldt in Kiel, into Jebsen's house shipyard.¹⁸

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- 16 For stimulating thoughts on entrepreneurs, their networks, and functions during the Industrial Revolution, and "new institutional economics" as a methodological approach to the analysis of historical economic processes, see Clemens Wischermann and Anne Nieberding, *Die institutionelle Revolution: Eine Einführung in die deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004), 14–29. Furthermore, see: Hartmut Berghoff and Jörg Sydow, "Unternehmerische Netzwerke – Theoretische Konzepte und historische Erfahrungen," in: *Unternehmerische Netzwerke: Eine historische Organisationsform mit Zukunft?*, ed. Hartmut Berghoff and Jörg Sydow (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2017), 9–43; Jürgen Kocka, *Unternehmer in der deutschen Industrialisierung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), 5–12.
- 17 On the first-ever dividend of "Signal" which proved to be excellent, Jebsen informed one of his co-shipowners as follows: "I have much pleasure in handing you per enclosed the first half quarterly dividend of 9% on your 13/50 shares [of] S. S. [Steamship] "Signal" amounting to M. [German Mark] 4680." Jebsen and Jessen Historical Archives (hereinafter: JJHA), A: Firmenarchiv [Company Archives] (hereinafter: A): A01-01-287, letter from Michael Jebsen (Apenrade) to Alfred Longsdon (London), 7 June 1879 [the original letter is in English]. As managing shipowner, Jebsen received a remuneration of one percent of the gross freight, which he used to finance his office and staff. His main income, however, consisted of dividends, which he received from his shares in the shipping company's vessels. JJHA, A01-01-315, letter from Michael Jebsen (Apenrade) to J. W. Kuntze (Kiel), 29 November 1889.
- 18 Only after one year of operating the "Signal," which had delivered a very good result, Jebsen decided to have more vessels built: the "Vorwärts" (I) (780 GRT, 611 NRT), delivered in 1879, the "Triumph" (869 GRT, 675 NRT) and the small steamer "Alwine" (511 GRT, 400 NRT), both completed at Howaldt in 1881. In the next year, the big steamers "Clara" (866 GRT, 675 NRT) and "Doris" (1025 GRT, 808 NRT) were added to the fleet. In 1885, after all ships had been transferred to Hong Kong, the fleet numbered eight; in 1903–04, the company reached its peak with 17 ships, and by 1913, it had 11 ships. The Jebsen steamers were mostly destroyed in war-related incidents or were confiscated during the conflict, and the company did not recover from these losses: in East Asia in the 1920s, the M. Jebsen Shipping Company operated only five vessels under the Danish and German flags, less than half the size of its pre-war fleet. After the Second World War, the company had only two ships. Hieke, *Die Reederei M. Jebsen A.G. Apenrade*, 27–30, 219–245: List of Ships; Christian Ostersehlte, *Von Howaldt zu HDW: 165 Jahre Entwicklung von einer Kieler Eisengießerei zum weltweit operierenden Schiffbau- und*

Because the shipowner, nevertheless, managed to involve the Blohm & Voss shipyard in Hamburg, which he held in high esteem, in his newbuilding programme, this was not a one-sided relationship of dependence, but a compromise between his interests as a shipowner and those of the Diederichsens as investors. The triangular network of Apenrade, Hamburg and Kiel, thus the connection between Jebsen and the Diederichsens and Howaldts, formed the pivotal point in the financing and construction of new steamships. The network partners maintained constant personal and written contact to keep each other frequently informed about developments on the freight markets and in the shipping industry, which were largely financed by the brothers Diederichsen and built by the brothers Howaldt. One can justifiably speak of a well-functioning interpersonal triangular network between Apenrade, Hamburg, and Kiel from which all three sides benefitted for years and which contributed decisively to the success of the M. Jebsen Shipping Company.

Operating Coasters in European Waters

In most European countries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, coastal shipping or cabotage was basically understood as the transport of goods from one domestic seaport to another. Thereafter, coastal shipping meant the same as internal trade, including in Britain, where “coastal shipping” is synonymous with “cabotage” or “internal trade.” The term “short-sea shipping,” on the other hand, refers to British maritime trade in continental waters, i.e., voyages to the European continent, the Mediterranean and the Baltic Sea. In France, a distinction is made between “petit cabotage,” trade along the same coast, such as the Mediterranean or Atlantic or Channel coasts, and “grand cabotage,” cargo voyages between those seas. In some countries, such as Britain or Denmark, the term “home trade” is also used, which includes both domestic trade and journeys to neighbouring foreign coasts. However, most European countries, including Germany, understand coastal shipping or cabotage to mean only maritime trade that takes place on their own coasts.¹⁹ Since the steamers of the M. Jebsen Shipping Company operated along and between several European coasts, the term “coastal and short-sea shipping” seems most appropriate to determine the kind and the scope of the firm’s maritime operations.

Technologiekonzern (Hamburg: Koehler-Mittler, 2004), 73–108, 123; Becker, *Michael Jebsen: Reeder und Politiker 1835–1899*, 173–191, 213–231, 578–580.

19 John Armstrong and Andreas Kunz, “Introduction: Coastal Shipping and the European Economy,” in: *Coastal Shipping and the European Economy, 1750–1980*, eds. John Armstrong and Andreas Kunz (Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002), 2–4.

When industrialisation in the late nineteenth century led to an increasing demand for transport services, trade and shipping flourished in Europe, admittedly with fierce competition between shipping companies. To bring heavy and cheap bulk goods, including foodstuffs, to the explosively growing urban centres, coastal ships were used especially in countries with long sea coasts, i.e., in north-western and southern Europe, in the Scandinavian states and along the North Sea and southern Baltic coasts up to northern Russia. When, during the eighties, the number of sailing ships in the more industrialised states of Europe – Britain, Belgium, Germany, and the Netherlands – steadily declined and by 1890 had fallen behind the number of steamships,²⁰ a true transport revolution took place in the maritime regions of these countries.²¹ In scope and importance, it was undoubtedly comparable to the inland transport revolution triggered by railway construction, which also took place primarily in the more industrialised regions of Europe. Instead of sailing ships, heavy and bulk goods were increasingly transported on coastal and river steamers, which generally enabled faster and, above all, more reliable and weather-independent journeys according to a fixed timetable. Unlike the railways, whose route network was still largely under construction, cargo steamers served as flexible and direct suppliers of bulk goods from the agricultural regions of Europe, thus ensuring part of the supply of cheap food for Europe's growing population. In this way, a tightly woven network of shipowners, shipbrokers and charterers emerged who had goods transported from one end of the subcontinent to the other on steamships and, for a long time, on sailing ships, thus giving further impetus to European and global economic development.²²

During this period, from late 1878 to early 1885, the M. Jebsen Shipping Company operated eight small and medium-sized steam coasters in the maritime region between northern Russia and southern Spain. In all cases, it was tramp trade or irregular "wild" shipping depending on the offer and the freight contract²³ showing a relative-

20 Adam Kirkaldy, *British Shipping: Its History, Organisation and Importance* (London: K. Paul, 1914), Appendix XVII: "Net Tonnage of the Leading Mercantile Fleets of the World from 1850 to 1910" [no page numbers].

21 A comprehensive summary of merchant shipping in Prussian-German Baltic seaports is Mielcarek, *Rozwój Floty Żegluga Pruskich Portów Południowego i Wschodniego Wybrzeża Bałtyku w Latkach 1815–1914*. A study of global merchant shipping, with detailed case studies, is Michael M. Miller, *Europe and the Maritime World: A Twentieth Century History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

22 John Armstrong, "The Role of Short-Sea, Coastal, and Riverine Traffic in Economic Development since 1750," in: *Maritime History as World History*, ed. by Daniel Finamore (Salem, MA: Peabody Essex Museum, 2004), 122–127; Jürgen Brockstedt, "Seefahrende an deutschen Küsten im Zeitalter der Industrialisierung (1815–1914)," in: *Seefahrt an deutschen Küsten im Wandel 1815–1914*, ed. by Jürgen Brockstedt (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1993), 16, 23.

23 As Michael M. Miller pointed out, "tramping was a constant struggle to position ships where freight was abundant and competitors' ships were not, where rates therefore were high not low, where voyages contracted would not undercut arrival in time for seasonal trades, where going for a «spot loading» was better than fixing a cargo in advance, where cargoes were quick loads or discharges (...), where

ly uniform pattern of cargo transports. In the summer months, numerous voyages took place in the North and Baltic Seas. For example, on its maiden voyage, in December 1878, the “Signal” transported a grain freight of 673 tonnes from Flensburg, Schleswig-Holstein, to Stettin, Pomerania, loaded a similar quantity of unknown freight for Leith (a port city near Edinburgh), as well as 60 tonnes of bunker coal for its own consumption, and returned from Scotland to Flensburg with a coal cargo.²⁴ In autumn, there were frequent profitable grain cargoes from the Russian-Baltic ports of Reval [Tallinn] and Riga to Western Europe. The Imperial City of Riga (as it was officially called) was the most important maritime port city of the Tsarist Empire next to the Russian capital St. Petersburg. Through the extensive inland shipping on the rivers Duna and Volga, which related to various canals in the interior, the products of the whole of central Russia came to the port city.²⁵ Jebsen regularly entrusted the local shipbrokers Helmsing & Grimm with the brokerage of cargoes. In autumn 1883, for example, the “Signal” received a charter for a cargo of sands, flax, and oats from Riga to Ghent, Belgium.²⁶ The extent to which his cargo steamer fleet traversed European waters becomes evident from a letter of Jebsen to one of his shipmasters: Captain Friedrich Will was about to enter Schiedam (a trading and port town west of Rotterdam, The Netherlands), with the “Clara” in November 1882, shipping bulk goods from Riga via Copenhagen, Denmark. Jebsen informed him of the movements of the other ships:

I received your pleasing lines from Riga and Copenhagen and hope that by now you have arrived happily in Schiedam, from where the “Clara” will go back to Riga, i.e., Bolderaa [Bolderāja, outport for Riga] or Libau [important port town in Russian Kurland], to make the last voyage for Messrs. Helmsing & Grimm. (...) The “Doris” & the “Triumph” passed

ballast voyages were kept to the bare minimum, and where destination ports were equally good loads.” Miller, *Europe and the Maritime World*, 95–96. See also *The Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea*, ed. by Ian Dear (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 591; Gerhard Westphal, *Lexikon der Schifffahrt* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1981), 195.

- 24 JJHA, A01-01-287, letter from Michael Jebsen (Rotterdam) to Alfred Longsdon (Essen), 16 December 1878 [the original letter is in English]. A remarkable feature of the captain’s final freight accounts (in German: *Kapitänsabrechnungen*), which are also preserved in the company archives, is that they contain only statements about earnings (from freight) and spending (on crew salaries, coal, and other costs) but they offer no indication of the volume of freight. Jebsen once admitted that he had no information about such figures. JJHA, A01-01-314, letter from Michael Jebsen (Apenrade) to the Flensburg Chamber of Trade, 4 May 1897. It is, therefore, impossible to provide reliable figures for commodities nor can growth rates be established. So, the only evidence about the kinds of cargoes the Jebsen coasters carried are occasional remarks in his or his captain’s letters.
- 25 As the maritime journal “Hansa” reported on 4 August 1878, a German captain had submitted a letter to them pointing to the fact that such a lively trade movement developed in Riga during the summer “that even someone already acquainted with the conditions can still be filled with amazement and admiration”. [the original text is in German; the translation is by the author].
- 26 JJHA, A01-01-211, letter from Michael Jebsen (Apenrade) to Captain T. Bergemann (Stettin), 12 October 1883 [the original letter is in German; the translation is by the author]. Bergemann’s full first name could not be identified from the files.

Copenhagen today, the former destined for Rouen and the latter for Dunkirk, after which the “Doris” will make two voyages to Spain and back; where the “Triumph” is going is yet uncertain. The “Signal” lies loaded in Newcastle [on Tyne: important English industrial and port city with a large coal export] destined for Flensburg, has taken a long time for the round trip to Sweden (...).²⁷

In May 1883, Jebsen sent the following letter to Turner, Brightman & Co., a London-based shipping company and shipbroker, which had temporarily chartered the “Signal” for shipping bulk goods from northern Russia to Britain:

In exchange with my yesterday's respects I received your telegrams reading 1st “Would you give option discharging [at Kingston upon] Hull [an English port city upon the River Hull in Yorkshire], with “Signal” to which I replied by wire “Agree to option Hull;” 2nd “Presume if merchants load wood cargo paying you five eighty pounds for London or east coast you pay for loading stowing and discharging cargo” and confirm my wire reply to same “Yes, provided time and expenses not exceed such for grain cargoes.” I think loading and discharging can be done in almost the same time, but loading and discharging wood incurs considerably more expense, but this could all be arranged amicably when the “Signal” comes to London, as I have the vouchers at hand for loading & discharging grain cargoes, which I would send you to facilitate the arrangement. Trusting you will soon decide when to send the “Signal” on return from Archangel [Arkhangelsk, a Russian port city on both banks of the Northern Dvina near its mouth into the White Sea] so as to make me to inform the captain whom to apply to at that place.²⁸

Frequently Corresponding with Captains

British maritime historian Adam W. Kirkaldy once pointed out that the first qualification required by a managing shipowner was “a knowledge of men, an unerring judgment, and a genius for selecting the right man for a given position.”²⁹ For Michael Jebsen, the captains of his ships formed another crucial network in which he was a kind of spider in the web. Networks exercised significant regulatory functions, whereby in the shipping business it was primarily a matter of the multifaceted interaction between the locally based shipowner and the captains sailing far away, but also of the systems of rules on the ships, i.e., the relationship between the captain, the officers, and the rest of the crew. The intensive evaluation of Jebsen's extensive correspondence made it possible

27 JJHA, A01-01-321, letter from Michael Jebsen (Apenrade) to Captain Friedrich Will (Schiedam), 4 December 1882 [the original letter is in German; the translation is by the author].

28 JJHA, A01-01-321, letter from Michael Jebsen (Apenrade) to Turner, Brightman & Co. (London), 30 May 1883 [the original letter is in English].

29 Kirkaldy, *British Shipping*, 152.

to systematically examine these rules and norms of the network economy for a shipping company operating European coastal and short-sea shipping, as well as to present and analyse the complex functioning (and occasional non-functioning) based on case studies. Starting with the hiring of the captain and the machinists, Jebsen was involved in virtually all aspects of the ship's operation, including complicated technical issues, the local cargo business, and the procurement of coal for firing the steam engines. His main task was to set standards and rules for economically efficient operation, whose compliance he strictly monitored and whose non-compliance he sanctioned. The system of rules he introduced in the network with the captains of his steamships forms one of the most interesting aspects of his activity.



Figure 4. Michael Jebsen (1835–1899) in his old age

Source: Ernst Hieke, *Die Reederei M. Jebsen A.G. Apenrade* (Hamburg: Hamburgische Bücherei, 1953), [no page number: between 68–69].

Confidence in a shipmaster was so important because in the longer-distance trades he had to be a person who could be relied upon to handle both navigational and commercial functions. As soon as the ship left home, the captain was a person with almost omnipotent power or “master next to god” (in French: “le seul maître après Dieu”). The great independence of the shipmaster made a reliable relationship between shipowner and captain indispensable.³⁰ Since confidence in a person was usually enhanced through personal acquaintance, it is not surprising that most of the masters of Jebsen's ships came

30 In order to regulate the relationship between managing shipowners and captains, binding legal norms were laid down in Imperial Germany's Commercial Code (in German: *Handelsgesetzbuch*). The managing shipowner was authorised to employ and dismiss the captain, to agree with him the nature of the remuneration and other material benefits, to delegate to him certain powers with regard to the crew, the ship and the cargo, and to instruct him in all technical and economic matters of the ship's management. Jann Markus Witt, *Master next God? Der nordeuropäische Handelsschiffskapitän vom 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: Convent, 2001), 85–98.

from his hometown of Apenrade or the neighbouring regions in Schleswig-Holstein. Many of them bought shares in his shipping company and thus became co-owners. Some had previously been masters of sailing or steam ships elsewhere, but most began their service as mates on board a Jebsen steamer and were later appointed captain when a vacancy arose. From his Apenrade office, the shipowner was in regular contact with his captains by letter and telegram, dealing not only with technical matters and personnel, but also with the procurement of lucrative freight orders, often, but not always, in co-operation with brokerage houses in the port cities. Intensive regular correspondence was necessary, as it is evident in Jebsen's numerous correspondences with masters.

This functioning of this system becomes clearer when presenting some quotes from Jebsen's letters. In November 1882, he strongly advised Jochen Schuldt, temporarily the captain of the "Signal", to hire a better crew and to care for more economy on board. This came with the warning that he might be dismissed as captain:

If the "Signal" goes to Danzig [Gdansk] or another German port, then I would like to recommend that you finally get the muster roll [a list of sailors in a ship's crew] in order, or rather, that the men be signed off and signed on from time to time, so that they cannot slip through your fingers in any port. In general, I must ask you again to take more care of your ship, because if you continue as before, then [your] advancement to a larger ship is out of the question, and I will not even be able to justify it to my co-shipowners to keep you in service any longer. You are on the blacklist of all co-shipowners, both in Apenrade and Hamburg, and I am often asked whether I still want to leave you in command of the ship, etc. If I had not taken an interest in you all along, which I do not need to assure you of, then you would have been replaced in the "Signal" by another captain long ago, but in the end my patience can wear thin.³¹

In another case, Jebsen finally dismissed the master because of repeated economic damage to the shipping company. Captain T. Bergemann, who was captain of the "Signal" in 1883,³² had let the steamer fall into such disrepair that expensive engine and ship repairs were constantly necessary. Jebsen informed him in September that he expected "you to take more care of your ship from now on and, in good agreement with your officers and machinists, to do your utmost to finally earn something for the shipping company." Because Bergemann, in his opinion, spent too little time on board during lay days, he urged him: "With such a small steamer, the captain must be "au fait"

31 JJHA, A01-01-291, letter from Michael Jebsen (Apenrade) to Captain Jochen Schuldt (Newcastle upon Tyne), 18 November 1882 [the original letter is in German; the translation is by the author].

32 Captain T. Bergemann, whose full first name is not evident from the files, had apparently been appointed as a temporary replacement for Captain Carl August Hundewadt, regular master of the "Signal" from 1880 to 1886. Therefore, Bergemann's name is not in the captains' list of the "Signal," see Hieke, *Die Reederei M. Jebsen A.G. Apenrade*, 246. Since Bergemann probably came from Grabow on the Oder (Grabowo), a town in Pomerania north of Stettin (Szczecin), he did not belong to the group of most captains of Jebsen from northern Schleswig-Holstein.

[in the picture] everywhere, his presence on board is just as necessary in port as at sea.” Although he had given him a clear reprimand with the remark “playing at the big gentleman, nothing comes of it,”³³ he had to discover some days later that the shipmaster had purchased accessories for the “Signal’s” anchor capstan in Flensburg, although he already had ordered such utensils from an English company beforehand. Jebsen was outraged by the expensive double purchase:

If you continue to dispose of things in this way, I will eventually have to replace you in command of the “Signal” with another captain, as sorry as I am for you. You are definitely lacking the necessary calm, objective consideration, which [I] have already reproached you with on several occasions, and this has already cost the shipping company of the steamer a lot of money.³⁴

A little while later, Jebsen had no patience anymore. After the “Signal” tilted heavily in the port of Stettin in mid-October 1883 while unloading cargo, Bergemann had the forward water tank filled to stabilise it, causing a pipe to break, water to enter the forward hold and damage the rye cargo. The stunned Jebsen told the captain that he could only wonder “that you [had] let water in without first making sure that the tanks were tight. If you had the shipping company’s best interests at heart, you would have to know about it on board the “Signal.”³⁵ Through the mediation of his Stettin shipbroker Gustav Metzler, Jebsen finally reached a compromise with the charterer, so that the latter’s claim for damages could be limited to 1400 marks.³⁶ However, with the “Stettin disaster” (in German: “Stettiner Katastrophe”), as he called it, his patience with Bergemann was at an end. The captain was ordered to hand over the ship’s command to another shipmaster dispatched by Jebsen. Although Bergemann objected to the decision soon later, Jebsen did not enter any discussion and wished the captain “to soon get another ship to lead, with which you may then have more luck than with the “Signal.”³⁷ Bergemann’s firing on the spot caused a stir among the other captains of his shipping company after Jebsen had informed them of the incident by circular letter with clear admonitions. In response to a question, the shipowner made it clear that it was his duty

33 JJHA, A01-01-307, letter from Michael Jebsen (Kissingen) to Captain T. Bergemann (Kronstadt), 14 September 1883 [the original letter is in German; the translation is by the author].

34 JJHA, A01-01-307, letter from Michael Jebsen (Kissingen) to Captain T. Bergemann (Stettin), 18 September 1883 [the original letter is in German; the translation is by the author].

35 JJHA, A01-01-211, letter from Michael Jebsen (Apenrade) to Captain T. Bergemann (Riga), 18 October 1883 [the original letter is in German; the translation is by the author].

36 JJHA, A01-01-211, letter from Michael Jebsen (Apenrade) to Gustav Metzler (Stettin), 19 October 1883, 21 October 1883 and 24 October 1883; telegram from Michael Jebsen to Gustav Metzler (no places and dates [25. or 26 October 1883]) [the original correspondence is in German; the translation is by the author].

37 JJHA, A01-01-307, letter from Michael Jebsen (Apenrade) to Captain T. Bergemann (Ghent), 30 October 1883; JJHA, A01-01-211, letter from Michael Jebsen (Apenrade) to Captain T. Bergemann (Grabow on the Oder), 15 November 1883 [the original letter is in German; the translation is by the author].

to “act vigorously to prevent such repetitions, which are an embarrassment for our shipping company.”³⁸ With this precedent, every captain was clearly faced with the danger of losing his position if he ran his ship uneconomically for a prolonged period and even caused damages that significantly reduced dividends for the co-owners of the vessel. Because Jebsen, as the managing shipowner, was responsible to his partners for operating the steamers as efficiently as possible, he did everything he could to instruct the captains accordingly. Thus, running the ship as economically as possible was a constant theme in his letters to the captains, even when they sailed in Asian waters: “Order and thrift are qualities that can never be practised too much, and I consider it my duty as a correspondent shipowner to draw the attention of the captains of my shipping company to this, may it be pleasant for you or not. But stingy and thrifty are two very different qualities, which may well be kept separate.”³⁹ What he was concerned with was “thrift well applied,”⁴⁰ thus not saving as an end in itself and without thought, but a balanced and flexible economic management on board. Especially when freight rates were low, Jebsen sent out his appeals for thrift.

Conclusion

The strong affiliation to sailing ships in most German Baltic ports in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and the sluggish and inflexible form of the ship-owning partnership, can be regarded as the major reason for the gradual decline of the shipping industry in this region. However, the general lack of well-funded investors not connected with local shipping interests also points to the structural disadvantages of the Baltic Sea when compared with the North Sea. Most Baltic ports were situated in predominantly agricultural regions, with relatively underdeveloped heavy industries and lacked both the technological base to develop modern steamship yards and the financially powerful investment groups who might be prepared to put their money into steamships. To these factors added important rational and emotional reasons, as demonstrated in the case study of Apenrade (Aabenraa), the centre of sail shipping in Schleswig-Holstein, whose local investor network was unable and unwilling to switch from sail to steam. The case of Michael Jebsen demonstrates the difficult process of establishing a steamship company in an economic setting which had comprehensible reasons to hold on to the sail.

38 JJHA, A01-01-307, letter from Michael Jebsen (Apenrade) to Captain Friedrich Will (Schiedam), 21 November 1883 [the original letter is in German; the translation is by the author].

39 JJHA, A01-01-214, letter from Michael Jebsen (Apenrade) to Captain Friedrich Boysen (Hong Kong), 20 July 1884 [the original letter is in German; the translation is by the author].

40 JJHA, A01-01-310, letter from Michael Jebsen (Apenrade) to Captain Jacob Petersen (Singapore), 10 November 1897 [the original letter is in German; the translation is by the author].

The strategies Jebsen adopted to find investors for his steamship company was to mainly rely on befriended business partners outside his hometown, especially on the brothers Diederichsen in Hamburg who had the far-sightedness and the capital for investing into modern steam technology and the self-interest to support the shipyard of their relatives, the brothers Howaldt in Kiel, with shipbuilding orders from Apenrade. This well-functioning triangular network formed the backbone of the M. Jebsen Shipping Company until 1911 when the traditional ship-owning partnership was converted into a joint-stock company. But even after Jebsen's death (1899), his son had almost all the ships built by Howaldt in Kiel (until 1930) which demonstrated the deep-rooted trust between the two companies. The business strategies Michael Jebsen used to operate his steamers in European waters, from 1878 to 1885, ranged from the economically sensible, thus mostly economical use of crews and ships to the adaptation to special wishes of brokers. With the help of the correct application of such strategies, Jebsen succeeded in keeping his fleet profitable overall (even if individual ships made losses at times), successively expanding the steamer fleet through new shipbuilding, and regularly paying dividends to his co-shipowners. As the letters to his captains demonstrate, Jebsen was highly critical with the conduct of his masters whether it was in navigational-technical or financial-commercial matters. In times of depression and lower freight rates the shipowner constantly appealed to masters to employ thriftiness in order to save costs and keep the ships profitable. Such comprehensive and flexible strategies which were developed in order to be able to hold one's own in the market are impressively reflected in his letters. With these letters it is possible to describe and evaluate both the general and specific conditions which influenced the shipping company and to demonstrate the modes by which the managing shipowner could instruct and control shipmasters and agents. Considering the paucity of surviving records for other firms and individuals involved in coastal and short-sea shipping worldwide, the material preserved is still extraordinary.

With the gradual shift of the fleet to Hong Kong from 1881, where higher profits could be generated,⁴¹ many contacts of Michael Jebsen in Europe fell asleep. In 1895, the managing shipowner stated that he had "partially lost business relations with the European houses" because "all my steamships have already been sailing along the coast of China for some time." Only the "friendly companies in Holland, England and Belgium" he also mentioned remained as contacts because their owners or executives were involved

41 The steady decline of freight rates in European waters from the end of 1880, for which several factors were responsible, proved to be the strongest pull-factor for Jebsen and other medium-sized European shipping companies to dispatch their fleets either partly or entirely to the Far East. The East Asian market with its huge capacity for shipping and trading offered fresh opportunities for European merchant vessels to find profitable employment for as long as China, Japan and other countries in the region did not possess their own modern merchant marines. Becker, "Coastal Shipping in East Asia in the Late Nineteenth Century," 254–257.

in his company as co-shipowners.⁴² Usually, after the Jebsen steamers were built in Kiel or Hamburg, they had a short test run in Europe before sailing off to Hong Kong via the Suez Canal and the Indian Ocean. The ships only returned to Europe for larger repairs or when being sold. Until the First World War, and even thereafter, this British crown colony used to be the home base for the entire fleet of the M. Jebsen Shipping Company, whose headquarters remained in Apenrade (Aabenraa) until the last ship was relinquished in the late 1970s.

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SUMMARY

The article looks at the transport revolution of the nineteenth century, focusing on coastal and short-sea shipping. It points out that despite their crucial role in the Industrial Revolution in Europe and the United States, steam-driven coasters have been either ignored or downplayed by historians. This may be due to the paucity of surviving records. A fortunate exception is the archive of the M. Jebsen Shipping Company in Aabenraa, Denmark. The preserved letter copy books make it possible to trace the early history of the company in European coastal and short-sea shipping, as well as the work of its founder Michael Jebsen and his networks. The article examines the general position of the Baltic port of Aabenraa (or Apenrade), a bulwark of sailing ships in Schleswig-Holstein in Denmark (later in Prussia, Germany), and the attitudes of the local network of investors, who, for rational and emotional reasons, proved unwilling to switch from sail to steam. Jebsen's only option was to set up a ship-owning partnership in which he himself, a family member, and a few business friends from outside his hometown, including the Diederichsen brothers in Hamburg, took over most shares. The brothers were able to turn the shipbuilding business of their relatives, Georg, Bernhard, and Hermann Howaldt in Kiel, into Jebsen's house shipyard which built until 1930 most of his company's vessels. This triangular financing and shipbuilding network ensured the success of Jebsen's business in European waters from 1878 to 1885 and even in East Asia. Another crucial factor was his network of shipmasters sailing in the maritime region between northern Russia and southern Spain. From his office in Aabenraa, Jebsen kept his captains constantly and intensively informed by letter and telegram about technical and personnel matters, as well as about lucrative freight contracts. This correspondence, preserved in the company's archives, also shows the system of rules that Jebsen strictly monitored and sanctioned. Running the ship as economically as possible was a constant theme in his letters to the captains. The article attempts to combine the macro and micro perspectives in the description and analysis of the background and early history of a European steam shipping company operating small and medium-sized merchant vessels in the late seventies and early eighties of the nineteenth century.

M. Jebsen Shipping Company w Apenrade, Szlezwik-Holsztyn: Żegluga przybrzeżna w Europie, 1878–1885

Słowa kluczowe: rewolucja w transporcie, Morze Bałtyckie, żegluga przybrzeżna, przedsiębiorstwa żeglugi parowej, armator, kapitanowie

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł analizuje rewolucję transportową XIX wieku, koncentrując się na żegludze przybrzeżnej i morskiej bliskiego zasięgu. Wskazuje, że pomimo kluczowej roli, jaką odegrały w rewolucji przemysłowej w Europie i Stanach Zjednoczonych, statki żeglugi przybrzeżnej napędzane parą były albo ignorowane, albo bagatelizowane przez historyków. Może to wynikać z niedostatku zachowanych zapisów. Szczęśliwym wyjątkiem jest archiwum M. Jebsen Shipping Company w Aabenraa w Danii. Zachowane kopie listów pozwalają prześledzić wczesną historię firmy w europejskiej żegludze przybrzeżnej i bliskiego zasięgu, a także pracę jej założyciela Michaela Jebsena i jego sieci. Artykuł analizuje ogólną pozycję bałtyckiego portu Aabenraa (lub Apenrade), bastionu żaglowców w Szlezwiku-Holsztynie w Danii (później w Prusach w Niemczech) oraz postawy lokalnej sieci inwestorów, którzy z racjonalnych i emocjonalnych powodów okazali się niechętni przejściu z żagli na parę. Jedynym wyjściem dla Jebsena było założenie spółki armatorskiej, w której większość udziałów przejął on sam, członek rodziny i kilku przyjaciół biznesowych spoza jego rodzinnego miasta, w tym bracia Diederichsen z Hamburga. Bracia byli w stanie przekształcić firmę stoczniową swoich krewnych, Georga, Bernharda i Hermanna Howaldtów w Kilonii, w stocznię domową Jebsena, która do 1930 r. budowała większość statków jego firmy. Ta trójstronna sieć finansowania i budowy statków zapewniła sukces działalności Jebsena na wodach europejskich w latach 1878–1885, a nawet w Azji Wschodniej. Kolejnym kluczowym czynnikiem była sieć kapitanów żeglujących w regionie morskim między północną Rosją a południową Hiszpanią. Ze swojego biura w Aabenraa Jebsen stale i intensywnie informował swoich kapitanów listownie i telegramami o sprawach technicznych i personalnych, a także o lukratywnych kontraktach frachtowych. Ta korespondencja, zachowana w archiwach firmy, pokazuje również system zasad, które Jebsen ściśle monitorował i sankcjonował. Prowadzenie statku w sposób jak najbardziej ekonomiczny było stałym tematem jego listów do kapitanów. W artykule podjęto próbę połączenia perspektywy makro i mikro w opisie i analizie tła i wczesnej historii europejskiego przedsiębiorstwa żeglugi parowej obsługującego małe i średnie statki handlowe na przełomie lat siedemdziesiątych i osiemdziesiątych XIX wieku.

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Judyta Dworas-Kulik

Department of History of the System and Law

The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

dworaskulik@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0002-1990-5497

Obligations of the Policyholder and Liability of the Insurer in the Marine Insurance Contract in Poland between 1920 and 1961

Keywords: marine insurance policy, maritime shipping, property insurance, maritime risk, compensation for a loss.

Introduction

The origins of marine insurance derive from an ancient maritime loan, general average, and the early forms of mutual insurance.¹ Pope Gregory IX's ban on usurious marine loans imposed in the thirteenth century provided impetus for the growth of insurance as an independent institution. However, the two were closely intertwined until the middle of the nineteenth century.² The oldest insurance documentation concerning

- 1 The maritime loan (*poenus nauticum*; also *pactunia traiectica*) was a way to raise funds and an instrument for transferring financial (insurance) risk to a different entity, as it constituted a credit and trading transaction involving a transfer of a risk to the other party to the credit agreement. The maritime loan contained many elements characterising today's marine insurance, including essentially the payment of an insurance premium for the price of the risk. *Lex Rhodia de iactu* (the discharge maritime), on the other hand, was the original form of mutual insurance. It consisted in distributing the risk among the participants in a joint undertaking. For more on this, see: Grzegorz Blicharz, "Pożyczka morska w zachodniej tradycji prawnej," *Studia Iuridica* 58 (2014): 9–29; Idem, "Prawne aspekty finansowania transportu morskiego w starożytnym Rzymie," *Czasopismo Prawno – Historyczne* 54 (2012), 2: 291–314; Idem, "Pożyczka morska. Ślepa uliczka zachodniej tradycji prawnej?," *Forum Prawnicze* 15 (2013), 1: 28–35; Pitman Benjamin Potter, *The Freedom of the Seas in History, Law and Politics* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1924), 11; Stanisław Płodzień, *Lex Rhodia de iactu. Studium historyczno-prawne z zakresu rzymskiego prawa handlowo morskiego* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2011); Waldemar Bednaruk, "Wpływ ubezpieczeń na rozwój transportu morskiego w epoce wczesno nowożytnej," *Teka Komisji Prawniczej Oddział PAN w Lublinie* 11 (2018), 2: 20–21; Marian Huget, *Ubezpieczenia przewozów morskich* (Gdynia: Wydawnictwo Morskie, 1960), 11–22.
- 2 Władysław Sowiński, *Prawo handlowe morskie w zarysie* (Lwów: Książnica Atlas, 1935), 167–168; Wojciech Kasperski, *System ubezpieczeń gospodarczych w międzywojennej Polsce* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo SAWP KUL, 2019), 34–38; Edward Kabat, *Przezorny zawsze ubezpieczony: dzieje ubezpieczeń* (Breń: Instytut Pomocy Młodzieży, 2007), 36–37; Jan Łopuski, *Odpowiedzialność za szkodę w żegludze*

property insurance in sea transport goes back to the turn of the fourteenth century.³ It is worth adding that, besides the contract of insurance, maritime statutes were a separate source of law in Italian coastal cities. They contained regulations on shipping and maritime trade, and things such as ownership of seagoing vessels, the shipowner's liability, the ship's company, contract of carriage, joint failure, ship collision and maritime loan. Italian sources became the basis for the further development of maritime law, as the Spanish 14th century collection *Libro del Consulado del Mar* was partly based on them.⁴ However, the first legal regulations concerning maritime insurance contracts, were established only in the fifteenth century (e.g., the Ordinance of Barcelona of 1435, the Statutes of Genoa of 1467).⁵ With the increased dynamism of sea transport in the era of great geographical discoveries, there was a time when marine insurance developed to become an increasingly important element of compensatory relations and maritime trade.⁶ Marine insurance, which was first developed in Italy, also came to Hamburg with the Dutch who fled after the fall of Antwerp. The first mention of a maritime insurance

morskiej (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Morskie, 1969), 45–50; Idem, *Encyklopedia podręczna prawa morskiego* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Morskie, 1982), 76; Edward Montalbetti, *Ubezpieczenia morskie* (Warszawa: nakł. Powszechnego Zakładu Ubezpieczeń Wzajemnych, 1948), 5; Huget, *Ubezpieczenia przewozów*, 36–38.

- 3 Kasperski, *System ubezpieczeń*, 26–29; Marian Szczęśniak, *Zarys dziejów ubezpieczeń na ziemiach polskich* (Warszawa: Przedsiębiorstwo Wydawnicze LAM, 2003), 23.
- 4 Kasperski, *System ubezpieczeń*, 34–38; Bednaruk, "Wpływ ubezpieczeń," 21–25; Szczęśniak, *Zarys dziejów*, 29–30; Montalbetti, *Ubezpieczenia*, 5–8; Łopuski, *Encyklopedia*, 108; Huget, *Ubezpieczenia przewozów*, 24–25. Cf. Font Rius, José Maria, *Libro del Consulado del Mar. Edition del texto original Catalani y traducción Castellani de Antonio de Capmany* (Barcelona: Cámara oficial de Comercio y Navegación de Barcelona, 1965), 7–58 and the prologue.
- 5 The owner of a vessel or cargo surrendered his right to receive monies upon signing the contract, agreeing to be paid only in the event of damage or loss to the vessel or cargo during the voyage. He paid a predetermined fee for this transaction. In the last stage of insurance loan evolution, the loan element was eliminated, and loans gained the character of solely premium-based marine insurance. See: Sowiński, *Prawo handlowe*, 168.
- 6 At this point it is also worth adding that in the 16th century, further regulation of marine insurance took place in Spain, Flanders, and Italy by means of ordinances. This was also the time when insurers started organising themselves into associations to defend their common interests, share risks, and popularise information about sea perils and averages. In the 17th century, a shipping information centre and an insurance exchange were set up in Lloyd's Coffee House, where shipowners and cargo owners would create assurance funds from the premiums they contributed. The operation of this association led to the signing of the first insurance contracts and the payment of compensations thereunder. Apart from individual insurers associated at Lloyd's of London, 17th-century England saw the establishment of the first marine insurance companies based on joint stock: the London Assurance Corporation and the Royal Exchange Assurance Corporation. The two insurers were incorporated in the eighteenth century and the rise of companies resulted from the 1825 repeal of legislation passed in 1720 that had banned companies other than the two in question. In the nineteenth century, they dominated the marine insurance market, although they never overshadowed Lloyd's. Cf. Gustav Fischer, "Ein Lloyds-Zirkular betreffend die Feststellung des Versicherungswertes in der Seeversicherung," *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv* (1918) 13: 236–238. For more on this, see: Łopuski, *Odpowiedzialność*, 51–53, Idem, *Encyklopedia*, 108–109; Magdalena Adamowicz, "Ubezpieczenia morskie," in: *Leksykon prawa morskiego 100 podstawowych pojęć*, eds. Dorota Pyć and Iwona Zużewicz-Wiewiórowska (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo

policy taken out in Hamburg dates from 1588.⁷ Hamburg's trade flourished, so did the insurance exchange, and in 1765 the first *Assecuranzgesellschaft auf Aktien* was founded in Hamburg. The conquest of Hamburg by the French meant that the business of insurance companies suffered severe blows damaged in favour of England. However, after 1815, the Hamburg insurance market managed to recover. By the end of the 19th century, marine insurance was regarded as part of the general transport insurance system.⁸ For the Polish regulation of marine insurance, mainly the German solutions from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries are relevant.

The first Polish codification of maritime law, containing regulations on the aforementioned institution was the Gdańsk city charter (Old Polish: *wilkierz*) of 1761.⁹ However, due to the partition of the Polish Republic, the legal systems of the partitioning states were effective in the Polish territory. When Poland regained independence in 1918, as sanctioned by the Treaty of Versailles of 1919,¹⁰ the country gained access to the sea. This helped the legal community understand that the country needed maritime law, which would be tailored to the systemic and legal needs of interwar Poland. The lack of domestic normative acts that could supplant the post-partition codes led to the adoption of the principle of continuity of law.¹¹

C.H. Beck, 2013), 557; Montalbetti, *Ubezpieczenia*, 8; Kasperski, *System ubezpieczeń*, 46–47; Huget, *Ubezpieczenia przewozów*, 42–70.

- 7 Heinrich Sieveking, "A. Kieseelbach, Die wirthschafts – Und rechtsgeschichtliche Entwicklung der Seeversicherung in Hamburg," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Germanistische Abteilung* 23 (1902), 1: 342.
- 8 Cf. State Archive in Gdańsk, Fonds: "Trade, Gdansk's merchants' books of accounts, maritime law," reference: 300, R/F, q1 and 300, R/ F, q2. See also: Sieveking, "A. Kieseelbach, Die wirthschafts," 342–344. See also: Edmund Cieślak, "Prawa i obowiązki kapitana statku w XII do XV w. według Rôles d'Oléron i prawa morskiego Związku Miast Hanzeatyckich z XIV i XV w.," *Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu* 17 (1951), 1–2: 61–87.
- 9 See: State Archive in Gdańsk, Fonds: "Wilkur" [The Gdańsk city charter], reference: 300, R/X, 3 and 300, R/X, 1. Cf. *Najstarszy tekst prawa morskiego w Gdańsku*, ed. and trans. Bernard Janik (Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1961). Cf. Stanisław Matysik, *Prawo morskie Gdańska: studium historycznoprawne* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Prawnicze, 1958); Idem, "Wspólne źródła prawa morskiego stosowanego na Bałtyku w przeszłości," *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 12 (1960), 1: 165–199; Idem, "Gdańska ordynacja prawa morskiego z początków XVI wieku," *Przegląd Zachodni* 8 (1952), 2 (5–8): 204–215; Tadeusz Maciejewski, "Prawo morskie w ustawodawstwie miasta Gdańska i innych miast pruskich lokowanych na prawie chełmińskim," *Prawo morskie* 8 (1995), 41–50; Idem, "Gdańskie źródła średniowiecznego prawa morskiego," *Studia z Dziejów Państwa i Prawa Polskiego* 5 (2000): 61–69. See also: Łopuski, *Encyklopedia*, 109; Jerzy Młynarczyk, "Ze studiów nad historią polskiego prawa morskiego," *Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Administracji i Biznesu* 19 (2012), 3: 15. Cf. Kazimierz Kruczałak, *Morskie prawo handlowe. Zagadnienia wybrane* (Gdańsk-Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Morskiego, 1992), 18–19; Huget, *Ubezpieczenia przewozów*, 27.
- 10 The Treaty of Peace Between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany, Signed at Versailles, 28th June 1919, *Dziennik Ustaw* (hereafter: Dz.U.) [Journal of Laws] of 1920, No. 35, item 200. See also: Archive of New Files, Fonds "The Polish delegation at the Paris Peace Conference," reference: 135.
- 11 On 14 December 1918, the first meeting of the Maritime Law Commission of the Warsaw Legal Society took place. The work of the Commission, led by Jan Jakub Litauer, lasted until 12 June 1919,

Legal regulation of marine insurance from 1920 to 1961

On the basis of the Act of 1 August 1919 on the Administration of the Former Prussian District,¹² the provisions of the German maritime law were adopted for the legislation of the Polish Republic and, though formally in force in the western territories of Poland, were applied commonly. In the German maritime law, marine insurance was codified in Chapter X “Insurance against shipping accidents,” systematised in Book IV of the German Commercial Code of 1897 (*Handelsgesetzbuch*, cited here as HGB) titled “Maritime Trade.”¹³ The HGB provisions, along with the changes effected by the amendment of 30 May 1908, did not address the entire scope of marine insurance; for that reason, the General Terms of Maritime Insurance of 1867 or (alternatively) the Bremen Terms of Maritime Insurance of 1875 were in force until 1919, superseded from 1919 by the German General Terms of Maritime Insurance (*Allgemeine Deutsche Seeversicherungsbedingungen*) when they became effective. The latter were agreed with shipowners’ associations, German marine insurance companies, forwarding agents and shipbrokers, as well as chambers of commerce.¹⁴

With respect to marine insurance in the interwar Poland, the provisions applicable in the territory of the former Russian and Austrian Partition, had no practical significance.

interrupted by virtue of Poland’s political situation and the risk of losing independence. Work on the unification of the Maritime and River Code resumed in 1932. See: Judyta Dworas-Kulik, “Rzeczowe zabezpieczenie wierzytelności morskich w międzywojennej Polsce,” *Roczniki Nauk Prawnych* 28 (2018), 3: 35; Eadem, “Przywilej morski w Polsce w okresie międzywojennym na tle porównawczym,” *Biuletyn Stowarzyszenia Absolwentów i Przyjaciół Wydziału Prawa KUL* 13 (2018), 2: 66; Młynarczyk, “Ze studiów,” 16–17. Cf. Montalbetti, *Ubezpieczenia*, 3.

12 Dziennik Praw Państwa Polskiego no. 64, item 385. For more on the sources of maritime law in inter-war Poland, see: Stanisław Matysik, *Podręcznik prawa morskiego* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1963), 29–30; Aleksy Majewski, *Prawo morskie* (Gdynia-Tczew: Instytut Wydawniczy Szkoły Morskiej, 1930), 4–5; Młynarczyk, “Ze studiów,” 16–17; Krucalak, *Morskie*, 4–5. See also: *Polskie przepisy morskie*, ed. Zbigniew Toczyski (Warsaw: Księgarnia F. Hoesicka, 1933).

13 HGB §§ 778–900, translated into Polish and published by Tadeusz Zborowski as *Niemiecki kodeks handlowy z dnia 10 maja 1897, z uwzględnieniem ustaw uzupełniających* (Poznań: Drukarnia Nakładowa Braci Winiewiczów, 1912), 210–46; *Zbiór ustaw ziem zachodnich*, vol. 18, *Handlowe i prywatne prawo morskie obowiązujące w Polsce oraz przepisy o polskich statkach handlowych* (Poznań: Krajowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1925), 79–115.

14 See: Max Pappenheim, “Das Recht der Seeversicherung. Ein Kommentar zu den Allgemeinen Deutschen Seeversicherungs-Bedingungen,” *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv* 19 (1923): 146–148; Heiko Ohling, “Erläuterungen zu den Allgemeinen Deutschen Seeversicherungs-Bedingungen (ADS),” in: *Export-Import-Expedition* (Wiesbaden: Gabler Verlag, 1979), 141–189; Idem, “Erläuterungen zu den Allgemeinen Deutschen Seeversicherungs-Bedingungen (ADS),” in: *Handbuch Export-Import-Expedition* (Wiesbaden: Gabler Verlag, 1986), 253–302. Cf. Majewski, *Prawo*, 202; Sowiński, *Prawo handlowe*, 168–169; see also: Leon Litwiński, *Handel morski w praktyce: zwięzły podręcznik opatrzonego morskim słownikiem handlowym polsko-angielsko-francusko-niemieckim w oprac. Członków Sekcji Studium Morskiego przy Kole Studentów Polaków w Antwerpji* (Tczew: nakł. Instytutu Wydawniczego Szkoły Morskiej, 1928), 32–36; Władysław Górski, “Zagadnienia prawne ubezpieczeń morskich,” *Technika i Gospodarka Morska* 11 (1961), 2: 42; Krucalak, *Morskie*, 4–5; Huget, *Ubezpieczenia przewozów*, 27; Łopuski, *Encyklopedia*, 109.

