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ARTYKUŁY I MATERIAŁY

Robert Klimek

ACCOUNTS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ADOPTING SACRED PAGAN PLACES THROUGHOUT FORMER PRUSSIA IN THE MIDDLE AGES

- Słowa kluczowe:** ziemie pruskie, diecezje, Kościół katolicki, pogańskie miejsca kultu, Romowe, adaptacja
- Schlüsselwörter:** Prußenland, Diözesen, katholische Kirche, heidnische Kultusorte, Romowe, Adaptation
- Keywords:** Prussian land, dioceses, Catholic Church, pagan cult places, Romove, adaptation

The 13th century witnessed the conquest of the pagan Prussian tribes by the Teutonic Order. Already on 29 July 1243 in the Italian town of Anagni, the papal legate Wilhelm of Modena executed the order of Pope Innocent IV to divide the Prussian lands into four dioceses: Chełmno, Pomezanian, Warmian and Sambian. Christian ideas were gradually spread across the conquered lands: churches were built and parishes were established, forcing the Prussians to accept a new system of beliefs. According to a Prussian chronicler, Peter of Dusburg, the Prussians worshipped the Sun, the Moon and stars, lightning bolts, birds, quadrupedal animals, even toads. They also saw groves, fields and waters as sacred to such an extent that they would not dare to cut down trees growing there, farm a certain piece of land or fish in specific reservoirs¹. Prussian beliefs were in a similar manner described by a 15th century chronicler known as Erasmus Stella. He wrote about them worshipping trees such as an oak and oak woods as well as believing that deities lived in them. Such trees were not cut down as they were used for religious cult². It is widely believed that in addition to sacred fields, forests, waters or hills Prussians had their main cult centre called a Romuva (Polish – Romowe).

¹ Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. by: J. Wenta, S. Wyszomirski, in: *Monumenta Poloniae historica*, seria II, t. 13, Cracoviae, p. 52: "Prutheni notitiam Dei non habuerunt. [...] pro deo coluerunt, scilicet solem, lunam et stellas, tonitrua, volatilia, quadrupedia etiam usque ad bufonem. Habuerunt etiam lucos, campos et aquas sacros, sic quod secare aut agros colere vel piscari ausi non fuerunt in eisdem".

² Erasmi Stellae, *Libonothani de Borussiae antiquitatibus libri duo*, in: *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, hrsg. von T. Hirsch, M. Töppen, E. Strehlke (SRP), Bd. 4, Leipzig 1870, p. 294: „Praecellentes arbores ut robora, quercus, Deos inhabitare dixerunt, ex quibus sciscitantibus responsa reddi audiebantur; ob. Id nec huiusmodi arbores caedebant, sed religiose ut numinum domos colebant”.

Romuva

The location of this legendary place of cult still raises many doubts. The first to mention Romuva was the abovementioned Peter of Dusburg. He pointed out that in Nadruvia there was a place called Romowe, which owed its name to the Roman capital. A person called Kriwe lived there – he was worshipped by Prussians, Lithuanians and other Baltic tribes just like the Pope. Furthermore, when describing the fights between Teutonic Knights and the Lithuanians in his chronicle, Dusburg mentions that in 1294 Ludwik von Liebenzell, Ragnit's Commander, attacked Aukštaitija, which belonged to Lithuanian lands. During this invasion, the Romene village, which was sacred according to Lithuanian beliefs, is said to have been burnt down. The Ragnit Komtur captured and killed all its inhabitants³. There were also other medieval chroniclers that mentioned Romuva, such as Nicolaus Jeroschin and Jan Długosz. The first of them repeated the information written down by Peter of Dusburg⁴. Długosz – probably also rephrasing Dusburg – provided that a Kriwe resided in the Romuva and the name itself was derived from the city of Rome. In 1015, Romuva, Balga as well as Radzyń were to be conquered by King Bolesław I the Brave⁵. Assuming this information is true, the place should be located in the western or south-western parts of Prussia.

The interest in Romuva was revived in the modern period, chiefly due to the work of Simon Grunau, a Dominican monk. In his chronicle, he mentioned that the Prussians had their most sacred place called *Ryckoyot*. A big oak tree grew there and it was a place of worship of three deities: Patollo, Potrimpo and Perkūnas. This place was located by Grunau in the town of Patollen (later Groß Waldeck) in Natangia⁶. The name *Ryckoyot* is certainly of Prussian origin and was derived from the word *rikis*⁷. In modernity, in addition to descriptions, there appeared also iconographic depictions of Romuva. Caspar Hennenberger was the first to present them in his work dated 1584, followed by Christoph Hartknoch a hundred years later⁸. The pictures feature an oak tree with depictions of the three deities mentioned before, the tree being additionally surrounded by a fence. For many years, researchers tried to point to the place where Romuva could be located. Apart from

³ Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, p. 212.

⁴ Nicolaus von Jeroschin, *Kronike von Pruzinlant*, in: SRP, Bd. 1, hrsg. v. T. Hirsch, M. Töppen, E. Strehlke, Leipzig 1861, p. 348: *in dem lande Nadrowe. Di stat di hiz Romowe und was nach Rome genant*.

⁵ Jan Długosz, *Roczniki czyli kroniki sławnego królestwa polskiego*, Warszawa 1961, pp. 286, 350.

⁶ S. Grunau, *Preussische Chronik*, Bd. 1, Leipzig 1876, pp. 94, 348; J. Leo, *Dzieje Prus. Z braniewskiego wydania roku 1725 przełożył bp Julian Wojtkowski*, Olsztyn 2008, p. 18.

⁷ *Elbing Vocabulary*, in: *Old Prussian written monuments*, ed. by: L. Palmaitis, Kaunas 2007, no 404, rikis – 'lord', also 'lordship'.

⁸ C. Hennenberger, *Kurtze und wahrhaftige Beschreibung des Landes zu Preußen*, Königsberg 1584, p. 7; C. Hartknoch, *Alt- und neues Preussen, oder preussischer Historien zwei Theile*, Frankfurt-Leipzig 1684, p. 116.

Grunau pointing to Patollen in Natangia, other historians often paid attention to toponyms with the *rom* morpheme. One of the proposals was the Rummy village in the Szczytno district near the border with Warmia. This view became widely accepted in source literature as a result of the activity of Caspar Schütz. This researcher assumed that the Prussian centre of cult, Romuva, was located in Galindia⁹. However, it seems that the issue of Romuva being located in Rummy appeared in source literature as late as in the 16th century thanks to cartography. In 1542, Henry Zello developed a map of Prussia where, apart from many other villages, that cosmographer also included Rummy – *Rom*¹⁰. Another suggestion was presented by Johannes Guise, who made an inventory of historical defence objectives on Prussian lands in the years 1826-1828. He pointed to Romankowo and Rygarby near Sępólno¹¹. For both locations, he noticed defence arrangements that he tied to the old Prussian cult. The name “Rygarby”, recorded in 1437 as *Rickegarbon*¹², is a combination of Prussian *rickis* – “lord” and *garben* – “mountain.” According to Guise, it was where the old *Rickoito*¹³ was located. Johannes Voigt claimed that the main Romuva was probably in Romehnen in Sambia¹⁴. The village of Romehnen (Rumbow) was first mentioned in documents in 1347¹⁵. Among other potential places, Voigt suggested: Rohmau near Tapiau, Romitten (near the Prussian Eylau), Romansgut (near Heiligenbeil), Romlau (near Kreuzberg), Romanuppen in Nadruvia upon Auxienne, or the Rominta river. Faced by so many possible locations, Voigt concluded that each Prussian land had its own religious centre called a Romuva¹⁶. Today, it is difficult to assess whether all of these places were important places of worship for pagan Prussians. Perhaps some of them functioned even at the time when Prussia was already Christian. Praetorius recalled that in Nadruvia upon the river Auxienne was a place to which only the priest had access. It was probably in the vicinity of Romanuppen upon Auxienne. In source literature, this place is identified with the Romuva described by Peter of Dusburg¹⁷. In Patollen, Natangi, pagan worship practices were probably still practiced as a monastery was established there in the 1370s.

⁹ C. Schütz, *Historia rerum Prussicarum*, Danzig 1599, p. 3: *in der grossen Eichen zu Rickoyoth oder Romowe in Galinder Land gelegen*.

¹⁰ J. Szeliga, *Rozwój kartografii Wybrzeża Gdańskiego do roku 1772*, Wrocław 1982, pp. 36–44.

¹¹ Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Preußischer Kulturbesitz (MVF PK), Guise Zettel, 233a, 233b: Schanze Romowa, Romowe.

¹² *Das Grosse Zinsbuch*, hrsg. von P. G. Thielenn (GZB), Marburg 1958, no 216.

¹³ MVF PK, Guise Zettel, 239b.

¹⁴ J. Voigt, *Geschichte Preussens*, Bd. 1, Königsberg 1827, p. 180.

¹⁵ *Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Samland*, hrsg. v. C.P. Voelky, H. Mendthal, Leipzig 1905, no 372.

¹⁶ J. Voigt, op. cit., p. 181, footnote 2.

¹⁷ W. Friederici, *Ueber die Lage Romow's oder Romowe's, des Oberpriestersitzes im heidnischen Preussen*, Altpreußische Monatsschrift (AM), Bd. 13, 1876, p. 250.

Christianisation of pagan Prussians

Christianisation progressed along with the conquest of the Prussian lands. Old Pagan places of worship were most often destroyed. In some cases, however, they were replaced by the new cult. The Church then tried to build a more impressive temple in such a location¹⁸. Already while signing the Treaty of Christburg on 7 February 1249, the Prussians promised to decorate the interiors of built churches in such a way making them more appealing than pagan places of worship in the woods. The Prussians were committed to the reconstruction of churches before the Whitsunday – *Pentecosten*. They also guaranteed that annual sacrifices to the Kurke deity including the fruits of their land as well as all other deities not being the Creator of Heaven and Earth shall be put to an end¹⁹. However, even after the conquest by the Teutonic Order and establishing a network of parishes by the bishopric, some areas still bore the mark of pagan worship. At the end of 14th century in Warmia, Bishop Heinrich III Sorbom exhorted the Prussians and newly baptised to attend Mass on each Sunday and on holidays, unless they are charged with guarding the lands or performing any other duty to the benefit of their superiors. In 1425, the Sambian Bishop Michael Junge cautioned the Prussians not to perform any pagan rituals in the forests and groves under the penalty of being deprived of Christian burial. He also warned them not to baptise their children again in rivers and give them names other than those given at Christian baptism. The Sambian Bishop called to the Prussians to abandon performing pagan rituals for their deceased, not to invoke demons in woods or their houses, not to organise sacrificial feasts, along with cease to sacrifice animals to demons. In the above cases, the punishment took the form of deprivation of Christian burial²⁰. Christianity, however, in the longer term used the local religious tradition associated with places of paganism, hijacking the power established among their inhabitants. It was chiefly expressed in building churches there, making them take over some of the traditions of those ancient cult places. Several examples from the neighbouring Polish lands may be quoted here by virtue of analogy. This practice may be referred to some “sacred” mountains, such as Ślęża and Łysa Góra, on which monasteries were erected²¹. Christianity entailed a lot of new interpretations and re-evaluations of ancestral traditions. Nevertheless, it failed to completely eradicate the pagan

¹⁸ M. Kosman, *Zanik pogaństwa w Prusach*, Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie (KMW), nr 1, 1976, p. 22.

¹⁹ *Preussisches Urkundenbuch* (PUB), hrsg. von A. Philippi, Bd. I/1, Königsberg 1882, no 218: *Et promiserunt omnes predicti, quod dictas ecclesias edificabunt adeo honorabiles et decoras, quod plus videbuntur delectari in oracionibus ac oblationibus factis in ecclesiis quam in silvis.*

²⁰ A. Radzimiński, *Kościół w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach 1243-1525*, Malbork 2006, pp. 95–100.

²¹ P. Urbańczyk, *Władza i polityka we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Wrocław 2008, p. 169. According to Długosz, monastery of Saint Cross on Łysa Góra was founded in 1006. Jan Długosz, *Roczniki czyli kroniki*, pp. 327–329.

legacy, which survived in the form of individual rituals. It may be illustrated by Góra Chełmska near Koszalin, which used to be a crucial place for pagan Pomeranians²². In the Middle Ages, a church was built on its top. This hill also lied on the pilgrimage route from Gdansk and Prussia to Rome²³. Another important place of pagan worship in Pomerania were there areas near Oliwa, where relics of the old beliefs are still visible in names of places, such as: “Czarcie Wzgórze” and “Diabelski Kamień”²⁴. In the vicinity, a Cistercian monastery was founded in 1178²⁵.

The Monastery of the Holy Trinity in Patollen

Among those places suggested to perform the role of Romuva in the past, only Patollen (later Groß Waldeck) is an example of adapting a pagan worship place by the Church. It lies to the north of Domnau. According to Simon Grunau, the Monastery of the Holy Trinity in Patollen was a sacred place for the Prussians called *Ryckoyot*. A big oak tree grew there and served as a place of worship of three deities: Patollo, Potrimpo and Perkūnas. The Grand Master Winrich von Kniprode entrusted the construction of a monastery to Marshall Heinrich. It was built by Peter Nagel²⁶. Mathaeus Praetorius also mentioned that an oak three worshipped by pagan Prussians and dedicated to their divine trinity grew there. This place was destroyed and a monastery of Augustinian Hermits, dedicated to the “real” Holy Trinity, was erected in its place²⁷. Hennenberger mentioned that the above monastery was in the past located in Podollen and was founded on the site of the Prussian Romuva. A devil’s oak was said to grow there – *Teuffeltsche Eiche*, dedicated to: Patollo (Pickollus), Perckun and Potrimpus²⁸. Hennenberger marked the monastery of the Holy Trinity (*Trifalgkeit*) on his map of Prussia dated 1576, where he represented it in a form of a miniature drawing²⁹. In view of the fact that the income of the monastery was not sufficient enough to cover its own needs, Pope Alexander

²² A. Kuczkowski, *Słowiańskie „święte” góry na terenie ziem polskich we wczesnym średniowieczu. Próba zarysowania problematyki*, *Slavia Antiqua*, nr 48, 2007, pp. 97–124.

²³ R. Kubicki, *Pielgrzymki w testamentach mieszczan elbląskich w XV-początkach XVI w.*, in: *Z dziejów średniowiecza. Pamięci Profesora Jana Powierskiego (1940–1999)*, ed. by: W. Długokęcki, Gdańsk 2010, pp. 181–184.

²⁴ E. Choińska-Bohdan, *W poszukiwaniu głównego ośrodka kultu przedchrześcijańskiego na Pomorzu Gdańskim*, in: *Z otchłani wieków Pomorza Gdańskiego*, Gdańsk 1998–1999, pp. 153–154.

²⁵ *Codex Pomeraniae diplomaticus*, hrsg. von K. Hasselbach, J. Rosengarten, Bd. 1, Greifswald 1862, no 46. Another date of founding – 1186 according to Błażej Śliwiński, quotes Cistercian annals from Denmark: *Kronika oliwska*, Malbork 2008, p. 11.

²⁶ S. Grunau, *Preussische Chronik*, Bd. 2, Leipzig 1889, p. 348.

²⁷ M. Praetorius, *Deliciae Prussiae, oder Preussische Schaubühne*, Bd. 2, Vilnius 2004, p. 714.

²⁸ C. Hennenberger, *Erclerung der preussischen grössern Landtaffel oder Mappen*, Königsberg 1595, pp. 464–466.

²⁹ C. Hennenberger, *Prussiae, das ist des Landes zu Preussen, welches das herrichste Theil ist Sarmathiae Europae eigentliche und warhafftige Beschreibung*, Königsberg 1576.

VI at the request of the prior approved the suggestion to join to monastery's estates two churches in Abswangen and Allmenhausen. In 1524, the monastery in Patollen was destroyed and plundered during military operations. It shared the fate of several other monasteries in Heiligenbeil, Gerdauen and Wehlau that also suffered during the war³⁰. After secularising the Duchy of Prussia, the destiny of monasteries seemed like a foregone conclusion – they were to be liquidated. After the expulsion of the monks from the monastery of the Holy Trinity in 1528, Donatus Lubari became a parish priest in Almenhausen, with a branch in Abschwangen. In 1536, duke Albrecht granted the monastic estates to Baron Georg Kittlitz. Later on, the only remainder of the monastery in Groß Waldeck was the name of the local inn, which was called Klosterkrug³¹. It cannot be excluded that the area located between Domnau and Groß Waldeck was, during pagan times, an area of the sacrum. Between the two locations was a village called Perkappen³², which was probably a combination of the words Perkun *and* ape³³. Perkappen lay upon a small Groß Waldecker Mühlenfließ river³⁴ that flew near the place where the monastery of the Holy Trinity had been located. Carl Beckerrn mentioned a certain Devil's Stone (Teufelstein) located a quarter of a mile north of Domnau. It had three rectangular recesses, which probably were the relic of a sacrificial bowl. This stone is related to a legend quoted by Beckerrn³⁵.

Święta Siekierka (Heiligenbeil)

The vicinity of Heiligenbeil was an important place of cult for the Prussians. A sacred oak tree grew there and the eternal fire burnt so as to consume offerings such as threshed grain, e.g. wheat, and other foods, e.g. honey, milk. Also first sheaves of harvested crops were burnt there. According to the legend, the first Bishop of Warmia, Anselm, ordered cut down the oak worshipped by the pagans. The attempt failed as the axe that bounced off from the oak – to the joy of the Prussians – hit the lumberjack. Then the Bishop himself ordered to drill a hole inside the trunk, set it on fire and knock the tree down in this way.³⁶ This event affected the later name of the place: *heiligen* – sacred, *beil*, Prussian *bile* – axe³⁷. It is also

³⁰ S. Grunau, *Preussische Chronik*, Bd. 2, pp. 389–390; J. Leo, op. cit., p. 23.

³¹ *Scriptores rerum Warmiensium* (SRW), hrsg. von J. M. Saage, C. P. Woelky, Bd. 1, Braunsberg 1866, p. 423, footnote 178.

³² F. Schroetter, *Karte von Ost-Preussen nebst Preussisch Litthauen*, Berlin 1796–1802.

³³ Elbing Vocabulary, no 62.

³⁴ *Meßtischblatt* Nr 1590, Domnau, 1:25 000, 1937.

³⁵ C. Beckerrn, *Merkwürdige Steine in Ost- und Westpreussen*, AM, Bd. 96, 1893, p. 383.

³⁶ C. Hartknoch, *Alt- und neues Preussen*, pp. 118, 413–414.

³⁷ Elbing Vocabulary, no 533.

worth mentioning that the first recorded in the name of this town was *Heylgenstat* – that is, the “Holy City.”³⁸ Caspar Stein in the second half of the 17th century noted that was a hill dedicated to the deity of *Gurcho* (Kurcho) near Heiligenbeil. There was to be a stone on which the Prussians sacrificed meat, milk and fish to his name³⁹. Heiligenbeil was a famous place of worship for pagan Prussians. Especially during the modern times legends and descriptions of this location began to circulate. According to Maciej Strykowski, it was the main place of worship-Romuva, which was destroyed by Bolesław I the Brave in 1015.⁴⁰ In turn, Praetorius wrote that, according to some, the name Heiligenbeil comes from the axe used to murder Saint Adalbert⁴¹. In the years 1826-1828, Joahann Guise visited the area near Heiligenbeil and noted two defence structures: over the Banówka River-*Banau* and another one in the *Heiligenwald* forest⁴². Beckern concluded that between Heiligenbeil and a church village Kirchendorf (destroyed in 1462) a sacrifice stone was located in the area of a Prussian sacred forest, near the place where river Jarft flew into Banówka⁴³. According to tradition, near Heiligenbeil upon the river Jarft in the village of Gedilgen one of the first churches in tribal Warmia was supposed to exist. In a document dated 1249, the temple in Jedun is featured on a list of churches the Prussians were supposed to build before Whitsunday⁴⁴. The village in 1437 was known under the name of Yoduthen⁴⁵. In 1370, Grand Master Winrich Kniprode built and endowed the monastery of the order of St. Augustine near Heiligenbeil⁴⁶. According to Grunau, this monastery was destroyed during the war in 1524.⁴⁷ Source literature does not provide the exact location of this monastery. 19th century descriptions remark that it was east of the town, near the Latainer Berg upon the Jarft river⁴⁸.

³⁸ PUB, Bd. II, hrsg. von M. Hein, E. Maschke, Königsberg 1932, no 704.

³⁹ Quote after: A. Mierzyński, *Źródła do mytologii litewskiej*, Warszawa 1892, p. 81: *In oppido Heiligenbeil mons, in quo stetit olim quercus sacra et idolum Gurcho, a Masoviis Prutenis donatum, pro deo esculentorum ac potulentorum variis sacrificiis, perpetuo igne, primitiis frumentorum, mellis lactis et piscium in saxis combustorum, diu cultum.*

⁴⁰ M. Strykowski, *Kronika Polska, Litewska, Źmudzka i wszelkiej Rusi*, t. 1, Warszawa 1846, pp. 142–143. Strykowski said, that thi happened in 1017 r., but this date is in inconsistency with Jan Długosz Chronicle.

⁴¹ M. Praetorius, *Deliciae Prussicae*, Bd. 2, p. 638

⁴² H. Crome, *Verzeichnis der Wehranlagen*, Prussia, Bd. 33, 1939, p. 265.

⁴³ C. Beckern, *op. cit.*, p. 392.

⁴⁴ PUB, Bd. I/1, no 218.

⁴⁵ GZB, no 161.

⁴⁶ *Die Chronik Wigands von Marburg*, in: SRP, Bd. 2, Leipzig 1863, p. 568: *Magister Wýnricus consensu preceptorum construxit in honorem Dei, virginis Marie et salutem Christi fidelium claustrum ante opidium vulgariter Hilgebyl, in quod statuid fratres mendicantes ordinis sancti Augustini, libris, ornatibus, calicibusque dotavit et litteris confirmavit.*

⁴⁷ According to Andrzej Radziwiński in 1520. A. Radziwiński, *Kościół w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach 1243-1525*, Malbork 2006, p. 107.

⁴⁸ Winckler, *Die Festen der Vorzeit im Ermland*, Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands (ZGAE), Bd 2, 1863, p. 652.

Łąki Bratiańskie

The legend claims that a miraculous painting of the Virgin Mary presented itself to children shepherding cattle in Łąki. It floated down the Drwęca river, surrounded by the light, and stopped three times along the way. Allegedly, the cattle fell to its knees upon this vision⁴⁹. In this place, Blessed Mary appeared in front of John from Sandomierz, who built the castle of Bratian. With this intention in mind, he built a church which gained fame due to the miraculous statue of Virgin Mary with a child in her arms and became a place of pilgrimage. According to German researchers, the church in Łąki was to be erected by Filip von Cleberg, a Bratian Advocate, in the years 1400-1401. In 1639, Paweł Działyński founded a monastery near the old church, where he installed Reformers from Nowe Miasto. In 1881, the church burnt down. However, the miraculous figure was saved and moved to a church in Nowe Miasto. In 1884, the building of the monastery was also consumed by flames⁵⁰. On the basis of the visit of Olszowski, the Chełmno Bishop, in the years 1667-1672, it is possible to conclude that in Łąki near Bratian was a place sacred for the Prussians, devoted to goddess Maiume⁵¹. Though it is not a widely known deity, it has been often indicated that Łąki were also a place of worship of Pergrurbia. According to Maciej Strykowski, this was the god of herbs, vegetables and grasses. During his holiday, the roofs were «majone» that is decorated with green branches, leaves or flowers⁵². The Prussians celebrated two holidays each year. The first took place in the spring, when they began to plow their fields — they it called the feast of Pergruba, in honour of the god they believed to grant plants, shrubs and other plants. The second festivity was held after the harvest in honour of Kurke⁵³. In the vicinity of Łąki Bratiańskie, a hydronym draws attention - it is the name of the river Wel, flowing into Drwęca in this area. Source literature quoted this name for the first time in 1257, when the duke Casimir of Łęczyca founded a church of the Holy Trinity in the Lubawska land upon the river Wel-*fluvium Wel*⁵⁴. The location of this church is not specified, so Łąki Bratiańskie are still a possibility. The name of this river, Wel, relates to deities appearing on Baltic and Slavic mythologies. The latter worshipped a god names Weles. Balts prayed to Velnias or Veles, a deity that was diminished to the role of the devil in the

⁴⁹ *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, ed. by: F. Sulimierski, B. Chlebowski, W. Walewski, t. 2, Warszawa 1881, p. 175.

⁵⁰ W. Korycka, *Z przeszłości miast i osiedli*, in: *Nowe Miasto Lubawskie. Z dziejów miasta i powiatu*, ed. by: Z. Witkowski, Olsztyn 1963, p. 212.

⁵¹ G. Białuński, *O zasiedleniu ziemi lubawskiej w okresie przedkrzyżackim w świetle źródeł pisanych i toponomastycznych*, Pruthenia 2008, t. 4, p. 307.

⁵² M. Strykowski, op. cit., pp. 145-148.

⁵³ J. Leo, op. cit., p. 32.

⁵⁴ PUB, Bd I/2, hrsg. von A. Seraphim, Königsberg 1909, no 31.

course of Christianisation. For Baltic tribes, spirits of the dead were called Wele⁵⁵. It is probable that the name of the city Wehlau, situated in the place the Łyna river flows into Pregoła, is derived from the names of these deities. In 1349, a monastery was built here as well⁵⁶.

Lipy near Lubawa

Prussians returning from pilgrimages to Łąki Bratiańskie stopped also in lime groves near Lubawa, where they rested and held religious rites. According to legends, after the adoption of Christianity by the local population, the bishop known as Christian saw the Madonna under a lime tree worshipped by pagan Prussians. Therefore, he decided to build a church in this place. The lime tree was reportedly cut down by the bishop himself as the locals would not dare to raise a hand on it. The church in Lipy had a small wooden figure of Virgin Mary, which was famous for its miracles. The church burnt down in 1862, with a new temple erected on its foundations eight years later⁵⁷. Our Lady of Lipy is considered to be a patron of good harvest and health. The unity of Prussian ideas about female deities incarnated in lime trees and accessories of Marian devotion is clearly visible, so it is a direct adaptation of pagan beliefs to Catholic worship.⁵⁸ Lime trees are almost as important as oak trees in the Prussian system of sacred trees. Caspar Hennenberger and Mathaeus Praetorius were among those who wrote about sacred lime trees worshipped by them. The researchers mentioned a certain lime tree worshipped in Skalowia, in the village of Schackuhnen, upon the Rusna river⁵⁹. In Slavic beliefs, the lime was also associated with the cult of the Virgin Mary. Mazowians adopted a saying that lime trees are “holy” because the Blessed Virgin lives in them⁶⁰. All this indicates that, at the time of the Christianization, lime trees started to be associated with the worship of the Mother of Jesus⁶¹. According to Mircea Eliade, it is not possible to discuss “the cult of a tree” in the strict sense as the very tree was never the subject of veneration, but rather that what “appeared” through the tree, what it contained and what it meant. There is no such thing as the cult of the tree itself, this representation always underlies a spiritual plane.

⁵⁵ A. Gieysztor, *Mitologia Słowian*, Warszawa 2016, pp. 137–145.

⁵⁶ PUB Bd. IV, hrsg. v. H. Koepfen, Marburg 1960, no 496.

⁵⁷ W. Korycka, op. cit., p. 21.

⁵⁸ J. Powierski, *Bogini Kurkō i niektóre aspekty społeczno-gospodarcze wierzeń pruskich*, in: idem, *Prussica. Artykuły wybrane z lat 1965–1995*, t. 1, Malbork 2003, pp. 135–136.

⁵⁹ C. Hennenberger, *Erclerung der preussischen grössern Landtaffel*, p. 416, M. Praetorius, *Deliciae Prussiae*, Bd. 3, Vilnius 2006, p. 108.

⁶⁰ K. Moszyński, *Kultura duchowa Słowian*, cz. 2, Kraków 1934, p. 533.

⁶¹ A. Gieysztor, op. cit., p. 220.

A tree with its periodic regeneration was the embodiment of the sacred power in the circle of life⁶².

Prątnica

Prątnica is a village located 6 km southeast of Lubawa. There is a church founded in 1330. In the lower part of the northern wall, right next to the entrance to the temple, there is a horizontal granite sculpture, a so-called “Prussian baba.” This is a stone statue of approx. 2.1m in length and maximal width of approx. 0.5 m. Only the front part of the sculpture is visible. It is possible to clearly distinguish the face with eyes, a nose, a chin and lips, but the body of the statue is completely flat. It was probably smoothed out, which erased the original shapes. The placement of a pagan sculpture in a horizontal position might have symbolised the imprisonment of a pagan idol beneath the feet of the Christian God. Apart from a symbolic dimension, such an action could indicate a certain ideological transfer affecting the imagination of the Prussians. It revealed the impotence of their old gods and thus became a warning to those who would dare to oppose Christianity⁶³.

Source information does not confirm the *in situ* location of the statue in Prątnica in the exact place where the medieval church was built. It may have been transported from neighbouring areas. There were several places of former pagan Prussian worship near Prątnica. About 6 km north of Prątnica lies the Lipy village, where the bishop’s visitation in the 17th century confirmed the existence of a place of Prussian worship. Also, on the south-eastern areas of the Prątnica area a place of pagan *sacrum* may have been located. There is a lake called Zwiniarz-Swiner (1324-1349) as well as village known as Zwiniarz-Swiner (1336)⁶⁴. Grzegorz Białuński claims that the toponym *swiner* may indicate the “holiness” of the area⁶⁵. Also, a little further to the south-east, in the vicinity of Rumiany, it is possible to spot several toponyms listed in the sources dated at the beginning of the 14th century, whose names suggest the existence of places of worship, possibly the legendary Romuva, such as: the Struga river – *fluvius Ramnite* (1303), *Romnycz* (1338) flowing into the Rumiany lake – *lacu Roman* (1303), along with the village of Rumiany – *Romano* (before 1341) and Rumienica – *Romyncze* (1336)⁶⁶. In the past, moving a stone sculpture of the pagan Prussians, the so-called Potrimpus which

⁶² M. Eliade, *Traktat o historii religii*, Warszawa 2009, p. 280.

⁶³ S. Szczepański, „Baba pruska” z Prątnicy – kamienny świadek triumfu chrześcijaństwa, *Echa Przeszłości*, 2004, t. 5, pp. 25–31.

⁶⁴ PUB Bd. IV, no 500, no 505.

⁶⁵ G. Białuński, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

⁶⁶ *Codex diplomaticus Prussicus*, Bd. 2, hrsg. von J. Voigt, Königsberg 1842, no 45; G. Białuński, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

was to be found in the Pachoły village (German Pacholen) near Dzierzgoń, had already taken place. It was then to be put in the wall of the monastery in Dzierzgoń⁶⁷. Unfortunately, the sculpture did not survive to this day and it is possible to learn about it only from modern iconography⁶⁸.

Święta Lipka

The first piece of information about Święta Lipka comes from 1340. It was the year when voght Heinrich von Luter executed two land rights, one 6 “Hufen” and the other 28 “Hufen” large, in the area of Barcja (*in terra Barthen*) near Dejnowa lake (*Denow*)⁶⁹. The first land right document included the remark that the area where the settlement was founded was dangerous because of the pagans *-propter paganos, et dei inimicos, qui sunt valde ibidem timendi*. However, it seems that there are more symptoms pointing to the fact that a pagan sanctuary existed there even before the Order conquered these lands. Święta Lipka is located near the Dejnowa lake, with its first recorded name *Denow* (1340) testifying the cult-related role of this water reservoir. George Gerullis claims that the name of the lake is related to the following expressions: *Daina, Dainawa, Dainis*, so ritual songs and dances, which is also confirmed by the Russian linguist Vladimir Toporov⁷⁰. In Lithuanian and Latvian *daina* means “song.” The meaning of the hydronym *Denow* may presumably be tied to “a ritualistic dance with singing.”⁷¹ Between Święta Lipka and Reszel, in the Warmian Bishopric, lies a village of Ramty, recorded in 1389 as *Ramboten*⁷². Names such as *Rombhota* were related to sacred trees which were unusually integrated with each other⁷³. In this situation, it may be presumed that the area created a larger sacred zone, covering the forest near today’s Ramty and the Dejnowa lake with its centre in Święta Lipka. According to Caspar Stein, between Rastenburg and Reszel grew an enormous lime tree dedicated to the Blessed

⁶⁷ S. Szczepański, *Wczesnośredniowieczna rzeźba z Dzierzgonia, tzw. „Potrimpos”, w kontekście interpretacji oraz staropruskich wierzeń*, KMW nr 3, 2015, pp. 387–407.

⁶⁸ MVF PK, Guise-Zettel, PM-IXa 00048a.

⁶⁹ *Codex diplomaticus Warmiensiis oder Regesten und Urkunden zur Geschichte Ermlands* (CDW), hrsg. von C. P. Woelky u. J. M. Saage, Bd. 1, Mainz 1860, no 305, no 306. See also: *Johannis Plastwici, Chronicon de vitis Episcoporum Warmiensium*, in: SRW, Bd. 1, pp. 67–68, footnote 34. In my opinion investiture of the 28 „Hufen” refers to Pilec village, and 6 „Hufen” pertain to fields around of Święta Lipka, the confirmation of which is the mention about the pagans. The place where it Dajna river flows out, in 1340 was not yet colonised.

⁷⁰ G. Gerullis, *Die altpreussischen Ortsnamen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1922, s. 27; B. H. Toporov, *Прусский язык. Словарь А-Д*, Москва 1975, p. 290.

⁷¹ A. Vanagas, *Lietuvių hidronimų etimologinis žodynas*, Vilnius 1981, p. 79.

⁷² CDW, Bd. 2, Mainz 1864, no 497 – Ramothen (1374); CDW, Bd. 3, Leipzig 1874, no 229; V. Röhrich, *Die Kolonisation des Ermlandes*, ZGAE, Bd 21, 1923, pp. 279–280.

⁷³ M. Praetorius, *Deliciae Prussiae*, Bd. 3, pp. 108–110; C. Hartknoch, op. cit., p. 291.

Virgin, which was there for a very long time – *tilia Ramos quedam d. Mariae dedicata, quae antiquitus ibi stetit*⁷⁴. Its relationship with the former pagan worship has also been known to modern historiography⁷⁵. According to father Jan Leo, there was a heavily branched lime tree in Święta Lipka, exceptionally appreciated by God and beloved by Mary. The tree was supposed to be a house of God, a ladder built to reach Heaven so that angels can descend bringing God's grace and ascend taking human prayers and vows with them⁷⁶.

Święta Lipka has been a place of pilgrimage since the 15th century. Early source literature from 1473 confirms the acts of pilgrimage. At that time, the priest Matthias of Śluzowo lamented that the believers from the Płock diocese made pilgrimages to Święta Lipka, although it was not yet endowed with indulgences⁷⁷. A chronicler Lucas David wrote that, being a small boy, he participated with his mother in a pilgrimage to Święta Lipka. Lucas David describes how pilgrims placed meat on scales as a sacrifice – with specific intentions in mind. He cited an example of a small German boy who was sat at one side of the scales, while the meat was put on the other end until its weight exceeded the weight of the boy. Thus, it was believed that the sacrifice in Święta Lipka would heal the German boy⁷⁸. This place has its own legend. A prisoner sentenced to death was given by Virgin Mary a piece of wood to carve out her statue. He was pardoned and put the sculpture on the first lime tree he saw along the road from Rastenburg to Reszel. Any attempt to move it to the church in Rastenburg ended with the statue returning to that place on its own. News about good graces granted to pilgrims spread, which resulted in a growing influx of pilgrims. On the basis of the oldest iconographic data, it is believed that the chapel was made of brick and enclosed the trunk of the lime tree with the figure. In 1519, the Grand Master Albrecht von Hohenzollern accompanied by the Sambian Bishop Georg von Polentz visited Święta Lipka. In 1526, the same Duke Albert banned all pilgrimages and ordered the destruction of the chapel. To scare people away, gallows were constructed there. The Prince-Bishop of Warmia, Szymon Rudnicki, bought the former pilgrimage site from the Protestants. Since 1639, the area was the property of the Frombork Chapter under the auspices of the Jesuits, so in 1640 regular pilgrimages to Święta Lipka began⁷⁹.

⁷⁴ A. Mierzyński, op. cit., p. 62; J. Powierski, op. cit., p. 136.

⁷⁵ E. Tidick, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchen-Patrosinien im Deutschordenslande Preußen bis 1525*, ZGAE, Bd. 22, 1926, pp. 361–362.

⁷⁶ J. Leo, op. cit., pp. 24–25.

⁷⁷ J. Hochleitner, *Przydrożne pomniki kultu religijnego Świętej Lipki i okolic*, Studia Angerburgica t. 11, 2006, p. 78.

⁷⁸ L. David, *Preussische Chronik*, hrsg. E. Hennig, Bd. 1, Königsberg 1812, pp. 151–152.

⁷⁹ J. Hochleitner, op. cit., p. 79.

Gietrzwałd

In 1877, a maple tree growing next to the church in Gietrzwałd became the place of revelation of the Mother of God, who appeared in front of two girls. On the 100th anniversary of this event, Bishop Józef Drzazga issued a decree approving the cult of the revelations, not excluding their supernatural nature⁸⁰. Many, however, indicate that this place was sacred long before. It is possible to find proof of the cult of Virgin Mary in Gietrzwałd already in the second half of the 16th century. It is demonstrated through the custom of decorating her icon, located in a side altar of the temple, with a veil. Later on, the image was moved to the main altar, which proves the growth of the cult. A report from a visit dated 1680 informs about the act of exposing the image of Virgin Mary during the octave of the Nativity of Mary, so the feast day for the church. It should be considered that in the 16th-18th centuries the Marian sanctuary in Gietrzwałd was not a typical pilgrimage church, however, the cult of the Virgin Mary was lively there⁸¹. The church in Gietrzwałd was first mentioned in the sources in 1352 – 5 “Hufen” were reserved to satisfy its needs⁸². However, it is not possible to exclude the relationship of this place with the nearby Giłwa lake (Rentyńskie) and with the pagan cult of Prussians. Its earlier name – *Gilbing* – may be spotted in the written formula of commencing the Prussian district court *lura Pruthenorum* prepared by free Prussians from the Olsztynek area – “Gąję ten nasz pruski sąd głęboko jak *Gilbing*, wysoko jak dąb, mocno jak kamień, czy to będzie słuszne czy niesłuszne⁸³” [Eng. I commence our Prussian court as deeply as *Gilbing*, as high as an oak, as strongly as a stone, whether it be right or wrong]. This lake is present in the sources dated 1346 and later.⁸⁴ Its name comes from the word *gilus*, which means “deep.”⁸⁵ Jan Powierski points out that the core expression in the words of the oath means “depth.” On this basis, he concludes this particular lake had a sacred role. Therefore, an assumption may arise that the local archaic cult centre found its continuation in the Marian cult in Gietrzwałd located near the Giłwa lake. It would not be the only example of a rebirth of folk Christian worship on site of the former pagan⁸⁶ cult. The words

⁸⁰ S. Achremczyk, Warmia, Olsztyn 2011, pp. 383–384.

⁸¹ A. Kopiczko, *Ustrój i organizacja diecezji warmińskiej w latach 1525–1772*, Olsztyn 1993, pp. 189–190.

⁸² CDW, Bd. 2, no 179.

⁸³ *Iura Pruthenorum*, ed. by: J. Matuszewski, Toruń 1963, pp. 60–61: *Ich hege diese unser Preussische ding tiff als Gilbing, hoc hals ein Eichelbaum, fest als ein sten, es sey recht oder unrecht.*

⁸⁴ CDW, Bd 2, no 68: *lacubus Gilbes* – 1346; CDW, Bd. 2, no 179, no 180: *lacubus Gilbde* 1352.

⁸⁵ V. Mažiulis, *Prūsų kalbos etimologijos žodynas*, Vilnius 2013, p. 239, gillin, gilus; W. Smoczyński, *Słownik etymologiczny języka litewskiego*, Wilno 2007, p. 178: gilus,

⁸⁶ J. Powierski, *Drugi tom słownika języka pruskiego*, in: idem: *Prussica*, t. 1, p. 392; P. Kawiński, *Organizacja pogańskiej przestrzeni sakralnej Prusów na tle osadnictwa w okresie plemiennym – przykład Pomezanii, Pogezanii i Warmii, Pruthenia* t. 6, 2011, p. 108.

of the oath of the Prussians, including an oak tree (sacred tree), a stone (symbol of endurance) and the Gilbing lake, make it possible to presume that it was a water reservoir of religious importance. Already Mircae Eliade pointed to the existence of a triptych consisting of a tree, an altar and a stone. A stone was the epitome of durability and indestructibility. A tree, with its periodic regeneration, was the embodiment of the sacred power in the circle of life. Places where water complemented the landscape expressed hidden opportunities, their seeds or purification. This “microcosmic landscape” in time was limited to only one, to the most important of these elements - the tree. According to the old beliefs, a tree was the axis of the world. It was a bridge between Heaven, Earth, and even Hell⁸⁷. Therefore, an assumption may arise that the local archaic cult centre found its continuation in the neighbouring Gietrzwałd. It would not be the only example of establishing folk Christian cult in a place where pagans used to gather for worship.

Lidzbark Warmiński-Heilsberg

Many premises point to the fact that in some places of the Warmian bishopric churches were built in places of pagan worship. Among such examples, apart from the above Gietrzwałd, it is possible to mention: Lidzbark Warmiński-Heilsberg, Świątki – *Heilgental* (1347), Dywity – Dywidzkie lake – *Dewythen* (1348) or Pluty – *sanctus nemus* (1325)⁸⁸. In this context, Lidzbark Warmiński, the capital of the dominion of the Warmian Prince-Bishop, deserves special attention. The German name of Lidzbark Warmiński-Heilsberg – most likely came from a sacred hill located in the surrounding area. Based on source literature and a field query, the author hypothesises that this place was Krzyżowa Góra. According to the first mention dated 1390, there existed a certain “ancient” hill near Pilnik, owned by bishops – *quique mons antiquitus fuit et est de proprietate nostra et ecclesie nostre Warmiensis*⁸⁹. The term used to describe the hill – *antiquitus* – indicates that in the past it was an important place for the Prussians. A document dated 1431, which transfers additional lands from the bishop’s possession to the benefit of the town, mentions a cross placed on a hill near Pilnik – *mons ubi crux lokata*⁹⁰. Krzyżowa Góra is a land elevation that dominates over the surrounding area. The Prussians may have made a link between tall hills and the world of the gods. In modern times, a chapel was located on Krzyżowa Góra – *capella sanctae crucis*⁹¹. It was

⁸⁷ M. Eliade, op. cit., pp. 281–283.

⁸⁸ R. Klimek, *Miejsca kultu Prusów na Warmii biskupiej*, KMW, nr 3, 2015, pp. 365–386.

⁸⁹ CDW, Bd. 3, no 243. See also: J. Ptak, *Wojskowość średniowiecznej Warmii*, Olsztyn 1997, p. 144.

⁹⁰ CDW, Bd. 4, no 365.

⁹¹ *Monumenta Historiae Warmiensis, Quellen zur Kultur- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Ermlands*, Bd 4, hrsg. von V. Röhrich, A. Poschmann, Braunsberg 1915, p. 115.

also marked as the *Kreuzkirche* on a map of Warmia by Frederick Enders in 1755⁹². Even the 19th century Polish literature refers to Lidzbark Warmiński as the Sacred Mountain⁹³. In 1350, the Prince-Bishop of Warmia, Jan of Meissen, moved his capital to Lidzbark Warmiński. It is rather unlikely that by doing so he wanted to further Christianise another place of pagan Prussian worship; however, erecting a church in that location quite early on may suggest such an approach.

Conclusions

With the development of Prussian settlements in the 14th-15th century, even though more and more churches and parishes were established, a portion of Prussian society still, mostly in secret, worshipped their old gods. It seems that some of those places were over time adopted by the Church and the pagan deities were replaced by Christian faith. From the 11th century and throughout the Middle Ages, Western Europe was marked by the rapid development of the Marian cult. Numerous sanctuaries have been built, often on the site of old Pagan⁹⁴ cult centres. Over time, the Marian cult arrived to Prussia, where ancient pagan places of worship were often converted to match Christian needs. Such a transformation took place in, amongst other places, Święta Lipka, at least from the 15th century. Outside Warmia, an analogous example is the village of Lipy near Lubawa. It appears that Christianity, initially destroying pagan symbols, in the longer term used the local religious traditions related to places sacred to pagans. In this way, it started to gain more and more of the power established among the local people. It was chiefly expressed in building churches in those places, superseding some of the traditions of those ancient cult places⁹⁵.

Robert Klimek, *Adaptacja pogańskich miejsc świętych przez Kościół katolicki na obszarze dawnych Prus w średniowieczu*

Streszczenie

W XIII w. nastąpił podbój pogańskich plemion pruskich przez zakon krzyżacki. Już 29 lipca 1243 r. we włoskim mieście Anagni na polecenie papieża legat Wilhelm z Modeny dokonał podziału obszaru ziemi pruskiej na cztery diecezje: chełmińską, pomezzańską, warmińską i sambijską. Sukcesywnie na podbitych obszarach Kościół szerzył idee chrześcijaństwa: budowano kościoły, zakładano parafie, narzucając Prusom nową wiarę. Prusowie za święte uważali gaje, pola i wody do tego stopnia, że nie odważyli się w nich wycinać drzew, ani

⁹² J. Enders, *Tabula geographica episcopatum warmiensem in Prussia*, Elbing 1755; J. Cary, *A new map of the Kingdom of Prussia*, London 1799.

⁹³ *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego*, t. 5, 1884, p. 220.

⁹⁴ J. Cheleni, H. Branthomme, *Boże drogi. Historia pielgrzymek chrześcijańskich*, Warszawa 1996, p. 129.

⁹⁵ P. Urbańczyk, op. cit., Wrocław 2008, p. 181.

uprawiać ziemi, ani łowić ryb. Powszechnie uważa się, że oprócz wymienionych miejsc świętych Prusowie mieli swoje centrum kultu zwane Romowe. Nie można wykluczyć, że tego typu centrum mogło występować na obszarze każdego z plemion. Jedno takie centrum kultu miało się znajdować w Patollen (późniejsze Groß Waldeck). Miał się tam znajdować dąb poświęcony trójcy bóstw: Patollowi, Potrimpusowi i Perkunowi. W drugiej połowie XIV w. wielki mistrz Winryk Kniprode zlecił budowę klasztoru pw. Świętej Trójcy. Klasztory powstały także w innych potwierdzonych źródłowo miejscach kultu, np.: w Świętej Siekierce, czy Łąkach Bratiańskich. Na innych miejscach kultu budowano kościoły. Takim szczególnym miejscem jest Święta Lipka, gdzie mamy potwierdzenie obrzędów pogańskich w XIV w., prawdopodobnie również w Gietrzwałdzie.

Wraz z rozwojem osadnictwa na ziemiach pruskich w XIV-XV w., mimo, że powstawało coraz więcej kościołów i parafii, to jednak część Prusów dalej, najczęściej w ukryciu, oddawało cześć dawnym bóstwom. Najwyraźniej niektóre z takich miejsc z czasem były adoptowane przez Kościół, a dawne pogańskie bóstwa zastępowano chrześcijańskimi. Najwyraźniej chrześcijaństwo, niszcząc w pierwszej akcji symbole pogańskie, w dłuższej perspektywie korzystało jednak z lokalnej tradycji sakralnej, związanej ze świętymi miejscami pogaństwa. W ten oto sposób zawłaszczało utrwaloną wśród miejscowej ludności moc. Znajdowało to wyraz przede wszystkim we wznoszeniu w tych zaadoptowanych miejscach kościołów, które przejmowały część tradycji dawnych kultów.

Robert Klimek, *Die Adaptation der heidnischen heiligen Orte auf den ehemaligen preußischen Gebieten durch die katholische Kirche im Mittelalter*

Zusammenfassung

Im 13. Jh. wurden die heidnischen preußischen Stämme durch den Deutschen Orden unterworfen. Bereits am 29. Juli 1243 führte der päpstliche Legat Wilhelm von Modena in der italienischen Stadt Anagni die Teilung der preußischen Gebiete in vier Diözesen durch: Kulm, Pomesanien, Ermland und Samland. Die Kirche verbreitete die Ideen des Christentums auf den eroberten Gebieten sukzessiv: es wurden Kirchen gebaut und neue Gemeinden gegründet, wobei den Prußen der neue Glauben aufgezwungen wurde. Die Prußen hielten manche Haine, Felder und Gewässer für heilig, so dass sie es nicht wagten, hier Bäume zu fällen, Boden zu bestellen und Fische zu fangen. Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass die Prußen außerdem ihr Kultuszentrum, Romowe, hatten. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass solche Zentren auf jedem Stammesgebiet existierten, eines davon gab es in Patollen (später Groß Waldeck). Dort sollte sich eine Eiche befinden, die dem Göttertrias: Patollos, Potrimpus und Perkunos gewidmet wurde. In der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jh. ließ hier der Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens Winrich von Kniprode das Kloster der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit erbauen. Die Kloster entstanden auch an anderen durch die Quellen bewiesenen ehemaligen Kultusorten, z.B. in Święta Siekierka (Heiligenbeil) oder in Łąki Bratiańskie (Königlich Lonk). An anderen Kultusstätten wurden die Kirchen errichtet. Ein besonderer Ort war Święta Lipka (Heilige Linde), wo die heidnischen Rituale noch im 14. Jh. verzeichnet worden waren, möglicherweise betraf dies auch Gietrzwałd (Dietrichswalde).

Zusammen mit der Besiedlung der preußischen Gebiete im 14. und 15. Jh., mit dem Bau der neuen Kirchen und der Entstehung der neuen Gemeinden wurden von einem Teil der Prußen die alten Götter heimlich angebetet. Offensichtlich wurden manche Orte mit der Zeit von der Kirche adaptiert und alte heidnische Götter durch christliche ersetzt. Ersichtlich war, dass das Christentum in der ersten Aktion die heidnischen Symbole vernichtet hatte, später aber nutzte es die lokale sakrale Tradition aus, die mit den heidnischen Kultusstätten verbunden war. Auf diese Weise wurde die von der örtlichen Bevölkerung festgehaltene Kraft übernommen. Das manifestierte sich dadurch, dass an diesen adaptierten Orten Kirchen erbaut wurden, die einen Teil der tradierten alten Kulte übernommen hatten.

Übersetzt von Alina Kuzborska

mgr Robert Klimek
Ośrodek Badań Naukowych
im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie
The Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre
in Olsztyn
robertusklimek@wp.pl

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CDW

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1935. *Codex diplomaticus Warmiensis oder Regesten und Urkunden zur Geschichte Ermlands*, hrsg. von V. Röhrich, F. Liedtke, H. Schmauch, Bd. 4, Braunsberg

CPD

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Grzegorz Białuński

SETTLEMENT IN THE SOUTH-EASTERN STATE
OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER IN PRUSSIA AFTER
THIRTEEN YEARS' WAR (1466–1525)

Słowa kluczowe: osadnictwo, państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach, wielka puszcza

Schlüsselwörter: Besiedlung, Deutsche Ordensstaat in Preussen, Grosse Wildnis

Keywords: settlement, State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, great wilderness

This article seeks to recapitulate the existing knowledge on the subject defined in the title. It focuses solely on a selected area of south-eastern Prussia, the so-called great wilderness (*Grosse Wildnis* in German)¹.

Research landscape

The first significant researcher who explored the subject of settlement in this area was M. Toeppen. His work *Geschichte Masurens* is a detailed and competent source on the settlement in times of the Teutonic Order, taking into account the wide spectrum of the political and socio-economic conditions of this area under the Teutonic Order's rule². Kętrzyński's work is consciously one-sided; it illustrates settlement and societal processes in Masuria from the perspective of Polish settlement only³. The indisputable advantage of both works was the wide use of the source base and the first accurate illustration of settlement processes, of the Polish settlement in particular.

¹ The studied area includes seven prussian districts – Starostei (Pol. starostwa) (after 1525 r.): Ryn district, Giżycko district, Pisz district, Elk district, Straduny (Olecko) district, Węgorzewo and zelkowo (Neuhoff) districts. Between 1466 and 1525 it was the area of Königsberg Commandry (Węgorzewo / Angerburg district), Brandenburg Commandry (Giżycko / Lötzen and Straduny / Stradunen districts) and Bałga Commandry (Ryn / Rhein, Elk / Lyck and Pisz / Johannsburg districts). After 1477 Rhein and Lyck district was linked in newly established Rhein Commandry.

² M. Toeppen, *Geschichte Masurens*, Danzig 1870. Polish edition: M. Toeppen, *Historia Mazur*, Olsztyn 1995, translated by: M. Szymańska-Jasińska, ed. by: G. Jasiński.

³ W. Kętrzyński, *O ludności polskiej w Prusiech niegdyś krzyżackich*, Lwów 1882.

Research into settlement processes was relaunched in the 1930s. Two synthetic publications on settlement deserve a mention here: first and foremost, an excellent work by K. Kasiski (however, concerning only the period until 1410)⁴ and its less successful continuation by K. Riel on settlement in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia in 1410–1466⁵. So far there has been no overall analysis of the settlement in Prussia after the Thirteen Years' War. Independently of syntheses, there have been many fragmentary publications or works limited to one administrative unit. Two publications seem noteworthy; one by O. Barkowski on the settlement in the circuits of Ryn and Straduny until the 18th century. The author gave a detailed illustration of the foundation of individual settlements but neglected the legal and social transformation as well as the origin of the settlers⁶. Its publication coincided with the release of a comprehensive work by F. Grigat which illustrates the settlement in the area of Mamry (the circuit of Węgorzewo⁷). Two other works, one by Ch. Moczarski about the Elk⁸ area and the other by R. Seeberg-Elverfeldt on the settlement in the area of Pisz, are accurate but have quite a general character⁹.

The post-war research complemented the data for the circuits of Pisz and Elk. Unfortunately, both B. Gebauer's work on the origins of settlement in the circuit of Elk, edited by W. Hubatsch, and H. Koch's publication on the settlement in the circuit of Pisz have remained unpublished¹⁰. The latter was supplemented by H.L. Hoffmann-Bagienski's source work on ancillary settlements in the area of Pisz¹¹. The remaining works regarding this subject were based largely on the past achievements; syntheses by W. Chojnacki, K. Górski and H. Wunder deserve a mention here¹². It was only recently that G. Białuński published new, detailed

⁴ K. Kasiske, *Die Siedlungstätigkeit des Deutschen Ordens im östlichen Preussen bis zum Jahre 1410*, Königsberg 1934.

⁵ K. Riel, *Die Siedlungstätigkeit des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen in der Zeit von 1410–1466*, *Altpreuussische Forschungen* (further: AF, 1937, Jg. 14, pp. 224–267).

⁶ O. Barkowski, *Beiträge zur Siedlungs- und Ortsgeschichte des Hauptamtes Rhein*, *Altpreuussische Forschungen*, 1934, Jg. 11, pp. 197–224; idem, *Quellenbeiträge zur Siedlungs- und Ortsgeschichte des Hauptamtes Stradunen-Oletzko*, AF, 1936, Jg. 13, pp. 183–223.

⁷ F. Grigat, *Die Besiedlung des Mauerseegebietes im Rahmen der Kolonisation Ostpreussen*, Königsberg 1937; W. Schibilla, *Siedlungsgeographie des Mauerseegebiets*, Königsberg 1933 (manuscript).

⁸ Ch. Moczarski, *Der Kreis Lyck, ein ostpreussischer Wirtschaftsraum*, Königsberg 1938; printed again in: *Sudauen. Blätter zur Heimatgeschichte des Kreises Lyck*, Hagen 1968, Folge 5.

⁹ R. Seeberg-Elverfeldt, *Der Verlauf der Besiedlung des ostpreussischen Amtes Johannsburg bis 1818*, *Altpreuussische Forschungen*, 1934, Jg. 11, pp. 39–62.

¹⁰ B. Gebauer, *Die Entwicklung der Siedlungslandschaft in Süd- Ostmasuren (Kreis Lyck), unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Siedlungsgenese. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturlandschaftsordnung im deutschen Osten*, Göttingen 1959 (manuscript); H. Koch, *Die Geschichte der Besiedlung des Kreises Johannsburg*, Universitäts Bibliothek Münster, sygn. U 656 (manuscript).

¹¹ H. L. Hoffmann-Bagienski, *Die Dienstgüter des Amtes Johannsburg*, Hamburg 1992; F. J. Maciejewska, *Geneza, rozwój i przemiany sieci osadniczej regionu piskiego od XIII wieku do 1988 roku*, Olsztyn 1995.

¹² W. Chojnacki, *Osadnictwo polskie na Mazurach w XIII–XVIII w.*, in: *Szkice z dziejów Pomorza*, v. 2, Warszawa 1959, pp. 5–33; H. Wunder, *Siedlung und Bevölkerung im Ordenstaat, Herzogtum und Königreich Preussen (13.–18. Jahrhundert)*, in: *Ostdeutsche Geschichte – und Kulturlandschaften*, Th. 2: *Ost- und Westpreussen*, hrsg. von M. Rothe, Köln 1987, pp. 67–98, K. Górski, *Początki kolonizacji polskiej w Prusach*, Strażnica Zachodnia,

monographies on settlement and societal processes in this area¹³. These works provide a reference for the present synthesis.

Overview of settlement after Thirteen Years' War

In the pre-Teutonic period the area was inhabited by Prussian tribes. However, only few traces of their settlement remain; these include emplacement ruins and nomenclatures. This is due to the depopulation of the area which the Teutonic Knights conducted after the conquest; they went as far as to call it "the great wilderness" (*Grosse Wildnis*). Teutonic settlement developed initially only in the western part of the order's new dominion¹⁴. In the area which would later become Masuria, settlement began in the 14th century. Until 1410 settlement processes were initiated to colonize the areas of Węgorzewo, Ryn and Giżycko, while the areas of the castle in Pisz (1346) and the castle in Elk (constructed late, ca. 1398) remained uninhabited. Respectively, there were four new settlements near the castle in Węgorzewo and three near the castles of Giżycko and Ryn each. What draws attention is the prevalence of ancillary settlements (*Dienstgüter*), or small quasi-knight's properties – belonging to the so-called freemen (*Freie*) who were obliged to perform military service – over peasant tenement villages. This was due to the fact that the newly established state required defence forces. Initially the owners of those settlements were not distinguished as freemen or noblemen, although this social group was far from homogeneous. It was divided into common freemen (*gemeyne Freie*), knights and noblemen (*Ritter, Erbarleute*). The first group, significantly larger than the others, later gave rise to the group of freemen, or the so-called small freemen (*kleine Freie*). From the other group emerged noblemen (*Adel*) and the so-called great freemen (*grosse Freie*)¹⁵.

At the time when colonisation was being extended onto Masuria, the State of the Teutonic Order saw a decreased influx of Germans, which meant their participation

R. 12, 1933, no 4, pp. 549–563; idem, *Z dziejów żywiołu polskiego w Prusiech od 1525 r. do 1772 r.*, Jantar, 1939, R. 3, pp. 1–12. See also: K. Conrad, *Der Deutsche Orden und sein Landesausbau in Preußen*, in: *Deutscher Orden 1190–1990*, hrsg. von U. Arnold, Lüneburg 1997, pp. 83–106; J. Małek, *Migracje ludności niemieckiej, polskiej litewskiej na ziemię pruskie w XIII–XVI wieku*, Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie (further: KMW), 2003, no 4, pp. 431–441; B. Jähnig, *Siedlungsgeschichte Masurens vom Mittelalter bis in die neuere Zeit*, in: idem, *Vorträge und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Preußenlandes und des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter. Ausgewählte Beiträge zum 70. Geburtstag am 7. Oktober 2011*, hrsg. von H.J. und B. Kämpfert, Münster 2011, pp. 366–378.

¹³ G. Białuński, *Osadnictwo regionu Wielkich Jezior Mazurskich od XIV do początku XVIII w. – starostwo leckie (giżyckie) i ryńskie*, Olsztyn 1996; idem, *Siedlungswesen im Bereich der Großen Masurischen Seen vom 14. bis 18. Jahrhundert – Ämter Lötzen und Rhein*, Hamburg 2005; idem, *Przemiany społeczno-ludnościowe południowo-wschodnich Prus Krzyżackich i Książęcych do 1568 r.*, Olsztyn 2001; idem, *Kolonizacja „Wielkiej Puszczy” (do 1568 roku) – starostwa piskie, elckie, straduńskie, zelkowskie i węgoborskie (węgorzewskie)*, Olsztyn 2002; idem, *Bevölkerung und Siedlung im ordensstaatlichen und herzoglichen Preussen im Gebiet der „Grossen Wildnis” bis 1568*, Hamburg 2009.

¹⁴ K. Kasiske, op. cit., passim.

¹⁵ G. Białuński, *Przemiany*, pp. 201–218, 226–234; M. Biskup, G. Labuda, *Dzieje zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach. Gospodarka – społeczeństwo – państwo – ideologia*, Gdańsk 1988, pp. 303–305, 309–311.

in the settlement processes was diminishing as well. It was particularly noticeable in the area discussed herein. Research into the amts of Ryn and Giżycko has shown that people of Prussian origin prevailed, some of them indigenous, some of them having immigrated into the area as part of internal colonisation. The Polish community was still negligible at that time. The first Poles who did distinguish themselves inhabited the area of the Pisz castle; they were beekeepers originating from Masovia, who explored the wilderness and then established the first settlements there¹⁶.

After 1410 colonization was extended onto eastern Masuria and the hitherto forgotten areas of the castles of Pisz and Elk. After 1466 new settlements were established in the following amts: in Pisz as many as 77, in Elk – 9, in Węgorzewo – 11, in Ryn – 28 and in Giżycko – 9. Elk and Pisz were granted town rights in 1435 and 1451 respectively, which shows that the scale of colonisation in eastern Masuria was significant. However, those towns failed to develop as they were supposed to, which leads to the assumption that the number of settlers was smaller than expected. One of the obstacles was undoubtedly Thirteen Years' War between Poland and the Teutonic Order (1454–1466). Granting ancillary settlements to freemen prevailed, especially in south-eastern Masuria. Until 1454 the amt of Pisz witnessed the foundation of as many as 69 ancillary settlements, in comparison with only six tenement villages (although the circuit of Ryn had only three). Tenement villages were inhabited by peasants who were obliged to pay rent and perform free work on a farm owned by Teutonic knights (*szarwark*)¹⁷.

The period was marked by significant ethnic transformations, especially in the ratio of the Poles to the Prussians as the population of German origin was becoming less dominant. The number and significance of the Polish community had risen sharply, reaching a half-and-half ratio with the Prussian community, and was still growing while the latter was beginning to dwindle. Poles began to prevail in the southern State of the Teutonic Order and ca. 1450 they were already a majority in the area of Pisz, to the extent that the vassal's oath presented to Grand Master Ludwik von Erlichshausen was written in Polish. In addition to those three nations occasionally there were others, such as Ruthenians and Lithuanians, mainly in northeastern Masuria¹⁸.

Settlement after Thirteen Years' War and its outcome

During Thirteen Years' War (1454–1466) colonisation practically ceased; the first settlements were not established until 1465 in the amt of Pisz. After the war settlement was particularly active in eastern Masuria: settlements were established

¹⁶ G. Białuński, *Kolonizacja „Wielkiej Puszczy”*, pp. 21–25.

¹⁷ G. Białuński, *Osadnictwo*, pp. 27–55; idem, *Kolonizacja „Wielkiej Puszczy”*, pp. 21–37, 76–79, 112–113, 166–174.

¹⁸ G. Białuński, *Osadnictwo*, p. 79–88; idem, *Przemiany*, pp. 50–60.

in the following amts: in Pisz – 38 (as many as 16 until 1471), in Ełk – 102, in Ryn – 28, in Giżycko – 28. Settlement was less active in the northern part of this area – in and around Węgorzewo only 4 settlements were established (for details see Table 1). Eventually, colonisation was extended into the border regions of the State of the Teutonic Order; it was the eastern part of the amt of Giżycko, which was to become the starostwo of Straduny (later starostwo of Olecko), where several dozen settlements were established simultaneously (54 to be more precise)¹⁹. In total, as many as 254 new settlements were founded in the studied area, therefore nearly 400 towns and villages including those established earlier. The circuit of Ełk was colonised entirely. Colonisation continued in the next period, especially in the northern part of the district of Straduny and the eastern part of the district of Węgorzewo, and even extended onto the remaining uninhabited lands in the starostwo of Pisz, Ryn and Giżycko.

After the Thirteen Years' War many received free properties, which together with the so-called ploughmen's villages accounted for nearly 80 per cent of all the new settlements. Towards the end of the Teutonic Order's rule in Prussia, the studied area (which was ca. 6,500 km large at that time ²), had more than 21,000 inhabitants in total, a significant rise from the initial 5,000 (see Table 2). The average population density stood at slightly more than three people per km ². However, the situation in the districts varied considerably, ranging from less than one person in the district of Węgorzewo to more than 11 people per km² in the district of Ełk.

Table 1 The number and type of settlements in individual districts created in the years 1465–1525

District	Tenement villages	Freemen's villages	Ploughmen's villages	Other	Total (including those existing ca. 1525)
Giżycko	15	12	–	1	28 (39)
Ryn	12	15	–	1	28 (58)
Pisz	1	37	–	–	38 (115)
Ełk	8	49	45	–	102 (111)
Straduny	6	44	1	3	54 (58)
Węgorzewo	1	3	–	–	4 (15)
Total	43	150	46	5	254 (396)

Source: own calculations.

¹⁹ G. Białuński, *Kolonizacja „Wielkiej Puszczy”*, pp. 113–128.

Table 2. The area and population of the individual districts

District	1466	1519/1525	Area in ^{km} 2
Giżycko	500	2000	ca. 550
Ryn	1120	3000	ca. 1250
Pisz	2010	5400	ca. 1300
Ełk	425	6605	ca. 600
Straduny	345	2862	ca. 1400
Węgorzewo	640	1245	ca. 1400
Total	5040	21112	ca. 6500

Source: own calculations.

Ethnic transformations

The period following 1466 witnessed a significant dominance of the Polish community. This was due to a massive influx of Masovian population, both peasantry and small noblemen (in total, the estimated number of Polish settlers who arrived in the area at that time stood at 20,000-25,000)²⁰. The end of the State of the Teutonic Knights saw a surge of internal colonization by the descendants of the first Masovian settlers. Internal colonisation was less intense in the first phase of this period as the war had caused the population to diminish. This situation made it only easier for new settlers from the outside to colonise the area. The share of small noblemen of Masovia was particularly significant, as evidenced by family names carried over directly from the vicinity of Wąsosz, Kolno and Grajewo to the area of Pisz, Ryn and Ełk; these include: Cwaliny, Rostki, Kurzątki, Konopki, Lipińskie, Czyprki²¹. It was the last period when the Prussian community was still a significant part of the colonisation movement. More and more noticeable was the influx of Lithuanians, Ruthenians (who were quickly Polonised outside the district of Węgorzewo) and Germans, who usually inhabited tenement villages and settlements in castle areas (Giżycko, Węgorzewo, Ryn, Ełk, and Pisz).

Social groups and types of settlements

The society of medieval and modern times was divided into estates i.e. peasants, the nobility, the clergy and the bourgeoisie. Of course it was barely a model breakdown, which, as is often the case, permitted certain derogations. One of them

²⁰ H. Gollub, *Masuren. Ostpreussische Landeskunde in Einzeldarstellungen*, Königsberg 1934, pp. 110–111.

²¹ G. Białuński, *Przemiany*, pp. 77–96.

was the Prussian class of the so-called freemen, who were ranked between the nobility and peasants, and the class of ploughmen, ranked between freemen and peasants²². The area in question did not possess any functioning town (granting town rights to Elk in 1435 and Pisz in 1451 proved to be a failure) and therefore no representatives of the bourgeoisie.

Peasants (*Bauern* in German) inhabited tenement villages (*Zinsdörfer*) or villages belonging to *szarwarks* (*Scharwerksdörfer*). It means they either paid a predefined rent, or (very rarely) performed labour instead (on a *szarwark* i.e. in the form of serfdom). Peasants were not true owners of the land; they kept it in acquisitive emphyteusis. Hence, peasant villages belonged either to the order (the vast majority) or to a private owner (a freeman or a knight). In general, peasants paid the rent and worked on a *szarwark* at the same time. Tributes depended on the size of fields belonging to peasants. In the 15th century peasants were supposed to work on average 14 days per year.

A peasant farm covered the area of 0.5-3 fiefs, while in *szarwark* villages the rent was initially at the level of 0.5-1 *grzywna* (a medieval monetary unit). There were also tributes in kind: usually one *wiertel* (ca. 14 litres) or two of wheat and rye, together with a goose or two hens. Those were often complemented by a bushel (ca. 55 litres) of oat and a *wiertel* of wood gathered from three fiefs. Of course, tributes varied as far as individual components were concerned. From the 15th century on peasants also performed obligatory military service; not every single one of them, though. Those selected for the military duty were later called the chosen ones (*Wibranzen*), usually from one to four peasants per village.

Freemen (*Freie* in German) were a typically Prussian social layer. Their roots go back to the conquest of Prussia by the Teutonic order; it was then that the order granted small estates in return for military service (the so-called ancillary settlements *Dienstgüter*). Initially there were no major differences between freemen and the developing nobility; besides, some freemen later became part of the latter. What largely contributed to the collapse of freemen was the fragmentation of their property, which further weakened their economic situation. This only downplayed their importance and with time made it impossible for them to perform military service. This, in turn, led the authorities to expand duties towards Teutonic farms (*szarwark*), even against the privileges of freemen. What eventually doomed freemen was their complete exclusion from political life in the 16th century.

They were the most numerous social group in the study area. In source literature they were referred to either as *Freye* or *ziemianie* in Polish. Freemen who resided in private settlements were called tenants (*Lehnmänner*).

²² To learn more on this topic see: M. Toeppen, op. cit., pp. 133-146, 191-196; W. Kętrzyński, op. cit., pp. 250-283; G. Białuński, *Przemiany*, pp. 141-255.

Freemen were usually granted a farm sized from several to over ten fiefs. However, their estates underwent a significant fragmentation over time. Even the former freemen's settlements began to be referred to as villages (Freyendörfer). Not all farmers were obliged to serve on a szarwark; it depended on the provisions included in the founding document of a given settlement. Similarly, not everyone was obliged to donate the so-called plough corn (Pflugkorn). Its amount was determined based on the size of an entire farm and not just on the number of fiefs (as was in the case of peasants), which was much more profitable for freemen. Freemen were obliged to perform military service with a horse and armour. This concerned only selected ones, usually several dozen from each district. Labour performed on a szarwark was varied; for instance, it could consist in providing horse wagons, participating in hunting, or working on fortified constructions. Some freemen were exempt from labour on a szarwark by paying an appropriate fee, usually of several grzywna, called Freygeld.

Towards the decline of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia the nobility started to become more distinct as a social layer. At the same time, freemen's properties underwent fragmentation as their social and economic position started to decrease. It is worth noting the reasons for the division of ancillary settlements into those belonging to noblemen and freemen. Promotion was granted to those settlements which were exempt from labour on a szarwark (constructing and renovating castles); those were not divided among freemen.

The highest social standing belonged to the nobility (Adel), who were in fact the former chivalry (*Ritterschaft*). Access to the noble estate depended on the following factors: owning free, hereditary property of a considerable area governed by a nobleman approved by a higher authority, as well as being exempt from fortification works (which was equivalent to exemption from serving on a szarwark). Noblemen's estates comprised properties of an area from several to several dozen of fiefs. The primary responsibility which derived from owning a property was serving as a knight (usually one military service per 40 fiefs). The nobility received higher and lower jurisdiction within their estates. They were also exempt from rent, labour on a szarwark and other burdens. Moreover, they were authorised to hunt and extract wood from forests belonging to the order, to fish in nearby lakes and to extend patronage over the church; they also gained the right of running independent taprooms and beer brewing. Noblemen organised farm work in their estates; the rest of the land was given to peasants, who, as subjects and crofters, worked on their master's farm on principles identical to those applying earlier to work on a farm belonging to the order. However, details concerning burdens on this area remain unknown.

At that time freemen as a social class were represented by the so-called ploughmen (Plunger). In source literature they were first referred to as such in 1519 (Oratschen)²³. However, the first ploughmen's villages were recorded as early as in the 1470s. Nearly all of them were created under the Teutonic Order's rule; after that period only two new ones were founded. In 1525, there were as many as 46 ploughmen's villages, all except for one located in the amt of Ełk. In total, ploughmen accounted for 18 per cent of the entire population of this amt and owned 26 per cent of the area's arable land.

It is worth noting that ploughmen's obligations differed from military service. In their case, each service unit was expected to provide a man, a horse and a set of draught animals (rather than an armour). One service unit corresponded to 15 fiefs of land, half a unit to 7.5 fiefs, and, accordingly, two service units to 30 fiefs. The most complete description of the ploughmen's obligations was preserved in one of the books of the castle and dates back to mid-16th century²⁴: "(...) Ploughmen – each one has 15 fiefs, which makes one service unit; they have no founding rights, only purchase letters. Their obligation is to plough the farm fields to prepare them for winter and spring crops, perform all kinds of construction work on a farm, erecting field fences, mowing grass from one morga, then collecting and transporting it to the Castle of Ełk. They shall [also] donate one bushel of wheat and one bushel of rye per one dym²⁵ as well as a pound of wax per each service unit. They also provide $\frac{3}{4}$ of a wagon of wood per each service unit, and if that is not sufficient, they should provide two wagons from each dym²⁶".

Ploughmen were classified as small freemen, who, in lieu of military service, were required to perform ploughmen's service. Their social and economic position was similar to that of freemen, although the social mentality of the time would have it that they stood a little lower. Ploughmen without founding rights had their own property but they were governed by the simplified Magdeburg law²⁷.

Village magistrates, innkeepers and millers also belonged to freemen. All of them were listed in tribute letters side by side with freemen. In tenement villages those endowed with special privileges were village magistrates (Schulze). One village magistrate was not the rule; their number depended on how many farms there were in a village. There was usually one magistrate per 20 farms. Village magistrates performed military service, one from each administrative unit; those who

23 Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, XX. Hauptabteilung (GStAPK), Ordensbriefarchiv nr 22935.

24 GStAPK, Ostpreussische Folianten, no 119, f. 87.

25 Term „dym” should be understood like one farm. To learn more on this topic see: H. Łowmiański, *Zaludnienie państwa litewskiego w wieku XVI. Zaludnienie w roku 1528*, Poznań 1998, pp. 131–132.

26 W. Kętrzyński, *O ludności polskiej*, p. 265.

27 G. Białuński, *Bevölkerung*, pp. 377–382.

did not, had to pay about 3 grzywna of rent, called Freygeld. They were required to pay a levy called plough corn (Pflugkorn), namely one bushel of wheat and the same amount of rye. Village magistrates were in charge of jurisdiction in villages; they also supervised a szarwark and kept order in the area. All in all, their social standing was comparable to that of freemen.

Those innkeepers (Krüger) who had inherited their taverns (often under a separately granted privilege) also enjoyed a high social position. Taverns were subject to rent (Krugzins), and the so-called plug money (Zapfengeldt) was derived from those who sold own-produced beverages. The amount of rent varied considerably: from several to several dozen grzywna and hens (capons, to be more precise). Land ownership meant that innkeepers were also required to pay rent and serve on a szarwark, although usually they could be exempt from the latter by paying a fee, the so-called Freygeld. On rare occasions innkeepers had other duties, such as supplying horse wagons.

There were also millers (Müller), but only those who owned an inherited mill (often granted with a separate privilege) along with several fiefs of land could be classified as high-ranked citizens. Their obligation was to pay rent (up to several grzywna per year); some of them also provided donations in kind – an animal for fattening or a chicken. Millers were also required to serve on a szarwark; however, it usually consisted only in manual labour, without supplying draught animals. To this group belonged also owners of ironworks (forges), who paid a relatively high rent or donated specific iron products.

Initially beekeepers (Beutner, Biener) formed a considerable group as well. Among them were professional beekeepers who performed their duties on the same basis as service on a szarwark. They had to install a specific number of beehives per year, for which they received a corresponding remuneration. Honey had to be donated entirely to the order authorities, except for small amounts for domestic or professional use. Honey and wax were also paid for, and the remuneration was defined in a privilege. Beekeepers often came from other social groups, such as peasants or freemen; however, they treated it as a supplementary job. For beehives installed in the forest, beekeepers were subject to forest rent (Heydezins); for beehives installed in gardens, they paid beekeeping rent (Bartenzins). At least half of the produced honey had to be donated to the authorities, who paid a predefined price to beekeepers. The same referred to wax.

The clergy were an important, even if small social group. Parish priests usually received four fiefs of land as remuneration on the area of their parish. In addition, all social groups were obliged to contribute to the maintenance of priests and churches in the form of a tithe and other, such as service donations. Their responsibility was

to attend to the spiritual needs of community members, celebrate masses and administer sacraments. Some parish priests were aided by another clergyman, a curate.