An insurance contract was governed by the regulations applicable at the place of its conclusion, which was also reflected in the provisions of the inter-district law.¹⁵ The lack of direct access to the sea and coastline rendered the said provisions null and void. For the same reason, the German maritime law provisions—though formally in force in the western territories of Poland—were applied commonly since the marine navigation headquarters were located in Gdańsk and Gdynia after the completion of the port construction in 1929.¹⁶

Book IV of the HGB were neither modified nor repealed in the whole inter-war period as the Polish codification of the first part of the commercial law did not cover issues pertaining to sea transport and insurance, so that the existing regulations in this regard were upheld.¹⁷ It should be noted here that the codification work on the adoption of the Maritime and River Code (dubbed the Sułkowski Code after its author), which was to be the second part of the Commercial Code, did not encompass issues related to marine insurance, as it was planned to regulate them in the codification of private insurance law, legislated as the third part of the Commercial Code.¹⁸ The work aimed at completing the Sułkowski Code and drafting insurance law was interrupted by the outbreak of World War II.¹⁹

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- 15 See: Articles 9, 11–12 of the Act of 2 August 1926 on the law applicable to internal private relations, Dz.U. of 1926, No. 101, item 580. Cf. Dworas-Kulik, “Rzeczowe,” 35–36. More about the inter-district law see: Robert Jastrzębski, “Prawo Prywatne międzydzielnicowe. Zarys problematyki,” *Krakowskie Studia z Historii Państwa i Prawa* 8 (2015), 3: 288.
 - 16 Por. Archive of New Files, Fonds “Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” reference: 2385. See: Judyta Dworas-Kulik, “Budowa portu w Gdyni jako gwarancja niezależności odrodzonej Polski,” in: *Logos i Ethos w Polityce. Księga Jubileuszowa Profesora Stanisława Wójcika*, eds. Agnieszka Łukasiewicz-Turecka and Konrad Słowiński (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2020), 145–154. Cf. Jordan Siemianowski, “The Circumstances of the Establishment of “Żegluga Polska” in 1926,” *Studia Maritima* 35 (2022): 85–111; Sławomir Borowicz, Tadeusz Łodykowski, Janusz Żurek, *Polska flota transportowa w latach 1918–1981* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo UG, 1988), 12–49.
 - 17 Cf. State Archive in Bydgoszcz, Fond: “Das Deutsche Wasserrecht im Allgemeinen” [German water law in general] v. I, reference: 9247. Cf. Article 3 in connection with Article 21 (1) of the Order of the President of the Republic of Poland of 27 Oct. 1933 – Implementing Provisions for the Commercial Code, Dz.U. [Journal of Laws] of 1933, No. 82, item 601. Similar regulations were included in Article 6 in connection with Article 24 (1) of the Order of the President of the Republic of Poland of 27 June 1934 – Provisions Implementing the Commercial Code, Dz.U. [Journal of Laws] of 1934, No. 57, item 503.
 - 18 For more details, see: Codification Commission, *Report of the President of the Codification Commission*, 1 June 1932–31 March 1934, in: *Komisja Kodyfikacyjna Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Dział Ogólny*, vol. 1, bk. 16 (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Urzędowe Komisji Kodyfikacyjnej, 1934), 7–8; Codification Commission, *Report of the President of the Codification Commission*, 1 June 1934–31 March 1937, in: *Komisja Kodyfikacyjna Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Dział Ogólny*, vol. 1, bk. 17 (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Urzędowe Komisji Kodyfikacyjnej, 1937), 20–23. It is worth adding that on 1 December 1934, the Polish Maritime Law Association was established, whose aims included joint work on a Polish maritime code (for more details, see: Leon Mirza-Kryczyński, “Polskie Stowarzyszenie Prawa Morskiego,” *Głos Sądownictwa* 8 (1936), 11: 892–898.
 - 19 Krzysztof Zaorski, “Udział Bronisława Hełczyńskiego w pracach Komisji Kodyfikacyjnej Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej,” *Miscellanea Historico-Iuridica* 17 (2018), 1: 325–333; Dworas-Kulik, “Przywilej,” 69–70; Eadem, “Rzeczowe,” 36; Kruczałak, *Morskie*, 6–7; Józef Sułkowski, “Prace nad kodeksem

The legal regulations of Book IV of the German Commercial Code relating to marine insurance (§§ 778–900 with amendments of 30 May 1908) were also in force in the first years of the Polish People's Republic until the Polish Maritime Code was promulgated in 1961.²⁰ The restoration of the legal situation of pre-war Poland and the unification of maritime law were sanctioned by Article 3 of the Decree of 30 March 1945 on the Creation of the Voivodeship of Gdańsk²¹ and Article 4 of the Decree of 13 November 1945 on the Administration of the Regained Territories.²² Thus, despite the system,

morskim i rzeczonym w okresie międzywojennym,” *Technika i Gospodarka Morska* 12 (1962), 2: 53–54; Młynarczyk, “Ze studiów,” 18–19. In the years 1939–1945 the region of Pomerania was annexed to the German Reich, but marine insurance regulations in this area were not repealed, because in virtue of Hitler's decree of 1939 they were not considered as contrary to German law. Also, the WWII maritime legislation of the legal Polish authorities in exile did not regulate marine insurance, leaving it intact. See: Jerzy Młynarczyk, “Polskie ustawodawstwo morskie w latach 1939–1945,” in: *Polskie prawo prywatne w dobie przemian. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesorowi Jerzemu Młynarczykowi* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo UG, 2005), 179–187; Młynarczyk, “Ze studiów,” 20. It should be emphasised that the subject of maritime law in force between 1939 and 1961 was not addressed more thoroughly in jurisprudence on maritime law.

- 20 The need for a Polish maritime law was felt acutely in the first years after the war. The first drafts of maritime commercial law by Józef Górski and Jerzy Falenciak were prepared between 1946 and 1949. The drafts were discussed among lawyers, but did not receive the legislative go-ahead. Further work on the draft was undertaken in 1950. The first draft was prepared by Michał Szuldenfrei, Director of the Office of Legislative Work of the Office of the Council of Ministers. However, it was not until the seventh redaction in 1960 that legislative work on the Maritime Code was completed (Cf. Stanisław Darski, “Znaczenie i podstawowe założenia kodeksu morskiego,” *Technika i Gospodarka Morska* 12 (1962), 2: 33–34; Antoni Walczuk, “Przebieg prac nad kodeksem morskim,” *Technika i Gospodarka Morska* 12 (1962), 2: 35–36. See: Archive of New Files, Fonds “Ministry of Justice in Warsaw,” reference: 285/9818: 374–389 of the draft Polish Maritime Code. Cf. Title VI of the Polish Maritime Code of 1961 concerns marine insurance. Division I contains provisions governing maritime insurance contracts (Articles 256–276) and Division II contains regulations relating to the execution of marine insurance contracts (Articles 277–301). See: The Act of 1 Dec. 1961 – Maritime Code (Dz.U. [Journal of Laws] of 1961, No. 58, item 318). Pursuant to Article 2 (1–2) of the Act of 1 Dec. 1961 – Provisions Implementing the Commercial Code (Dz.U. [Journal of Laws] of 1961, No. 58, item 319) the following ceased to be effective: the provisions of Book IV of the Commercial Code of 10 May 1897 (Reichsgesetzblatt [Reich Law Gazette], 219), provisions of §§ 93–104 of this Code and Articles 6–7 of the act implementing the Commercial Code (Reichsgesetzblatt, 437). Moreover, the following became ineffective: §§ 1259–1272 of the 1896 Civil Code, the Act of 17 May 1874 on shipwrecked persons (Reichsgesetzblatt, 75) and the Act of 5 February 1906 on sea routes (Reichsgesetzblatt, 120). The next article repealed some of the provisions enacted by the Polish inter-war legislator. For more on this, see: Matysik, *Podręcznik*, 300–317; Jan Łopuski, *Prawo morskie dla oficerów marynarki handlowej i rybołówstwa* (Gdynia: Wydawnictwo Morskie, 1965), 340–353; Wojciech Popiela, *Ubezpieczenia i wypadki morskie* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo WSM, 1980), 15–237.
- 21 Dz.U. [Journal of Laws] of 1945, No. 11, item 57. The communist authorities repealed the legislation of the former Free City of Gdańsk and the former German Reich, thus restoring in Gdańsk Voivodeship the regulations from before 1 September 1939.
- 22 Dz.U. [Journal of Laws] of 1945, No. 1, item 295. The provisions of the decree extended to the Regained Territories the regulations that were in force in the jurisdiction of the Voivodeship Court in Poznań. See: Młynarczyk, “Ze studiów,” 21; Matysik, *Podręcznik*, 35. The activity of Polish insurance companies and insurance brokers (sea agents and shipbrokers) was subject to the control of the Minister of Treasury, and the Finance Minister from 1952 (see: Article 91 of the Order of the President of the Republic of Poland of 26 Jan. 1928 on insurance control, Dz.U. of 1928, No. 9, item 64; Article 91 of the Decree

political and economic changes in Poland after World War II and the growing use of machinery on ships and the increasing capacity of power generators, along with the steady development of maritime navigation and transport, the post-German provisions were in force until the entry into force of Polish legal regulations in 1961.

Rights and obligations of the insurer in German legislation and the Polish Maritime Code

Marine insurance was, and still is, interpreted as an agreement made between a policyholder (the insuring party) and an insurer, whereby the latter, in exchange for a specified insurance (assurance) premium, undertook to cover a direct or indirect material loss²³ incurred by the policyholder resulting from a shipping accident, as far as it was possible to assess it in monetary value.²⁴ Failure to pay the insurance premium within the agreed time entitled the insurer to withdraw from the contract.²⁵ The marine insurance contract was voluntary, so the policyholder could withdraw from it before the state of sea risk covered by the insurance contract set in (Cf. Article 262 m.c.). The essential elements of marine insurance were: a marine risk, the material interest of the insurance, and assurance premium. A marine insurance contract was void if the insured loss had

of 3 Jan. 1947 on the regulation of property and personal insurance, Dz.U. of 1947, No. 5, item 23; Article 13 (3) of the Act of 28 March 1952 on State Insurance, Dz.U. of 1952, No. 20, item 130; and Article 36 in connection with Article 35 (2) of the Act of 2 Dec. 1958 on Property and Personal Insurance, Dz.U. of 1958, No. 72, item 357). From the *Introduction to the Ministerial Meeting on Ship Breakdowns and the Assessment of Breakdowns in the Commercial and Fishing Fleet*, it appeared that the Ministry of Shipping demanded increased cooperation with the insurance institutions "Warta" and "PZU" in order to use their prevention fund for the purchase of modern radio navigation and shipping safety equipment and instructional actions, as well as campaigns raising awareness of the importance of prevention of breakdowns and the relevant measures. Efforts were also made to improve the professional qualifications of vessel crews. See: Archive of New Files, Fonds "Ministry of Shipping, Department Legal and Administrative – the Maritime Administrative Department," reference: 51/26. Cf. Gustav Fischer, "Deutsche Seeversicherungs – Gesellschaft von 1914," *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv* 7 (1916): 31. Cf.: Kasperski, *System ubezpieczeń*, 146–151; Waldemar Bednaruk, "Odpowiedzialność dyscyplinarna pośredników ubezpieczeniowych w okresie dwudziestolecia międzywojennego w Polsce," *Teka Komisji Prawniczej Oddział PAN w Lublinie* 13 (2020), 1: 13–20; Sowiński, *Prawo handlowe*, 169; Górski, "Zagadnienia," 45.

23 The extent of damage was regulated in HGB §§ 854–881, and the terms of compensation payment were specified in §§ 881–893 thereof. See: Sowiński, *Prawo handlowe*, 192–202.

24 Kazimierz Petyniak-Sanecki, "Ubezpieczenie morskie," *Morze. Organ Ligi Morskiej i Rzecznej* 3 (1926): 12; Huget, *Ubezpieczenia przewozów*, 179–180. Cf. Franz Schencking, *Die Elemente privater Versicherung*, in: *Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten privater Krankenversicherung. Zur Rekonstruktion des Versicherungsbegriffes* (Wiesbaden: Deutscher Universitätsverlag, 1999), 34–45.

25 See: § 250 in *Niemiecki kodeks cywilny wraz z ustawą wprowadzającą*, part 1, trans. Henryk Damm and Karol Gerschel, self-published, Bydgoszcz 1922, 56–57. Cf. Petyniak-Sanecki, "Ubezpieczenie," 12; Huget, *Ubezpieczenia przewozów*, 179–180. Cf. F. Schencking, *Die Elemente privater Versicherung*, in: *Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten privater Krankenversicherung. Zur Rekonstruktion des Versicherungsbegriffes* (Wiesbaden: Deutscher Universitätsverlag, 1999), 34–45. Similar regulations were contained the provision of Article 256 § 1 m.c.

already occurred or it had been impossible to occur, which both parties knew before the conclusion thereof.²⁶ The parties to a marine insurance contract were: an insurer, who provided a cover for a thing or an interest therein against sea perils—committing himself to pay compensation after a loss (insurance company)—and an insuring party, who made the contract on his own account (insuring his own interest) or for someone else (insuring the interest of a third party). The third party eligible for compensation by reason of having their property insured was called the insured (see HGB § 839. Cf. Article 260 § 1 m.c.).²⁷ The legislator did not require that the insured party be indicated and on whose account the contract was concluded. However, if it was not indicated on whose account the contract was made, it was deemed to have been concluded on one's own account unless it transpired that the insurance concerned the interest of a third party (Cf. Article 260 § 2–3 m.c.).²⁸ In such a case, the provisions concerning insurance on another party's account applied (HGB § 781). Insurance taken through an agent acting without an order or through another proxy (e.g., a shipbroker), was treated as insurance taken on one's own account (HGB § 783).²⁹

Under a marine insurance contract, the insurer undertook to cover the costs incurred by reason of an average and its consequences, including abandonment of goods, sea rescue and prevention of major losses (even if the measures undertaken were not as effective as expected) and expenses borne to restore the insured thing to its original condition (Cf. Article 290 § 1–2 and Article 291 § 1–2 m.c.). In addition, the insurer bore the costs of discovering and establishing the extent of loss, especially of inspection, estimation, selling and preparing a distribution plan (Cf. Article 283 m.c.).³⁰

26 Cf. Article 10 (1–2) of the Act of 28 March 1952 on State Insurance, Dz.U. of 1952, No. 20, item 130. Pursuant to HGB § 894, if an activity covered by the insurance policy was not performed in part or in whole, or if the object of insurance was not exposed to a sea peril covered by the insurance contract, the policyholder was allowed to claim a reimbursement of the insurance premium, up to the sum due to him as compensation (*ristorno*), unless the parties had agreed otherwise or no other custom applied in the place where the contract was made. See: A. Majewski, *Prawo*, 205–206; W. Sowiński, *Prawo handlowe*, 203–204.

27 The buyer of the insured thing assumed all rights and obligations of the insuring party resulting from the marine insurance contract (cf. Article 270 § 1 and 271 § 1 m.c.). The seller and buyer were jointly and severally liable for the insurance premium before the insurer (HGB § 899). Cf. Huget, *Ubezpieczenia przewozów*, 264–269; Sowiński, *Prawo handlowe*, 204–205. See also: Majewski, *Prawo*, 203.

28 Pursuant to HGB § 882 and in conjunction with HGB § 819, the insured, despite the fact that in a particular situation he was entitled to compensation from the shipmaster or another person, could first claim compensation from the insurer. This obliged the insured person to assist the insurer in enforcing his right of recourse by securing his claim and reducing the loss by, for example, arresting the freight or having the vessel arrested (see also: HGB §§ 804–805). Cf. Łopuski, *Encyklopedia*, 106; Majewski, *Prawo*, 216–217.

29 Majewski, *Prawo*, 204; Sowiński, *Prawo handlowe*, 171–172; Huget, *Ubezpieczenia przewozów*, 180–182.

30 Issues concerning a general average were addressed in HGB §§ 834–839. Cf. Petyniak-Sanecki “Ubezpieczenia,” 12; Sowiński, *Prawo handlowe*, 189–192. The master of a damaged vessel was obliged to keep a log of all expenditure related to the average. Upon his arrival at the port of destination, he was to notify the shipowner or the consul of the country where the loss was incurred, and give an account of all

The insurer was liable for the loss only up to the sum insured (HGB § 840. Cf. Article 288 § 1 m.c.). A change in the voyage by the insured person's request or consent, unless caused by an accident at sea resulting from a risk covered by marine insurance, released the insurer from compensatory liability (HGB § 813).³¹ Under the 1961 Maritime Code, the insurer was not liable for damage caused by the policyholder's intentional fault or wilful negligence, but for navigational error of the master, other crew members or the pilot (see Article 284 § 1–2 m.c.).

Rights and obligations of the policyholder in German legislation and the Polish Maritime Code

The basic obligations of the policyholder included the payment of the insurance premium upon signing a contract or when a maritime policy was issued (HGB § 812. Cf. Article 277 § 1–2 m.c.).³² The insuring party, when making a contract either on his own or someone else's account, was obliged to notify the insurer about all circumstances known to him that had a significant impact on the estimation of maritime peril and, as a consequence, the insurer's decision to execute a contract (see HGB § 808) or modify the contractual terms before signing it. The duty to notify applied also to the legal representative of the insuring party; when a contract was made on a third party's account, the duty applied also to both the insured and the party indirectly instructed. With regard to third parties, the obligation to notify covered also circumstances known only to them insofar as they had a considerable impact on sea peril assessment³³ (HGB §§ 806–807).

loss sustained during the voyage in the maritime court of this port—under oath and in the presence of the crew. The duty to testify obtained also in the maritime court located in the port where the vessel took refuge from a storm or stopped due to damage. All paperwork done; the damage was apportioned to all interested parties. The payment of the sum insured was made when the documentation confirming the accident during sea transit were presented to the insurer and when the time necessary for their verification had elapsed. See: Petyniak-Sanecki, "Ubezpieczenia," 12; Huget, *Ubezpieczenia przewozów*, 205–206. Cf. Charles Sumner Lobingier, "The Maritime Law of Rome," *Juridicum Law Review* 47 (1935): 18–30; Zenon Kamiński, "140 lat reguł Yorku-Antwerpji," *Prawo Morskie* 22 (2006): 167–181.

- 31 Sowiński, *Prawo handlowe*, 184. The disbursement of the total insured sum relieved the insurer of further obligations arising under the insurance contract—that is, reimbursement of rescue costs plus preservation and restoration of the insured thing to its original state. This was the case only from the moment the insured received an appropriate statement. The time limit for filing the statement was three days after the insured party became aware of the occurrence of an accident, its consequences and the circumstances giving rise to the loss. The payment of compensation was not equivalent to acquiring titles to the insured things (see: HGB §§ 841–842).
- 32 The universality of insurance used for marine transactions consisted in the fact that the insurance premium was included in the price of imported or exported goods. It was assumed, therefore, that its amount should reflect rates used globally. See: Huget, *Ubezpieczenia przewozów*, 94–95 and 189–92; Petyniak-Sanecki, "Ubezpieczenie," 13; Sowiński, *Prawo handlowe*, 180–181.
- 33 The insured or the party directly receiving an order were not obliged, prior to the conclusion of the contract, to provide essential information on the risk if the provision thereof would require extraordinary measures. Likewise, when the contract was concluded, no account was taken of important

The conclusion of a marine insurance contract implied the obligation of notification, which, when breached, entitled a party to withdraw from the contract (Cf. Article 278 § 1 m.c. and Article 281 § 1 m.c.). The legislator ruled out the possibility of withdrawal in a situation where the insurer had knowledge of deliberately concealed or untrue information concerning a risk, or when a failure to convey material information or provision of misleading information was not culpable (HGB § 809).³⁴ In contrast, if prerequisites for withdrawal arose with respect to only part of the insured goods, the insurer could refuse to cover the remainder of the goods only if he could not conclude a contract for that part on terms applicable to all of them (HGB § 810).³⁵ The right to withdraw from the contract with the possibility of retaining a full insurance premium was reserved for the insurer for 7 days from the moment when he became aware that the duty to notify was not fulfilled (Cf. Article 278 § 2 m.c.). The right was exercised when an appropriate written statement was submitted to the counterparty. The insuring party who received compensation, despite breaking the rules of loyalty and diligence in connection with a notification, was obliged to repay the benefit plus the interest accrued from the date of receipt (HGB § 811).

The post-German provisions and the provisions of the 1961 Maritime Code provided for the possibility of applying a deduction from insurance indemnity in the amount by which the loss would be reduced in the event of a breach by the policyholder of his duty to give prompt notice of any event concerning the subject matter of the insurance policy (HGB § 818. Cf. Article 281 §2). In addition, the provision of Article 282 § 1–3 m.c. made it mandatory to save the object of insurance and to prevent or reduce the loss. The policyholder's willful misconduct or gross negligence resulting in the failure to take all reasonable measures relieved the insurer of liability for damage arising from this.

information provided by the insured regarding sea perils when insurance was taken without his order or knowledge, of which the insurer was aware. See: Huget, *Ubezpieczenia przewozów*, 182–188 and 196–205; Sowiński, *Prawo handlowe*, 179. A policyholder who was in good faith when concluding an insurance contract could claim a reimbursement of the insurance premium or keep it until he received a *ristorno*. Similar rights were available when insurance was taken on someone else's account if the insured also remained in good faith when giving the instruction (HGB § 895). See: Majewski, *Prawo*, 203; Litwiński, *Handel*, 22; Sowiński, *Prawo handlowe*, 176–178.

34 No fault entitled the insurer to demand a higher insurance premium in connection with a higher risk. The case was similar when a circumstance affecting the acceptance of risk was disclosed after the insurance contract was concluded, unless it was known to the other party. In both cases, the time limit for asserting a claim with respect of a higher assurance premium expired within a week of becoming aware of such a condition arising (HGB § 811a). In the 1961 Maritime Code, an insurer who exercised its right of cancellation should be notified of its decision within three days of becoming aware of the change in peril. Failure to meet the deadline only entitled the insurer to demand the payment of an additional premium for the increased peril. Completion of the notification formalities entailed the right to retain the entire agreed premium and liability for damages incurred before the change of peril (see: Article 280 § 1–2 m.c.).

35 See: W. Sowiński, *Prawo handlowe*, 180; M. Huget, *Ubezpieczenia przewozów*, 188–189.

Conclusion

Historically, marine insurance is the oldest branch of property insurance derived from an ancient maritime loan and *Lex Rhodia de iactu*. Serious sea perils associated with sea travel and maritime trade plus the high property values of sea-going vessels and their cargoes made it necessary to build a financial system to compensate for the losses that owners of both ships and cargo carried by sea were likely to suffer. Marine insurance developed much earlier than land insurance, as the earliest legal provisions governing maritime insurance contracts go back to medieval centers of sea trade, including Barcelona, Genoa and Venice. In Poland, marine insurance came to be used at the turn of the 18th century. Given the fact that they increased the security of sea transactions and served to secure credit transactions, the 19th and 20th centuries was the time when they were instrumental in the development of maritime business operation.

In the maritime legislation of modern capitalist states, several groups could be distinguished (i.e., regime of law). In the legislation of continental Europe, especially the French and German groups (i.e., the French and German law family) became very noticeable. At the turn of the twentieth century, the Polish lands were governed by legal provisions from both these groups, with some provisions of the German maritime law, including those concerning marine insurance, in force until 1961 when the Polish Maritime Code became effective. German legislation, although created in the 19th century through appropriate modifications and additions, also by way of the German General Terms of Maritime Insurance, could be applied on Polish territories uninterruptedly from 1920 to 1961.

The need to change the code regulations arose already in the early years of the People's Republic of Poland but work on the code continued until the early 1960s. Analyzing in detail the content of the legal provisions cited on this publication shows that the Polish codification was more modern and, thus, adapted to the changed economic, political and economic circumstances. It also took account of the development of maritime transport and maritime technology in terms of shipbuilding, increased speed, power, etc. The 1961 Maritime Code was clearer and more legible as it had been systematized. It also did not require extra-code additions as with the HGB. Undoubtedly, it shows a continuation of doctrine and solutions in the field of marine insurance, as the 1961 regulations are largely similar to those of the HGB. However, the Polish regulations were more detailed. In addition, the 1961 Maritime Code contained a catalog of circumstances entitling the insurer to rescind the contract or the possibility to demand the payment of an additional premium for the increased peril and a catalogue of exclusions of the insurer's liability.

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SUMMARY

Marine insurance is historically the oldest branch of property insurance dating back to antiquity. Marine insurance predated the development of land insurance by a considerable margin, as the first legal provisions prescribing a marine insurance contract date back to the medieval centers of maritime trade, including Barcelona, Genoa and Venice. In Poland, marine insurance was initiated at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries. As they increased the certainty of maritime trade and were used to secure credit transactions, they were an important factor in the development of maritime business in the 19th and 20th centuries. In view of the above, this article seeks to analyze the historical and legal provisions of maritime law relating to the duties of the policyholder and the liability of the insurer arising from the code regulations of the maritime insurance contract, which were in force in Poland from 1918 until the unification of maritime law in 1961. The article will attempt to show whether the Polish maritime law regulations were based on the post-German regulations in this respect or whether they were completely different. It will also attempt to indicate the direction of changes in maritime law regulations in this respect.

Obowiązki ubezpieczającego i odpowiedzialność ubezpieczyciela w umowie ubezpieczenia morskiego w Polsce w latach 1920–1961

Słowa kluczowe: polisa morska, żegluga morska, ubezpieczenia majątkowe, ryzyko morskie, kompensacja szkody

STRESZCZENIE

Ubezpieczenia morskie są historycznie najstarszym działem ubezpieczeń majątkowych sięgającym swymi korzeniami do starożytności. Ubezpieczenia morskie znacznie wyprzedziły rozwój ubezpieczeń lądowych, gdyż pierwsze przepisy prawne normujące umowę ubezpieczenia morskiego pochodzą ze średniowiecznych ośrodków handlu morskiego, m.in. Barcelony, Genui i Wenecji. W Polsce ubezpieczenia morskie zostały zapoczątkowane na przełomie XVII i XVIII wieku. Z uwagi, iż zwiększały pewność obrotu morskiego i służyły do zabezpieczenia transakcji kredytowych, w XIX i XX wieku stanowiły ważny czynnik rozwoju działalności gospodarczej na morzu. Uwzględniając powyższe, niniejszy artykuł ma na celu poddanie analizie historyczno-prawnej przepisów prawa morskiego odnoszących się do obowiązków

ubezpieczającego i odpowiedzialności ubezpieczyciela, wynikających z kodeksowych regulacji w zakresie umowy ubezpieczenia morskiego, które obowiązywały w Polsce od 1918 r. do unifikacji prawa morskiego z 1961 r. W artykule została podjęta próba wykazania czy polskie regulacje prawa morskiego bazowały na prawnie niemieckich regulacjach w tym zakresie czy też były całkowicie odmienne oraz została podjęta próba wskazania kierunku zmian w przepisach prawa morskiego w omawianym zakresie.

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Włodzimierz Batóg

American Studies Center
University of Warsaw
w.batog@uw.edu.pl
ORCID: 0000-0003-0527-0299

The Transatlanticism of Billy Graham's Visit to Poland in October 1978

Keywords: Billy Graham, visit to Poland, ecumenism, Polish Baptists, Poland, religion, evangelicalism, Graham's missions

The evangelical form of American Protestantism is based on the foundation of charismatic pastors, well-organised communities, thousands of committed believers, and, especially since the 1970s, their clearly visible political influences.¹ There was also a strong trend of international evangelistic visits, led by one of the most recognisable preachers, Billy Graham. The pastor,² born in 1918, became a tireless propagator of missionary evangelical Christianity, setting himself the goal of spreading the Good News not only in the United States, but also to the world. His world-wide campaign began in 1946 and 1947 with short visits to Europe, in the 1950s he targeted Japan and Korea,

- 1 Kirsteen Kim, "Globalization of Protestant Movements since the 1960s," *The Ecumenical Review* 63 (2011), 1: 136–139; Mark. A. Shibley, "Contemporary Evangelicals: Born-Again and World Affirming," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Americans and Religions in the Twenty-First Century 558 (1998), 1: 169–72; Harriet A. Harris, *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 28–45; Timothy George, "Evangelical Theology in American Contexts," in: *The Cambridge Companion to Evangelical Theology*, eds. Timothy Larsen, Daniel J. Treier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 279 – 283; William. G. McLaughlin, "Is There a Third Force in Christendom?," *Daedalus* 96 (1967), 1: 43, 58–60; Hans Krabbendam, "Opening a Market for Missions. American Evangelicals and the Re-Christianization of Europe, 1945 – 1985," *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 59 (2014), 2: 153–175.
- 2 Standard biographies of Graham include William Martin, *A Prophet with Honor. The Billy Graham Story* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2018); Marshall Frady, *Billy Graham. A Parable of American Righteousness* (New York–London–Toronto–Sydney: Simon and Schuster, 1979); David Aikman, *Billy Graham. His Life and Influence* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2007); Gary Wacker, *America's Pastor. Billy Graham and the Shaping of a Nation* (Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 2014); Roger Burns, *Billy Graham. A Biography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004); Michael G. Long, ed., *The Legacy of Billy Graham. Critical Reflections on America's Greatest Evangelist* (Louisville – London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008). The complexity of his mission is discussed in: Andrew Finstuen, Grant Wacker, and Anne Blue Wills, eds., *Billy Graham. American Pilgrim* (New York–Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

but also England, Western Europe and the United States. In the mid-1950s Graham, apart from his home country, preached in India, Hong Kong, Korea, The Caribbean, Mexico, Australia, and New Zealand. In the 1960s he toured Africa and again Western Europe, and later South America.³

Billy Graham's foreign missions served several purposes – to expand and strengthen Christianity, to support smaller evangelical Protestant churches, and constituted a form of export of American religious culture. In this regard, Billy Graham was not only a preacher spreading conservative Christianity around the world, but he appeared to be a personification of the United States and everything that was associated with it – its size, power, international mission or influence in the world.

Until the late 1960s, Graham's evangelistic travels were restricted by the political realities of the Cold War to take place in the areas of missionary importance to Graham and his Evangelistic Association, which was the formal party preparing and organizing the visits. The direction of the crusades was also determined by the religious and political situation in the world. Shortly after World War II, due to the social crisis in the United States and the desire to establish himself in the local "preaching market," Billy Graham organised his crusades primarily in his own country. However, he soon realised that, especially in European countries devastated by World War II, due to the subsequent crisis of values and the postwar spiritual void, foreign missions had even bigger potential. It was greatly feared that communism, which was gaining ground, and interest in Europe, Asia and Central America could fill this void. Graham's sermons delivered on both sides of the Atlantic were full of conviction that Christianity should constitute a barrier against the growing popularity of the atheistic extreme left.

In the 1970s, the new political developments known as the detente, created for Graham an opportunity to visit those parts of the world where, for political reasons, he had not been able to go. These included Eastern Europe, which, as one may suspect, was to play a role in the preacher's evangelistic endeavours. The agreements concluded in Helsinki in 1975 guaranteed, under the so-called third basket of arrangements,⁴ greater freedom in the field of human rights, which also included travel, scientific and religious exchange, etc. They created an opportunity to implement the plan set out by the Lausanne Conference to conduct missions in parts of the world previously inaccessible to Graham, including Eastern Europe. They were aimed at strengthening the existing Protestant churches, stimulating the spiritual transformation of the faithful and strengthening their belief that the West had not forgotten about them. Thus, Graham's missions took on a political nature, because one of the axis of the disputes between the USA and the USSR was the issue of religious freedoms.

3 Thomas P. Johnson, *Examining Billy Graham's Theology of Evangelism* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers: 2003), 19–24, 438–444.

4 Michael C. Morgan, *The Final Act. The Helsinki Accords and the Transformation of the Cold War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 169–206.

This article claims that one of the purposes of visiting Poland in October 1978 was not a mission to build or make stronger the already existing Polish-American relations but to create opportunities for a more active independent social engagement of individual Christians in the countries where, for political considerations, it was extremely difficult or almost impossible to do. It was religion, especially its evangelical branch, not politics, that was to be the platform for this activeness. For this reason, Graham's visit was to create a field for a closer cooperation for all those who would be willing to be involved in these kinds of activities. Billy Graham's mission to Poland, therefore, aimed at mobilising the churchgoers to religious fervour and spreading the Good News in their communities and neighbourhoods. The preacher did not come to reconcile Protestants and Catholics or various Protestant denominations but to make Polish Protestantism stronger and fresher, especially the Baptists, since this church represented the evangelical segment of Polish Protestantism. Broadly speaking, Graham's objective seemed to be to mobilise all evangelically oriented Christians, regardless of their denomination, to bear witness to their faith and evangelise the nation through everyday actions or attitudes; thus building a kind of alternative system of values to the communist one in the countries behind the Iron Curtain. Graham hoped to build up a worldwide interfaith cooperation of Christians from all the countries, including those which had not been included in his missionary action. In the case of Poland, the dimension of his visit seems to add to the already existing ties an element of spirituality and Christian brotherhood across the political borders. For the Poles, apart from an opportunity to meet with a renowned preacher, it also was a chance to observe a different religious culture, and a less known aspect of America.

The missionary activities of Protestant Churches were coordinated by the World Council of Churches (WCC), founded in 1948. The WCC attempted also to limit the ideological influence of communism, especially in African and Asian countries, where it was growing in popularity. It concentrated missionary activity in the hands of the structures of the Council rather than in the hands of the missionary movements. Missions thus became local rather than transnational.⁵ This gave rise to fears among smaller, primarily American and evangelical Protestant churches that a kind of super-church would emerge, centralised and tightly controlling the denominations belonging to it.⁶ Their growth and importance were so great that in 1958 William McLaughlin, a well-known historian of American religion, wrote that they were building "a third force

5 Kim, "Globalization," 136–147; Harold van der Linde, "The Nature and Significance of the World Council of Churches," *The Ecumenical Review* 3 (1951), 3: 238–247; Philip Eastman, "The Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches and International Legal Order," *The International Law Quarterly* 2 (1948–1949), 4: 675–677.

6 Henry P. Van Dusen, "What Does the Formation of the World Council of Churches Mean for the Relations of the Churches to Reach Each Other?", *The Ecumenical Review* 1 (1949), 3: 252–259; Hendrik Kraemer, "The Formation of the World Council of Churches and Its Significance for the Relations of the Churches to One Another," *The Ecumenical Review* 1 (1949), 3: 260–266.

in Christianity.”⁷ The evangelical community insisted that perfectionism, religious awakening, true godliness, the redemption of sins, and the preaching of the Word would lead to the spiritual rebirth of humanity, thus preventing the imminent end of the world. Disciples of Christ, bringing this news to all people, will build justice, peace, and true love. Americans, understanding faith primarily in terms of emotion, commitment, sacrifice, and activity, considered the phenomenon of the “third force” to be enduring and to have great potential for further development.

During the World Congress on Evangelism in 1966, Billy Graham and his Evangelistic Association recognised the religious revival in the world, the growing importance of charismatic movements, but contested the Council by devising their own methods of promoting the faith. They were manifested at the WCC Congress in Uppsala in 1968, held under the characteristic theme “Behold, I make all things new” (Revelation, 21:5). The American evangelical churches accused the WCC of excessive politicisation, missionary passivity and ineffectiveness, and an unspecified attitude towards communism.⁸ The evangelical author, scholar and former editor of “Christianity Today” magazine, Harold Lindsell, wrote that the WCC was extending its reach into politics, economics, and social issues, commanding its members to engage in programs and activities from every walk of life, “charged with anti-Americanism and abandonment of world evangelism.”⁹ American Evangelicals were also concerned about the possibility of communism satisfying spiritual needs. Hence, the conviction arose that not only political or economic life but also European Christianity should be rebuilt by believers from across the Atlantic, inspiring continental religious initiatives with their American variant as a purer, better, more attractive and more effective form of Christianity.¹⁰ “Christianity Today,” the magazine founded in 1956 by Billy Graham to spread evangelical Christianity¹¹ argued that because of their doctrinal purity, a secure biblical foundation, and not engaging in “campaigns for social and economic equality, housing improvements,

7 McLaughlin, “Is There a Third Force,” 53–68.

8 Gerald H. Anderson, “Uppsala 1968. The World Council’s Fourth Assembly,” *Philippine Studies* 16 (1968), 2: 393; Thomas FitzGerald, *The Ecumenical Movement. An Introductory History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 104–113; Peter Lodberg, “World Council of Churches,” *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* 12 (1999), 2: 530–532; Katarina Kunter, “Revolutionary Hopes and Global Transformations. The World Council of Churches in the 1960s,” *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* 30 (2017), 2: 353–345.

9 “Uppsala 1968: A Report on the Fourth Assembly of the World Council of Churches,” *Christianity Today* 12 (16 August 1968), 22: 3–4, 6–7.

10 Antti Laine, Juha Merilainen and Matti Peiponen, “Ecumenical Reconstruction, Advocacy and Action. The World Council of Churches in Times of Change, from the 1940s to the Early 1970s,” *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* 30 (2017), 2: 328–331; Richard Balmer, *Encyclopedia of Evangelicalism* (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2004), 731; “Wheaton Declaration,” *The International Review of Mission* 55 (1966), 220: 458–478. Paul Abrecht, “The Social Thinking of the World Council of Churches,” *The Ecumenical Review* 17 (1965), 3: 241–250.

11 “Why «Christianity Today?»”, *Christianity Today* 1 (1956), 1, accessed: 4 October 2023, <https://www.christianitytoday.org/who-we-are/our-history/whychristianitytoday.html>.

welfare, or the advancement of people of color," experience in evangelism and their clear anti-communism, evangelical movements are almost ideal for missionary activity.¹² Thus, it was suggested that independent evangelical denominations would produce much better results and from the bottom up would create authentic fellowship, brotherly love and world-spreading peace. "The tide is in for an evangelical witness around the world and the consensus was that we move on that tide toward the goal of world evangelization in this century," wrote "Christianity Today" in November 1973.¹³

The right strategy, methods and tools were supposed to "make total world evangelization physically possible for the first time in this generation." An effective system of cooperation and unity in achieving the goal, finding and motivating local leaders, spontaneous religious initiatives and the search for new areas of evangelisation were additional guarantees of success. Modern means of communication, well-targeted financial resources and, above all, new leaders were also important: "this is the fissionable material making up a critical mass, a potential for a total thrust in world evangelization of this century," claimed "Christianity Today."¹⁴ The anticipated success of future evangelism was based on the person of the charismatic Billy Graham and his evangelistic and rhetorical skills, the growth of local evangelical churches, conversion, and various forms of activeness of believers – religious, social, philanthropic – although non-political in form, but with political references.¹⁵

The plans and intentions of evangelical Christians and their areas of activity were shown by Billy Graham in his 16 July speech at the First International Congress for World Evangelization (16–25 July 1974) in Lausanne. He raised the theme of Eastern Europe, with its "thousands of dedicated believers" and argued that, thanks to the Holy Spirit in the Eastern socialist world there was evidence of a quiet but real work of the Spirit. In one country the Baptists, for example, have doubled in numbers in the last decade. Belief in God is indestructible – even in the Soviet Union; among workers and intellectuals alike, there is a growing awareness of God. Therefore, "we have one task – to proclaim the message of salvation in Jesus Christ. In rich countries and in poor,

12 "Is Ecumenism Running Out of Fuel?", *Christianity Today* 12 (1 March 1968), 11: 26–27; David E. Kucharsky, "Will the WCC Endorse Violence?", *Christianity Today* 12 (7 June 1968), 18; Harold O. J. Brown, "Climax in Confusion," *Christianity Today* 12 (7 June 1968): 39; Billy Graham, *Just As I Am: The Autobiography of Billy Graham* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Harper One – Zondervan, 2007), 568.

13 Paul E. Little, "Looking Ahead to Lausanne," *Christianity Today* 18 (23 Nov. 1973), 4: 4–6; Rene De Visme Williamson, "Negative Thoughts about Ecumenism," *Christianity Today* 12 (30 August 1968), 23: 13–14.

14 Donald E. Hoke, "Lausanne May Be a Bomb," *Christianity Today* 18 (15 March 1974), 12: 12–18; cf. W. Maxey Jarman, "Do We Really Need Lausanne?", *Christianity Today* 18 (15 March 1974), 12: 36–39.

15 Bernhard Ott, *Beyond Fragmentation. Integrating Mission and Theological Education. A Critical Assessment of Some Recent Developments in Evangelical Theological Education* (Regnum Books, Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2001), 74–84; David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 2–3.

among the educated and uneducated, in freedom or oppression.”¹⁶ Graham thus appealed to the classical understanding of the mission of the church sending out its representatives to all the peoples of the globe, relying on Scripture as the supreme source of faith, seeking salvation only in Jesus Christ and his death on the cross.¹⁷ The final document of the conference expressed hope for a new era of evangelisation and recommended the faithful to reject all forms of enslavement, seek new areas of spiritual activity, and to make a covenant with God and among themselves in prayer, planning and working together for the evangelisation of the whole world.¹⁸

According to Hans Krabbendam, the Congress in Lausanne resulted from the conviction about the need to re-evangelise Europe that was going through spiritual crisis. It was understood by the Americans as the duty of their evangelical churches in the face of the ineffective actions taken by the traditional churches.¹⁹ It opened the door to co-operation with smaller Protestant denominations and offered organisational assistance from Americans creating outposts for possible use in future religious activities. They referred to religious legacy, common history, the Bible, missionary engagement, sought deepening religious brotherhood and cooperation, but did not base on national denominators. In this way, the evangelical churches were able to build international prominence and show themselves to be the third major Christian force in the world, alongside the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches, to build a community of all believing in God.²⁰

Therefore, the visit of the American pastor to Poland²¹ between 6 and 16 October 1978 should be seen in the context of the above-mentioned three elements: the growing

16 Billy Graham, *Why Lausanne*, 1, 4–5, 11–12, 17–18, 20, accessed 4 October 2023, <https://www.lausanne.org/content/why-lausanne-print>.

17 Tormod Engelsen, “The Role of the Lausanne Movement in Modern Christian Mission,” in: *The Lausanne Movement. A Range of Perspectives*, eds. Margunn S. Dahle, Lars Dahle and Knud Jorgensen (Oxford: Regnum Books, 2014), 34–37.

18 *The Lausanne Covenant*, 2, 3–6, accessed: 16 October 2023, <https://www.lausanne.org/content/covenant/lausanne-covenant#cov>; Robert A. Hunt, “The History of the Lausanne Movement,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 25 (April 2011), 2: 83; Martin, *A Prophet*, 455–456; Jong Sung Rhee, *Significance of the Lausanne Covenant*, accessed: 4 October, 2023, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/274658940_Significance_of_the_Lausanne_Covenant.

19 The conviction that evangelical denominations would not be a third force was strongly expressed in: McLaughlin, *Is There a Third Force*, 64, writing that it could only be the pietistic spirit of American culture (...) and the sense of religious commitment and ideals that Americans embed in democracy and their way of life.

20 Krabbendam, “Opening a Market,” 166–170; Uta A. Balbier, “The World Congress on Evangelism 1966 in Berlin: US Evangelicalism, Cultural Dominance, and Global Challenges,” *Journal of American Studies* 51 (2017), 4: 1171–1196.

21 The idea of Billy Graham’s visit to Poland appeared for the first time in late 1965, but despite intensive efforts to make it happen in 1966 and the actual consent of the authorities, it did not take place. Only a visit to Hungary in October 1977 opened the door to Poland for Graham. Billy Graham Center Archives (BGCA), Wheaton College (WC), Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (BGEA) 1950,

strength of evangelical Churches and tensions between them and the mainline WCC denominations, the détente process and the goals set by the Lausanne Conference. During his 10-day stay, the preacher visited Warsaw, Białystok, Poznań, Wrocław, Katowice, Kraków and the former German concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau, the site of the death camp in Treblinka, Tykocin and Jasna Góra. He preached in Baptist, Catholic, Polish-Catholic, Evangelical and Calvinist churches and met with representatives of the Catholic and Protestant clergy and the authorities of the Polish People's Republic. The visit occurred after the conclusion of the Helsinki Accords (1975), which created an opportunity for evangelisation in Eastern Europe and the achievement of several purposes: the realisation of the Lausanne Conference's plan to carry out missions in these neglected regions of the world, the strengthening of the evangelical churches operating there, the stimulation of the spiritual transformation of Christians in the communist part of Europe and a visible sign that the Western world remembers them.

It seems that it was in Eastern Europe where Graham saw the spiritual potential contrasting it with the crisis of culture and morals in the West. He made a comment about Poland: "you have in my judgment a deep spiritual heritage. You are a people of courage." He asserted that "I will learn much from you, I want to look at your society and socialist system, to see the possibilities and problems your churches have in existing and witnessing in a socialist society." He was looking for a way to a more efficient evangelisation behind the Iron Curtain, to sustain and stimulate the religiosity there, which at some point could become an element of the spiritual transformation he hoped for.²² Graham's encouragement to practice religion on the basis of constant spiritual growth, choice making, active participation in the surrounding reality, and building community became an indirect carrier of American culture, way of thinking, and commitment. Thus, the visit to Poland took on yet another aspect, concealed from the outside world, and perceptible only after a closer analysis of the cultural and religious context of his arrival and teaching, as well as its transatlantic dimension.

The themes of Billy Graham's evangelism in Poland reflected the central thesis of evangelical teaching on conversion to a new life. On 8 October in Białystok the preacher spoke about "returning to the Father," the next day in Poznań about the Cross of Christ, in Wrocław on 11 October about spiritual awakening, the same day in Katowice about the importance of the Cross as a signpost of salvation, and in Kraków on 12 October

Montreal Office Records 1944–2010, Call Number (CN) 580, Box 78, folder 16, Invitation from the Polish Church of Christian Baptists, 15 February 1966; *ibidem*, Graham's response of 16 February 1966; *ibidem*, Graham Will Visit Poland for Millennium Celebration, 2 May 1966, press release; *ibidem*, Proposed Billy Graham Visit to Poland, 29 September–2 October 1966, Reported by Robert P. Evans, 1–5; *ibidem*, Poland 29 Sept.–2 October 1966; Schedule for Mr Graham, 19 August 1966; *ibidem*, Statement on Visit to Poland, 9 September 1966 announcing the cancellation of the visit.

22 "Główna odpowiedzialność wszystkich chrześcijan" [Main Responsibility of All Christians]. An interview with Billy Graham, *Znaki Czasu* 56 (1978), 9 (309): 3–4.

about “the rich young man” from the Gospel according to Mark 10, 17–27. The evangelist returned to the theme of the Cross in Warsaw on 14 October. He delivered two speeches in the capital: on 7 October, just after his arrival, during a meeting with Protestant clergy on the preaching of the Gospel, and on 15 October on the human soul. In all sermons there was a recurring theme of conversion, rebirth, living in accordance with the dictates of the Gospel, returning to the Father, spiritual awakening carried out individually and the role of the preacher as a spiritual guide encouraging inner transformation. The address to the pastors on 7 October is the essence of the “spirit of Lausanne,” the intentions formulated there and the ways in which evangelical Christians should proclaim the Scripture to the world in order to succeed in religious activities.²³

In Graham’s teaching, the spiritual awakening was “a sovereign decision of God that cannot be explained from a purely human point of view,” to embrace all Christians, to be “acted upon in a spirit of unity,” of discipline and sanctified living, of concern for neighbour and for the world. In other words, the spiritual transformation of a person cannot be only for private use but for the human one. Faith bonds Christians and prayer mobilises them. During a speech in Katowice, Graham asked: “do you pray every day, do you read the Scriptures every day? Does the Holy Spirit help you in your daily work?”.²⁴ These activities, appropriate for every Christian, were supposed to teach a life of purity, justice, and give the power necessary to overcome the sin inherent in man and the world around him. In the reality of the atheistic communist state, this attitude gave the Christian power and showed the way to a thorough spiritual transformation and liberation.

Graham taught that an earnest search for Jesus will lead to spiritual awakening. The teaching in Cracow was devoted to this theme. Graham believed that the youth and their energy constitute the strength of evangelical movements; he gave the example of spiritual revivals in the US, Japan and Africa. “Today you can still make a decision about this. If you are not born again you cannot enter the Kingdom of God.” According to Graham, Christ must come first for the believer: “I must make a choice and submit every area of my life to Christ. He must come first in my life.”²⁵

The teaching delivered on 14 October in Warsaw emphasised the central role of the Cross “without which there is no gospel or Christianity, which condemns evil in this world” and called for “giving your life to Christ now, with every beat of your heart.

23 Billy Graham’s speeches were recorded by the organiser of the visit, the Polish Baptist Church, and later published in the book: Michał Stankiewicz, ed., *Billy Graham w Polsce* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo “Słowo Prawdy,” 1979). All quotations and references are taken from this work. Main themes of Graham’s sermons Poland are discussed in: Włodzimierz Batóg, *Mosty wzajemnego zrozumienia. Wizyta Billy’ego Grahama w Polsce w październiku 1978 r.* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2022), 127–137.

24 Stankiewicz, ed., *Billy Graham w Polsce*, “Spiritual Awakening,” sermon, 130–134, 147.

25 Ibidem, “The Rich Young Man,” sermon at St. Anne’s Church, 178–183.

He should come first, "He should be not only Saviour but Lord." In a speech at a Calvinist church in Warsaw, he urged once again to follow Christ, "do so publicly, that we may pray for you."²⁶

The social and religious aspect of the teaching in Poland can be summarised as follows – one should seek God and proclaim the Gospel in all places and circumstances. Governments should respect the religious convictions of citizens who remain good, humble Christians, faithful to the teaching of the Holy Scriptures. They should develop spiritually, take an interest in the secular, social and political spheres and, when necessary, actively participate in them. Individual action is more important than collective action, since the sum of the actions of individuals will in time transform into a community. Their activity, like their faith, is universal and global, and therefore has a causative power all over the world. It is people through their attitudes that make countries better, not the other way round. This is why Graham's teaching poses less emphasis on the state (the collective) and more on the individuals and their re-birth. Evangelism and missions must, therefore, first lead to the creation of good people, and good people will create a good state, the Kingdom of God.²⁷ The state and believers have a common goal: faith creates people who are honest, hardworking, committed, ethical, community builders, and therefore needed by secular structures. The separation of the state from the Church in communist countries creates a situation in which believers can work for the building of the Kingdom of God without being exposed to repressions, from which Graham concluded that there was a certain space for mission in communist Eastern Europe. Therefore, Graham's missions to these countries bordered on the limits of acceptance of their

26 Ibidem, "At the Foot of the Cross of Golgotha," sermon, 198–200, 202, 204–205; ibidem, "The Price of the Human Soul," sermon, 215. On structure of Graham's sermons see: Thomas G. Long, "Preaching the Good News," in: *The Legacy of Billy Graham. Critical Reflections on America's Greatest Evangelist*, ed. Michael G. Long, (Louisville-London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), 3–15.

27 At this point, the question arises whether, due to the specific situation of believers in Communist countries, Graham did not shift the emphasis in his teaching to a more postmillennial interpretation of the Second Coming of Christ. Conservative evangelical churches were characterised by the so-called premillennialism, i.e., the belief that the coming of Christ will usher in the New Millennium. Meanwhile, Graham's teaching in Poland shows that this must be accompanied by a prior deep transformation of man and the strengthening of his faith, which was rather close to the postmillennialists, who believed that the Ongoing Millennium would end with the return of Christ and the Last Judgment, for which man should prepare spiritually. On differences between post and premillennialism see "Premillennialism," in: *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, ed., J. Gordon Melton (New York: Facts on File, 2005), 438–441; "Millenarians and Millennialism," in: *The Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, vol. 3, ed. Hans J. Hillebrand (New York-London: Routledge, 2004), 1355–1358; Daniel G. Hummel, "American Evangelicals and the Apocalypse," in: *The Cambridge Companion to Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. Colin McAlister, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 288–315; Richard J. Neuhaus, "What the Fundamentalists Want," in: *Piety and Politics. Evangelicals and Fundamentalists Confront the World*, eds. John Neuhaus and Martin Cromartie (Lanham, MD: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 2004), 3–19; John D. Hunter, "The Evangelical Worldview Since 1890," in: *Piety and Politics*, 20–54; George Marsden, "The Evangelical Denomination," in: *Piety and Politics*, 55, 67; A. James Reichley, "The Evangelical and Fundamentalist Revolt," in: *Piety and Politics*, 69–97.

system of power, as long as they did not limit religious freedoms and their actions curbed sin in the moral, social or cultural scope. At the same time, he did not agree to state interference in individual decisions and the ability to choose one's own path. A born-again person will independently distinguish good from evil and make decisions on his own, drawing strength from God. In this way, a community built on the American model will become a force even where the political police control the views of residents.²⁸

Re-birth is also seen in the teaching in Poland. It was to serve the purpose of pursuing the path of goodness, giving dignity and pride to the individuals, making them resistant to evil and the sin coming from the outside world. Thus, freedom became a necessary ingredient of life, and it was the Christian's duty to care for it. Freedom also made people face rational and responsible choices. Culturally, this was a typically American understanding of the role of freedom in creating human development. Billy Graham wanted to immunise believers against sin so that they could safely seek freedom in other aspects of existence.