The poor enjoyed personal freedom and accounted for quite a percentage of the population; they included smallholders, paid workers and the so-called “loose workers” (Gärtner, Instleute, Losleute). Smallholders, in addition to their own homes, owned small plots of land called enclosures. Both of these properties were subject to rent, but it was only half (or less) of what peasants had to pay. These people were employed to perform paid work on public or private estates. Paid workers did not own homes or enclosures; they were accommodated in rooms in their employers’ houses. They were employed for a season to perform specific work. Those who resided there over a longer period of times were referred to as room tenants (Kammerleute).

Smallholders often established separate settlements, the so-called enclosure villages, e.g. Ryn, Okartowo, Pisz, Wola near the castles of Węgorzewo and Giżycko.

This social landscape is complemented by servants and trade apprentices (Gesinde). They were employed on farms belonging to the order, the nobility, or to the others. The person in charge of a farm was the courtman (Hoffmann) and his wife (Hoffmutter); there were also farmhands (Knecht), shepherds (Hirte), girl and boy servants (Mägde, Margell, and Dienstjunge), etc.

Colonisation and law

Since the beginning of the colonisation the Teutonic Order granted specific rights to residents; those comprised the Prussian law, the Kulm law and the Magdeburg law. In the period studied in this paper it was the Magdeburg law in its simplified form that enjoyed the most popularity, especially in granting land to freemen. In the case of tenement villages the Kulm law prevailed; it was rarely used for freemen’s property (see Table 3).

Table 3 Law granted in founding privileges in 1466–1525

Law	Tenement villages	Freemen’s villages (including those of the nobility)	Total
Prussian	–	1	1
Kulm	27	12 (1)	39
Magdeburg (simplified)	5	179 (3)	184
Magdeburg (for both sexes)	–	21 (6)	21
Total	32	213	245

Source: own calculations.

Granting land based on the law of Prussia and the so-called hereditary law (which was identical to the former) can only be found in the district of Ryn at the turn of the 14th and 15th century (Salpik, Bałowo, Głąbowo)²⁸. After Thirteen Years' War only one instance of granting land based on this law can be found, and it did not concern a new settlement any more. In 1495 a certain Jan Kurzătko was granted additional property in Salpik, on the same legal basis as the main privilege: in all probability the Prussian law. The land in question was the size of four morga and was supposed to "help" the servants of the farm; in return, the owner had to donate four bushels of oat and supply hay for the horses in the castle²⁹. Prussian freemen continued to live in Salpik and Głąbowo, but the properties in Bałowo were taken over by the noble family of Sixtins and had their law changed to the Magdeburg law for both sexes. The Prussian law limited the succession to sons only. Part of owners' obligations was to pay the so-called recognition fee (to have their authority recognised), a tithe and a plough crop, serving on a szarwark, performing military service and working on fortifications' construction. Prussian freemen were granted jurisdiction over their own subjects. They could also sell their property provided that they notified their master and were granted his consent.

An advantage of the Kulm right was that men and women were eligible for succession on equal terms. Owned property could be freely encumbered or sold, with the reservation that the performance of duties towards the master continued. The Kulm law also provided that fees and other obligations resulting from land ownership were not an excessive burden for settlers. The basic fee was a small recognition rent, as a symbol of submission to sovereignty and jurisdiction of an authority. The fee was usually one Cologne fenig (or five Kulm fenig) and one pound of wax deducted from the entire property. Moreover, property holders subject to this law paid tribute in rye and performed military service. Land granted on the basis of the Kulm law was allodial, meaning that it was exempt from serfdom. Another benefit of this law was the possibility to introduce a self-government with a jury and a magistrate (or a judge) presiding over it. The Kulm law dominated in the first period of Teutonic colonisation. Until Thirteen Years' War land and villages were granted almost exclusively on the basis of this law. During the period in question it was no longer so popular, with the exception of tenement villages.

The Magdeburg law, in turn, was used mainly in granting land to freemen and knights. According to its provisions only sons were entitled to succession but the privilege was granted also to collateral male relatives (descendants of the first owner). This would be later referred to as the simplified Magdeburg law. The owner paid the recognition rent, a tribute in cereal, and was obliged to perform

²⁸ G. Białuński, *Przemiany*, pp. 147–148; W. Kętrzyński, *op. cit.*, pp. 250–255, 283–289.

²⁹ G. Białuński, *Osadnictwo*, pp. 69–70.

military service. Land granted on the basis of this law was a feudal property. In the 15th century another version of this law gained popularity; it was known as „law for both sexes”. It meant that women could succeed to property; however, only in the case when there were no male successors. If there were no descendants at all, the land was granted to the ruler. Such properties could be sold or encumbered, provided that the authorities consented to it. It was the Magdeburg law that dominated in Prussia towards the end of the State of the Teutonic Order.

The law applying during settlement processes did not have great influence on social diversity; however, it did have impact on succession. The Kulm law guaranteed succession rights to both men and women, therefore it protected against escheat (transferring property to the authorities in lack of male heirs). The Magdeburg law, with the alterations concerning succession, was gaining popularity with settlers as it protected the estate against fragmentation, encouraged by the Kulm law (under which married daughters could succeed to the estate).

Finally, a few remarks on land ownership. Land granted on the basis of the Magdeburg law was feudal, and on the basis of the Kulm law – allodial. Tenement peasants held farms on hereditary terms; however, only one chosen son („the most decent one”) could succeed to it. This form of land ownership by peasants is referred to as emphyteusis, or perpetual lease without property rights. Those peasants held land on terms of limited ownership; they could encumber it with debt or mortgage but could not sell it without their master’s consent. Hereditary lease was therefore only a subordinate form of ownership.

Organisation of settlement

Colonisation policy was defined and executed by a commander. Methodically planned, the colonisation began in the western territories of the state and continued further east until reaching the great wilderness. The commanders of Królewiec, Brandenburgia, Bałga and Ryn were responsible for colonisation in the studied area. However, in most cases it was potential founders and voluntary settlers who first came to a local official of lower rank – a pflieger. They discussed the basic terms of a foundation: the site, the purchase cost, the exemption period (up to 20 years), the amount of rent and other tributes, the scope of privileges (such as fishing, milling, beekeeping, hunting) and the type of law which would govern the settlement; this would become an outline of a future privilege (Handfeste), usually issued by a commander, or the grand master himself after a successful foundation. The founder invested his estate to purchase land and then brought settlers

to colonise it. He was the only person responsible for it. The foundation area was measured by a geometrician: first, the size of a village; then, three niwa (a land division unit), required by the three-field system used during that time (division into spring cereal, winter cereal and set-aside), and finally the number of land units per peasant. Units were allocated at random, hence their Latin name sors, "fate". In addition to arable land, common areas were allocated for pastures and meadows. Later, forests were grubbed and the obtained wood was used to build houses and farm buildings, in a specific location and order (e.g. along one road). Another step was to arrange space in individual division units. The founder was usually granted 1/10 of the area; moreover, he was exempt from labour and tributes and was appointed community leader with the right to bequeath the title. One of his duties was to perform military service and keep order in the village; this included exercising lower jurisdiction and collection of tributes³⁰.

In the case of ancillary settlements the founding procedure was similar; however, the freeman did not bring peasants with him, but rather colonised and organised the area on his own, sometimes with the help of paid workers (smallholders) and apprentices. When vast areas of land (several dozen fiefs) were granted, a newly founded village could even have its own servants or private ancillary properties inhabited by the so-called tenants. The primary responsibility of freemen and knights was military service, which they often transferred to their tenants.

In the period after Thirteen Years' War there were instances of granting land without the founding privilege, mainly in the case of ancillary settlements, and especially ploughmen's villages in the district of Elk, occasionally also in the case of tenement villages (e.g. in the district of Giżycko and Ryn³¹). On such occasions, a lower official of the order presiding over the given administrative unit usually issued only the so-called purchase letter (Kaufbrief). There were cases, however, when even that document was missing. Individual cases of granting land to inhabitants without privileges can be found in the area of Pisz at the beginning of the 16th century. Two settlements had no privileges whatsoever, and ten settlements had only purchase letters without any specified foundation law. Later on, all those settlements were subject to the simplified Magdeburg law and classified as freemen's villages³². In the district of Pisz, unlike the ploughmen's villages in the district of Elk, all the landowners were obliged to perform military service. Such was the case with all settlements of this type in other districts.

30 W. Długokęcki, *Spółeczeństwo wiejskie*, in: *Państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach*, ed. by: M. Biskup, R. Czaja, Warszawa 2008, pp. 460–461.

³¹ G. Białuński, *Siedlungswesen*, pp. 47–48, 56, 60.

³² G. Białuński, *Kolonizacja „Wielkiej Puszczy”*, pp. 52–53.

* * *

Settlement after the Thirteen Years' War played a very important role in the studied area. It was a period of a very intensive establishment of new settlements. Only one historical period, namely the rule of Prince Albrecht (1525–1568) seems more successful in this respect, especially the year 1540 and those immediately following it. Of ground-breaking importance was also an intensive influx of Polish-speaking population. For centuries this fact shaped the ethnic landscape of this part of Prussia, which would later become Masuria.

Grzegorz Białuński, *Osadnictwo w południowo-wschodniej części państwa zakonu krzyżackiego po wojnie trzynastoletniej (1466–1525)*

Streszczenie

W artykule podjęto próbę podsumowania aktualnej wiedzy na temat osadnictwa w południowo-wschodniej części państwa Zakonu Krzyżackiego w latach 1466–1525. Autor skupia się wyłącznie na wybranym obszarze Prus, tzw. Wielkiej Puszczy (Grosse Wildnis). W artykule została omówiona problematyka kolonizacji i zasiedlenia, a także towarzyszących tym procesom przemianom etnicznym i demograficznym, omówiono uczestniczące w nich grupy społeczne i prawo stosowane w czasie kolonizacji, jakim objęci byli osadnicy.

Osadnictwo na obszarze Wielkiej Puszczy po wojnie trzynastoletniej odegrało bardzo ważną rolę nie tylko w kontekście omawianego terytorium, ale też państwa krzyżackiego. Był to okres bardzo intensywnego tworzenia nowych osad. Przełomowy był również intensywny napływ ludności polskojęzycznej, która przez kolejne stulecia kształtowała krajobraz etniczny i kulturowy tej części Prus, która później stała się Mazurami.

Grzegorz Białuński, *Die Besiedlung des südöstlichen Teils des Ordensstaates Preußen nach dem dreizehnjährigen Krieg (1466–1525)*

Zusammenfassung

Im Beitrag wurde ein Versuch unternommen, das bisherige Wissen über die Besiedlung des südöstlichen Teils des Ordensstaates in den Jahren 1466–1525 zusammenzufassen. Der Autor konzentriert sich auf das ausgewählte Gebiet in Preußen, die sog. Große Wildnis. Im Beitrag wurden außerdem Probleme der Kolonisation und der Besiedlung besprochen, darüber hinaus wurden auch die Prozesse der ethnischen und demographischen Wandlungen, die darin beteiligten sozialen Gruppen und das während der Kolonisierung angewandte Recht in Bezug auf die neuen Siedler präsentiert.

Die Besiedlung der Großen Wildnis spielte eine wichtige Rolle nach dem dreizehnjährigen Krieg nicht nur in Bezug auf das besprochene Gebiet, sondern auch in Bezug auf den gesamten Ordensstaat. Es war Zeit einer intensiven Bildung neuer Siedlungen. Bahnbrechend war auch der Zustrom der polnischen Bevölkerung, die jahrhundertlang die ethnische Kulturlandschaft dieses Teils Preußens bildete, der später Masuren genannt wurde.

Übersetzt von Alina Kuzborska

prof. dr hab. Grzegorz Białuński
Wydział Prawa i Administracji
Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski w Olsztynie
Faculty of Law and Administration
University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn
grzegorz.bialunski@uwm.edu.pl

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Stanisław Achremczyk

WARMIA IN THE POLISH KINGDOM

- Słowa kluczowe:** biskupstwo warmińskie, 1466, polscy biskupi na Warmii, Drugi pokój toruński
- Schlüsselwörter:** Fürstbistum Ermland, 1466, Polnische Bischöfe in Ermland, Zweite Frieden von Thorn
- Keywords:** Prince-Bishopric of Warmia, 1466, Polish bishops in Warmia, Second Peace of Thorn

The Warmian dominium was a part of the Teutonic State for 223 years, the Polish Kingdom ruled it for 306 years, the Prussian State for 153. From 1945, it is again within the borders of Poland. As a ramification of the Thirteen Years' War, it was included in the Polish Kingdom. Prince-Bishop Paul Legendorf was the one who succeeded in joining it to the state. The Teutonic State was in a crisis after losing the Battle of Grunwald, with the mistrust of its inhabitants towards the Order constantly rising. The Prussian Confederation established in 1440 became a representative of the states. The Confederation was to fight fiscalism and Teutonic lawlessness, leading to the overthrowing of their sovereignty. The only Warmian representation signing the Foundation Act of the Prussian Confederation was the delegation of the Old Town of Braniewo. After two months, also other Warmian towns – apart from Biskupiec – joined the Confederation, with the Warmian chapter expressing the will of accession as well. Initially, Bishop Franciszek Kuhschmalz supported the confederates, but eventually chose the Teutonic side. The Order started to intervene in the internal issues of Warmia increasingly often. The Warmians remembered that in 1375 in a dispute with the Order they lost about 6000 “Hufen” of the Galindian forest. Grand Masters enforced administrative and economic regulations such as the rendition of fugitives, harmonising measures and weights as well as coins. Warmia was not politically independent and the bishops paid a high price for trying to achieve it¹.

The Prussian Estates renounced allegiance towards the Order on 4 February 1454 and began their uprising by attacking Teutonic lands, having a promise of

¹ V. Röhrich, *Geschichte des Fürstbistums Ermland*, Braunsberg 1925, pp. 258–265; H. Schmauch, *Ermland und der Deutschriten während der Regierung des Bischofs Heinrich IV. Heilsberg (1401–1415)*, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands* (further: ZGAE), 1926, Bd. 22, pp. 465–498; A. Szorc, *Dominium warmińskie 1243–1772*, Olsztyn 1990, p. 80.

support from the Polish king. Warmia also joined the war. The citizens of Braniewo were the first ones to signal an attack. The crowd attacked the bishop's castle, destroyed the mill and manor farm. The information that stopped the Braniewians from attacking Frombork was that the Warmian chapter officially supported the Confederation. The town was left unharmed and the forces left towards Bałga. They conquered the commander's castle without a fight. The inhabitants of Orneta also plundered the castle, while the citizens of Dobre Miasto destroyed Smolajny. A similar situation could be observed in Lidzbark Warmiński, Jeziorany, Barczewo and Bisztynek². Olsztyn was seized by Baltasar of Skajboty with local knights so that the town and the castle would not get into Teutonic hands. Bishop Kuhschmalz, the only Prussian bishop supporting the Order, had to leave Warmia and take refuge in Malbork. Meanwhile, a delegation of the Prussian Confederation rode to meet with king Casimir Jagiellon to acknowledge his authority. Two Warmian canon priests, Jan Plastwich and Hieronim von Birken, as well as Braniewo mayor Jan Kale were members of that delegation. On 6 March 1454 in Cracow, the king issued an Act incorporating Prussian lands. The Estates of Royal Prussia would refer to this document in the future as it determined the rights, privileges and freedoms of the Prussian lands, including Warmia³. While incorporating Prussia into the Polish Kingdom, Casimir Jagiellon promised to maintain "all their estates, rights, freedoms and prerogatives"⁴. The Dobre Miasto canon priest and Warmian historian, Jan Leo, in his work entitled *Historia Prus*, written at beginning of 17th century and printed in 1725, includes a detailed list of those privileges⁵. The monarch promised to respect the *ius indigenatus* rule while appointing to offices and appointing starostas (elders) in Prussia. The most crucial matters regarding the area were to be decided upon by an elected Estate Representation. Prussian officials gained the right to elect a king, large towns could mint coins, provinces gained freedom from duty, with Chełmno and Magdeburg laws applicable throughout the entirety of Prussia. Large towns, including Braniewo, received considerable land rights and a promise to maintain privileges gained under the Teutonic Order's reign. In April 1454 during a diet in Toruń, the Prussian Estates confirmed the submission of Prussia to the Crown. A seal of the Warmian chapter may be found under the document, but without that of Bishop Kuhschmalz who was accompanying the Grand Master in Malbork at that time. The war, which was

² S. Achremczyk, A. Szorc, *Braniewo*, Olsztyn 1995, p. 44.

³ M. Biskup, *Zjednoczenie Pomorza wschodniego z Polską w połowie XV wieku*, Warszawa 1959, pp. 326–327; *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen im 15. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. von E. Weise, Bd. II. Marburg 1955, no 291–292; M. Biskup, K. Górski, *Czasy Kazimierza Jagiellończyka (1447–1492)*, in: *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, t. I połowa XV w. -1572, ed. by: M. Biskupa, Warszawa 1982, p. 443; M. Biskup, K. Górski, *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk. Zbiór studiów o Polsce drugiej połowy XV wieku*, Warszawa 1987, pp. 187–188.

⁴ K. Górski, *Związek Pruski i poddanie się Prus Polsce. Zbiór tekstów źródłowych*, Poznań 1949, pp. 60, 177.

⁵ J. Leo, *Dzieje Prus. Z braniewskiego wydania roku 1725 przełożył bp Julian Wojtkowski*, Olsztyn 2008, p. 287.

thought to end soon after a Polish defeat in the battle of Chojnice, lasted for thirteen years. In April 1455, Bishop Kuhschmalz left for Wrocław and there left this earthly vale in 1457. The already mentioned Jan Leo wrote about him in this manner: "In the year of our Lord 1455 around Easter, Franciszek left Malbork castle, where he underwent a siege of eighteen months, to the capital of Silesia, Wrocław, where he lived for some time thanks to the earnings from an estate and where in the same year, 1457, on 10 June, the old man, after suffering through a lot and through various means, exchanged life for death and lies buried in the church of St. John"⁶. His successor was the Bishop of Siena, Cardinal Enea Silvio Piccolomini. However, he did not come to Warmia as he was elected Pope on 19 August 1458 and took the name of Pius II. Pius II designated Paul Legendorf as his successor on 20 September 1458. Legendorf, a Chełmno noble, managed to gain the favour of King Casimir Jagiellon. He came to Poland in the spring of 1460 and met with the king in Łęczycza to declare his neutral position regarding both sides of the conflict⁷. As Legendorf cared for Warmia, he actually tried to maintain this stance. However, as he realised the Order was not going to win the war, he commenced negotiations with the king and the Prussian Confederation. In March 1464 in Elbląg, he signed a perpetual peace treaty between Warmia and the Prussian Estates. The king was represented by Jan Kościelecki, the Inowrocław voivode. The agreement was ratified by the monarch on 5 May 1464⁸. Casimir Jagiellon guaranteed that old privileges, customs and rights of the Prince-Bishop and the Warmian chapter shall be maintained, along with a promise of security⁹. By joining the Polish party Legendorf did not in fact declare war with the Grand Master. Nevertheless, that treaty was a great success of Polish diplomacy. Even in the summer of 1465 during a meeting of the Prussian Estates and the Grand Master, Legendorf tried to establish peace in Prussia. However, when peace was not agreed upon and Polish forces along with the Confederates gained advantage, the Warmian Prince-Bishop declared war with the Order on 11 February 1466. By doing so, Paul Legendorf wanted to be the king's ally while signing a Polish-Teutonic treaty. The Warmian dominion was invaded and severely ravaged by the Teutonic army in return. The Prince-Bishop assisted the king during the Polish-Teutonic negotiations. On 21 September 1466 in the church of St. John in Toruń he was anointed by the archbishop Jan

⁶ Ibidem, p. 299.

⁷ J. Sikorski, *Paweł Legendorf biskup warmiński w latach 1458–1467*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, ed. by: S. Achremczyk, Olsztyn 2008, pp. 74–75.

⁸ *Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen*, Bd. II, no 391–395; M. Biskup, K. Górski, *Czasy Kazimierza Jagiellończyka*, p. 462; A. Szorc, op. cit., p. 81; S. Achremczyk, A. Szorc, op. cit., p. 48; J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 77.

⁹ *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens*, no 390; V. Röhrich, *Ermland im dreizehnjährigen Städtekrieg*, ZGAE, 1894, Bd. 11, p. 471; H. Schmauch, *Das staatsrechtliche Verhältnis, Das staatsrechtliche Verhältnis des Ermlandes zu Polen*, *Altpreußische Forschungen*, 1934, Bd. 11, pp. 153–154; M. Biskup, K. Górski, *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk*, p. 210.

Gruszczyński. Casimir Jagiellon called him his *adopted son*¹⁰. Less than a month later, a peace treaty was signed by the Polish party and the Teutonic Knights. By the power of that treaty, Pomerelia with Gdańsk, Chełmno and Michałów Land with Toruń were returned to the king. Elbląg and Malbork with Żuławy Malborskie were incorporated into his kingdom. The Warmian dominion, so the feudal area of authority of the Prince-Bishop and the Warmian chapter, were also incorporated into the Polish borders. In time, those land were referred to as Royal Prussia. The remaining parts of the Teutonic lands, Teutonic Prussia with its capital in Königsberg, was to become a fief of King Casimir Jagiellon. The treaty discusses Warmia as follows: “From this moment on, the Warmian church and all its Prince-Bishops with their reverend chapters, towns, burghs, small cities and fortresses, namely Lidzbark, Braniewo, Orneta, Jeziorany, Barczewo, Reszel, Bisztynek Olsztyn, Dobre Miasto, Pieniężno, Frombork, Biskupiec and all commanders, nobles, vassals, properties, villages and affiliations shall remain under the reign and protection of us and our successors, kings of Poland, with the Grand Master Ludwig, his successors and the entire Order resigning from this power, reign and protection, with all their rights towards the church, the bishopric and the Warmian chapter held to date transferred on us, king Casimir and our successors, kings of Poland”¹¹. The Toruń treaty reconfirms the agreement of 1464. Warmia joined the Polish Kingdom with the same privileges and law it cherished before. The news of signing a treaty in Toruń met with a feeling of great relief in the dominion, in Braniewo even with joy. Joy that mercenaries shall leave the dominion. When the news of the Toruń treaty reached Braniewo, church and Town Hall bells were ringing all afternoon¹². Prince-Bishop Paul Legendorf came back from Toruń feeling ill and lived for another year. Affected by an illness, he died in Braniewo on 23 July 1467 and was buried there in the church of St. Catherine. The Warmian Prince-Bishop Lucas Watzenrode founded in 1494 a tombstone commemorating his activity.

Immediately after the Treaty of Toruń between the Prussian Estates and the Crown, a dispute about understanding the act of incorporation, the great privileges from Gdańsk, Toruń and Elbląg as well as understanding of the substance of the Treaty, including the treaty concluded with Warmia, began. Casimir Jagiellon wanted to integrate Royal Prussia with the Crown, but this policy could be carried out by appointing to Prussian offices people faithful to him, not necessarily fulfilling the provisions of the Prussian *ius indigenatus* documents. The office of the

¹⁰ J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 78.

¹¹ S. Achremczyk, *Warmia*, Olsztyn 2012, p. 281; A. Szorc, op. cit., p. 81; M. Grzegorz, *Analiza dyplomatyczno-sfragistyczna traktatu toruńskiego z 1466 r.*, Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego Toruńskiego, t. 75, z. 1, Toruń 1970, pp. 192–193; *Władztwo Polski w Prusiech zakonnych i książęcych. Wybór źródeł*, ed. by: A. Vetulani, Wrocław 1953, pp. 56–57.

¹² S. Achremczyk, A. Szorc, Braniewo, p. 49.

Warmian Prince-Bishop was seen not only as the most important Prussian bishopric, but also the most important authority in Royal Prussia. King Casimir wanted the ruler of Warmia to be his devout ally, if not a person from the Crown. When 18 days after the death of Prince-Bishop Paul Legendorf the Warmian chapter selected Mikołaj Tungern, a dean priest spending time in Rome at that time, to be the new Prince-Bishop without consulting the king, a conflict with the Crown broke out. Cracow believed that all appointments for important offices in the country should be approved by the monarch and that included the position of the Warmian Prince-Bishop. The Warmian chapter, supported by Prussian Estates, referred to the Act of Incorporation and the 1122 Concordat of Worms in claiming that it is the only body competent to appoint a Prince-Bishop. In this dispute, a third idea was raised – the decisive vote in this matter should belong to the Pope. Casimir Jagiellon wanted to be the only one deciding upon this nomination and thereby able to introduce his own man into Warmia. A compromise was rejected both by Mikołaj Tungen and the king. As long as the conflict was limited to Royal Prussia, the king could tolerate the attitude of Tungen, but when the Order and the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus were drawn into it, Casimir launched a military intervention forcing Tungen to resign from the bishopric. The war, known in historiography as War of the Priests, lasted for two years (1478-1479). In the summer of 1478, Polish forces invaded Warmia, dispersed the Teutonic army and Prince-Bishop Tungern near Tomaszkowo, conquered Orneta and Pieniężno, burnt Nowe Miasto Braniewo and plundered the dominion¹³. In April 1479, Poland signed a treaty with the Hungarians. Without the support of the Hungarian king, the Warmian Bishop was left alone and had to leave Warmia. The diplomatic intervention of Matthias Corvinus saved him from a total disaster. Prince-Bishop Tungen and the Grand Master came to a diet in Piotrków in July 1479. The Prince-Bishop had to humble himself in front of the king and ask for forgiveness. While accepting his apology, Casimir Jagiellon received an oath of allegiance from him and from the entire Warmia. He also approved Tungen as the Prince-Bishop. Simultaneously, the king issued an important document regulating the legal relations of Warmia and the Crown. It went down in history as the First Treaty of Piotrków. The act confirms the incorporation of Warmia to the Crown and the authority of the Polish king over it. The Prince-Bishop became a sworn royal advisor. The Warmians

¹³ A. Prochaska, *Tungena walki z królem Kazimierzem Jagiellończykiem*, Ateneum Kapłańskie, 1914, R. 6, pp. 193–210; H. Zins, *Walka o obsadę biskupstwa warmińskiego na przełomie XV i XVI wieku na tle polityki zjednoczeniowej*, Annales UMCS, Sectio F. vol.12, Lublin 1960, pp. 63 n.; A. Szorc, op. cit., p. 83; idem, *Wybór biskupa warmińskiego przez kapitułę warmińską w teorii i praktyce*, in: *Warmińska Kapituła Katedralna. Dzieje i wybitni przedstawiciele*, ed. by: A. Kopiczko, J. Jeziński, Z. Żywica, Olsztyn 2010, p. 250; H. Schmauch, *Der Kampf zwischen dem ermlandischen Bischof Nicolaus von Tungen und Polen oder der Pfaffenkrieg (1467-1479)*, ZGAE, Bd. 25, 1935, pp. 69–186; J. Sikorski, *Monarchia Polska i Warmia u schyłku XV wieku*, Olsztyn 1979, pp. 54 n.

were to pledge allegiance to the king and gained the right to renounce allegiance to the bishop if he would refuse to acknowledge the king; they also earned the right to appeal to the king in all court matters. The Treaty of Piotrków stated that the chapter was to elect a person benevolent towards the king to be the new Prince-Bishop. It is not specify what the term actually meant¹⁴. It soon turned out that it was the source of another conflict. The king understood it in terms of the right to appoint his own candidate to the Warmian office, while the chapter saw it as the process of electing a person showing benevolence towards the king prior to the election.

Even though Prince-Bishop Mikołaj Tungen made amends with the king, he remained a defender of the autonomy of Royal Prussia and Warmia. Tied to aristocratic Prussian families and large towns, in 1485 he joined the provincial confederation established to protect Prussian privileges. As he anticipated his life would soon end, he tried to appoint his successor in the person of Lucas Watzenrode, Gniezno and Warmia canon priest, a Prussian *ius indigenatus*. In his last will, he left Watzenrode five thousand Hungarian florins to cover any expenses related to nominating documents in Rome¹⁵. Sudden death put an end to his plans, but Watzenrode remained the main candidate for the office of a Warmian Prince-Bishop. In just five days after Tungen's death, the chapter elected Lucas Watzenrode. They did not inform the king about their choice, but sent three delegates to Rome to inform Watzenrode about this nomination. When Casimir Jagiellon learnt from the Malbork starost Zbigniew Tęczyński about electing Watzenrode, he assumed they broke the 1479 agreement by not presenting a benevolent person. The king considered his son Frederick as the best candidate¹⁶. Casimir Jagiellon sent a letter to the Pope asking him to appoint Prince Frederick for the position of the Prince-Bishop of Warmia so as to establish peace in the country. He also requested sending delegates to Braniewo to charge the chapter with breaking the Piotrków Treaty. The explanation of the chapter that there was no person more benevolent towards the king than Watzenrode did not convince the deputies. The argument that choosing Watzenrode was in accordance with the Act of Incorporation, the 1466 treaty and the agreements of the king and the Prince-Bishop was also rejected. The canon priests also claimed that the candidature of the prince does not satisfy formal requirements as he is neither an *ius indigenatus* nor a Warmian canon priest. When the Pope stated that Watzenrode's appointment was legal

¹⁴ S. Achremczyk, op. cit., p. 286; J. Sikorski, op. cit., pp. 64–65; A. Szorc, op. cit., p. 250.

¹⁵ H. Schmauch, *Der Streit um die Wahl des ermlandischen Bischofs Lukas Watzenrode*, *Altpreussische Forschungen*, 1933, Jhg. 10, H. 1, pp. 65–101; J. Sikorski, op. cit., pp. 78–82.

¹⁶ F. Papee, *Kandydatura Fryderyka Jagiellończyka na biskupstwo warmińskie (1484–1492)*, in: *Album uczącej się młodzieży polskiej, poświęcony J.I. Kraszewskiemu z powodu działalności literackiej*, Lwów 1879, pp. 39–79; idem, *Królewicz kardynał Fryderyk Jagiellończyk jako biskup krakowski i arcybiskup gnieźnieński*, Warszawa 1935, pp. 24–31; J. Sikorski, op. cit., pp. 83–87.

and approved this decision, a serious conflict between Warmia and Cracow arose. Warmia was again under a threat of a military intervention by Polish forces. The death of Casimir Jagiellon postponed solving this problem in a brutal manner. His successors bestowed the Warmian Prince-Bishop with graces by making him an advisor for Prussian matters. Watzenrode, thanks to kindness of King Sigismund I, agreed to become the Supreme Judge for the whole of Prussia during the gathering of the Prussian Estates in Malbork. As the Supreme Judge, he was not the king's governor in Prussia, though the Estates called him the head of the state, the highest member of the Prussian Council¹⁷. In this way, the Prince-Bishops of Warmia gained the title of Prussian Chairmen. When in 1526 the king decided to establish *comitia maiora* for Prussia, the Prince-Bishops retained their Chairman function and, as senators of the highest rank, presided over the council, which became a senatorial chamber of the *comitia maiora*, and forefronted the advisory courts during the *comitias*. Watzenrode, seen by Prussians as the advocate of Prussian autonomy, in fact supported the integration-oriented policy of Poland in the Royal Council. At the end of his life, referring to his own hardships, he expressed his wish that the chapter elects a person from the Crown as his successor – Rafał Leszczyński or Jan Oleśnicki.

The Warmian chapter did not listen to the advice of Prince-Bishop Watzenrode. After his death, they quickly appointed a new official. Canon Fabian von Lusian gained the support of other voters. This appointment was relatively quickly confirmed by the Pope, but Sigismund I, who was not informed about the chapter's decision, rendered it invalid and demanded compliance. The situation was becoming dangerous. In contrast to his father, Sigismund did not intend to enter into a long-running dispute. Facing not only the chapter, but also Prussian Estates and the Holy See, he leaned towards a peaceful settlement. A new arrangement regarding the selection of a Prince-Bishop was determined by means of negotiations. The document is referred to as the Second Treaty of Piotrków, publicly announced on 7 December 1512 during the *comitia* gathering in Piotrków¹⁸. It was agreed that in the event of a Prince-Bishop's death the chapter informs the king about it, provides a date of electing a new one along with a list of canon priests with a short characteristic of their personality, held offices and morals. If the king is in Ruthenia or the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the information from the chapter along

¹⁷ K. Górski, *Starostowie malborscy w latach 1457–1510*, Toruń 1960, pp. 154–156; J. Sikorski, *Łukasz Watzenrode biskup warmiński w latach 1489–1512*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, p. 103.

¹⁸ T. Pawluk, *Podstawy prawne objęcia biskupstwa warmińskiego przez Stanisława Hozjusza*, *Studia Warmińskie*, T. XVI, 1979, pp. 230–235; H. Schmauch, *Die kirchenpolitische Beziehungen des Fürstbistums Ermland zu Polen*, ZGAE, Bd. 26, 1938, pp. 293, 294–311; A. Szorc, op. cit., pp. 252–254; idem, *Dominium warmińskie*, p. 84; S. Achremczyk, op. cit., pp. 288–289; J. Sikorski, *Fabian Luzjański biskup warmiński w latach 1512–1523*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 107–111.

with the list of canons should be forwarded to the Archbishop of Gniezno. If he is outside his province, relevant documents are to be delivered to the bishop of Kujawy or Płock. They shall duly inform the king, who will choose four Prussian *ius indigenatus* candidates he sees benevolent. The chapter is to select one of them to become the Prince-Bishop. Fabian Luzjański, the Warmian bishop, and the chapter agreed with the suggestion that the king may include his son or brother on the list if they are Warmian canons. Once the chapter has selected a bishop, the king is to address the Pope to approve the appointment. Each new Prince-Bishop has to swear an oath of allegiance to the king. The chapter thought the new Piotrków Treaty strengthens its role in choosing the Prince-Bishop. Frombork believed that the chapter chooses the Prince-Bishop from among canon priests and Prussian citizens. The treaty was approved by Pope Leon X in 1513. In practice, the role of the chapter was limited to selecting the first candidate on the list, the one pointed by the king. Therefore, the Polish monarch gained the casting vote with regard to the position of the Prince-Bishop.

The importance of Warmian bishops, both in Royal Prussia and the Commonwealth, rose considerably from the moment they were entrusted with the position of the Chairman of the Prussian lands and since 1569 when they started to regularly sit in the Senate. The Warmian diocese was one of the smallest ones in the Republic area-wise¹⁹. For comparison, the Vilnius diocese was 231 thousand km² large, while the Warmian diocese only 4249 km², Chełmno diocese as much as 6700 km². It was, however, a well-organised diocese, with a fairly dense network of parishes and good level of clergy education. Bishop Andrzej Chryzostom Załuski wrote in a letter to cardinal Barberini the following words: "My diocese is small and for me, living in its centre, it is easy to see the good and evil"²⁰. It does not come as a surprise that many priests dreamt of being promoted to Warmia. The Warmian bishop and the Łuck bishop took the sixth place in the Senate, while their confrere bishop of Chełmno held the tenth position. At the same time, both Prussian bishops could also perform the duties of a Vice-chancellor or the Great Chancellor of the Crown. Royal Prussia and the Crown Senate agreed to this arrangement, despite the rule of not assigning more than one state office to one person. The Warmian Prince-Bishop, and since 1617 also the Sambian bishop, due to the position in the Senate and being the Prussian Chairman was responsible for the state policy of the Baltic area. His opinion mattered when issues of the Teutonic Order, and from 1525 Ducal Prussia, were discussed.

¹⁹ W. Muller, *Diecezje w okresie potrydenckim*, in: *Kościół w Polsce*, Kraków 1970, t. 2, pp.73–75.

²⁰ A. Szorc, *Z działalności kościelnej biskupa Andrzeja Chryzostoma Załuskiego na Warmii 1698–1711*, *Studia Warmińskie*, t. 4, 1967, p. 38.

Lucas Watzenrode managed to obtain the function of a Prussian Chairman for the Warmian Prince-Bishops²¹. It was the most important senatorial position in Royal Prussia. The duties included summoning a *comitia maiora*, presiding over it, at times appointing royal representatives for such meetings. Such a bishop, as a Chairman, could also affect the date of pre- and post-parliamentary *comitias*. During the interregnum period, he would also summon the *comitias* without a royal consent. Prince-Bishops also forefronted the Prussian Sejm representation for the Republic Sejm meetings. If necessary, he would call for a Prussian *consilium* with the participation of deputies, senators and representatives of large cities – most importantly Gdańsk, Toruń and Elbląg. As a result of his senatorial function, he would be appointed to take part in various committees aiming at maintaining internal peace, settle political disputes, make tax-related decisions. Moreover, bishops were selected as heads of Crown Tribunals and Fiscal Tribunals.

The bishopric of Warmia was attractive for the clergy also in terms of salaries. According to Teofil Długosz, a Warmian Prince-Bishop with his annual salary was on the fourth place among all Polish bishops²². The income of Warmian bishops stemming from their secular authority was calculated in Hans Schmauch in 16th century²³. According to him, in 1533 the income amounted to 4079 grzywna units, with 32 231 grzywna units in 1596. Stanislaus Hosius estimated that his income amounts to 15 000 grzywna units. In 17th century, income was estimated using the Polish zloty unit. So, in 1645 the bishop earned 95 734 zlotys, in 1656 as much as 137 814 zlotys, to gain 110 000 zlotys in 1701²⁴. A Prussian Commission after the annexation of Warmia estimated that the income of Prince-Bishop Krasicki in 1772 amounted to 229369 zlotys and 23 grosz. After deducting salaries for other officials, Krasicki would gain 206 231 zlotys and 8 grosz, which would give about 68 743 thalers and 18 grosz²⁵. Thus, the income of the Bishops of Warmia was significant. It is not surprising that they were among the richest people not only in Royal Prussia, but in the Republic of Poland. It should be borne in mind that, in addition to the income from the dominion, individual bishops also had

²¹ S. Achremczyk, *Reprezentacja stanowa Prus Królewskich w latach 1696–1772*, Olsztyn 1981, pp.76–77; idem, *Życie polityczne Prus Królewskich i Warmii w latach 1660–1703*, Olsztyn 1991, pp. 104–107; idem, *Życie sejmikowe w Prusach Królewskich 1647–1772*, Olsztyn 1999, pp. 84–88; idem, *Biskup warmiński Jan Stefan Wydźga jako prezes ziem pruskich*, *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie* (further: KMW), 1988, nr 3–4, pp. 275–288.

²² T. Długosz, *Biskupi polscy w XVII i XVIII wieku. Obsada, dyspensy i taksy*, *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne*, 1958, t. 5, z. 2, p. 95

²³ H. Schmauch, *Die Finanzwirtschaft der ermlandischen Bischöfe im 16. Jahrhundert*, *Altpreussische Forschungen*, 1931, Bd. 8, pp. 229–230; B. Kumor, *Historia Kościoła*, cz. 5, Lublin 1984, p. 115; A. Szorc, *Dominium warmińskie*, p. 39; A. Kopiczko, *Ustrój i organizacja diecezji warmińskiej w latach 1525–1772*, Olsztyn 1993, pp. 20–21.

²⁴ A. Szorc, op. cit., p. 39.