Kazimierz Waloszek, mentioned in an article in "Christianity Today," exemplified such an approach. This 33-year-old engineer, thanks to Billy Graham, discovered a personal relationship with Christ. After the preacher's visit to Poland, the magazine reported that "Bible study groups are springing up like mushrooms after the rain. In Białystok about 300 people came to a mid-week service just three days after the evangelist's visit, pastors of other churches report interest in the religion, the evangelical influence in the Roman Church has strengthened." The author wrote of crowds listening to the evangelist, thousands of copies of the Scriptures distributed, and even Catholic Bishop Herbert Bednorz asked Graham to sign the book "How to Be Born Again," saying:

28 Michael G. Long, *Billy Graham and the Beloved Community. America's Evangelist and the Dream of Martin Luther King* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 31–48. During a press conference on 20 October 1978, the preacher stated that despite the initial "state of confrontation between the Church and the state, many negotiations were carried out to reach an agreement, and many compromises were made on both sides. Of course, there are difficulties and some skirmishes," but the situation has improved to the point that "Christians have absolute freedom of worship." The preacher admitted that before coming to Poland he believed that "the restrictions were much greater," meanwhile "there was not the slightest suggestion as to what I should say, what I should preach, and I basically preached the same sermons that I preach in the United States." Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warszawa [Modern Record Archives, Warsaw], 131/434, Urząd do spraw Wyznań, Wizyta Billy Grahama w Polsce, Konferencja prasowa Billy Grahama, Nowy Jork, Hilton Madison Suite, New York, 20 października 1978, 1–8, k. 356–363. He repeated the same opinions in an interview on 2 November for the German media, also expressing his willingness and readiness to visit other communist countries "including the Soviet Union." When asked in this context about his former strong anti-communist attitude, the evangelist replied that sometimes it seemed to him that the American way of life was a Christian way of life, and this was, of course, a mistake. "Although as a Christian I do not agree with any atheistic philosophy, my task is to preach the Gospel in a positive way. Christians are tolerated in Eastern Europe and they are really strong there. The communists began to realize that Christians in their countries are also among the best citizens, honest and hard-working." BGEA, WC, International Ministries and North American Ministries Records 1949–1993, CN 17, Box 143, folder 64, Poland–Media, Question from "Idea" in Germany, Manuela Eitzman, 2 November 1978.

"I will give it to my friends." The article thus suggested that the evangelist's visit was enhancing the understanding between previously disliked denominations, and not just between the East and the West in the political sense.²⁹

For Piotr Dajludzionek, a Baptist pastor from Białystok, the visit was important and necessary: "I think people enjoyed listening to Billy Graham. He spoke well, in a simple and evangelical language, I think it brought us more knowledge about Baptists, because Billy Graham is America after all... And because so many people came, something got across to them."³⁰ Ingeborga Niewieczyńska, a Calvinist, perceived it differently: "As far as our church is concerned, it did not have a major impact. Neither for the Protestant community. It was a substantively important event, but more visual, so it was special. It was over, and what is left is the usual preaching work."³¹ A broader perspective was presented by a Calvinist clergyman, Rev. Lipiński: "We evaluated this visit well. It was positive that we were able to invite Billy Graham, maybe [his message – WB] will reach tens, hundreds of people in the country." The simple sermons, otherwise frequently criticised, were helpful in this regard: "to a person who comes and listens to an address different from those he heard in Roman Catholic churches at the time, no deep theology is necessary. Graham was showing that there was no need for lukewarm Christianity, only either God or Satan."³²

Rev. Lipiński noted that Americans cared about evangelism behind the Iron Curtain for some reason: "The visit was inspired, programmed, planned. Perhaps such a thought struck Graham's co-workers: What if we ventured into evangelization in a socialist country? But in order to go there, you need to have someone there. So we'll give the money, the people, the machinery, but there has to be a response from below." According to him, "Graham was coming to communist countries to support the awakening churches in confronting atheistic indoctrination. First he wanted to take his teaching to the capitalist countries of Europe, and at some point he started coming to socialist countries. I think that at a certain stage of his life, his collaborators, at a certain stage of the development of his crusades, decided that it was necessary to take up arms also against atheistic indoctrination, not in the materialistic version as it was in capitalism, but in the ideological version as it was in communist countries. He didn't say such things, but many of us could read it that way, because he brought the sermon to the point where a listening and thinking person asked himself: Will Jesus Christ help me in this?"³³

29 Edward Plowman, "Billy Graham in Poland. Crossing Church Frontiers," *Christianity Today* 23 (3 November 1978): 54–57; cf. draft article in BGCA, WC, Harold Lindsell Papers 1964–1981, CN 192, Box 6, folder 9, Billy Graham in Poland: *An Autumn Harvest*.

30 Interview with Rev. P. Dajludzionek, 4 July 2020. Recording in author's possession. The phrase about "sick and lame" referred to the negative stereotypes of Baptists as poor, uneducated, and living far from cities.

31 Interview with I. Niewieczyńska, 22 July 2020. Recording in author's possession.

32 Interview with Rev. R. Lipiński, 30 July 2020. Recording in author's possession.

33 Interview with Rev. R. Lipiński, 30 July 2020. Recording in author's possession.

It is very difficult, however, to state whether the listeners to Graham's sermons interpreted his words in the same way as Lipinski. Even taking into consideration the skill of people living in the communist countries to read between the lines to find meanings that are intended but that are not directly expressed in something said or written, even in official media, and to conclude from what is covered or not, one cannot assess this dimension of Graham's teaching in Poland. The available sources suggest a rather short-lasting effect of his visit, also in the questions of religious engagement, missionary activities or participation in services. It is worth remembering, however, that Graham did not call for an open rebellion, martyrdom or heroism. He appealed for Christian humbleness, dignity, trust in God and pride of being Christian even in the circumstances. He tried to create the impression that the Christian community remembers about all its members, supports them and remains in spiritual unity with them. Therefore, he referred to the transnational community of Christian values.

Two interesting visual sources have remained from Graham's visit to Poland. The first one is the book *Billy Graham in Poland* published by the Polish Baptist Church in Warsaw in 1979 collecting all the sermons and official statements delivered by the preacher in Poland. There are two photographs that show Graham's grandeur as a spiritual guide. In the first one the evangelist is preaching a sermon standing at the pulpit with his right hand raised, holding the Bible in his left hand. In the other picture Graham is standing at the lectern, on the top of which there is a decorative, large-format edition of the Bible, another open book, and a bundle of notes. In the background, in the upper left corner, there is a globe, making the whole composition suggest the world-spanning evangelistic power of the pastor looking into the distance. The selected photographs suggest evidently that he is more than a preacher, he is a leader emanating strength, self-confidence and determination, qualities often exhibited by evangelists.³⁴ The biographical entry in the book presents him in the same way. The date and place of his birth, his pastoral career, and his missionary work are preceded by a much more detailed account of his impact on the world around him: "he visited 56 countries on every continent," preached to 50 million people, eased racial and denominational tensions, and even had an impact on decreasing crime, reuniting families, and "saving from disaster individuals restored to society." His status is marked by numerous books and radio programs broadcast by 900 stations "continuously since 1950" and by the fact that "presidents of the United States have sought his advice." Billy Graham "appeals to his listeners: you can walk out of here changed, today Christ can change your life," he is constantly on the road, exposed to fatigue and inconvenience but he crosses continents on a mission of salvation. He sets an example: "conversion was my experience, it can become yours too, and you can live it."³⁵

34 K. E. Lofton, "The Preacher Paradigm: Promotional Biographies and the Modern-Made Evangelist," *Religion and American Culture* 16 (2006), 1: 108–110.

35 Stankiewicz, ed., *Billy Graham w Polsce*, 12–14.

The visit to Poland was also shown in a film prepared by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association. Its consultants for the Association, John Akers and Alexander Haraszti, made sure that the motion picture was made in accordance with the needs of the "Eastern European strategy" and the "political conditions of the narrative."³⁶ From a cultural point of view, the photographing or filming of the mission expressed the American fascination with modernity, advanced technology and the belief in their effectiveness, as well as demonstrating to the world the capabilities Americans possessed. It suggested that the combination of technology, youth, enthusiasm, and dedication of missionaries and believers could not fail to bring success. It meant to show encounters with crowds of believers, individuals, and the state and church leaders, and thus the popularity and trust placed in the preacher by large numbers of participants, international respect and status among the most important people in the churches and countries he visited. In this way was created an impression of a personal connection between the preacher and the believers – Graham showed his effectiveness to his followers, and they accompanied him in his work of saving the world from evil.

The material depicting preaching in Poland lasted 59 minutes. It demonstrated Graham as a speaker and evangelist, but also contained interesting cultural references. One of them were sequences showing a Polish suburb where Marian Królak, 38, lived with his wife and two children. He worked for the construction company "Mostostal" for 14 years and had been a homeowner for eight years, having previously lived in a cooperative block of flats.

The Królaks, who belonged to a Baptist church, are probably meant to exemplify a typical Polish family, but in a way that their image will capture the imagination of viewers from across the Atlantic. The family consists of four people. Marian, returning from work, is greeted joyfully by his four-year-old son Adam and his wife Lidia, a nurse who has been a stay-at-home mum for four years. We see her in the kitchen preparing dinner for her husband who, upon entering the house, embraces her tenderly and greets her with a kiss. The other son, 14-year-old Piotr, is shown wearing a pressed white shirt as he reads. The next scene shows the couple having dinner together, preceded by a moment of prayer. A voice [Królak's?– WB] speaks in English off the frame, saying that he is worried about the future, but "as long as we can educate our children, bring them up as good Christians, and be close to Jesus, we don't worry so much. The state doesn't help us in our Christian upbringing, but we also don't see the difficulties they make" as they were able to attend services and Sunday school. Królak adds

36 Wheaton College Special Collections (WCSC), Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (BGEA), Collection 622, Cliff Barrows Papers, Box 9, folder 1, Poland, *Billy Graham in Poland*. A Report in Summary prepared by Walter F. Bennet and Co. for the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, Minneapolis, Minnesota, March 1979, 1–9.

that he is very excited about Billy Graham's visit, which was made possible after 12 years of praying and waiting, and he is glad it came to fruition.³⁷

The film sums up the visit as follows: the books by Billy Graham in Polish translation were published, the British and Foreign Bible Society prepared 100 thousand copies of the Gospel of St John, the preacher spoke about 47 times in six cities to thousands of believers, he was received by the mayors of Białystok and Poznań, the US Ambassador in Warsaw, the leaders of the Baptist Church and the Polish Ecumenical Council. He was also kindly welcomed by Orthodox Archbishop Bazyli and Catholic Bishop Miziołek, who conveyed greetings from Cardinal Wyszyński. The evangelist was invited to attend a performance at the Jewish Theatre in Warsaw and to visit the monastery at Jasna Góra. The film suggests that the visit was a success and will certainly leave a mark on Polish Christians, strengthen Polish Protestant churches, especially Baptists, and sow the seeds of Good News stimulating the faithful to spiritual transformation. The presence of such an outstanding preacher will encourage the faithful to independently search for faith, deepen it and give them strength to openly profess it, shaping new, more mature attitudes towards the grim reality of an atheistic state. The film ends with a call to reunite with Christ, confess and repent of sins, and an advertisement for a new edition of the Bible, distributed by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association.³⁸

The production is meant to show that Billy Graham was a worldwide evangelist and his preaching was recognised in every corner of the world, expected and listened to by large numbers of people. He is an open-minded evangelist who comforts the afflicted, takes an interest in all people, and tries to reach with his preaching to the hearts of all believers in Christ. He demonstrates it through his meetings with all the churches in Poland and the openly atheistic communist authorities. The film convinces that the visit was fully successful and achieved its goals - the preacher was listened to by crowds, which confirmed the rightness of the trip to the countries behind the Iron Curtain.

The sequence showing the Królaks is particularly interesting: a God-fearing family, living in a single-family house in the suburbs rather than in a block of flats, forming a common home, with two aspiring children, a well-paid husband and a non-working wife, leading a life, including a religious one, without major problems. The Królaks' house is well-kept and meticulously maintained. The Królaks themselves also looked good and wear clean, though modest clothes. One gets the impression that the purpose of presenting the family and their household is to convey the connection of Christianity

37 WCSC, BGEA, Collection 622, Cliff Barrows Papers, Box 9, folder 1, Poland, *Billy Graham in Poland*, video, 01:17:30:28–01:20:00:00. Królak alluded to the planned and almost materialised 1966 visit to Poland which was cancelled by the Communist authorities at the very last moment (see note 21).

38 WCSC, BGEA, Collection 622, Cliff Barrows Papers, Box 9, folder 1, Poland, *Billy Graham in Poland*, video, 01:33:20:28–01:57:22:25.

with order and relative prosperity, and thus the idea of its expansion to other parts of the world as a vehicle of progress. In this way a kind of personal relationship is built with the faithful in other countries, with the missionaries whose efforts bring visible results. One can also assume that an "average Polish family" is based on the model of an average American family which enjoys exactly the same liberties. Even the shot of Marian coming home resembles the shot of the doctor from W. Eugene Smith's famous and widely recognised photo essay "Country Doctor." This short excerpt of the film showed "a day in the life" in the unknown parts of the world, so beloved by Americans, and strengthened their faith in the sense of missionary activity.

In the film, Billy Graham himself is presented as a great orator, delivering the Good News to the crowds, calling for a renewal of the world and its inhabitants. He is cable of adapting to various conditions, he teaches in a calm manner, using Scripture quotations, parables, and examples. The speeches are general, constructed so as not to offend the listener, but to make him reflect on his own life, behaviour, attitude. Several large excerpts from Graham's evangelism attempted to show him to the American viewer from a familiar perspective, while episodes of conversation with the state or political leaders suggested his important international position. There was an attempt to create the impression that it was the representatives of the state, churches and believers who wanted to meet an American guest, but also a nice, open and polite man. This builds up not only the position of the preacher but also that of the United States, suggesting that Americans – and thus the United States – are just like that: helpful, eager to help, sensitive, concerned about the fate of an individual and of humanity as a whole.

His mission in Poland was also to build up the Church and its real spiritual strength. The pastor's call to entrust one's life to Christ³⁹ and the expectation of an open declaration was an appeal, modelled on the apostles, to make and fulfil the commitment resulting from listening to the evangelisation. The people making such a commitment were trusted to be taking it seriously by becoming the leaven and leaders of change, building God's order. The evangelist, though speaking to the masses, was actually addressing individuals, mobilising them, expecting an unambiguous response and a future attitude resulting from the confession of faith. That is why the teaching had to be, above all, simple, understandable so as to affect the emotions, inspiring the individual listeners. The preacher seemed to be someone extraordinary and the encounter with him something unusual and unforgettable.

In Poland, unlike in the United States, in order to facilitate the believers the opportunity to meet the preacher, Graham visited several venues. His Polish listeners were not very wealthy, resembling average, busy Americans. Their age was also similar and so were the hardships of everyday life visible on the faces of the participants in the footage.

39 Graham called for this particularly strongly during his sermon "Jesus at the Bottom of Human Misery" in Warsaw on 7 October 1978; Stankiewicz, ed., *Billy Graham w Polsce*, 73–77.

The teaching also emphasised the positively welcome voluntariness of conversion.⁴⁰ The uniqueness of coming to Poland was also enhanced by the choice of an appropriate place for the teaching. In Poland it took place in churches, partly because of the lack of suitable space, partly because of the stubbornness and hostility of the authorities, and partly because of the reluctance of fellow Protestants who were unfriendly to Graham's stay. Even though they housed a large number of the faithful, they could not give the impression desired by the Americans of a huge crowd awaiting his arrival. The only time such an effect was achieved was in Katowice, where the crowds gathered in an enormous cathedral delighted the organisers, the preacher, and especially the television cameramen.

The organisation of the teaching space in place where Billy Graham preached in Poland is also interesting. This was of no small importance to the Americans, and special care was, therefore, taken to arrange the designated spaces accordingly. Placing the pulpit and the speaker in their central area, due to the fact that the services were held in churches, was not possible. Graham was accompanied only by an interpreter, invited guests were seated on the sides or in the first rows, while the back of the altar or platform was occupied by the choir. It corresponded to the Protestant tradition of placing the music near the speaker, behind and to either side of him. This simple visual trick strengthened the reception of the teaching, because in the Protestant tradition the spatially separated choir was closely connected with the pulpit, which together with the speaker became the central point of the service. The photographs from the Warsaw Calvinist church clearly show that the pulpit was placed in front, increasing the importance of Graham speaking from behind it and marginalising the much smaller altar, which was partially visible.⁴¹

It is extremely difficult to estimate the attendance for the sermons. The Baptists estimated that, in Warsaw, 2000 people came for the evening teaching and between 800 and 900 pastors took part in the special meeting with them in the morning of this day. In Białystok, 5000 people attended the service, in Poznań, 4000 and 300 decisions were made. We have no estimations from Wrocław. In Katowice, 14 thousand attended and 2 thousand took the decision. In Cracow, 3000 came to the service, but the number of decisions was unspecified. In another service in Warsaw's Roman Catholic Church "attendance was impressive" and 300 decisions were taken. During the service in the Calvinist church 200 decisions were made and the church "was full up to its capacity." During the service in the Warsaw Lutheran church 200 decisions were made and the US ambassador to Poland, William E. Schaefe, participated in this meeting with Graham.

40 Wayne E. Oates, "The Billy Graham Evangelistic Crusade: An Evaluation," *Pastoral Psychology* 7 (1956): 20–23.

41 Stankiewicz, ed., *Billy Graham w Polsce*, 33, 191.

In the light of this source the number of decision takers⁴² could reach 3000.⁴³ “There were decisions, people raised their hands, but there were too many of them to count. Well, people lifted their hands, but whether they were really convinced nobody knows,” noticed Rev. Dajludzionek from Białystok.⁴⁴ According to the American Embassy, the number of decisions varied from 10 to 25 percent of participants. But the Embassy’s report indicated that “most of the services were attended by a representative mixture of young and older people” and “despite the lack of advance notice and the minimal media coverage during his swing through Poland, the Graham crusade seemed to draw a comparatively high level of popular interest. Some people came out of curiosity to view an event unique in Poland’s post-war history; others came out of conviction.”⁴⁵

Undoubtedly, the visit caused interest in religious literature and church going, especially in Warsaw, where, according to reports “80 people came to the Wednesday service and special duty hours had to be organised for those interested in discussing religious matters.” Similar observations came from Białystok and Wrocław where “more people attended services and a stir was visible. Eight people were baptised, others, converts, are now close [to baptism – WB]. No other new developments were observed. Also in Katowice prayer groups consisting of Catholics, Baptists and Lutherans were formed.”⁴⁶ But the US Embassy noticed that “the visit clearly gave the least a temporary boost to ecumenism in Poland, the degree of Roman Catholic involvement being especially noteworthy. However, the very fact that Poland is so overwhelmingly Catholic makes it likely that the impact of Graham’s crusade will be rather transitory for most who witnessed it, but perhaps deeper for young people in search of answers to the big questions of life. The election of the Polish Pope on the very day Graham concluded his stay will

42 Evangelical denominations of Christianity assume that the faithful must independently make a conscious decision to accept and follow Christ, therefore be born again. This understanding of conversion derives from the third chapter of St. John in the New Testament, where Jesus tells Nicodemus that in order to enter the kingdom of Heaven he must be born again. See: “Conversion,” in: Balmer, *Encyclopedia of Evangelicalism*, 187; “Conversion,” in: *Encyclopedia of American Religious History*, eds. Edward L. Queen II, Stephen R. Prothero and Gardiner H. Shattuck, Jr. (New York: Facts on File, 2009), 306–307. During Billy Graham’s crusades, it often took the form of altar calls and raising hands to make the decision public.

43 Archiwum Naczelnej Rady Kościoła Baptystów w Polsce (ANRKBP) [Supreme Council of the Church of Baptists in Poland Archive, Warsaw – Radość], 1/37, Posiedzenia Rady PKChB. Protokoły z załącznikami 1975–1980, Protokół nr 17 z posiedzenia Naczelnej Rady Polskiego Kościoła Chrześcijan Baptystów w Warszawie z dnia 27 XI 1978, 188–198.

44 Interview with Rev. Piotr Dajludzionek, 4 July 2020. Recording in author’s possession.

45 Wikileaks, Billy Graham Crusade to Poland, cable, US Embassy Warsaw to Embassies and Consulates in Sofia, Bulgaria, Prague, Czechoslovakia, Munich Germany, Budapest Hungary, Bucharest, Romania, Cracow, Poland, Poznan, Poland, Belgrade, Serbia, Moscow, Russia, Secretary of State, 20 October 1978, 3–6, accessed: 26 March 2022, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/1978WARSAW09544_d.html.

46 ANRKBP, [Supreme Council of the Church of Baptists in Poland Archive, Warsaw – Radość], 1/37, Posiedzenia Rady PKChB. Protokoły z załącznikami 1975–1980, Protokół nr 17 z posiedzenia Naczelnej Rady Polskiego Kościoła Chrześcijan Baptystów w Warszawie z dnia 27 XI 1978, 188–198.

certainly have overshadowed the short-term impression the evangelist may otherwise have left with his audiences in Poland.⁴⁷

The mission in Poland, like other missions Graham undertook in the 1960s and 1970s, combined two components: inspiring democratic attitudes and expanding the space for religion in countries where it was scarce, and strengthening evangelical churches and religious movements close to him in search of believers among the young and lower middle class. Graham's departure from anti-communist and staunchly pro-American rhetoric did not indicate a failure of his mission but an attempt to find a form appropriate for the times of detente. Graham intended to help his Polish sympathisers create a separate identity, draw them into the worldwide evangelical movement, while building his position as its leader. But the softer rhetoric did not mean a change in Graham's thinking: he believed that the world was still divided into good and evil, it was threatened by consumerism and secularism, and the remedy for which was to be an ever-deepening spirituality. There is no doubt, however, that emphasising individual conversion, the right to choose one's own life path or salvation was a strong reference to such American characteristics as freedom of choice, independent decision-making, commitment to the community and striving for its perfection. However, to Christians raised in the tradition of a hierarchical church with a well-established theology and sacraments, Graham's theology could seem poorly grounded,⁴⁸ and attractive as a form religious culture rather than deepened Christianity. Therefore, the preacher, seeking to build international recognition and identity for evangelical Christianity, sought support in all parts of the world.

But Billy Graham's visit to Poland did not make the Polish-American relations newer, stronger or better. These relations were based on purely political considerations and heroes of the common past, like Thaddeus Kościuszko, Casimir Pulaski, presidents Woodrow Wilson and Herbert Hoover or the masses of immigrants from

47 Wikileaks, Billy Graham Crusade to Poland, cable, US Embassy Warsaw to Embassies and Consulates in Sofia, Bulgaria, Prague, Czechoslovakia, Munich Germany, Budapest Hungary, Bucharest, Romania, Cracow, Poland, Poznan, Poland, Belgrade, Serbia, Moscow, Russia, Secretary of State, 20 October 1978, 3–6, accessed: 26 March 2022, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/1978WARSAW09544_d.html.

48 These charges were formulated mainly by West European Lutherans; in Germany, he was accused of showbiz commercialisation of religion, manipulation of the emotions of the faithful, Hollywood entertainment disguised as Christianity, the carnival atmosphere of the crusades, and its inadequacy to German religious conditions, also by expecting an immediate conversion decision from the attendees; James C. Enns, *Saving Germany. North American Protestants and Christian Mission to West Germany 1945–1974* (Montreal–London–Chicago: McGill–Queens University Press, 2017), 146–151; Belgian pastors had very similar impressions, pointing to the low effectiveness of the crusades, shallow theology, “a caricature of evangelism that is at odds with the Belgian way of thinking,” ignoring the Catholic Church, and even the “cult of personality.” William Thomas, *An Assessment of Mass Meetings as a Method of Evangelism: Case Study of Eurofest '75 and the Billy Graham Crusade in Brussels* (Amsterdam: Rodopi N.V., 1977), 250–254; Thomas P. Johnson, *Examining Billy Graham's Theology of Evangelism* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2003), 189–192.

the late 19th and early 20th century. Graham was not a politician and, even though his religious agenda included certain political aspects or allusions in his visit to Poland, he distanced himself from them. The relations he wanted to build were solely based on evangelical spirituality and born-again religiosity, but in Poland it appealed mostly to a tiny group of evangelical Christians or those involved in interfaith dialogue, not to average Catholics or mainstream Protestants. The only transnational or transatlantic religious dimension of the visit can, therefore, be an attempt to build stronger connections between Polish and American brothers in faith. However, I would hypothesise that he hoped that the sermons preached in the free countries repeated unchanged in a Communist country might have been interpreted differently because of the authorities were hostile to religion. Therefore, although literally the same, they could have a different meaning because of a different context. Additionally, the visit was essentially forgotten and did not function in Polish Protestantism except for the small circle of Polish Baptists. This was the result of two factors: the marginalisation of the visit by Polish communist-controlled newspapers and the American ones (only those connected with the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association mentioned the visit to their readers) and the election of Cardinal Karol Wojtyła to be Pope. This happened on the same day when Graham was leaving Poland and totally overshadowed his visit behind the Iron Curtain. The transatlantic dimension of Graham's visit can, therefore, be traced in its religious aspects, but even these were difficult to note in a heavily Catholic country with a different religious culture. Evangelical forms of spiritual manifestations – emotions, sudden conversions, born-again spirituality, studying the Bible were very difficult to adopt by Polish non-evangelical Christians. Consequently, the visit did not become a part of the Polish–American world of common history and remembrance and did not take its place as a component of politically motivated Polish–American relations.

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English version: Mark Atkinson

SUMMARY

Billy Graham, one of the most recognisable American preachers, was known primarily for his large-scale evangelisation projects, organised initially in the United States and Western Europe, and then on other continents. In a favourable situation of political détente between the USA and the Soviet Union, Graham, in October 1978, visited Poland, delivering a number of sermons to the faithful of the Catholic Church and Protestant denominations. From a religious point of view, Graham's teachings bore clear features of evangelical Protestantism, weakly rooted in Poland. Teaching also had a cultural dimension, trying to instil in the faithful such character traits as the courage to make decisions, being guided by Christian values, the teachings of the Holy Scriptures and openness to other people. Graham's charisma and unquestionable missionary zeal thus became an opportunity to present the values of American evangelicals and, for Poles, an extremely rare opportunity to encounter a different religious culture that carries values so important to Americans as freedom, liberty, searching for one's identity and deepening spirituality. In the reality of the Polish communist state, this religious message also had a deeper dimension, being a breath of freedom flowing from the USA.

Transatlantycki wymiar podróży Billy'ego Grahama do Polski w październiku 1978 r.

Słowa kluczowe: Billy Graham, wizyta w Polsce, ekumenizm, Baptyści w Polsce, religia, ewangelikalizm, misje Billy'ego Grahama

STRESZCZENIE

Billy Graham, jeden z najbardziej rozpoznawalnych amerykańskich kaznodziejów, znany był przede wszystkim z zakrojonych na ogromną skalę przedsięwzięć ewangelizacyjnych, organizowanych początkowo w Stanach Zjednoczonych i Europie Zachodniej, a następnie na innych kontynentach. W sprzyjającej sytuacji odprężenia politycznego między USA a Związkiem Radzieckim Graham odwiedził Polskę, wygłaszając szereg kazań do wiernych Kościołów protestanckich i katolików. Z religijnego punktu widzenia nauczanie Grahama niosło wyraźne cechy ewangelikalnego protestantyzmu, słabo zakorzenionego w Polsce. Nauczanie miało również wymiar kulturowy, starając zaszczerpić się w wiernych takie cechy charakteru jak odwaga podejmowania decyzji, kierowanie się wartościami chrześcijańskimi, naukami Pisma świętego czy otwartość na drugiego człowieka. Charyzma Grahama i jego niekwestionowana gorliwość misyjna stały się tym samym okazją do zaprezentowania wartości amerykańskich ewangelikanów i niezmiernie rzadką sposobnością spotkania odmiennej kultury religijnej niosącej w sobie tak cenne dla Amerykanów wartości jak swoboda, wolność, poszukiwanie własnej tożsamości i pogłębianie duchowości. W autorytarnej rzeczywistości komunistycznego państwa to religijne przesłanie miało również głębszy wymiar, będąc powiewem płynącej z USA wolności.

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Elżbieta Mydlowska

Institute of Spatial Management and Socio-Economic Geography

University of Szczecin

elzbieta.mydlowska@usz.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0002-7153-6588

Geocaching Adventure Lab–The Innovative Tool for Exploring and Creating Tourism Space

Keywords: Geocaching Adventure Lab, tourism space, tourism product, coastal areas

Introduction

In recent years (2019–2022), the volume of tourism traffic has significantly decreased in virtually all countries in the world, due to the prevailing epidemiological situation regarding the COVID-19 disease caused by the SARS-CoV-2 coronavirus and the related recommendations of the WHO regarding movement (people's mobility). The restrictions introduced by the governments of countries aimed at limiting the spread of the virus have strongly affected the tourist sphere. As a result, access to potential tourist destinations was limited (closing state borders, closing borders between voivodships or communes), as well as introducing restrictions on the duration of the trip enforced by closing or limiting the activities of the hotel, catering or accompanying facilities. Tourism has become definitely individualised. Human functioning has been extended in relation to virtual space, which also includes tourism space. According to the author, innovative tourist products have gained in importance, enabling exploring and creating space (including tourism), in an individualised way, with the use of e-tools. An example of such an innovative e-tool is the Geocaching Adventure Lab.

The conducted research made it possible to characterise the scope and essence of the Geocaching Adventure Lab's functioning in the context of exploring and shaping the tourism space in its virtual and analogue dimensions. The aim of the research was to identify the scale of geocaching tourist traffic and to characterise Adventure Lab

caches as a necessary element of tourist development on the example of selected coastal areas; on this basis, an attempt was made to answer the following questions: is it possible to manage tourist traffic through prepared and implemented Adventures and can the Adventure cache be treated as a tourist product?

The subject of the research was Adventure Lab caches located and functioning in the tourist space of coastal communes of six countries located in the south-eastern part of the Baltic Sea basin (Poland, the Russian Federation, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Finland). The research area is the coastal areas, which are among the most frequently-chosen tourist destinations, due to their tourist values, mainly recreational and sightseeing. The selected countries have a total coastline length of 52,127 km, which is 75.5% of the total length of the Baltic coastline.¹ Finland has the longest coastline and Lithuania the shortest. In total, there were 804 adventure caches in the selected area, which were created by 31 October 2022 (Table 1).

Table 1. Research area - selected information

Country	Coastline length [km]	Percent of total coastline length	Number of caches
Estonia	3,794	5.50	49
Finland	46,064	66.73	617
Latvia	496	0.72	72
Lithuania	91	0.13	5
Poland	843	1.22	59
Russia	839	1.22	2
Total	52,127	75.52	804

Source: own study based on A. Pickaver.²

In the research and development of the material, the following methods were used: desk research, which is a result of two groups of methods, namely content analysis, statistical data analysis, and Internet query.

In this regard, at the outset, a literature study was carried out in terms of the theoretical phenomena of Geocaching and tourism space. Data presenting the scale of tourist traffic in selected countries of the Baltic Sea basin for the years 2019, 2020 and 2021 are presented.

1 The total length of the Baltic coastline is 69027 km. See: Alan Pickaver, *Integrated Coastal Zone Management in the Baltic States. State of the Art Report. Background for Coastal Planning and Management in the Baltic Sea Region*. EUCC-The Coastal Union, 2003, accessed 2 January 2023, https://eucc-d-inline.databases.eucc-d.de/files/documents/00000657_EUCC_Baltic_ICZM_State_of_Art.pdf, 90.

2 Ibidem, 90.

Due to the epidemiological situation occurring at that time, the study used only the data on tourist traffic that were available for the indicated countries on the UNWTO website.³ The data concerns the volume of international tourist arrivals and domestic visitors (same-day).

Whereas the caches internet query was based on the statistics and information assigned to each of them, which are available in the Geocaching Adventure Lab application.

Geocaching Adventure Lab

Generally, geocaching is a new form of active recreation implemented in the form of an outdoor game that allows exploring and shaping the tourist space. The word geocaching comes from the combination of the words: Geo, which means the Earth, which indicates the global nature of the game, a reference to geography and other earth sciences, as well as the place of physical or virtual hiding/location of the item and cache, which means a hiding place, referring to hiding treasures or a place in real (analogue) space. Thus, the word geocache means a hidden container and/or a place to be tracked down, and a geocacher means a person involved in geocaching, i.e., one who is involved in both the process of finding and hiding caches.⁴ During the process of searching for caches, the geocacher uses a mobile phone with an installed application that allows the location of caches. It is possible on the basis of geographic coordinates assigned to the cache. Due to the global nature of the game, it was assumed that geographical coordinates should always be given in the same reference system - WGS-84. The largest and most popular service is geocaching.com.⁵ Many countries have their own local services, for example: Finland geocache.fi, Russia Geocaching.su or Poland geocaching.pl and opencaching.pl.

Participants of the game must comply with the rules set out in the regulations posted on the geocaching.com website. The guiding principle is safety. The hiding place of the cache (real or virtual) must be in accordance with the applicable local law and the regulations of the land manager, including obtaining consent/permission from

3 *Global and regional tourism performance*, accessed 9 January 2023, <https://www.unwto.org/tourism-data/global-and-regional-tourism-performance>.

4 Olga Smoleńska, "Najnowsze trendy w turystyce eventowej. Gry fabularne i wydarzenia związane z fantastyką i technologią XXI wieku," *Turystyka Kulturowa* 8 (2009): 31–39, accessed 28 December 2022, <http://turystykakulturowa.org/ojs/index.php/tk/article/view/389>; Mateusz Dobek, Marcin Kozieł, "Geocaching w Roztoczańskim Parku Narodowym," *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska*, section B, Vol. 70, (2015), 2: 191–207, accessed 28 December 2022, DOI: 10.17951/b.2015.70.2.191.

5 Dobek, Kozieł, "Geocaching."

the owner or land manager to hide/access the cache in a given place. The Regulations prohibit e.g., destroying the cache's surroundings, indicating that the method of its hiding or location (in relation to a virtual cache or Earthcache) should minimally interfere with the natural environment. Similar rules apply to caches located near or within historic buildings.⁶

The world's first cache was set up near Estacade, Oregon, USA, by Dave Ulmer on 3 May 2000. The author posted the coordinates of its hiding place on an internet forum. Soon after, many people started searching for the cache using GPS receivers and shared their impressions on an online forum. This event is credited with the birth of geocaching and its essential tool, the geocaching.com website. As a result, more enthusiasts of this game created their own caches.⁷ In Poland, the first cache was established on 1 November 2001 in Warsaw (Mazowieckie Voivodeship). This is a virtual cache (still available), which was visited by 3,163 people until 31 October 2022.⁸

The great interest in Geocaching and its great potential (getting to know and shaping the tourist space) made this field game in Poland a new type of qualified tourism. In 2012, the Polish Tourist and Sightseeing Society (Polskie Towarzystwo Turystyczno-Krajoznawcze, PTTK) established the PTTK Geocaching Poland Badge. It can be obtained only in the territory of the Republic of Poland. The badge is established in four tiers: Popular, Bronze, Silver, Gold. To get the first one (the popular one) – you need to find 100 caches of any type.⁹

There are many types of caches in Geocaching, the basic division includes: physical caches (e.g., Traditional Geocache), EarthCache and Adventure Lab., Geocaching events (e.g., CITO) and Legacy Cache Types (e.g., Virtual Cache), that can still be found, but is no longer available for the creation on Geocaching.com (Table 2). The article focuses on presenting the scale of possibilities in exploring and creating space with the use of Adventure Lab caches. The history of the development of these caches dates back to 2011, when a prototype of a mobile responsive web application for creating and playing Adventures was built. In 2013, a new cache type "Lab Cache" was added to Geocaching.com. In the same year, the first public lab caches were available at the Block Party Geocaching HQ event; the adventures were very well received by the geocaching community. In 2015, the Adventure's platform "Lab Caches" gained popularity.

6 *Geocaching*, accessed 29 December 2022, <http://geocaching.com/play>.

7 Joanna Maria Skóra, "Geocaching jako innowacyjna forma odkrywania walorów przyrodniczych i kulturowych w Polsce studium przypadku powiatu poznańskiego," *Warsztaty z Geografii Turyzmu* 1 (2017), 8: 101–110, accessed 28 December 2022, DOI: 10.18788/2544-7440.01.11.

8 *Geocaching Polska*, accessed 29 December 2022, <http://geocaching.pl>.

9 *Badge Regulations PTTK Geocaching Polska*, accessed 29 December 2022, http://www.msw-pttk.org.pl/odznaki/reg_odznak/reg_opttkgp.html.

However, the original prototype did not meet the relevant standards; there was no software used for the proper functioning of the new type of cache in cooperation with the platform. In 2018, the construction of an application that would cooperate with the web interface was undertaken. That same year it was launched in the iOS and Android app stores.¹⁰ Basically, the whole process of shaping the tourism space with the help of Adventure Lab caches started de facto in 2019.

Table 2. Type of caches - examples

Geocache Types	Description
Traditional Cache	This is the fundamental, straightforward type of geocache. These geocaches are some kind of containers, of various sizes, hidden under the given geographic coordinates. Each container contains a logbook, which the player signs in after finding the cache. Larger containers may also include items for trade and/or trackables (travel bugs).
EarthCache	Caches of this type are set up in places of high geological attractiveness. They are educational. Their task is to disseminate knowledge about geology and geological phenomena. In order to confirm finding such a cache in a geocaching service, it is usually necessary to visit the indicated place and send answers to the author's questions regarding the geological phenomena occurring in this place.
Adventure Lab	Lab Geocache is a new type of virtual cache. It allows users to create, play and share location-based experiences and games called Adventures. These Adventures guide players to find clues, solve puzzles and discover/explore interesting new places.
Letterbox Hybrid	It is one of the types of traditional (physical) cache, in which the additional attribute is the fact that each container includes, apart from a logbook, also a rubber stamp. Upon finding a cache, players can stamp the logbook with their personal stamp, as well as stamp their own notebook with a letterbox stamp, as a kind of souvenir of their visit. The stamp and logbook are left in the letterbox for the next players. It is forbidden for them to be taken by the participants of the game. In general, it can be assumed that after adding a stamp to the cache, it changes to Letterbox Hybrid; however, the guidelines for the basic type of cache still apply (traditional cache + stamp = letterbox hybrid).
Cache In Trash Out (CITO) Event	It is the event cache with a pro-ecological character. During the organised environmental meeting, geocachers clean up rubbish, plant trees and other plants, mark trails etc. The purpose of the meetings is to preserve natural areas and keep them clean so that the geocaching community can be enjoyed while geocaching.
Virtual Cache	It is a kind of cache that can be obtained by being at the location (there is no container with a logbook). The requirements for logging in (only in electronic form using the application) depend on the creator of the cache; for example, it is required to answer a question related to the location, take a photo, or perform some kind of task. Then this result should be sent to the creator of this cache. Virtual caches are created in places that are interesting in terms of tourism.

Source: own study based on Geocaching <https://www.geocaching.com>;¹¹ Geocaching Adventure Lab. <https://adventure.geocaching.com>.¹²

10 Ibidem.

11 Geocaching, accessed 16 April 2023, <https://www.geocaching.com/play>.

12 Geocaching Adventure Lab, accessed 8 January 2023, <https://adventure.geocaching.com>.

Geocaching Adventure Lab is an innovative tool/application and platform, developed by the team at Geocaching HQ, which is used to explore and create (co-create) tourism space, which is a part of geographical space with features enabling and conducive to the implementation of various forms of tourism, especially cognitive tourism. The Adventure Lab® application (installed on the smartphone) allows players to participate in the so-called adventure, which is a kind of field game. During such a game, thematic puzzles are solved using the clues provided in the description.¹³ Most often, within one adventure, five places/points/locations are visited (adventure stages) (Figure 1).

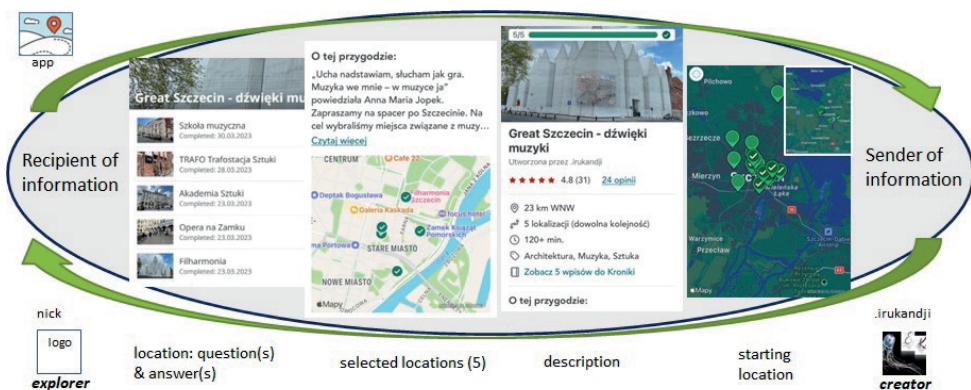


Figure 1. Adventure Lab: Great Szczecin – sounds of music, Szczecin Poland

Source: own study.

The application contains information that can be related to the number of people (cachers) who completed the entire adventure in the form of: the number of opinions issued (comments to a given adventure) and the number of ratings issued. Between these two numbers it is impossible to put an equal sign or add them together. There is no obligation for the player to rate or write an opinion. The participant of the game may provide them separately or not at all. Thus, the total number of people on a given adventure is difficult to estimate.¹⁴ It is highly probable that their number is definitely higher than indicated by the given values. In turn, the process of creating an “adventure” is carried out using the labs.geocaching.com/builder/adventures platform. The prepared/developed “adventure” is a kind of virtual tourist guide used by game participants.

¹³ *Geocaching & the Adventure Lab*, accessed 8 January 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uEy-rOXjh9bc>.

¹⁴ *Geocaching Adventure Lab*, accessed 8 January 2023, <https://adventure.geocaching.com>.

It is a guide that shows the participant particularly interesting values or tourist facilities of the selected area. The theme of the “adventure” itself depends on the creator and presents his abilities and interests.¹⁵ It is important that such an “adventure” can be created regardless of the creator’s place of residence or country. Currently, only Geocaching members who have purchased the Premium option are able to create an Adventure Lab.

Currently, on a global scale, in over 120 countries, there are over 55,000 prepared adventures that allow you to get to know a specific tourist space. Adventures (games) are available in the application in more than 25 languages of the world.¹⁶

Exploring the tourist space with Adventure Lab.

Tourism space is a functionally-distinctive part of the general geographical space. This space is part of the geographic and socio-economic space where tourism phenomena occur.¹⁷ In the subjective approach, it is the effect of the relation of the tourist subject to the space (environment), as well as the experience of this space by the subject.¹⁸ In the literature on the subject, this space is also defined as a set of objects conditioning the satisfaction of the needs of the subject (human).¹⁹ Therefore, tourism space can be considered a part of geographical space in which the phenomenon of tourism occurs (regardless of its size and nature). This indicates the need for a human tourist – a participant in tourism – to appear in this space. The participant (tourist, visitor) both allows to delimit the tourism space, and by making certain decisions, shapes his own, individual space of tourist activity, becoming its most important element.²⁰

15 *Adventure Lab® Top 5 Adventure Tips*, accessed 8 January 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=34g-VR0PP70I>.

16 *Geocaching Adventure Lab*, accessed 8 January 2023, <https://adventure.geocaching.com>.

17 Jadwiga Warszyńska, “The Main Research Problems in the Geography of Tourism,” *Turyzm/Tourism* 9 (1999), 1: 37–50, accessed 28 December 2022, DOI: 10.18778/0867-5856.9.1.03.

18 Jolanta Latosińska, “Przestrzeń turystyczna - jedno pojęcie dwa znaczenia. Rozważania na temat indywidualnej przestrzeni turystycznej,” *Turyzm/Tourism* 16 (2006), 2: 93–98, accessed 15 December 2022, DOI: 10.12911/22998993/113422.

19 Andrzej Lisowski, *Koncepcje przestrzeni w geografii człowieka* (Warszawa: Uniwersytet Warszawski, Wydział Geografii i Studiów Regionalnych, 2003), 198.

20 Bogdan Włodarczyk, “Przestrzeń turystyczna – pojęcie, wymiary, cechy,” *Turyzm/Tourism* 17 (2007), 2: 145–158; Bogdan Włodarczyk, “Przestrzeń turystyczna – kilka słów o istocie pojęcia,” in: *Przestrzeń turystyczna. Czynniki, różnorodność, zmiany*, eds. Małgorzata Durydiwka, and Katarzyna Duda-Gromada (Warszawa: WEMA Wydawnictwo-Poligrafia, 2011), 15–27; Bogdan Włodarczyk, “Space in tourism, tourism in space: on the need for definition, delimitation and classification,” *Turyzm/Tourism* 24 (2014), 1: 25–34, accessed 15 December 2022, DOI: 10.2478/tour-2014-0003.

The volume of tourist traffic in the countries included in the study was formed during the period of epidemiological threat. Taking into account the volume of international incoming traffic, in 2020, compared to 2019, the largest decrease (by over 70%) was recorded in Russia and Finland. On the other hand, the smallest decrease was recorded in Poland and amounted to about 60%. Comparing the volume of this movement in 2021 to 2020, some improvement can be observed. In Poland, there was an increase in the number of tourists arriving by 15%, in Finland and Lithuania it remained at the same level (Table 3).

Table 3. Analysis of the dynamics of tourism traffic

Country	2019	2020	2019 = 100	2021	2020 = 100	2019	2020	2019 = 100
	million			million		thousand		
	International tourist arrivals					Domestic visitors (same-day)		
Estonia	3.3	1.0	30.30	0.8	80.00	3.5	2.1	61.27
Finland	2.9	0.8	27.59	0.8	100.00	29.3	23.3	79.60
Latvia	1.9	0.6	31.58	(–)	(–)	2.5	1.4	54.66
Lithuania	2.9	0.9	31.03	0.9	100.00	2.8	2.4	86.27
Poland	21.2	8.4	39.62	9.7	115.48	50.0	38.6	77.20
Russia	24.6	6.4	26.02	(–)	(–)	(–)	(–)	(–)

(–) data not available

Source: own study based on Global and regional tourism performance <https://www.unwto.org/tourism-data/global-and-regional-tourism-performance>.²¹

Analysing the volume of domestic traffic, expressed in the number of visitors, it can be seen that it also decreased in 2020 compared to 2019. The largest decrease was in Latvia (approx. 45%), and the smallest in Lithuania (approx. 14%).

“Movement, moving is what makes tourism.”²² Tourism is characterised by personal contact between the individual and the visited environment and is associated with the process of wandering and migration. It is based on the needs of man and the spatial movements that he makes to satisfy these needs by visiting given places.²³ Tourism phenomena and processes are related to the movement of people and the change of their place of residence take place in a specific space, which is created by its specific tourist development.

²¹ *Global and regional tourism performance*, accessed 5 November 2022, <https://www.unwto.org/tourism-data/global-and-regional-tourism-performance>.

²² Marc Boyer, *Le Tourisme* (Paris: Du Seuil, 1972).

²³ Marika Pirveli, “Istota zjawiska turystyki,” *Wójt i Jego Gmina* 6 (listopad/grudzień 2008), 37: 54–68.

In the analysed case, Adventure Lab caches are a necessary element of this tourist development. In the tourist space of the researched area there were 804 caches of this type, which in total included 4017 places to visit. For each “adventure” there were between three and ten places to visit. The largest number, as much as 96.77% of the examined caches, had five locations (visited places). Looking at the results for individual countries, Finland had the most adventures in the coastal area, as many as 617 with 3073 locations. The size of this number could have been influenced by the presence of the longest coastline and the cities located in this zone, the least adventures were in the studied area of the Russian Federation, only two with five locations each (Table 4).

Table 4. Caches and their locations

Country	Caches		Locations	
	number	%	number	%
Estonia	49	6.09	245	6.10
Finland	617	76.74	3,073	76.50
Lithuania	5	0.62	25	0.62
Latvia	72	8.96	359	8.94
Poland	59	7.34	305	7.59
Russia	2	0.25	10	0.25
Total	804	100.00	4,017	100.00

Source: own study.

The degree of interest in exploring the tourism space using the Geocaching Adventure Lab can be determined by the number of people using the application and realising virtually prepared adventures in real (analogue) space. There were 804 caches in the study area, which had (in total) 91,200 ratings, and the number of written comments was almost 110,000 (Tables 5 and 6). This indicates a great interest in exploring new places using the described e-tool. Looking at the results of basic statistical parameters, due to the number of ratings and comments issued, a large variation in the volume of geocaching tourist traffic in relation to the implemented Adventures is visible. Relatively, the least visited caches were in Lithuania, where 75% of them had a maximum of 71 ratings and 60 comments. This state of affairs may have been influenced by the small number of caches operating in this area. The caches in Estonia had also a relatively low number of visits, respectively: Q3 = 98 and 102. On the other hand, the most numerous adventures were in Finland (75% of the caches had up to 159 ratings and 210 comments) and in Poland (171 and 144, respectively). There are caches in Lithuania for which the number of ratings and comments issued to Adventures is higher than the arithmetic average.

Table 5. Number of ratings given to adventures - selected statistical parameters

Country	Total	Mean	Min	Max	Q1	Me	Q3	CV [%]	A
Estonia	3,892	79	1	360	39	55	98	96.12	2,11
Finland	70,841	115	3	527	56	98	159	68.41	1,36
Lithuania	283	57	25	80	42	65	71	39.87	-0,66
Latvia	9,277	129	6	495	83	108	152	69.44	1,70
Poland	6,867	101	4	408	41	94	171	86.96	1,50
Total ²⁴	91,200	113	1	527	52	97	156	71.35	1,40

Source: own study.

Table 6. The number of opinions given to adventures – selected statistical parameters

Country	Total	Mean	Min	Max	Q1	Me	Q3	CV [%]	A
Estonia	3,926	80	2	310	34	57	102	89.03	1,66
Finlandie	91,408	148	4	622	67	134	210	67.68	0,93
Lithuania	227	45	22	64	34	47	60	38.77	-0,36
Latvia	8,415	117	7	483	73	108	144	69.64	1,79
Poland	5,942	116	3	420	33	79	144	79.84	1,07
Total ²⁵	109,938	137	2	622	57	117	156	71.92	1,05

Source: own study.

Each Adventure Lab type cache in the examined tourist space was rated by the game participants (Figure 2).

In general, caches created in Poland and Lithuania received the highest rating (minimum average rating for a cache was 4.4; Me = 4.7 (PL) and 4.8 (LT)), while the lowest in Finland (minimum average rating 2.6; Me = 4.1). The vast majority of caches created in the surveyed countries had an average score above 4.0, which proves the positive reception of the adventure game participants and the high quality and commitment of the creators in creating adventures.

Taking into account the nature of tourist traffic due to the time dimension, the possible time of implementation of a given adventure in prepared locations is important. The information contained in the application, as one of the statistics, indicates the average time to complete each adventure. The vast majority of adventures in Finland, Poland, Estonia and Latvia were completed within 30 minutes, which means that the locations of these adventures are close to each other, and the tasks are easy to complete. The concept of learning through play is implemented (Table 7).

²⁴ Including data from the territory of Russia.

²⁵ Ibidem.

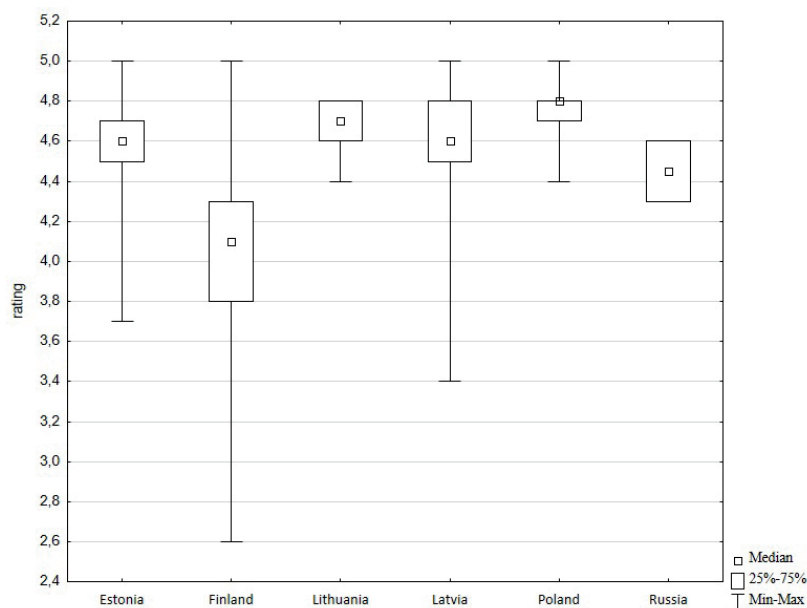


Figure 2. Cache ratings by country – box and whisker plot

Source: own study.

Table 7. Approximate time to complete Adventure

Lead time [min.]	Estonia		Finland		Lithuania		Latvia		Poland	
	caches	%	caches	%	caches	%	caches	%	caches	%
0–30	15	30.6	365	59.2	1	20.0	22	30.6	23	39.0
31–45	9	18.4	83	13.5	2	40.0	17	23.6	7	11.9
46–60	3	6.1	46	7.5	0	0.0	8	11.1	5	8.5
61–90	7	14.3	43	7.0	0	0.0	8	11.1	6	10.2
91–120	4	8.2	15	2.4	0	0.0	6	8.3	8	13.6
120+	9	18.4	65	10.5	2	40.0	11	15.3	10	16.9
indefinite	2	4.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	49	100.0	617	100.0	5	100.0	72	100.0	59	100.0

Source: own study.

Relatively large percentage of caches with a execution time of more than 2 hours can be found in Lithuania, Estonia and also in Poland. The intensity of exploring a given tourist space, expressed in the number of ratings and comments issued, is influenced, on the one hand, by the date of publishing the adventure, previously created caches

have a larger number of them; on the other hand, its broadly understood accessibility, which also translates into the duration of the adventure, namely: the degree of difficulty of the tasks performed (solving puzzles), knowledge of the language (there are adventures that can be completed only by knowing the language of the country in which it is built²⁶), time (the adventure takes place in facilities with limited time access), transport/movement (location of caches in hard-to-reach places for players).²⁷

As part of exploring tourism space with the use of the discussed e-tool, there is a form of tourism whose dominant motive is cognitive goals, mainly through sightseeing activities or short-term recreation, often even without accommodation. The scope of this tourist movement does not exceed the capacity of the area (tourism capacity) on which it is carried out.

Adventure Lab as a tool for creating space

Creating a tourism space with the Geocaching Adventure Lab requires the wizard to be a Premium member. This is a necessary condition to receive a credit from Geocaching HQ which allows you to create your own game/adventure. Each adventure created allows participants to explore and learn through stories and interactive location-based experiences. Adventures are virtual and can take place in open and closed spaces and be located at different (any) distance from each other. This allows adventurers to innovate and test new ideas.

On the one hand, the adventures are in the virtual space (created on the platform and available in the application on the phone), but in order to complete such an adventure, the player must be in the analogue space in the places indicated in the description. The adventure creation location requires an area with strong mobile coverage. The creators are preparing a story that connects the various stages of the adventure (locations). Up to 3 themes (attributes) can be assigned to each adventure, out of 31 listed in alphabetical order in the builder on the labs.geocaching.com/builder/adventures platform, reflecting the nature of the adventure being prepared. Sometimes, at the end of an “adventure,” the builder adds a bonus cache. Most often it is a traditional cache whose coordinates are encoded at each stage of the Adventure Lab cache. Caches of Adventures

26 An example would be Adventure with the title “Pilokaupunki...” (in Helsinki), the description contained information that this Adventure is possible only for people who know the Finnish language.

27 Interesting fact, one of the adventures found during the query – “Kengarags shopping malls” – presents various shopping malls in Kengarags (district of the city of Riga); one of the stages of this adventure concerned a shopping centre and a restaurant, built in Soviet times, with the same name Szczecin (Szczecin is a city located in the north-western part of Poland). It was very common to name public places after cities of “friendly” countries.

Lab can include videos, photos and text for each location. Creators can impose the order of solving puzzles in a given adventure (non-sequential/sequential order of location).²⁸

In the researched tourist space, adventures were created by 463 creators, the largest group were people creating in Finland, which translates into a large number of caches in the researched area of this country (Table 8).

Table 8. Basic information about Adventure Lab caches

Country	Creators	Caches	Non-sequential order of location		Bonus cache		Caches with assigned themes	
	number		number	%	number	%	number	%
Estonia	33	49	28	57.1	11	22.4	24	49.0
Finland	349	617	483	78.3	187	30.3	357	57.9
Lithuania	4	5	4	80.0	0	0.0	3	60.0
Latvia	41	72	54	75.0	12	16.7	27	37.5
Poland	34	59	50	84.7	18	30.5	38	64.4
Russia	2	2	2	100.0	0	0.0	1	50.0

Source: own study.

Most of the Adventures have a non-sequential order of location. This is a more convenient form for players, as they can freely choose the order in which they visit individual parts of the Adventure. The largest percentage of adventures (42.9%) carried out in sequential order of location relates to coastal areas of Estonia. Over 30% of Adventures in Poland and Finland ended with a bonus cache, which allowed the game to be extended to an additional location. A relatively large proportion of caches (450, i.e., 56%) have specific attributes (from 1 to 3). To some extent, this indicates the interests of the creators and their knowledge of the area in which they create Adventures. Three attributes were assigned to 278 caches, most often it was a combination of the following themes: Walking tour, History, Nature, Sightseeing, Architecture, Park, Neighbourhood, Art, Trail and For Kids; Two attributes each - up to 92 adventures (main themes: walking, history, nature, and sightseeing) and one attribute each - up to 80 caches (history or nature caches prevailed). Attributes are most often assigned to Adventures by the creators of caches in Poland, Lithuania, and Finland, least often – in Latvia. Table 9 presents the dominant and niche themes of caches in the study area by country.²⁹ For the player, the attributes make it easier to choose adventures based on their own interests.

²⁸ *Geocaching Adventure Lab*, accessed 8 January 2023, <https://adventure.geocaching.com>.

²⁹ Due to the small number of adventures in Russia and Lithuania, they were omitted from this list.

Table 9. Adventures Themes

Country	Estonia	Finland	Latvia	Poland
Caches with assigned themes	56	357	27	38
Dominant themes	History	Walking tour	History	Walking tour
	Walking tour	History	Walking tour	Sightseeing
	Architecture	Nature	Architecture	Architecture
	Sightseeing	Sightseeing	Neighbourhood	History
			Park	
Niche themes	Games	Tribute	For Kids	Games
	Humour	Series	Food & Drink	Humour
	Art	Sustainability	Music	Tribute
	Spooky		Spooky	Trail
	Entertainment			Driving tour
	Mystery			Entertainment

Source: own study.

The creators, in addition to indicating the motifs reflecting the adventure, make a choice regarding the place of the adventure and its assigned locations. Adventures are most often created in big cities (Table 10), whose tourist values (natural and anthropogenic) are well known to their creators. Such a location, looking through the prism of transport and public transport, also affects the turnout of players. Mobile phone coverage is also good in urban areas, a requirement necessary to complete the Adventure.

Table 10. The main locations of Adventure Lab caches

Country	Main areas
Estonia	Tallinn, Parnava
Finland	Turku, Helsinki, Pori, Vantaa, Rauma, Jakobstad, Espoo, Kotka, Vaasa, Oulu, Korsholm
Lithuania	Klaipeda
Latvia	Riga, Windawa
Poland	Gdynia, Gdańsk, Świnoujście
Russia	Sankt Petersburg, Vyborg

Source: own study.

The creators of “adventures” also decide on the language/languages in which the information in the application used for the game is presented (Table 11). Most caches (69.3%) are described in one language. For obvious reasons, it is most often the native language of this country.

Table 11. The language of caches

Country	Estonia	Finland	Lithuania	Latvia	Poland	Russia
Caches	49	617	5	72	59	2
Language of the country (number of caches, %)	42 (85.7)	592 (95.9)	3 (60.0)	60 (83.3)	58 (98.3)	0 (0.0)
English	40 (81.6)	119 (19.3)	5 (100.0)	42 (58.3)	46 (78.0)	2 (100.0)
Swedish	—	45 (7.3)	—	—	—	—
Russian	—	—	—	1 (1.4)	—	—
German	—	—	—	—	3 (5.1)	—
Finnish	—	—	—	—	—	1 (50.0)

Source: own study.

Almost 30% of the adventures are presented in two languages, most often it is the native language and English. It is interesting that the caches located in the study area in Russia are not prepared in Russian, but in English and Finnish. This may lead to the assumption that the creators are not Russian. As already mentioned, it also happens that the creators dedicate their adventure to geocachers who know the language of the country of implementation. Sometimes, adventures are created with the participation of people from the local community, which is involved in promoting their place of residence and shows potential players what is worth seeing in their town.³⁰

Discussion

The study allows us to state that the scale of geocaching tourism traffic is very large. The results of the analysis showed that in the area selected for research, there were 804 Adventure Lab caches, which were visited by over 100,000 people in less than 3 years.

³⁰ Adventure Lab is an example. “Pateniemen Raitti,” which is located in the municipality of Oulu (Finland). The individual stages of the adventure have been prepared together with the students of the school in Pateniemen and the Northern Ostrobothnia Museum, and they refer to important objects of their place of residence.

The spatial differentiation of the analysed tourist traffic (Table 5, 6) depends on the number and specificity of the prepared caches, the presence of which is conditioned by the availability of the mobile network (definitely better within cities; Table 10) and on the number of creators of Adventure Lab caches with access to a Premium account. The highest intensity of the examined tourist traffic, in relation to the research area, was recorded in Finland (over 90,000 people), which, due to the presence of the longest coastline and the cities located in the coastal zone – ranks first place in terms of the number of prepared caches (617 caches with 3,073 locations). The lowest tourist traffic in the study area was in the Russian Federation, where there were two caches with five locations each, which were visited by a total of about 40 people. Most often, the subject matter of the prepared caches was related to the tourist values of sightseeing, i.e., natural and anthropogenic (with particular emphasis on history and architecture) located under the given locations/stages of the adventure. Less often, it is possible to meet a cache with a unique (niche) theme, related to, for example, music, technology, food, and drinks or spooky (Table 9). Most of the descriptions of the caches were prepared in the native languages of the country of their location; however, this is not a problem in taking them up, due to the available online translators (Table 11). The exception is the Adventure Lab prepared only for people who know their native language, then the tasks and related answers take into account the language culture of that country.

The described Adventure Lab caches are an essential element of space development and meet the condition *sine qua non* of (geocaching) tourist space. This space can be treated as a kind of new (contemporary) tourism space, described by Andrzej Stasiak as space that has been used by tourists for a relatively short time and has been a tourist destination for a few to several years.³¹ The new (contemporary) tourism space (here: geocaching tourism space) is internally very diverse and multidimensional. It is based on the concept and activity of the originators (creators of caches). They decide about the individual features of their cache (the unique theme of the adventure, the degree of difficulty of the prepared tasks to be performed, the time of implementation, spatial (terrain) accessibility or the language in which it was prepared. This space is also subjective, so individually perceived and rated (literally and figuratively) by each participant of the game and chosen according to personal tastes and preferences. It is a dynamic space, changing over time, constantly expanded and used more and more intensively, as indicated by the volume of the surveyed tourist traffic. Finally, it is a space full of modern technologies that are necessary for the smooth functioning of geocaching tourism space. The described space, following the rapidly-changing needs and

31 Andrzej Stasiak, "Współczesne przestrzenie turystyczne," in: *Przestrzeń turystyczna. Czynniki, różnorodność, zmiany*, eds. Małgorzata Durydiwka, Katarzyna Duda-Gromada (Warszawa: WEMA Wydawnictwo-Poligrafia, 2011), 39–51.

expectations of contemporary tourists, is evolving, and thus has and will also have an impact on the formation and direction of geocaching tourism.

The conducted analysis also indicates that Adventure Lab caches can be treated as a tourist product. The literature on the subject contains many definitions of a tourism product, which most often present a structural approach and indicate its capacity, complexity and flexibility.³² Kaczmarek et al., treat a tourist product as a set of utilities related to tourist trips, i.e., tourist goods and services available on the market that enable them to be planned, carried out, experienced and gathered experiences related to them. The basic classification includes seven categories of tourist products: item, service, happening, event, object, trail and area, which form two groups. The first group consists of basic (simple) products, such as goods and services, the second group includes more complex products, organisationally and/or spatially integrated.³³ Organisational integration of Adventure Lab caches connects basic products with a common concept and management, and in the tourist product category pyramid they can be classified at the second level of integration, to which the following products belong: object, trail and area. The conducted analysis indicates that each Adventure Lab can be considered as a trail. Therefore, it is a kind of route in the geocaching tourist space, which has been designated for game participants to interesting places, in compliance with the rules set out in the regulations for creating caches, including in terms of player safety, environmental protection, in accordance with applicable local law and regulations of the land manager.³⁴

Adventure includes up to 5 locations (places, objects), that are related to the main idea (subject of adventure) and have been connected with each other by a kind of route, especially clear in the case of caches with a given order of completing individual adventure points. The route is not directly marked, but the location of the points somehow enforces the path that the player follows. Adventure Lab caches also show other features assigned to the tourist product – trail, namely they are spatially determined (their theme, character, course result from the specific heritage and resources of a given area), synergistic (combining many attractions into one route creates a completely new quality), assigned to specific place in space and “produced and consumed” in this place.³⁵

32 Cf. Victor T. C. Middleton, *Marketing w turystyce* (Warszawa: Polska Agencja Promocji Turystyki, 1996); Jacek Kaczmarek, Andrzej Stasiak, Bogdan Włodarczyk, “Produkt turystyczny i jego ewolucja,” *Turyzm/Tourism* 11 (2007), 1: 7–23, accessed 17 April 2023, DOI: 10.18778/0867-5856.11.1.02.

33 Jacek Kaczmarek et al., *Produkt turystyczny* (Warszawa: Polskie Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, 2005), 72–78.

34 Cf. Mariola Łuczak, “Znaczenie szlaku jako produktu turystycznego w kreowaniu wizerunku regionu,” *Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego* 867, *Problemy Zarządzania, Finansów i Marketingu* 40 (2015): 21–32, accessed 17 April 2023, DOI: 10.18276/pzfm.2015.40-02.

35 Cf. Andrzej Stasiak, “Produkt turystyczny – szlak,” in: *Turystyka i hotelarstwo/Tourism and Hotel Industry* 10, ed. Andrzej Stasiak (Łódź: Wydawnictwo WSTH, 2006), 9–40.

In addition, a properly prepared tourist product should contain content that answers the five basic questions (Figure 3).

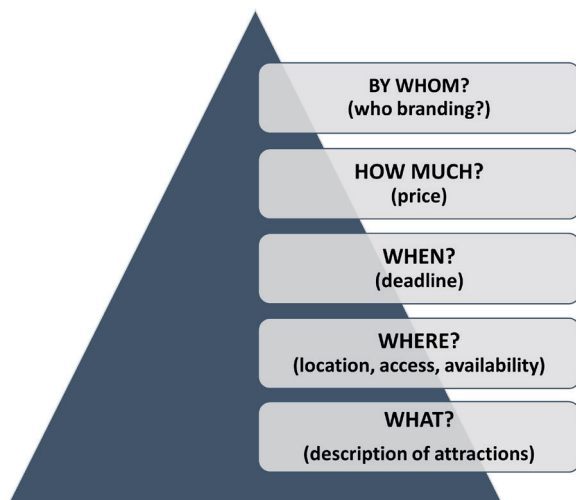


Figure 3. Contents of the tourist product

Source: M. Pirveli 2018.³⁶

Referring the content of the questions to Adventure Lab caches, a certain assignment should be made. Each Adventure contains a description of tourist attractions and tourist facilities in the form of a mini guide (question: what?); indicates the place of implementation (stages of the adventure), which is determined by geographical coordinates available in the application on the smartphone – the distance is also indicated [km] and a specific geographic direction to follow to reach the initial (first) location specified in the adventure (where?); The creator of the adventure decides on the time of its operation and informs, if necessary, in what hours, due to the availability (e.g. of a facility), it can be carried out (when?). Searching and creating caches is available in the app for Premium members, an annual fee is required to access, sometimes transportation to the location of an adventure step requires a fee too (how much?). The created adventure is signed by its builder, who is listed in the application under the nickname assigned to him (by whom?). Based on the presented parallel, it can also be ascertained that the Adventure Lab cache is a tourist product.

36 Marika Pirveli, *Kreowanie Produktu Turystycznego - Wykład 1 (5) / TiR*. (Unpublished materials 2018), accessed 29 December 2023, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/367117866_Kreowanie_produkту_turystycznego_W15.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the undertaken research allowed to achieve the main goal of the work, which was to recognise the size of Geocaching Adventure Lab tourist traffic and to characterize the Adventure Lab caches as a necessary element of development creating the so-called new tourism space. Thanks to the undertaken analysis of the collected material, it was shown that exploring and creating tourism space, in a virtual and real dimension, using the Geocaching Adventure Lab e-tool has great potential. Interest in this active form of spending free time, looking through the prism of the research, is very high, and in the perspective of time it may develop strongly. Having a lot of freedom in creating adventures, creators can influence the direction of tourist traffic, and a properly selected route (Adventure stages) and the theme of the Adventure indicate potential tourist destination areas.

It was also confirmed that the Adventure Lab type cache can be treated as a tourist product, which is, quoting the United Nations World Tourism Organization, “a combination of tangible and intangible elements, such as natural, cultural and man-made resources, attractions, facilities, services and activities around a specific centre of interest which represents the core of the destination marketing mix and creates an overall visitor experience including emotional aspects for the potential customers.”³⁷ Adventure Lab caches can be identified with a tourist product - the trail, which in *sensu largo*, is a composition of activities undertaken by tourists on the trail and the values, devices and services that they use for this purpose.³⁸

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38 Andrzej Stasiak, “Produkt turystyczny – szlak,” in: *Turystyka i hotelarstwo/Tourism and Hotel Industry* 10, eds. Andrzej Stasiak (Łódź: Wydawnictwo WSTH, 2006), 9–40.

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English version: Mark Atkinson

SUMMARY

In the context of changes in tourism traffic, due to the epidemiological situation, e-tools have gained in importance; the example is Geocaching Adventure Lab – a kind of field game that allows participants to explore and create a tourist space in an individual way. The goal of the paper is to identify the scale of geocaching tourism and the description of the Adventure Lab caches as an indispensable element of the development of new tourism, on the example of coastal areas of countries located in the south-eastern part of the Baltic. For this purpose, Internet query of caches was conducted and the obtained data was subjected to statistical description. Significant differences were found in terms of the degree of equipment of geocaching tourism space by caches and related with these tourist traffic in individual countries. The obtained results lead to the conclusion about the possibility of directing and controlling tourist traffic by means of a properly-prepared Adventure. The caches also meet the requirements for a tourist product.

Geocaching Adventure Lab – innowacyjne narzędzie do poznawania i kreowania przestrzeni turystycznej

Słowa kluczowe: Geocaching Adventure Lab, przestrzeń turystyczna, produkt turystyczny, obszary nadmorskie

STRESZCZENIE

W kontekście zmian zachodzących w kształtowaniu się ruchu turystycznego, w związku z zaistniałą sytuacją epidemiologiczną, na znaczeniu zyskały e-narzędzia; przykładem jest Geocaching Adventure Lab, który stanowi rodzaj gry terenowej pozwalający uczestnikom eksplorować i kreować przestrzeń turystyczną w indywidualny sposób. Celem artykułu jest rozpoznanie skali turystyki geocachingowej oraz charakterystyka skrytek Adventure Lab jako nieodzownego elementu rozwoju nowej turystyki na przykładzie obszarów nadmorskich krajów położonych w południowo-wschodniej części Bałtyku. W tym celu przeprowadzono internetową kwerendę skrytek, a uzyskane dane poddano opisowi statystycznemu. Stwierdzono istotne różnice w zakresie stopnia zagospodarowania geocachingowej przestrzeni turystycznej i związanym z nim ruchem turystycznym w badanych krajach. Uzyskane wyniki prowadzą do wniosku o możliwości kierowania i sterowania ruchem turystycznym za pomocą odpowiednio przygotowanej Adventure Lab. Skrytki spełniają również wymagania stawiane produktowi turystycznemu.

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Rafał Czyżycki

Institute of Spatial Management and Socio-Economic Geography
University of Szczecin
rafal.czyzycki@usz.edu.pl
ORCID: 0000-0003-4828-1887

Elżbieta Ociepa-Kicińska

Institute of Spatial Management and Socio-Economic Geography
University of Szczecin
elzbieta.ociepa-kicińska@usz.edu.pl
ORCID: 0000-0002-2879-6923

Jacek Rodzinka

Institute of Financial Research and Analysis
University of Information Technology and Management in Rzeszów
jrodzinka@wsiz.edu.pl
ORCID: 0000-0002-4003-0891

Tomasz Skica

Department of Entrepreneurship
University of Information Technology and Management in Rzeszów
tskica@wsiz.edu.pl
ORCID: 0000-0002-5620-610X

Entrepreneurship Support Instruments in Coastal Municipalities of Poland and Latvia: Scope of Application and Effectiveness

Keywords: local entrepreneurship, municipalities, local development, local government support, coastal local governments

Introduction

The main area of activity of local government (municipalities) is considered to be the implementation of public tasks, including the creation of appropriate living conditions and organising the proper functioning and development of the economy.

Municipalities play a particularly important role in this, in particular when it comes to the creation of basic infrastructure¹ and effective administration² for citizens, investors and entrepreneurs.

Coastal municipalities, due to their location and natural advantages and (often) lack of alternatives, are developing into tourist services.³ Due to the relatively short tourist season on the Baltic coast, the income of the municipalities is characterised by seasonality; nevertheless, these municipalities appear among the richest municipalities in Poland (calculated as per capita tax income). In addition, depending on the tourist attractiveness of these municipalities, which largely consist of infrastructure consisting primarily of accommodation and tourist attractions (aquaparks, bicycle paths, sports, and recreation complexes). Some municipalities create their image, based on unique features that distinguish them, while others create product packages tailored to the needs and expectations of specific target groups.⁴ Such initiatives demonstrate the entrepreneurial spirit of local authorities in the area. Suciptaningsih et al.⁵ point out, that coastal communities depend heavily on natural resources, the economic activities they carry out are dependent not only on the seasons, but also on the weather. This, in turn, means that certain theoretical assumptions about the creation of local entrepreneurship in municipalities may take on a different dimension in coastal communities.

Local authorities are using a wide range of tools, procedures and sources of financing, to directly or indirectly influence the local socio-economic situation,⁶ because it's the entrepreneurs, by introducing innovations and taking advantage of development opportunities, that drive domestic and local economic changes by stimulating

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the competitiveness of the economy.⁷ The local authority is indisputably the main actor stimulating development processes; as a representative of the local community it should determine the visions and goals of the area's development.⁸ The activity of initiating and supporting entrepreneurship in a commune is a complex process in which it is one of the key elements in activities at the level of local governments. According to some authors, the key are profitable support instruments based mainly on the reduction of fiscal burdens,⁹ however practice does not confirm this theory (including Bruce and Mohsin¹⁰). Others claim that expenditure instruments are the most important.¹¹ It is indisputable that incorrectly-directed streams of expenses not only do not contribute to the development of entrepreneurship but can even harm it, blocking pro-development investment expenditure. By analysing coastal municipalities in Poland and Latvia, we want to check whether the dependencies we have discovered are specific to Poland (and, therefore, dedicated to other factors), or whether the dependencies are determined by the coastal location of the municipalities.

The main reason to focus on these two countries is related to historical conditions and, above all, the status of post-socialist countries that connects them; both countries, compared to other post-communist countries, coped with the processes of political transformation comparably better.¹² These countries joined the European Union at the same time (2004), and have a similar degree of task-related and financial decentralisation,¹³ which indicates their ability to create solutions that stimulate entrepreneurship.¹⁴

7 OECD SME and Entrepreneurship Outlook 2019, accessed 9 November 2022. https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/industry-and-services/oecd-sme-and-entrepreneurship-outlook-2019_34907e9c-en.

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13 Mykola Pasichnyi et al., "The impact of fiscal decentralization on economic development," *Investment Management and Financial Innovations* 16, (2019), 3: 29–39.

14 Robert D. Ebel and Serdar Yilmaz, *On the measurement and impact of fiscal decentralization* (Washington: The World Bank, 2002).

Task decentralisation in Latvia means that the implementation of public tasks delegated to the local level in Latvia resembles that in Poland (although not identical, of course). Similarly, financial decentralisation means the assignment to the lowest local government units of appropriate sources of own income (e.g., local taxes). Both countries are characterised by a comparably high inflow of foreign investments,¹⁵ which proves their attractiveness and development potential, including the potential for entrepreneurship;¹⁶ they are also characterised by a similar level of institutional development.¹⁷ Both countries are located on the Baltic Sea and have a coastline of similar lengths.¹⁸

Measuring the level of local entrepreneurship, we use the World Bank concept, the key indicator of entrepreneurship is the entry factor, defined as the percentage of new enterprises (registered in the current year) in total-registered enterprises.¹⁹ The literature studies about Poland usually focus on single instruments for supporting entrepreneurship,²⁰ or selected groups of instruments;²¹ publications on the issue of entrepreneurship

- 15 Ołeh Hawryłyszyn, Xiaofan Meng, Marian L. Tupý and Katarzyna Szczypka, *25 lat reform w krajach postsocjalistycznych. Szybkie i głębokie reformy doprowadziły do zwiększenia wzrostu gospodarczego i wolności politycznej* (Warszawa: Forum Obywatelskiego Rozwoju, 2018), accessed 15 December 2022, https://www.case-research.eu/files/?id_plik=5505.
- 16 Maria Kola-Bezka, "Klimat przedsiębiorczości w rozwoju społeczno-gospodarczym regionu-wyniki badania ankietowego Litwy, Łotwy i Polski," in: *Rozwój społeczno-gospodarczy w dobie kryzysu*, ed. Monika Wyrzykowska-Antkiewicz, (Warszawa: CEDEWU 2012): 15–28.
- 17 Adam P. Balcerzak and Michał B. Pietrzak, "Quality of institutional systems for global knowledge-based economy and convergence process in the European Union," *Ekonomia. Rynek, Gospodarka, Społeczeństwo* 42 (2016): 93–106.
- 18 *Coastline - The World Factbook*, accessed: 14 January 2023, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/field/coastline/>.
- 19 Leora Klapper and Juan Delgado, "Entrepreneurship: New Data on Business Creation and How to Promote It," *Viewpoint: Public Policy for the Private Sector* 316 (2007), accessed 5 December 2022, <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/11163>; Zoltan J. Acs et.al., "National systems of entrepreneurship," *Small Business Economics* 46 (2016), 4: 527–535; Davia Audretsch and Michael Fritsch, "Growth Regimes over Time and Space," *Regional Studies* 36 (2002), 2: 113–124; Andrzej Klasik, ed., *Przedsiębiorczość i konkurencyjność a rozwój regionalny* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Akademii Ekonomicznej im. Karola Adamieckiego, 2006).
- 20 Andrzej Sztando, "Gminne instrumenty kształtowania rozwoju lokalnych podmiotów gospodarczych," *Samorząd Terytorialny* 7–8 (1999): 79–108.
- 21 Magdalena Kogut-Jaworska, *Instrumenty interwencjonizmu w stymulowaniu rozwoju gospodarczego* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo CeDeWu, 2008); Małgorzata Godlewska and Tomasz Pilewicz, "Entrepreneurial activities of local governments in their investment attractiveness context – evidence from Poland," *Local Government Studies* 48 (2022), 3: 590–614, accessed 5 December 2022, DOI: 10.1080/03003930.2020.1842736; Jan Fazlagić, Aleksandra Sulczewska-Remi and Windham Loopesko, "City policies to promote entrepreneurship: A cross-country comparison of Poland and Germany," *Journal of entrepreneurship, management and innovation* 17 (2021), 2, accessed 5 November 2022, <https://jemi.edu.pl/vol-17-issue-2-2021/city-policies-to-promote-entrepreneurship-a-cross-country-comparison-of-poland-and-germany>; Michał Flieger, "Ocena gminnych instrumentów wspierania przedsiębiorczości," *Ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny i Socjologiczny* 1 (2009): 147–167; Tomasz Skica, Jacek Rodzinka and Małgorzata Leśniowska-Gontarz, "Assessment of use and the degree of effectiveness of LGU business support instruments in Poland," *Transformations in Business & Economics* 18 (2019), 3: 272–290; Tomasz Skica and Jacek Rodzinka, eds. *Instrumentalization of entrepreneurship*

support instruments in Latvia that focus on social enterprises²² or generally show entrepreneurship support tools at the disposal of municipalities in Latvia.²³

Noting that research on Poland and Latvia rarely includes an analysis of the effectiveness of instruments supporting economic activity at the same time in several areas of municipal activity, and the research on Latvia does not include such analyses in general; we have defined a research gap in this area. In addition, the literature lacks analyses of entrepreneurial support in coastal municipalities, which further guided our work.

We designed a study to verify the interactions between supporting entrepreneurship at the local level and the dynamics of entrepreneurship observed on the example of Polish and Latvian municipalities. The research question posed: how the activities of coastal local governments of municipal self-governments contribute to the development of local entrepreneurship in Poland and Latvia and how to show which instruments work best, and check if there are similarities between the analysed relationships in Poland and Latvia. A particular added value is the fact that this article presents the results of the analysis of those instruments that are used both in Poland and Latvia. We highlight

support in Poland, Estonia and Slovakia: Local government, central administration and public institutions (Rzeszow-London-Szczecin: Naukowe Wydawnictwo IVG, 2020); Grzegorz Ślusarz and Lidia Kaliszczak, "Przedsiębiorczość lokalna i jej uwarunkowania," *Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Bankowej w Poznaniu. Mikro-i makroekonomiczne uwarunkowania rozwoju przedsiębiorstw* 61 (2015), 4: 57–72; Iwona Chomiak-Orsa and Michał Flieger, "Próba oceny skuteczności niefinansowych instrumentów wspierania mikroprzedsiębiorczości w gminach," *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego* 698, *Ekonomiczne Problemy Usług* 81 (2012): 40–48.

- 22 Lasma Dobeles and Aina Dobeles "Social entrepreneurship development scenarios in Latvia," *Global Business & Economics Anthology* 2 (2013): 274–285; Lasma Licite-Kurbe and Dana Gintere, "Analysis of Financial Support Instruments for Social Enterprises in Latvia," *Rural Sustainability Research* 45 (2021), 340: 76–84, accessed 10 November 2022, DOI: 10.2478/plua-2021-0009; Madara Ūlande and Licite Lāsma, *Social entrepreneurship in Latvia: A brief overview of the current situation*, Social Entrepreneurship Association of Latvia, (2018), accessed 20 November 2022, https://sua.lv/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/LSUA_report_2-ENG.pdf.
- 23 Ramona Rupeika-Apoga and Alessandro Danovi, "Availability of Alternative Financial Resources for SMEs as a Critical Part of the Entrepreneurial Eco-System: Latvia and Italy," *Procedia Economics and Finance* 33 (2015): 200–210, accessed 20 November 2022, DOI: 10.1016/S2212-5671(15)01705-0; Viesturs Zeps, Valdis Avotins et.al., "Pre-incubation and incubation in Latvia: assessment of some critical conditions to establish an efficient incubation cycle." Paper presented at the 4th International Conference Information Society and Modern Business: The role of regional centers in business development, Ventspils, May 2009; Zanda Kalnina-Lukasevica, "Challenges for Economic Growth of Regions in the Baltic Sea Region Case Study of Latvia," *ERSA conference papers. European Regional Science Association* (2011), accessed 21 November 2022, <https://ideas.repec.org/p/wiw/wiwr/ersa11p1729.html>; Meldra Gineite and Anastasija Vilcina, "Development of entrepreneurship as a component of regional policy in Latvia," *European Integration Studies* 5 (2011): 186–191, accessed 5 November 2022, DOI: 10.5755/j01.eis.0.5.1095; Sloka Biruta et.al., "Challenges for SMEs Development in Salaspils Municipality," *Economic Science for Rural Development* 25 (2011): 214–220; Inga Jansone and Irina Voronova, "Risks Assessment of Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises: The Case Of Latvia," *Contemporary Issues in Business, Management and Education* (2012): 91–103, accessed 15 November 2022, DOI: 10.3846/cibme.2012.08; Jānis Ozolins, Armands Veveris and Elita Benga, "The role of EU funds in diversification of rural economy in Latvia," *Research for Rural Development. International Scientific Conference Proceedings* 2 (2015): 154–168.

relationships specific to coastal municipalities that are not evident in the overall analysis of all municipalities.

We draw on the data of 896 Polish municipalities (36% of the total population of municipalities in Poland) and 119 (the entire population) of Latvian local government units at the local level. Within this sample, we surveyed 17 of 55 (31%) Polish coastal municipalities and 17 of 26 (65%) Latvian coastal municipalities. The same questionnaire was used in both countries, this way, 38,417 input data were obtained providing a field for comparisons to assess the effectiveness of analogous solutions used in both countries and their consequences in the form of entrepreneurship dynamics. We used the Mann-Whitney test and a test based on the chi-square statistic to assess the significance of differences in the development of the phenomena under study between the different subgroups of municipalities. In each case, the p-value levels for which the variable under consideration differs in a statistically significant manner in the two groups of municipalities in question are given.

The results of our study show significant differences in changes in the level of entrepreneurship in coastal municipalities compared to other municipalities from the country. We also note that coastal municipalities are far more likely to carry out public-private investments (PPP), solicit new investors, while in the case of coastal Latvian municipalities, a focus on foreign investors is characteristic.

The rest of the paper is organised as follows: in the next section, we present the research concept and the description of the research methods used. In the second section, we show the research results, then we present the practical implications, limitations and directions for future research.

Materials and methods

The questionnaire for the quantitative survey was prepared based on the questionnaire used in the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, supplemented with questions prepared after an analysis of the literature on the subject. The first survey of this type was conducted in 2015 in connection with the implementation of the project “Supporting Entrepreneurship by Local Government of the Municipal Level.” Based on the experience of earlier surveys, the survey tool was modified to some extent and was used for the present study. The research on entrepreneurship in Poland and Latvia was conducted using a common questionnaire. The questionnaire used in the Polish research was transferred to Latvia, where it was translated into Latvian. Latvian experts removed questions that did not match the system solutions adopted in Latvia. The study analyses only the questions answered by local government units in both Poland and Latvia.

The research was conducted in 2019–2020. The selection of territorial self-government units for the research sample was two-staged; in the first stage, purposeful selection was used (to ensure that the 2015 and 2019 surveys could be compared), including 735 municipalities participating in the Polish edition of the research project Global Entrepreneurship Monitor from 2015. In the second stage, dependent sampling was used, selecting 347 communes from the database of all communes in Poland to provide the sample with the same structure as the actual structure of communes in Poland by type. Taking into account the analysis of the situation and the possibility of effective application, proportional stratified sampling was selected.²⁴ The communes were surveyed using the CAWI/CATI method - the CATI method supplemented the CAWI method for all communes from the pool of 735 which did not send back completed questionnaires correctly (352 communes in total), and was also the basic tool for examining the randomly-selected communes (347 communes). 513 questionnaires were carried out using the CATI method, 84 refusals were noted, and it was not possible to establish contact with 102 entities. As a consequence, the study was conducted among 896 local government units, which resulted in the study of over 36% of the entire population. In line with the adopted assumptions, the structure of the surveyed units was consistent with the structure of the general population (by type of commune). The Ministry of Regional Development of Latvia helped to identify the target audience and distribute questionnaire forms; as a result, representatives of 71 communes (from 119 communes in Latvia) filled in the same questionnaire form. The involvement, in the case of Latvia, of the Ministry of Regional Development, undoubtedly had a positive effect on the so-called returnability of surveys. In the case of Poland, as a result of the traditional way of conducting surveys (supported by CAWI and CATI methods), a return rate of more than 30% should be considered typical in this type of research. However, the statistical tests used in the research process, based on which certain conclusions were drawn, take into account not only the differences in the number of municipalities in Latvia and Poland but also the occurring differences in the levels of questionnaire returnability for both countries.

According to the nomenclature of Eurostat, 55 municipalities forming a coastal area have been distinguished in Poland; coastal area forms 26 counties out of a total of 110 municipalities, 17 coastal municipalities (65.4%) and 53 other municipalities (63.1%) were the subjects of the survey. Such municipalities are not only those directly bordering the sea, but also those with 50% of their area within 10 km of the coastline. With this division defined in this way, the survey was conducted in 17 municipalities in the coastal area (31%) and in 849 municipalities located in the rest of Poland (34.9%). In the case of Latvia, where the coastal area forms 26 counties out of a total of 110 municipalities,

24 Jolanta Kowal, *Metody statystyczne w badaniach sondażowych rynku* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1998).

17 coastal municipalities (65.4%) and 53 other municipalities (63.1%) were the subject of the survey.

The instruments for supporting local entrepreneurship by local self-governments in Poland and Latvia were divided into five groups. The first one referred to spatial planning. Questions included in it were used to determine whether the spatial management conducted by local governments serves to create conditions for entrepreneurship. The second group consisted of six questions relating to cooperation with entrepreneurs (financing economic activity, training, and advisory support, as well as the participation of the private sector in the current investment activities of the surveyed local government units). The third group included financial support instruments (financial sureties and guarantees, fiscal preferences, municipal property management, and tax reliefs applied to newly-established companies). The fourth part of the survey focused on questions related to attracting external investors and funds. The last part of the questionnaire was devoted to a set of eight questions concerning support for non-governmental organisations, including business support institutions. The questions included in the questionnaire were used not only to diagnose the forms of support for the business environment but also made it possible to determine its scale and scope of application.

The World Bank concept (where the key indicator of entrepreneurship is the entry factor, defined as a percentage of new enterprises registered in the current year) in total-registered enterprises does not show entrepreneurship from the point of view of the tendency and ability to establish economic activity assessed through the prism of the human capital potential of a given area, hence, there was used a more fully-meaningful measure in the dynamics of new registrations per the number (1000) of working-age inhabitants of the commune.²⁵ The obtained material was statistically tested in terms of structure and correlation analysis.

The research results presented in this paper are part of a larger project, within the framework of which other in-depth analyses of factors influencing the development of entrepreneurship in local government units in Latvia and Poland were conducted. The purpose of this article, which was to assess how the activities of local governments of coastal municipalities contribute to the development of local entrepreneurship in Poland and Latvia, the different groups of municipalities (coastal and other, in Poland and Latvia), were treated as homogeneous subgroups. This made it possible to identify factors determining significant differences in changes in the level of entrepreneurship in coastal municipalities compared to other municipalities in the country.

25 Ruslan Harasym, Jacek Rodzinka and Tomasz Skica, "The size of local government administration at a municipal level as a determinant of entrepreneurship," *Journal of Entrepreneurship, Management and Innovation (JEMI)* 13 (2017), 2: 5–32; Tomasz Mickiewicz, Jacek Rodzinka and Tomasz Skica, *Lokalne i regionalne czynniki wsparcia przedsiębiorczości. Klasteryzacja, promocja, doradztwo i lokalny kapitał społeczny* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo C.H. Beck, 2016).

The evaluation of the significance of differences in the formation of the studied phenomena between different subgroups of municipalities was carried out based on the test for two averages or the test for two indicators of structure. Taking into account the size of the studied groups of municipalities, both in the case of Poland and Latvia, the Mann-Whitney test and the test based on chi-square statistics were used in this regard. In each case, the *p*-value levels for which the variable under consideration differs in a statistically-significant manner in the two groups of municipalities in question are given.

Results

Analysing the changes in the number of newly-established businesses (per 1,000 residents) between 2011 and 2020, one can see significantly-greater differences in this regard between coastal and other municipalities in the case of Poland than in Latvia. In Poland, the number of business start-ups fell by an average of 4.19% in coastal municipalities, compared to a decline of 11.75% in the case of the rest of the country (*p*-value=0.137), while in the case of Latvia the differences were considerably smaller, amounting to -11.66% in coastal areas and -14.06% in the rest of the country (*p*-value=0.7826). In contrast, in both countries, the internal variation in changes of newly-established companies was significantly smaller for coastal areas than for the rest of the country. Detailed information on the development of the basic numerical characteristics describing changes in new business start-ups in coastal and non-maritime areas, is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Selected statistics describing changes in the number of newly-established business entities in 2020, compared to 2011, in different areas of Poland and Latvia [%]

Changes in the number of newly-established business entities	Poland			Latvia		
	Coastal area	Non-sea area	Total	Coastal area	Non-sea area	Total
Average	-4.19	11.75	11.49	-11.66	-14.06	-13.45
Median	-0.62	3.29	3.17	-12.78	-13.81	-13.43
Minimum	-42.92	-63.82	63.82	-47.58	-100.00	-100.00
Maximum	39.48	337.77	337.77	38.41	96.51	96.51
Lower	-17.39	-11.39	-11.82	-21.46	-33.94	-31.83
Upper	9.10	24.44	24.39	-2.12	2.38	0.70
Std. deviation	21.02	38.49	38.31	19.80	34.76	31.53

Source: own study based on Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia, <https://www.csb.gov.lv/en>, accessed 5 November 2022.

The impact on the lowering of the propensity of residents to engage in economic activity may be due to the occurrence of certain differences in the actions taken by the municipalities of the coastal areas compared to other municipalities. These activities can be divided into activities in the area of facilitating economic activity, in the area of supporting industry supporters of such activity, activities in the area of attracting outside investors, or supporting the activities of non-governmental organisations.

In the area of activities facilitating business activities, municipalities located in the Polish coastal area definitely more often informed residents and entrepreneurs about available opportunities for business subsidies through publicly-available brochures and advertisements in the mass media (82% of indications compared to 63% of indications in non-coastal municipalities). In these municipalities, not only are municipal services much more often provided by private entities (76% vs. 58%), but investments are also more often made in the form of public-private partnerships (47% vs. 31%). Public-private partnerships are also significantly more often used in the implementation of investments by Latvian coastal municipalities (56% vs. 28%); on the other hand, in Latvia, these municipalities are far less often involved in the organisation of training courses to prepare for starting and running a business (33% vs. 57%) or introducing preferential tax rates for entrepreneurs on means of transportation (22% vs. 43%). On the other hand, there are practically no differences between the two groups of municipalities in terms of having spatial development plans (about 82% of municipalities in Poland and about 70% in Latvia had such a plan), organising meetings with residents to provide information on possible business subsidies (about 60% of indications in Poland and 85% in Latvia) or training in this regard (35% and 66% of indications, respectively), as well as providing tax breaks to new private entrepreneurs (about 35% of indications in both countries). Detailed information on the actions taken by each group of municipalities in supporting the business activities of private investors is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Percentage [%] of indications of activities undertaken by Polish and Latvian municipalities in the area related to facilitation of doing business, together with the level of significance of differences of such indications between municipalities of the coastal and non-maritime area

Question	Poland			Latvia		
	Coastal area	Non-sea area	<i>p-value</i>	Coastal area	Non-sea area	<i>p-value</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Q1	82.35	82.45	0.9917	66.67	69.81	0.8032
Q2	88.24	94.11	0.3127	94.44	98.11	0.4163
Q3	82.35	63.37	0.1069	61.11	60.38	0.9561

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Q4	58.82	58.89	0.9954	88.89	84.91	0.6747
Q5	35.29	34.63	0.9545	66.67	66.04	0.9611
Q6	58.82	61.25	0.8390	33.33	56.60	0.0880
Q7	47.06	33.57	0.2444	33.33	22.64	0.3676
Q8	76.47	57.71	0.1207	33.33	32.08	0.9215
Q9	47.06	31.21	0.1638	55.56	28.30	0.0365
Q10	23.53	20.73	0.7782	22.22	43.40	0.1099
Q11	17.65	27.33	0.3742	27.78	20.75	0.5378
Q12	35.29	33.33	0.8652	38.89	35.85	0.8171
Q13	23.53	30.86	0.5165	33.33	33.96	0.9611

Q1 - Does the Municipality have a land use plan?

Q2 - Does the Municipality inform residents and entrepreneurs about available funding opportunities (e.g., from EU sources) on the Municipality's website?

Q3 - Does the Municipality inform residents and entrepreneurs on available funding opportunities (e.g., from EU sources) through brochures available at the Municipality office / announcements in the media?

Q4 - Does the Municipality inform residents and entrepreneurs about available funding opportunities (e.g., from EU sources) at meetings organised for that purpose?

Q5 - Does the Municipality inform residents and entrepreneurs about available funding opportunities (e.g., from EU sources) by organising or supporting training on applying for such funding?

Q6 - Does the Municipality get involved in organising training courses on how to start and run a business?

Q7 - Are there any business service centres located in the Municipality that offer legal, financial, and accounting advice, etc.?

Q8 - Are municipal services in the Municipality provided by private companies?

Q9 - Has the Municipality implemented or is it implementing investments in the form of public-private partnerships?

Q10 - Has the Municipality implemented facilitations for business enterprises in the form of preferential transportation tax rates?

Q11 - Has the Municipality made it easier for businesses conducting economic activity in the form of preferential rates for real estate tax?

Q12 - Does the Municipality provide tax relief to new private enterprises?

Q13 - Does the Municipality have a special economic zone?

Source: own study.

In the area of the functioning of industry-oriented entities supporting the activities of private entrepreneurs, both Polish and Latvian local government units making up the coastal areas did not generally differ from the rest of the country in this regard. In the case of Poland, it can only be noted that coastal municipalities were far more likely to indicate that there were chambers of craftsmanship, or industrial and technological parks or business incubators that associated entrepreneurs in their area, while in the case of Latvia, the functioning of associations or foundations supporting entrepreneurs, indicated by 56% of units of coastal areas and 74% of units from the rest of Latvia, can be indicated as a differentiator (see Table 3).