²⁵ A. Kolberg, *Die Dotation des Bisthums Ermland vor und nach 1772*, ZGAE, Bd. 9, Braunsberg 1888, p. 9; A. Kopiczko, op. cit., p. 21.

profits from their family estates. The wealth of bishops is proven by the constant renovation, decoration and organisation of their Lidzbark residence. A gothic castle with a gothic outer castle erected in the Baroque era gained a baroque palace on the bulwark as well as a palace built by Bishop Adam Stanisław Garbowski around the outer castle²⁶.

The Warmian bishopric welcomed great clergymen, with excellent bloodlines and family bonds, political connections, splendid education, seen as supporters of the king. Some were promoted from Warmia to the highest positions in the Church, the Gniezno Archbishopric and the position of the Primate of Poland. Kings sent their most devoted servants to Warmia. The chapter, in accordance with the Piotrków Treaty, chose the first candidate out of four listed by the king. Therefore, its role was limited to the accepting the person pointed by the king. Even the formal requirements such as holding a Warmian canon or being a Prussian *ius indigenatus* were overlooked. The chapter did not want to fall into disgrace so the royal candidate was appointed a canon priest and the *comitia maiora* granted him Prussian citizenship. Only Marcin Kromer did not get the *indigenatus* position, therefore he did not serve as a Chairman of Prussia and did not take parts in *comitias* in Royal Prussia²⁷. Bishop Andrzej Chryzostom Załuski gained it during the tenth year of his term. At first, they opposed the idea of granting him that status, while later on the Northern War stood in the way²⁸. Without having Prussian citizenship, Załuski participated in the political life of Royal Prussia, even summoned nobles for gatherings, general levys, urged to determine taxes. The principle of *ius indigenatus* was broken by the nomination of Stanislaus Hosius. After Johannes Dantiscus, a citizen of Gdańsk, only two other bishops were Prussian *indigenes* by birth – Jan Karol Konopacki and Adam Stanisław Grabowski. Others were from the Crown and gained the *ius indigenatus* title during *comitias*, sometimes with difficulty. Nevertheless, having the support of the king and the political provincial elites facilitated the process of gaining a citizenship. In return, they had to issue a document stating that they shall respect and defend the laws and privileges of the province.

With the end of 16th century ended the time when burghers could become Warmian Prince-Bishops. Mikołaj Tungen was born in Orneta and may be called a Warmian, Lucas Watzenrode was born in Toruń, Maurycy Ferber by birth was a citizen of Gdańsk. Gdańsk was also the hometown of Johannes Dantiscus and Tiedemann Giese, Cracow of Stanislaus Hosius, and Biecz as the birthplace of

²⁶ W. Wólkowski, *Zamek biskupów warmińskich w Lidzbarku Warmińskim. Dzieje budowlane i problemy konserwatorskie*, Olsztyn 2016; E. Radtke, *Rezydencja lidzbarska biskupów warmińskich*, Lidzbark Warmiński 2010.

²⁷ S. Achremczyk, *Indygena bez indygenatu*, in: Marcin Kromer i jego czasy (1512–1589), ed. by: S. Achremczyk, Olsztyn 2013, pp. 55–73.

²⁸ S. Achremczyk, *Reprezentacja stanowa Prus Królewskich*, pp. 84–85.

Marcin Kromer. He was the last burgher on the Warmian Prince-Bishop position. In 16th century, only Fabian Luzjański was a nobleman born in Troksy, Warmia. Since the signing of the Treaty in 1512, bishops were chosen by the chapter along the suggestions of the king. The ailing Prince-Bishop Luzjański died on 30 January 1523. His mother looked after him while he was ill; his funeral was modest due to the time of war and Warmia being destroyed by invasions of Teutonic forces²⁹. For the first time, the elections of the Prince-Bishop were to be in accordance with the agreement concluded in the year 1512. Sigismund I sent his list of candidates – chapter provost, Paweł Płotowski, was listed as the first, with canon Maurycy Ferber as the second. When it turned out that Płotowski was not a Warmian canon, the chapter chose Ferber. It did not come as a surprise. Citizens of Gdańsk and Ferbers had an advantage in the chapter. Dean Jan Ferber presided over the elections, Maurycy was his uncle from his father's side. Dean's brother was Eberhard, to whom Maurycy was also an uncle³⁰. Canon Jan Tymmermann, nephew of the elect and a cousin to Jan and Eberhard, as well as canon Albert Bischof, related to Tymmerman and Maurycy, were also members of the chapter. Next, canons Christopher Suchten and Leonard Niederhoff were also from Gdańsk. Nicolaus Copernicus, though was born in Toruń, was related to Tymmerman and the Ferbers. The king did not question the election of Maurycy. After Ferber's death, Johannes Dantiscus was selected by the chapter as it was the wish of Sigismund I. Dantiscus³¹ was already a Chełmno bishop, a Warmian coadjutor and a royal diplomat. He ruled in Warmia in the years 1537-1548. He is remembered as an extraordinary neo-Latin poet, but most importantly as a diplomat seen as the father of modern Polish diplomacy. Before he became the Prince-Bishop, he was a royal secretary chiefly dealing with Prussian matters and served as a royal deputy during comitia maioras. In 1514, he accompanied the king during the expedition to Moscow, witnessing the Orsha victory. A year later, he was a participant of the First Congress of Vienna, performing the function of a secretary to the Polish delegation. After that, he stayed at the court of Maximilian I. He travelled throughout Europe as a royal deputy. As an old man, he settled in Warmia. Dantiscus made his name within the Polish literary history as a poet. He left a vast number of poems, among which secular poetry – elegies, romantic lyrical poems, panegyrics, epigrams – accom-

²⁹ J. Sikorski, *Fabian Luzjański biskup warmiński w latach 1512-1523*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, p.114.

³⁰ T. Borawska, *Biogramy Eberharda, Jan, Maurycego Ferberów*, in: J. Wojtkowski, *Słownik biograficzny kapituły warmińskiej*, Olsztyn 1996, pp. 58–60; T. Oracki, *Słownik biograficzny Warmii, Prus Książęcych i ziemi malborskiej od połowy XV wieku do końca XVIII wieku*, t. 1, A-K, Olsztyn 1984, pp. 59–61; H. Zins, *Ród Ferberów i jego rola w dziejach Gdańska w XV i XVI wieku*, Lublin 1951, pp. 17–28, 92–95; A. Eichhorn, *Geschichte der ermländischen Bischofswahlen*, ZGAE, Bd. 1, 1860, pp. 286–323.

³¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 323–344; Z. Nowak, *Jan Dantyszek. Portret renesansowego humanisty*, Wrocław 1982, *passim* (there is a bibliography); T. Borawska, *Jan Dantyszek biskup warmiński w latach 1537-1548*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 123–134.

panies great religious poetry. He is included in the group of the most prominent European humanists. After a year of Tiedemann Giese being the Prince-Bishop, Stanislaus Hosius received his nomination³².

After the death of Dantiscus, King Sigismund Augustus wanted to appoint Stanislaus Hosius to the position of the Warmian Prince-Bishop. He saw, however, a huge opposition of the Warmian chapter and the Prussian Estates. Nominating Hosius would be inconsistent with the Act of Incorporation and provisions of the Toruń Treaty, which obliged the king to select native Prussians for official functions in the area. Hosius did not hold Prussian citizenship, though there was a Warmian canon since 1538. The King decided to move the Chełmno bishop Tiedemann Giese to Warmia and put Hosius in his place. The Prussian Estates raised an uproar, but King Sigismund Augustus did not yield. When Giese died on 23 October 1550, king transferred Hosius from Chełmno to the Warmian bishopric. In accordance with the 1512 Piotrków Treaty, the chapter received a list of four Prince-Bishop candidates. The Chełmno bishop and Warmian canon Stanislaus Hosius was listed first. The provided list made the canons resentful as both Hosius and Jan Solfa were not *ius indigenatus*, with the other candidates, Jan Lubodzieski and Jakub Zimmerman, being *indigens* but with lower ordination. The chapter urged the king to submit new candidates. He did not intend to change his mind. As the chapter could face papal excommunication for the behaviour of canon Aleksander Sculteti, it had to succumb to the king's will. Hosius was selected to be the new Prince-Bishop, but the chapter submitted a solemn protest that the process broke chapter regulations³³. When his appointment was approved by the Pope Julius III, Hosius's ingres to the Frombork cathedral was held on 11 May 1551. He was a bishop for 28 years, but half of that was spent outside Warmia. In 1558, he left for Rome at the command of the Pope and spent five years in Rome, Vienna and Trento. Pope Pius IV made him a cardinal in February 1561. He took part in the Council of Trent as a papal legate. In the years 1569-1579 he returned to Rome. Leaving Warmia in 1569, he entrusted the diocese to his coadjutor Marcin Kromer. Hosius was a great theologian, an authority in this field. He is the author of the *Catholic Cof the Christian Faith*. Poland and Europe saw him as one of the most important figures of Counter-Reformation. Hosius and Marcin Kromer im-

³² A. Szorc, *Sluga Boży Stanisław Hozjusz*, Olsztyn 2011; idem, *Stanisław Hozjusz biskup warmiński w latach 1551-1579*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 149-168; J.A. Kalinowska, *Stanisław Hozjusz jako humanista 1504-1579*, Olsztyn 2004, pp. 155-168 (there is a bibliography); *Kardynał Stanisław Hozjusz (1504-1579). Osoba, myśl, dzieło, czasy, znaczenie*, ed. by: S. Achremczyk, J. Guzowski, J. Jezierski, Olsztyn 2005; T. Oracki, *op. cit.*, pp.108-110 (there is a bibliography).

³³ A. Szorc, *Sluga Boży Stanisław Hozjusz*, pp. 50-51; idem, *Stanisław Hozjusz biskup warmiński w latach 1551-1579*, pp. 151-155; J. Mycielski, *Kandydatura Hozjusza na biskupstwo warmińskie w roku 1548 i 1549*, Kraków 1881; A. Eichhorn, *Geschichte der ermlandischen Bischofwahlen*, ZGAE, Bd. 1, pp. 350 n.; T. Pawluk, *Postawy prawne objęcia biskupstwa warmińskiego przez Stanisława Hozjusza*, pp. 20 n.

plemented the provisions of the Council of Trent in Warmia. Bishop Hosius also established a seminar and a post-primary school in Braniewo, so two institutions operating to date. He was also a prominent humanist and a poet³⁴.

Hosius chose his successor prior to his death. It was then obvious that he would point to Marcin Kromer. Kromer was a royal secretary, he also took over Prussian matters at the chancellery from Hosius. He was also entrusted with diplomatic missions by the monarch. He was therefore to Rome and Vienna. In 1552, Kromer became a Warmian canon, though Warmia and Royal Prussia were not satisfied with this nomination. The chapter and the Prussian Estates were also unhappy. In the act of granting him the Warmian canon they saw a first step towards giving him the office of the Prince-Bishop in the future. Prussian separatists argued that he is not a Prussian *ius indigenatus*. Nevertheless, Prince-Bishop Hosius favoured Kromer. To avoid enraging the Prussian Estates, he did not appoint Kromer as his coadjutor with the right of succession at once. While leaving for Rome, he issued in August 1569 an administrator's nomination for Kromer without consulting it with the chapter³⁵. An administrator has the same authority as a Prince-Bishop, but the chapter has the power to control his actions. After a year, Kromer became a coadjutor of Prince-Bishop Hosius. He refused intentionally accept a bishop's consecration before taking over the bishopric of Warmia. Kromer became a bishop after Hosius died. The Prussian Estates did not grant him the *ius indigenatus* position, they did not want him to be the Chairman and participate in *comitia maioras*. Kromer was opposed by Bartłomiej Plemięcki, a Warmian canon supported by his family, and Michał Działyński, a Chełmno chamberlain. The latter sharply criticised Kromer during the 1572 Warsaw *comitia*. Działyński claimed that Kromer cannot be a coadjutor as a Prussian non-native and that his background is plebeian. Further, not being able to control himself, he said that Kromer is a vagabond that cannot be trusted with managing the smallest bit of Prussian land. The demagogic presentation of Michał Działyński, holding a personal grudge towards Kromer, met with disgust. Even his own brother Jan, the Chełmno voivode, defended Kromer. The Kostka family representatives – Gdańsk castellan Jan, Golub starost Krzysztof, even Warmian canon Piotr – did the same³⁶. Kromer did not yield to the accusations as he prepared a memorial concerning the Prussian *ius indigenatus* position. It seemed that the death of Sigismund Augustus

³⁴ J.A. Kalinowska, *Stanisław Hozjusz jako humanista*, passim.

³⁵ J. A. Kalinowska, *Wyjazd kardynała Stanisława Hozjusza do Rzymu w 1569 roku*, *Studia Warmińskie*, t. 18, 1981, pp. 192–193; A. Eichhorn, *Der ermlandische Bischof und Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius*, Bd. II, Mainz 1855, pp. 356, 358; S. Achremczyk, *Indygena bez indygenatu*, p. 62; A. Szorc, *Marcin Kromer biskup warmiński w latach 1569–1579*, p. 173; idem, *Artykuły zaprzysiężone Marcina Kromera z 1571 roku*, *Echa Przeszłości*, t. 3, 2002, pp. 49–66.

³⁶ T. Glemma, *Piotr Kostka. Lata młodości i działalność polityczna 1532–1595*, Toruń 1959, p. 92; S. Bodniak, Z. Skorupska, *Jan Kostka kasztelan gdański*, Gdańsk 1979, p. 78.

would put an end to the accusations against Kromer. He even attended the comitia maiora established in August 1572 in Malbork by Jan Działyński, the Chełmno voivode. However, voivodes Achacy and Fabian Czema, supported by the Gdańsk mayor Jerzy Klefeld as well as mayors of Toruń and Elbląg, did not want Kromer in the room. Jan Działyński and the Kostkas did try to prove that Kromer did not come as a Prussian Chancellor, but a prelate and chapter canon trying to listen to the debate and represent Warmia. The opposition did not want to listen to any arguments. After this failure, Kromer withdrew from the political life of the province. However, he received regular information from the Kostka family members about the course and resolutions of the assemblies³⁷. As a Warmian Prince-Bishop, Kromer engaged in managing the dominion without being active in politics. He enjoyed unique renown in Poland and was considered to be an excellent historian. The Sejm paid tribute to him in 1580 for his book on Polish history.

Two great personalities of the Polish Kingdom – Stanislaus Hosius and Marcin Kromer – broke the principle of *ius indigenatus* while becoming Prince-Bishops. They were also the last bishops from the middle class. All of their successors were of the nobility. Two of them were from the royal family – Andrzej Batory was a nephew of King Stephen Batory, while Jan Albert Vasa was the son of Sigismund III Vasa. In the 17th century, the bishopric of Warmia became an excellent stepping stone towards the Archbishopric of Gniezno. Bishop Piotr Tylicki³⁸, enjoying a reputation of excellent preacher and lawyer, he was appointed in 1603 to the bishopric of Kujawy, while in January 1607 he became the bishop of Cracow. Jan Albert Vasa³⁹ at just nine years of age was unanimously chosen by the chapter to be the Prince-Bishop. On his behalf, canon Michał Działyński administered the diocese – these were very difficult times of the Polish-Swedish war that affected the Warmian dominion. Thanks to his father Sigismund III Vasa and his brother Władysław IV, Jan Albert Vasa was promoted from Warmia to the Cracow bishopric and Pope Urban VIII raised him to the position of a cardinal. In 1634, he left Cracow and travelled to Italy. Infected with smallpox in Padua, he left this world in December 1634. Until his very end, he was accompanied by a Jesuit priest, Andrzej Klinger.

After Vasa's decease, Mikołaj Szyszkowski took the Warmian bishopric. Initially there were no indications that the Secretary of the Great Royal Chancellery

³⁷ G. Lengnich, *Geschichte der preußische Lande königlich-polnische Antheils*, Danzig 1724, Bd. 3, p. 2; S. Bodniak, Z. Skorupska, op.cit., p. 280.

³⁸ A. Eichhorn, *Geschichte der ermländische Bischofswahlen*, Bd 1, pp. 373–383; Z. Zdrójkowski, *Zarys dziejów prawa chełmińskiego*, Toruń 1983, pp. 50, 51, 54, 55, 56; T. Oracki, *Słownik biograficzny Warmii, Prus Książęcych i ziemi malborskiej*, t. 2, L-Ż, Olsztyn 1988, pp. 192–193; D. Bogdan, *Piotr Tylicki biskup warmiński w latach 1600-1604*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 193–202.

³⁹ J. Bartoszewicz, *Królewicze biskupi. Żywoty czterech kapłanów*, Warszawa 1851, pp. 139–181; A. Eichhorn, op. cit., Bd, 1, pp. 486–493; D. Bogdan, *Jan Albert Waza biskup warmiński w latach 1621–1633*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 223–228.

Szyszkowski would handle Warmia. King Władysław IV promised Warmia to the Przemyśl bishop, Henryk Firlej. The support of a number of great personalities, such as the Papal Nuncio Visconti, Gniezno Archbishop Jan Wężyk or the chancellor of the Chełmno bishop Jakub Zadzik, changed the mind of Władysław IV, who presented a list of candidates with Mikołaj Szyszkowski on the first position. The chapter voted unanimously in March 1633 to the benefit of the royal candidate. Szyszkowski engaged in rebuilding Warmia after the war and achieved a splendid effect. He even hosted Władysław IV on the Warmian soil in 1636. On his way to Königsberg, the king stopped in Braniewo. The Prince-Bishop attended to the Frombork cathedral, approved the foundation of Święta Lipka and built a baroque pilgrimage church in Stoczek Klasztorny in the years 1639-1641 as a sign of gratitude for ending the Swedish war. He was a widely respected Prince-Bishop. His successor, Jan Karol Konopacki, died a few months after the election. He did not even manage to come to Warmia.

After the sudden death of Konopacki, persons from magnate Polish families were promoted to Warmia. They introduced Warmia into grand politics. It so happened that Warmia became the point prior to the highest ecclesiastical positions of Poland, such as the Archbishopric of Gniezno and the Primacy, so leading senatorial chairs. Waclaw Leszczyński, Jan Stefan Wydźga, Michał Radziejowski, Teodor Potocki and Ignacy Krasicki became Primate and Archbishops of Gniezno. Assuming that Wydźga and Andrzej Chryzostom Załuski were Great Chancellors of the Crown, while Radziejowski became a cardinal, it appears that the Warmian bishopric was a great stepping stone towards promotion. All of them came from great and politically influential families. Waclaw Leszczyński⁴⁰, the son of the Brzesko-Kujawski voivode Andrzej Leszczyński and Zofia Opalińska, came from Greater Poland. His brother, Przeclaw, became the Dorpat voivode, while Jan – the Great Chancellor of the Crown. They all received splendid education. Waclaw studied in France and Poland, he was one of the supporters of the French camp. He fluently spoke several languages, including French and German, which was an asset for the nomination for the Warmian Prince-Bishop. He was elected the Prince-Bishop in 1644 and served on this position for 14 years. It was a restless period in the history of Poland – Cossak uprising led by Bohdan Chmielnicki, war with Moscow and the Swedish Deluge. The Prince-Bishop as a senator took part in the political life of the country *ex officio*. As the Prussian chairman and diocese administrator, he had to attend to particular interests of Royal Prussia and the Warmian dominion. The first political event which Leszczyński had to handle was

⁴⁰ M. Forycki, *Stanisław Leszczyński*, Poznań 2006, pp. 17–32. A. Eichhorn, *op. cit.*, pp. 512–528; S. Achremczyk, *Waclaw Leszczyński biskup warmiński w latach 1644–1658*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 251–260; T. Oracki, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12.

the interregnum period after the death of Władysław IV. During the interregnum, he participated in comitias, Prussian gatherings and the elections. In the rivalry between two brothers, John Casimir and Charles Ferdinand, he supported the first one. Leszczyński played an important role in withdrawing Prince Charles Ferdinand from the fight for the throne⁴¹. Leszczyński did not stand indifferent with respect to the Chmielnicki uprising. Not only did he try to enact taxes, but also provided a regiment of horsemen at the expense of Warmia. John Casimir would frequently mention this generosity. In 1655, the Prince-Bishop faced an even more threatening situation. The Republic found itself at war with Sweden. At the king's command, the Prince-Bishop tried to convince the Prussian Estates to enact taxes and wanted to enter into coalition with Frederick William, the Elector of Brandenburg, hoping that his armies would defend Prussia and Warmia from the Swedes. Unfortunately, the elector failed to meet his commitments. By becoming an ally of the Swedes he was permitted to take the Warmian dominion. Leszczyński found refuge in Königsberg. When the situation became favourable for Poland in 1657, the Elector abandoned the Swedes in return for sovereignty in Prussia. In the year 1657 in Königsberg, Brandenburg-Polish negotiations began. The Polish side was represented by Prince-Bishop Waław Leszczyński and Grand Treasurer of Lithuania Wincenty Korwin Gosiewski, while the mediator was the Habsburg diplomat Franz Lisola⁴². The negotiations ended with signing the Treaty of Wehlau, confirmed later on in Bydgoszcz. The Brandenburg occupation of Warmia ended. Elector's forces remained only in Frombork and Braniewo, but had to leave them as the new Prince-Bishop Jan Stefan Wydźga was persistent about it. In 1658, still during the Polish-Swedish war, Leszczyński was nominated to the position of the Gniezno Archbishop. His repute suffered greatly as he was blamed for surrendering the Duchy of Prussia to the Brandenburg Elector in hereditary possession.

Leszczyński left Warmia in April 1659. A celebratory ingres to the Gniezno cathedral took place in October 1662. Kiev bishop and Warmian chapter provost Tomasz Ujejski⁴³ and Warmian suffragan Bishop Wojciech Pilchowicz, who closely cooperated with Leszczyński, represented Warmia during that event. As a Primate, he faced complex Polish affairs. On one hand, the Polish-Swedish war was com-

⁴¹ Z. Wójcik, *Jan Kazimierz Waza*, Wrocław 1997, pp. 61–62.

⁴² Ibidem, pp. 147–148; idem, *Dyplomacja polska w okresie wojen drugiej połowy XVII wieku (1648–1699)*, in: *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, t. II 1572–1795, ed. by: Z. Wójcik, Warszawa 1988, pp. 209–210; A. Kamiński, *Stany Prus Książęcych wobec rządów brandenburskich w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, Olsztyn 1995, pp. 68–69; F. Hirsch, *Otto von Schwerin*, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1893, Bd. 71, pp. 221–223; B. Kalicki, *Bogusław Radziwiłł. Koniusz litewski*, Kraków 1878, pp. 48–49, 172–174; D. Makilla, *Między Welawą a Królewcem 1657–1701. Geneza królestwa w Prusach. Studium historyczno-prawne*, Toruń 1998, p. 37; S. Augusiewicz, *Działania militarne w Prusach Książęcych w latach 1656–1657*, Olsztyn 1999, pp. 20, 58, 148.

⁴³ I. Makarczyk, *Tomasz Ujejski (1612–1689), biskup kijowski, prepozyt warmiński, jezuita*, Olsztyn 2005, pp. 164–185.

ing to an end thanks to the peace agreement on Oliwa dated 3 May 1660 and the successful campaign of Stefan Czarniecki and Jerzy Lubomirski threw out Moscow forces from Poland. Peace, though still temporary, prevailed on the eastern edges of the country. Leszczyński supported reform plans proposed by the king and, when the Grand Marshal of the Crown Jerzy Lubomirski contradicted John Casimir, he tried to prevent civil war. His mediation brought peace only for a while. Despite the efforts, Lubomirski was not willing to talk with the king. Leszczyński, ailing and having difficulty moving, did not witness the civil war and the defeat of the royal army. He also did not see Jerzy Lubomirski humbling himself in front of the king. The Primate died in 1 April 1666⁴⁴.

Leszczyński's successor as the Warmian Prince-Bishop was the Bishop of Łuck Jan Stefan Wydźga. Wydźga owed his career to King Jan Casimir – he was his preacher, secretary and legal secretary of the Crown – and John III Sobieski. He was believed to be an excellent preacher. His speeches during the dieties met with enthusiasm of some due to his erudite manner of speaking, others were irritated by his instructions and general interest in politics⁴⁵. As a Warmian Prince-Bishop, he released Frombork and Braniewo from Brandenburgian armies. In 1663, he was present as the Commissioner of the Republic during the tribute of the residents of the Duchy of Prussia paid to the Elector of Brandenburg. He reminded that although the Duchy by the power of the Wehlau-Bromber Treaties is not a part of the Commonwealth, but it can become one with Poland after the death of the Hohenzollern dynasty⁴⁶. Despite health issues, Prince-Bishop Wydźga was an active participant in the political life of the Polish Kingdom. He took part in Sejms, but was not as eager to join comitia maioras of Royal Prussia, though he completed his Chairman duties duly and well⁴⁷. He was seen during two elections, that of Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki, to whom he was related, and John III Sobieski. Wydźga was not a political opponent of Wiśniowiecki, but surely a supporter of John III Sobieski. He used his position to defend the Warmian dominion from excessive taxation or bearing the expenses of feeding military forces. John III

⁴⁴ S. Achremczyk, *Między Wisłą a Niemnem*, Olsztyn 2008, pp. 91–92.

⁴⁵ S. Ochmann-Staniszevska, Z. Staniszewski, *Sejm Rzeczypospolitej za panowania Jana Kazimierza Wazy. Prawo-doktryna-praktyka*, Wrocław 2000, t. I, pp. 177, 190, 274, 281, 284, 361.

⁴⁶ S. Achremczyk, *Suwerenność zagrożona. Warmia a Prusy Książęce w drugiej Polowie XVII wieku*, in: *Między Barokiem a Oświeceniem. Apogeum sarmatyzmu. Kultura polska drugiej połowy XVII wieku*, ed. by: Achremczyk, K. Stasiewicz, Olsztyn 1997, pp. 58–65.

⁴⁷ Idem, *Biskup warmiński Jan Stefan Wydźga jako prezes Ziem Pruskich*, KMW, 1988, nr 3–4, pp. 275–288; idem, *Codzienność biskupa warmińskiego Jana Stefana Wydźgi w świetle jego korespondencji*, KMW, 2015, nr 2, pp. 281–304; I. Lewandowska, *Biskup warmiński Jan Stefan Wydźga jako mąż stanu i kanclerz Rzeczypospolitej*, *Rocznik Elbląski*, t. 16, 1999, pp. 29–46; A. Szorc, *Familiarność między biskupem a kanonikiem na przykładzie korespondencji Jana Stefana Wydźgi z Zachariaszem Janem Szolcem*, in: *Między Barokiem a Oświeceniem. Sarmacki konterfekt*, ed. by: S. Achremczyk, Olsztyn 2002, pp. 95–99; S. Achremczyk, *Jan Stefan Wydźga biskup warmiński w latach 1659-1679*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 261–274.

Sobieski, recognising his talent and influence, appointed him to the position of a Vice-Chancellor of the Crown in 1676 and in the year 1677 promoted him to the function of a Grand Chancellor of the Crown. He held the Chancellor's office for a short time as he was made the Archbishop of Gniezno after the death of Primate Andrzej Olszowski. After nearly twenty years in Warmia, Wydźga left the dominion to move to Gniezno. He was therefore the second Prince-Bishop of Warmia to become the Primate of Poland.

After Wydźga, the Warmian bishopric was overtaken by an extremely ambitious Michał Radziejowski. John III Sobieski also promoted him to Vice-Chancellor of the Crown, while in the year 1686 Pope Innocent XI appointed Radziejowski to the function of a cardinal. He was the second Prince-Bishop of Warmia, after Stanislaus Hosius, to be promoted to a very prestigious Church function. In 1687, he was in fact raised even higher as he was nominated by the king to be the Archbishop of Gniezno and a Primate of Poland. In May 1688, the royal nomination was confirmed by the Holy See. Radziejowski was among the propagators of close relations with France. It does not come as a surprise that after the death of John III Sobieski he supported the French candidate to the Polish throne. His candidate, Prince Conti, was not elected king. Although Radziejowski made amends with the one whose candidature he tried to downplay, meaning Augustus II, he soon became his political opponent. The years of his Primacy witnessed the Northern War, a civil war in Poland as well as the invasion of Swedish and Russian armies on Poland. Regarding politics, he saw himself as the defeated party⁴⁸. Historians did not dispute about his political talent. Józef Feldman⁴⁹ did not spare him his sharp criticism, while Jacek Staszewski⁵⁰ considered him to be the most important politician at the dawn of the Saxon reign in Poland.

In the 18th century, two more Prince-Bishops of Warmia became Primates – Teodor Potocki and Ignacy Krasicki. At a time when Radziejowski was the Polish Primate, Teodor Potocki was appointed to be the Bishop of Chełmno. Throughout the Northern War, Potocki favoured Stanisław Leszczyński. After the war, Augustus II transferred him to the Warmian bishopric and, wanting to gain favour of

⁴⁸ R. Kawecki, *Kardynał Michał Stefan Radziejowski (1645–1705)*, Opole 2005; S. Achremczyk, *Michał Stefan Radziejowski biskup warmiński w latach 1679–1688*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 275–286; T. Oracki, op. cit., pp. 101–103.

⁴⁹ J. Feldman, *Polska w dobie wielkiej wojny północnej 1704–1709*, Kraków 1925, passim; K. Jarochoowski, *Koniec Radziejowskiego*, in: *Nowe opowiadania i studia historyczne*, Warszawa 1882, pp. 95–153; Idem, *Dzieje panowania Augusta II od śmierci Jana III do chwili wstąpienia Karola XII na ziemię polską*, Poznań 1856 passim; idem, *Dzieje panowania Augusta II od wstąpienia Karola XII na ziemię polską aż do elekcji Stanisława Leszczyńskiego (1702–1704)*, Poznań 1874, passim; J. Korytkowski, *Arcybiskupi gnieźnieńscy, prymasowie i metropolici polscy od roku 1000 aż do roku 1821*, T. IV, Poznań 1891, pp. 293–371.

⁵⁰ J. Staszewski, *O miejsce w Europie. Stosunki Polski i Saksonii z Francją na przełomie XVII i XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1974, passim.

the influential Potocki family, he made Theodor the Gniezno Archbishop and the Primate. Potocki⁵¹ proved to be an excellent shepherd and administrator. During his time there, Warmia tried to mitigate post-war devastation. The bishop himself provided funds for the reconstruction of Warmian churches, building new baroque temples and improving their decors. He turned out to be a patron of people of science and culture. He was the one who discovered the painting talent of Maciej Jan Meyer and financed his stay in Italy. Meyer made his name as the creator of figural and panoramic decorations. He was also the first artist in Poland to introduce a monumental system of frescoes for decorating churches⁵². As a Primate, Potocki continued his work in Greater Poland. Though he was given the Archbishopric by August II, he was not a supporter of the Wettins. After the death of Augustus II, being the interrex, he supported the candidature of a Piast, namely Stanisław Leszczyński. Although he seemed to realise that neither Moscow nor the Court in Vienna favoured Leszczyński, he firmly supported king Stanisław. Potocki, just as Radziejowski, counted on the help of France. While the nobility mostly opted for the Piast during the elections, their will to defend him as king against Moscow and Saxon armies was not exceptional. Yet, the Primate showed great fierceness in convincing the nobility to defend Leszczyński. Counting on the military assistance of France and Sweden, he took refuge in Gdańsk alongside the king. When hope of defending the city perished and the French aid turned out to be minuscule, he persuaded Leszczyński to leave Gdańsk. Leszczyński obeyed the Primate and escaped to the Duchy of Prussia wearing a peasant's disguise. Potocki was taken prisoner by the Russian forces.⁵³ He regained his freedom in 1735, when he acknowledged the election of Augustus III. After the abdication of Leszczyński, he did not cease to make plans for reforming the country. Potocki did not manage to execute them as he died in October 1783.

Sources considering the Warmian Prince-Bishop who was promoted to the position of the Gniezno Archbishop but was forbidden by the invaders to call himself the Primate of Poland – Ignacy Krasicki – are abundant⁵⁴. Krasicki went down in history as a writer, author of the first Polish novel and the author of poems, epigrams, fables, parables. His presence prolonged the connection of Poland with Warmia, though the latter finally wound up under the Prussian capture.

⁵¹ S. Achremczyk, *Teodor Potocki biskup warmiński w latach 1712–1723*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 309–322; J. Korytkowski, *Arcybiskupi gnieźnieńscy, prymasowie i metropolici polscy*, pp. 431–543; T. Oracki, op. cit., pp. 89–91.

⁵² J. Paszenda, *Święta Lipka*, Kraków 2008, pp. 112–121.

⁵³ E. Cieślak, *Stanisław Leszczyński*, Wrocław 1994, pp. 117–181; idem, *W obronie króla Stanisława Leszczyńskiego*, Gdańsk 1986, passim; J. Staszewski, *August III*, Wrocław 1989, pp. 137, 139, 141–154.

⁵⁴ Z. Goliński, *Kalendarz życia i twórczości Ignacego Krasickiego*, Poznań 2011, t. 1, p. 2; idem, *Krasicki*, Warszawa 2002; *Ignacy Krasicki na Warmii 1766–1772. Przekazy źródłowe*, cz. 1–2, ed. by: A. Szorc, Olsztyn 2002; S. Achremczyk, *Ignacy Krasicki nie tylko poeta*, Olsztyn 2001; idem, *Ignacy Krasicki biskup warmiński w latach 1766–1795*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 353–376.

Three other great Warmian Prince-Bishops of the 18th century – Andrzej Chryzostom Załuski⁵⁵, Krzysztof Szembek⁵⁶ and Adam Stanisław Grabowski⁵⁷ – are also worth mentioning. The first one was also the Grand Chancellor of the Crown and his reign coincided with the time of the Northern War. He is known as the author of the four-volume work entitled *Epistolarum historico-familiarum*. The Załuski's collection became the seed of the famous Załuski Library, founded in 1747 by his nephews. Szembek completed the construction of a lot of churches as well as a baroque palace on the bulwarks of the Lidzbark castle. In politics, his success regarded strengthening the Polish rule in Courland. In turn, Grabowski is the great figure of the reign of Augustus III – a politician, a patron of culture and science, a reformer. He was eager to fund the solutions regulating lower sections of the Vistula River so it did not threaten the fertile Żuławy area.

Consequently, Warmian Prince-Bishops ensured a special place for Warmia within the Polish Kingdom. The Warmian dominion and the diocese were also recognised thanks to the activity of their canons. Prince-Bishop Jan Stefan Wydźga in his letter to the canon priest Zachariasz Szolc mentions that “the Nuncio places the Cracow bishopric above the Warmian one, but Warmian canons as much greater than those in Cracow”⁵⁸. No wonder that the efforts to obtain a Warmian canon were seen as activities exceeding the borders of Warmia. The rivals in seizing the canons were magnate factions from Royal Prussia, Royal Court, Crown and Lithuanian; the chapter also competed with Warmian Prince-Bishops⁵⁹. Historiography did not pay attention to the political importance of the chapter, rarely highlighting the participation of the canons in the political life of the Polish Kingdom and Royal Prussia. Canons always accompanied the Prince-Bishop when he left for comitia maiora of the Royal Prussia. At times they informed him about the decisions of the provincial assemblies. The Prince-Bishops of Warmia even asked chapter delegates to accompany them on diets to jointly defend the interest of the dominion⁶⁰. Nowadays, in spite of having an almost complete list of War-

⁵⁵ S. Achremczyk, *Biskup warmiński Andrzej Chryzostom Załuski jako mąż stanu*, KMW, 1994, nr 2/3, pp. 203–219; idem, *Podróże biskupa Andrzeja Chryzostoma Załuskiego do Królewca*, KMW, 1992, nr 3/4, pp. 267–273; *Załuski Andrzej Chryzostom: Testament kanclerza wielkiego koronnego i biskupa warmińskiego*, ed. by: S. Achremczyk, KMW, 1984, nr 4, pp. 375–397; S. Achremczyk, *Między Wisłą a Niemnem*, pp. 96–108; idem, *Andrzej Chryzostom Załuski biskup warmiński w latach 1698–1711*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 295–308.

⁵⁶ S. Achremczyk, *Krzysztof Andrzej Jan Szembek biskup warmiński w latach 1723–1740*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 323–334; H. Żochowski, *Die Seelsorge im Ermland unter Bischof Christoph Andreas Johann Szembek 1724–1740*, ZGAE, Bd. 11, 1993.

⁵⁷ J. Dygdała, *Adam Stanisław Grabowski (1698–1766). Biskup, polityk, mecenas*, Olsztyn 1994.

⁵⁸ Archiwum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej w Olsztynie, AK, Aa 1, k. 70v J.S. Wydźga do Z. Szolca, Heilsberg 13 XII 1668.

⁵⁹ S. Achremczyk, *Kapituła warmińska w życiu politycznym Rzeczypospolitej XVII i XVIII wieku*, in: *Warmińska Kapituła Katedralna. Dzieje i wybitni przedstawiciele*, ed. A. Kopiczko, J. Jezierski, Z. Żywica, Olsztyn 2010, pp. 290 n.

⁶⁰ S. Achremczyk, *Codziennosc biskupa warmińskiego Jana Stefana Wydźgi w swietle jego korespondencji*, KMW, 2015, nr 2, pp. 281–304; I. Makarczyk, *Tomasz Ujejski (1612–1689)*, pp. 186 n.

mian canons, the analysis of their social and territorial composition has not been commenced. An attempt to analyse the members of the chapter was undertaken by Rev. Andrzej Kopiczko⁶¹, this issue also drew the attention of Irena Makarczyk⁶². The first found out that the chapter featured 305 canons in the years 1525–1821. Territorial origin was determined for 221 canons, 65 of whom were from Royal Prussia and Warmia. The study of Irena Makarczyk shows that from the beginning of the chapter to the end of the 17th century there were 480 canons in total. Over 30% of them came from the Prussian lands⁶³. Quite a lot, exactly 80 of them, were foreigners. Among them were 10 Italians, 5 Swedes, 6 were Czech and Moravian, 23 came from Silesia, one was Transylvanian, about 20 from imperial principalities and about 60 of the Crown. Such data reflects the international composition the Warmian chapter. However, it should be borne in mind that in the first period of the existence of the chapter all canons came from outside Prussian lands. According to my calculations, the chapter featured 201 persons in the 17th and 18th centuries. Thanks to papal nominations, 17 Italians served in chapter. As a result of the royal protectorate, also five Swedes and six Frenchmen became canons. Even in the 16th century burghers could become canons. In the days of Copernicus, key positions belonged to Gdańsk citizens. There were also several nobles among the canons – Paweł Płotowski, Jan and Rafał Konopacki, and Wojciech Kijewski⁶⁴. Already in the 17th century the chapter was polonised and nobility outnumbered non-noble canons. The nominations broke the principle of *ius indigenatus*, though the chapter protested if the candidate to a canon did not hold Prussian citizenship. The chapter yielded to the pressure of magnates and Royal Prussia senators to grant canon functions to their relatives, friends, and acquaintances. The introduction of people from outside of Warmia and even Royal Prussia into the chapter was its purposeful policy to have contacts and influence at the Royal Court, courts of nobility and gentry, during the *comitias*. Indeed, the chapter focused on the protection of the dominion against taxes, military forces and confederations.