Table 3. Percentage [%] of indications of activities undertaken by Polish and Latvian municipalities in the area of support for industry facilitators of such activities, together with the level of significance of differences in such indications between municipalities of the coastal and non-maritime areas

Question	Poland			Latvia		
	Coastal area	Non-sea area	<i>p-value</i>	Coastal area	Non-sea area	<i>p-value</i>
Q14	35.29	30.39	0.6635	33.33	26.42	0.5729
Q15	23.53	11.07	0.1084	11.11	5.66	0.4349
Q16	29.41	22.61	0.5080	11.11	5.66	0.4349
Q17	23.53	14.13	0.2735	22.22	18.87	0.7573
Q18	23.53	15.19	0.3453	33.33	35.85	0.8469
Q19	35.29	29.45	0.6009	55.56	73.58	0.1530
Q20	23.53	11.78	0.1400	33.33	39.62	0.6349

Q14 - Are there any chambers of commerce or their branches in the area of the Municipality?

Q15 - Are there any chambers of crafts in the area of the Municipality?

Q16 - Are there any guilds of miscellaneous crafts operating within the area of the Municipality?

Q17 - Are there any employers' organisations operating in the area of the Municipality?

Q18 - Are there any regional or local development agencies operating in the area of the Municipality?

Q19 - Are there any associations or foundations supporting entrepreneurs in the area of the Municipality?

Q20 - Are there industrial parks, technology parks, business incubators operating in the area of the Commune?

Source: own study.

In terms of activities carried out to attract new investors, Latvian coastal municipalities are practically no different from municipalities located outside this area. Polish coastal municipalities, on the other hand, indicated significantly more often than other municipalities in this regard the promotion of the municipality's offer at foreign fairs (41% of indications of coastal municipalities and 10% of indications of other municipalities), maintaining websites in a foreign language (29% vs. 12%), offering information and promotional materials in a foreign language (29% vs. 14%), or separating in the organisational structure of the municipality a special cell or position dedicated to serving foreign investors (26% vs. 10%). Detailed information on the actions taken by each group of municipalities to attract new investors is presented in Table 4.

In the case of the area of municipal support for NGOs, both Polish and Latvian coastal municipalities, compared to other municipalities, did not differ much in this regard (see Table 5). In the case of Polish coastal municipalities, they stood out positively compared to the country only in the case of promoting NGOs operating in the area of public benefit (indicated by 82% of coastal municipalities and 63% of other municipalities). In the case of Latvia, coastal municipalities were significantly more likely to provide free-of-charge premises for the statutory activities of such organisations (indicated by 22% of coastal municipalities and only 8% of other municipalities).

Table 4. Percentage [%] of indications of activities undertaken by Polish and Latvian municipalities in the area of attracting new investors, together with the level of significance of differences in such indications between municipalities of the coastal and non-maritime area

Question	Poland			Latvia		
	Coastal area	Non-sea area	<i>p-value</i>	Coastal area	Non-sea area	<i>p-value</i>
Q21	82.35	74.32	0.4521	50.00	33.96	0.2259
Q22	76.47	59.13	0.1493	72.22	83.02	0.3199
Q23	29.41	19.91	0.3328	66.67	75.47	0.4660
Q24	41.18	29.09	0.2786	88.89	94.34	0.4349
Q25	70.59	71.26	0.9517	50.00	41.51	0.5303
Q26	88.24	75.85	0.2360	50.00	49.06	0.9449
Q27	29.41	11.66	0.0258	22.22	32.08	0.4287
Q28	29.41	13.66	0.0637	72.22	67.92	0.7334
Q29	41.18	10.01	0.0000	33.33	33.96	0.9611
Q30	23.53	9.89	0.0654	38.89	52.83	0.3067

Q21 - In order to attract new investors, does the Municipality conduct marketing activities, advertising the Municipality externally?

Q22 - In order to attract new investors, does the Municipality offer assistance in finding vacant land or premises?

Q23 - In order to attract new investors, does the Municipality offer assistance in recruiting and training employees?

Q24 - In order to attract new investors, does the Municipality offer advice, including legal and financial advice?

Q25 - In order to attract new investors, does the Municipality offer one-on-one business registration services?

Q26 - In order to attract new investors, does the Municipality maintain websites?

Q27 - Does the Municipality maintain foreign language websites to attract new investors?

Q28 - In order to attract new investors, does the Municipality offer information and promotional materials in a foreign language?

Q29 - In order to attract new investors, does the Municipality promote the Municipality's offers at foreign fairs?

Q30 - In order to attract new investors, does the Municipality have separate organisational units or positions to serve foreign investors?

Source: own study.

Table 5. Percentage [%] of indications of activities undertaken by Polish and Latvian municipalities in the area of supporting NGOs, together with the level of significance of differences of such indications between coastal and non-maritime municipalities

Question	Poland			Latvia		
	Coastal area	Non-sea area	<i>p-value</i>	Coastal area	Non-sea area	<i>p-value</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Q31	76.47	73.73	0.7995	22.22	7.55	0.0889
Q32	82.35	75.03	0.4889	27.78	24.53	0.7842
Q33	76.47	72.32	0.7047	83.33	79.25	0.7064
Q34	82.35	63.02	0.1013	61.11	60.38	0.9561
Q35	58.82	47.94	0.3738	72.22	84.91	0.2293
Q36	58.82	54.53	0.7251	83.33	90.57	0.4018

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Q37	76.47	68.43	0.4796	33.33	39.62	0.6349
Q38	64.71	56.77	0.5131	38.89	47.17	0.5418

Q31 - Did the Authority support non-governmental organisations by providing premises for their statutory activities free of charge?

Q32 - Did the Office support non-governmental organisations by providing materials and equipment?

Q33 - Did the Authority support NGOs by informing NGOs about sources of extrabudgetary funds?

Q34 - Did the Authority support non-governmental organisations by promoting non-governmental entities working in the field of public benefit?

Q35 - Did the Authority support NGOs by assisting NGOs in establishing domestic and international contacts?

Q36 - Did the Authority support NGOs by providing assistance in establishing NGOs?

Q37 - Did the Authority support NGOs by appointing an NGO contact person at the Authority?

Q38 - Did the Authority support NGOs by patronising NGO activities?

Source: own study.

Making a direct comparison between coastal municipalities located in Poland and Latvia, it can be concluded that in terms of the tools used aimed at the development of local entrepreneurship, these entities generally act in a similar manner. As areas in which these municipalities differ in a statistically-significant way ($p\text{-value} < 0.1$), we can point out the separation of a special unit for servicing foreign investors (such activities were indicated by 24% of Polish municipalities and 39% of Latvian municipalities), offering promotional and informational materials in a foreign language (29% and 72% of indications, respectively), promoting the municipality's offer at foreign fairs (41% and 33%) and the creation and operation of a special economic zone in the municipality (24% and 33%). As differentiating factors between the two countries, one can still point to the scale of informing residents and entrepreneurs about available opportunities for business funding through publicly-available brochures in municipal offices or advertisements in the mass media (82% and 61%), the operation of chambers of crafts in the municipality (24% and 11%), and support for NGOs by helping them establish domestic and international contacts (59% and 72%). Detailed information on the differences between coastal areas in Poland and Latvia is presented in Table 6 (Appendix 1).

Conclusions

Nationwide trends (for all municipalities) in the use and effectiveness of entrepreneurship support instruments are not reflected in coastal municipalities. The level of entrepreneurship, expressed in terms of the number of new enterprises in the total number of registered enterprises in 2020 compared to 2011, is glaringly different in Poland and Latvia. While Poland records an average increase in entrepreneurship of 11.49%, Latvia shows a decline of 13.45%. At the same time, both countries show a decrease in this value in coastal municipalities. It should be noted that in the coastal municipalities in Poland the decrease is recorded, despite the overall increase in the level of entrepreneurship.

The conclusions of our analysis confirm the research assumptions, according to which the specifics of coastal municipalities determine their development (see Meyer,²⁶ Parzych,²⁷ Rudewicz,²⁸ Szaja²⁹). The characteristic conditions of coastal municipalities are confirmed, among other things, by the much more frequent use of PPP in the implementation of investments by coastal municipalities compared to other municipalities in both countries.

Despite the greater intensity of activities leading to attracting new investors by Polish coastal municipalities, promotional and pro-investment activities undertaken by them, there is a decline in the level of entrepreneurship in these municipalities in Poland. It may be a partial effect of the COVID-19 pandemic, which affected the functioning of the tourism industry (more in: Hasanach,³⁰ Zouni³¹). On the other hand, in Latvia, although nominally there is a decline in the level of entrepreneurship in coastal municipalities, it is lower by 2.4% than the decline in the non-coastal area. By comparison, in Poland, the decline in coastal municipalities is 15.94% compared to municipalities outside the area. Such large differences in the level of entrepreneurship show that Polish coastal municipalities should taking inspiration from the way Latvian coastal municipalities operate.

The results of our research showed exactly which instruments are used more often in Latvian municipalities than in Poland; this can be an important indication in terms of strengthening specific initiatives in Polish coastal municipalities. Finding a municipality with similar development potential, where the level of entrepreneurship is higher, and learning from its experience, knowledge and good practices, should be the practice of local decision-makers.

This issue is an interesting aspect of future research, which may be extended to all the Baltic countries to analyse certain correlations even better. On the other hand, the authors of the study are aware that the specific timing of the pandemic may have disrupted certain other pro-entrepreneurial processes. However, it seems that when the coastal municipalities in Latvia fared much better, despite the unpredictable conditions of the pandemic, it is worth learning from their experiences and good practices.

26 Beata Meyer, "Zmiany w wielkości i strukturze bazy noclegowej w gminie Rewal w latach 1988–2002," *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego* 439, *Ekonomiczne Problemy Turystyki* 6 (2006): 173–191.

27 Parzych, "Wykorzystanie," 45–51.

28 Rudewicz, "Wpływ," 139–151.

29 Marta Szaja, "Analysis and evaluation of socio-economic development of coastal municipalities in the West Pomeranian Voivodeship," *Procedia Computer Science* 207 (2022): 3530–38, accessed 10 January 2023, DOI: 10.1016/j.procs.2022.09.412.

30 Anggita Wijaya, Karuniawati Hasanah and Linda Sari, "Covid Impact on Tourism Profit and Cash Holding," *Journal of Business and Management Review* 3 (2022): 470–84, accessed 10 January 2023, DOI: 10.47153/jbmr37.4132022.

31 Zouhaïr M'Chirgui, "Dynamics of R&D Networked Relationships and Mergers and Acquisitions in the Smart Card Field," *Research Policy* 38 (2009), 9: 1453–67, accessed 11 January 2023, DOI: 10.1016/j.respol.2009.07.002.

Appendix 1

Table 6. Percentage [%] of positive responses to questions related to entrepreneurial support activities by coastal municipalities in Poland and Latvia

Question	Coastal area in Poland	Coastal area in Latvia	<i>p-value</i>
1	2	3	4
Q1 - Does the Municipality have a land use plan?	82.35	66.67	0.9917
Q2 - Does the Municipality inform residents and entrepreneurs about available opportunities for subsidizing activities (e.g., from EU sources) on the Municipality's website?	88.24	94.44	0.3127
Q3 - Does the Municipality inform residents and entrepreneurs about available opportunities for business financing (e.g., from EU sources) through brochures available at the office / through advertisements in the mass media?	82.35	61.11	0.1069
Q4 - Does the Municipality inform residents and entrepreneurs about available opportunities for subsidizing activities (e.g., from EU sources) at meetings held with interested parties for this purpose?	58.82	88.89	0.9954
Q5 - Does the municipality inform residents and entrepreneurs about available funding opportunities (e.g., from EU sources) by organizing or supporting training on applying for such funds?	35.29	66.67	0.9545
Q6 - Is the Municipality involved in organizing training to prepare for starting and running a business?	58.82	33.33	0.8390
Q7 - Are there any business service centers located in the Municipality that offer legal, financial, and accounting advice, etc.?	47.06	33.33	0.2444
Q8 - Are municipal services in the Municipality provided by private companies?	76.47	33.33	0.1207
Q9 - Has the Municipality made or is it making investments in the form of public-private partnerships?	47.06	55.56	0.1638
Q10 - Are facilities being introduced in the Municipality for businesses doing business in the form of preferential transportation tax rates?	23.53	22.22	0.7782
Q11 - Are facilities being introduced in the Municipality for business enterprises in the form of preferential property tax rates?	17.65	27.78	0.3742
Q12 - Does the Municipality give tax breaks to new private companies?	35.29	38.89	0.8652
Q13 - Is there a special economic zone in the Municipality?	23.53	33.33	0.0654
Q14 - Are there any chambers of commerce or their branches in the Municipality?	35.29	33.33	0.6635
Q15 - Are there any chambers of crafts in the Municipality?	23.53	11.11	0.1084
Q16 - Are there guilds of miscellaneous crafts in the Municipality?	29.41	11.11	0.5080
Q17 - Are there any employer organizations in the Municipality?	23.53	22.22	0.2735

1	2	3	4
Q18 - Are there any regional or local development agencies in the Municipality?	23.53	33.33	0.3453
Q19 - Are there associations or foundations supporting entrepreneurs in the Municipality?	35.29	55.56	0.6009
Q20 - Are there industrial parks, technology parks, business incubators in the Municipality?	23.53	33.33	0.1400
Q21 - In order to attract new investors, does the Municipality conduct marketing activities, advertising the Municipality externally?	82.35	50.00	0.2243
Q22 - In order to attract new investors, does the Municipality offer assistance in finding vacant land or premises?	76.47	72.22	0.4521
Q23 - In order to attract new investors, does the Municipality offer assistance in recruiting and training employees?	29.41	66.67	0.1493
Q24 - In order to attract new investors, does the Municipality offer advice, including legal and financial advice?	41.18	88.89	0.3328
Q25 - In order to attract new investors, does the Municipality offer a personalized service for business registration?	70.59	50.00	0.2786
Q26 - In order to attract new investors, does the Municipality maintain websites?	88.24	50.00	0.9517
Q27 - In order to attract new investors, does the Municipality maintain websites in a foreign language?	29.41	22.22	0.2360
Q28 - In order to attract new investors, does the Municipality offer information and promotional materials in a foreign language?	29.41	72.22	0.0258
Q29 - In order to attract new investors, does the Municipality promote the Municipality's offers at foreign fairs?	41.18	33.33	0.0637
Q30 - In order to attract new investors, has the Municipality set aside organizational units or positions to serve foreign investors?	23.53	38.89	0.0000
Q31 - Has the Authority supported NGOs by providing premises for their statutory activities free of charge?	76.47	22.22	0.5165
Q32 - Has the Authority supported NGOs by providing materials and equipment?	82.35	27.78	0.7995
Q33 - Has the Authority supported NGOs by informing NGOs about sources of extra-budgetary funding?	76.47	83.33	0.4889
Q34 - Has the Authority supported NGOs by promoting nongovernmental entities working in the area of public benefit?	82.35	61.11	0.7047
Q35 - Has the Authority supported NGOs by providing assistance to NGOs in establishing domestic and international contacts?	58.82	72.22	0.1013
Q36 - Has the Authority supported NGOs by providing assistance in establishing NGOs?	58.82	83.33	0.3738
Q37 - Has the Authority supported NGOs by appointing a contact person in the Authority for NGOs?	76.47	33.33	0.7251
Q38 - Has the Authority supported NGOs by patronizing NGO activities?	64.71	38.89	0.4796

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SUMMARY

Municipalities play a particularly important role, including in creating appropriate living conditions and organising the proper functioning and development of the economy. Taking into account the specifics of coastal municipalities, we verify how the activities of coastal municipal governments contribute to the development of local entrepreneurship in Poland and Latvia.

Based on the results of the survey, 38,417 input data were analysed, giving room for comparisons to assess the effectiveness of analogous solutions applied in both countries and their consequences in the form of entrepreneurial dynamics.

The results of our study indicate significant differences in changes in the level of entrepreneurship in coastal municipalities compared to other municipalities from the country. We also note that Polish coastal municipalities are far more likely to carry out PPP investments and solicit new investors, while Latvian coastal municipalities are characteristically oriented towards foreign investors.

Zakres stosowania i skuteczność instrumentów wsparcia przedsiębiorczości stosowanych przez gminy nadmorskie w Polsce i na Łotwie

Słowa kluczowe: przedsiębiorczość lokalna, gminy, rozwój lokalny, wsparcie samorządu, samorządy nadmorskie

STRESZCZENIE

Gminy pełnią szczególnie ważną rolę, m.in. w tworzeniu odpowiednich warunków życia oraz organizowaniu prawidłowego funkcjonowania i rozwoju gospodarki. Uwzględniając specyfikę gmin nadmorskich, sprawdzamy, jak działania samorządów gmin nadmorskich przyczyniają się do rozwoju lokalnej przedsiębiorczości w Polsce i na Łotwie.

Na podstawie wyników badania przeanalizowano 38 417 danych wejściowych, dając pole do porównań w celu oceny skuteczności analogicznych rozwiązań stosowanych w obu krajach i ich konsekwencji w postaci dynamiki przedsiębiorczości.

Wyniki naszego badania wskazują na istotne różnice w zmianach poziomu przedsiębiorczości w gminach nadmorskich w porównaniu do pozostałych gmin z kraju. Zauważamy również, że gminy nadmorskie zdecydowanie częściej realizują inwestycje w ramach partnerstw publiczno-prywatnych, zabiegają o nowych inwestorów, podczas gdy łotewskie gminy nadmorskie są charakterystycznie zorientowane na inwestorów zagranicznych.

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Cezary Stępniać

Department of Information Management Systems

Czestochowa University of Technology

cezary.stepniak@pcz.pl

ORCID: 0000-0003-4833-6411

Studying the Specificity of Coastal Cities in the Light of the Regional Business Spatial Community Concept

Keywords: RBSC, city maps, coastal city management, ICT and IoE tools, SmartCity, Spatial data

Introduction

Research on the Regional Business Spatial Community (RBSC) has been conducted for 10 years, the starting point of which is the use of common maps to manage smart and sustainable cities.¹ During this time, among others, organisational conditions were analysed, it was theoretically verified that from a technical point of view the construction of appropriate systems is possible, potential barriers were examined.² Among the conclusions resulting from the research conducted so far, two, unfortunately, opposing tendencies towards the presented concept can be noticed. On the one hand, there is a growing interest in the problems of spatial management, including infrastructural investments. Most investments, regardless of their field and type, require appropriate adjustment in their environment. This is not only about the investment itself, but also how it will affect its surroundings. On the other hand, there is the issue of the lack of full

1 Dorota Jelonek, Cezary Stępniać and Tomasz Turek, "The Concept of Building Regional Business Spatial Community," *Proceedings of the 4th International Conference on Data Communication Networking* (2013): 83–90, *10th International Joint Conference on e-Business and Telecommunications*, 29–31 July 2013, accessed 7 June 2023, DOI: 10.5220/0004531700830090.

2 Dorota Jelonek, Cezary Stępniać and Tomasz Turek, "Barriers in Creating Regional Business Spatial Community," *Annals of Computer Science and Information Systems* 2 (2014), *Proceedings of the 2014 Federated Conference on Computer Science and Information Systems*, Warsaw, 7–10 September 2014, 1243–1250.

cooperation between the stakeholders involved in the management and development of the city. In addition, the problem of the lack of tools to support such cooperation is often reported. The RBSC concept assumes that the basis for communication between stakeholders interested in managing and functioning within a given city will be shared interactive maps (based on Geographic Information System technology), called city maps, which all interested parties will be able to use within their rights. Online electronic maps will be accompanied by communication tools to facilitate communication between their different users. Data for maps will be provided by authorised users on an ongoing basis, thanks to which city maps will visualise the current state of selected issues taking place in the city (e.g., ongoing investments, public transport, weather, etc.).

The issues of the study fit into the field of sustainable SmartCity management.³ It is related to the issue of searching for new types of tools that could support city management. The RBSC concept is in a starting point. Its efficient functioning requires the integration of various types of IT systems, ICT tools (Information and Communication Technology) and various types of devices used in SmartCity (e.g., Internet of Things - IoT or Internet of Everything - IoE tools),⁴ which include, among others: city monitoring devices, various types of measuring tools, weather and air pollution sensors, and others.⁵

The purpose of this article is to analyse whether coastal cities have their own specificity that should be taken into account when implementing RBSC. Such issues may include, among others: the role of ports,⁶ maritime industry, tourism, but also the safety of the city and its inhabitants.

While specifying the subject and scope of the research, the main emphasis was placed on how to take into account the specificity of coastal cities in RBSC. An attempt was also made to analyse whether the aforementioned specificity will affect the formation of regional communities and affect the organisation of the RBSC.

The RBSC concept covers many issues related to the sustainable management and operation of SmartCity. In order to organise the conducted analyses, the RBSC issues were divided into five interrelated planes. On this basis, five more were aspects distinguished of RBSC and these considerations were conducted according to them:

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- 3 Raimundo Díaz-Díaz, Luis Muñoz and Daniel Pérez-González, "The business model evaluation tool for smart cities: application to SmartSantander use cases," *Energies* 10 (2017), 3: 262, accessed 7 June 2023, DOI: 10.3390/en10030262.
 - 4 Dipesh Vaya and Teena Hadpawat, "Internet of Everything (IoE): A New Era of IoT," *Lecture Notes in Electrical Engineering* 570 (2020): 1–6, accessed 7 June 2023, DOI: 10.1007/978-981-13-8715-9_1.
 - 5 Tomasz Turek and Cezary Stępniaik, "Areas of integration of GIS technology and smart city tools. Research findings," *Procedia Computer Science* 192 (2021): 4681–4690, accessed 8 June 2023, DOI 10.1016/j.procs.2021.09.246.
 - 6 Brian Hoyle, "The redevelopment of derelict port areas," *The Dock & Harbour Authority* 887 (1998): 46–49.

- Organisational,
- Functional,
- Informational,
- Spatial,
- Technical.

In order to organise the issue of the specificity of coastal cities within the framework of the RBSC, selected factors characteristic of the successively distinguished aspects were indicated. As a result, the aim of the research was to analyse subsequent aspects and, within them, to indicate potential differences in relation to other cities. The aim of the article is to identify the differences mentioned above and to indicate whether they can affect the building of RBSCs in coastal cities.

Efforts were made to capture whether certain issues specific to a given type of region will require appropriate organisational solutions, whether the functional scope of the proposed project will be changed, special thematic layers or the use of specific technologies will be needed.

It was initially assumed that maritime issues would most likely expand the issues that should be included in the RBSC. It was assumed that coastal cities fulfil all the functions of other cities, while the coastal location may mean that they will also meet different additional requirements resulting from their location and the adoption of specific functions, e.g., a city–port or city–spa. This will result in the need to include new layers in city maps, new types of stakeholders within the community, and it is also likely that various technological devices specific to the management of coastal regions will have to be used.⁷

The results of previous research on the RBSC concept and on different types of communities have been used in this study. An ongoing analysis of the directions of development of GIS tools was used, including 3D and 4D visualisation technologies and the possibility of building maps based on abstract, i.e., non-geographical spaces, and the possibility of their integration with geographic maps.⁸ The third element was the analysis of the specificity of managing coastal cities. In addition to the analysis of the functioning of cities on the basis of available documents and city portals, the results of direct visits to seaside cities in Poland (Świnoujście, Szczecin, Kołobrzeg, Gdynia, Sopot, Gdańsk, Elbląg, Nowe Warpno), were also used, as well as foreign ones, including: London, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Antwerp, Marseille, Athens or Singapore. Literature analysis was carried out within the framework of these three directions.

7 Sergio Rosendo, Louis Celliers and Micas Mechisso, “Doing more with the same: A reality-check on the ability of local government to implement Integrated Coastal Management for climate change adaptation,” *Marine Policy* 87 (January 2018): 29–39, accessed 7 June 2023, DOI: 10.1016/j.marpol.2017.10.001.

8 *A Guide for Smart Communities: Using GIS Technology for Local Government Management*, (Washington: ICMA ESRI, 2018).

Theoretical foundations and directions of research

The RBSC concept is based on building or making available a common map of the city for all entities interested in housing in a given city, its development having a direct or indirect impact on implemented and planned investments. Initially, the proposed concept was intended to develop a model of a tool that would support investment processes in the city. As it is known, all types of urban investments require not only the development of a project, but often the condition for their implementation in making arrangements with entities for whom the proposed investment will not be indifferent.

The natural initiator of such an undertaking as RBSC seems to be the municipal government. In Poland, such entities are city offices or the Poviast Starosty office. GIS technology is already quite common in these offices, but it is used rather in the industry and is more a supplement to the information technology used than the main tool. Originally, RBSC was to support investment processes in the city. Most urban investments cause changes in their surroundings and can often affect the media infrastructure. Therefore, in the first place, the potential participants of the RBSC included companies supplying various types of utilities. Taking into account the possibility of using the same data in various GIS tools, it was considered that the above-mentioned enterprises could join the RBSC.⁹ Assuming that as part of the project, apart from maps, there will also be specially dedicated communicators, in this way a platform for communication between entities interested in specific investments can be created. It should be added that participation in the RBSC was supposed to be voluntary, and each city builds its own tool covering its area of jurisdiction and, of course, its specificity.

With the development of research on RBSC, the number of potential stakeholders of the proposed project grew. These include, among others: non-governmental organisations, residents, investors. In subsequent studies, further groups of entities were included, which included: logistics companies and public transport companies, various types of monitoring entities, industry offices, non-governmental organisations collecting spatial data. It was assumed that the use of the city map should take into account the principles of data security and ownership, as well as the principles of commercial and state secrets.

The rules of operation of the RBSC should encourage various entities to cooperate. The basic principles of cooperation within the RBSC should be voluntary, apart from city offices whose participation is essential for communities to operate effectively. In addition, entities will be needed to verify the correctness of the data collected as part of the project.

9 Cezary Stępniaik, "Wybrane aspekty zastosowania geograficznych systemów informatycznych w przedsiębiorstwach dostarczających media," *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego* 762, *Ekonomiczne Problemy Usług* 104 (2013), 1: 407–415.

The starting point in the RBSC concept is the map. Modern GIS tools use the same spatial data formats. On the other hand, the location of objects on the map is provided by a universal cartographic grid. The GIS tool should be made available by the relevant local government administration office. In an RBSC environment, basically two things are expected of any actor, action and data. The problem is that if key stakeholders dissociate themselves from the proposed concept, other types of actors may be discouraged. Then the RBSC may lose its data sources. Potential RBSC stakeholders include not only potential users but also data providers. The map itself is to be the element that binds the whole project together. When visualising, each user can only use those layers to which they have permission, however, looking from the point of view of the project as a whole, it is necessary to ensure that data on as many layers as possible are available. Considering the role of maps, the following assumptions were made for them within the RBSC:

- RBSC is based on one virtual 3D map (taking into account the time factor - 4D), constructed on the basis of many layers, describing the geographical environment, in this case a given city.
- Under the objects on the maps, additional data can be attached on the basis of hyperlinks, e.g., in the form of documentation, instructions or descriptions.
- Additionally, many abstract maps can be created that will be used by interested entities.
- Layers of maps are created by interested or responsible entities.
- The city map should be enriched with functions belonging to the class of SDSS (Spatial Decision Support System).

One of the core features of a city map should be the ability to collect data online. Therefore, the content of maps should be updated on a regular basis. However, this is not always possible and depends on the data refresh policies. In this case, the time horizon of the maps used in RBSC becomes important. It can be assumed that the data visualised on the map can be historical, supplemented offline, online and planning.

Historical data can be understood in various ways. These can be thematic maps from a specific period, but they can also be created by creating links to descriptions of individual objects. The second form is to save selected layers in the form of a map warp, where older objects will be a part of it.

Online data collection is possible if authorised entities share their data based on primary events immediately after their registration.¹⁰ The data itself can be recorded independently as a result of the actions of appropriate tools (e.g., IoE) and made available on city maps in direct mode.

10 Wenwen Li, Michael J. Batty and Michael F. Goodchild, "Real-time GIS for Smart Cities," *International Journal of Geographical Information Science* 34 (2020), 2: 311–324, accessed 7 June 2023, DOI: 10.1080/13658816.2019.1673397.

An important issue, especially for investment and development activities, is the ability to insert planning data. This can be implemented e.g., on the basis of land reservation or investment. In other words, maps may contain data on objects that are being implemented, reported or even just being designed. The aforementioned possibility should be supported with SDSS modules, among others, in order to estimate the expected costs (at least resulting from spatial issues), perform collision analysis or spatial planning¹¹ using layout of urbanisation zones, administrative borders or plots.¹² Nowadays, there is more and more talk about Digital City Twins, which can also be used within the RBSC.¹³ They can also be used for route analysis, where on the basis of corridors of planned investments (e.g. roads, railway or tram tracks, subway lines, but also infrastructure elements, e.g., pipelines), the best routes of their course can be indicated. The same analysis may also indicate other infrastructure elements or other types of objects that would require intervention in some way (e.g., relocation, modernisation or security).

In addition to maps, the issue of internal communication between stakeholders is also important in the RBSC concept. The medium of communication may be a social tool of choice for the exchange of messages or documentation if it cannot be represented by maps. For cooperation within the proposed communities, selected types of messengers can be used.

From the point of view of individual stakeholder groups, selected layers can be associated with messengers dedicated to them. In addition, selected planning events can create new circles and make appropriate changes to the maps of individual stakeholder groups. In practice, this can work on the principle of rapid alert systems.

In this paper, the five aspects of RBSC mentioned earlier will be used as a basis for comparing solutions that can be applied in ordinary and coastal cities. In this way, a comparative analysis of RBSC requirements for coastal and other cities was carried out.

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- 11 Yan Ma and Zhenjiang Shen, *Strategic Spatial Planning Support System for Sustainable Development: Agent-Based Modelling and Simulation* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer Cham, 2022).
 - 12 Suleyman Sisman and Arif Çağdaş Aydinoglu, "Using GIS-based multi-criteria decision analysis techniques in the smart cities," *International Archives of the Photogrammetry, Remote Sensing and Spatial Information Sciences - ISPRS Archives* 44 (2020), 4/W3: 383–389, accessed 7 June 2023, DOI: 10.5194/isprs-archives-XLIV-4-W3-2020-383-2020.
 - 13 Cheng Qian et.al., "Digital Twin—Cyber Replica of Physical Things: Architecture, Applications and Future Research Directions," *Future Internet* 14 (2022), 64: 1–25, accessed 7 June 2023, DOI: 10.3390/fi14020064; Martin Enders and Nadja Hoßbach, "Dimensions of digital twin applications-a literature review," *AMCIS 2019 Proceedings* 4 (2019): 2575–2584.

Specificity of coastal cities

In the history of Poland, the issue of access to the sea played an important role. Anyway, a similar policy on the Baltic Sea was pursued by: Sweden, Russia, Denmark and German countries. Similarly, in other regions of the world, such as the Persian Gulf region, access to key inter-oceanic channels (Suez and Panama Canals), were places where various countries have tried to take control of transport routes. Political-military and economic-social problems overlap in such regions. Own access to the sea was treated as an opportunity to conduct free trade. Hence, trade and specific industrial issues, such as shipbuilding, were related to the sea. Coastal cities are related to the construction of ports and transport infrastructure, enabling the delivery and export of goods. In addition, there are issues of political security (threat of potential armed conflicts – for example – Odessa) and natural security (issues of floods, tsunamis or typhoons (e.g., Florida, the Philippines, the Caribbean).

From the organisational point of view (the first aspect), in coastal cities, state administration bodies usually play a greater role. It is talking about the administration of ports and security systems. In addition, for the needs of the functioning of ports, it is necessary to prepare an appropriate transport infrastructure. The aforementioned infrastructure includes roads with appropriate parameters, railway lines, and, if possible, also inland navigation ports with the necessary arrangement of water facilities.

In addition to a commercial port, such cities may have war ports, which means that part of the city area may be excluded from public access, however, infrastructure and transport networks should also be built there and integrated with the city infrastructure. In practice, this means that when creating a community of the RBSC type, it is necessary to take into account the need to include additional entities, such as: representatives of state and military administration.

The necessity of cooperation between state and local government administration bodies may cause conflicts of a competence nature. It is about who is to govern the community. A kind of example of potential conflicts is present today around the port of Elbląg. In principle, the above-mentioned problem can be avoided by focusing on technical and functional solutions. However, the specificity in this case will be the issue of security, so additional security measures must be imposed on RBSC solutions.

In addition to safety issues, it can be assumed that in coastal cities, representatives of the tourism industries may play a greater role in their management. Specific water investments may appear, such as a pier or municipal water transport, e.g., water trams (as in Venice or Copenhagen) or an aerial railway (as in Singapore to Sentosa Island). The distribution of urban zones will also result from the location of ports, shipyards, military zones and the topography of the city.

Functionality (the second aspect) depends on RBSC participants. Building a city map tool associated with the available messengers will not automatically create a community. It can be built by information needs, willingness to cooperate and trust. Based on the results of previous research on RBSC, it can be assumed that maps are still underestimated as a management support tool. The ability to build integrated maps requires not only data exchange between stakeholders, but also issues of trust and willingness to cooperate.

The functional scope of the RBSC is shaped primarily by data providers. According to the concept, city councils are the most predisposed to the role of the entity managing the community. Within the city councils there are many departments that deal with different areas of city functioning and use different maps. Therefore, RBSC, as a basic added value to support city management, enables the integration of maps within the office. This is followed by municipal services, agencies, and municipal enterprises. As a result, maps can be weather maps, noise or pollution maps, traffic data or the location of the fleet included in public transport. The digitisation of urban life allows the use of ICT and IoE tools in ever new areas, and thus the recording of subsequent types of spatial data, which will take the form of successive layers on city maps. Some of the layers will be characteristic of the marine theme.

Within the community, it is possible to create inner circles. In coastal cities, these can be specific circles for selected stakeholders. They may concern e.g., security, coastal protection, contamination and threat monitoring (especially in water issues, e.g., natural threat to the waters of the Baltic due to algae and bacteria). The possibility of direct communication between interested entities combined with current spatial visualisation of specific areas according to selected criteria can facilitate solving crisis situations or planning new projects (e.g., using SDSS).

With the addition of new types of entities, the functional scope of the RBSC may grow. The scope of spatial thematic analyses may also increase. In this way, it will be possible to use, among others, planning maps (enabling the placement of planned facilities and investments, using the augmented reality technology at the same time), 4D visualisations and the specific use of 3D technology related to maritime or, more broadly, water, if a river flows through the city, constituting a shipping route or important as a public transport artery. It can be assumed that sooner or later such cities will monitor the state of water in their area, taking into account various factors (e.g., safety, water transport, tourism or ecology – the example survey in Stockholm).¹⁴

For this to be possible within the RBSC, individual entities that conduct appropriate research and collect spatial data must be willing to share their data in a format acceptable by the city map (the third aspect). The problem is, if the measuring devices used by them

14 Ing-Marie Gren and Henrik Scharin, "Efficient management of eutrophic coastal zones in theory and practice: An application on nitrogen reduction to the Stockholm archipelago," *Regional Environmental Change* 7 (March 2007), 1: 27–35, accessed 7 June 2023, DOI: 10.1007/s10113-007-0023-7.

can save data collected in the appropriate format and, preferably, in online mode, send them to servers directly connected to the city map.

Another issue is the validity of the data. There are layers that need a current update, e.g., weather data, ecological data, traffic volume, location of public transport units or safety.¹⁵ This data collected from various types of sensors must be continuously transferred to the relevant institutions. At least some of it may be transferred to the RBSC. Some of the above-mentioned data is important for maritime issues. For example, weather and hydrological data for shipping in the city area are of great importance. They may also be important for some types of tourism. Another thing is that some of the measuring devices may be on board vessels.

Analysing the specificity of coastal cities in terms of information and communication, one can pay attention to certain issues that will be important from the point of view of RBSC and may constitute a maritime extension of the discussed communities. The use of information resources within the RBSC is twofold: reproductive and analytical. Reproductive means that city maps recreate the state of the city based on the collected data. The analytical nature consists in the fact that spatial data can be processed using maps, thanks to which the city map can provide new information values (usually using SDSS functionality).

As mentioned, apart from a common city map, the use of communication tools is an important convenience. At least some of the RBSC circles may be closed and available only to selected users. Some of the created circles within electronic communities may be characteristic only for coastal cities and entities interested in this subject. This concerns both entities involved in the functioning of the port and the appropriate logistic infrastructure, as well as entities involved in the development of tourism. Specialised circles could be created for security and even naval issues. Of course, these circles should be properly secured. Within social circles, types of primary events or processes may be designated on the basis of which spatial data will be recorded. This means that relevant, authorised entities can transfer data of a maritime nature, enabling the creation of specialised layers.

It can, therefore, be assumed that the inclusion of maritime issues may result in the need to increase the number of available or required layers. Layering itself is not a problem. It appears when users will be interested in analytical aspects related to the city map. Then there is a need to create a matrix of relationships between different layers. Thanks to this, it is possible to show the existing dependencies as well as contradictions on the maps (collision analysis for objects from different layers).

15 Booma Sowkarthiga Balasubramani et.al., "Smart Data Management of Urban Infrastructure Using Geographic Information Systems," *Journal of Infrastructure Systems* 26 (2020), 4: 06020002, accessed 8 June 2023, DOI: 10.1061/(ASCE)IS.1943-555X.0000582.

Another possibility is the analysis of corridors, e.g., for the course of water communication routes within a given city.

The spatial (the fourth) aspect in the RBSC refers to the geographic extent captured by the city map. Maps of coastal cities differ in that part of them is a body of water. The issue of cities entering the sea may have a different meaning. Just like China does in the South China Sea, annexing more islands and thus trying to expand the scope of its territorial waters. Then, collecting as much data as possible about this body of water is of political importance and may shift the importance of city management from land to sea issues.

In practice, taking into account spatial aspects in the strict sense of the sea may result in e.g., the need to take into account new thematic layers of a maritime nature. These include, among others: the condition of the bottom, sea tides, water pollution, location of navigational signs or hydrological devices, traffic control on water communication routes (an example is the problem of traffic control in the Strait of Singapore, where an additional problem is the state borders of Singapore, Indonesia and Malaysia). The data collected in this way not only describe the current state, but also make it possible to carry out various types of multi-criteria analyses and to undertake planning works in the field of water management in the city.

The fifth aspect is the technical aspect. Sustainable SmartCity concepts require multi-pronged actions.¹⁶ Contemporary city management is very often divided into internal departments of municipal offices, where individual issues are perceived from the level of a given management area. The situation becomes more complicated when it is necessary to prepare solutions that require action in many areas of the city's functioning. Therefore, the RBSC with its map of the city can be a tool that will allow to look at the city as an environment that is a conglomerate of many different types of phenomena, processes or activities. It should be assumed that a common map will be much more readable than many reports from different entities.

Looking for the specificity of coastal cities, it is possible to indicate all types of tools, recorders, sensors that in SmartCity operate on the IoT or IoE principle. Devices of this type, using Internet connections, are data sources for city maps. The specificity of coastal cities manifests itself mainly in the types of devices that are focused on recording data relating to maritime issues. They can therefore be placed on water infrastructure devices, on vessels, as well as on devices operating above or below the water surface.

Technical solutions can facilitate the presentation of the state of the city in a more or less detailed way. But they can also present the dynamics of the city, presenting the investments in progress, allowing for the reservation of areas for future investments, facilitating the simulation of the impact of a given investment on its surroundings.

16 Sorin-George Toma and Andreea Saseanu, "The world's smartest cities in the metropolitan century," *Ovidius University Annals, Economic Sciences Series* 18 (2018), 1: 111–116.

They also allow for planning and performing of various types of analyses using specialised IT systems equipped with appropriate different types of models.¹⁷ Automating the use of the aforementioned models can facilitate the introduction of smart functions to city management, as well as to facilitate the implementation of tasks related to the pursuit of sustainable city development.

Potential benefits of using RBSC in coastal cities

Talks with representatives of the management boards of various cities in Poland usually led to the fact that RBSC would probably bring the implementation of the SmartCity idea in a given city closer, but in practice its implementation is difficult to implement due to organisational conditions.¹⁸

Nevertheless, it is worth analysing the potential benefits that the implementation of RBSC could bring. In these considerations, an attempt was made to present the potential benefits that RBSC could bring to the management of coastal cities. Potential benefits are presented adequately to the previously mentioned five aspects.

In the organisational aspect, attention was mainly paid to the fact that new types of users and stakeholders may appear within the RBSC. The use of a common map armed with circles of private and public communicators will allow the creation of a tool where many online data will be available simultaneously and it will be possible to communicate on an ongoing basis about the situation in the city. RBSC can be a standard medium of communication between the city government, institutions related to maritime issues (e.g., port authorities, shipowners, state administration offices, navy and military units or sea rescue). The planned project may be conducive to capturing emergency situations in maritime matters, facilitate cooperation between various services and stakeholders. It may also allow for an integrated view of sea and land issues (e.g., building an integrated transport system of the city including the port,¹⁹ water transport units and public transport).²⁰ Thanks to RBSC, it is possible not only to monitor the condition of cities, react in crisis situations, but also to plan the development of the city,

17 T.M. Vinod Kumar, ed., *Smart Master Planning for Cities. Case Studies on Digital Innovations* (Singapore: Springer Verlag, 22 July 2022).

18 Tomasz Turek and Cezary Stępnia, "Barriers to the Application of Spatial Information Systems in the SmartCity Dynamic Management," *Procedia Computer Science* 207 (2022): 4217–4226, accessed 8 June 2023, DOI: 10.1016/j.procs.2022.09.485.

19 Cezary Stępnia et.al., "Integration of the Infrastructure of Systems Used in Smart Cities for the Planning of Transport and Communication Systems in Cities," *Energies* 14 (2021), 11: 3069, accessed 8 June 2023, DOI: 10.3390/en14113069.

20 Sam McLeod, Jan Scheurer and Carey Curtis, "Urban public transport: planning principles and emerging practice," *Journal of Planning Literature* 32 (2017): 223–239, accessed 8 June 2023, DOI: 10.1177/0885412217693570.

taking into account its maritime functions. These plans may be preceded by various types of spatial analyses.

Electronic maps allow you to visualise any number of layers. This means that if it is necessary, it is possible to add new layers or assign new functionalities to them as your needs arise. For coastal cities, this means that all sea-related functionality can also be included (the second aspect). In practice, the functional benefits include:

- The possibility of establishing additional thematic circles specific to the maritime theme,
- New layers on the city map provided by RBSC,
- Analytical and planning capabilities covering maritime issues,
- New types of processes that can be included in semantic layers visualised on abstract maps that translate into city maps.

By specifying new functional areas in coastal cities, potential RBSC extensions may concern, among others:

- The location of the port, the water and transport routes serving it, and the creation of appropriate zones in its surroundings.
- Support for IoE devices monitoring the condition of the port and fairways (this strengthens the requirement to use 3D technology), it should be assumed that some of these devices will be located on vessels.
- The use of city maps will allow taking into account the shape of the coastline and possibly the system of watercourses (rivers, canals and other water reservoirs) in various types of spatial analyses and city development plans.
- Maps will be able to include data, analyses and plans in the field of tourism, recreation and spa functions related to the maritime specificity.
- The issue of security of the city and its inhabitants, including hydrological issues, should be much more emphasised.

Information issues in RBSC are related to the circulation of information resources of a spatial nature (the third aspect). In this case, the philosophy of collecting, especially visualising and sharing data changes. Data becomes available through circles and permissions, and some of it may become publicly available to any RBSC user through the city map. More specifically, the potential information benefits resulting from the construction of the RBSC include, among others:

- Facilitating communication between entities that should cooperate in managing and planning the development of coastal cities.
- Creating a public forum enabling the promotion of various types of initiatives that may affect the development of the city, of course, taking into account the specificity of coastal cities.
- Enabling the exchange of data on current and planned urban investments, including maritime investments.

- Allows for approximate estimation of the costs of projects (including maritime projects) and indicates potential conflicts, both existing and likely to occur between potential projects planned in the city or its maritime surroundings.
- Creation of a tool facilitating the identification and estimation of needs in the field of urban and maritime infrastructure.
- Supporting the planning of land and water communication routes, the course of public transport and the planning of municipal car parks and marinas in order to limit the entry of vehicles to cities and settlements with touristic and health resort values.

The use of a city map as part of the RBSC will, by definition, facilitate the planning and implementation of tasks in the field of spatial and maritime economy, especially that the collected data can be of a current, historical or planning nature. The use of 3D and 4D maps as well as simulation technologies, augmented reality or digital city twins may, on the one hand, facilitate the planning of investments and various types of urban projects (including maritime projects), and be a tool for potential mediation between various stakeholder groups.

RBSC partly changes the way users can view data. Although it is focused on collecting data, its primary purpose is to visualise it (the fourth aspect). Visualisation in this project refers to both quantitative and qualitative data. At the same time, both types of data must have some spatial attributes in order to be applied to the map. Quantitative data will be converted into objects within the appropriate layers, while qualitative data will be transformed into documents, which in turn will be linked to the corresponding features visible on the maps. Therefore, it can be assumed that the city map can become a kind of spatially arranged Big Data repository.

The technical infrastructure of the RBSC is divided into two parts (the fifth aspect). One part is data recording tools, i.e., the aforementioned IoE tools, smart recorders, control sensors, measuring devices, etc. For coastal cities, this means that a platform is proposed that allows you to collect and visualise data for the needs of the maritime economy of a given city, concerning, among others, weather, sea tides, ecology, water safety or functioning of water infrastructure.

The second part is ICT tools and IT systems. ICT tools and IoE tools are basic tools that record data and send it to specialised IT systems. These, in turn, are connected to GIS (Geographic Information Systems) for geographic spaces and SIS (Spatial Information Systems) for abstract spaces. As part of the aforementioned tools, it is possible to develop various types of analyses, insert simulation models for marine or hydrological phenomena, and then visualise them on city maps.

Conclusion

The RBSC concept is consistently promoted by the research team as part of research on SmartCity and sustainable urban development. It still remains largely at the level of theoretical considerations. Although, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic, there was a need to create electronic communities in order to prepare joint arrangements, especially in the field of planned investments, which requires the cooperation of administration offices, investors and media providers.²¹ The same applies to redefining urbanisation zones and planning new transport and logistics systems. Then there is also the need to create a community, if only to facilitate public consultations.

This study analyses the problem of whether RBSC created for coastal cities would have its own specificity. Based on the five aspects distinguished for the purposes of these considerations, it can be assumed that there will be a certain specificity of coastal cities. From the organisational point of view, there may be a conflict of competences between state and local government institutions over who is to organise and manage such systems. However, it seems logical that RBSC also in coastal cities should be managed by the competent local government office. From the functional point of view, the functional scope of entities (stakeholders) and processes taking place in coastal cities will change slightly. As part of the information aspect, it should be stated that there will be a certain group of data characteristic only for coastal cities. For coastal cities, it will be necessary to develop specific data processing procedures that take into account data of a maritime nature. We are talking about SDSS class systems. Within the spatial aspects, 3D maps relating to water areas will be a specific issue. Firstly, there will be a problem of how to define the third dimension in sea areas and, secondly, the water area is assumed to be less stable than the land area when defining the location of objects. Also, the technical aspect will be different. First of all, it is about devices that will be used only for water areas.

When it comes to coastal cities, RBSC seems to be even more useful in their case. This is due to the fact that in the aforementioned towns there are more issues that require consultation and then multi-organisational cooperation during the implementation of various types of investments and projects, as well as during the normal functioning of the maritime sphere in the current life of the city. To sum up, however, it should be said that the biggest problem is still how to convince individual cities to implement the RBSC concept.

21 Srikanta Patnaik et al., eds., *Smart Cities and Smart Communities. Empowering Citizens through Intelligent Technologies* (Singapore: Springer Verlag, 29 May 2022).

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SUMMARY

This study refers to the concept of Regional Business Spatial Community (RBSC) supporting the idea of sustainable development of SmartCity. The idea of RBSC is based on the possibility of using a map of the city through the application of GIS (Geographic Information Systems) technology combined with social communication tools thanks to which communities can be built. The article is based on the research material from the work on RBSC and the specificity of coastal cities was analysed through electronic observation (websites of cities) and direct observation based on visits to coastal cities. The analysis was carried out according to five aspects: organisational, functional, informational, spatial and technical. The study presents what specifics should be taken into account in the RBSC of coastal cities.

Badanie specyfiki miast nadmorskich w świetle koncepcji regionalnych społeczności biznesowych

Słowa kluczowe: RBSC, mapy miast, zarządzanie miastami nadmorskimi, narzędzia ICT i Internetu wszystkiego, SmartCity, dane przestrzenne

STRESZCZENIE

Niniejsze opracowanie odnosi się do koncepcji Regionalnych Społeczności Biznesowych (RBSC – Regional Business Spatial Community) wspierającej ideę zrównoważonego rozwoju SmartCity. Idea RBSC bazuje na możliwości zastosowania mapy miasta wykorzystującej technologię GIS (Geographic Information Systems) powiązanej z narzędziami komunikacji społecznej dzięki którym można budować społeczności. W rozważaniach podjęto problem czy RBSC zastosowany w miastach nadmorskich będzie miał swoją specyfikę. W rozważaniach wykorzystano materiał badawczy z prac nad RBSC oraz przeanalizowano specyfikę miast nadmorskich poprzez obserwację elektroniczną (strony internetowe miast) i bezpośrednią na podstawie wizyt w miastach nadmorskich. Analizy dokonano według pięciu aspektów: organizacyjnego, funkcjonalnego, informacyjnego, przestrzennego oraz technicznego. Opracowanie przedstawia, jaką specyfikę należałoby uwzględnić w RBSC miast nadmorskich.

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Agnieszka Budziewicz-Guźlecka

Institute of Spatial Management and Socio-Economic Geography
University of Szczecin
agnieszka.budziewicz-guzlecka@usz.edu.pl
ORCID: 0000-0002-9403-7925

Roman Chorób

Institute of Economics and Finance
University of Rzeszów
rchorob@ur.edu.pl
ORCID: 0000-0003-2045-6251

Socio-Spatial Aspects of Cluster Structures with Particular Emphasis on Maritime Economy

Keywords: cluster structures, spatial dispersion, coopetition, innovation, competitiveness, maritime economy

Introduction

The essence of each national economy is the spatial differentiation of effects of management occurring within its borders. Understanding and explaining the processes determining the occurrence of spatial diversity, and also conditioning the degree of its intensity, is one of the trends in economic geography. During the last two decades there has been observed a considerable increase in the interest in the phenomenon of spatial concentration of economic activity and the resulting effects. These studies are a part of the trend of the so-called new economic geography (NEG).¹

Integration links, conducive to territorial concentration, determine the development of market conditions for the operation of business entities. Properly functioning as well as emerging integration structures in the economy are one of the essential elements of its dynamic expansion, especially in the era of globalisation. An example of such structures are clusters that play an important role in economic processes in many

1 Szczepan Figiel and Dominika Kuberska and Justyna Kufel, *Analiza uwarunkowań i stanu rozwoju klastrów rolno-żywnościowych w Polsce* (Warszawa: IERiGŻ, PIB, 2011), 8.

countries, including Poland. In the regions located by the Baltic Sea, the maritime economy is particularly important, where cooperative links of a cluster nature can develop dynamically, bringing together enterprises, universities and business environment institutions in their structures.

The main objective of this study is to present the socio-territorial contexts related to the functioning of cluster structures. Clusters form the subject of this research, and the scope of the research covers examples of these structures operating in coastal areas. The priority of all clusters is to strive to effectively increase the level of innovation, which in turn increases the competitiveness of entities-participants of these structures. This issue is of particular importance for the maritime economy, which often struggles with barriers to the proper development of integration processes taking place in this sphere.

The paper presents the concept and genesis of clustering, as well as the aspects of territorial differentiation of cluster structures. A short characterisation was also made of the benefits and advantages of the functioning of these innovative integration structures. Further on, development processes and examples of key cluster structures are discussed. The culmination of the above considerations is the analysis of two Polish coastal clusters: the Maritime Cluster of Western Pomerania and the West Pomeranian Maritime Cluster – as a case study. A valuable supplement is the analysis of the Norwegian seaside cluster: Marine Recycling Cluster.

In order to identify the primary cognitive purpose of the study, an in-depth source literature search was employed together with the results of our own research. To this end, in-depth interviews were conducted among experts in the field of maritime economy and clusters (in the Zachodniopomorskie Voivodeship) using the CATI method. The research was conducted in January 2023 and the selection of experts for the survey was carried out using the “snowball” method. Based on the issues raised, a thesis was put forward that effective cooperation is conducive to the proper expansion of cluster structures, which in turn play a key role in the process of integrating the maritime economy environment.

The outline of ideas and the genesis of concepts of cluster structures

Initially in the achievements of economic sciences there was omitted the spatial dimension of phenomena occurring in economics and, consequently, economy was considered in terms in which it adopted a one-point nature. Only through the works of economists dealing with the problem of land rent or international trade the location has become the subject of study by a wider group of scientists. Thus, thanks to Giacomo Becattini who referred to Marshall² industrial districts, there was born the concept of agglomeration as a social environment being a strong and dynamic form of organisation,

2 Cf. Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics* (London: Macmillan, 1920).

where physical proximity and cultural relations allow using the advantage of proximity in order to achieve benefits, which allows small businesses to share certain expenses and mutual positive reinforcement.³

The agglomeration phenomenon is connected with the occurrence of various types of effects associated with it ("economies of agglomeration"). The effects of agglomeration are classified to the group of external economies of scale. They are connected with the benefits that are the share of companies or urban centres, occurring due to the spatial proximity.⁴ The benefits which are a result of the agglomeration have been studied by the Swedish economist Bertil Ohlin who classified the following to their sources:

- internal benefits of scale that are connected with the technique of production,
- localisation benefits as a manifestation of impact of the industry on individual entities,
- urbanisation benefits being a manifestation of functioning of the economy as a whole and of external nature with respect to enterprises and industries,
- connections occurring between industries.⁵

The attempts to define what a cluster is were and are still undertaken by many authors. Due to its interdisciplinary nature the theory of clusters as specific forms of agglomerations gains importance due to the interest from researchers representing different disciplines. Since the definitions of a cluster in various cross-sections and references have been presented many times in the available literature on the subject, this study has refrained from quoting them, and only focused on the review of the concept of clustering and the distinguishing features of this type of structure.

In the literature on the subject, beside the definition presented above, there function many other terms for the cluster (e.g., group, industrial bunch, cooperation network). Most of them point to three key distinguishing features of the cluster:

- concentration on a specific area, of cooperating and interdependent companies operating in the same or related sectors of industry or services,
- interactions and functional relations between companies,
- trans-sector dimension of the cluster covering with its range both horizontal as well as vertical integration relations.

These are also the features that characterise business ecosystems that are able to compete with other business ecosystems.⁶

3 Cf. Jerzy Figuła, *Dystrykty przemysłowe. Małe i średnie firmy włoskie w dobie globalizacji* (Polkowice: Dolnośląska Wyższa Szkoła Przedsiębiorczości i Techniki w Polkowicach, 2008).

4 Cf. Michael J. Healey and Brian W. Ilbery, *Location and Change: Perspectives on Economic Geography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

5 Skawińska Eulalia and Romuald I. Zalewski, eds. *Klasy biznesowe w rozwoju konkurencyjności i innowacyjności regionów. Świat-Europa-Polska* (Warszawa: PWE, 2009).

6 Anna Drab-Kurowska and Agnieszka Budziewicz-Guźlecka, "The Digital Post Ecosystem - Example of Poland in the Context of Research," *Sustainability* 13 (2021), 5: 2550.

Aspects of spatial dispersion of cluster structures

Already in 1920, as mentioned earlier, Marshall pointed out the “location advantages” resulting from the geographical proximity of enterprises producing similar goods.⁷ According to Porter’s definition⁸, a cluster is a geographical concentration of interconnected companies. It is necessary to indicate the geographical concentration of companies between which there are horizontal and vertical links; these companies cooperate and compete with each other within a specific market segment, use common local infrastructure and identify with the same vision of industry and regional development. Various authors have highlighted the geographical (spatial) aspects related to location.⁹ Geographical proximity is necessary due to the mutual relations between the entities that form them. The benefits of functioning within a cluster stem mainly from the geographical proximity of a large group of independent entities, the accumulation of specific knowledge, highly-qualified employees, specialisation, ease of finding subcontractors and service providers, and the implementation of joint activities in certain areas.

It should be emphasised that the territorial paradigm shows that a diverse territory can be a source of innovation. Geographical proximity enables the exchange of human capital and unites entities in the region in terms of common culture and basic worldview and political principles, as well as knowledge of the area or industry in which the cluster operates. This facilitates the learning process and the transfer of knowledge between cluster members. The most important types of actors included in the cluster are industry enterprises, R&D institutions, intermediary institutions, and financial institutions. Often companies operating in a cluster decide to create a formal structure or institution to coordinate cooperation between them. The relationship between entities is a very important feature of a cluster. Maintaining the relationship by various entities within the cluster produces the so-called synergy effect, which means strengthening the effectiveness of each individual entity in the cluster and increasing their competitiveness when they act together – in the cluster – rather than as individual unrelated entities.

Companies in a cluster monitor each other’s activities and copy new and better solutions that they have observed. Being close both geographically and technologically,

7 Cf. Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics* (London: Macmillan, 1920).

8 Michael E. Porter, “Location, Competiton and Economic Development: Local clusters in Global Economy,” *Economic Development Quarterly* 14 (2000), 1: 15–34.

9 Michael Enright, *Survey of the Characterization of Regional Clusters: Initial Results Working Paper* (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong, Institute of Economic Policy and Business Strategy, 2000); Philip Cooke, “From Technopoles to Regional Innovation Systems: The Evolution of Localised Technology Development Policy,” *Canadian Journal of Regional Science* 24 (2001).

organisationally and institutionally is usually conducive to faster and more effective diffusion of innovation and knowledge.¹⁰ Of significance for the essence of the functioning of the cluster structure is the role and relationship between the following factors:

- spatial concentration,
- geographical proximity,
- the systemic, networked nature of socially-rooted ties,
- coopetition, i.e., simultaneous competition and cooperation of economic entities,¹¹
- long-term traditions of a given activity in a given location (so-called local or regional tradition heartland),
- an attractive market for specialised labour.¹²

Clusters as specific structures of relations may arise in virtually every sector of the economy – both in industry and services, in sectors of advanced technology as well as in sectors of traditional technology. They can be distinguished by varied levels of innovation and technological progress and at the same time they can use different strategies and differently shape the prospects of their own development.¹³

The cluster is a recognised instrument of regional development policy. The main objective of the cluster-based policy is to increase the level of competitiveness of the local, regional and national economy. This is to influence the growth of innovativeness of enterprises and improvement of their competitive position. Activities should focus on strengthening the competitive position of the cluster by directing the development and increasing the specialisation of cooperating enterprises and institutions to achieve economies of scale. In markets where network effects appear, clusters can count on the so-called benefits of the first move consisting in a quick reaction to the changing environment.¹⁴

10 Andre Torre, "On the role played by temporary geographical proximity in knowledge transmission," *Regional Studies* 42 (2008): 869–889; Philipp Marek, and Mirko Titze, and Clemens Fuhrmeister, and Ulrich Blum, "R&D collaborations and the role of proximity," *Regional Studies* 51 (2017), 12: 1761–1773.

11 Roman Chorób, "Koopetycja w innowacyjnych strukturach integracyjnych," *Prace i Materiały Wydziału Zarządzania Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, "Zarządzanie i Finanse" ("Journal of Management and Finance")* 11, No. 1 (2013)1: 83–92.

12 *Kierunki i polityka rozwoju klastrów w Polsce* (Warszawa: Ministerstwo Gospodarki Departament Rozwoju Gospodarki, 2009).

13 Roman Chorób, "Strengths functioning cluster structures prerequisite for innovation and competitiveness of the economy," *Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Ekonomiczno-Społecznej w Ostrołęce* 4 (2015), 19: 74–82.

14 Agnieszka Budziewicz-Guźlecka, *Oddziaływanie polityki społeczno-gospodarczej na zmiany polskiego rynku usług telekomunikacyjnych* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2019), 74.

The benefits and advantages of functioning of innovative structures

Cluster structures due to the geographical proximity of many so-called key players stimulate and support innovation of economic entities. Moreover, a developing cluster is characterised by dynamic growth in the number of companies, which allows the creation of new, often valuable jobs. At the same time it should be emphasised that the functioning of the innovation cluster by external effects, such as technological expansion process, impacts on other branches of local or regional economy, leading to an increase in its international competitive position.¹⁵

The functioning of the cluster is associated with a number of potential internal effects – largely internalised by the entities of the cluster (e.g., lower production costs, lower transaction costs, the positive impact on productivity and profitability), as well as external effects – penetrating into the economic system in which a given cluster functions, e.g., an increase of competitive potential and investment attractiveness, positive impact on the level of economic development). Benefits and costs of the cluster structure should, generally speaking, be considered at the level of a company (micro level), industry (meso level) and the economy of the region / state (macro level).¹⁶

An advantageous influence of the cluster structures on the surrounding economy is connected with many diverse factors. A cluster is a place in resources of which there are special production factors. The most important among them are knowledge (and the innovations which are the results of it) and a high-quality human capital. For the development of the economy, those human resources are of key importance, which, due to their education, use scientific and technical knowledge and the ability to perceive the environment in creative work, development, dissemination and practical application.¹⁷ Clusters positively influence the appearance of new economic entities in the region and the creation of the culture of innovation and entrepreneurship.

15 Thomas Andersson, et al., 2004, *The Cluster Policies Whitebook, International Organization for Knowledge Economy and Enterprise Development (IKED)* (Malmö: IKED, 2004); Roman Chorób, "Współpraca podmiotów jako jedna z determinant ekspansji inicjatyw klastrowych," *Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły HUMANITAS XVII* (2016), 3: 27–38; Magdalena Kozak, "Klasy – wyzwanie dla rozwoju MŚP w Polsce," *e-mentor 1* (2009), 28: 12–16; Adam Oleksiuk, *Konkurencyjność regionów a parki technologiczne i klasy przemysłowe* (Bydgoszcz-Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza Branta, 2009), 82; Agata Rundo, "Klasy jako model współpracy przedsiębiorstw," in: *Nowoczesne modele współpracy przedsiębiorstw*, eds. Agata Rundo, Marta Ziółkowska (Warszawa: CeDeWu, 2013), 57–58.

16 Tomasz Brodzicki, "Teoretyczne aspekty koncepcji klastra," in: *Klasy i polityka klastrowa w Polsce. Konkurencyjność przedsiębiorstw, sektorów i regionów*, eds. Tomasz Brodzicki, Joanna Kuczevska (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2012), 17.

17 Agnieszka Budziewicz-Guźlecka, "Rozwój kapitału ludzkiego w województwie zachodniopomorskim w aspekcie gospodarki opartej na wiedzy," *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego. Ekonomiczne Problemy Usług* 840 (2014), 114: 30.

A cluster is an attractive place of localisation for the foreign direct investments (FDI) and an attractive labour market for the qualified workers which, additionally, increases its competitiveness.¹⁸

Business networking is not a task in itself, it is a means to achieve an end by achieving efficiency faster, for example in the form of better results in each area of cluster activity, for example by collaborating with others, using common creative potential and focusing on mutual benefits.¹⁹

The presence and activity of industrial centres bring three fundamental positive changes for the region in which the cluster is located:

1. Acceleration of the pace of economic growth – energetic clusters, becoming the engine of growth, contribute to the local GDP, the wealth of society, stimulate the economic situation.
2. Improvement of conditions for development of companies and enterprise – cluster companies have better access to knowledge and innovation, other companies providing specialised services, suppliers and all business facilities (such as consultancy, aid, law institutions), and even to a better labour market, now consisting of selected experts.
3. Increase of innovation – clusters favour innovation since they have the possibility of close and constant cooperation with the R & D sector; also important is the intra-cluster competition which forces levelling up and mobilises weaker participants of the relation to raise their level.²⁰

The third of said effects is especially important since innovation is the key to success in the present increasingly-competitive market. Entities which have the courage to implement new technologies and apply solutions unknown so far quickly gain a competitive advantage and become the vanguard of business-setting trends and directions of development.

18 Dzierżanowski Maciej and Małgorzata Rybacka and Stanisław Szultka eds., *Rola klastrów w budowaniu gospodarki opartej na wiedzy* (Gdańsk-Szczecin: Urząd Marszałkowski Województwa Pomorskiego, 2011), 27–28; Roman Chorób, “Innovative integration relations opportunity for development of Polish agribusiness and increase competitiveness of the economy,” *Nierówności społeczne a wzrost gospodarczy. Social Inequalities and Economic Growth* 50 (2017), 2: 349–356.

19 Agnieszka Budziewicz-Guźlecka, Maciej Czaplewski and Anna Drab-Kurowska, *Integracja sektorowa wybranych europejskich rynków pocztowych i telekomunikacyjnych w warunkach globalizacji* (Kraków, Legionowo: edu-Libri, 2018), 10.

20 *Klastry – w kierunku konkurencyjności i rozwoju*, Polskie Stowarzyszenie Doradcze i Konsultingowe, accessed 10 April 2018, <http://www.biznesklaster.pl/company/article/179-klastry-w-kierunku-konkurencyjnosci-i-rozwoju/>.

Development processes and examples of key cluster structures

Most of the definitions, including the ones quoted in the previous chapter, present static (structural) character of the cluster. However, some researchers (Rosenfeld, Motoyama, Stachowicz, Mrozowicz, Góra)²¹ see the cluster as a dynamic form which is founded on relations and connections between its entities. They believe that the cluster should be regarded as a process. Thus, the cluster (industrial cluster) development process is understood as a set of resources and actions occurring from the moment of formation of the cluster structure to its bankruptcy or transformation.

Kazimierz Mrozowicz defines a cluster as a “process-determined structural-functional organizational system operating on the basis of administrative and legal rules in a certain socio-economic environment, whose effectiveness is conditioned by the impact of the external environment and the characteristics of its internal conditions, their mutual coincidence and interdependence, which in total are influenced by the general system processes, mainly: homeostasis, synergy, entropy, specialization and equivalence.”²² Giving the fundamental importance to the dynamic functions realised within the cluster, the above-mentioned author proposes a model of cluster, showing in it the relations between the static elements of the discussed organisational structure and the dynamic processes realised within its organisational framework (Tab. 1).

In the current context, the competitiveness of the economy is increasingly based on research, development and innovation (R&D&I) and the ability to dynamically absorb or participate in the creation and development of new technologies. In order to address the above challenges, as demonstrated earlier, cooperation between stakeholders representing various environments, industries or technologies is crucial. Case studies show the multi-actor and multi-area nature of innovations and their dynamics. Innovation networks grow as innovation develops, becoming more complex with more participants; Therefore, cooperation between actors is of particular importance. The key to achieving this goal is clusters which, thanks to the naturally-established cooperation of enterprises, research institutions, business environment institutions,

21 Cf. Stuart A. Rosenfeld, “Bringing Business Clusters into the Mainstream of Economic Development,” *European Planning Studies* 5 (1997), 1; Yasuyuki Motoyama, “What Was New About the Cluster Theory?: What Could It Answer and What Could It Not Answer?” *Economic Development Quarterly* 22 (2008): 353 (originally published online 9 September 2008), accessed 15 December 2022, <http://edq.sagepub.com/content/22/4/353>; Jan Stachowicz, and Lilla Knop, “The concept of cluster creation and development,” in: *Cluster. Politics. Management. Good clustering practices in the world*, ed. Ewa Bojar (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Organizacji i Kierownictwa; Stowarzyszenie Wyższej Użyteczności “Dom Organizatora,” 2009), 63–81; Jolanta Góra, *Dynamika klastra: zarys teorii i metodyka badań* (Wrocław: I-BiS, 2008).

22 Kazimierz Mrozowicz, “Klastry przedsiębiorczości z perspektywy teorii organizacji,” *Nauka i Gospodarka* 1 (2010), 4: 65.

Table 1. Structural and functional attributes of the cluster

Structural attributes of the cluster (the cluster as organisational structure)	Functional attributes of the cluster (the cluster as organisational process)
– government agencies, local government, authorities and administration of different levels, – universities, research and development centres, scientific institutes, – bridging institutions, business environment, consulting companies, business incubators, development agencies, technology transfer centres, industry associations, – financial, insurance, consulting, technical, legal institutions, – companies, manufacturers, suppliers, consignees, service providers, sales centres, – the infrastructure and industrial parks along with superstructure resources, – government programs, the EU programs, – the land use policy for a given administrative.	– generating and maintaining market advantage due to a consistent policy as a result of recognising and exploiting specific local resources, – aggregation of entities to the critical mass of the cluster, – local concentration of entities of the cluster, – cooperation and competition in the perspective of functional relations (formal and informal), – vertical and horizontal trans-sectoral networks of relations within the identical or related industries, – transfer of organisational resources (factors of production, knowledge, marketing strategy, etc.), – creating a climate of internal identity, organisational culture and ethical behaviour towards strategic partners and competitors, – creation and promotion of mainly local culture of entrepreneurship and innovation.

Source: Kazimierz Mrozowicz, "Klasy przedsiębiorczości z perspektywy teorii organizacji," *Nauka i Gospodarka* 1 (2010), 4: 65.

non-governmental organisations and local authorities, are referred to as a catalyst for innovative processes.²³

The maritime economy covers sectoral and cross-sectoral economic activities related to the oceans, seas and coastal areas, including direct and indirect support activities, which may be land-based, necessary for the functioning of the maritime economy sectors. Maritime economy includes organisations serving the environment through economic and organised use of the sea or coast. Maritime economy is an extremely important role for the national economy. In addition, for a region located in the coastal area, the development of this region is important due to the development of services, for example related to maritime transport, tourism, etc. The aspects of national security resulting from the location of the region are also important. An example of such organisations serving the region (but also the whole country) are clusters, and, more precisely, clusters bringing together entities related to maritime and maritime-related topics. The importance of clusters for the development of the maritime economy is extremely important, because the initiatives undertaken by clusters have a greater chance of being implemented,

23 Szczepan Figiel ed., *Uwarunkowania rozwoju i dyfuzji innowacji w sektorze rolno-spożywczym i na obszarach wiejskich* (Warszawa: IERiGŻ, PIB, 2016), 80; Sarama Maria and Roman Chorób, *Společne i ekonomiczne aspekty transformacji cyfrowej w Polsce* (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2021), 58; *Krajowe Klasy Kluczowe*, accessed 10 January 2023, <https://www.gov.pl/web/rozwoj-technologie/krajowe-klasy-kluczowe>.

as they have been analyzed by a larger number of organisations and the implemented ideas result from the synergy effect. It should be remembered that all cluster initiatives affect the development of the involved enterprises and contribute to the growth of socio-economic capital.

The Ministry of Development and Technology (MRiT) understands cluster policy as an important element of the state's coherent public policies, including education, industry, technology and innovation policies. In June 2020, the Ministry of Development and Technology developed a document entitled *Post-2020 Cluster Policy Directions*, summarising the work of the Ministry's Cluster Policy Working Group. The focus of activities implemented at the central level is to strengthen the concentration of efforts and resources on a specific group of National Key Clusters (NKC), identified through an open competition, defined as clusters of significant importance to the national economy and of high international competitiveness.²⁴

The NCC selection system comprises an assessment of six areas of cluster operation: human and organisational resources, infrastructural and financial resources, economic potential of the cluster, knowledge creation and transfer, activities for public policies, customer orientation.²⁵ The above-mentioned areas are, in a way, a tool for assessing cluster development, as well as they indicate the direction of development of the country's cluster policy and the priorities of MRiT. The list of clusters that have the status of National Key Cluster (valid until a specific date) can be checked on the website of the Ministry.²⁶

Currently, more and more attention is being paid to the green economy (e.g. green sea freight services²⁷) and to a sustainable blue economy. A sustainable blue economy is any economic activity related to the oceans, seas, and coasts. It includes many interconnected established and emerging sectors.²⁸ In the EU, the blue economy is set to play an important role in achieving the objectives of the European Green Deal.

24 Ibidem.

25 Justyna Chojińska-Jackiewicz et. al., *Kierunki rozwoju polityki klastrowej w Polsce po 2020 roku* (Warszawa: Ministerstwo Rozwoju, Departament Innowacji, 2020), 4.

26 *Lista Krajowych Klastrow Kluczowych*, accessed 20 January 2023, <https://www.gov.pl/web/rozwoj-technologie/lista-kkk>.

27 Agnieszka Budziewicz-Guźlecka and Anna Drab-Kurowska, "Selected aspects of corporate social responsibility in maritime freight services on the example of selected courier companies," *SHS Web Conf.* 58 (2018) 01003, DOI: 10.1051/shsconf/20185801003.

28 Dorota Pyć, "Paradygmaty zrównoważonego rozwoju gospodarki morskiej i niebieskiej gospodarki z perspektywy konwencji Narodów Zjednoczonych o prawie morza," *Prawo Morskie* 43 (2022): 25–42; Dorota Michalak and Paulina Szyja, "Czy w Polsce jest możliwa realizacja niebieskiej gospodarki?" *Ekonomia i Środowisko* 3 (2022): 74–96.

Western Pomeranian Maritime Cluster and The West Pomeranian Maritime Cluster - case study

There are officially 15 clusters in the Zachodniopomorskie Voivodeship. The following clusters are engaged in maritime and offshore topics:

- Maritime Cluster of Western Pomerania – maritime economy, logistics.
- West Pomeranian Maritime Cluster - maritime economy, in particular the “offshore” industry and maritime construction.
- Cross-Border Waterway Cluster Berlin-Szczecin-Bałtyk – tourism.
- Polish Sailing Cluster – maritime economy, tourism.
- Baltic SeaNergy Cluster – renewable energy sources, tourism.

For the purposes of further analyses, the West Pomeranian Maritime Cluster and the West Pomeranian Maritime Cluster were selected. The choice of these two clusters was dictated by the fact that, in particular, these clusters are part of the maritime economy by their activity, corresponding at the same time to the issues raised in the study.

The West Pomeranian Maritime Cluster includes enterprises (60 entities), universities, high schools, vocational schools, school complexes, as well as business environment institutions. The West Pomeranian Maritime Cluster has the following strategic objectives:

- the construction of a thriving maritime economic centre, being also a high-tech logistics hub for the southern Baltic region,
- combining the tourist and recreational functions of the region with the development of maritime and transportation industries in a balanced way,
- promoting the region as a recognised training, research and development base for the needs of the international maritime economy,
- establishing a forum of maritime experts influencing the creation and revision of legislation and development plans for the region, the country and Europe.²⁹

By providing financial incentives, the maritime cluster attracts businesses by creating either added value or new jobs. The strategic objectives in the West Pomeranian Maritime Cluster are pursued through, among other things:

- preparing and running joint research and development projects,
- commercialisation of scientific achievements,
- effective training of operational and management staff in response to the needs raised at the Cluster level,
- attracting compelling companies and young talent to the region,
- creating the Cluster’s brand, building the region’s brand,
- promoting companies operating within the Cluster as well as joint ventures,
- lobbying, co-creating the state’s maritime policy and its regulations.

29 *Klaster Morski Pomorza Zachodniego*, accessed 12 January 2023, <http://klastermorski.com/>.

A significant function of the Cluster in the above processes is to enable cooperation between entities that are both enterprises, universities and business environment institutions. To this end, the Cluster also undertakes a number of initiatives and activities aimed, among others, at developing common positions, presenting the potential of Cluster members and establishing cooperation between partners and other organisations related to the maritime economy. These activities are of particular importance in terms of strengthening cooperation between partners, which makes the Cluster play an important role in the process of creating an integrated maritime economy environment.³⁰

Currently, the West Pomeranian Maritime Cluster Association has almost 91 members, including 68 supporting members (businesses and institutions, mainly related to the maritime industry and economy). The cluster brings together not only entities from the Zachodniopomorskie Voivodeship, but also those from the Pomorskie Voivodeship, Lubuskie Voivodeship and Silesia, which demonstrates that the Cluster is open to specialists. The aim of the Cluster is:³¹

- integrating the environment of West Pomeranian maritime enterprises and related companies, supporting economic development and entrepreneurship development.
- action to increase the innovative capacity of maritime enterprises operating in the Zachodniopomorskie Voivodeship;
- operations for the creation of an innovative maritime economy in Western Pomerania;
- ensuring the flow of information between cluster members to enable, among other things, the exchange of experience and joint action in selected areas;
- supporting the development of the maritime economy through the creation of a network of cooperation between businesses, local authorities, universities and business environment institutions;
- jointly creating Polish maritime policy with local authorities and state administration and working to ensure the consistency of Polish law with European legislation;
- information, education and lobbying activities to promote the Zachodniopomorskie Voivodeship as an attractive place for investors to engage in business;
- business consulting, developing innovative technologies, supporting economic initiatives aimed at increasing employment in the enterprise sector;
- creating conditions for effective commercialisation of research results of universities and R&D units;

30 Arkadiusz Marchewka, "Funkcjonowanie Klastra Morskiego Pomorza Zachodniego w procesie tworzenia zintegrowanego środowiska gospodarki morskiej," *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego. Ekonomiczne Problemy Usług* 719 (2012), 94: 216.

31 *Statute of the West Pomeranian Maritime Cluster*, accessed 15 January 2023, <http://klastermorski.org/>.

- developing the professional qualifications and skills of workers to meet the needs of the regional economy;
- activity in European and global organisations, especially in the organisation of European clusters for the development of the maritime economy of West Pomerania.

It is worth noting that 15 projects of shipbuilding companies in the Zachodniopomorskie Voivodeship submitted as part of the following competition received funding from the European Union: Measure 1.5.³² Projects of enterprises assuming the development of innovation and competitiveness of the shipbuilding industry.

At the end of 2021, the West Pomeranian Maritime Cluster initiated the creation and signing of the *Zachodniopomorskie Offshore 2027* program. The plan for the development of the “offshore wind sector” in the Zachodniopomorskie Voivodeship covers the years 2021–27, but envisages continuation until 2040. It includes several segments: offshore structures, vessels, transportation and logistics, service and repair, offshore energy, materials, education, and R&D&I. The objective is to create a West Pomeranian “offshore” environment – a networked system of links between local governments, Szczecin Metropolis Development Agency, business environment institutions, universities and companies interested in “offshore wind” activities.

For the entities of the West Pomeranian Maritime Cluster, the development of the “offshore” sector, including “offshore wind,” means not only the construction and installation of major structures at sea, but also the construction of specialised vessels or the construction of transmission grids and energy storage facilities.

Recommendations for the functioning of clusters related to the maritime economy based on empirical research and foreign example

Interviews were conducted with experts and a foreign example was analysed to develop recommendations for the operation of clusters related to the maritime economy in the Zachodniopomorskie Voivodeship. The analysis was based on a survey conducted among maritime and cluster experts in the Zachodniopomorskie Voivodeship using the CATI methodology. Experts were interviewed as part of the survey. The research was conducted in January 2023 and 8 experts were surveyed. The selection of experts for the survey was carried out using the “snowball” method, i.e. experts invited to the survey designated further experts from the research area to participate

32 RPZP.01.05.00-IZ.00-32-008/19: 1.5. Inwestycje przedsiębiorstw wspierające rozwój regionalnych specjalizacji oraz inteligentnych specjalizacji. Typ projektu: Innowacyjne inwestycje przedsiębiorstw, Projekty przedsiębiorstw zakładające rozwój innowacyjności i konkurencyjności przemysłu stocznioowego, Regionalny Program Operacyjny Województwa Zachodniopomorskiego, accessed 20 January 2022, <https://rpo.wzp.pl/skorzystaj/nabory/15-inwestycje-przedsiębiorstw-wspierajace-rozwoj-regionalnych-specjalizacji-oraz-inteligentnych-specjalizacji-3>.

in the survey, until the target research group was reached. The resulting personal reflections made it possible to identify the most significant challenges faced by cluster members in functioning clusters.

The study was also aimed at developing recommendations for potential interested stakeholders, i.e., entities considering joining the cluster, organisations in cluster structures, or representatives of government organisations.

Due to the nature and limited volume of the article, only selected research results will be given in the following section. The research pointed out the following challenges – problems faced by members of clusters related to the maritime economy:

- certain entities belonging to clusters expect support of various kinds from the cluster, while not offering any commitment on their own part,
- uncertainty among cluster members to establish cooperation in the implementation of larger projects, such as those of an international nature,
- dominance of micro and small enterprises in the structure of business entities makes micro and small enterprises within the cluster become subcontractors of larger enterprises and are not interested in pursuing broader cooperation within the cluster,
- lack of strong ties in the cluster between entities, lack of identification of some entities with the cluster and lack of willingness to share experiences among cluster members.

The considerable number of clusters operating in Europe testifies to their significance for the activities of entities related to the maritime economy. The group of countries with the most extensive and efficient cluster policies (Austria, Germany, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, France, Spain, Canada) is largely regional. The greater capacity of regions to support clusters comes from the organisation of the socio-economic system.³³ Norway has a particularly high level of complementarity between national and regional cluster policies. In addition, it should be noted that the countries listed (with the strongest cluster policies) are among the most economically-developed countries, with companies and clusters of companies having high competitive potential – and yet they are taking additional measures under cluster policies to ensure that this potential and competitive advantage is maintained in foreign and global markets.

In Norway, planning and implementation of cluster policy is held “between” the central and regional levels – it is the responsibility of institutions operating at the interface between the two levels. The program board of *The Norwegian Innovation Clusters* comprises representatives from the business, scientific and research and regional communities, as well as members sourced from the three Managing Institutions.³⁴ The program board provides advice on strategic development, and also participates in the assessment

33 Justyna Choińska-Jackiewicz et. al., *Kierunki rozwoju polityki klastrowej w Polsce po 2020 roku* (Warszawa: Ministerstwo Rozwoju, Departament Innowacji, 2020), 16.

34 Ibidem, 19.

of projects submitted by clusters (both in terms of new projects and extensions of already existing support).

The Marine Recycling Cluster (MRC) is an example of a Norwegian cluster of 35 entities engaged in drone surveillance and marine biomonitoring, as well as cleanup and waste processing operations.³⁵ The cluster works out a complete value chain for marine waste mapping and analysis, waste cleanup and handling, as well as handling of discarded fishing gear. The cluster is also collaborating to find new and better solutions to protect the oceans from marine debris through innovation across the value chain. It deals with the training of volunteers in maritime operations and the provision of machinery and methods of treating collected marine debris. It cooperates not only with entities in Norway, but also abroad.

The Marine Recycling Cluster can be referred to as an example of a cluster with areas of good practice, namely: a complete value chain for marine cleaning and waste disposal in the context of environmental impact.³⁶ The good practice accounts for the identified need which is the high demand for products and services which can improve sea cleanup and prevent ocean pollution. The cluster seeks to pave the way to cleaner seas around the world through smart technologies and modern methods. The system of selection of cluster members, based on a well-defined value chain in the above area, may be considered particularly valuable. The selection of members is deliberate, based on merit, and each entity has a specific place in the value chain. The cluster keeps a high level of focus of its activity on the identified value chain, fostering the efficiency of the activities undertaken and strengthening cooperation between its members.

Summary and Conclusions

The problems (challenges) faced by members of clusters related to the maritime economy, which stemmed from the study, and which were highlighted earlier, can be mitigated by proactive action on the part of the cluster coordinator. The role of the cluster coordinator should be emphasised, and it should exert authority, be willing and able to integrate an environment which is often in competition with each other in the maritime economy market. Cluster coordinators should decide whether their objective is to grow the cluster quantitatively in terms of the number of members or to make a more deliberate, purposeful selection of member entities so that they fit more closely into the cluster's well-defined value chains. In the latter case, we can use the Norwegian cluster operation model.

³⁵ Marine Recycling Cluster, accessed 13 January 2023, <https://marinerecycling.no>.

³⁶ Maciej Piotrowski, ed., *Benchmarking klastrów w Polsce – edycja 2020* (Warszawa: Polska Agencja Rozwoju Przedsiębiorczości, 2021), 138.

Members of a cluster should be aware that by operating in the cluster, individual small companies win the chance to authenticate their offerings, increase the recognition of the brand and its products. The symbiosis with larger cluster participants provides smaller entities with an opportunity to grow, including by becoming involved in the implementation of larger ventures and more complex projects, thereby gaining valuable experience, establishing business contacts and expanding their market share.

It should be emphasised that membership in clusters related to the maritime economy in the Zachodniopomorskie Voivodeship results in credibility, as the status of a cluster member is a guarantee of its trustworthiness as an entity applying for funds, initiating business cooperation, and as a provider of products or services.

In the coming years, the role and importance of clusters will increase, especially within EU development policy. The new approach is to be based on “economic ecosystems” connecting industry and service sectors and shared value chains. As a result, European companies are supposed to be more competitive, but also more independent from global suppliers. This represents an additional development opportunity for countries in the east of the European Union, especially a major economy like Poland.

The West Pomeranian Maritime Cluster, through its entry into the “offshore wind” sector in the Zachodniopomorskie Voivodeship, brings the opportunity to participate in a broad supply chain under the so-called “local content,” requiring Polish participation in the construction of farms inside the Polish economic zone, which is in line with EU development policy.

All these measures are particularly essential in terms of strengthening cooperation between partners, thus making the presented clusters related to the maritime economy in the Zachodniopomorskie Voivodeship play an important function in the process of creating an integrated maritime economy environment.

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SUMMARY

The main objective of this study is to present the socio-territorial contexts related to the functioning of cluster structures. Clusters are the subject of the research, and the scope of the research covers examples of these structures operating in coastal areas. This issue is of particular importance for the maritime economy, which often struggles with barriers to the proper development of integration processes taking place in this sphere.

To specify the basic, cognitive purpose of the study, an in-depth query of the literature on the subject was used, as well as the results of own research. For this purpose, in January 2023, in-depth interviews were conducted among maritime economy experts and cluster experts (in the Zachodniopomorskie Voivodeship) using the CATI method. It has been proven that effective cooperation is conducive to the proper expansion of cluster structures, which in turn play a key role in the process of integrating the maritime economy environment.

Aspekty społeczno-przestrzenne struktur klastrowych ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem gospodarki morskiej

Słowa kluczowe: struktury klastrowe, dyspersja przestrzenna, kooperacja, innowacyjność, konkurencyjność, gospodarka morską

STRESZCZENIE

Podstawowym celem powyższego opracowania jest prezentacja kontekstów społeczno-terytorialnych związanych z funkcjonowaniem struktur klastrowych. Przedmiot badań stanowią klastry, a zakresem badań objęto przykłady tych struktur funkcjonujące na obszarach nadmorskich. Zagadnienie to ma szczególne znaczenie dla gospodarki morskiej, borykającej się częstokroć z barierami właściwego rozwoju procesów integracyjnych zachodzących w tej sferze.

Konkretyzując zasadniczy, poznawczy cel opracowania, wykorzystano pogłębioną kwerendę literatury przedmiotu, jak też posłużono się wynikami badań własnych. W tym celu w styczniu 2023 roku przeprowadzono wywiady pogłębione wśród ekspertów gospodarki morskiej oraz ekspertów z dziedziny klastrów (w województwie zachodniopomorskim) wykorzystując metodę CATI. Dowiedziono, że efektywna kooperacja sprzyja prawidłowej ekspansji struktur klastrowych, które z kolei odgrywają kluczową rolę w procesie integrowania środowiska gospodarki morskiej.

Citation

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Michał Kuściński

Faculty of Economics
The Jacob of Paradies University
mkuscinski@ajp.edu.pl
ORCID: 0000-0001-5555-4041

The Modern Postal Market in the Light of the Distribution of Postal Services by Sea Freight

Keywords: Postal market, distribution, e-commerce, sea freight

Introduction

The purpose of the article is to present trends in the market for postal services and to indicate the efforts being made to distribute them with a particular focus on sea freight. The article will present data from market reports and updated information from industry leaders. The expertise of the author of this article was also utilised.

Mass transportation of goods is of great importance and influence on the global development of e-commerce. Hence, it is the driving force behind many of the world's economies but also the postal services carried out mainly by the CEP stream. The article poses the following research hypothesis: The growth of global e-commerce has a direct impact on the increasing demand for maritime transport. With reference to the stated goal and the hypothesis adopted in the article, the following research question was posed. What tools and methods have been adopted by the postal and transport industry to flexibly shape distribution and transport processes? In an attempt to answer this question, the article presents the characteristics of the Polish postal market, synthetically presents the principles and methods of distribution of postal services, and the essence of sea freight for this market.

Characteristics of the Polish postal market

The postal market in the 3rd decade of the 21st century is constantly undergoing significant and strong changes through external (market) factors primarily such as e-substitution or e-commerce and internal factors such as the adaptation of management processes to new tasks and new service formats. Together, these factors set trends for postal operators' operating strategies and determine the day-to-day operational activities carried out as part of their tasks. The new generation of retailing using stationary and online sales requires an integrated logistics network (omnichannel logistics) tailored to the needs of each individual channel while dynamically managing delivery and providing efficient customer service.¹

In the literature, Aleksander Panasiuk defines the postal market as a process in which postal operators (entities that sell postal services) and buyers of these services (individual and mass customers) set the rules and scope of the services provided. Panasiuk also notes the important role of the state in shaping the market and the rules of its operation, which are expressed, among other things, by guaranteeing the universality of postal services. This is an issue that has a fundamental impact on the market behaviour and responsibilities of the designated operator in Poland.²

Andrzej Siniakiewicz, on the other hand, defines the postal market as the sphere of trading in postal services, where potential sellers and buyers exert mutual influence on each other, creating the level of demand and supply, and thus shape the price of these services.³ The postal market can also be viewed as the totality of relationships between postal service providers (postal operators) and service recipients (customers). These relations are based on market rules, which must include, however, on the part of the state, a guarantee of the availability of these services for the entire population.⁴

Thus, the analysis of the postal market in Poland allows us to distinguish several groups of entities that make up the structure of the market. These include:

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- 1 Anna Drab-Kurowska and Michał Kuściński, "Postal market solutions in the context of digital economy and megatrends. Example of the Polish market," in: *Innovation Management and Information Technology Impact on Global Economy in the Era of Pandemic: Proceedings of the 37th International Business Information Management Association Conference (IBIMA) 37*, ed. Khalid S. Soliman (Granada: International Business Information Management Association, 2021), 8613.
 - 2 Aleksander Panasiuk, *Elementy marketingu usług pocztowych* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2000), 29.
 - 3 Andrzej Siniakiewicz, "Poczta w warunkach gospodarki narodowej," *Technika i Eksploatacja poczty* 1 (1991): 9–10.
 - 4 Grażyna Wolska, *Zmiany strukturalne rynku usług pocztowych w Polsce* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2005), 30–33.

- Individual customers as well as enterprises and institutions that are purchasers of postal services,
- State-owned and private postal service providers,
- Companies and enterprises from other business areas that support the activities of postal operators,
- Regulatory institutions (Office of Electronic Communications – Urząd Komunikacji Elektronicznej, UKE),
- The state, which shapes the principles of operation of the market, outlines its economic and legal framework, obliges designated enterprises to perform public tasks, not infrequently also deciding on investment projects in the area of postal infrastructure development; it should be added that the state is also, in many countries, the superior of public postal operators in the sense of owner supervision.⁵

Roman Czaplewski also distinguishes three basic segments of activity in the postal market such as:

- a. Communication: movement and delivery of addressed mail, advertising, and newspapers.
- b. Logistics: movement and delivery of parcels, courier shipments, bulky cargo.
- c. Retail: a network of establishments providing postal services, financial services and the sale of goods.⁶

In the context of this article, all three of these elements determine the essence of postal service distribution. The functioning of the European postal market is also strongly influenced by the process of globalisation. It amends the rules of cooperation, leading to the expansion of the scope of entities operating in the Community postal sector to postal markets in other regions of the world. Such a process follows certain defined principles, including: the acquisition of postal networks already operating in other markets - postal networks, the creation of its own non-European network by buying out national or regional postal operators, courier companies, as well as the creation of organisations and agreements with global reach.⁷ This is caused by the fact that not only the economy or the postal market is subjected to globalisation, but the problems that arise in this market, often also have a global character and need global solutions.⁸

⁵ Wolska, *Zmiany strukturalne*, 38.

⁶ Cf. Konrad Michalski, "Rynek pocztowy – przyczynek do badań z perspektywy zarządzania," *Ekonomiczne Problemy Usług* 130 (2018), 1: 90, DOI: 10.18276/epu.2018.130-09.

⁷ Anna Stolarczyk, "Rynek usług pocztowych, zarys problemów," *Telekomunikacja i techniki informacyjne* 3–4 (2004): 31, accessed 05 September 2022, <https://www.itl.waw.pl/czasopisma/TiTI/2004/3-4/24.pdf>.

⁸ Agnieszka Budziewicz-Guźlecka, *Oddziaływanie polityki społeczno-gospodarczej na zmiany polskiego rynku usług telekomunikacyjnych* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2019), 48.

In fact, the liberalisation of the European postal market began as early as 1997. At that time, the European Parliament and the Council of Europe issued Directive 97/67/EC, which defined the standard for postal services, authorised the reservation of selected services to the state operator and recommended the establishment of separate regulatory bodies for the postal market in each country. Another 2002 directive, No. 2002/39/EC, contained a plan for arriving at full market liberalisation, scheduled for 1 January 2009, through the gradual abolition of reserved areas in universal service. The 3rd directive of 2008 – 2008/6/EC changed this optimistic assumption – full market liberalisation was postponed by two years, and for the new member states by up to four years, to 1 January 2013.⁹

Since liberalization in 2013, the Polish postal services market has been on a path of continuous development. At the time, it was the site of profound structural changes also observed in other markets in developed countries: declining volumes of traditional postal services more than compensated for by rapid growth in e-commerce shipment volumes. The rate of growth of the total revenues of the operators operating on the Polish postal market has regularly significantly exceeded the rate of growth of the Polish economy as a whole in recent years. This was particularly evident in 2020 due to the COVID-19 pandemic and its consequences, which for the courier shipments segment in particular, as one of the few industries, provided a particularly favourable environment for even more accelerated growth.¹⁰

The nominal value of the Polish postal services market in 2021 exceeded PLN 12.8 billion, growing by nearly PLN 1.3 billion compared to 2020. Unlike last year, the increase in the value of the market this time was also accompanied by a noticeable increase in the overall volume of completed postal services, which reached a figure of 1.94 billion pieces in 2021, an increase of 3.2% year-on-year. The most important role in the market in 2021 continued to be played – as the designated operator – by Poczta Polska S.A., which provided 1,174.2 million services in domestic and foreign streams (60.7% share of total volume), which translated into PLN 5,154.6 million in revenue (40.0% share of total revenue). With respect to the previous year, the volume of services provided by the designated operator decreased by 7.2% and the value of revenues fell by 3.3%. In 2021, alternative operators provided a total of 760.9 million services in domestic and foreign trade (39.3% share of total volume), which translated into PLN 7,736.0 million in revenue (60.0% share of total revenue). With respect to the previous year, the volume of services provided by alternative operators increased by 24.8%

9 Anna Drab-Kurowska, "Proces liberalizacji rynku usług pocztowych w świetle regulacji Unii Europejskiej," *Informacja Pocztaowa* 5 (2007): 1–12.

10 *Raport o stanie rynku pocztowego w 2021 roku* (Warszawa: UKE, maj 2021), accessed 2 December 2022, <https://bip.uke.gov.pl/raporty/raport-o-stanie-ryнку-pocztowego-w-2021-r-,63.html>, 5.

and the value of revenues rose by 23.0%. Letter mail remained the most popular service in 2021, as in previous years, with 975.7 million pieces delivered, but this represented a 7.5% decrease compared to 2020, and translated into PLN 3,419.6 million in revenue (a 3.5% decrease). Meanwhile, deliveries of courier and traditional postal parcels totaled 805.2 million pieces in the year under review (an increase of 21.0%), which generated PLN 8,610.5 million in revenue (an increase of 18.6%), which means that 2021 was another consecutive year in which an increase in revenue from these services was observed.¹¹ The key drivers of the change in the value of the Polish postal services market are presented in Figure 1.

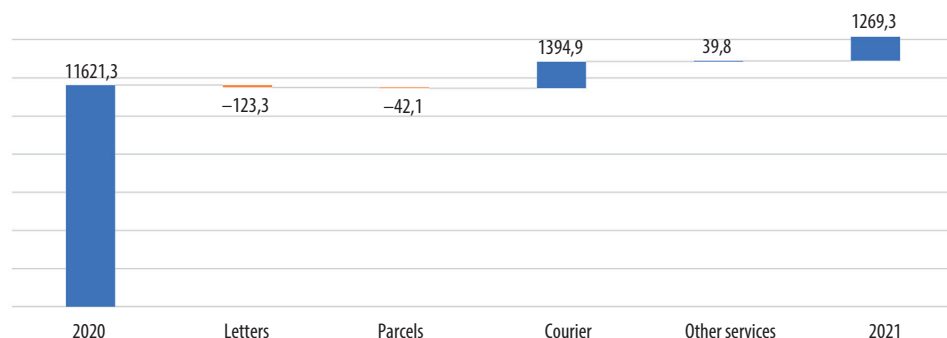


Figure 1. The key drivers of the change in the value of the Polish postal services market (PLN million)

Source: *Raport o stanie rynku pocztowego w 2021 roku*, 16.

The market in the area of courier and parcel services today, already generates more than 60% of revenues in the Polish postal services market. This is evidenced by the results achieved by the courier industry in 2021 (PLN 1.4 billion revenue growth in 2021 against PLN 1.6 billion in 2020). The volume of delivered parcels increased in 2021 by almost 141 million pieces compared to 2020, reaching a figure of more than 770 million pieces, which means that in 2021 an average of more than 2 million courier parcels already reached the hands of Poles every day (the barrier of 1 million per day was exceeded in 2018).¹² The value of the postal services market by postal market segment in 2019–2021 in relative terms, is presented in Figure 2.

¹¹ *Raport o stanie rynku pocztowego*, 6.

¹² Przemysław Czastka, *Dwa miliony przesyłek dziennie*, UKE, accessed 05 September 2022, <https://www.uk.gov.pl/blog/dwa-miliony-przesylek-kurierskich-dziennie,55.html>.