Many members of the chapter turned out to be extraordinary figures. The college of canons was a group of educated people, the intellectual elite of the Prussian lands. Almost all of them completed university studies, many held doctorates regarding both legal systems, theology, philosophy. Not all of those educated people, sometimes cherishing intimate contacts with Europe, left some creative

⁶¹ A. Kopiczko, *Duchowieństwo katolickie diecezji warmińskiej w latach 1525–1821*, Olsztyn 2000, pp. 18–22, 40–41; T. Borawska, *Życie umysłowe na Warmii w czasach Mikołaja Kopernika*, Toruń 1996, pp. 92–101; E.M. Wermter, *Preussen, Polen, Deutsche Und Litauer im ermlandischen Domkapitel*, ZGAE, 1969, Bd. 33, pp. 320–324.

⁶² I. Makarczyk, *Szwedzi w kapitule warmińskiej w XVII wieku*, in: *Między Barokiem a Oświeceniem. Staropolski regionalizm*, ed. S. Achremczyk, Olsztyn 2008, pp. 274–275; eadem, *Tomasz Ujejski (1612-1689)*, pp. 124–133.

⁶³ I. Makarczyk, *Szwedzi w kapitule warmińskiej*, p. 274.

⁶⁴ *Protokoły posiedzeń warmińskiej kapituły katedralnej z czasów Mikołaja Kopernika*, ed. by: A. Szorc, I. Makarczyk, Olsztyn 2015, pp. XXXVIII–XLIV.

output as legacy. The chapter and Warmia have celebrated the genius of Nicolaus Copernicus for centuries. Though referred to as the dignified old man already during this lifetime, Copernicus was lauded for his medical knowledge. Entrusting to him important positions within the chapter proved his management skills. Copernicus is remembered as a superb astronomer and mathematician, creator of the heliocentric theory. His achievements in this regard overshadowed his deeds concerning monetary reform. His treatise on minting coins introduced the notion of bad money driving out good coins. Copernicus noticed that the coin affects the integration of the Polish Kingdom; he knew also the concept of a rich country. It is also known that Copernicus had some achievements in cartography. His map of the Vistula Lagoon was used by Kasper Hennenberger while developing his map of the Prussian⁶⁵ lands. In turn, Eustachy Knobelsdorf shall be remembered as a poet⁶⁶. This thoroughly educated canon became famous for his poems describing the town. He dedicated the poem *Lutetia Parisorum descriptio* to Johannes Dantiscus⁶⁷. Knobelsdorf also wrote other works, such as political poems. This Warmian canon also received praise from contemporary writers. Members of the Treter family – Tomasz, Maciej Kazimierz, Szymon Aleksy – praised Warmia. Tomasz gained special recognition as a Latin poet, engraver and translator. He was the son of Jacob, a bookbinder from Poznań. Before becoming a Warmian canon, Tomasz Treter closely cooperated with the Prince-Bishop and cardinal Stanislaus Hosius and Prince-Bishop Andrzej Batory. For many years, he was a secretary at the Royal Court for Stefan Batory and Sigismund III. His epigrams are well-known. His Latin-to-Polish translation of *Perygryncja do Ziemi Świętej* by Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł was frequently re-released, but his opus magnum is the emblematic biography of Stanislaus Hosius with 100 copperplates depicting scenes from the life of Hosius. Canon Joachim Pastorius was a historian, a poet, an educator and a physician. He earned fame thanks to his works on the Cossack⁶⁸ wars. Canon Johann Preuck established in Warmia the well-known scholarship fund for those of his countrymen who would like to study in Rome. Warmian chapter provost and the bishop of Kiev Tomasz Ujejski was deeply engaged in Polish politics.

⁶⁵ K. Górski, *Mikołaj Kopernik – środowisko społeczne i samotność*, Toruń 2012; A. Szorc, *Mikołaj Kopernik, kanonik warmiński*, Olsztyn 2013; S. Achremczyk, *Warmia*, pp. 211–213.

⁶⁶ M. Czupajło, *Eustachy Knobelsdorf (1519–1571) kanonik kapituły fromborskiej i pierwszy poeta warmiński*, in: *Warmińska Kapituła Katedralna*, pp. 309–320; F. Buchholz, *Die Lehr- Und Wanderjahre des ermländischen Domkustos Eustachius von Knobelsdorf: ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des jüngeren Humanismus und der Reformation*, ZGAE, Bd. 22, Braunsberg 1926, pp. 61–134, 177–255.

⁶⁷ M. Czupajło, op. cit., pp. 317–318; E. Knobelsdorf, *Opisanie Paryża*, translated by: J. Mrukówna, Łódź 1994; J. Starnawski, *Eustachy Knobelsdorf zapomniany poeta polsko-laciński i jego poemat o Paryżu (1543)*, *Meander*, 1983, z. 3, pp. 111–119.

⁶⁸ T. Oracki, op. cit., pp. 71–72; K. Kubik, *Joachim Pastorius gdański pedagog XVII wieku*, Gdańsk 1970.

Many of the canons proved to be excellent administrators. Provost Paul Górnicki⁶⁹, originating from the Duchy of Oświęcim, the brother of Łukasz – the author of *Dworzanin polski* – was such an administrator. Many canons were experienced lawyers, theologians, philosophers, mathematicians. Their achievements did not gain recognition, their printed works lie forgotten on library shelves and should be read again with a different approach. Numerous works are still in the form of a manuscript.

Prince-Bishops alongside the chapter ruled Warmia; together they changed its economic and cultural image. Their relatives, friends and courtiers settled in Warmia with them. The dominion was subject to colonisation, but it was not a planned and purposeful process. The Polish language was becoming widespread not only in Lidzbark Warmiński or Frombork. After the last Polish-Teutonic war, Warmia opened up to Polish settlers from Masovia, Podlasie, Chełmno land. In terms of nationality, the dominion became German-Polish. Southern Warmia was populated by Poles and the north by Germans; it remained so until 1945. Residents of Warmia were mostly plebeians. The population of Warmia was rural in 75%, the remaining 25% were the townspeople. Nobility in Warmia was scarce. Tied to the court of Prince-Bishops, it quickly yielded to colonisation. Importance outside Warmia was gained by just a few families such as Stanisławski, Grzymała⁷⁰, Hattyński or Kalnass, Gąsiorowski.

An important role in marking the place of Warmia within the Polish Kingdom was played by the Jesuits. They enjoyed the care and protection of both Prince-Bishops and canons of Warmia, with their merits in the field of education being measurable. Brought to Warmia in 1564, Jesuits were entrusted by Prince-Bishop Stanislaus Hosius with the task of organising a seminary for secondary theological education. Jesuits settled in Braniewo, where there were numerous followers of Lutheranism. The establishment of the seminary was approved by the diocesan synod in Lidzbark Warmiński in 1565. The first foundation act regarding the seminar is dated 21 August 1565. The opening ceremony took place on 25 November 1567⁷¹. Before the seminar was opened in 1565, teaching in a post-primary school was already in progress and the Papal Alumnat was established in 1578. Both institutions functioned to the year 1780. The Jesuits were to train the clergy of Warmia. Young people from across the Polish Kingdom came to study in Braniewo. Sons of the great noble families were among the students – Leszczyński, Radziwiłł, Sapieha, Lubomirski, Działyński, Zebrzydowski, Mielecki, Krasiński, Czapski. They sat at

⁶⁹ D. Bogdan, *Prepozyt kapituły fromborskiej Paweł Górnicki jako współrzędca Warmii w latach 1606–1619*, in: *Warmińska Kapituła Katedralna*, pp. 321–333.

⁷⁰ J. Jasiński, *Grzymałowie. Z dziejów szlacheckiego rodu na Warmii*, Dąbrówno 2015.

⁷¹ A. Kopiczko, *Seminarium Duchowne w Braniewie w latach 1565–1780*, in: *Cor Diocesis. 450 lat Warmińskiego Seminarium Duchownego Hosianum (1565–2015)*, ed. A. Kopiczko, P. Rapczyński, Olsztyn 2015, pp. 65–94.

the same bench as sons of townspeople and peasants⁷². Braniewo school graduates played an important part in politics, culture and economy of the Polish Kingdom⁷³. Unfortunately, the efforts to transform the school in an academy were futile. With three schools run by the Jesuits, Braniewo became a well-known centre for not only education, but also science and culture. In 1631, the Jesuits founded a second post-primary school in Warmia located in Reszel. Therefore, an area as small as Warmia had two post-primary schools. Those two facilities did not compete for students, but complemented each other. Most of the students of those schools as well as the Papal Alumnat chose life in the clergy after graduation. They commenced pastoral work in Warmia, but also in Royal Prussia, Livonia, missionary Jesuit institutions in Ducal Prussia, Grand Duchy of Lithuania as well as in Lesser and Greater Poland. The grandeur of education in Braniewo was ensured by Jesuit teachers and rectors of the college. There were many German natives among the rectors, but there was no shortage of Czechs, Italians and Netherlanders. The Rector was appointed by the General of the Order. The Rector, in fact, headed a five-year-long post-primary school, the Papal Alumnat, a seminar, managed the library, a printing house, supervised the monastic school and dormitory for the poor students. His term lasted for three years. In the 18th century, some rectors served for six or even twelve years. The Jesuits were in constant motion; every three years they moved to a different college. Rectors of the Braniewo College taught in Jesuit post-primary schools in Płock, Lublin, Reszel, Pińsk, Kowno, Orsha, Grodno, Pułtusk, Łomża, Nieśwież and at the Academy of Vilnius. It is possible to notice a very strong link of the Braniewo College and Vilnius. Braniewo Jesuits were also rectors in Dorpat, Riga and Daugavpils⁷⁴. They shaped clerics not only in the Braniewo seminar. Regens of the Braniewo seminar worked mainly in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Livonia.⁷⁵

Warmia also attracted artists thanks to numerous commissions of bishops and canons wanting to beautify the Warmian churches. It is enough to examine the history of the Frombork cathedral, its artistic interior, as well as the fate of the temple in Święta Lipka, Krosno, Chwałęcín or Chruścielcu to determine how many painters, sculptors, wood carvers, carpenters, goldsmiths from outside Warmia worked for the church officials of the region. In turn, artistic workshops developed in Warmia helped to decorate churches in the Grand Duchy of Lithu-

⁷² G. Luhr, *Die Schuler des Braunsberger Gymnasiums von 1694 bis 1776*, Monumenta Historiae Warmiensis, Bd. 12, Braunsberg 1934; A. Triller, *Das Jesuitenkolleg 1565–1772*, ZGAE, 1966, Bd. 30, pp. 497–516; S. Achremczyk, *Uczniowie kolegium jezuickiego w Braniewie w latach 1694–1776*, KMW, 1982, nr 4, pp. 299–323.

⁷³ Idem, *Wkład braniewskiego Hosianum w kształcenie elit Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej*, in: *Cor Dioecesis*, pp. 121–143.

⁷⁴ J. Zyśk, *Życie i działalność rektorów kolegium braniewskiego*, in: *Cor dioecesis*, pp. 98 n.

⁷⁵ S. Skienziul, *Regensi Seminarium Duchownego w Braniewie w okresie jezuickim*, in: *Cor Dioecesis*, pp. 107–120.

ania. Therefore, the artistic influences in Warmia and Poland interpenetrated each other.

It may be said that the position of Warmia in the Polish Kingdom depended on the stance of its Prince-Bishops and canons. With the importance of individual Prince-Bishops in the country recognition of Warmia grew within the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Stanisław Achremczyk, *Warmia w Rzeczypospolitej*

Streszczenie

Warmia rządzona przez biskupów i kapitułę przez 306 lat znajdowała się w granicach Królestwa Polskiego. Biskup warmiński Paweł Legendorf był pierwszym biskupem, który został poddany wraz ze swymi mieszkańcami króla polskiego a ostatnim polskim biskupem był Ignacy Krasicki. Mocą pokoju toruńskiego z 1466 roku dominium warmińskie wraz z Pomorzem Gdańskim, ziemią chełmińską i powiślańską stało się częścią Królestwa Polskiego. Stosunek Warmii do Królestwa regulowały dwa traktaty z roku 1479 i 1512 dotyczące wyboru biskupów. Traktaty wprowadziły gwarantowały kapitulę prawo wyboru biskupa ale w rzeczywistości wola króla decydowała kto biskupem zostanie. Biskup warmiński od 1569 roku zasiadał w senacie państwa i to na wysokiej szóstej pozycji, brał udział w sejmach polskich a od roku 1508 był też prezesem ziem pruskich czyli najważniejszą osobą w Prusach Królewskich. Warmińskie biskupstwo uważano za jedno z ważniejszych biskupstw polskich. Biskupi warmińscy sięgali po najwyższe godności w Rzeczypospolitej – zostawali podkanclerzami koronnymi i kanclerzami wielkimi koronnymi, kardynałami i arcybiskupami gnieźnieńskimi. Do historii jako literaci i uczeni przeszli: Stanisław Hozjusz, Marcin Kromer, Jan Dantyszek a zwłaszcza Ignacy Krasicki. Obecność biskupów z koronnych rodów magnackich umacniała związki Warmii z resztą ziem polskich. Wraz z osiedleniem się jezuitów w Braniewie i utworzeniem gimnazjum, Alumnatu Papieskiego i seminarium duchownego Warmia zaczęła oddziaływać na pozostałe ziemie polskie a nawet nadbałtyckie. Natomiast Reszel wyrastał na ważny ośrodek rzemieślniczy oraz szkolny bowiem w tym mieście jezuita powołał do życia drugie na Warmii gimnazjum. Obecność Polaków na Warmii świadczy barokowe świątynie w Stoczku Klasztornym, Krośnie, Chwałęcinie, Chruścielu a przede wszystkim w Świętej Lipce leżącej poza granicami dominium ale z dominium ściśle związanej. Wpływy polskie szły przez nadania dóbr ziemskich szlacheckim rodom przybyłym na Warmię wraz z biskupami. Spolonizowała się kapituła warmińska. Mieszkańcami Warmii byli Niemcy i Polacy i tak pozostało do 1945 roku.

Stanisław Achremczyk, *Ermland in der Republik Polen (Rzeczpospolita)*

Zusammenfassung

Das ermländische Dominium, das durch die Bischöfe und das Kapitel verwaltet wurde, befand sich 306 Jahre lang innerhalb der Grenzen des Königreichs Polen. Der Bischof Ermlands, Paweł Legendorf, war der erste Bischof, der zusammen mit seinen Landsleuten zum Untertan des polnischen Königs wurde; der letzte polnische Bischof war Ignacy Krasicki. Kraft des Thorner Friedens von 1466 wurde das ermländische Dominium zusammen mit Pommerellen, Kulmer- und Weichselland zum Teil des Königreichs Polen. Das Verhältnis des Ermlands zur polnischen Krone regelten zwei Abkommen, von 1479 und 1512, die die Wahl der Bischöfe betrafen. Der Bischof Ermlands gehörte seit 1569 dem staatlichen Senat an, er bekleidete sogar eine hohe – sechste – Position, nahm an polnischen Sejmen teil, seit 1508 war er als Vorsitzender der preußischen Gebiete zu der wichtigsten Person in Königlich Preußen. Das Bistum Ermland gehörte zu den wichtigsten Bistümern in Polen, nicht nur wegen der hohen politischen Position des Bischofs im Staat, sondern auch wegen der finanziellen Einkommen. Die Bischöfe Ermlands bekleideten die höchsten Ämter in der Republik Polen, sie wurden zu Vizekanzlern und Kanzlern, Kardinälen und den Erzbischöfen von Gnesen (Gnesen). Als sich in Braunsberg die Jesuiten niederließen und das Gymnasium, das Päpstliche Alumnat und das Priesterseminar gründeten, begann Ermland auf andere polnische Gebiete sowie auf die baltischen Länder Einfluss zu nehmen. Von der Präsenz Polens im Ermland zeugen barocke Kirchen in Stoczek Klasztorny (Springborn), Krosno (Krossen), Chwałęcín (Stegmannsdorf), Chruściel (Tiedmannsdorf), aber vor allem in Święta Lipka (Heilige Linde), das zwar außerhalb der Grenzen des Dominiums lag, aber mit ihm eng verbunden war. Die polnischen Einflüsse manifestierten sich auch darin,

dass es hier die Ländereien an die adeligen Geschlechter verliehen wurden, die nach Ermland zusammen mit den Bischöfen angekommen waren. Das ermländische Kapitel ließ sich polonisieren. Ermland wurde von den Deutschen und Polen bewohnt, dieser Stand blieb bis 1945 erhalten.

Übersetzt von Alina Kuzborska

prof. dr hab. Stanisław Achremczyk
Ośrodek Badań Naukowych
im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie
The Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre
in Olsztyn
stanislaw.achremczyk@obn.olsztyn.pl

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Jerzy Kielbik

ADMINISTRATION OF THE WARMIA REGION IN THE LIGHT OF ITS DOMESTIC LAWS

Słowa kluczowe: ustawy krajowe, życie codzienne, Warmia, historia prawa

Schlüsselwörter: Landesordnungen, Alltag, Ermland, Geschichte des Rechts

Keywords: domestic law, daily life, Warmia, history of law

During the First Polish Republic (I Rzeczpospolita), Warmia was a small state under the secular leadership of the clergy: the Bishop and the cathedral chapter. This is important inasmuch as the Bishop simultaneously exercised the religious leadership over the region and, in terms of the canon law, was the head of the chapter. However, in secular, administrative or judicial matters, the aforementioned corporation and the Bishop had no influence on the activities of one another. Analysing the issue, Alojzy Szorc¹ concludes that due to the continuity of the chapter's operation and its provisional management in periods when the bishop's seat was vacant, the position of the Bishop as the secular leader was slightly weaker. Nevertheless, this administrative division did not affect the necessity for regular cooperation of both sides, at least for practical reasons. Another kind of cooperation, but of a completely different nature and extent, occurred also with the neighbouring Duchy of Prussia².

The territory of Warmia, surrounded by the state of Prussia, resembled a trapezoid extending from the Vistula Lagoon towards the south-east, covering an area of 4249 km². The borders of Warmia were partially based on hydrographic elements: the western border ran along the Pasłęka river, while the south-east border extended along the ridgeline between Pasłęka and Łyna on the one side and the tributaries of the Narew river on the other³. From the point of view of secular ad-

¹ A. Szorc, *Dominium warmińskie 1243–1772. Przywilej i prawo chełmińskie na tle ustroju Warmii*, Olsztyn 1990, p. 45.

² J. Kielbik, *Współpraca ponad granicą. Kontakty Warmii i Prus Książęcych w XVI wieku*, Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie (KMW), 2006, no. 2, pp. 219–223.

³ S. Zajchowska, *Geografia*, in: *Warmia i Mazury*, ed. by S. Zajchowska and M. Kielczewska-Zaleska, vol. II, Poznań 1953, p. 8; A. Poschmann, *Die Siedlungen in den Kreisen Braunsberg und Heilsberg*, Braunsberg 1910, pp. 3–13; G. Labuda, *Środowisko geograficzne*, in: *Historia Pomorza*, vol. I from year 1466, ed. by G. Labuda, Poznań 1969, pp. 15–27.

ministration, Warmia was divided into ten districts (komornictwa). Their names derived from their cities and administrative centres. Three districts were subject to the cathedral chapter: the Frombork, Melzak and Olsztyn districts⁴, while the other seven: Braniewo, Orneta, Dobre Miasto, Lidzbark, Jeziorany, Reszel and Wartemborg districts were managed by the Bishop⁵. The districts were headed by burgraves, who had broad judicial and administrative powers. Additionally, the rulers had other officers to assist them. Among other things, the Bishop appointed a vogt (wójt) to help him defend his territory, and a treasurer to manage his property. This was in contrast to the chapter, which used to elect an administrator from among its members (its most well-known administrator was Nicholas Copernicus). The position of the chapter vogt, however, despite having been initially granted with powers similar to his bishopric counterpart, eventually lost its military character. The division of church structures to archpresbyterates functioned independently of the above-mentioned system and did not overlap with it in any extent⁶.

In the then Poland, Warmia was a unique creation. It was ruled by the clergy, while the nobles, dominant throughout the Polish Republic, played a minor role in the region. Moreover, the properties assigned to peasant or knight land holdings, regardless of whose hands they were in, sometimes made the members of these privileged groups perform the duties normally belonging to someone of lower status⁷. Additionally, it was absolutely unprecedented in the whole Republic that the nobility should have no right of appeal to the king against the decisions of the Warmia courts⁸. Apart from the nobility, there were also townspeople, village heads (sołtysi) and free men (wolni) who played important roles in the region, participating in government through the Warmia assembly (sejmik). This was another unique feature that distinguished Warmia from other regions of Poland.

The Warmia society was dominated by priests, who were not so much landlords as territorial rulers. In addition, they combined secular and ecclesiastical authority which made their power extend farther than in the case of lay overlords. Authority in one area was often used in another, and the consequences were far-reaching. The best example of this is a document from 1570 issued by Bishop Marcin Kromer, the so-called Kirchgangsdict. It edict imposed on all believers,

⁴ Melzak, a city in northern Warmia – nowadays Pięńszno.

⁵ T. Borawska, *Tiedemann Giese (1480–1550) w życiu wewnętrznym Warmii i Prus Królewskich*, Olsztyn 1984, p. 55; Wartenbork, a city in southern Warmia, nowadays Barczewo.

⁶ A. Olczyk, *Sieć parafialna biskupstwa warmińskiego do roku 1525*, Lublin 1961, p. 21.

⁷ There was such an incident that happened to the widow of Andrzej Pilchowicz, brother of Warmia suffragan Wojciech, in 1664; see: S. Achremczyk, *Szlachta na Warmii XVI–XVIII wieku*, in: *Szlachta i ziemiaństwo na Pomorzu w dobie nowożytnej XVI–XX wieku (Przemiany struktur wewnętrznych)*, ed. by J. Dygdała, Toruń 1993, p. 64.

⁸ A. Szorc, op. cit., p. 370 and n.

especially parents, children aged 10 and up and domestic servants, the duty of participation in the Sunday and holiday masses under the threat of sanctions (including administrative ones)⁹. As can be seen, the rights normally belonging to landlords were used in this case to exact the fulfilment of believers' duties.

In the work, 'Polska, czyli o położeniu ludności, obyczajach, urzędach i sprawach publicznych Królestwa Polskiego', written in the 16th century, the already mentioned Bishop Marcin Cromer wrote: The Warmia Bishopric does not belong to any voivodeship: it has specially demarcated clear boundaries delimiting one continuous area, resembling that of a duchy, with castles and cities in it. And it was divided so as to grant power over two parts to the Bishop, and to the college, that is, the chapter, over the third. In their territories, the Bishop and the chapter have power over the nobles and control over courts which are free and independent of the jurisdiction of any royal officials¹⁰. It should be noted here that, in fact, Warmia consisted of two separate entities: the dominion, which until 1525 formed third part of the diocese, and where the Bishop's and the chapter's secular and religious power coincided, and the diocese proper¹¹. After the secularisation of the Teutonic Order, the dissimilarity between the territories of these two organisms persisted, despite a significant reduction in the area of the other entity. An example of this was Elbląg, which was subject only to the church jurisdiction of the Warmia bishops.

The process of formation and development of the Warmia government system was strenuous and lengthy. In order to understand its nature, it is necessary to focus our attention to a somewhat forgotten fact. The fluidity and elasticity of the medieval legal norms and their wide interpretation by the modern researchers is perfectly seen in case of Warmia¹².

Warmia was established on the territories inhabited by Prussian tribes which for centuries constituted a huge temptation and a direction of expansion. This desire was aggravated by the fact that the Christian doctrine allowed to treat them as nobody's land, 'res nullius'¹³. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Polish state tried to expand its territory at its expense. Missions and crusades were undertaken, yet they did not bring the desired effects; to the contrary, the weakness of Poland resulting from its division to smaller states in the period of feudal fragmentation (rozbicie dzielnicowe) rendered the expansion plans unfeasible. The Prussians

⁹ W. Nowak, *Geneza agendy biskupa Marcina Kromera*, in: *Agendy i rytuały Diecezji Warmińskiej (1574–1939)*, ed. by W. Nowak, Olsztyn 1999, p. 19.

¹⁰ M. Kromer, *Polska czyli o położeniu ludności, obyczajach, urzędach i sprawach publicznych Królestwa Polskiego księgi dwie*, Olsztyn 1977, p. 175.

¹¹ On the geography of Warmia, see: A. Szorc, *Dzieje Warmii 1454–1660. Stan badań i postulaty badawcze*, Olsztyn 1999, pp. 11–18.

¹² D. Bogdan, *Sejmik warmiński w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Olsztyn 1994, p. 13.

¹³ J. Sikorski, *Monarchia polska i Warmia u schyłku XV wieku. Zagadnienie prawno-ustrojowe i polityczne*, Olsztyn 1978, p. 16.

themselves were not peaceful neighbours either. They attacked the border areas, looting and burning Christian settlements in Masovia and Ruthenia. In order to stop the penetration of the country and to ensure the conquest and christianisation of Prussia, Konrad Mazowiecki brought the Teutonic Order to Poland and established it in the Chełmno Land. The Order, however, did not intend to convert the Prussians, yet it constituted a force able to seize the territory and prepare grounds for the missionaries¹⁴.

There was also something also else the Order did. By receiving papal and imperial privileges, it managed to organise its own state in the occupied territories¹⁵. The conquered land was split between the Church and the Order in the proportions 1:2, based on the bull of 29 July 1243. At the same time, by establishing four dioceses: the Chełm, Pomesania, Warmia and Sambia diocese, the church structure was formed. The 'Noverit universitas vestra', written by William of Modena, a papal legate, determined the state's borders¹⁶ (the borders of the dominion were eventually established in 1375 and were preserved until 1772)¹⁷. The document reserved the legal equality of the Bishop and the Order which, being both in possession of the land with 'all its incomes' and 'any jurisdiction and law', were to be directly subject to Rome¹⁸. As the idea of the Warmia diocese was yet to emerge, the area was still called the third diocese. The term 'Warmia' does not appear in the document establishing the diocese. The first time the diocese was named in this way was in the Bishop Anselm's nomination of 6 October 1250 issued in Lyon¹⁹. The newly appointed Bishop began his ruling by organising and colonising his dominion, which resulted in establishing the cathedral chapter of Braniewo in 1260. After its foundation, Warmia once again was divided. Bishop Anselm granted its third part to the chapter, considering it an equal partner²⁰.

Braniewo, the first capital, did not keep its status for long, as already during the 1260 Prussian uprising the city was destroyed, and the original wooden St. Andrew's Cathedral was burned. Anselm's successor, Henryk Fleming, moved the chapter in 1278 to Frombork, due to its greater defensive potential. In years 1329-1388, a new gothic cathedral was built there. The bishops themselves did not reside together with the chapter. They first chose Braniewo as their seat, then moved to Orneta and settled finally in Lidzbark Warmiński²¹.

¹⁴ A. Szorc, *Dzieje Diecezji Warmińskiej*, Olsztyn 1991, p. 16.

¹⁵ On the establishment and functioning of the Teutonic state; see: M. Biskup, G. Labuda, *Dzieje Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach. Gospodarka – Społeczeństwo – Państwo – Ideologia*, Gdańsk 1988.

¹⁶ A. Kopiczko, *Ustrój i organizacja diecezji warmińskiej w latach 1525–1772*, Olsztyn 1993, p. 12.

¹⁷ A. Szorc, *Dominium warmińskie*, p. 25.

¹⁸ D. Bogdan, op. cit., p. 14.

¹⁹ A. Szorc, op. cit., p. 23.

²⁰ Ibidem, pp. 14–15.

²¹ J. Oślak, *Historia Diecezji Warmińskiej*, Olsztyn 1959, p. 20.

At this point, one should take a closer look at the legal and systemic position of the bishopric in the Teutonic state. Was it a sovereign body or did it exist in a form of dependence? According to Bogusław Leśnodorski, since the division in 1243 Warmia did not possess sufficient legal grounds or actual capabilities to be completely independent and unrestricted in its sovereignty²². The Order was entrusted with the conquest of Prussia and the defence of the whole country – including the properties of the bishops; this fact alone helped it to take the initiative and leadership in ‘domestic affairs’²³. Because of this, the Order claimed the right of staffing the posts of vogts, which it readily did within the Bishop’s domain, a fact that never took place in the part managed by the chapter.

Danuta Bogdan, summing up her views on the role of the Warmia region in the Teutonic state, stated that: ‘the first Warmia diocese was, from its very beginning, a crucial part of the Teutonic state. Nevertheless, it managed to establish a significantly autonomous legal and economic administrative unit within its bounds. The Order’s supremacy over it stemmed mainly from the nature of the function the Teutonic knights were entrusted with, namely, the defence of the territory and the preservation of the state’s unity. 2. Despite the fact that the knights dominated the other Prussian bishoprics, Warmia remained independent by maintaining the ‘secular’ character of the chapter and its election by the bishops who were not members of the Order’²⁴.

Another important issue to strongly influence the specific character of Warmia was its incorporation to the Polish Crown, or, rather, the nature and content of the legal acts on the basis of which it was done. The topic of the military struggle between the Teutonic Order and Poland is a thoroughly explored subject and does not need a detailed reminder. Similarly to Royal Prussia, Warmia became part of Poland as a result of the Thirteen Years, War. It was, however, a complex process that consisted of a number of legal acts. First, Warmia was included in the incorporation act of 1454 issued by Casimir IV Jagiellon. The king’s delegation included the representatives of the cathedral chapter, canons Jan Plastwich and Herman von Birken and the mayor of Braniewo, Jan Calais; however, these people can hardly be considered the official delegation of Warmia, particularly inasmuch as there is no Bishop’s representative among them²⁵. What is even more interesting is the fact that the Bishop, Francis Kuhschmalz, sided with the Teutonic knights. As a result, he had to seek refuge, first in Malbork, and then in Wrocław, where he died in 1457. His successor, Paul Legendorf, initially pursued a neutral policy to-

²² B. Leśnodorski, *Dominium warmińskie (1243–1569)*, Poznań 1949, p. 12.

²³ J. Sikorski, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–25.

²⁴ D. Bogdan, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–27.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 21.

wards the two conflicting forces. He regained castles and towns from the Poles and from the Order alike. However, the success of the former group encouraged him to change his attitude and to seek contact with the Prussian states. On 16 March 1464, the so-called perpetual peace agreement was signed in Elbląg between the Bishop and Warmia chapter on the one hand, and the king and the states of Prussia on the other. The treaty involved, among other things, the following statement: 'the king promised to keep all the privileges, freedoms, rights, jurisdiction and customs which the Warmia Lord Elect has long enjoyed together with his Church, chapter and citizens, and to support and defend all of the mentioned privileges'²⁶. This was later confirmed by Casimir Jagiellon in a document issued in Nowe Miasto Korczyn on 5 May 1465²⁷.

These two acts are complemented by the third one. In accordance with the provisions of the Second Peace of Thorn of 1466, Warmia was incorporated into Poland together with the whole territory of Royal Prussia. Leśnodorski argues that the dominion gained at least one thing during this turbulent period: 'the confirmation, already in the incorporation act, of the Prussian rights and privileges, and therefore, also of the particular interests of Warmia, as well as the provision of new rights and a solemn assurance of the royal protection in a separate act of 1464'²⁸. Analysing the situation of Warmia in Poland, it is possible to point out some key points in its history: a) the Bishop assumed the position of senator of the Crown and Prussia, which matched the dignity of his office. Since the times of Bishop Lukas Watzenrode, the position of senator was combined with being the head of the Prussian generalship; b) the population of Warmia was directly subordinated to the king; c) in Warmia's attitude towards Royal Prussia, there is an absence of legal rules separating the dominion from the Prussian province which was arranged and governed by norms deriving from the incorporation privilege and the peace treaty with the Order²⁹. An attempt to explain the mutual relations of these two political and legal states was undertaken by Karol Górski. He noted that Royal Prussia was a 'complex country' with Warmia forming its part as 'a small state'³⁰.

The Polish kings treated the privileges that they granted inclusively. Their aim was to integrate the newly acquired territories to the rest of Poland, yet some privileges stood in the way of this. The kings not only did not intend to observe the right of the 'indygenat' (the grant of nobility to foreign nobles) of the candidates for the Bishop's throne (the province's rights in this matter were not overtly violated, but rather gradually departed from), but they wanted to have full con-

²⁶ A. Kopiczko, op. cit., p. 34.

²⁷ D. Bogdan, op. cit., p. 22.

²⁸ B. Leśnodorski, op. cit., p. 31.

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 51.

³⁰ K. Górski, *Problematyka dziejowa Warmii*, KMW 1977, no. 2, pp. 173–174.

trol of who will occupy it. Against this background, a war broke out between the Bishop Tungen, elected by the chapter, and Casimir Jagiellon (War of the Priests of 1478-1479). Eventually, a settlement was reached on 15 July 1479 which stipulated that the chapter was to elect the candidate who was ‚to the king’s liking’. This by no means ended the dispute, as already the choice of the next Bishop spurred another disagreement. The chapter pretended it did not understand the term ‚to the king’s liking’ as meaning ‚indicated by the king’. A conflict broke out between the newly elected Bishop Lukas Watzenrode and Casimir Jagiellon. Eventually the issue was resolved by a new agreement concluded on 7 December 1512, and ratified by the chapter on 26 December of the same year. This, as well as subsequent practice, strengthened the role of the monarch in the election of bishops. Formally, the chapter chose from among four candidates designated by the king, but in fact the only one counting was the first candidate.

Still, Warmia never merged completely either with Royal Prussia or even with the Republic of Poland. It cherished a far-reaching independence and autonomy, with its rulers successfully fighting to keep their privileges. A good example that demonstrates this is the fact that the subjects of the Bishop and the chapter had the right of appeal to the royal court, which reflected the attempts of the region’s unification. Throughout the 16th and 17th century, the right was seldom employed, only to be ultimately cancelled in 1655³¹. The bishops themselves, despite being imposed by the king and often coming from other parts of the Republic, were limited as nowhere else in Poland by means the so-called *articuli iurati* (*artykuły zaprzysiężone*)³². The articles obliged the bishops, among other things, to respect the rights and sovereignty of Warmia.

This autonomy was further strengthened by the ‚*Observationes communes*’, which was a general set of rules established on the basis of *wilkierze* (systems of administrative laws), *ad hoc* decisions of the assemblies and long-established custom. It concerned a variety of areas, ranging from the methods of sealing documents by the Bishop and the chapter, to the serfdom redemption³³.

The last attempt to interfere with the rights and freedoms of the dominion in the Poland before the partitions occurred during the Stanisław Poniatowski’s Convocation sejm. The sejm decided that the chapter should send delegates to the Crown Tribunal and that its members were to be exclusively from the nobility. Eventually, after a determined resistance on the part of canons and the support of the Bishop Adam Stanisław Grabowski, these adverse demands were withdrawn³⁴.

³¹ D. Bogdan, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

³² A. Szorc, *Dzieje Warmii*, p. 75.

³³ *Idem*, *Dominium warmińskie*, pp. 111–112.

³⁴ *Idem*, *Zagrożenie Warmii przez Prusy (1722–1772)*, KMW 1972, no. 4, p. 531.

An important element contributing to the legal specificity of Warmia were its internal laws. Kromer defined them in the following way: 'the subjects of the Bishop and the Warmia chapter are governed by the same national laws as the other inhabitants of Prussia, but they also have their own laws which they call *Land-sordnung*, that is, country ordinance'³⁵. Such country ordinances, existing also in Prussia (but not in Poland), resembled *wilkierze*³⁶, which were defined by Zygmunt Gloger as 'the arrangements of the common people accepted by the authorities'³⁷ and formed an extension of and a complement to the Chełmno Law³⁸. Apart from the national *wilkierze* we are interested in, there were also urban, rural and craftsmen's *wilkierze* which concerned similar topics but were of a lesser impact. They were all written in German, and the two preserved copies that are exception to the rule (one written in Polish, the other in Latin) are only translations³⁹. National laws, despite their lofty name, mostly contained specific rules relating to daily life, for example, on servants, work discipline, trade, markets and fairs, the cultivation of land, etc. It is worth emphasizing that particular stress was placed on the correspondence of the provisions concerning the servants and craftsmen with the norms in force throughout Prussia, as there was a real threat of mass servant migration and an economic downturn in case they remained dissimilar⁴⁰.

Wilkierze demonstrated manifestations of two different wills: the will of the society and of the authorities. The society's will was manifested in the fact that changes to laws were introduced, as a rule, following the requests and suggestions of the subjects⁴¹.

In the period 1243–1772 in Warmia, the following domestic ordinances were published:

1) Bishop Franciszek Kuhschmalz's of 1427. (it tackled the native element, trying to subjugate it, and contained provisions about servants, trade and crafts, limitations in lavishness of weddings and christening parties);

2) Bishop Lukas Watzenrode's of 1505. (contained provisions concerning: weights and measures, craftsmen and servants, trade, assemblies, propination, equipment of persons liable for military service, discipline);

3) Bishop Maurycy Ferber's of 1526. (the most complete to date and later, up to 1766, of all published. It contained provisions relating to: the Catholic religion, deputies, councillors, guildhouse masters, church holidays, tithes, wills,

³⁵ M. Kromer, *op. cit.*, pp. 175–176.

³⁶ A. Szorc, *Wilkierze warmińskie*, *Studia Warmińskie*, 1984, vol. XXI, p. 5.

³⁷ *Encyklopedia staropolska ilustrowana*, ed. By Z. Gloger, vol. 4, Warszawa 1958, p. 437.

³⁸ A. Szorc, *Wilkierze warmińskie*, p. 5; this article describes all types of *wilkierze*: urban, rural and craftsmen's *wilkierze*.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 8.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

maintenance of church buildings, responsibilities of church administrators, capital contributions, capital investments, limitations to weddings and christening parties, division of estate, trade, weights and measures, sowing and storage of linseed, brewing, restrictions for peasants, poaching bans);

4) Bishop Mikołaj Szyszkowski's of 1636–1637 (contained the following provisions: on desertion and extradition of peasants between Prussia and Warmia, renting and remuneration of servants and day labourers, merchants, brewers, price lists for goods and services, clothes);

5) Bishop Krzysztof Szembek's of 1730. (entirely related to servants and day labourers)⁴².

Of all the Warmian laws, two were crucial. The first was the 1526 bill issued by Bishop Maurycy Ferber. It focuses primarily on religious questions, since, one has to remember, it was passed a year after the secularisation of the Royal Prussia. In addition, it encompasses all aspects of the socio-economic life in Warmia. It also regulates issues relating to agriculture, flax cultivation in particular, and introduces enforcement regulations. A thorough discussion of the document is presented by Alojzy Szorc⁴³ and Thomas Berg⁴⁴, and, in the context of Nicolaus Copernicus's participation in its creation, by Danuta Bogdan⁴⁵. Therefore, it only seems necessary to remind that the document consists of 37 articles, and, as usually in case of such legal acts, it bears the burden of its times: the recent Polish-Teutonic war and the reformation. It is the latter that led to the fact that the act regulates issues related to religion in the first place. In view of the changes in Prussia associated with its secularisation, it became crucial for the clergy and diocese officials, having lost about 2/3 of the diocese area in favour of the Protestant Church, to slow down the reformation processes. It is therefore not surprising that these provisions were placed at the very beginning of the document, even preceding the issues related to taxes. The act prohibited religious disputes, distribution of heretic texts, and even obliged the master craftsmen to control if their apprentices fulfilled their religious duties. It is only in the second place that the law discusses the issues of oaths of loyalty to lord superior, celebration of Church holidays and craft guild anniversaries, and tithing. Tithes had to be paid from St. Martin's Day (11 November) until Candlemas (2 February). In the remaining part, the laws laid down by Ferber addressed the problems of wills (introducing mandatory bequests for the Church), maintenance and construction of church buildings, and reports of church administrators. A significant part of the regulation dealt with the or-

⁴² A. Szorc, *Dominium warmińskie*, pp. 108–109.

⁴³ A. Szorc, *Wilkieże warmińskie*, pp. 18–24.

⁴⁴ T. Berg, *Landesordnungen in Preußen vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Lüneburg 1998.

⁴⁵ D. Bogdan, *Warmińska ordynacja krajowa „Landesordnung” z 1526 roku i kwestia udziału w jej redakcji Mikołaja Kopernika*, KMW, 2013, no. 2, pp. 283–293.

ganizational-economic questions: capital investments in real estate, restrictions in the lavishness of family celebrations, and bequests. The provisions were largely mixed up among themselves: organisational rules appeared next to bequests, etc. Furthermore, much space was devoted to cases related to trade. Regulations were introduced to market buying and selling, normalisation of weights and measures, as well as production of beer and its retail in taverns. Attempts were also made to restrict the reportedly excessive flax cultivation⁴⁶.

Subsequent ordinances were rather selective in character, which has been already mentioned above. However, over time, changes in Royal Prussia as well as internal changes in Warmia caused by wars and destruction brought the necessity of reform. It was not until 1766 when the reform was carried out. Its enforcement was primarily thanks to the interaction of two persons: Bishop Adam Stanisław Grabowski, and his right hand, canon Tomasz Szczepański. It is also worth to highlight the procedure associated with the preparation of the act which shows a mutual cooperation in the country's management and Warmia people's engagement⁴⁷.

First, an attempt was made to obtain the approval of the cathedral chapter. To this end, a letter was sent by the Bishop on 18 January 1766 via the general treasurer, canon Tomasz Szczepański⁴⁸. Szczepański not only delivered the letter, but also explained to the chapter the necessity of reforming outdated regulations and asked the chapter to send delegates or commissioners to undertake this task⁴⁹. The official reading of the letter and the communication of the chapter's stance took place at the general meeting on St. Agnes's Day (21 January)⁵⁰. The response was sent on 23 January 1766. It stated that 'for the sake of efficient governance of the diocese, nothing is more desirable presently than the modification of old laws and the possible adoption of new regulations that match better with contemporary realities'⁵¹. At the same time, it was proposed that a commission meeting should be held on 15 March in Orneta⁵².

The date was not observed. The amount of preparatory work made it necessary to postpone the meeting⁵³, the more so as the preparations, as Anton Eich-

⁴⁶ A. Szorc, *Wilkieryze warmińskie*, pp. 18–24.

⁴⁷ For an extensive commentary on the law and its legislation, see: *Ustawa krajowa biskupa Adama Stanisława Grabowskiego z 4 lipca 1766 roku*, Introduction by Jerzy Kielbik, trans. Magdalena I. Sacha, Olsztyn 2010; J. Kielbik, *Ankieta dobromiejska*, KMW, 2002, no. 4, pp. 527–533; J. Kielbik, *Komornictwa kapitulne wobec reformy społeczno-gospodarczej z 1766 roku*, KMW, 2003, no. 2, pp. 221–235; J. Kielbik, *Ustawa krajowa Adama Stanisława Grabowskiego z 4 lipca 1766 roku*, KMW, 2002, no. 2, pp. 213–240.

⁴⁸ A. Szorc, op. cit., p. 49.

⁴⁹ Archiwum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej w Olsztynie (AAWO) AK, Ab 38, p. 366.

⁵⁰ A. Eichhorn, *Geschichte der ermländischen Bischofswahlen*, Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands, 1863, Bd. 2, p. 459.

⁵¹ After A. Szorc, op. cit., p. 50.

⁵² AAWO, AK, Ab 38, p. 367; A. Szorc, op. cit., p. 50.

⁵³ T. Berg, op. cit., p. 220.

horn points out, were not particularly hasty⁵⁴. A work so important and complex, as the new country law was, required understanding, expertise, and knowing the opinion of the subjects. In the Bishop's Curia on 28 February, an address to the public was prepared which, after its endorsement by the chapter, was published on 3 March⁵⁵. It stressed the necessity of passing a new law since the Bishop Ferber's ordinance was already outdated 'theils wegen ihres Alters, theils aber wegen Vernachlässigkeit'⁵⁶ (it is very significant that only the act of 1526 is mentioned; this clearly indicates that it was considered superior to all the subsequent regulations). The appeal also pointed to a number of violations which crept into the public life and the potential of new law to rectify this state of affairs so that all the social classes returned within the limits intended for them.

However, if this was supposed to work, the commission gathering to prepare the text of the act on April 14 1766 in Orneta needed to obtain some information about the most pressing issues of the Warmia inhabitants. For this purpose, after receiving the appeal, burgraves were to summon to their office the nobles, village heads, councillors and free men by means of circular letters and on a given day, but no later than 8 days prior to the meeting of the commission itself. The gathered representatives were to answer 14 written questions and send their answers back to the commission. Such procedures were required from the authorities of cities and their inhabitants. Conclusions obtained as a result of this discussion were to be presented to the burgrave. However, if the city deemed a particular solution unfavourable, it could submit its objections to the commission⁵⁷.

A very interesting and important part of the document are the following questions: 1) how to improve the cultivation of the soil on Warmia? Should flax crop be limited in favour of other cereals? 2) What laws are needed for servants and day labourers to establish a uniform practice in Warmia? Should the custom of the landlord giving a part of the field to smallholders for their own use be preserved? 3) How to prevent inconveniences to landlords in hiring servants? Should the uniform fee be established, the so called *Gewissgeld*? 4) How to define the responsibilities of smallholders and landless peasants so that they would not multiply their demands and were useful for the landlords? 5) How to prevent the devastation of forests? How to effectively reduce the amount of windthrow? How to save firewood in the countryside? How to encourage tree planting and forest protection? 6) How to dig drainage ditches without confusing the demarcations of property borders? 7) How to prevent fires? Should a form of insurance (*Feyercas-*

⁵⁴ A. Eichhorn, op. cit., p. 459.

⁵⁵ The entire text of the proclamation is preserved by Józef Kattenbrück in 'Miscallanea Varmiensia'; see: AAWO, AB, H 19, pp. 103–106.

⁵⁶ After A. Szorc, op. cit., p. 50.

⁵⁷ AAWO, AB, H 19, p. 103–104.

sa) be established for victims of fires? Should fire regulations (Brandordnung) be adopted and in what form? 8) How to revive trade in the cities? 9) How to ensure the development of crafts while keeping the craftsman taxes, especially in the case of daily use commodities? How to remove abuses which have crept into the craft guild regulations (wilkierze)? 10) Determine the wages for hired workers and set out requirements for them. They cannot change workplaces without permission. 11) How to cost-effectively decorate the exterior of the city buildings and ensure its unified style? How to obtain the sufficient amount of lime and brick in order to replace the wooden constructions? 12) Establish fair laws for mills. 13) What rules to introduce for dressing of different social groups? How to uproot the habit of inviting a large number of guests to weddings, christening and birthday parties and other feasts and to eliminate their unhealthy lavishness? 14) How to prevent the vagrants from inhabiting vacant dwellings (Brachstuben)? The text is ended with an appeal to respond to other issues which were not included in the questions⁵⁸.

There could have been at least ten survey responses⁵⁹ (as much as there were districts), yet if cities sent their own replies, the number could have been higher. To date, only four survived: from Dobre Miasto⁶⁰, Pieniężno⁶¹, Olsztyn⁶² and Frombork⁶³. The signatures on these documents, even if their scarcity limits the possibility of interpretation, suggest that there might have been more than ten but less than the number of cities and districts. While in the case of Pieniężno the name of the city is overtly stated⁶⁴, in the case of Olsztyn there is no mention of that either at the beginning or at the end of the survey. However, there is a reference in the response to question 11 to an official letter sent to the commission by the city⁶⁵. Despite the fact that it is currently impossible to determine what the exact number of surveys was, we can assume that there were at least a dozen or so.

The differences appearing in these documents are insignificant. However, while the answers may often seem similar, the approach to the problems and the stress placed on particular issues is very different. The responses involve, first and

⁵⁸ The text of the questions after: A. Szorc, op. cit., pp. 50–51; except question 14. Rev. prof. Szorc translated it as follows: ‚how to prevent the idle and work-shy servants from entering unsuitable premises (inns)‘; see: *ibid.*, p. 51; in the original the question is put thus: ‚Was für Mittel vorzukehren, das den Umtreiberischen und loosen Gesindel in denen Brachstuben kein Auffenthalt gestattet werde‘; see: AAWO, AB, H 19, p. 106; however, the question does not concern the servants (Gesinde), but the riff-raff (Gesindel). Moreover, the measures taken were not intended at driving them away from inns (Krüge), but at not letting them inhabit vacant dwellings (Brachstuben).

⁵⁹ This is what A. Szorc reports; see: *idem*, *Wilkierze warmińskie*, p. 51.

⁶⁰ It is preserved in the copy by Rev. Kattenbringk; see: *Ankieta z Dobrego Miasta*, AAWO, AB, H 19, pp. 106–111.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, AK, Rep. 128/ IV-17.

⁶² *Ibidem*.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, Rep. 128/ VIII-23.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, Rep. 128/IV-17, k. 327; ‚Treügehorsamste Dinner und Vasallen, Magistratus et Communitas‘.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, (no pagination); ‚Cammer-Amt-Allenstein ut Supra‘.

foremost, the problems related to local societies; nevertheless, there is a clearly visible care for the whole dominion as well. Undoubtedly, the surveys constitute an interesting testimony of the era. They point to the problems affecting the privileged Warmia groups throughout their social and economic life. It is difficult to judge, however, what impact these responses had on the shape of the regulations due to the fact that only a small part of them has survived to this day. It can be assumed that they must have been read carefully. In the case of the establishment of the General Fund for Fire Protection (Powszechna Kasa Ogniowa), the text states that the Fund is introduced despite the reluctance on the part of the respondents⁶⁶. Moreover, uniform prices for craft goods had not been set as there was no consent for it in the surveys. Instead, it was decided that their proportionality to the raw materials should be controlled⁶⁷. The above examples point to a relationship between the contents of the act and the surveys; in view of the later history of the ordinance, one can observe that a large number of regulations ran contrary to the suggestions submitted.

The above answers came before the Commission on 14 April 1766 in Orneta. The commission nominees from the chapter's side were: Braniewo Dean – canon Ludwik Lodron, Olsztyn mayor Krzysztof Thell, and the nobles Grzymała and Wilkaniec. The Bishop's nominees were: general treasurer – canon Tomasz Szczepański, land judge the Lidzbark starosta – Karol Grochowolski (he fell ill and was replaced by Orneta burgrave Kazimierz Józef Płocki), and the nobles: Quoss, heir to Barkweda and Droszewo, Gotfryd Hattyński, heir to Lemity and Kłopotów, Nycz, heir to Ramsowo; in addition, mayor of Stare Miasto Braniewo Franciszek Östreich, mayor of Lidzbark Sachs, mayor of Orneta Kacper Geritz, and the Warmia treasurer's clerk Florian Gerick⁶⁸.

The Commission discussed and worked on the text of the ordinance for 8 days. In addition to surveys, former ordinances were also used in the preparation of the new one. The finished text was sent to Frombork, where the chapter reviewed it from 26 to 29 April. Then, it was forwarded to the Bishop Grabowski via Tomasz Szczepański, suggesting that one of the canons should examine it carefully in order to make corrections before the publication. The same is repeated in a letter to the Bishop of 2 May. Grabowski, in his letter to the chapter of 10 May, praises its efforts in creating the new law and states that it may already be published and that he had ordered Szczepański to do it. After reading the letter on 23 May, the chapter also instructed Szczepański to announce it publicly⁶⁹. The text was printed in the Jesuits' printing house in Braniewo, and was eventually published on 4 July 1766.

⁶⁶ Ordynacja, Caput VI, § 14.

⁶⁷ Ibidem, Caput VII, § 13.

⁶⁸ AAWO, AB, H 19, p. 103; A. Szorc, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁶⁹ Ibidem, p. 52.

The act is divided into eighteen chapters, which in turn are subdivided into articles. The issues it concerns are close in many points to the Ferbier's ordinance, yet they also tackle the contemporary matters regarding fire insurance or shared treasuries. In many articles, one can observe the desire of the legislator to reform the Warmia region, strengthen its economy and gain more independence in trading with Prussia. The act comprises the following chapters: 1. On flax, livestock and agricultural improvements, 2. On apprentices, servants and their daily wages, 3. On the duties and conditions of gardeners, rent-paying peasants and day labourers, 4. On the devastation of forests, its causes and ways to mend it in order to save as much of the forests as possible, 5. On drainage ditches in meadows, so that they prevent border disputes, 6. On preventing losses by fire, safety regulations and the Fire Protection Fund, 7. Ways to revive city trade, 8. On craftsmen emancipation and appropriate pricing of diverse handicraft products, 9. On decorating city houses, 10. On beggars, 11. On mills, 12. On proper dressing, 13. On feasts, weddings, and birthday and christening celebrations, 14. On vagabonds, 15. On inheritance and bequests 16. On poaching, culling and malpractices in fish economy, 17. What else is needed for the trade to flourish and the country to be successful, 18. On shared treasuries.

The autonomy and specificity of this small state, Warmia, resulted in the creation of its peculiar 'microclimate', which encompassed its society, economy, and customs alike. These features were gradually developed due to Warmia's separation from Poland, its status as a periphery, as well as its area being surrounded on all sides by the Lutheran Prussia. As a result, Warmia evolved slowly while still maintaining its old traditions, the striking evidence of which we can find in its legislation. The Warmia domestic laws were, on the one hand, an example of this, yet on the other, they frequently offered contemporary solutions, possibly modelled on the neighbouring Prussia. By way of conclusion, it should be noted that the Warmia's legislation was one of the elements of the region's specificity as it formed part of its originality and distinctness from the Prussian province as well as the Polish Republic.

Jerzy Kielbik, *Administracja Warmii w świetle ustaw krajowych*

Streszczenie

Autonomia i specyfika Warmii, tego małego kraiku, powodowały, że panował w nim swoisty „mikroklimat”. Obejmował on społeczeństwo, gospodarkę, także obyczajowość. Cechy te pogłębiane były, przez odcięcie od Polski, pozostawanie na peryferiach, otoczenie zewsząd przez luterzańskie Prusy. W efekcie Warmia zmieniała się powoli, ewoluowała, pozostając jednak wciąż mocno tradycjonalistyczną, czego ewidentne dowody znajdujemy w zakresie prawa. Warmińskie ustawy krajowe były z jednej strony tego przykładem, zawierały jednak niekiedy rozwiązania nowoczesne, czego być może wzorcem były sąsiednie Prusy. Niniejszy artykuł stanowi syntetycz-

zny zarys dziejów zarządzania Warmią oraz zbiorów informacji na temat podstawowych aktów prawnych, którymi kierować się musieli mieszkańcy w swoim życiu prywatnym – ustawach krajowych. Przeanalizowane zostały również najważniejsze etapy prowadzące do ukształtowania się ustroju Warmii w swej podstawowej formie oraz relacje pomiędzy biskupem, a kapitułą katedralną.

Jerzy Kielbik, *Die Verwaltung Ermlands im Lichte der Landesgesetze*

Zusammenfassung

Die Autonomie und Spezifik Ermlands sorgten für ein besonderes „Mikroklima“ dieses kleinen Landes. Es umfasste die Gesellschaft, die Wirtschaft und die Sitten. Diese Eigenschaften der Region wurden durch ihre Abtrennung von Polen, ihre periphere Lage und die Umgebung durch lutherisches Preußen noch stärker. Infolgedessen änderte sich Ermland sehr langsam, diese Wandlungen zeugten davon, dass das Land stark traditionell blieb, was sich auf dem Gebiet des Rechts besonders bemerkbar machte: Die Gesetze in Ermland waren ein Beispiel dafür. Andererseits waren manche Lösungen sehr modern, vermutlich kam dieser Einfluss aus dem benachbarten Preußen. Der vorliegende Beitrag ist eine synthetische Skizze zur Geschichte der Verwaltung Ermlands, sie enthält diverse Informationen zu Grundgesetzen – den Landesgesetzen, die das private Leben der Bewohner bestimmt haben. Es wurden auch die wichtigsten Etappen in der Bildung des politischen Systems in Ermland in seiner Grundform sowie die Relationen zwischen dem Bischof und dem Domkapitel besprochen.

Übersetzt von Alina Kuzborska

dr Jerzy Kielbik
Ośrodek Badań Naukowych
im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie
The Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre
in Olsztyn
jerzy.kielbik@obn.olsztyn.pl

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Jerzy Przeracki

THE WARMIAN PRINCE-BISHOP PAUL LEGENDORF (CA. 1410–1467). BETWEEN THE TEUTONIC ORDER AND POLAND

Słowa kluczowe: Warmia, biskupstwo warmińskie, zakon krzyżacki, wojny Polski z Krzyżakami
Schlüsselwörter: Ermland, Fürstbistum Ermland, Deutsche Orden, Polnisch-teutonische Kriege
Keywords: Warmia, Prince-Bishopric of Warmia, Teutonic Order, Polish-Teutonic wars

The behaviour of an individual is frequently determined by events over which that individual has limited power, with resulting choices appearing as controversial, especially if assessed after centuries. Paul Legendorf is an example of such an individual – his life and activities were conditioned by the difficult neighbourly relations with the Teutonic State in Prussia and the Polish Crown. The situation of the son of the Chełmno Land, which was governed by the Teutonic Order when Paul Legendorf came to this world at the beginning of the 15th century, became much more complex in the middle of that century after a repudiation of allegiance followed by a declaration of war against the Order stated by Chełmno Land's inhabitants. The position of Paul Legendorf became even more uncomfortable when in the course of the Thirteen Years' War between the Teutonic State and the Polish Crown (1454–1466), more specifically in autumn 1458, he was appointed by the Pope to the position of a Warmian diocese administrator (curiously enough, he ineffectively tried to seize a position at his domestic Chełmno diocese). Ever since he came to Warmia in the summer of 1460 until the end of the Thirteen Years' War in autumn 1466, he was forced to maintain the balance between the conflicted parties.

The life and activities of Paul Legendorf have been discussed by a number of authors in the form of a biography or extended description. His persona was presented by Anton Eichhorn (1858)¹, Kamila Wróblewska (1966)², Adolf Poschmann

¹ A. Eichhorn, *Paul Stange v. Legendorf (1458–1467)*, in: idem, *Geschichte der ermländischen Bischofswahlen*, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands (ZGAE)*, 1858, Bd. 1, H. 1, pp. 140–149; idem, *Der im geheimen Archiv des Domcapitels zu Frauenburg in Schiebl. S. No. 1 befindliche Codex*, *ZGAE*, 1876, Bd. 6, H. 1, pp. 190–200.

² K. Wróblewska, *Późnogotycka brązowa płyta nagrobna biskupa warmińskiego Pawła Legendorfa*, *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie (KMW)*, 1966, nr 1, pp. 99–126; eadem, *Łukasz Watzenrode jako fundator dzieł sztuki. (Z zagadnień mecenatu artystycznego na Warmii z przełomu XV i XVI stulecia)*, *KMW*, 1972, nr 1, pp. 149–157.

(1967)³, Karol Górski (1972)⁴, Tadeusz Oracki (1988)⁵, Roman Marchwiński (1994)⁶, Hans-Jürgen Karp (1996)⁷, Teresa Borawska (1996 and 1997)⁸ as well as Jerzy Sikorski (1998)⁹. The actions of Paul Legendorf during the Thirteen Years' War were most broadly analysed by Victor Röhrich¹⁰ and Marian Biskup¹¹, along with Wilhelm Brüning¹², Antoni Prochaska¹³, Jan Friedberg¹⁴ and Janusz Smołucha¹⁵. Crucial information on the War and the role of Paul Legendorf in its course is delivered by contemporary chronicles¹⁶.

* * *

Paul Legendorf was born probably around 1410 to Janusz, a Chełmno judge, and a daughter of Janusz Kościelecki (her name is not known), Inowrocław

³ [A.] Poschmann, *Paul Stange von Legendorf*, in: *Altpreussische Biographie*, Bd. II: Maltitz-Z, hrsg. von Ch. Krollmann, K. Forstreuter, F. Gause, Marburg/Lahn 1967, p. 491. To this topic is irrelevant an article signaled by author: H. Deppner, *Die kirchenpolitische Verhältnisse Elbings zum Bischof von Ermland in der Zeit der polnischen Fremdherrschaft (1466–1772)*, Elbinger Jahrbuch, 1933, H. 11, pp. 121–236.

⁴ K. Górski, *Legendorf Paweł h. Stango (ur. między 1410 a 1420–1467)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny* (PSB), t. XVII, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1972, pp. 1–3.

⁵ T. Oracki, *Legendorf (Stango, Mgowski) Paweł*, in: idem, *Słownik biograficzny Warmii, Prus Książęcych i Ziemi Malborskiej od połowy XV do końca XVIII wieku*, T. 2: L–Ż, Olsztyn 1988, pp. 7–8.

⁶ R. Marchwiński, *Paweł Legendorf (1460–1467)*, in: S. Achremczyk, R. Marchwiński, J. Przeracki, *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, Olsztyn 1994, pp. 7375.

⁷ H.-J. Karp, *Legendorf, Paul Stange von (um 1415–1467)*, in: *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1448 bis 1648. Ein biographisches Lexikon*, hrsg. von E. Gatz, Berlin 1996, p. 412.

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⁹ J. Sikorski, *Paweł Legendorf (1415–1467, biskup warmiński w latach 1458–1467)*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, ed. by: S. Achremczyk, Olsztyn 2008, pp. 73–78.

¹⁰ V. Röhrich, *Ermland im dreizehnjährigen Städtekrige*, ZGAE, 1894, Bd. 11, H. 1, pp. 161–260; 1895, Bd. 11, H. 2, pp. 337–489.

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¹⁴ J. Friedberg, *Zatarg Polski z Rzymem w czasie wojny trzynastoletniej (Przyczynki do historii dyplomacji krzyżackiej)*, KH, 1910, R. XXIV, z. 3/4, pp. 422–467.

¹⁵ J. Smołucha, *Spór o biskupstwo warmińskie w czasie wojny trzynastoletniej na tle stosunków Polski z papieżem w połowie XV wieku*, *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, 2005, [Nr.] 1279, *Prace Historyczne*, Z. 132, pp. 47–55; idem, *Polityka Kurii Rzymskiej za pontyfikatu Piusa II (1458–1464) wobec Czech i krajów sąsiednich. Z dziejów dyplomacji papieskiej w XV wieku*, Kraków 2008.

¹⁶ *Johann Lindaus Geschichte des dreizehnjährigen Krieges*, hrsg. von Th. Hirsch, in: *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum* (SRP), Bd. IV, hrsg. von Th. Hirsch, M. Toeppen, E. Strehlke, Leipzig 1870, pp. 490–675; C. Schütz, *Historia rerum Prussicarum*, Leipzig 1599; *Johannis Plastwici, Decani Warmiensis Chronicon de vitis episcoporum Warmiensium*, in: *Scriptores rerum Warmiensium* (SRW), Bd. I, hrsg. von C. P. Woelky, J. M. Saage, Braunsberg 1866, pp. 10–137; *Christoph Falks Elbingisch-Preussische Chronik. Lobspruch der Stadt Elbing und Fragmente*, hrsg. von M. Toeppen, Leipzig 1879; S. Grunau, *Preussische Chronik*, hrsg. von M. Perlbach, R. Philippi, P. Wagner, Bd. I–III, Leipzig 1876–1896; some fragments in: *Aus Simon Grunau's Preussischer Chronik. Tractat IX, Abschnitt 3*, in: SRW, Bd. II, hrsg. von C.P. Woelky, Braunsberg 1889, pp. 172–219; *Die aeltere Hochmeisterchronik*, bearb. von M. Toeppen, in: SRP, Bd. III, Leipzig 1866, pp. 519–715 (some fragments in: SRW, Bd. I, pp. 357–359); *Die Heilsberger Chronik von Martin Oesterreich*, in: SRW, Bd. II, pp. 317–330; *Jana Długosza Roczniki czyli Kroniki Sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, Księga dwunasta, cz. 1: 1445–1461; cz. 2: 1462–1480, Warszawa 2009.

(Gniewkowo) voivode. The validity of moving the date of birth of the future Warmian Prince-Bishop as far back as around 1410 is justified by the document dated 26 January 1432 connected with Janusz Legendorf, more specifically – his younger son Paul (though his name is not directly provided in the document).

Namely, the Commanders of Tczew and Bałga wrote to the Grand Master Paul von Russdorf that Janusz Legendorf informed them about a severe illness of the Domnowo parish priest. Janusz asked those komturs to contact the Grand Master in relation to his son, who took over the parish in Mątowy Wielkie, and inquire whether von Russdorf would grant his son a different, better parish to support his studies. They both asked the letter addressee to consider whether it would be appropriate to keep the abovementioned parish [in Domnowo], should it become vacant, for Janusz's son considering the expenses for his education, if the addressee is able to provide such a favour¹⁷. The senders of this letter are not accidental if the administrative location of the two parishes is considered: Mątowy Wielkie belonged to the Tczew commandery, while Domnowo to Bałga's commandery. The request of Janusz is therefore a proof of his splendid orientation in the matters of cooperation between the secular and religious authorities in the Teutonic State.

The letter suggests that in 1431 at the latest did Paul become the parish priest in Mątowy Wielkie in the Pomezanian diocese, the function he wanted to resign from at the end of January 1432 through the agency of his father. In fact, the document quoted below does not confirm that Paul took over the parish in Domnowo (is only a proof of such effort)¹⁸. It seems, however, that the more profitable (from the standpoint of Janusz Legendorf and academic plans of his son) parish in Domnowo in the then Warmian diocese became vacant after the death of its previous parish priest (not necessarily the one mentioned in 1432) only in 1437. It is proven beyond any doubt by means of a letter from a Pfundmeister in Gdańsk to the Grand Master Paul von Russdorf dated 8 October 1437. The sender delivered the news about the death of the Domnowo parish priest in the course of a diplomatic

¹⁷ *Codex diplomaticus Warmienseis* (CDW), Bd. 4, hrsg. von V. Röhrich, F. Liedtke, H. Schmauch, Braunsberg 1935, Nr 400, p. 445: „her Hans van Logendorffe hath uns vorgebracht nach dem, als im ist gesagt unde undirrichtet, das der pfarrer van Domnaw vaste sere und gantcz swach unde krang sey, darbei uns bitthende, euern gnaden darvan zu schreiben, nach dem als her van seyynes sones wegen di kirche zcu Monthaw obirgap; und der ist durch euernnt willen abegetreten, dobei euwir gnade im hath vorheisen und gelobet, seyme sone zcu stüre in seyme studio eyn andir bessere kirche zcu vorleigen und geben, wo die im durch euwir gnade muchte gefallen“. See also: *Regesta historico-diplomatica Ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum 1198-1525*, bearb. von E. Joachim, hrsg. von W. Hubatsch, Pars I, Vol. 1, Nr. 5940, Göttingen 1948.

¹⁸ T. Borawska, *Legendorf Paweł*, p. 145; eadem, *Legendorf Paweł h. Stango*, p. 42 she writes that at the end of January 1432 Paul received from the Grand Master the parish in Domnowo. CDW publishers, Bd. 4, p. 696, in the index, however, said that Paul [resigned from resignation] from the parish in Mątowy Wielkie, and [only] was trying to get a parish in Domnowo (1432). The mention of Paul's studies or his preparations for them, came from the beginning of 1432, all the more indicates that in 1432 he had to be about twenty-two years old, and also makes us think about whether Leipzig (from 1441) was the first city of his university studies (or maybe Jodok Hohenstein met Paul during his student itineraries before his studies in Leipzig?).

mission to Denmark alongside the Gdańsk komtur¹⁹. It is obvious that the quoted source cannot refer to Paul Legendorf; most probably, he would have been able to seize the Domnowo parish after that date so as to obtain funds for his studies in Leipzig in 1441.

Taking over his first parish in 1431 at the latest, the young parish priest Paul Legendorf would be about twenty-one. Had he been born around 1415, he would have been sixteen at the point of nomination, which does not seem probable²⁰.

In the years 1441–1442, Legendorf studied in Leipzig, where he gained his baccalaureate (bachelor's degree) in the area of liberal arts. Most probably, he travelled to Rome afterwards, where he studied at the Sapienza University²¹ and possibly gained his master's degree there. Before 1447, he wound up at the papal court in Rome and served three subsequent Popes: Nicholas V (1447–1455), Callixtus III (1455–1458) and Pius II (1458–1464). During the papacy of Callixtus III, Paul mainly dealt with issues of the Church in Spain²², though – as will be seen below – crucial matters of Prussian dioceses were also of great interest to him.

Apparently such close contacts with the papal court accelerated Legendorf's religious career. While staying at the Eternal City, he was given further benefits: first archdeaconry in Pomerania (1448) and the Głogów canon (11 December 1448), then the Grudziądz parish. Efforts to obtain them commenced even before 19 February 1448²³, the act of provision took place on 19 December 1448. Dispensation to join the Pomeranian archdeaconry in the Włocławek diocese with the Grudziądz parish in the Chełmno diocese under Paul's authority was issued on 25 September 1449, with the promotion to the above parish taking place on 3 December 1449²⁴. In turn, on 6 August 1451 Paul received the Warmian canon

¹⁹ *Regesta historico-diplomatica*, Pars I, Vol. 1, Nr. 7380.

²⁰ K. Wróblewska, *Późnogotycka brązowa płyta nagrobna*, p.113, podanalyzing the image of the bishop from his tombstone, she drew attention to the realistically depicted his senile face laced with numerous wrinkles and flaccid muscles, which is difficult to reconcile with the age of a man as if he was just in his fifties K. Górski, *Legendorf Paweł h. Stango*, p. 1 situated birth of Paweł between 1410 and 1420.

It is worth noting that from the year about 1410 – which probably facilitated cooperation and mutual understanding, although it did not rule out conflicts - they were: well-known to Legendorf perhaps from his studies in Lipsk and then later periodically as a public prosecutor general of the Order in Rome Jodok Hohenstein (Hogenstein) as well as Grand Master of the Teutonic Order Ludwik von Erlichshausen, or even Stefan Matthiae (son of Mathias) from Nidzica, secretary and counselor of the Grand Master Konrad von Erlichshausen and his nephew Ludwik, parish priest of Elbląg, Legendar competitor to canon in the Warmian Chapter, eventually also the Warmian canon from 1459, and in the years 1479-1495 bishop of Chełmno.

It should also be noted that Eneaszy Sylwiusz Piccolomini, whose long-standing friendship with Legendorf is so often emphasized in the literature of the subject, was born around 1405 and that is why their generational bond was possible; probably it would not be so strong if Paul was born around 1415.

²¹ T. Borawska, *Życie umysłowe na Warmii w czasach Mikołaja Kopernika*, Toruń 1996, p. 83.

²² Eadem, *Legendorf Paweł h. Stango*, p. 42.

²³ *Regesta historico-diplomatica*, Pars I, Vol. 3, Nr. 28 030.

²⁴ *Repertorium Germanicum. Verzeichnis der in den päpstlichen Registern und Kameralakten vorkommenden Personen, Kirchen und Orte des Deutschen Reiches, seiner Diözesen und Territorien vom Beginn des Schismas bis zur Reformation*, Bd. 6: Nikolaus V. (1447–1455), bearb. von J.F. Abert, W. Deeters, Tübingen 1985, no. 4741.

(in spite of a Papal provision dated 14 June 1447, he has to wait with assuming the Frombork canon until the death of Jan Vochs, canon priest), the Gniezno canon (1457) and deanery at the Głogów Chapter (5 October 1457). In 1458, he became the pronotary apostolic (one of seven high clerical officials of the Roman Curia, preparing papal bulls and responsible for them). Finally, on 20 September 1458, the Pope appointed Paul to the position of a Warmian bishopric administrator for one year, prolonging the arrangement for three more years on 1 September 1459. Between 1459 and 1461, the Frombork Chapter selected him to be a Warmian Prince-Bishop by way of canonical election (it happened most probably soon after 15 May 1461, so after preparing the testament and the death of the earlier Chapter elect Arnold Venrade that soon followed)²⁵. The Pope approved the Chapter “elec-

Pauls candidacy for the rectory of Grudziądz was presented by the great master Konrad von Erlichshausen to the Bishop of Chełmno Jan Marienau. Interestingly, in the commission given to Paul for the parish in Grudziądz on December 19, 1448, he wrote: „nova prov [isio] de par [ochiali] eccl [esia] in Gramdemz Culm [ensis] dioc [esis] (4 m [arcarum] arg [entarium]), ad quam vac [ant] p [ost] o [bitumen] Nicolai Stange de Legendorff presentatus fuit p [er] Conradum de Erlicheshausen mag [istrum] gener [alem] hosp [italis] b [eatae] Mari [a] e Theotonicorum Johanni ep [iscop]o Culm [ensi] 19. dec [embris] 1448 „. From 15 October 1434, there is a reference to the still living and certainly with Paul related to Mikołaj Legendorf (like himself, h. Stango): *Regesta historico-diplomatica*, Pars I, Vol. 1, No. 6884. For how long has the Grudziądz parish been vacant? (that is when the death of Mikołaj Legendorf), it is not known.

The above source informations were provided to me by MA Radosław Krajniak (Institute of History and Archivistics of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń), for whom I would like to thank you for this kindness.

G[erhard] Matern, *Die kirchlichen Verhältnisse in Ermland während des späten Mittelalter*, Paderborn 1953, p. 175, stated that the parish in Grudziądz Legendorf received from Konrad von Erlichshausen in 1456 (!). Konrad was a great master of the Order in 1441-1449, and his nephew Ludwig held this office in the years 1450-1467. The complicated error of the author mentioned here was W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, pp. 4 and 8, which inconsistently stated that in the letter from 1456 to Hohenstein (p. 4, footnote 2 - here archival reference) Ludwik dictated to the writer - probably in anger, agitated by reports of a hostile relationship Legendorf to the Order - that he himself gave him a parish in Grudziądz („er selbst sei von diesem mit der Pfarrei zu Graudenz ausgestattet worden“), while in his diary letter to Hohenstein from 1456 (p. 8, footnote 1 - here the lack signatures, but the description shows that the author is referring to the same letter) told Ludwik's words that Paul's owes him the Warmian canon (which is only partially true, because Legendorf received the commission for this canon in 1447 thanks to the support of Konrad, it actually took over in 1451 during Ludwik's reign), and another great master provided him with a parish in Grudziądz („ein anderer Hochmeister habe ihn mit der Pfarre zu Graudenz ausgestattet“). These doubts are resolved by W. Kętrzyński, *O ludności polskiej w Prusiech niegdyś Krzyżackich*, Lviv 1882, p. 595; new edition: an introduction by G. Białuński, Olsztyn 2009, p. 477, quoting the following words of the great master Ludwik from the letter to Hohenstein: our predecessor gave him a parish in Grudziądz („unser vorfar hat em die pfarre feu Grudencz gegeben“).

²⁵ J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 77, wrote that in 1464 King Cassimir Jagiellon called Legendorf „«elected master of Warmia», although in reality he was not an elect”. And yet A. Eichhorn, *Geschichte der ermländischen Bischofswahlen*, pp. 148–149, footnote 4, reported that on 17 July 1461 Legendorf described himself: „Wir Paulus erwelter und bestetigter des Bischthums zum Brunsberge”. This author referred to the source preserved to date from the Archdiocese of Warmia in Olsztyn (hereinafter: AAWO), the Archives of the Chapter (AK), Dok. Kap. C 20: Copiaiheris Pauli Episcopi Varmiensis electi super certis debitis). Apparently the previous elect chapter of the cantor Arnold Venrade, having prepared a testament on 15 May 1461 (see A. Eichhorn, *Geschichte der ermländischen Bischofswahlen*, p. 140, footnote 2; T. Borawska, *Venrade Arnold Coster, in: A biographical dictionary of the Warmian Chapter*, p. 265), he died shortly thereafter (moreover, acknowledging papal nomination as a bishop's administrator for Paweł, he cooperated with him perfectly and he also put in his will all his property – see: K. Górski, *Studies and sketches from the history of the Teutonic Order*, Olsztyn 1986, p. 164). Only then could the canons „choose” Legendorf for the bishop, although only formally approving the facts, and Pope Pius II probably at the turn of June and July 1461, he confirmed this election. The new chancellor of the chapter, Bartho-

tions” before 17 July 1461. However, Paul was anointed later, on 21 September 1466 in the church of Saint John the Baptist (today: Saint John the Baptist and John the Evangelist) in Toruń. He performed the function of the Warmian ordinary until his death on 23 July 1467 (he probably died in Braniewo – or nearby – and was buried in St. Catherine’s church).

The seeds of the problem the nominee had to face in his further life may have been seen already in the subsequent parishes he took over. The issue lies in loyalty towards the monarch and authority in general. A particularly complex political situation of neighbouring Teutonic Prussia and Poland in the first half of the 15th-century very often made individuals, families or even entire social groups face double loyalty, causing unavoidable inner conflict of many.

First benefits, probably around the turn of twenties and thirties as well as in the second half of the 1430s, Legendorf owed to the Grand Master Paul von Russdorf. 1447–1448 nominations were granted by the Pope thanks to the support of Grand Master Konrad von Erlichshausen, but the Gniezno canon required a pledge of allegiance towards the Polish king. Paul took over the administration of the Warmian diocese after the approval of both the Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen (nephew of his predecessor) and the Polish king, Casimir Jagiellon.