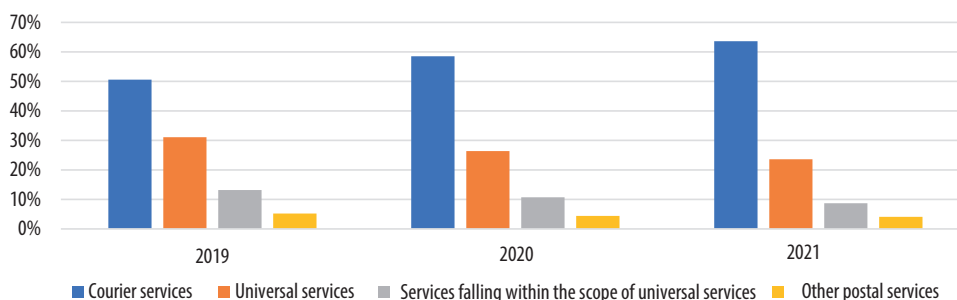


Figure 2. Value of the postal services market by postal market segment in Poland in relative terms in 2019–2021

Source: *Raport o stanie rynku pocztowego w 2021 roku*, 19.

Despite such increases, the Polish postal services market has significant prospects for further growth. E-commerce industry analysts claim that growth trends, albeit at a more modest rate than in the pandemic, will continue even after the pandemic ends, which will translate into demand for courier services. If forecasts about the growth dynamics of the value of the Polish e-commerce market prove true, the volume of courier shipments in the next 2–3 years may even increase to a value already in the range of 0.9–1 billion shipments per year.

To summarise this analytical part, Table 1 presents the largest operators in Poland in the field of CEP shipments in 2021 in terms of generated revenue and volumes.

Table 1. Leading postal operators in the courier segment

VOLUME				REVENUE			
No.	Operator's name	domestic traffic	cross-border traffic	No.	Operators name	domestic traffic	cross-border traffic
1	InPost sp. z o.o.			1	InPost sp. z o.o.		
2	DPD Polska sp. z o.o.			2	DPD Polska sp. z o.o.		
3	Poczta Polska S.A.			3	GLS Poland sp. z o.o.		
4	GLS Poland sp. z o.o.			4	UPS Polska sp. z o.o.		
5	UPS Polska sp. z o.o.			5	FedEx Express Poland sp. z o.o.		
6	FedEx Express Poland sp. z o.o.			6	Poczta Polska S.A.		
7	DHL*			7	DHL*		

(*DHL Parcel Polska Sp. z o.o. and DHL Express Poland Sp. z o.o.)

Source: *Raport o stanie rynku pocztowego w 2021 roku*, 25.

The above shows that the national postal operator in terms of volume handled ranked 3rd in 2021 while in terms of revenue it only ranked 6th. This undoubtedly demonstrates the strong competition in the courier market and the dominance of operators who are not obliged to bear the costs of providing universal postal services. The above table is also intended to show the position of the Polish national postal operator against the background of global market players who mainly serve the CEP market.

When analysing the postal services market, it should be noted that a very important factor is the progressive process of e-substitution caused by the technological revolution, which has had a gigantic impact on changes in the way we communicate – from the replacement of paper bills for the provision of various services with their electronic versions, to new forms and tools of communication, such as smartphones. Changes in this area are occurring so rapidly that e-mail is now becoming more of a tool used exclusively in business or public administration and local government, rather than in interpersonal communication, where it is increasingly being replaced by instant messengers (e.g., WhatsApp) or social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram).

As a result, it is not profitable for private companies to invest in the letter services market, which is shrinking every year.

In a liberalised postal market, however, operators pursue the most valuable institutional customers, guaranteeing bulk mailings in the thousands or millions, as well as e-commerce customers.¹³ This is now the basis for any post office to run a stable business. To illustrate the mega trends, Figure 3 presents a summary of the value of global e-commerce, which includes the potential of each world region in this area in 2020. Such statistics undoubtedly determine the choice of means of transportation of ordered goods and their further distribution to the final customer.

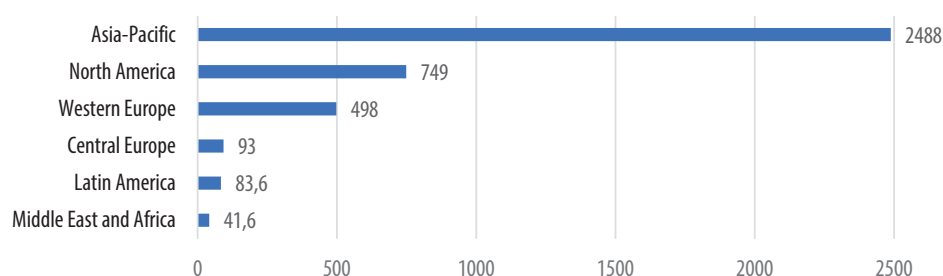


Figure 3. E-commerce sales forecast in 2020 (USD billion)

Source: Katarzyna Mokrzycka, *Polski e-commerce w 2020 r. jest wśród najszybciej rosnących rynków w Europie* [RAPORT 300RESEARCH], 26 listopada 2020, 300 GOSPODARKA, accessed 30 December 2022, <https://300gospodarka.pl/300research/wartosc-rynku-e-commerce-na-swiecie-w-tym-roku-przekrocy-4-mln-dolarow-raport-300research>.

13 Anna Drab-Kurowska and Wojciech Drożdż, “Digital Postal Operator as an Important Element of the National Energy Security System,” *Energies* 15 (2021), 1: 231.

And according to the Global Ecommerce Forecast 2021 report, after global e-commerce grew 25.7% in 2020 to USD 4.213 trillion, analysts expect global e-commerce retail sales to grow another 16.8% in 2021 to USD 4.921 trillion. As in 2020, the Asia-Pacific region and North America led the regional e-commerce retail sales rankings in 2021. China's excessive role means that the Asia-Pacific region will account for 60.8% of global e-commerce retail sales in 2021. North America will have a 20.3% share and Western Europe 12.6%.

Rapid technological change has forced postal operators to adapt their services to the needs of the information society, take advantage of new economic opportunities and pay more attention to emerging and rapidly-growing direct and indirect competition.¹⁴ Postal services are, therefore, services of general economic interest. They are an important communication tool, providing social benefits. They are also an important element of communications and trade¹⁵ and a response to the development of worldwide globalisation.

Distribution of postal services

The postal service is primarily the performance in domestic or cross-border traffic of activities carried out jointly or separately involving, among other things, the acceptance, sorting, movement and delivery of postal items. The activities refer to the operational recognition of the postal item. This service, due to its widespread use, utilises various modes of transportation that offer the relatively lowest price compared to the proposed postal service. In general, the choice of transportation depends not only on the economically-reasonable value, but depends largely on the timing of its delivery and the operational capabilities of postal operators. The quality of the postal service, on the other hand, is expressed in the fulfilment of expectations in relation to the time of delivery.

With regard to the distribution of postal services, it is important to emphasise the importance also of the role of the performance of the universal postal service for which the Designated Operator in Poland is responsible. It is selected for a period of 10 years by the President of the Office of Electronic Communications, by decision, from among postal operators selected through a competition announced by the President of the Office

14 Anna Drab-Kurowska and Agnieszka Budziewicz Guźlecka, "The Digital Post Ecosystem—Example of Poland in the Context of Research," *Sustainability* 13 (2021), 5: 2550–2565, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3390/su13052550>.

15 *Raport z badania społecznego zapotrzebowania na usługi powszechne* (Warszawa: UKE, listopad 2021), accessed 2 December 2022, <https://www.bip.uke.gov.pl/raporty/raport-z-badania-spoecznego-zapotrzebowania-na-uslugi-powszechne,52.html>, 5.

of Electronic Communications. Poczta Polska S.A. was designated to provide universal service from 1 January 2016 to 31 December 2025.¹⁶ Here, it is necessary to outline the scope of their provision, as well as other responsibilities that come with the role of the National Postal Operator to citizens. As a consequence of the above, the parameter of accessibility can be considered from several perspectives as spatial accessibility,¹⁷ temporal accessibility¹⁸ and economic accessibility,¹⁹ which undoubtedly defines the aspect of postal service distribution capability.

Spatial and temporal accessibility are defined in detail in the Regulation of the Minister of Administration and Digitisation of 29 April 2013. The regulation provides a detailed method for the distribution of post offices of the designated operator (i.e., the conditions for accessibility to universal service in the national territory, which have already been referred to when analysing the essence of the universal service, i.e.:

1. One permanent office of the designated operator, when counting a mean for the country, per 6,000 citizens in towns and cities.
2. One office of the designated operator, when counting a mean for the country, per area of 85 km² in rural settings.
3. At least one permanent post office of the designated operator should be opened in each municipality.
4. Post offices of the designated operator should be open on all working days, except Saturdays, at least 5 days a week, and if the week includes a public holiday, the number may be correspondingly lower.

In addition, according to the cited regulation, the designated national postal operator provides at least one emptying of the outgoing mailbox and delivery of mail at least every working day and no less than 5 days a week.

The President of the Office of Electronic Communications may by decision establish, ex officio or at the request of the designated operator, a derogation from the obligation to provide universal service in a specific area.²⁰ When making such a decision,

16 *Co to jest usługa powszechna?* Centrum Informacji Konsumenckiej, accessed 01 December 2022, <https://cik.uke.gov.pl/>.

17 The indicated standards of spatial accessibility were not developed on the basis of objective premises, resulting, for example, from a study of the demand for services; rather, they take into account the structure of the postal network from the period of development of legal acts regulating these issues, as well as formal aspects resulting from the current administrative division of the country – hence, the requirement for at least one post in each municipality.

18 In some EU countries, mountain regions are excluded from public operator service during the winter.

19 Economic accessibility in both Polish and EU regulations does not specify its definition or how to measure it, except for the wording that prices must be affordable and allow all users access to universal postal services.

20 Applies to the frequency referred to in Article 46(2) (5), or in compliance with the postal run time indicators referred to in the implementing regulations issued pursuant to Article 47 (1), or in compliance with the method of arrangement of post offices referred to in the implementing regulations issued

the President of the Office of Electronic Communications takes into account the factors determining the conditions for the provision of universal service in a given area, in particular:

1. Current demand for universal service,
2. Geographic conditions which have a significant impact on making postal communication with human habitats difficult,
3. Population density in the area,
4. Profitability of universal service.

As previously mentioned, postal services are carried out in domestic traffic, with their distribution taking place mainly by means of vehicles such as bicycles, mopeds, vehicles up to 3.5 t and over 3.5 t, and is carried out by employees in the positions of drivers, letter carriers and couriers. International shipments, on the other hand, encompass the area of a minimum of two countries. These usually involve continental areas or the entire world. In this case, it is a network of transport links employing each mode of transport. Considering in particular the distribution of postal services in the international aspect, attention should be paid to the mentioned trends in this market, i.e., globalisation enabling the dynamic development of e-commerce, in particular on the Asia-Europe route. In this regard, we are dealing with two axes of major transport routes: The Silk Road from China to Europe by rail²¹ and the maritime route, whose general characteristics will be outlined later in the article.

Sea freight

Apart from the carriage itself, sea freight can also include the formalities of arranging transport as well as loading and unloading and, naturally, the preparation of customs documentation. A freight forwarder can also arrange for the storage of goods, as well as their distribution. Clearly, all these services affect the total cost. Also worth noting is that freight now refers to more than just ships, and the term is also used in the context of air, rail and truck transport²². Maritime transport plays and will continue to play a fundamental role in global and European trade and the economy. 77% of European external trade and 35% of overall trade between EU member states is carried out by sea. Maritime transport is therefore a key component of the international supply chain.

pursuant to Article 47 (3). Dz. U. (Journal of Laws) of 2012 item 1529, dated 23 November 2012, with the amendment of the ACT in Dz. U. of 2022, No. 896, dated 23 March 2022.

21 The New Silk Road is a pivotal rail route for trade between China and Europe. As estimated by Bain Co., trains on the China-Europe line carried about 1.46 million containers in 2021, transporting goods worth about \$75 billion, or about 4 percent of the total value of trade between the Old Continent and the Middle Kingdom.

22 *Czym jest fracht morski?*, PFC, accessed 18 December 2022, <https://pfc24.pl/czym-jest-fracht-morski/>.

In spite of a decline in shipping activity in 2020, due to the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, the sector is anticipated to grow strongly in the coming decades, fueled by increasing demand for products.²³

The maritime economy is also likely to become one of the drivers of economic growth in Europe over the next several years. This is also the perspective of the European Union, recognising in the blue economy the potential to improve the economic situation of member states, including Poland. Blue growth should take place under conditions of sustainable development, which means improving economic performance whilst taking care of the environment, employees and local communities.²⁴ We should emphasise that maritime transport is among the most popular modes of transport for the procurement of goods for the automotive industry, machinery, components, cars, raw materials and e-commerce service, a natural associate of the postal service.

There are several types of maritime transport in the forwarding of the above-mentioned industries, i.e.:

- Full Container Load (FCL),
- Less Container Load (LCL),
- Multimodal Transport (carriage of goods using two or more modes of transport, e.g., air transport, road transport, rail transport).²⁵

Examining the types of maritime transport in more detail, we can distinguish cabotage which covers all ports of a country. It is essential for a territory characterised by a particularly long coastline, where it can be used as a means of internal transport. This mainly concerns China and the US. Linear services, which include transport from port to port “in a straight line.” This is exceptionally important for regular shipping of e-commerce shipments. There is also tramp shipping, which is the inverse of linear. It mainly applies to incidental transports representing an alternative, mainly to vehicles. It is employed for very large loads and mainly when standard modes of transport are inefficient.

Thus, maritime transport is a type of transport in which time is of secondary importance. It is applied in courier, logistics services for the transportation of high-volume consignments or shipments of unusual dimensions, where other means of transport are excluded.²⁶ It should be noted that Polish seaports have an increasingly important role

23 *Pierwszy europejski raport o wpływie transportu morskiego na środowisko*, IMGW, accessed 01 December 2022, <https://www.imgw.pl/wydarzenia/emter2021-pierwszy-europejski-raport-o-wplywie-transportu-morskiego-na-srodowisko>.

24 *Corporate social responsibility & Responsible business conduct*, European Commission, accessed 01 December 2022, <http://ec.europa.eu/growth/industry/corporate-social-responsibility/>.

25 *Kiedy warto wybrać transport morski i jakie są zalety transportu morskiego?*, OMIDA, accessed 21 December 2022, <https://seaandair.pl/blog/co-to-jest-transport-morski/>.

26 Józef Frąś, Marek Siwkowski and Marek Matulewski, “Zarządzanie dystrybucją usług na rynku pocztowym,” *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego* 855, *Finanse, Rynki Finansowe Ubezpieczenia* 74 (2015), 2: 295–302, DOI: 10.18276/frfu.2015.74/2-26.

in the development of sea-land intermodal transport chains. Particularly noteworthy are the container terminals within ports due to the wide range of investments and the very high growth rate of container turnover in recent years. The increase in sea freight from the Far East also creates opportunities for both the development of seaports, such as Gdańsk, as natural hubs for handling container cargo in Central and Eastern Europe.²⁷ In this context, it also seems important to refer to the forecasts of global demand for cargo transportation in each transport industry in Poland until 2030,²⁸ as included in Table 2.

Table 2. Global cargo services demand forecast by 2030

Transport industry	Years		
	2015	2020	2030
Transport in million tons			
Rail	211.0	225.0	261.0
Car	1,643.0	1,800.0	2,075.0
Inland	6.1	8.5	14.0
Pipeline	54.0	56.0	66.0
Maritime	52.0	60.0	81.0
Air	0.1	0.1	0.2
Transport in billion tkm ²⁹			
Rail	46.0	50.0	62.0
Car	279.0	321.0	405.0
Inland	1.4	1.6	3.2
Pipeline	23.0	23.0	26.0
Maritime	110.0	123.0	159.0
Air	0.2	0.3	0.6

Source: Jan Burnewicz, "Prognozy zapotrzebowania na usługi transportowe w Polsce do 2020 roku," in: *Uwarunkowania systemu transportowego Polski*, eds. Bogusław Liberadzki, Leszek Mindur (Warszawa–Radom: Instytut Technologii Eksploatacji, 2007), 132.

Maritime transport is considered one of the fastest growing. It is estimated that between 2015 and 2030, transport will increase from about 44% to 56%, depending on how

²⁷ Jerzy Wronka, *Polskie porty morskie w morsko-lądowych intermodalnych łańcuchach transportowych* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2017), 10.

²⁸ Agnieszka Budziewicz-Guźlecka and Anna Drab-Kurowska, "Selected aspects of corporate social responsibility in maritime freight services on the example of selected courier companies," *SHS Web of Conferences* 58 (2018): 01003.

²⁹ Tonne-kilometres (tkm). The sum of freight turnover in freight transport by types of freight transport, i.e. rail, road, European, inland waterway and sea transport.

transport is measured. This perspective is reflected in the behaviour of market players. Sea freight services are one of the core services offered by leading postal operators. The increased interest is attributable to, among other things, the need to reduce transaction costs, as well as the growth of international trade. International business and trade are largely dependent on global shipping, which, as part of the logistics chain, determines the efficiency of global trade.

The dominant enterprises in the field of global distribution of postal services, including the CEP segment whose rapid development is ensured by e-commerce, are global brands that provide diversified services in this area, making use of, among other things, maritime transport. Analysing the Report on the State of the Postal Market in Poland in 2021, courier shipment volumes, especially in cross-border traffic, including those transported by sea, accounted for less than 5% in 2021, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Courier shipment volumes in 2019–2021

	2019	%	2020	%	2021	%	2020/19	2021/20
Country	415.5	94.3	605.0	95.2	738.4	95.2	45.6	22.1
Cross-border, including:	25.3	5.8	30.6	4.8	37.6	4.8	26.0	22.8
outgoing	16.1	3.7	22.7	3.6	25.2	3.2	24.0	10.8
incoming	9.2	2.1	7.9	1.2	12.5	1.6	29.5	57.3
TOTAL	440.9	100.0	635.6	100.0	776.0	100.0	44.5	22.1

Source: *Raport o stanie rynku pocztowego w 2021 roku*, 26.

In the period under review, the courier market grew steadily, both in terms of volume and revenue, in both domestic and cross-border traffic. The largest increases were observed in 2020, i.e., the year in which many restrictions were imposed on social and economic life following the COVID-19 pandemic.

We should also note that the most popular direction from which general cargo is transported is China. Maritime transport dominates here. In this case, there is no requirement to load at least one specially-dedicated container. Individual consumer orders – parcels can also be located with other goods in a container. Such transport to Poland takes between 33 and 45 days. Shipments from China by sea usually arrive at the port of Gdynia,³⁰ then undergo a customs procedure. The postal operators also receive shipments to Poland from German or Benelux ports. However, the total transport costs may be higher in this case.

³⁰ The port of Gdynia transhipped 26.686 million tons of cargo in 2021, an increase of 8.2% compared to the previous year which also ended with a record. An increase in handled volumes was evident in specific cargo categories, such as general cargo (16.1 million tons, up by 14%).

Thus, sea freight is reserved for cargo for which the addressee does not expect delivery earlier than 30 days from the ship's departure from a Chinese port and the goods do not belong to the "time-sensitive" group. Moreover, an essential component of the transaction in addition to the price and commodity specifications are the terms of transport, i.e., who pays for the transport, or how costs and risks are shared between the counterparties. In this context, the answer is the Incoterms[®], which are not legally required, although highly recommended. Freight forwarders and transport enterprises are excluded from the application of the terms. The Incoterms[®] cannot override any obligations or rights – they are only part of the entire export contract. Price, method of payment, transfer of ownership, breach of contract and product liability are all issues that must be addressed in a sales contract. Priority over Incoterms[®] will always rest with local or international legal standards.³¹ Of the 11 current Incoterms[®] 2020, four are dedicated exclusively to maritime and inland waterway transportation i.e., FAS (Free Alongside Ship), FOB (Free on Board), CFR (Cost and Freight), CIF (Costs, Insurance and Freight). The remaining terms can be applied to all modes of transportation. Whereas, if there is any discussion of risks in maritime transport, it is certainly necessary to mention maritime insurance as well. "General average" is the decision of a ship's captain to sacrifice part of the cargo or ship or to incur extraordinary expenses in order to save from imminent danger all the property engaged in a sea expedition. The cost of general average is borne pro rata by each owner of the saved cargo. It is described in law in the Maritime Code, while the specific terms and conditions should be included in the contract of carriage by sea. The tool for determining the extent of general average is the so-called York-Antwerp Rules. "Particular average," on the other hand, is the damage suffered by a ship or cargo during a sea voyage due to some event (accident), in addition to ordinary damage (caused by wear and tear) and damage related to general average, particular average can be attributable to: acts of God or culpable acts of persons (errors in navigation, theft, etc.), natural properties or defects in the substance of the cargo carried. The consequences of a particular average are incurred by the owner of the goods and the shipowner.

Thus, in the activities of all maritime transport operators, extensive measures can be observed to reduce the risks involved. In addition, the potential as well as the opportunities for the continued development of maritime transport in postal operations were identified. Special attention is paid below to selected market players offering sea freight as part of the distribution of postal services.

31 *ABC Eksportu Incoterms[®] 2020*, PAIH, accessed 19 December 2022, https://www.paih.gov.pl/abc_eksportu/incoterms.

Selected examples of sea freight organisers for postal services

Sea freight is particularly popular because of its cost-effectiveness. On top of that, as already mentioned, sea freight is the cheapest of the available options for shipping bulk goods in intercontinental transport. In addition, shipments of various dimensions, including oversized, can be transported by sea. Thus, the logistics market offers many solutions focused on international exchange of postal items but also its strength is the global companies in the industry.

The DHL Group is an example of a maritime freight leader in the postal industry, leveraging the option of full container load (FCL), shipping by sea to provide customers with reliable, flexible and cost-effective transportation around the world. It offers tailor-made alternatives for the transportation of all kinds of goods using different types of equipment and capacities. As part of its worldwide network, it operates 45,000 connections through nearly 2,800 scheduled direct voyages per week, reaching all major ports and inland transshipment points. Thus, it can ensure predictability of the supply chain, deadlines and commitments to end customers.³²

Another player in the sector is FedEx. As part of its comprehensive international shipping program, FedEx Trade Networks offers sea freight services connecting North America, Latin America, the Asia-Pacific region, Europe and the Middle East. Taking advantage of the capabilities of regional marine terminals, wide sailing opportunities each week and privileged relationships with multiple shipowners, it maximises transportation flexibility while keeping costs in check.³³

On the other hand, GlobKurier Freight & Forwarding has a rich logistical background consisting of experienced freight forwarders and logisticians who organise the shipment or collection of cargo and goods in cooperation with courier companies even from the farthest corners of the world in a maximally-optimised time providing services related to, among other things, freight transport by sea, rail, road and air.³⁴

Hellmann Worldwide Logistics Polska, which is actually hard to call a transport or courier entity, is one of the largest international logistics service providers that handles a very wide range of maritime transportation of mainly large shipments. We should also emphasise that each of the presented companies provides customs and forwarding services, as part of their services.

32 *Ładunek niepełnokontenerowy (LCL)*, DHL.com, accessed 01 December 2022, <https://www.dhl.com/pl-pl/home/nasze-dywizje/spedycja-miedzynarodowa/transport-morski/ladunek-niepelno-kontenerowy.html>.

33 Drab-Kurowska, "Selected," 01003.

34 *Cennik usług transportowych i spedycyjnych*, Globkurier.pl, accessed 19 December 2022, <https://www.globkurier.pl/cennik/uslugi-transportowe-i-spedycyjne>.

Conclusion

Summarising the activities in the area of distribution and transport of postal services by sea freight, it is possible to note several factors that determine the development of this type of transport. First of all, the main contributing factor is the growth of e-commerce and the courier shipments generated by this channel, both by individual customers and in the B2B segment. Sea freight is mainly used by global participants in the postal market. Hence, the distribution of postal services through this channel is not dominant in the context of the mode of transport in favour of road or air transport, which instead favours the distribution of postal services with a higher time standard, but at a significantly higher cost.

Among the tools and methods that have been adopted by the postal and transport industry in order to flexibly shape distribution and transport processes, the following can be mentioned:

1. Well-developed logistics for the provision of services on time in line with customer expectations.
2. Supporting logistics activities with the necessary IT systems that consolidate the national and international supply chain.
3. International cargo consolidation.
4. Unification of collective packaging in international and domestic CEP transport.
5. Adaptation of postal services to legal and organisational requirements used in international trade.

Further research on the postal services market in the international aspect should focus on improving supply chains, in particular on reducing their costs. The instability of the global economy will encourage companies to shorten intermediate links in order to maintain margins with constantly increasing prices of services. Although sea freight is currently experiencing a slight slowdown due to global turbulence, e-commerce will continue to grow over the coming decades, but with varying intensity. However, its handling will become the dominant task of postal operators.

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SUMMARY

The article points out the main trends that dominate the Polish postal market and presents the types of sea freight, including especially those used by postal service distributors. Examples of the cost and risk safeguards that should accompany sea freight are also indicated.

Współczesny rynek pocztowy w świetle dystrybucji usług pocztowych drogą morską

Słowa kluczowe: rynek pocztowy, dystrybucja, e-commerce, fracht morski

STRESZCZENIE

W artykule wskazano główne trendy dominujące na polskim rynku pocztowym oraz przedstawiono rodzaje frachtu morskiego, w tym w szczególności te wykorzystywane przez dystrybutorów usług pocztowych. Wskazano również przykłady zabezpieczeń kosztów i ryzyka, które powinny towarzyszyć frachtowi morskemu.

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Maciej Czaplewski

University of Szczecin
Institute of Spatial Management and Socio-Economic Geography
maciej.czaplewski@usz.edu.pl
ORCID: 0000-0003-1888-8776

Radka Nacheva

University of Economics – Varna
Department of Informatics
r.nacheva@ue-varna.bg
ORCID: 0000-0003-3946-2416

Information and Communication Infrastructure as an Important Tool for Developing the Three Seas Initiative

Keywords: Three Seas Initiative, telecommunications, information and communication infrastructure

Introduction

In the scientific literature in the field of regional economy and economic policy, the concept and subject of the Three Seas Initiative is often described. However, the borders of the Three Seas Initiative are not always clearly defined. It is most often indicated that this area covers 12 countries: Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Hungary, located between three seas: the Adriatic, the Baltic and the Black Sea.¹

The third annual conference of the Three Seas Initiative countries, which took place in September 2018 in Bucharest, was focused on the need to accelerate the development and interconnection of the infrastructure of the Three Seas Initiative countries,

¹ Kai-Olaf Lang, “Die Drei-Meere-Initiative: wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit in geostrategischem Kontext,” *SWP-Aktuell* 16 (Febr. 2021): 2. DOI:10.18449/2021A16; George Soroka, “Was Polen in der Drei-Meere-Initiative sieht,” *ZOiS Spotlight* 28 (2019): 1; Christoph Hasselbach and Rosalia Romaniec, *Berlin wertet Drei-Meere-Initiative auf*. DW: Nachrichten & Analysen, 05 June 2019, accessed on 08 January 2023, <https://www.dw.com/de/berlin-wertet-drei-meere-initiative-auf/a-49063402>; Sarah E. Garding, and Derek E. Mix, “The Three Seas Initiative,” *Congressional Research Service*, accessed on 28 December 2022, https://aquadoc.typepad.com/files/crs_infocus_3si_26april2021.pdf.

in particular infrastructural energy, transport, and digital information and communication networks.

Analysing the emerging scientific publications on the development and connections of infrastructural networks of the Three Seas Initiative countries, it is visible that the issues of developing digital information and communication networks of these countries are given less space.² Considering this situation, this scientific article is devoted to:

- Presenting the essence of information and communication infrastructure,
- Selecting the basic criteria, by which modern information and communication networks should be assessed,
- Making a comparative assessment of the information and communication network of the Three Seas Initiative countries, using the previously proposed criteria for assessing these networks,
- Presenting the desired directions of development and linking these networks.

To present these issues, the authors primarily used a critical analysis of domestic and international literature in the field of regional policy and economic policy, the method of logical reasoning, the method of synthesis and statistical methods. In particular, the authors used information presented by the statistical offices of the 12 surveyed countries of the Three Seas Initiative, international statistical offices and international telecommunications organisations in the conducted statistical research.

The essence of modern information and communication infrastructure

When attempting to characterise the information and communication infrastructure, it needs to be pointed out that this is an important attribute of the telecommunications market. The importance of network infrastructure for the telecommunications market is strongly emphasised by the four-layer model of telecommunications presented in the so-called Bangemann report, in which the network infrastructure was recognised as the basic layer. This model is presented in Figure 1.

2 Óscar Méndez Pérez, *The Three Seas Initiative: Configuration and Global Geopolitical Consequences*, Opinion Paper, IEEE 48/2021, accessed on 12 January 2023, http://www.ieee.es/Galerias/fichero/docs_opinion/2021/DIEEE048_2021_OSCMEN_Tresmares_ENG.pdf; Sarah E. Garding, and Derek E. Mix, "The Three Seas Initiative," *Congressional Research Service*, accessed on 28 December 2022, https://aquadoc.typepad.com/files/crs_infocus_3si_26april2021.pdf; Marek Górka, "The Three Seas Initiative as a Political Challenge for the Countries of Central and Eastern Europe," *Politics in Central Europe* 14 (2018), 3: 55–73, DOI: 10.2478/pce-2018-0018, accessed on 10 January 2023, <https://sciendo.com/pdf/10.2478/pce-2018-0018>; Velina Tchakarova, and Livia Benko, *The Three Seas Initiative as a Geopolitical Approach and Austria's role*, accessed on 10 January 2023, <https://www.aies.at/download/2021/AIES-Fokus-2021-11.pdf>.

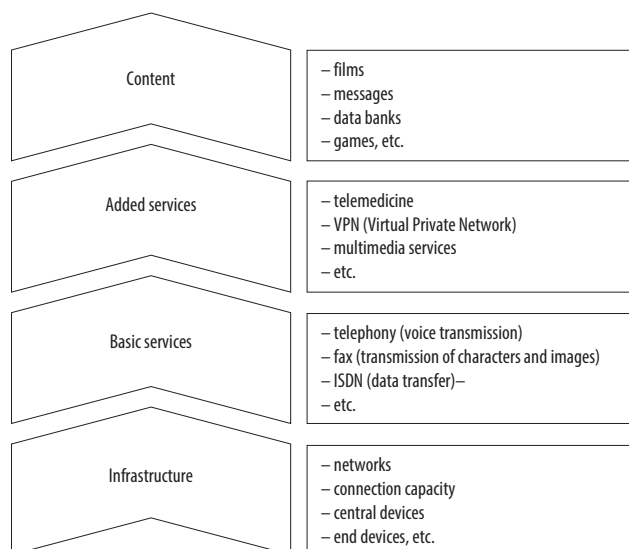


Figure 1. The four-layer model of telecommunications

Source: own study based on *Europe and the Global Information Society, Recommendations to the European Council: Conference G7 - Raport BANGEMANN*. Brussels 26 May 1994. Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, accessed on 10 January 2023, <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/44dad16a-937d-4cb3-be07-0022197d9459>.

The dynamism of the development of telecommunications infrastructure is the result of the impact of many factors and processes. Among them, the basic role is attributed to technical and technological progress.³

Technical and technological progress⁴ observed in the area of telecommunications services is manifested primarily in the progressive digitisation and development of fibre optic technology and software.⁵

3 Andrzej Małachowski, "Konwergencja rynku telekomunikacyjnego. Rozwój wybranych internetowych mediów komunikacji," *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego* 544, *Rynki przesyłu i przetwarzania informacji - stan obecny i perspektywy rozwoju* 35 (2009), 2: 597.

4 Kenneth Joseph Arrow, "The Economic Implications of Learning by Doing," *Review of Economic Studies* 29 (1962): 155–173; Yanrui Wu, "Productivity Growth, Technological Progress, and Technical Efficiency Change in China: A Three-Sector Analysis," *Journal of Comparative Economics* 21 (1995), 2: 208–212, DOI: 10.1006/jcec.1995.9997; Khuong Vu and Kris Hartley, "Effects of digital transformation on electricity sector growth and productivity: A study of thirteen industrialized economies," *Utilities Policy* 74 (Feb. 2022), DOI: 10.1016/j.jup.2021.101326.

5 Jörg Rockenhäuser, *Digitale Konvergenz und Kompetenzen-management* (Wiesbaden: Deutscher Universitätsverlag, 1999), 20; Larry Downes and Chunka Mui, *Auf der Suche nach der Killer-Applikation. Mit digitalen Strategien neue Märkte erobern* (Framkfurt a.M.: Campus Fachbuch, 1999); James Martin, *Telecommunications and computer* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1969); James Martin, *The wired society* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1978).

The Internet and the creation and combination of three standards played a key role in further transforming the information and communication infrastructure:⁶

- Computer platform – based on the IBM PC computer,
- Graphical user interface enabling the use of spreadsheets and text editors – Windows,
- Communication tool – based on modem and global telephone network.

Some of the authors analysing the qualitative leap in network information and communication technologies associate this process with the development of the Internet services offer and the rapid increase in demand for these services and refer to them as the “internetisation” of telecommunications.⁷

Proposed basic criteria for evaluating modern information and communication infrastructure

The growing interest of societies and economies in the Internet and Internet services prompted the entities on the supply side of the telecommunications services market to develop networks ensuring efficient access to this medium and services provided through it. Among fixed networks, such access is provided by broadband networks. An important criterion for assessing the modern information and communication infrastructure is, therefore, the degree of coverage of individual countries with fixed broadband networks.

As part of fixed broadband networks, particularly efficient in terms of throughput and data transfer speed are the so-called new generation networks (NGA), which include VDSL, FTTx and DOCSIS 3.0 cable networks. Therefore, an important criterion for evaluating the modern information and communication infrastructure is also the degree of coverage of individual countries with NGA-type networks and the share of FTTx and DSL networks in the internal structure of fixed broadband networks.

Mobile networks are playing an increasingly important role in ensuring efficient access to the Internet. This is primarily due to the technical progress taking place in this area, which led to the creation of the LTE standard in 2010, allowing for “data download” at a speed of up to 100 Mbit/s. The presented information indicates that the basic criteria for evaluating the modern information and communication infrastructure include:

- The degree of coverage of countries with fixed broadband networks,
- The degree of coverage of countries with fixed broadband networks of the new generation NGA,
- Data download speed in fixed networks,
- Speed of downloading data in mobile networks.

6 Thomas Friedman, *Świat jest płaski* (Poznań: Dom Wydawniczy REBIS, 2006), 65.

7 Matthias Pohler, Berndt Beckert, and Michael Schefczyk, *Technologische und ökonomische Langfristperspektiven der Telekommunikation. SAP-Stiftungslehrstuhl für Entrepreneurship und Innovation* (Dresden: Technische Universität Dresden, 2006).

Evaluation of the existing information and communication networks of the Three Seas countries

One of the main objectives of the Three Seas Initiative is to improve the region's infrastructure and digital connectivity in order to support economic growth and development.

In terms of digital connectivity, the Three Seas Initiative aims to achieve reliable, sustainable, and inclusive connectivity. This includes expanding and modernising the region's telecommunications networks, increasing broadband coverage, and improving access to digital services. The goal is to ensure that all citizens and businesses in the region have access to high-quality and affordable digital infrastructure, which would help to reduce the digital divide and promote social inclusion. It is recognised that sustainable and reliable connectivity requires significant investments in information and communication networks.

In order to make a comparative assessment of the information and communication networks of the Three Seas Initiative countries, it is necessary to use statistical data on these networks. The research conducted by the authors in this chapter is based on available secondary data showing the transformation of telecommunication markets as a result of the development of the Internet. In particular, the information presented by national statistical offices, international statistical offices, international telecommunications organisations, national telecommunication market regulators and international organisations of telecommunications regulators, as well as by telecommunications operators, especially the so-called incumbents, i.e., former monopolistic operators, who currently, as a rule, still play a dominant role on national telecommunication markets.

Considering the availability of data, the years 2013, 2017 and 2021 were considered. According to the authors, the time series adopted in this way should ensure a good reflection of the impact of the Internet on changes in the telecommunication market area, allowing to present changes in the structure of telecommunications networks, often resulting from long-term investments.

Taking into account the topic of the work in geographical terms, the research covered 12 countries that are part of the Three Seas Initiative.

The growing interest of societies and economies in the Internet and Internet services prompted telecommunication markets supply entities to develop networks ensuring efficient access to this medium and services provided through it. Among fixed networks, such access is provided by broadband networks. The degree of coverage of individual countries with fixed broadband networks began to grow rapidly. Information on this subject for the surveyed countries in 2013, 2017 and 2021 is shown in Figure 2.

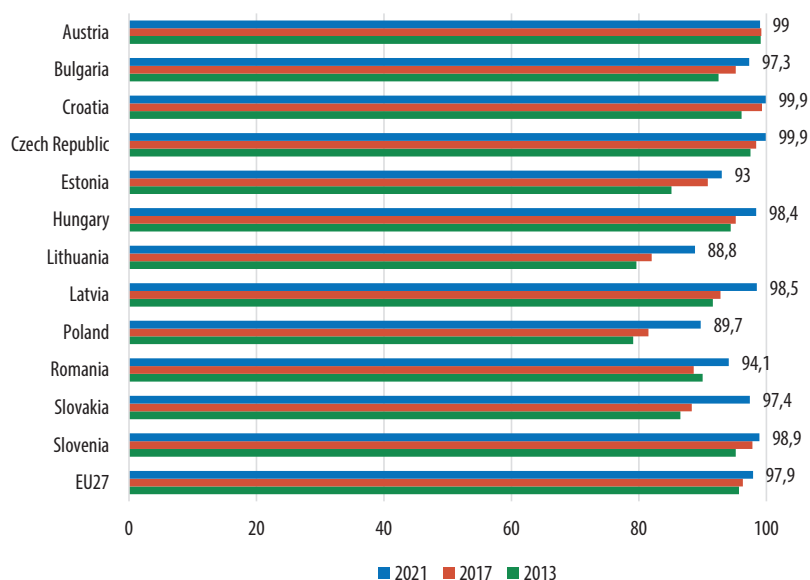


Figure 2. Coverage of the surveyed countries with fixed broadband networks (DSL, VDSL, FTTx, DOCSIS 1.0/2.0 and 3.0 cable access and WiMax) in 2013, 2017 and 2021 (in %)

Source: own study based on *Broadband Coverage in Europe 2013 Final Report*, accessed on 7 October 2022, http://ec.europa.eu/newsroom/dae/document.cfm?doc_id=8238; *Broadband Coverage in Europe 2017 Final Report*, accessed on 7 October 2022, <https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single-market/en/news/study-broadband-coverage-europe-2017>; *Broadband Coverage in Europe 2021 Final Report*, accessed on 7 October 2022, <https://digital-strategy.ec.europa.eu/en/library/broadband-coverage-europe-2021>; *Households with broadband access*, OECD Statistics, accessed on 7 October 2022, <https://data.oecd.org/broadband/households-with-broadband-access.html>.

Information on the coverage of the surveyed countries with the most efficient fixed broadband networks, the so-called next generation networks (NGA) are shown in Figure 3.

In addition to the growing availability of fixed broadband, mobile networks are starting to play an increasingly important role in ensuring efficient access to the Internet. This is primarily due to the technical progress taking place in this area, which led to the creation of the LTE standard in 2010, allowing for “data download” at a speed of up to 100 Mbit/s. Very good transmission parameters offered by this technology, previously unattainable for mobile networks, in connection with the convenience of mobile Internet use, translated into its rapid implementation and rapid spread on a global scale. This is shown in Figure 4.

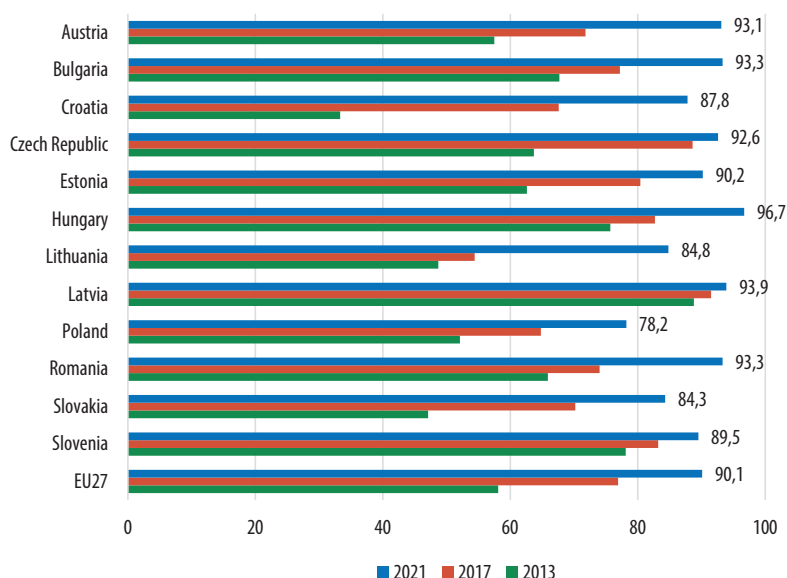


Figure 3. Coverage of the surveyed countries with NGA networks (VDSL, FTTx and DOCSIS 3.0 cable access) in 2013, 2017 and 2021 (in %)

Source: own study based on *Broadband Coverage in Europe 2013 Final Report*, accessed on 7 October 2022, http://ec.europa.eu/newsroom/dae/document.cfm?doc_id=8238; *Broadband Coverage in Europe 2017 Final Report*, accessed on 7 October 2022, <https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single-market/en/news/study-broadband-coverage-europe-2017>; *Broadband Coverage in Europe 2021 Final Report*, accessed on 7 October 2022, <https://digital-strategy.ec.europa.eu/en/library/broadband-coverage-europe-2021>; *Households with broadband access*, OECD Statistics, accessed on 7 October 2022, <https://data.oecd.org/broadband/households-with-broadband-access.html>.

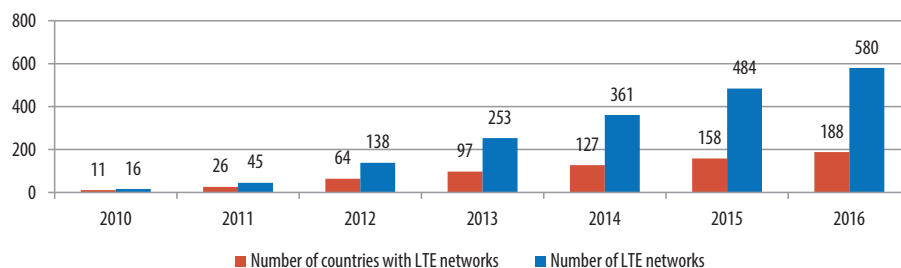


Figure 4. Increase in the number of LTE networks in use and the number of countries in which these networks were operated in 2010–2016

Source: *The Mobile Economy 2017*, GSMA Intelligence (2017), accessed on 10 April 2018, <https://www.gsmainelligence.com/research/?file=9e927fd6896724e7b26f33f61db5b9d5&download>.

The developed fixed broadband networks and innovative mobile networks in the LTE standard contribute both to the increase in the role of the Internet and to the acceleration of the convergence process of these networks, thanks to their ability to transmit voice, data and images, and the resulting possibilities of offering more and more extensive package services.

The growing availability of particular types of fixed broadband networks and modern mobile networks in the LTE standard translates into increasing speeds of the so-called downloading data from the Internet, which encourages the increasing use of Internet services. Information on the average speeds of the so-called data download in fixed and mobile networks measured in Mbit/s in November 2022 is presented in Figure 5.

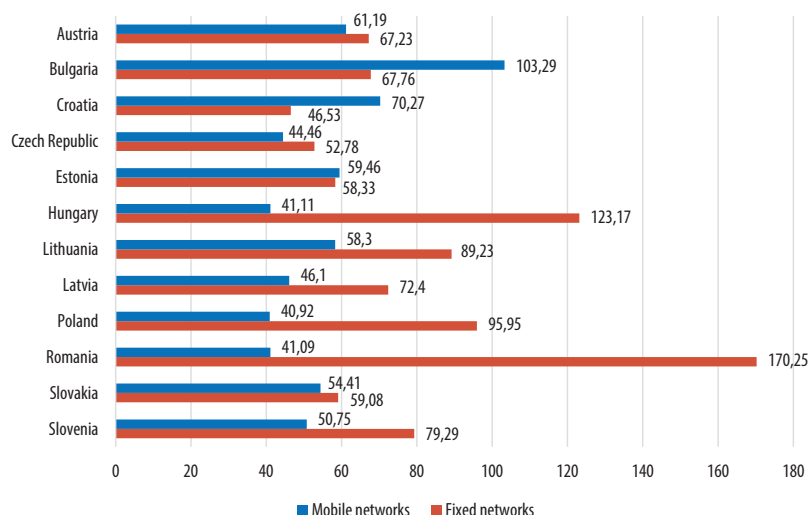


Figure 5. Data download speed in telecommunications networks in selected, surveyed countries in November-2022 in Mbit/s, broken down into fixed and mobile networks

Source: *Speedtest Global Index*, accessed on 30 December 2022, <https://www.speedtest.net/global-index>.

An attempt to assess the condition of the information and communication infrastructure of the Three Seas countries

Based on a general comparative assessment of the coverage of the Three Seas countries with fixed broadband networks, the most efficient fixed broadband networks (NGA), the use of LTE mobile networks by these countries, and the offered data download speeds in fixed and mobile networks, the following can be stated:

- In terms of coverage with fixed broadband networks, Croatia and the Czech Republic (99.9% coverage) and Austria (99% coverage) are leading countries among the Three Seas Initiative. The situation of Lithuania (88.8% coverage) and Poland (89.7% coverage) is the least favourable.
- In terms of coverage with the most efficient fixed broadband networks (NGA), the highest position among the Three Seas countries is occupied by Hungary (96.7%), and the lowest position by Poland (78.2%).
- In terms of data download speed in fixed-line networks, the best result is achieved by Romania (170.25 Mbit/s) and the weakest by Croatia (46.53 Mbit/s).
- While in terms of download speed in mobile networks, Bulgaria is the leader among the countries of the Three Seas Initiative (103.29 Mbit/s), and the weakest results are shown by Poland (40.92 Mbit/s) and Romania (41.09 Mbit/s).

In general, it can be concluded that among the Three Seas Initiative countries, Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, Romania, and Lithuania have a relatively strong position in terms of their information and communication infrastructure, which:

- Have a relatively high share of fixed broadband networks, including a large share of the most efficient next-generation (NGA) networks.
- They can also boast relatively good results in terms of data download speed in fixed and mobile networks.

However, these results are less impressive compared to the average results for the entire EU.

The presented results regarding the fixed and mobile information and communication network of the Three Seas Initiative countries indicate the need for its further improvement. This improvement should primarily focus on the following directions:

- Further expansion of modern broadband networks enabling the offering of the so-called triple service providing voice, image and data transmission,
- Developing the possibility of offering by fixed-line and mobile operators the so-called a quadruple service providing access to voice, video and data using fixed and mobile technology,
- Further migration of the networks of fixed-line operators and mobile operators towards the IP standard, allowing for the standardisation of the existing set of telecommunications networks, enabling rationalisation of the costs of maintaining and developing these networks.

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English version: Mark Atkinson

SUMMARY

In the scientific literature in the field of regional economy and economic policy, the subject of the so-called Three Seas is often taken up. It is most often indicated that this area covers 12 countries located between three seas: the Adriatic, the Baltic, and the Black Sea. The need to accelerate the development of this structure is often indicated by expanding the Three Seas

Infrastructure, especially energy, transport and information and communication infrastructure. The present article focuses on the latter one.

The considerations based on literature analysis allow us to assume that for the assessment of modern information and communication infrastructure a special role is played by the following criteria: the degree of country coverage with fixed broadband networks, the availability of modern mobile networks in the LTE standard, and the speed of data download in fixed and mobile networks.

To carry out a comparative assessment of the information and communication infrastructure of the Three Seas countries according to these criteria, the authors used the data presented by the statistical offices of these countries and the data of international telecommunications organisations. The assessment of the information and communication infrastructure of the Three Seas countries based on these criteria indicates qualitative discrepancies of these infrastructures, which is not supporting a suitable socio-economic development rate of this structure.

Therefore, an important task is to reduce the discrepancies observed in the studied area. According to the authors, this will primarily require:

- Further expansion of modern telecommunications fixed broadband networks,
- Further migration of fixed-line operators' networks of mobile operators' networks towards the IP standard.

Infrastruktura informacyjno-komunikacyjna jako ważne narzędzie rozwijania Trójmorza

Słowa kluczowe: Trójmorze, telekomunikacja, infrastruktura informacyjno-komunikacyjna

STRESZCZENIE

W literaturze naukowej z zakresu gospodarki regionalnej i polityki gospodarczej w ostatnim czasie często podejmowana jest tematyka tzw. Trójmorza. Najczęściej wskazuje się, że obszar ten obejmuje 12 państw zlokalizowanych między trzema morzami: Adriatykiem, Bałtykiem i Morzem Czarnym. Często wskazuje się na potrzebę zdynamizowania rozwoju tej struktury poprzez rozbudowę infrastruktury Trójmorza, w tym zwłaszcza infrastruktury energetycznej, transportowej i informacyjno-komunikacyjnej. W prezentowanym artykule skoncentrowano uwagę na tej ostatniej.

Przeprowadzone rozważania oparte na analizie literatury pozwalają przyjąć, że dla oceny współczesnej infrastruktury informacyjno-komunikacyjnej szczególnie rola przypada takim kryteriom jak: stopień pokrycia państw stacjonarnymi sieciami szerokopasmowymi, dysponowanie nowoczesnymi sieciami mobilnymi w standardzie LTE, prędkość ściągania danych w sieciach stacjonarnych i mobilnych.