* * *

Let us take a closer look at the attitude of Paul Legendorf towards the Teutonic Order and the Polish Crown on the basis of sources (including his letters and related correspondence) as well as reviews, first concerning his stay in Rome (until spring 1460), then as the Warmian diocese administrator and its bishop (from arriving to Warmia in the summer of 1460 until summer 1467)²⁶. The events of the Thirteen Years’ War (presented with great expertise in earlier erudite reviews of German and Polish scholars) shall be recalled here as supplementary, measured only if they are crucial to present the complex conditions of Prince-Bishop Paul’s activity.

lomaeus Liebenwald, was registered at this office for the first time on September 30, 1461 in Litter [a] e concordi [a] e inter Paulum electum et detentores castri Seeburgensis 1461 (AAWO, AK, Dok. Kap. I 38). Also in this agreement, Legendorf was defined as in July 1461 he signed his letters: „Pauwel erwelter und bestetigter bischove der selbigen kirchen [Armelandt]” (Paulus erwelter und bestetigter bischoff zcum Brunsberge). H.-J. Karp, op. cit., p. 412 states that the cathedral chapter made the canonical election of Legendorf to the bishop between 1459 and 1461, and before 17 July 1461, the papal supposition of this fact took place.

Director of the Archive of the Archdiocese of Warmia in Olsztyn, priest prof. dr. hab. Andrzej Kopiczko, I would like to thank for his kindness during the archival inquiry and for kindly expressing his consent to the publication of the above-mentioned document and the great master’s lecture for Bishop Paweł in this article.

²⁶ It is worth noting here, for comparison, an interesting study regarding the attitude of another Bishop of Warmia, Fabian von Lossainen to the Order: K. Forstreuter, *Fabian von Lossainen und der Deutsche Orden*, in: idem, *Beiträge zur preussischen Geschichte im. 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Hamburg 1960, pp. 42–55.

I

The father of the future Warmian Prince-Bishop, namely Janusz Legendorf, a descendant of the Stango family which arrived to Prussia in the 13th century from Thuringia (the name “Legendorf” is derived from the German name of the Mgowo village located on the Chełmno Land)²⁷, a subject of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, declared his allegiance towards king Władysław Jogajlla in 1410 during the “great war” of the Kingdom of Poland with the Order (1409–1411). However, he was then captured by the Teutonic Knights and regained his freedom in return for a Teutonic supporter captured by the Poles. After the war, he was released from a court sentence so he operated as a diplomat (and a translator) in the service of the Order later on. For over a quarter century, Janusz was the *iudex terrestris* of the Chełmno Land. He advocated maintaining peace with Poland. In autumn 1432, he was appointed by the Grand Master Paul von Rusdorf (alongside Jan Bażyński) to be the member of a Secret Council (gathering in Toruń), which, in agreement with the cities, would advise the highest authority in the Order²⁸.

Jan and Paul were the sons of Janusz. Jan was the member of the anti-Teutonic Lizard Union (established in 1397) and a co-founder of the Prussian Confederation (established in 1440) presenting a similar attitude; he was a strong opponent of the Teutonic Order. He died in 1456 while defending the castle in Radzyń Chełmiński. Already with the example of Paul Legendorf’s father and brother it is possible to notice the complex situation of the inhabitants of the Chełmno Land, who had to make burdensome attempts to balance the delicate and highly relevant issue of loyalty towards the Order as well as the Polish Kingdom.

Paul left the Chełmno Land to settle in the Eternal City after his studies, at the beginning of 1440s at the latest. While in Rome, he probably searched for connections with people from Prussia. One of them was the Gdańsk-born prosecutor of the Teutonic Order, Jodok Hohenstein, probably his peer, with whom Legendorf grew very close even though their acquaintance suffered through a lot. Paul realised his dependence on the Teutonic Order since in a letter to the prosecutor Hohenstein written in the spring of 1452 he acknowledges the Grand Master as his sovereign and the Order as the benefactor of his family²⁹. Hohenstein engaged in

²⁷ K. Górski, *Legendorf Paweł h. Stango*, p. 2. Por. E. Gigilewicz, *Herby biskupów warmińskich*, Lublin 2001, p. 89; in Germany, the Stango family did not belong to the proper knights, but to the knights’ services. Her coat of arms depicted: „In a silver field a natural shield [trunk of a tree] in a slant, with three three-leaf branches and three knots on both sides ([Tomasz] Treter: emblem in a blue field)” – *ibidem*.

²⁸ T. Borawska, *Legendorf (Logendorf) Janusz (Hannus) h. Stango*, SBPN, t. 3, pp. 41–42.

²⁹ V. Röhrich, *op. cit.*, s. 398; G. Sommerfeldt, *Die von Legendorff im 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert*, Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins (ZWG), 1904, H. 46, p. 116. Legendorf wrote: „Alle die meinen haben wohlthaten und güter empfangen von meinem herrn und dem orden; darum bin ich pflichtig zu thun, was meinem herrn gefällt“.

a very close acquaintance with Legendorf; their relationship was friendly, or even intimate, as the prosecutor claimed in a letter to the Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen, dated June 1452, that Legendorf is like a brother to him³⁰.

However, a clash that the Order's officials did not foresee and did not expect at all soon took place. Namely, in 1447, the Grand Master Konrad von Erlichshausen made a successful effort via the hands of this vice prosecutor in Rome, Lurentius Blumenau, to obtain an indult from the Pope Nicolas V, granting him the right to appoint officials for two Warmian canons. Legendorf, as the Warmian canon priest, ignoring his recent declarations of loyalty and gratitude towards the Grand Master and the Order, strongly supported the stance of the Warmian Chapter in this delicate political and church-related matter. We learn about it from, for instance, the letter from Lurentius Blumenau written in Dillingen on 23 July 1452 and sent to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order³¹. Blumenau bitterly asserts that even though Legendorf is aware of the fact that he owes the Grudziądz parish function to the Order and his family profited from the relationship with the Teutonic Knights. He firmly stood on the side of its opponents in the dispute over the above papal indult. What's more, using his considerable influence at the Curia as a papal *scriptor et familiaris*, he led to the cancellation of that privilege by the same Nicholas V who granted the indult to the Grand Master. It is striking that the papal bull was dated 7 April 1453, which revokes the indult issued six years before was countersigned by Legendorf himself. Was it a demonstration of solidarity with Warmian confreres or something more? It seems that Legendorf rightly assumed that the Grand Master took his pride and possessiveness too far. He should have remembered that – apart from the first Warmian Prince-Bishop, Anzelm, a Teutonic clergyman – none of the subsequent Prince-Bishops or Frombork canon priests was a member of the Order (it seems likely that the submissiveness and unlimited support of the Warmian ordinary, Francis Kuhschmalz, stimulated the Grand Master's audacity). Surely, the Grand Master Konrad von Erlichshausen did not expect such a robust and uncompromised reaction of Paul Legendorf, all in all – his subject.

In truth, it was but an incident, though it definitely affected further relations of Legendorf with the Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen and other Order representatives. Soon, this change of attitude towards the Order solidified, possibly as a result of insight gained by Legendorf during his stay in Prussia. Legendorf could then observe the damage and baseness caused by the dominance of the Order in the Chełmno Land and the entirety of Prussia. Adding to it the contact and discussions with family members as well as Prussian Confederation agitators, his

³⁰ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 398.

³¹ W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 4, footnote 3 and p. 5.

sympathy towards the Order diminished significantly. After his return to Rome, the previously close contact with the prosecutor Hohenstein grew more distant, leading to each of them going their separate way³².

In this context, the letter dated 26 August 1454, sent from Rome by Legendorf to the governor Jan Bażyński is very expressive. Paul declared his position as a sworn enemy of the Teutonic Order (acknowledging the Polish king as his monarch), a significant agent in Prussian matters and a devout protector of the future of his motherland (meaning Prussia, especially the Chełmno Land). Jan Lutek of Brzezie, a deputy of the Polish king, destroyed the plans of the Order's prosecutor Hohenstein (which was openly confirmed by the papal secretary Legendorf) and did not allow the application of legal measures against the Prussian Confederation, namely Church censures concerning its members³³.

The growing distance between Hohenstein and Legendorf is mentioned by the Order's prosecutor himself in his letters from Rome to Andreas Sandberg, the chaplain of the Grand Master, dated 28 April 1455 and 16 July 1456³⁴. The prosecutor wrote that Legendorf tried to downplay his importance and influence in the Curia and rejected the accusations of partisan animosity to the Teutonic Knights, ensuring them about his affection for the Order. The evolution of Legendorf's political views worried the Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen. In the letter to Hohenstein dated 1456 (no place or exact date), related to the fact that persons coming back from Rome report that the canon priest Legendorf is a vicious enemy of the Grand Master and the Order, not only accusing the Order of lies and deceit, but also cooperating with Poles against the Order with all his might³⁵. Further in his letter, Ludwig von Erlichshausen reminded that Legendorf is supposed to be grateful to the Order as his ancestors and relatives benefited from the relationship

³² V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 400.

³³ G. Sommerfeldt, *Drei Handfesten aus ehemals Lehdorffschen Gebiet, 1373, 1446, 1473, und einige die ältere Vergangenheit dieser Geschlechts betreffende anderweitige Urkunden, 1424, 1454, 1471, 1484*, Mitteilungen der Literarischen Gesellschaft Masovia (MLG Masovia), 1907, H. 12, pp. 147–148; W. Kętrzyński, op. cit., p. 594 (ed. 1882); s. 476 (ed. 2009); W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 5; M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 234; original letter: State Archives in Toruń, Files of the city of Toruń, Kat. I, no. 1546. Legendorf defines the candidate of the Polish side for the Warmia bishopric, viceregent Jan Lutek from Brzezia: „dominus Lutko, utriusque iuris doctor, serenissimi domini nostri et Poloniae regis orator“⁴, mentioning his counteractions in the curia regarding the candidacies of Arnold Venrade and Eneas Sylwiusza Piccolomini to the capital of Lidzbark. In the version presented by W. Kętrzyński, this letter contains several erroneous lessons, the most serious of which concerns the fragment: „quibus Albanis de mense presenti sex milia ducatorum ipisus potentibus sanctissimus dominus noster in subsidium donavit“ (with Kętrzyński: „serenissimus dominus noster“, which suggests person of the Polish king, while Legendorf writes indisputably about the Pope).

³⁴ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 400; W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 6.

³⁵ W. Kętrzyński, op. cit., p. 594 (ed. 1882), pp. 476–477 (ed. 2009): „wir vrowomen und uns wirt von velen, die von Rome komen, gesagt, wie Paulus von Logendorf, thumherr czur Frauenburg uns und unsern orden swerer fynd sey, wie her obir unsern orden tichte und offenbar mache mancherley logen und trugen, damit her uns allir werld unmeer machen mochte, sunderlich das her vor die Polan und widder sey nach all seyem vormogen“.

with the Order, along with the fact that the previous Grand Master granted him the Grudziądz parish. On the contrary, Legendorf beat his secretary and advisor, Stefan of Neidenburg, in the efforts to seize the Warmian canon³⁶. The Grand Master called for Hohenstein to follow the advice of the cardinal – the protector of the Order – and, after presenting a letter of credence to the Pope expressed his humble request to silence Legendorf³⁷.

The fact that Legendorf assured Hohenstein about his favourable attitude towards the Order may have been related to the upcoming appointment for the Chełmno bishopric, Paul's home diocese (in the documents granting him his benefits, "master Paul Stanghe von Legendorf" was referred to as a Chełmno cleric).

The venerable and not Order-oriented ordinary of this diocese, Prince-Bishop Johann Marienau, the longest-serving head of a diocese in the Teutonic State, had decided to resign from his position in 1456, after forty years of service³⁸. He saw Paul Legendorf, with whom he probably discussed the matter, as his successor. Within the Curia, Paul had the opinion of a Polish supporter, hence the firm resistance of Hohenstein towards this candidature³⁹. The Chełmno diocese was of greater importance to the Order than the Warmian one, so he could not support an uncertain option. Prince-Bishop Marienau died in Toruń in March (probably 7 March) 1457, which made it difficult for Legendorf to make an effort regarding his home diocese⁴⁰. The reluctance of the Order in appointing Paul to this position is clearly visible in the letter of an Elbląg komtur to a Pomezanian bishop, enclosed to the letter dated 28 March 1457, addressed to the Grand Master.⁴¹

In April 1463, several Chełmno canon priests in Nowe Miasto Lubawskie selected the Grand Master's secretary Andreas Sandberg to be the new Chełmno bishop, while others in Chełmża voted in favour of the official Bartolomaeus Rogser (Rockser), whose deputy travelled to Rome with a letter of recommendation

³⁶ W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, pp. 4, 8; W. Kętrzyński, op. cit., p. 595 (ed. 1882), p. 477 (ed. 2009): „Alle seyne voreldern und geschlechte haben ir gut und wolfart empfangen von unserm orden, selbist haben wir em czwar leides nicht getan, das wir wissen, denne das wir unsern getruwen secretarium Steffanum haben vormocht seyne thumereye czur Frauenburg czu obirgebein und sie Paulo eynczurewmen – unser vorfar hat em die pfarre Grudencz gegeben – haben wir en domit so hoch geleydiget adir vorczornet, so ist es uns leit usz herczen“.

³⁷ W. Kętrzyński, op. cit., p. 595 (ed. 1882 r.), p. 477 (ed. 2009 r.): „Fuget euch mit rathe unsers herren protektoris czum heyligen vater und durch macht unserer credencien in unserm grossen briff berurt, vorczelet eyn solchs seiner heilichkeit und bittet deemutiklich, das her dem berurten Paulo eyn solches vorder czu thun vordiete und en darynne stille. Gott mag uns helfen, wer uns ichts guts thut czu dinste, das wirs em mogen vorgelden“.

³⁸ M. Sumowski, *Jan Marienau biskup chełmiński (1416–1467)*, KMW, 2011, nr 3, p. 501 n. (about the controversy around the date of his death and the place of burial: ibidem, p. 517).

³⁹ W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 7 and footnote 1: about his intervention to the Pope against Legendorf's candidacy, the prosecutor informed the Grand Master in a letter of 16 July 1456.

⁴⁰ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 513.

⁴¹ W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 7, footnote 2 – in the Elbląg commander's letter there was this sentence: „Ist zcubesorgen, das Logendorff sich gar harth in die sache legen wirt und setzen“.

from Casimir Jagiellon. Prosecutor Hohenstein did all he could to transfer this case to cardinal Enea Silvio Piccolomini to consider. At that point, Hohenstein found himself in the company of Paul Legendorf for rather unknown reasons⁴².

The issue of the Chełmno diocese got complicated: Piccolomini did not approve Hohenstein's candidate⁴³, Andreas Sandberg died on 9 September 1457, a new Teutonic candidate that came to Rome, Laurentius Zenkenzine (of Zaskoczyn), was imprisoned by Hohenstein for two months. Finally, in April 1458, the Pope suspended this dispute for six months.

Earlier, on 10 June 1457, the Warmian Prince-Bishop Francis Kuhschmalz, "the uncompromised enemy of the Prussian Confederation and Poland till his last breath", died in Wrocław. Attention had to be focused on appointing his successor as the Roman Curia saw that diocese as more important than the intrigues of the Chełmno bishopric appointment⁴⁴. Nota bene, Bartholomeaus Rogser changed his front in time and, after gaining the support of the Grand Master, on 3 March 1460 was approved as the Chełmno elect to become the diocese ordinary by the new – since 19 August 1458 – Pope Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini)⁴⁵. However, in 1466 – facing the war lost by the Order – Bishop Bartholomeaus had to resign (he died on 7 May 1492)⁴⁶.

From that point, only the Warmian diocese could be of interest to Legendorf. Since summer 1451, he was a Warmian canon priest and the Frombork confreres were probably obliged to support him in return for his utter devotion in the battle for revoking the 1447 papal indult giving the Grand Master the right to appoint heads of two Warmian canons, declared void by the already mentioned 1453 bull.

After the death of Prince-Bishop Kuhschmalz, the problem with appointing a new Warmian ordinary appeared to be even greater than in the case of the Chełmno diocese as a result of the decentralisation of the Frombork Chapter. Already on 12 June 1457, a part of the Chapter in Głogów, with the dean and chronicler Johann Plastwich, selected cardinal Enea Silvio Piccolomini to be the new Warmian Prince-Bishop and sent Bartholomeaus Liebenwald to Rome with the mission of obtaining an approval. At the same time in Gdańsk, three canon priests led by Augustin Tiergart supported the candidature of Jan Lutek of Brzezie⁴⁷,

⁴² Cyt. za: M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 513. Perhaps the change in Paweł's attitude to Hohenstein was already connected with Legendorf's plans regarding his efforts for the Chełmno or Warmian bishopric. Legendorf probably had information that the days of the seriously ill bishop of Warmia, Francis Kuhschmalz, were numbered and the re-approach to Hohenstein was probably a well-considered element of the long-term game, at the rate of one of the above-mentioned episcopal stools.

⁴³ In the end, Jodok Hohenstein was promoted on the 12th of July 1458 to the Osilian bishopric, but he did not take over until 1469; he died on January 17, 1471 in Hapsal (H. Freytag, *Die Geschäftsträger des Deutschen Ordens an der Römischen Kurie von 1309 bis 1525*, ZWG, 1907, H. 49, pp. 210–211).

⁴⁴ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 514.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 560.

⁴⁶ M. Sumowski, op. cit., p. 518.

⁴⁷ B. Janiszewska-Mincer, *Jan Lutkowie (Lutek) z Brzezia (ok. 1405-1471)*, in: PSB, t. X, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1963, p. 443–445. In 1463, he received a commission for the Włocławek bishopric (he took it

the Polish subchancellor, and also sent deputies to the Eternal City, hoping for a consent. In autumn 1457, the remaining six canon priests staying at Koenigsberg appointed cantor Arnold Venrade – candidate of the Order – though this information could not reach the city on the Tiber soon enough as the hypothetical deputies of this candidate would not be allowed to pass through Warmia by the mercenaries of the Polish king.

Pope Callixtus III approved the candidature of Enea Silvio Piccolomini on the basis of the so-called “right of devolution”. The cardinal accepted this function at the end of August 1457⁴⁸. “The new elect at once sent his prosecutor Liebenwald to Prussia with letters to the Polish king and the Grand Master, asking them to allow his deputy to take over the divided Warmian land”⁴⁹. As Arnold Venrade withdrew his candidature and Jan Lutek of Brzeznie did not stand a real chance, only Piccolomini remained on the battlefield. However – in spite of the generosity and entrepreneursip of Liebenwald who tried to represent him in Warmia – the cardinal could not seize the authority in the Warmian diocese. That is why after the death of Callixtus III on 6 August 1458 he accepted the decision of the 19 August conclave to become the successor of St. Peter as Pius II (resigning from the function of the Warmian ordinary, assigned to him by a nominating bull of Callixtus III)⁵⁰.

Under such circumstances, a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for Paul Legendorf to seize the Warmian bishopric presented itself. The new Pope – experiencing the difficulty of gaining support of both sides of the war on Warmia – did not consider canon priest Bartholomeaus Liebenwald, who tried to manage the diocese in his name when he was the Prince-Bishop elect, fit for this function. He decided to support a person who could be accepted by both the Polish king and the Grand Master, as this was the only way to mitigate the conflict. To his mind, the Curia employee Paul Legendorf, whom he knew for a long time and was in a cordial relation with, was such a person. His closeness to prosecutor Hohenstein at that time strengthened the Pope’s opinion⁵¹.

On 20 September 1458, the Pope appointed Legendorf to be the administrator *in spiritualibus et saecularibus* of the Warmian diocese for one year. Hohenstein informed the Grand Master about this decision in a letter dated 24 September 1458.⁵² On 1 September 1459, Pius II prolonged this appointment for further three years, hoping that after such a period (or soon after) Legendorf would be ordained

on March 1, 1466), and in October 1466 (after Jan Gruszczyński was promoted to the archbishopric of Gniezno) he took over the Cracow bishopric and therefore he made the sub-chancellor’s office.

⁴⁸ J. Smółucha, *Spór o biskupstwo warmińskie*, p. 50; M. Biskup, K. Górski, *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk. Zbiór studiów o Polsce drugiej połowy XV wieku*, Warszawa 1987, p. 201.

⁴⁹ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 514.

⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. 515; J. Smółucha, *Spór o biskupstwo warmińskie*, p. 52.

⁵¹ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 556.

⁵² W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 8.

and assume actual authority over the diocese⁵³. For the time being, in September 1458, Legendorf decided to send Liebenwald as a vicar general of the Warmian diocese (his mission lasting until the end of August 1459 was a failure and the determined traveller had no reason to recall it with fondness⁵⁴), while he remained in Rome where the preparations for a congress of Christian rulers was to be organised in order to decide upon an anti-Turkish crusade. This congress began in autumn 1459 in Mantua. It is plausible that Legendorf wanted both sides of the Prussian conflict to grow accustomed to the idea of him being the new administrator of the Warmian bishopric. Perhaps he wanted to attend the congress knowing the significance of this crusade to Pius II. Maybe he wanted to meet with Teutonic and Polish notables during the discussions. Prosecutor Hohenstein, also visiting Mantua, informed the Frankian komtur and the German Grand Master Ulrich von Lentersheim (Lautersheim) about Paul's arrival to the city in a letter dated 17 September 1459. He claimed that Legendorf enjoys the particular benevolence of the Pope⁵⁵.

At the end of September 1459, Legendorf met the Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen in Mantua. The tone of the discussion was probably very tense as previously, on 17 September 1459, during a congress initiated by the representatives of the Joannites, a college of cardinals considered the proposal of the Papacy about joining various military orders with the Teutonic Knights who have completed their mission in Prussia. Prosecutor Hohenstein rejected this project, in the eyes of the Order inspired by the Polish party, especially as in November 1459 the representatives of the Polish king suggested transferring the Order to the Tenedos Island in the Aegean Sea so as to commence the war with the Turks – it was also successfully contested by Hohenstein⁵⁶. The Grand Master saw Legendorf, the friend of the Pope and a powerful man in the Curia, as the initiator of this idea. In response to this sign of distrust, Paul delayed his arrival to Prussia until spring. Only in May 1460, accompanied by Liebenwald and a papal legate – Cretan Archbishop Hieronim Lando who, among other tasks, was given by the Pope the mission of establishing peace in Prussia⁵⁷ – did he leave for Poland.

⁵³ V. Röhrich, op. cit., pp. 306 n.; M. Biskup, op. cit., pp. 556 n.; W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, pp. 1 n. G. Matern, op. cit., pp. 94–95. H.-J. Karp, op. cit., p. 412 he states that the Pope released Legendorf from the obligation to obtain an episcopal consecration for two years initially, and then for a further three years (after all, Paul's consecration took place - as mentioned - on September 21, 1466 in Toruń).

⁵⁴ For details of Liebenwald's exceptionally unsuccessful trip to Prussia, see W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 13; J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 74.

⁵⁵ W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 12, footnote 1 – about Pawel, the prosecutor wrote: „und ist bey seiner heiligkeit fuste mechtigk, alzo das her feel magk und kan durchterben und bewerben“.

⁵⁶ M. Biskup, op. cit., pp. 558 n.; W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 12, footnote 1: quotes Hohenstein's opinion that the Pope can propose a Prussian Order „fugete hen vor Constantinopel yn etzliche ynsulen zu striten widder die turken“. See: M. Biskup, K. Górski, *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk*, p. 202.

⁵⁷ On the legacy of Hieronim Lando to Central Europe in 1459–1464: J. Drabina, *Działalność dyplomatyczna legata apostolskiego Hieronima Lando na Śląsku i w Polsce w latach 1459–1464*, Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis

It is worth mentioning that on 9 August 1459 Paul Legendorf received from Wrocław councillors – as one of four persons then selected – a mandate of a city prosecutor at the Roman Curia (granting the right to participate in Mantua discussions with the delegates of the Czech king, George of Poděbrady), though “never before has he been in the capital of Silesia nor held a parish here. None foreign diplomat was given such a responsibility by the town of Wrocław”⁵⁸. It proves beyond any doubt the position of Paul in the Roman Curia after twelve years of working there as well as the appreciation of his ability to influence the Pope Pius II in the eyes of Wrocław citizens⁵⁹.

II

While going to the Warmian diocese, Legendorf arrived with his entourage to Łęczycza, where he met the king Casimir Jagiellon⁶⁰. Referring to the papal instruction to end the war in Prussia, Legendorf declared his neutral position with respect to the military conflict. “In practice, it would mean that the entire Warmian dominium, with all its castles and cities, would be excluded from the war, hence the approval of this declaration by the king and a promise to entrust to him [Legendorf - J.P.] castles and cities protected by Polish forces”. “The king’s condition was that the castles and fortified cities he gives away cannot get into Teutonic hands”⁶¹. In this way, the Warmian bishopric administrator managed to appease, at least for some time, one of the parties involved in the war devouring Prussia.

First reliable information on the date of his arrival to Prussia is taken from a letter sent to the Grand Master by Rule von Blossdorf, the leader of a garrison in

viensis, 1970, z. 126, pp. 149–170; J. Smołucha, *Polityka Kurii Rzymskiej*, pp. 191–198 (tu tylko o legacji z 1459 r.; o misji z lat 1462–1463 ibidem, pp. 265–278).

⁵⁸ Quotation: J. Drabina, *Kontakty Wrocławia z Rzymem w latach 1409–1517*, Wrocław 1981, p. 141 (in the footnote 25, incorrect information about the fact that he returned to Warmia Legendorf „probably in 1461”). Paweł did not disappoint his principals from the city on the Oder River, because in Rome and in Mantua he supported them in the struggle against the Czech king and in efforts to obtain a pilgrimage (on 24 VI, on the day of St. John the Baptist – patron of Wrocław). The author writes (p. 142) that Bartłomiej Liebenwald was also drawn to the Wrocław diplomatic service. See. also: J. Smołucha, *Polityka Kurii Rzymskiej*, p. 186, footnote 699, p. 198, footnote 750.

⁵⁹ J. Drabina, *Prokuratorzy miasta Wrocławia na papieskim dworze w drugiej połowie XV wieku*, Sobótka, 1977, R. 32, z. 3, pp. 291–292 (already at the beginning of 1459, Legendorf assisted Silesian deputies in establishing contacts and conversations in the Eternal City), p. 294 (here true information about Paul’s departure to Warmia in the summer of 1460, which at that time helped the inhabitants of Wrocław to obtain the privilege of indulgence). Ibidem, p. 291 – incorrect information about Legend’s earlier years: „From his Chelmno family land he set off to Italy in 1447” (as mentioned above, Paul left the Chelmno land at the latest in the early forties of the fifteenth century, going to study to Leipzig, and came to Italy before 1447).

⁶⁰ J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 74; W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 44.

⁶¹ Quotation: J. Sikorski, op. cit., pp. 74, 75. B. Leśnodorski, *Dominium warmińskie (1243–1569)*, Poznań 1949, p. 22: „His [Paweł Legendorf – J. P.] idea became the unification of the bishopric and the preservation of the neutrality itself in the ongoing struggle. All this was intended to provide him with the best location and maximum benefits after the end of the war „; the author also states that Legendorf proved to be „a good shepherd of the diocese and host ” (quotation: ibidem).

Święta Siekierka. He reports that Legendorf came to Elbląg on 9 July 1460⁶². From there, he travelled to Orneta (left by Czech mercenaries) where he established his own men. While at the Orneta castle, Legendorf sent letters declaring his neutral position to all Confederation and Teutonic garrisons stationed in Warmian castles and cities. For instance, in a letter to the Teutonic rittmeister Georg von Schlieben, dated 22 July 1460, written in a friendly and pro-peace tone, Legendorf claims that he came to Warmia “with an objective none other than to offer love, friendship and peace to the fighting parties, not to bring harm, but to become a friend and a mediator”⁶³. A prompt response from Schlieben, sent from Iława on 24 July, was official and aloof, but probably facilitated future contact between the two.

After meeting with the Polish king, Legendorf had to make a visit to the Grand Master, who did not trust Legendorf to a large extent. Paul’s efforts to meet Ludwig von Erlichshausen took effect only after a month and a half. On 5 September 1460 in Welawa, the Grand Master granted the Warmian administrator a so-called “safe conduct” (*das Geleit*) and Paul could arrive on 9 October 1460 to Koenigsberg with his entourage of 40 men at arms⁶⁴. The conversation had a constructive character: the Grand Master acknowledged Paul’s neutral stance as well as promised not to attack castles and cities held by the Warmian administrator. The armistice took effect on 2 February 1462.⁶⁵ The controversies surrounding the issue of Schlieben gaining control over the Olsztyn castle at the end of 1455 (he also took part in the Koenigsberg discussions) were settled during another meeting of the Grand Master with the Warmian administrator on 19 November 1460 in Bartoszyce⁶⁶. As a result, the Olsztyn castle was returned to the Warmian Chapter at the end of the year.

Legendorf could not return to Orneta after visiting Koenigsberg as it was temporarily seized by Confederation mercenaries. Therefore, he went to Lidzbark

⁶² W. Brüning, *op. cit.*, Teil II, p. 13, footnote 3, pp. 13–14. This letter was received by the grand master with a letter from Siegfried von Schwarzenberg, sent from Bałga on 15 July 1460. The confirmation of the July arrival of Legendorf to Warmia is his above-mentioned letter, probably the first sent from Orneta (where he stopped shortly after arriving in the diocese) to Georg von Schlieben, dated on 22 July 1460. Also M. Biskup, *op. cit.*, p. 579, writes about the end of July 1460 as Paweł’s arrival in the diocese. Therefore, this information strongly contradicts the message of the chronicler Jan Plastwich about the fact that Legendorf arrived in Warmia already in May 1460; apparently, the date of departure from Italy was related to the appearance of the administrator in the episcopate (Joannis Plastwici Chronicon, p. 100). However, they accepted this suggestion of the chronicler A. Eichhorn, *Geschichte der ermländischen Bischofswahlen*, p. 144; V. Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 413 and J. Sikorski, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

⁶³ Cyt. za: J. Sikorski, *op. cit.*, p. 75. W. Brüning, *op. cit.*, p. 23 quotes Legendorf’s neutrality declaration in the original: „nicht anders, den libe, friutschafft und frede mit beyden teylen zcu halten und nyemand zcu schaden, sunder uns allerzeyt sam eyn gut friundt und mittler ken beyden teylen zcu beweisen”. V. Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 420, footnote 4: says that in this letter Paul also expressed the hope that God’s help would come for the [general] good of peace: „zum bessern frieden zu kommen mit der hilfe gottes”.

⁶⁴ W. Brüning, *op. cit.*, Teil II, s. 14; J. Sikorski, *op. cit.*, p. 75 he writes that he received Legend’s safe-guard after four months of efforts, so he accepts the message of Johann Plastwich about the arrival of the administrator in Warmia in May 1460.

⁶⁵ V. Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 419; M. Biskup, *op. cit.*, p. 600.

⁶⁶ W. Brüning, *op. cit.*, Teil II, p. 23.

Warمیński where he was accepted by the Catholics as their shepherd. Already in 1461, Legendorf made a connection with the Lidzbark castle garrison, paid it off and could finally move into the capital castle on 30 August the same year. In turn, citizens of Dobre Miasto gave him the town after removing Czech mercenaries, whereas people from Braniewo – having killed the Polish garrison – welcomed Legendorf as their administrator on 15 September. On 30 September 1461 the Jeziorany castle surrendered to the Prince-Bishop's army (in the agreement related to this event, Legendorf is represented by the cantor Bartholomeaus Liebenwald, vicar general of the Warmian diocese)⁶⁷. However, the siege of Frombork by Paul's men was unsuccessful.

The Prussian estates saw Legendorf's activity as a breach of his declaration of neutrality⁶⁸. At the end of October 1461, the governor Ścibor Bażyński invited him to a convention of Prussian Estates, scheduled to commence on 25 November in Elbląg, to hear the bishop's explanation regarding his above activities. What is interesting, Paul demanded a safe passage to travel from Braniewo to Elbląg and back. Simultaneously, Legendorf sent Arnold Klunder (*alias* von Datteln), the Warmian Chapter provost, to the Grand Master in Königsberg in order to prolong the armistice with the Order⁶⁹.

The Prince-Bishop informed the Grand Master at once about his planned departure in a letter from Braniewo dated 28 October 1461. He promised to present to him the decisions of the gathering and ensured that his utmost wish was to have "permanent, perpetual peace" with the Order⁷⁰. In his next letter to the head of the Order, sent on 7 November the same year also from Braniewo, Legendorf declared his wish to prolong the armistice with the Order and constantly "live in friendship"⁷¹ with Ludwig. Another letter, dated 15 December 1461, notifies the Grand Master about the invitation to the convention of Prussian Estates. Rejected to date, it has been accepted after gaining a safe passage from the king. Legendorf

⁶⁷ AAWO, AK, Dok. Kap. L 38: Litter[a]e concordi[a]e inter Paulum electum et detentores castri Seeburgensis 1461 (the original with the footsteps of the four seals, representative of the bishop, cantor Bartłomiej Liebenwald, in this document the following was defined: "Stadholder"); M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 598.

⁶⁸ M. Biskup, G. Labuda, *Dzieje Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach. Gospodarka-Społeczeństwo-Państwo-Ideologia*, Gdańsk (1986), p. 412.

⁶⁹ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 449.

⁷⁰ W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, pp. 42–43: the bishop wanted the most „ein steter, ewiger friede“ z Zakonem; M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 599.

⁷¹ G. Sommerfeldt, *Der Rastenburg-Schuppenbeiler Vergleich vom 16. Oktober 1461*, MLG Masovia, 1908, H. 13, s. 71–72: „mit ewern gnaden in fruntschafft stetis zcu lebin“; M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 599, footnote 145. Published by G. Sommerfeldt in extenso extremely polite, not to say lowly, the Bishop's letter says a lot about his attitude to the superior of the Order. The last words of the letter address are amazing: „Dem hochwirdigen fursten unde heren, hern Ludwick von Erlichshawssen, homeister Deutsches ordens, unserm liben heren“. Then the sender promises not to do anything without the will and knowledge of the great master: „sie is me ewer gnaden willen onde wissen nicht thun können“, asks him for an answer and wishes that God would give him health for long, blessed times: „Des wir ewer gnaden antwert bitten, die got der here gesunth enthalbe zcu langen seligen zceithen“.

expressed his will to attend, hoping the addressee does not suspect him of unfavourable attitude, ending with wishes that the Almighty God keeps Ludwig in health for the rest of his days⁷².

Eventually, Legendorf attended the next convention of the Estates on 19 December 1461 in Elbląg, accompanied by two cathedral canon priests, two councillors and two members of the Stare Miasto Braniewo municipality. Ścibor Bażyński informed him of the king's dissatisfaction in relation to bishop's activity throughout that year. Legendorf replied by saying that the Pope ordered him to maintain peace between the parties and expressed his rightful complaint about mercenaries in the service of the Polish monarch robbing his estates⁷³.

The discussion dragged out. The fifth day of the meeting, 23 December 1461, was to be a turning point. "And when, after a longer exchange of opinions, the king's deputy, Janko z Czarnkowa, asked Legendorf a crucial question of whether he is willing to stand with his subjects alongside the king, Legendorf answered evasively that the Warmians themselves should be asked this question"⁷⁴. The second argument of the Prince-Bishop was the armistice with the Order valid until 2 February 1462.

Legendorf also tried to communicate with Jan Skalski, aiming at getting Frombork, but was unsuccessful. He only managed to establish a truce on 19 December 1461 lasting until 2 March 1462.⁷⁵

The Elbląg discussions with Legendorf convinced the king that Paul is drifting away from Poland and sympathising with the Order. Casimir Jagiellon was not content with such a situation. At the beginning of March 1462, he gave an order ("von befehl des herrn königs") to governor Ścibor Bażyński to invite Legendorf for a meeting in Toruń, where the Polish monarch expected a papal legate⁷⁶.

Initially, Legendorf expressed his concern about accepting the invitation in responding promptly that due to the war in progress "he is poor, the road is un-

⁷² *Acten der Ständetage Preussen unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens* (ASP), hrsg. von M. Toeppen, Bd. V, Leipzig 1886, p. 51: „wir thun zcu wissen, wie wir von den landen uffte und vache zcum tage seyn geheischen, das wir denne bisher alle zzeit ausgeslogen haben unde mit nichte zcihen wolden. So habin sie uns durch ir bete so gros angelanget, und mit geleithe vor alle den uffs heren koniges seyte zcur notdorfft noch unserm willen vorsorget haben, so das wir uns dorin haben gegeben, unde ewerm orden mehe fromlich wen schedlich seyn sal, wen was wir zcuorn bisher vorswegen habin, is en nw offnbaren unde nicht vorswegen wellen, hoffen ew. gn. uns dorumb nicht in vordocht wirt haben, die got der almechtige lange enthalde in gesuntheit zcu eyne gutten seligen ende“.

⁷³ W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, pp. 44–45; B. Leśnodorski, op. cit., p. 22.

⁷⁴ Quotation: J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 76; W. Brüning, op. cit., p. 46: Legendorf did not want to give the final answer „without advice, knowledge and power of attorney” (ohne rat, willen und vollwort) of the Warmian states; V. Röhrich, op. cit., pp. 448–449: the bishop intended to communicate with the Warmian states and what he would establish with them „to be clearly understood through letters and letters” (durch schriften und briefe klürlich lassen verstehen); .M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 600.

⁷⁵ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 600.

⁷⁶ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 456.

safe and he feels he has grown old” (*arm sei und die wege unsicher und zu ziehen gar jährlich*). Although already on 3 March he wrote from Lidzbark to the Grand Master asking for his instructions for this situation, ensuring he does not want to proceed without the council and approval of the addressee. He also expressed his willingness to conclude another truce with the Order since the previous one – as mentioned – was valid until 2 February 1462⁷⁷. However, the armistice was not held any longer by the Grand Master, though his relationship with Prince-Bishop Paul remained friendly in spite of the lawlessness of some Teutonic mercenaries⁷⁸.

What is interesting, in the first half of March 1462 a private meeting of the Grand Master and the Warmian Prince-Bishop took place. Its location is not known, but it was also attended by the Grand Hospitaller and the Elbląg komtur Heinrich Reuss von Plauen. His letter to the Grand Master dated 16 March suggests that during the meeting it was decided that Legendorf should go to Toruń. However, no further information about the travel or Paul's meeting with the Polish king is known⁷⁹.

It does not come as a surprise that once Grand Master's trust was gained, the Prince-Bishop asked for Bisztynek, which he swore to wield “to the benefit of the Order and the Church” and not let anyone else in⁸⁰. Ludwik von Erlichshausen agreed and at the end of January 1462 Bisztynek swore allegiance to Legendorf. On 10 October 1462, the Grand Master also gave the bishop the Reszel castle and town⁸¹. From that point, the Order held only Barczewo and Pieniężno in Warmia, while the Confederation controlled Orneta and Frombork. Therefore, Legendorf decided to finish the quest of regaining Warmian towns. The July 1462 attempt to seize Frombork alongside the Grand Master was once again unsuccessful. Despite the support of Orneta inhabitants, he also failed to take over the town right before Christmas⁸².