Dla przeprowadzenia, według tych kryteriów, oceny porównawczej infrastruktury informacyjno-komunikacyjnej państw Trójmorza wykorzystano dane prezentowane przez urzędy statystyczne tych państw oraz dane międzynarodowych organizacji telekomunikacyjnych.

Dokonana na podstawie tych kryteriów ocena infrastruktury informacyjno-komunikacyjnej państw Trójmorza wskazuje na rozbieżności jakościowe tych infrastruktur, co nie sprzyja dynamizowaniu rozwoju społeczno-gospodarczego tej struktury.

Istotnym zadaniem jest więc doprowadzenie do ograniczenia obserwowanych w badanym obszarze rozbieżności. Zdaniem autorów będzie to przede wszystkim wymagało:

- dalszej rozbudowy nowoczesnych telekomunikacyjnych stacjonarnych sieci szerokopasmowych,
- dalszego migrowania sieci operatorów telefonii stacjonarnej sieci operatorów telefonii mobilnej w kierunku standardu IP.

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Sławomir Pytel

Instytut Geografii Społeczno-Ekonomicznej i Gospodarki Przestrzennej
Uniwersytet Śląski w Katowicach
slawomir.pytel@us.edu.pl
ORCID: 0000-0002-0886-5151

Agnieszka Piechota

Wydział Nauk o Ziemi
Uniwersytet Śląski w Katowicach
agnieszka.m.piechota@us.edu.pl
ORCID: 0000-0002-7318-925X

Are Coastal Cities Senior-Friendly?

Keywords: seniors in cities, availability of services, coastal cities, population aging

Introduction

The phenomenon of population ageing is a major challenge for society and, according to scientific projections, by 2060 more than 30 per cent of people will be over 65, while the age of 80 and over will have been reached by more than 12 per cent of the EU population. In 2021 in Poland, as indicated by the National Census, one in five respondents was 60 or older. Over the decade, there were more than 1.8 million senior citizens. Now, the elderly account for almost 23% of the population, and ten years ago they accounted for only 17%. As Kamińska, Ossowski¹ point out, the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries saw enhanced population ageing processes in many developed countries. Back in 2000, the global population of those aged 60 and over was estimated at 605 million, and this number is projected to have reached 2 billion by 2050. By then, the share of the seniors in the world population will be higher than the share of children aged 0–14.²

- 1 Wioletta Kamińska, Wojciech Ossowski, “Wieloaspektowa ocena procesów starzenia się ludności na obszarach wiejskich w Polsce,” *Biuletyn Komitetu Przestrzennego Zagospodarowania Kraju PAN* 267 (2017): 9–36.
- 2 Barry Mirkin, Mary B. Weinberger, “*The Demography of Population Ageing*”: Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (New York: United Nations Secretariat, 2000).

Not only is this mainly due to increasing life expectancy, but also to declining birth rates and a drop in fertility rates as well as changing family patterns. Senior citizens' lifestyle tends to change a lot. Some retirees decide to leave their place of residence and settle down in a different place, and so migration of retirees has now become an important new demographic phenomenon worldwide, in particular in developed countries. In many countries, the elderly are leaving their homes and coming to urban agglomerations where they have an easier life and better access to any services they need. The place of older people in society is a very important issue. It is seniors who ensure the transmission of traditions, culture and customs to the next generation.

In view of this fact, the aim of this study is to show the accessibility by migrant seniors to shops and pharmacies as basic daily services for this population group. It is assumed that retirees are flocking to large coastal cities in search of a higher quality of life. The research problem will be to identify whether the seniors' relocation has satisfied their need for accessibility to basic services they expect in urban public spaces and how many seniors have benefited therefrom. The authors' research is particularly relevant when considered against the guidelines of the Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing (MIPAA), which sees an opportunity to improve the quality of life of older people.

Large cities should consist of many multifunctional areas endowed with the institutions necessary for living. Adapting the city to the needs of senior citizens is a significant task for local governments. Seniors should be able to do their most important grocery and medical shopping within walking distance. Measures to make cities age-friendly require the creation of bold city policies. Due to demographic trends, implementing programmes to adapt cities to the needs of senior citizens seems unavoidable in the near future.

Literature review

A comprehensive literature review was carried out to identify the needs of the elderly in using public spaces. It provided a research background as well as a list of criteria to identify the major services for seniors.

Global literature on migration among retirees is very rich, therefore it is impossible to discuss all of it, and only the most relevant pieces can be focused on. The most important foreign studies on elderly migration include works by e.g.: Wiseman,³ Litwak, Longino,⁴

3 Robert F. Wiseman, "Why Older People Move," *Research on Ageing* 2 (1980): 141–154.

4 Eugene Litwak, Charles F. Longino, "Migration Patterns among the Elderly: A Developmental Perspective," *The Gerontologist* 27 (1987): 266–272.

Colsher, Wallach,⁵ Rogers,⁶ Haas, Serow,⁷ Cuba, Hummon,⁸ King, Warers, Wiliams,⁹ Plane, Rogerson,¹⁰ Fokkema,¹¹ Liaw, Ledent.¹²

Graves and Knapp¹³ imply that the migration of older people is influenced by characteristics such as age, income, level of human capital, family situation, cultural amenities, climate, quality of the natural and social environment, provision of local public goods and the local tax system. Increases in retiree income, longer life expectancy and early retirement according to Rappaport¹⁴ have led to the emergence of affluent and mobile retirees who want to change their lifestyles. Similar conclusions were reached by Graves and Knapp,¹⁵ who, taking into account mobility preferences, indicated that retirees have a clear preference for destinations with higher wages and low housing prices. Housing adjustment as an important aspect in the migration decision process is also identified in the studies by Christel,¹⁶ Gobillon and Le Blanc.¹⁷ Newbold¹⁸ argues that elderly migration has an economic impact on its destinations and plays an important role in the distribution of income in different regions as it affects the establishment of hospitals and cultural facilities for seniors and, as a consequence, fewer schools and sports facilities are built.

- 5 Patricia L. Colsher, Robert B. Wallace, "Health and Other Social Antecedents of Relocation in a Rural Elderly Person," *Journal of Gerontology* 45 (1990), 1: 32–38.
- 6 Andrei Rogers, "Return Migration to the Region of Birth Among Retirement-age Persons in the United States," *Journal of Gerontology* 45 (1990), 3: 128–134.
- 7 William H. Haas III, William J. Serow, "Amenity Retirement Migration Process: A Model and Preliminary Evidence," *The Gerontologist* 33 (1993): 212–220.
- 8 Lee Cuba, David M. Hummon, "Constructing a Sense of Home: Place Affiliation and Migration Across the Life Cycle," *Sociological Forum* 8 (1993), 4: 547–572.
- 9 Russell King, Anthony M. Warnes, Allan Williams, "International Retirement Migration in Europe," *International Journal of Population Geography* 4 (1998), 2: 91–111.
- 10 David A. Plane, Peter A. Rogerson, "Tracking the Baby Boom, the Baby Bust, and the Echo Generations," *How Age Composition Regulates US Migration. The Professional Geographer* 43 (1991), 4: 416–430.
- 11 Tineke Fokkema, Jenny Gierveld, and Peter Nijkamp, "Big Cities, Big Problems: Reason for the Elderly to Move?" *Urban Studies* 33 (1996), 2: 353–377.
- 12 Kao-Lee Liaw, Jacques Ledent, "Joint Effects of Ecological and Personal Factors on Elderly Interprovincial Migration in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Regional Science* 11 (1988), 1: 77–100.
- 13 Philip E. Graves, Thomas A. Knapp, "Mobility Behavior of the Elderly," *Journal of Urban Economics* 24 (1988): 1–8.
- 14 Jordan Rappaport, "Moving to Nice Weather," *Regional Science and Urban Economics* 37 (2007), 3: 375–398.
- 15 Philip E. Graves, Thomas A. Knapp, "Mobility Behavior of the Elderly," *Journal of Urban Economics* 24 (1988): 1–8.
- 16 Virginie Christel, "Trajectoires résidentielles des personnes âgées," *Données Sociales, La société française* 1 (2006): 525–529.
- 17 Laurent Gobillon, David Le Blanc, "L'impact des contraintes d'emprunt sur la mobilité résidentielle et les choix entre location et propriété," *Annales d'économie et de statistique* 1 (2004): 15–45.
- 18 Bruce K. Newbold, "Interprovincial Migration and Retirement Income Transfers Among Canada's Older Population: 1996–2001," *Environment and Planning* 40 (2008), 6: 1501–1516.

Despite the fact that research on the migration of Polish pensioners has not often been undertaken, the migration abroad and in large cities of Polish seniors has already been studied by Kałuża – Kopias,¹⁹ Kurek,²⁰ and Walford, Kurek.²¹ The reasons for senior migration have been signalled in recent years in Poland in studies by Pytel, Rahmonov,²² Pytel,²³ Jankowski, Pytel,²⁴ and Kałuża, Damińska.²⁵

Among the studies that have been carried out on urban accessibility, particular attention should be paid to the papers that analyse the social and spatial relationships in a city. Many researchers point to the importance of the concept of Universal Design. These include Colleoni,²⁶ Pafka, Dovey, Aschwanden,²⁷ Tang, Wong, Tang, Wai Wong,²⁸ Alonso López,²⁹ Arjona,³⁰ Bianco.³¹ They indicate, among others,

- 19 Dorota Kałuża-Kopias, "Migracje seniorów w największych miastach w Polsce," in: *Przestrzenne zróżnicowanie starzenia się ludności Polski, przyczyny, etapy, następstwa*, ed. Jerzy T. Kowaleski (Łódź: Wydawnictwo UŁ, 2012), 69–107; eadem, "Charakterystyka demograficzna imigrantów po sześćdziesiątym roku życia – Polska," *Acta Universitatis Lodzensis. Folia Oeconomica* 291 (2013): 265–277.
- 20 Sławomir Kurek, "Migration of the Elderly in Poland in 1991–2001," *Bulletin of Geography, Socio-Economic Series* 5 (2006): 161–172; idem, "Double Transitions? Regional Patterns of Population Ageing in Poland," *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 93 (2011), 2: 163–184; idem, "Przestrzenne zróżnicowanie przemian demograficznych w Polsce w latach 2002–2011," *Space-Society-Economy* 13 (2014): 43–74.
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- 25 Dorota Kałuża, Justyna Damińska, "Imigranci i emigranci po 60. roku życia w Polsce, in: *Starość i starzenie się jako doświadczenie jednostek i zbiorowości ludzkich*, eds. Jerzy T. Kowaleski, Piotr Szukalski (Łódź: Zakład Demografii UŁ, 2006), 414–420.
- 26 Matteo Colleoni, "A Social Science Approach to the Study of Mobility: An Introduction," in: *Understanding Mobilities for Designing Contemporary Cities*, eds. Paola Pucci, Matteo Colleoni (Cham: Springer, 2016), 23–33.
- 27 Elek Pafka, Kim Dovey, Gideon DPA Aschwanden, "Limits of Space Syntax for Urban Design: Axiality, Scale and Sinuosity," *Urban Analytics and City Science* 47 (2020), 3: 508–522.
- 28 Bo-Sin Tang, Kenneth KH Wong, Kenneth SS Tang, Siu Wai Wong, "Walking Accessibility to Neighbourhood Open Space in a Multi-level Urban Environment of Hong Kong," *Environment and Planning B: Urban Analytics and City Science* 48 (2021), 5: 1340–1356.
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- 30 Gonzalo Arjona, *La accesibilidad y el diseño universal entendido por todos. De cómo Stephen Hawking viajó por el espacio* (Granada: La Ciudad Accesible, 2015).
- 31 Lino Bianco, "Universal Design: From Design Philosophy to Applied Science," *Journal of Accessibility and Design for All* 10 (2020), 1: 70–97.

that Universal Design (UD) seeks to maximise accessibility for all members of society and help people with diverse abilities so that all benefit. It contributes to promoting access to goods and services, taking into account the needs of those users whose functioning is limited in some aspect. Calonge-Reillo,³² and Cocco, Alonso-López,³³ also focused on universal urban accessibility for city dwellers. La Rosa et al.³⁴ consider the accessibility requirements and preferences of different social groups, such as children and the elderly. Many studies focus on the specific accessibility needs of the elderly (Iwarsson, Wilson,³⁵ Pacheco,³⁶ Puyuelo, Gual,³⁷ Yung, Conejos, Chan.³⁸)

Research concepts

For a senior citizen to make the decision to migrate and identify a new place to live that meets all their needs is incredibly difficult and only a few choose to do so.

Two research concepts were applied in the study: Wolpert's³⁹ and the 15-minute city. The Wolpert's approach assumes that the utility of a given place, the individual's level of aspiration, the space for action and the life-cycle phase of a particular person are fundamental to migrant behaviour, including that of migrant-retirees. For Wolpert, the utility of a given place, is the sum of the benefits that a migrant can obtain, as he states that a migrant is a person aiming at achieving a sufficient level of satisfying his/her needs, and if he/she is below this level, he/she will strive to find a new place of action, and the search process is variable with the age and life cycle phase.

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- 32 Fernando Calonge-Reillo, "Recursos de movilidad y accesibilidad urbana en los municipios del sur del área metropolitana de Guadalajara, México," *Urbano* 21 (2018): 48–57.
 - 33 Francesco Cocco, Fernando Alonso López, "Ajustes razonables en la rehabilitación de polígonos de viviendas: Aplicación al barrio Montserrat de Terrassa (Barcelona)," *ACE: Architecture, City and Environment* 10 (2015), 29: 31–58.
 - 34 Daniele La Rosa, Chika Takatori, Hiroyuki Shimizu, Riccardo Privitera, "A Planning Framework to Evaluate Demands and Preferences by Different Social Groups for Accessibility to Urban Greenspaces," *Sustainable Cities and Society* 36 (2018): 346–362.
 - 35 Susanne Iwarsson, Git Wilson, "Environmental Barriers, Functional Limitations, and Housing Satisfaction Among Older People in Sweden: A Longitudinal Perspective on Housing Accessibility," *Technology and Disability* 18 (2006), 2: 57–66.
 - 36 Andrea Pacheco Barzallo, "Espacio público y envejecimiento activo en los barrios Bardegual y Los Llanos," *Territorios en Formación* 11 (2017): 101–119.
 - 37 Marina Puyuelo, Jaume Gual: "Diseño prospectivo y elementos de uso en parques urbanos a partir de la experiencia de las personas mayores," *Medio Ambiente y Comportamiento Humano* 10 (2009), 1y2: 137–160.
 - 38 Esther HK Yung, Sheila Conejos, Edwin HW Chan, "Social Needs of the Elderly and Active Aging in Public Open Spaces in Urban Renewal," *Cities* 52 (2016): 114–122.
 - 39 Julian Wolpert, "Behavioral Aspects of the Decision to Migrate," *Papers of the Regional Science Association, Springer-Verlag* 15 (1965), 1: 159–169.

The 15-minute city concept seems to have become an answer to the emerging problems of ageing cities. It was described and presented in 2016 by Moreno. The idea was popularised by Anne Hidalgo, Mayor of Paris, who turned the idea of the 15-minute city into an important element of her campaign when she ran for re-election in 2020. The guiding principle of the proposed 15-minute city is to organise the structure of the city in such a way that each inhabitant can meet most, if not all, of their daily needs in a standard quarter of an hour on foot or by bicycle. It is about planning housing development according to the simplest conceivable principle of proximity. There should be, among others, workplaces, schools, medical centres, shops, offices, parks, as well as public transport within this time span - all what ensures a wider contact with the city. The city dweller should be able to access basic services, including green areas for leisure and recreation.

Research materials and methods

Research was carried out on the basis of an acquired senior migration database starting from 2021 in order to show their accessibility to the services addressed to them, i.e., shops and pharmacies. The database contained their addresses, age, and gender. Thanks to it, the place of residence of the senior citizen upon arrival in the large coastal cities was established. The database was obtained from the Centre for Information Technology (COI). The data on the location of pharmacies, grocery stores and minimarkets within the surveyed towns was another one to have been obtained. The databases used in the spatial study came from the open resources of the National Geoportal - the Database of Topographic Objects (BDOT) and were verified and updated using data from OpenStreetMap (OSM) and ArcGIS Online resources. With these sources, it was possible to determine the accessibility of seniors to the major service they use. Pomeranian cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants were selected as the study focus area, i.e., Gdansk, Szczecin, Gdynia, and Koszalin.

Having analysed different methods of measuring spatial accessibility to public services (Guagliardo,⁴⁰ Yang, Goerge, Mullner,⁴¹ Wang⁴²), the authors adopted the following research procedure:

1. The number and location of all seniors who flowed into the studied cities in 2021 were identified.

40 Mark F. Guagliardo, "Spatial Accessibility of Primary Care: Concepts, Methods and Challenges," *International Journal of Health Geographics* 3 (2004), 1: 1–13.

41 Duck-Hye Yang, Robert Goerge, Ross Mullner, "Comparing GIS-based Methods of Measuring Spatial Accessibility to Health Services," *Journal of Medical Systems* 30 (2006), 1: 23–32.

42 Fahui Wang, *Quantitative Methods and Socio-economic Applications in GIS* (Boca Raton: CRC Press, 2014).

2. The location of all services rated as most important was identified, and then shops and pharmacies were selected for further analysis.
3. Buffers to the selected service within 15 minutes or 775 metres from the senior's residence were established.
4. The total number of pharmacies and shops in the buffer was counted.

In this study, an analysis of the accessibility within pedestrian time of up to 15 minutes was carried out with an elderly person's walking speed of 3.1 km/h (Rudzik, Nawrat-Szołtysik⁴³). The acquired data were operationalised using ArcGIS software and mathematical calculations.

In Poland, the starting point of the elderly age is formally defined by the Act of 11 September 2015 on the elderly, in which, Article 4 defines an elderly person as a person who has turned 60 years of age. According to the definition proposed by the World Health Organisation (WHO), the limit for the onset of old age is also 60 years, while according to the United Nations (UN) it is 65 years. For their study, the authors assumed that a senior citizen is a person who has reached the age of 60 for women and 65 for men.

A migrant is defined as a person who has arrived in a municipality for the purpose of residence, either internally or externally, and has confirmed the fact of arrival by registering with the authorities.

Demographic and economic changes in coastal cities

Demographic changes in the regained lands had a major impact on the population processes in the post-war years. According to Szymańska,⁴⁴ the structure of the settlement network of the coastal regions between 1950 and 2004 was transformed in the demographic, social and economic spheres. Changes in the demographic potential of cities became a particular expression of those transformations. Overall, the coastal regions saw an increase in the number of cities from 90 to 104 between 1950 and 2004, respectively. The demographic growth rate in the urban population was much higher in that period, as all cities had a total of 971,300 inhabitants in 1950, and as many as 2,639,300 in 2004. This was confirmed by Rydz, Zaleski,⁴⁵ who indicated that between 1950 and 1988 coastal

43 Marcin Rudzki, Agnieszka Nawrat-Szołtysik, "Monitoring parametrów chodu osób w podeszłym wieku wsparciem dla ich opiekunów i fizjoterapeutów," *Acta Bio-Optica et Informatica Medica, Inżynieria Biomedyczna* 22 (2016), 4: 273–280.

44 Wioletta Szymańska, "Rozwój demograficzny miast średniej wielkości na tle przemian ludnościowych regionów nadmorskich (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Wałcza, Szczecinka i Lęborka)," *Słupskie Prace Geograficzne* 3 (2007): 55–72.

45 Eugeniusz Rydz, Jerzy Zaleski, *Rola i funkcje Słupska na tle sieci osadniczej Środkowego Wybrzeża* (Słupsk: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna, 1992).

regions were characterised by a constant and uninterrupted surge in the urban population. This was due not only to the intensive demographic development of cities, but also to the rising level of urbanisation, reflected particularly in the years 1965–1980 by increased migration from the countryside to cities as a result of the increasingly intensive industrialisation of urban centres. Rydz⁴⁶ points out that the contemporary network of urban settlements in Pomerania has resulted from the overlapping of various factors, of which the most important were historical elements, economic and political transformations and demographic processes. This is because the historical factor led to the formation of the basic foundations of today's urban network, while the other factors, interpenetrating each other, influenced the pace of urban growth processes and the forms of urban life associated therewith.

Cicharska⁴⁷ points to an important trend present in Pomeranian cities. In her work, she discusses the irreversible process of population ageing, which is also noticeable throughout the country. This phenomenon could be halted by introducing favourable changes in the national family and pro-natalist policies, as well as the providing of appropriate care conditions.

The coastal cities selected for the study are complex organisms in economic terms. The analysis of economic growth shows that in three cities: Gdansk, Gdynia, and Szczecin, the main driving force is the developed seaport. Furthermore, the services and industrial sectors play a significant role there. In Koszalin, a lower economic growth in comparison to the one in the aforementioned cities is due to the fact that the city mainly relies on the service sector. An analysis of employment shows that Gdansk and Gdynia concentrate a large number of jobs in the maritime sector, services, tourism and other industries. Industry and the seaport are also major employers in Szczecin, while in Koszalin employment tends to be concentrated in the service sector and industry. The highest standard of living is observed in Gdansk and Gdynia due to well-developed service sector, high standard of infrastructure, and tourism. A relatively high standard of living is recorded in Szczecin and an average one in Koszalin. Well-developed infrastructure, transport and communication networks are in Gdansk and Gdynia. However, in Szczecin there is good infrastructure, too, especially related to the seaport. In Koszalin the infrastructure is the least developed out of the analysed cities.

46 Eugeniusz Rydz, "Miejska sieć osadnicza makroregionu północnego," *Koszalińskie Studia i Materiały* 1 (1979): 5–17.

47 Aleksandra Cicharska, "Przemiany demograficzne w małych miastach województwa pomorskiego," *Problemy Rozwoju Miast* 3 (2014): 13–20.

Results

Nowadays, in coastal voivodeships, as well as throughout Poland, a steady growth in the proportion of post-working age persons is observed. This process is particularly evident in the West Pomeranian Voivodeship, where the proportion of senior citizens increased from 17% to 24% in 2012 and 2021, respectively. The percentage of those in the post-working age group significantly exceeds average values for Poland. The most difficult demographic situation is in Koszalin with almost 28% of residents in the post-working age group. It is also difficult in Gdynia and Szczecin, yet slightly better in Gdansk, where more than 24% of senior citizens reside, but as many as 18% are in the pre-working age (Table 1).

Table 1. Demographic structure of the large cities of Pomerania in 2021

CITY	Population	% of residents in working age	% in pre-working age	% in post-working age
Gdansk	470,621	57.2	18.3	24.5
Szczecin	395,513	57.3	16.5	26.1
Gdynia	243,918	56.8	16.5	26.7
Koszalin	104,994	55.8	16.5	27.6
Polska	38,080,411	59.2	18.2	22.6

Source: own elaboration based on stat.gov.pl.

An analysis of the demographic structure of the large coastal cities shows that the ageing of their population is well advanced. The study conducted in the largest cities of Pomerania shows that since 2012, when the level in all cities oscillated around 21%, in Koszalin it increased to over 27%. The general tendency is worse in the voivodeships, for example in the West Pomeranian Voivodeship the percentage of the population in the post-working age group rose from 17 to 24% (Figure 1 and 2).

The COVID-19 pandemic had a considerable impact on the age structure of the population of large cities in both Poland and Pomerania. This can be most clearly observed in Gdansk, where the share of those in the post-working age group dropped by 1% in 2020.

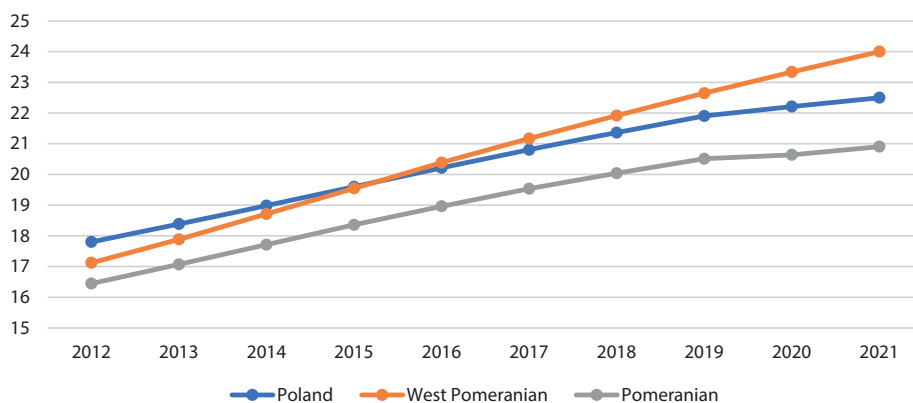


Figure 1. Percentage share of the post-working age population in the population structure

Source: own work on the basis of stat.gov.pl.

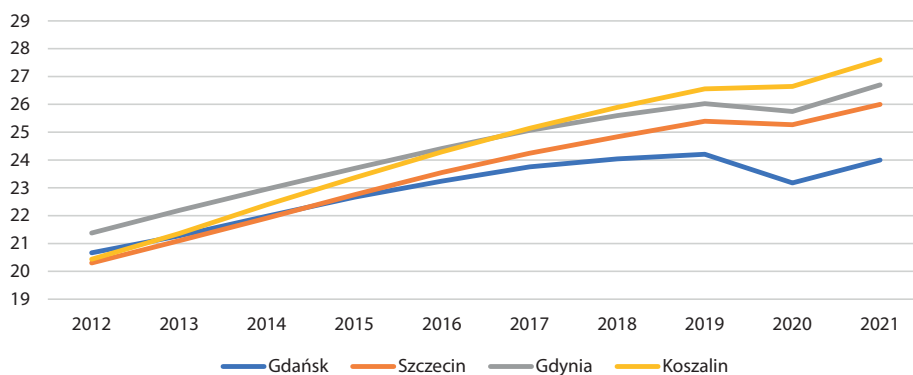


Figure 2. Percentage share of the post-working age population in the population structure of the largest Pomeranian cities.

Source: own work on the basis of stat.gov.pl.

Elderly migrations

The age structure of the population of Pomeranian cities is further influenced by senior migrants. In 2021, 865 seniors migrated to the analysed cities, with 317 to Gdansk, 214 to Szczecin and 216 to Gdynia. One hundred and nineteen people migrated to Koszalin. The oldest person to arrive in Szczecin was born in 1920, in Gdansk in 1926, in Gdynia in 1924 and in Koszalin in 1924, with women significantly dominating the inflow to all cities. Seniors mainly flowed into all the cities analysed from the municipalities closest to them (Table 2).

Table 2. Number of males and females arriving in the selected cities in 2021

CITY	females	males	total
Koszalin	87	32	119
Gdynia	145	71	216
Gdansk	236	81	317
Szczecin	151	63	214

Source: own elaboration based on COI.

Over the next decade, the number of senior citizens among city users is bound to increase. This will be a consequence of both migration flows and increasing life expectancy. Studies of the directions of inflow indicate that the more attractive the city with easy access to services, the greater the distance from which seniors are coming. This is particularly evident in Gdansk, Szczecin or even Gdynia (Figure. 3 and 4). The situation is different in Koszalin, which receives mainly residents of the surrounding municipalities (Fig. 4). This results in new challenges for the cities, particularly in terms of making changes to the local environments, adapting the place of residence to the changing age structure of the population and, consequently, to their changing needs. The increase in the proportion of older people in society, who think differently from young people and who are aware of their greater biological limitations, is forcing important transformations in the functioning of cities.

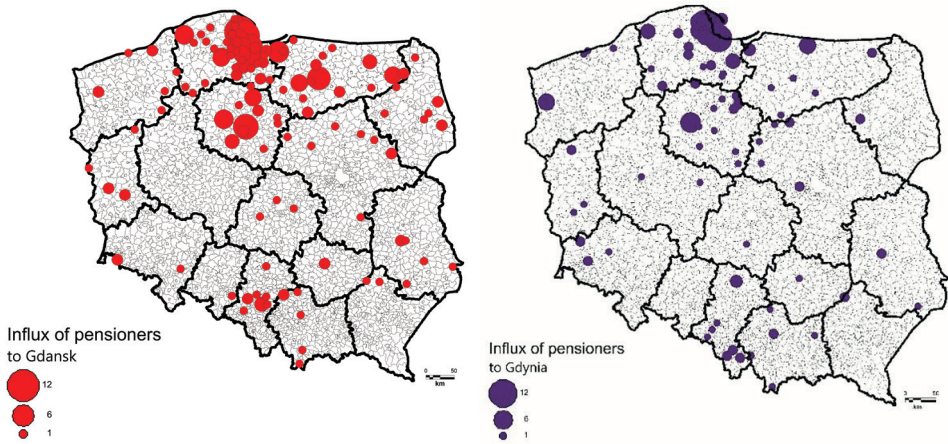


Figure 3. Municipalities with an influx of seniors to Gdansk and Gdynia in 2021

Source: own elaboration based on COI.

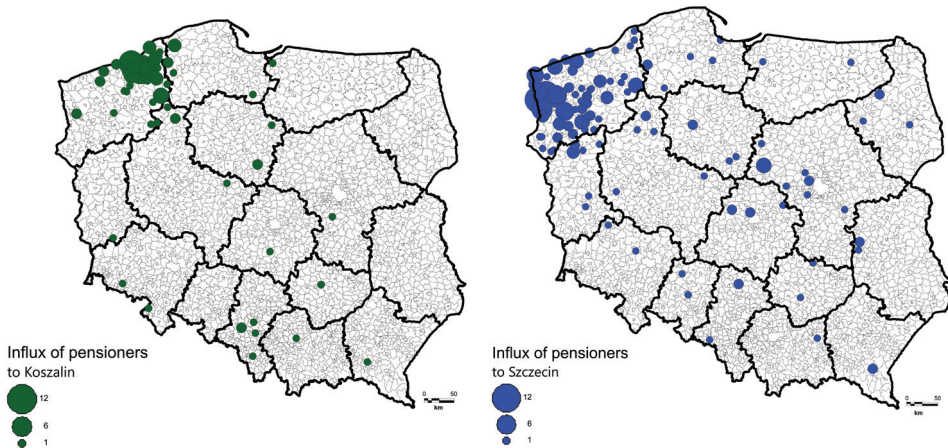


Figure 4. Municipalities with an influx of seniors to Koszalin and Szczecin in 2021

Source: own elaboration based on COI.

Analysis regarding seniors' accessibility to shops and pharmacies shows that this varies greatly in each of the cities analysed. In Gdansk and Szczecin, almost 20% of seniors had access to more than 30 shops within 15 minutes (Table 3 and 6, Figure 5 and 6). Three senior migrants in Szczecin had access to more than 80 shops within 775 m. As far as pharmacies are concerned, the situation was definitely the most favourable in Koszalin, where almost 20% of seniors had access to more than 10 pharmacies at a 15-minute distance. At the same time, the study indicated that almost 14% of seniors have no access to pharmacies within this distance and more than 8% of seniors have

no access to shops (Table 5). Residents of Gdynia face by far the most difficult situation, as only 6% of seniors there have access to more than 10 pharmacies within a 15-minute walking distance (Table 4, Figure. 5). In all the cities, except for Koszalin, seniors have very good access to shops and only about 1 to 2 % need to walk longer than 15 minutes to do their shopping (Figure 6).

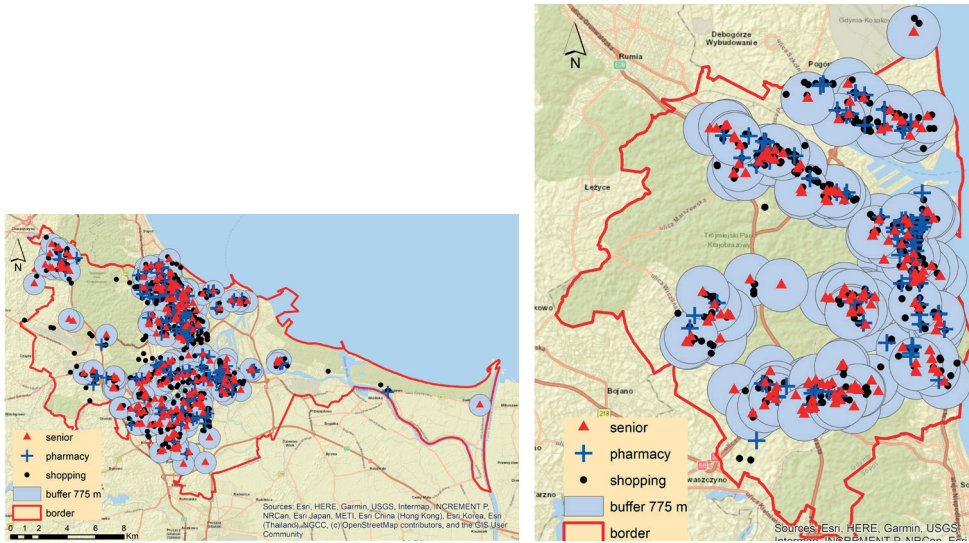


Figure 5. Location of shops and pharmacies in relation to the residence of senior citizens – migrants in Gdansk and Gdynia

Source: own compilation based on COI and BDOT.

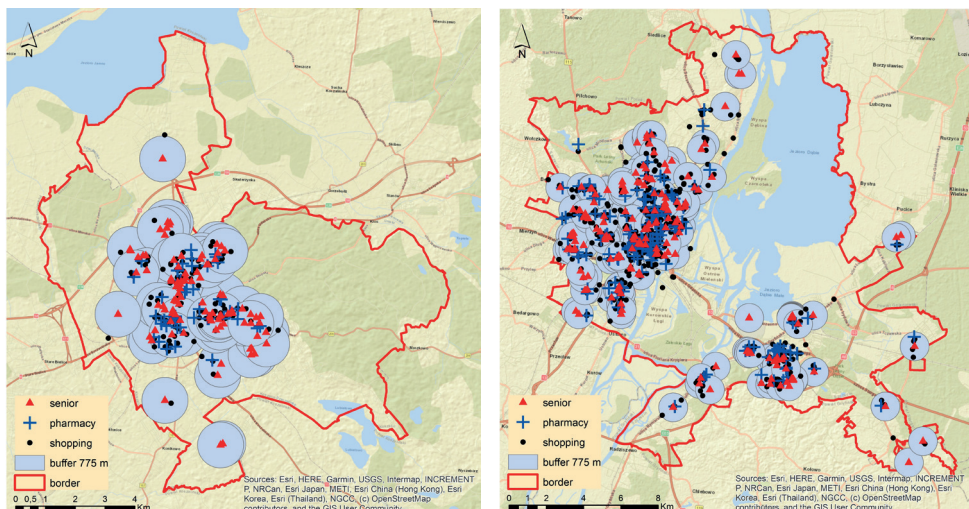


Figure 6. Location of shops and pharmacies in relation to the residence of seniors – migrants in Koszalin and Szczecin

Source: own compilation based on COI and BDOT.

Table 3. Access of seniors to shops and pharmacies in Gdansk

% of seniors with access to shops in Gdansk	number of shops within 775 m from the residence of a senior citizen in Gdansk	% of seniors with access to pharmacies in Gdansk	number of pharmacies within 775 m from the residence of a senior citizen in Gdansk
1	2	3	4
0.32	64	1.28	14
1.28	56	1.28	12
0.32	54	1.28	11
0.64	52	4.47	10
0.32	48	4.79	9
0.96	47	2.56	8
0.64	46	7.99	7
1.92	44	5.43	6
0.32	42	7.99	5
0.96	41	12.78	4
0.64	40	12.78	3
0.32	39	9.27	2
2.56	38	17.57	1
1.28	37	10.54	0
0.96	36		
0.64	35		
0.32	34		
1.92	33		
0.64	31		
2.88	30		
2.24	29		
1.60	28		
0.64	27		
0.96	26		
0.96	25		
1.92	24		
0.64	23		
2.24	22		

1	2	3	4
1.60	21		
4.47	20		
1.92	19		
7.67	18		
2.56	17		
4.47	16		
8.63	15		
3.51	14		
2.24	13		
2.56	12		
0.96	11		
4.15	10		
3.51	9		
1.28	8		
2.88	7		
3.83	6		
5.43	5		
2.56	4		
1.28	3		
0.64	2		
1.28	1		
1.60	0		

Source: own elaboration based on COI and BDOT.

Table 4. Access of seniors to shops and pharmacies in Gdynia

% of seniors with access to shops in Gdynia	number of shops within 775 m from the residence of a senior citizen in Gdynia	% of seniors with access to pharmacies in Gdynia	number of pharmacies within 775 m from the residence of a senior citizen in Gdynia
1	2	3	4
0.93	61	0.93	21
0.47	56	0.47	19
0.47	53	0.93	16

1	2	3	4
0.93	47	0.93	13
0.47	44	2.79	10
1.86	42	0.93	9
0.47	39	2.79	8
0.47	34	2.79	7
0.47	32	1.86	6
0.47	31	17.67	5
2.79	30	15.81	4
0.47	29	14.42	3
0.93	28	10.70	2
1.86	27	18.14	1
3.26	26	8.84	0
0.47	25		
2.33	24		
1.40	22		
0.47	21		
3.26	20		
5.58	19		
2.33	18		
7.44	17		
3.26	16		
1.86	15		
5.12	14		
5.58	13		
6.51	12		
5.58	11		
6.05	10		
5.58	9		
3.72	8		
3.72	7		
2.33	6		
3.72	5		

1	2	3	4
6.05	4		
0.47	2		
0.47	1		
0.47	0		

Source: own elaboration based on COI and BDOT.

Table 5. Access of seniors to shops and pharmacies in Koszalin

% of seniors with access to shops in Koszalin	number of shops within 775 m from the residence of a senior citizen in Koszalin	% of seniors with access to pharmacies in Koszalin	number of pharmacies within 775 m from the residence of a senior citizen in Koszalin
1	2	3	4
0.86	29	1.72	14
1.72	27	1.72	13
4.31	26	2.59	12
3.45	25	6.90	11
6.03	24	4.31	10
2.59	23	7.76	9
2.59	22	7.76	8
6.03	21	12.93	7
3.45	20	10.34	6
10.34	19	2.59	5
5.17	18	8.62	4
0.86	17	3.45	3
1.72	16	6.90	2
2.59	15	8.62	1
4.31	14	13.79	0
0.86	13		
2.59	12		
2.59	11		
1.72	10		
0.86	9		
6.03	8		
2.59	7		

1	2	3	4
0.86	6		
1.72	5		
2.59	4		
2.59	3		
8.62	2		
1.72	1		
8.62	0		

Source: own elaboration based on COI and BDOT.

Table 6. Access of seniors to shops and pharmacies in Szczecin

% of seniors with access to shops in Szczecin	number of shops within 775 m from the residence of a senior citizen in Szczecin	% of seniors with access to pharmacies in Szczecin	number of pharmacies within 775m from the residence of a senior citizen in Szczecin
1	2	3	4
0.46	89	0.46	24
0.46	87	0.92	20
0.46	82	0.46	19
0.46	79	1.38	18
0.46	76	0.92	15
0.92	67	0.92	14
0.46	65	3.67	13
0.92	63	1.38	12
1.38	62	1.83	11
0.46	59	3.67	10
0.46	58	1.38	9
0.46	57	0.92	8
1.38	56	6.88	7
0.92	49	4.13	6
0.92	48	3.67	5
0.92	45	11.01	4
0.46	44	5.96	3
0.46	41	22.02	2

1	2	3	4
0.92	37	22.02	1
1.83	35	6.4	0
0.92	32		
1.38	30		
1.38	27		
0.46	26		
1.38	25		
1.83	24		
3.67	23		
0.46	22		
0.46	21		
1.38	19		
1.83	18		
6.42	17		
3.21	16		
1.83	15		
3.21	14		
1.83	13		
4.59	12		
5.50	11		
4.13	10		
4.13	9		
6.42	8		
2.75	7		
3.67	6		
5.05	5		
6.88	4		
2.29	3		
3.67	2		
1.83	1		
2.29	0		

Source: own elaboration based on COI and BDOT.

Discussion

With an increasingly ageing population in our cities and a growing influx of seniors into towns and cities, the adaptation of services to the elderly is vital when planning them. In the world of literature, there are numerous studies on the accessibility of different services for the elderly, which support the research carried out in this article. Distance to services has a significant impact on their accessibility for seniors. This is particularly important in terms of daily mobility. As Peace⁴⁸ rightly observed, unfriendly streets force older people experiencing temporary or permanent incapacity to limit their activities to visiting only the closest public facilities, even if their quality is considerably lower than those at a greater distance. The studies have consistently shown that the ability to move outside the home is essential for maintaining quality of life (Banister, Bowling,⁴⁹ Golob, Hensher,⁵⁰ Mollenkopf et. al.,⁵¹ Schmocker et. al.⁵²). Moving out of home not only aims to meet basic needs such as buying groceries or medical supplies, but also involves more frequent visits to the doctor or even the hospital.

Research by Ariste,⁵³ sought to determine the extent to which the distribution of health professionals and seniors in urban and rural Canada differed from each other and from the national average. The results indicated that there were twice as many nurses per 1,000 seniors in urban Canada than in rural Canada. However, the gap was threefold for physicians. Research on access to health care was also conducted by Shah, Milosavljevic, Bath.⁵⁴ Using the two-step floating catchment area (2SFCA) method and census tracts, the authors sought to identify potential inequalities in access to medical care. The results show that Alberta has a better overall provincial access score

48 Sheila Peace, "The Activity Patterns of Elderly People in Swansea, South Wales, and South-East England," in: *Geographical Perspectives on the Elderly*, ed. Anthony Warnes, 281–301 (Chichester: John Wiley, 1982).

49 David Banister, Ann Bowling, "Quality of Life for the Elderly: The Transport Dimension," *Transport Policy* 11 (2004), 2: 105–115.

50 Thomas F. Golob, David A. Hensher, "The Trip Chaining Activity of Sydney Residents: A Cross-section Assessment by Age Group with a Focus on Seniors," *Journal of Transport Geography* 15 (2007), 4: 298–312.

51 Heidrun Mollenkopf, Fiorella Marcellini, Isto Ruoppila, eds. *Enhancing Mobility in Later Life: Personal Coping, Environmental Resources and Technical Support; the Out-of-home Mobility of Older Adults in Urban and Rural Regions of Five European Countries*, vol. 17 (Amsterdam: IOS Press, 2005).

52 Jan-Dirk Schmöcker, Mohammed Quddus, Robert B. Noland, Michael G.H. Bell, "Mode Choice of Older and Disabled People: A Case Study of Shopping Trips in London," *Journal of Transport Geography* 16 (2008), 4: 257–267.

53 Ruolz Ariste, "Availability of Health Workforce in Urban and Rural Areas in Relation to Canadian Seniors," *The International Journal of Health Planning and Management* 34 (2019), 2: 510–520.

54 Tayyab Ikram Shah, Stephan Milosavljevic, Brenna Bath, "Determining Geographic Accessibility of Family Physician and Nurse Practitioner Services in Relation to the Distribution of Seniors Within Two Canadian Prairie Provinces," *Social Science & Medicine* 194 (2017): 96–104.

than Saskatchewan for both GPs and nurses collectively (11.37 vs 9.77). The results also show that the GP and nurse services are likely to address the gap in access to primary health care. However, the combined access results uncovered inequalities in access to primary health care services for older people in both regions, particularly in rural communities. This research confirms the results obtained by the authors of this paper. Seniors living in peripheral areas face difficulties in accessing the services addressed to them, whereas living in the city centre offers excellent access to many shops and pharmacies.

Accessibility planning is a key alternative to mobility planning. This issue was addressed by Arranz-López, Soria-Lara, Witlox, Páez⁵⁵ indicating that accessibility varies from location to location; it also changes as a result of differences in individual willingness to reach destinations by specific modes of transport. The authors assessed non-motorised accessibility (walking and cycling) to three types of retail activities: daily, weekly, and occasional. The researchers' results indicated that the willingness of seniors (>65 years) to reach retail shops on foot differed significantly from young employed, young unemployed and adults. The research showed how measurements of relative accessibility can predict potential risk of social exclusion. In the coastal cities studied by the authors of this paper, only about 1 to 2 % of seniors could not access shops and about 10 % could not access pharmacies. These findings indicate that seniors living in large cities are not at risk of social exclusion.

A similar study of the inter-relationship between locationally disadvantaged communities and poor transport services was conducted by Engels, Liu.⁵⁶ They indicated that limited access to private and public transport is often identified as a major contributor to social isolation and economic poverty. The authors highlight that to date, insufficient research attention has focused on seniors, and it is seniors who are often subject to social exclusion. The main reason for exclusion is the difficulty of travelling away from home to access services and amenities. The researchers analysed a municipality with large spatial concentrations of seniors, some of whom do not have easy access to a car. Using various data sources for the municipality of Melbourne, they showed that the social exclusion of non-car driving seniors is further exacerbated by a public transport system that is unable to adequately serve the entire municipality. For the time being, the incidence of location and transport disadvantage is limited to small areas of the municipality, but as seniors age and no longer have a driver's licence, the problem may become more severe. The results obtained are consistent with those of the authors of this paper and recognise the role of the location of services targeted at seniors. The concept

55 Aldo Arranz-López, Julio A. Soria-Lara, Frank Witlox, Antonio Páez, "Measuring Relative Non-motorized Accessibility to Retail Activities," *International Journal of Sustainable Transportation* 13 (2019), 9: 639–651.

56 Benno Engels, Gang-Jun Liu, "Social Exclusion, Location and Transport Disadvantage Amongst Non-driving Seniors in a Melbourne Municipality, Australia," *Journal of Transport Geography* 19 (2011), 4: 984–996.

of the 15-minute city is also confirmed. A consequence of ageing is the inability to drive, which can lead to social exclusion for those living away from the city centre.

Negron-Poblete, Séguin, Apparicio⁵⁷ studied the ageing of a suburban zone in terms of seniors' quality of life. In this study, they analysed the potential for pedestrian accessibility in three inner suburbs of the Greater Montreal Area. They complemented this analysis with observations of physical and spatial characteristics. They indicated that pedestrian accessibility is not only affected by long travel distances, but also by various obstacles from land use. Their work revealed the need for urban planners to find a balance between local pedestrian accessibility and public transport. This balance can be created through the concept of the 15-minute city, as discussed in this paper. Creating accessibility to basic services will reduce the social exclusion of senior citizens.

Conclusion

It should be the aspiration of the leaders of every city to create the conditions for a decent life for its inhabitants. This is a universal goal that should be pursued in any size of city, not only in large cities as shown in the authors' research. Accessibility to services by the elderly in particular is the key to preventing social exclusion.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the idea of the 15-minute city gained a lot of popularity and now many cities have declared their intention to implement it, seeing it as a stimulus for urban regeneration. During the pandemic, it was the neighbourhood that played the most important role of a self-help group providing for basic needs. On the other hand, reducing the travel time to reach the basic places within a 15-minute walk would be environmentally friendly and have a positive impact on saving the environment and air quality.

The conclusions drawn from the research clearly indicate that, in future, cities will become a refuge for older people because of the facilities they can find there. The increasing number of senior citizens and their age structure will mean that their presence in urban areas can no longer be ignored. This group of city users will force city authorities to adapt their public spaces to the needs of senior citizens. At present, 98% of residents in large coastal cities have easy access to shops and 90% to pharmacies. In view of the low mobility of senior citizens, this result is satisfactory and does not indicate potential social exclusion.

The next step should be to provide seniors with opportunities to participate in physical activity, as well as social and economic life in order to improve their quality of life.

57 Paula Negron-Poblete, Anne-Marie Séguin, Philippe Apparicio, "Improving Walkability for Seniors Through Accessibility to Food Stores: A Study of Three Areas of Greater Montreal," *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability* 9 (2016), 1: 51–72.

Seniors themselves wish to feel needed and are keen to get involved in various initiatives in their local communities. All these measures can lead to a really good life for the elderly in our towns and cities in the future.

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SUMMARY

An analysis of the demographic structure of large coastal cities shows that the ageing of their populations is well advanced. Therefore, counteracting the social exclusion of the elderly should become the most important task of the local authorities. The authors decided to review the situation of seniors migrating to the largest coastal cities. The aim of the study was to analyse the accessibility to shops and pharmacies' whereabouts as basic, everyday services for this group. The findings are highly optimistic and very satisfactory. It was concluded that only a small proportion of the elderly influx into the coastal cities do not find a shop or pharmacy within a 15-minute walking distance. The vast majority can do their grocery and medical shopping in the immediate vicinity.

Czy miasta nadmorskie są przyjazne seniorom?

Słowa kluczowe: seniorzy w miastach, dostępność usług, miasta nadmorskie, starzenie się społeczeństwa

STRESZCZENIE

Przeprowadzona analiza struktury demograficznej dużych miast nadmorskich pokazuje, że proces starzenia się ich społeczeństwa jest mocno zaawansowany. W związku z tym faktem najważniejszym zadaniem samorządów miejskich powinno stać się przeciwdziałanie wykluczeniu społecznemu osób starszych. Autorzy postanowili zweryfikować tę sytuację wśród seniorów napływających do największych miast nadmorskich. Jako cel badań przyjęli przeanalizowanie dostępności, do sklepów i aptek jako podstawowych, codziennych usług dla tej grupy społeczeństwa. Uzyskane wyniki są bardzo optymistyczne i zadowalające. Stwierdzono, iż tylko nieliczna część osób starszych, która napłynęła do miast nadmorskich nie ma w odległości 15 minut pieszo sklepu lub apteki. Znacząca większość zakupy spożywcze i medyczne może zrobić w najbliższej okolicy.

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