Since the autumn of 1462, the papal legate, Cardinal Hieronim Lando, returned to Poland with a mission to avert the scandalous (especially in the face of the Turkish threat) Polish-Teutonic conflict, obviously among other tasks. At the end of January, he went to Koenigsberg, arrived in Olsztyn on 18 February and Lidzbark on 19 February, to return to Koenigsberg after a few days. In March, he

⁷⁷ 400; W. Brüning, *op. cit.*, Teil II, p. 47.

⁷⁸ M. Biskup, *op. cit.*, p. 618.

⁷⁹ V. Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 457, footnote 2.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 450: „dem orden wie der kirche zu besten”. The declaration regarding the possible future holding of Bisztynek „for the benefit of the Order and the Church” was submitted by the bishop to the great master in a letter of 28 October 1461, that is before receiving Bisztynek (*ibidem*, p. 451, footnote 1), and not – according to J. Sikorski, *op. cit.*, p. 76 – only when he came into possession of this small town.

⁸¹ V. Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 452; W. Brüning, *op. cit.*, Teil II, pp. 28–29; M. Biskup, *op. cit.*, p. 644; J. Sikorski, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

⁸² M. Biskup, *op. cit.*, pp. 618619, 644.

went to Toruń to meet with the king, then returned to Lidzbark and visited Olsztyn on 15 April, to depart for peace negotiations beginning on 1 May in Brześć Kujawski⁸³. Before 9 April, during the meeting of Prussian Estates representatives with Prince-Bishop Legendorf, the details of the Brześć gathering were established (the Polish delegation was led by the Włocławek Bishop Jan Gruszczyński; the main role in the Teutonic party belonged to the Elbląg parish priest and Grand Master's secretary Stefan of Neidenburg, while the Prussian Estates were forefronted by Gabriel Bażyński and representatives of large towns)⁸⁴.

At the same time, between 19 February and 9 April 1463 in Elbląg, the discussions concerning an armistice took place between the representatives of Legendorf and the Confederates, though unsuccessful due to the resistance of Jan Skalski. The legate broke off the talks in Brześć, which ended his peacekeeping mission⁸⁵ and heralded a near end to the truce. Legendorf expressed it in his letter dated 9 April 1463.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, both sides of the conflict expected the Warmian bishop to clearly state whether he is a friend or an enemy⁸⁷.

In this situation, the Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichhausen decided he must speak with Prince-Bishop Paul and invited him to Bartoszyce to do so. He enclosed a safe passage for the guest and his entourage dated 13 June 1463, Königsberg. The document allowed the travel of the bishop and his company, from forty to a hundred horses and as many persons, whatever number seemed necessary, from Lidzbark Warmiński to Bartoszyce and back. It was valid from dawn on Saturday after the day of Saint Witus and Modestus (18 June) till dusk on Saturday after the feast of John the Baptist (25 June)⁸⁸.

⁸³ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. A. Eichhorn, *Geschichte der ermländischen Bischofswahlen*, p. 144 reports that the legate has arrived in Olsztyn on February 13; however, this is an obvious print error, as evidenced by the following excerpt: „traf am 13. Februar in Allenstein und Tags darauf in Heilsberg ein” (miało być: traf am 18. Februar in Allenstein und Tags darauf in Heilsberg ein).

⁸⁴ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 458; M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 639.

⁸⁵ On the mission of legate Hieronim Lando to the German Reich, to Silesia and to Poland from 1462-1463, in great detail: J. Smołucha, *Polityka Kurii Rzymskiej*, pp. 265–278.

⁸⁶ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 458; M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 644.

⁸⁷ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 461.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 465; AAWO, AB, D 1, k. 33 (original, today without the seal of the grand master): Wir bruder Ludwig von Erlichsh[a]wsen homeister deutsch[e]s ordens bekennen unnd thun kunt vor allen unnd itzlichen die desen unsern offenen brieff sehen, horen ader lesen, das[s] wir den erwidigen in Got[t] vater unnd herren herren Paulum erwelten unnd bestetiget den bischoff zcum Brawnsberge mit vierzig pferden biss uff sechzig, von sechzig biss uff achzig, van achzig biss uff hundert pferde unnd sovill menschlicher personen weniger unnd nichtme wer die sein unnd wie sie mogen g[e]nant werden van Heilsberg biss ken Barthenstein unnd widder van Barthenstein biss ken Heilsberg in sein gewar vor uns unnd alle unsers ordens gebittigern, brudern, anwalden, rothmeistern, hofleewten unnd undersassen unnd idermenniglich geistlich unnd wertlich, die bei unnd neben uns unnd unserm orden sein un[n]d dorczu mit dreien ader vier wagen wagenpferden dovore also vil seine veterlichkeit dorczu bedarff unnd allerley ware unnd notdorfft uff den wagen gesichert unnd geleitet haben unnd geben einunnd denselben allen die mit seiner veterlichkeit komen reiten ader faren werden unser sicher tristlich unnd uffrichtiglichs geleite in crafft unnd macht deses brieffes doselbest mit uns, unsern gebittigern, brudern unnd hofleewten zcu teidingen unndetzliche sachen zcu handeln unnd dieselben sachen werden geandt ader

The meeting began on 24 June, but its course must have been a shock to Legendorf. Namely, referring to the demands of his mercenaries finding it impossible to maintain further neutrality of the Prince-Bishop, the Grand Master demanded that Paul officially declared his support of the Order. In the event of a refusal, he threatened to raid and plunder Warmia. Deeply surprised, Legendorf managed to postpone the issue only for a month. However, during the next meeting in Bartoszyce in the presence of representatives of the Cathedral Chapter and Warmian cities he signed the agreement with the Order “with a heavy heart”, thereby acknowledging their superiority. *Nota bene*, it did not protect the bishopric from being plundered by Teutonic mercenaries, to whom the Grand Master did not pay and, as a result, could not control⁸⁹.

The only source providing a bit more insight into the agreement is the letter from the Prince-Bishop dated 28 August 1463 to the council of Stare Miasto Braniewo, kept previously in the archive of the local town council (without signature)⁹⁰. The agreement obligated Warmia to grant the Order “«military» assistance in all its might” that may be used against Poland⁹¹. It is possible that the bishop promised to let Teutonic garrisons into Warmian towns⁹².

In the second half of 1463, Poland started to succeed in its military efforts (the most impressive endeavours were the seizure of Gniew in August and win-

nicht geandt. Dennach sal unser gelerte crafft unnd macht haben wurde ouch seine herlichkeit erkeine wagenn diener unnd pferdt bynnen der czeit zcurucke ken Heilsberg nach notdurfft unnd vitalie schicken die sullen ouch hiemeth geleitet sein unnd diss unsers geleites in aller mosse wie obenberut ist uff unnd widder volkemlich gebrauchen. Welch geleite sal eyngeden den neesten sonnabend nach Viti un[n]d Modesti am uffgange der sonnen [18 VI 1463] unnd in seiner macht steen unnd weren biss uff den sonnabend nach Johannis Baptiste neestkomete denselben tag gancz auss bis zcur sonnen undergange [25 VI 1463]. Sulch unser geleite geloben wir obg[e]nanter homeister dem gedachten herrn bischoffe vor uns unnd alle unsers ordens gebittiger, brudern, helffern, beilegern, gesten, hofelewten, dienern un[n]d undersassen geistlich unnd wertlich stete veste unvorseret tristlich unnd ungeferlich zcu halden bey unsern gutten trauwen unnd in crafft deses briefs dem wir zcu sicherheit unnd bekenthnisse unser sigel haben lossen andrucken vor uns unser hofelewte unnd helffer unnd der gegeben ist uff unserm hawse Koenigsberg am montage nach des Heiligen Leichnams tage im vierzehenhundertsten unnd dreyundsechzigsten iare [13 VI 1463].

⁸⁹ V. Röhrich, op. cit., pp. 466–468; W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, pp. 50–51; J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 76.

⁹⁰ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 468, footnote 1.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 469 – explaining the necessity of making a deal, Legendorf wrote: „So ist it itczunt szo ferre kommen, sint sie unser briff unde segil von uns habin, dass wir mit en zcu dirkentnisse gutter leute komen müssen, do hyn ir ouch mit geleite, wie ir wellet, unde mit wie vil pferden, so ir ums die awszdruckt, sullet do hyn zcu komen vorfurget werden“, w dalszej części listu przybliżając sedno porozumienia: „So wisset ihr wohl, wie unsere vereinigung innehält, ihnen hilfe zu thun nach unserm höchsten vermögen. Hierum ihr ein solches nicht wohl könnet ausschlagen, sofern ihr unserer vereinigung genugthun wollet und die nicht brechen; euch hiernach wisset zu richten“. An accurate assessment of the agreement of 25 July 1463 and Legendorf’s expectations towards him was probably formulated by a Warmian cleric, writing: „Der selbige bischoff hilt is eyne weile mit des ordens lewte und of seyn part und meynte also zcu frede bleibyn yn seynem bischthume. Do nomen ym des ordens geste dy ku also gevach, und stunden noch seynen steten und slossern, daz her sich gancz widder zcu konige und lande muste gebyn. Also wart her des ordens vint swertlich“ (*Die aeltere Hochmeisterchronik*, bearb. von M. Toeppen, in: SRP, Bd. III, hrsg. von Th. Hirsch, M. Toeppen, E. Strehle, Leipzig 1866, p. 705; V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 470, footnote 1).

⁹² M. Biskup, op. cit., pp. 644–645.

ning the Battle of the Vistula Lagoon on 15 September 1463; moreover, at the end of the year, an important ally of the Grand Master and a leader of his mercenaries, Bernard Szumborski, withdrew from the war⁹³). Legendorf saw that the Bartoszyce agreement did not bring any benefits. The Grand Master was not only unable to help him regain Frombork and Orneta, but also – despite the best of intentions – could not protect Warmia from his own mercenaries, who demanded at the beginning of February 1464 that the Prince-Bishop returns the Jeziorany castle and neighbouring lands⁹⁴.

Meanwhile, at the end of 1463, the Polish party took a bolder approach, resulting in an escapade of mercenaries from Nidzica and Pasym to Olsztyn, which was conquered and burnt⁹⁵, as well as burning down Bisztynek. It all strengthened the reluctance of Legendorf and, most importantly, his suffering subjects towards the Order⁹⁶. “For this reason, the bishop contacted the Prussian Estates and signed a separate treaty with them on 4 March 1464. It was valid until 1 April so as to make negotiations possible⁹⁷. On 16 March 1464 in Elbląg, during the meeting of the Prince-Bishop and Chapter members with the Estates and the Inowrocław voivode Jan Kościelecki, a peace agreement was decided upon; to be ratified by the king⁹⁸. The dispute with Jan Skalski was left to be resolved by a special committee or the king. The Royal Prussian Estates did not give way in the issue important for the bishop and it was decided that Polish mercenaries are to stay in Frombork and Orneta until the end of the war. Most importantly – in the view of an inevitable defeat of the Order – Paul and his subjects were to take part in future peace negotiations of Poland with the Teutonic State.

To give the king some time to make a final decision concerning the above peace agreement, the armistice between the Prince-Bishop and Prussian Estates was prolonged on the 25 March until 24 June 1464. During the dietine which commenced on 1 May in Nowe Miasto Korczyn, Casimir Jagiellon ratified the agreement of 16 March. He referred to it as “perpetual peace and union between the Prince-Bishop, Chapter their subjects and [representing the king] Ścibor Bażyński

⁹³ M. Biskup, G. Labuda, *Dzieje Zakonu Krzyżackiego*, p. 414.

⁹⁴ M. Biskup, *op. cit.*, p. 653.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 652.

⁹⁶ V. Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 470; M. Biskup, *op. cit.*, p. 653.

⁹⁷ *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens im 15. Jahrhundert*, Zweiter Band (1438-1467), hrsg. von E. Weise, Marburg 1955, p. 254.

⁹⁸ Cyt. za: M. Biskup, *op. cit.*, p. 653. Legendorf on 4 March 1464 concluded a truce, how to say: „With the lands and cities on the side of Lord Kings”, and 16 III „Perpetual peace” from the V. Prussian Union – V. Röhrich, *op. cit.*, page 14; J. Sikorski, *op. cit.*, p. 77. An important issue was signaled by K. Górski, Legendorf Paweł h. Stango, remembering that the bishop in progress, 25 VII 1463, Krzyże was obligatory), „promising after 4-6-week termination of the agreement with the Order let Polish and urban crews and openly proclaim themselves a supporter of Poland „(*ibidem*, p. 2). *Die Staatsverträge*, Zweiter Band, pp. 255–256 (here the 13-point peace agreement of 16 March 1464).

with lords of the council”⁹⁹. “He promised not to sign any treaties with the Order without the bishop’s knowledge; highlighting his right to immediately fill towns and castles, without negotiating a specific date”¹⁰⁰.

It appears that the royal document ratifying the “perpetual peace” with the Warmian Prince-Bishop dated 5 May 1464 was of greater importance for establishing the legal and national position of Warmia¹⁰¹ than the provisions of the Second Peace of Toruń dated 19 October 1466. The act issued by Casimir Jagiellon in Nowe Miasto Korczyn firmly stated the attitude of the king towards Warmia, while the Toruń treaty merely confirmed the agreement concluded two and a half years earlier.

In March 1464 and later on, Legendorf did not plan to make the treaty with the Polish king public and did not plan to openly contradict the Order prior to gaining the promised military support for fear of reprisals on the part of the Grand Master. Despite the political necessity of cooperating with Casimir Jagiellon, the sympathy of the bishop towards the Order was greater than the one towards the Prussian Confederation and Poland, which is proven by Paul’s behaviour and his correspondence with the Grand Master in the subsequent several months¹⁰².

Even on 1 April 1464 Skalski wanted to seize Braniewo with 60 horsemen, but received a refusal from Bartholomeus Liebenwald, managing the area on behalf of Prince-Bishop Paul. The Warmian cantor “Statthalter” informed promptly the Grand Master about this event in a letter dated April 3 the same year¹⁰³.

Interestingly enough, other Church officials in Prussia wanted to follow the example of Legendorf. Already in May 1464, the Chełmno Land elect Bartholomeus, referring to the position of Prince-Bishop Paul, wanted to sign a treaty with the Polish Kingdom after gaining the consent of the Grand Master (the fact of Legendorf’s submission to the Polish king was not a secret for too long)¹⁰⁴.

⁹⁹ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 473. AAWO, AK, Dok. Kap. T 1 (certified copy of the royal instrument of ratification), p. 41: „Quam quidem perpetuam pacem et unionem sicut praefertur per supradictos Dominum Electum, Capitulum eorumque subditos et Stiborium de Beisen memoratosque consiliarios Nostros, modo et formis, ut premittitur, firmatam in omnibus suis articulis, punctis, conditionibus, capitulis et clausulis in eadem perpetua pace expressis et contentis Regio Nostro Nomine confirmamus, laudamus, approbamus et ratificamus, ipsamque sub fide Regia in omnibus et per omnia servare volumus, ac per Nostros fideles quoscunqu observari mandamus sub poena indignationis Nostrae Regiae Maiestatis”. Zob.: *Die Staatsverträge*, Zweiter Band, p. 258.

¹⁰⁰ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 654. AAWO, AK, Dok. Kap. T 1, p. 43: „ut ex huiusmodi castris et civitatibus armigeri Nostri, Nostros hostes officio bellico possent impetere, invadere et armorum peritia peragere”. V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 474 (certified copy of the royal instrument of ratification) (zur Bekämpfung der Feinde).

¹⁰¹ AAWO, AK, Dok. Kap. T 1, p. 42: „perpetuam pacem, unionem et concordiam indissolubilem inmolabiliter observandam cum Reverendissimo in Christo Patre D[omino] Paulo Electo, confirmato Ecclesiae Varmiensis, suis Canonicis et Capitulo Varmiensi et quibuslibet coram vasallis, subditis et communitatibus”.

¹⁰² V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 475.

¹⁰³ W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 56. Bartholomeus Liebenwald died in Toruń after 1469 and he was buried in the church there. St. John the Baptist: O. Günther, op. cit., p. 241, note 39; T. Borawska, *Liebenwald (Libenwald) Bartłomiej*, in: *Słownik biograficzny kapituły warmińskiej*, p. 150.

¹⁰⁴ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 654. B. Poschmann, *Bistümer und Deutscher Orden in Preussen 1243–1525. Untersuchung zur Verfassungen u[nd] Verwaltungsgeschichte des Ordenslandes*, ZGAE, 1962, Bd. 30, H. 2, pp. 350–351 (Anhang Nr. 8).

The treaty of 16 March 1464 was not fully exercised as non-Warmian Polish garrisons and Jan Skalski still ransacked the diocese and the king did not provide the promised military support to protect the dominium in the summer. Nevertheless, during the meeting of the Prince-Bishop and the Warmian Chapter with the Prussian Estates in Elbląg on 4 November the same year previous provisions had been reaccepted: “the bishop still saw the Order as an enemy and promised to terminate the peace treaty but only when the king assigns 200 armed men for the protection of the bishopric. The dispute with Skalski was to be settled by a commission or the king. Legendorf clearly moved closer to the Polish party, but reserved the option of maintaining relatively peaceful relations with the Order until actual military protection from the king is given”¹⁰⁵. In this treaty, Paul committed himself to serve the king loyally and permanently, without doing anything against him. The Prince-Bishop alongside his Chapter, lands and towns swore not to let the Teutonic Knights or their allies into their towns and castles, refuse to council or actively support, welcome or accommodate, trade with them, but openly support the king, his country and towns as well as not to do anything to harm them in the days to come¹⁰⁶. While offering his protection to the bishopric, Casimir Jagiellon promised “to respect the Warmian elect himself and his church, Chapter and subjects in all their privileges, freedoms, rights, jurisdictions and customs cherished for a long time and preserve them all and each individually keep and protect in this right”¹⁰⁷.

In fact, the arrangements made on 4 November 1464 did not exceed the decisions made in March, which is why the Toruń council – whose representatives did not attend the negotiations of March 1464 – while reaffirming the treaty of 16 March 1464 on the 30 January 1465 did not refer to the arrangements of 4 November 1464 at all¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁵ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 675. *Die Staatsverträge*, Zweiter Band, pp. 258–259. In Elbląg’s talks and in the layout of 16 March 1464, Casimir the Jagiellonian, Paul: „unser herr/herre konig/könig”, and more: „unser gnedigster herre konig” (ASP, Bd. V, pp. 92, 95, 97, 104, 105); B. Leśnodorski, op. cit., p. 24.

¹⁰⁶ ASP, Bd. V, pp. 153–154: „bey treuen und eren und feste bey einander bey dem hern konige zcu bleiben und nicht widder in zu thuende, und der her bischoff mit sein capittel und seinen landen und steten haben gelobet, die creucziger oder ire beyleger in iren stetten und schlossern nicht zu hegen noch zcu hausen oder zcu hofen und sie och nicht zu fordern mit rate adir tate, in ouch keine vitalie zcu schaffen, zczuczufuren oder mit in czu kauffschlagen, sunder die zcu halden sam des hern konings und seiner lande und stete offenbar finde und do nicht gegen zcu komende sonder alle arge list in allen zcukommenden zzeiten“. Także: *Johann Lindaus Geschichte*, in: SRP, Bd. IV, p. 609. See: W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 58; V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 477; B. Leśnodorski, op. cit., p. 23.

¹⁰⁷ Quotation: D. Bogdan, *Próba skategoryzowania pojęcia lojalności w aspekcie miejsca Warmii w Prusach i w Koronie w XVI wieku*, in: *Panorama lojalności. Prusy Królewskie i Prusy Książęce w XVI wieku*, ed. by: J. Axer, Warszawa 2001, p. 94; AAWO, AK, Dok. Kap. T 1, p. 42: „Insuper similibus modo et forma permisiss promittimus et spondemus ipsum D[ominum] Electum Varmiensem, ecclesiamque ipsius, V[enerabile] Capitulum ac subditio eorundem quoscunque in omnibus ipsorum privilegiis, libertatibus, iuribus, iurisdictione et consuetudinibus quibus ab antiquo freti sunt, conservare, ipsosque et eorum quemlibet in iure suo manutene et defendere“. ASP, Bd. 5, pp. 153–154; B. Leśnodorski, op. cit., p. 23.

¹⁰⁸ AAWO, AK, Dok. Kap. L 28: Lit[t]erae Torunen[ses] super acceptatione concordiae cum D[omi]no Paulo facta (the original without the seal that was once attached to the document). See: *Die Staatsverträge*, Zweiter Band, p. 259; W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 55, footnote 2; V. Röhrich, op. cit., pp. 477–478, footnote 3.

After the fiasco of peace negotiations led by the legate Hieronim Lando, another attempt to suppress the Polish-Teutonic conflict was made between 3 and 21 July 1464 in Toruń during the talks involving the Polish party, Prussian Estates and the Order. Delegates of Lübeck, Rostock, Wismar and Lüneburg as well as Livonian cities led by Lübeck mayor Heinrich Kastorp and the Lübeck Bishop Arnold served as mediators, therefore this mission is often referred to as the Hanseatic mediation¹⁰⁹. Unfortunately, it did not bring peace. It is worth mentioning that Jodok Hohenstein was summoned by Ludwig von Erlichshausen from Rome to lead the Teutonic delegation, including the Elbląg parish priest and Grand Master's secretary Stefan of Neidenburg¹¹⁰.

A significant event for Bishop Paul was undoubtedly the death of his protector and friend, Pius II the Pope, who died at the night of 14 to 15 August 1464, in Ancona (his body was transported to Rome and buried in St. Peter's Basilica)¹¹¹. It seems that upon hearing the sad news Legendorf felt released from the papal demand of neutrality and the clear preference for the Order in contrast to Poland, which Pius II favoured more or less openly throughout his pontificate.

The position of the Order in the second half of 1464 and the beginning of 1465 worsened chiefly due to the reluctance of mercenaries to fight without payment. Therefore, the idea of negotiating with Poland had to be revisited. Governor Ścibor Bażyński arranged with the subjects of the Order arriving with the initiative of commencing discussions that the talks shall begin on 28 April 1465 in Kobbelgrube (today: Stegna) on the Vistula Split. They lasted from 29 April to 1 May "with the participation of delegates of Estates from both parts of Prussia only"¹¹².

"The deputies of the Prussian Estates led by Gabriel Bażyński first went to Cracow and gained Casimir's authorisation to continue the negotiations, with their results to be accepted by royal representatives. The Grand Master also declared his will to enter the negotiations, which reopened without the participation of royal and Order deputies on 3 August in Kobbelgrube"¹¹³. The discussions did not conclude in any specific arrangement. "The third meeting with the participation of Teutonic deputies was the only matter agreed upon. The Prussian Estates through their deputy, presbyter Hieronym, successfully asked the king to send his representatives. As a result of an ongoing epidemic in Prussia and the resistance of the lords of the Crown, Casimir sent only Jakub of Szadek and Jan Dlugosz"¹¹⁴.

¹⁰⁹ M. Biskup, K. Górski, *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk*, p. 211.

¹¹⁰ *Johann Lindaus Geschichte*, in: SRP, Bd. IV, p. 669; *Paul Pol's Preussisch Chronik*, bearb. von Max Toepen, in: SRP, Bd. V, Leipzig 1874, pp. 228, 234 i 237 (J. Hohenstein) and pp. 228, 243 (original without seal, which was once attached to the document); *Die Staatsverträge*, Zweiter Band, p. 251; H. Freytag, *Die Geschäftsträger des Deutschen Ordens*, pp. 210–211.

¹¹¹ J. Smolucha, *Polityka Kurii Rzymskiej*, p. 318.

¹¹² Quotation: M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 677.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

The third meeting with the representatives of the Livonian branch of the Order lasted from 30 August to 3 September 1465. “Alongside the representatives of the Crown and Prussian Estates led by governor Ścibor and Gabriel Bażyński, Prince-Bishop Legendorf arrived to mediate with the approval of the king. The Polish-Prussian delegation stayed in Kobbelgrube, while the Teutonic one was accommodated in Sztutowo; the talks took place between the settlements or in Kobbelgrube”¹¹⁵. The leading figure in the Teutonic delegation was the Elbląg parish priest and the secretary of the Grand Master, Stefan of Neidenburg. The Polish and Teutonic parties tried to outbid each other with original or even preposterous ideas: for instance, Prince-Bishop Legendorf suggested that the Order should return Pomerania and fill its castles with locals who would thereby strengthen the Teutonic forces, while Stefan of Neidenburg initially recommended giving the entire country under the protection of the Grand Master to maintain the unity of the “Prussians”, but then opted for a truce lasting from 10 to 40 years. Only the last day of negotiations witnessed specific ideas on the most important issue, namely territorial cessions. The representatives of the Grand Master wanted to present to him the suggestions of the Polish party and resume the discussion within a month; soon Ludwig von Erlichshausen asked to postpone the deadline for another month¹¹⁶. The next meeting never took place.

As for the above Vistula Spit peace negotiations, the Grand Master was content with Prince-Bishop Paul as a mediator. Through the hands of his representatives, he sent him “a friendly greeting” (*freundlichen Gruss*) and thanked for the “great effort” (*grossen Fleiss*) put into ending this difficult war. Order representatives also completely trusted Legendorf¹¹⁷.

Bishop Paul was – in spite of closer relations with Poland in spring and autumn 1464 as well as spring and summer 1466 – still favourably inclined towards Ludwig von Erlichshausen. “He did not want or could fight with the «Grand» Master as he did not declare war on him and was not formally his enemy. What is more – he even tried to maintain friendly relations”¹¹⁸. It is confirmed by the Prince-

¹¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 678. *Die Staatsverträge*, Zweiter Band, pp. 252–254. In this context, J. Sikorski surprises, op. cit., p. 77, stating: „At the end of the summer of 1465, Sam Legendorf was secretly arranging with the [grand] master in a secluded place on the Vistula Spit as to the conditions of peace.“ The fact that Kazimierz Jagielloń did not trust Bishop Paweł completely (from what the author and others still write, probably he was right) does not diminish the respect of the monarch and his recognition for the dignity of the bishop of Legendorf and its significant political significance in Prussia of that time, hence the royal invitation for the Warmian hierarchy to mediate in conversations on the Vistula Spit. This is all the more understandable for the neutrality declared by Paweł since the moment of arrival in Warmia, no matter how we would evaluate its real meaning.

¹¹⁶ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 678.

¹¹⁷ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 479.

¹¹⁸ Quotation: J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 77.

Bishop's letter to Ludwig dated 4 December 1456 written in a companionable or even cordial manner, in spite of objective external circumstances¹¹⁹.

Even in his letter dated 3 January 1466 the Prince-Bishop thanked Ludwig for safe passage from last summer for several carts and asked for another one, regarding sixteen to twenty carts or sleighs with hop, linen or other expected goods travelling from Lidzbark to Braniewo or Elbląg and back for the welfare of the bishop and his towns. He promised to repay "as well as possible" and asked the addressee "to kindly do so with particular diligence bearing in mind their extraordinary friendship" (*freundlich mit besonderem fleiss in sonderlicher freundschaft wohl zu thun*), adding that "we are willing to do that is necessary as debtors of Your Grace" (*Das wollen wir gern womit wir sollen, wieder verschulden um ew. gnaden*)¹²⁰. However, when in the same month Paul gained assurance from the Polish king about sending mercenaries for protecting Warmian towns, on 11 February 1466 he finally decided – suddenly and unexpectedly to some – to declare war with the Order¹²¹, blaming it on its reluctance towards establishing peace with the Polish Kingdom. The actual concern of this diocese administrator to end this unprecedented social and economic destruction of Warmia and the entire Prussian region, with the Order being the main culprit, was of great significance as well¹²². At the same time, Legendorf allowed Polish forces to enter Warmian cities. In general, it was nothing more than politics: it was advisable to support the winning party so as to stand beside Casimir Jagiellon while signing the peace treaty¹²³.

On 11 April 1466, when Skalski's units seized Pieniężno, only Barczewo remained in Teutonic hands on Warmia.

At the beginning of July, the Grand Master exercised revenge for the open transition of Legendorf to the Polish side. He organised a destruction-oriented expedition of 600 horsemen and as many infantrymen from Königsberg through central Warmia to Elbląg. The action focused on destroying crops and confiscating cattle near Lidzbark, Orneta and Pieniężno, the siege of which was not successful on the Order's part¹²⁴. The devastation was enormous, but royal mercenaries

¹¹⁹ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 479, footnote 5 (also from an earlier letter from Paweł to Ludwik from around 1 January 1465, there is a peaceful tone of their mutual contacts, and Bartholomew Liebenwald's letters testify of good relations: from 3 April 1464 to the Grand Master and from 3 August 1464 to the commander of the crew of Balga).

¹²⁰ Ibidem, pp. 479–480, footnote 1; J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 77.

¹²¹ *Die Staatsverträge*, Zweiter Band, p. 259; *Jana Długosza Roczniki*, Księga dwunasta, Cz. 2: 1462-1480, p. 137.

¹²² V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 488; this is also admitted by W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 65, citing accounts of Prussians traveling during the war. They felt as if they were overcoming the desert. One of the Warmian bishop who traveled at that time wrote: „We have gone many miles and we have not seen any village, no man and no animal” (*Wir sind dahergezogen manche Meile und haben kein Dorf, keinen Menschen und kein Tier gesehen*).

¹²³ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 684; J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 77.

¹²⁴ *Johann Lindaus Geschichte*, in: SRP, Bd. IV, pp. 630–631; *Jana Długosza Roczniki*, Księga dwunasta, Cz. 2: 1462-1480, p. 145 (here: wrong date of this graveyard: June 1466); M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 685.

did not protect bishop's subjects in spite of his calls for help. They were afraid to confront the Teutonic Knights in an open field and did not trust Warmian burghers. Only when Ludwig retreated to Bartoszyce and then to Koenigsberg, did the Crown mercenaries avenge Warmia by going from Lidzbark to Lower Prussia, also burning maturing crops there.

The long war was finally coming to an end and the desire for peace was widespread. Parties accepted the papal legate Rudolf of Rudesheim as a mediator¹²⁵. Toruń was selected as the place of peacekeeping negotiations. One of the members of the Prussian Estates delegation was, among other persons, the Warmian Prince-Bishop Paul Legendorf. "negotiations began on 23 September «1466» in three tents near the Dybów castle with the legate as a mediator. Polish delegation was led by the Włocławek Bishop Jakub of Siemno. Prussian Estates were represented by Bishop Paul Legendorf, governor Ścibor Bażyński, knights Mikołaj Pniewski and Otto Machwic as well as councillors of three grand towns «Gdańsk, Elbląg and Toruń»"¹²⁶. The Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen forefronted the Teutonic party, though he arrived as late as on the 10 October.

His arrival was delayed and this situation occurred undoubtedly as an indirect result of Prince-Bishop Paul's actions. Namely, just before departing for the peace negotiations in September 1466, Legendorf – assuming that the Teutonic cortege would go via Braniewo (in September or October) – had forbidden its council to allow safe passage through the town. "The «Grand Master» could not forgive him «the bishop – J.P. the humiliation he suffered at the end. The chronicler reports that when, on his way to Toruń where the treaty was to be signed, Ludwig von Erlichshausen wanted to go across the bridge over the Pasłęka river in Braniewo, the gates were closed in front of him. As a result «of numerous requests» only his carts were allowed to go through the town. He himself and his entourage had to cross the river on rented boats. Upon his arrival to Toruń, the king greeted him «honestly and friendly», Paul Legendorf also approached him and stretched out his arm in a welcoming gesture. The Grand Master, however, abruptly backed away, warning him he had just recovered from an illness. The king stepped towards them and joined their hands. In truth, they both must have been aware of the fact they can no longer stand each other"¹²⁷.

¹²⁵ M. Biskup, K. Górski, *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk*, p. 213.

¹²⁶ Quotation: M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 700.

¹²⁷ Quotation: J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 78. The Teutonic chronicler wrote: „Do der meister Lodewik von Konigesberg sulde czyn ken Thorn, do beful der herre Pavel bischof deme rote zcum Brunsberge, sy sulden der meister mit seynem volke nicht durch dy stat loszen. Mit groszer bete, daz sy czu leczdy speyse wagen durch dy stadt lisen geen, sunder der meister mit seynem volcke muste obir dy Passerge swemmen, und daz waz ym eyn groszer hoen. Do her abir ken Thorn quam, do wart her zcu mole erlichyn und fruntlichen von deme konige entphangen. Do quam och dar getreten der bischof Pavel von Logendorf und hoet syne hand mit grusze deme meister vor deme konige, und do entzog der meister syne hant dem bischofe weder, und waz eyn widder eyn hon

The Order wanted to still hold Lower and Upper Prussia, but Ścibor Bażyński and other knights (having their lands there) as well as Legendorf were against such territorial concessions. The final version of the peace treaty was adopted on 17 October. This “perpetual peace treaty” was signed and sworn in on 19 October 1466¹²⁸. It took place in the hall of the Artus Court in Toruń. “The celebration ended with singing Te Deum in the «Dominican church of the Ascencion» of Virgin Mary, a Mass presided over by the legate and a feast prepared by the king in the town hall, with the participation of the Grand Master”¹²⁹.

The two parties of the treaty were the Polish king Casimir Jagiellon with his vassals (Masovia dukes, Prince Eric II of Pomerania, Prince-Bishop Paul Legendorf with the Warmian Chapter and the Moldavian voivode Stefan) and the Teutonic Knights, acting on behalf the Prussian branch of the Order, led by the Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen. The Order returned to the Polish Crown Chełmno and Michałów lands, Pomerelia and Warmia; the Warmian bishop became a member of the Polish Episcopate and, as other diocese administrators, had his place in the royal council¹³⁰.

In a little over a week after arriving to Toruń, on 21 September 1466, the town above on the Vistula River witnessed a ceremony surely very important for Legendorf. Namely, on that day in the church of John the Baptist, the most faithful servant of the monarch, Archbishop Jan Gruszczyński, anointed Paul as a bishop. The Włocławek Bishop Jakub of Siemno and the Poznań Bishop Andrzej of Bnin accompanied the Archbishop. To emphasise the importance of this event, Casimir Jagiellon attended church on that day and later on held a feast in honour of Legendorf, treating him as a *tamquam filio adoptivo*¹³¹.

vor dem konige. Do unternam de konigk den krig der beyden hern und bat gar fruntlichyn den meister of deme companhuszen, her sulde des bischoffes frunt syn, wo heyn der meister lis sich lencken, und do nam der konig des bischofs hant und des meisters hant, und gab sy beyde zcu sampne, und frundete dy II heren mit der munde, got wuste abir erer beide herzen“ (*Die aeltere Hochmeisterchronik*, in: SRP, Bd. III, p. 706).

The message very similar to the above gives *Christoph Falks Elbingisch-Preussische Chronik*, pp. 22–23. We learn from this in addition that the grand master was going to Toruń for three hundred horses („Der her meister ist ausgezogen von Konigesberck mit dreihundert ferden resig noch Toren zu dem tage der vorsununge des kriges“), and the king of Poland with the councilors and the bishop of Warmia greeted him in the town hall („Dornoch, wie her [der meister – J. P.] zu im gekommen ist auf das rathaus zu Toren, do ist der konig gestanden mit seinen reten und och der bischof von Helsberck“). The chronicler emphasizes that Ludwik’s initial failure to hand has been derided by Ludwik against the bishop and in the presence of the king, his councilors and those present there („Das war dem bischof ein grosser hon vor dem konige und alle seinen reten, och vor den fremden“) . It seems that he was intending a rematch of the great master for the insult prepared for him by the Braniewians at the behest of the Ordinary of Warmia. At the end of his relationship, the chronicler added with emphasis that on the way back to Królewiec Ludwik did not go - as before - through Braniewo („Der meister ist dornoch ken Brunnesberck geziehen und nicht omme, wie vor, noch Konigesberck“). W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, pp. 62–63; V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 484.

¹²⁸ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 703; J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 78.

¹²⁹ Quotation: M. Biskup, op. cit., pp. 709–710.

¹³⁰ Ibidem, p. 704; J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 78.

¹³¹ We owe the message about the ordination of Legendorf to the priest of Toruń, Hieronim Waldau: O. Günther, *Die Aufzeichnungen des Thorner Pfarrers Hieronymus Waldau*, ZWG, 1907, H. 49, p. 240 (note 36).

Prince-Bishop Paul did not cherish this honour and desired peace for long as he suddenly died on 23 August 1467, probably in Braniewo or in the vicinity. Obviously, a sudden death of a politician of reasonable age, but not yet an elderly man, always arises conjectures and suspicion. Only some persons writing about Legendorf note the fact and date of his death. Others claim that he might have been poisoned or died as a result of a plague, not really choosing an option but rather reporting them. Actually, only Adolf Poschmann states firmly that “he «Legendorf – J.P.» died near Braniewo – probably from plague and not poison, as it is «sometimes – J.P.» assumed”¹³².

It seems that in this case too much trust is placed in Jan Długosz and the Teutonic chroniclers by relying on their reports unreasonably connecting the autumn of 1466 (Paul’s visit in Toruń) with the summer of 1467 (his death in Braniewo or nearby). After all, as many as nine months separates these two events. If his death was the result of a plague in Toruń, other participants of the peace negotiations should also have fallen as its victims. However, the sources do not mention it. The Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen died in Königsberg, although before Legendorf, on 4 April 1467, from natural causes and not as a victim of the plague.

Jan Długosz was the first to suggest poisoning Prince-Bishop Legendorf: „On Thursday, 26 July «1467; Thursday was actually on 23 July, as explained in footnote 77» Paul Legendorf, the Warmian Prince-Bishop, dies in Braunsberg from poisoning, as the general opinion claims, poisoned during Toruń peace negotiations held in the previous year. Ever since that, he could not regain his health and after he died, his dead body had swollen and broke open: his side and feet. He was buried in the parish church in Braunsberg”¹³³.

The chronicler Simon Grunau wrote about the death of Bishop Paul in such a manner: “However, at the time he «Legendorf – J.P.» was in Toruń, where the treaty was signed, he was poisoned by the Grand Master’s trumpeter, as it is generally believed, arrived to Braniewo, died here and was buried here in a parish church, when it was very hot and [this] disaster happened”¹³⁴.

The Lidzbark chronicle does not join the bishop’s death with his visit in Toruń in autumn 1466, but rather with his subsequent (probably in the early spring 1467) meeting with the Grand Master Ludwig in Bartoszyce: “While in Bartoszyce,

Jana Długosza Roczniki, Księga dwunasta, Cz. 2: 1462–1480, p. 161; K. Górski, *Legendorf Pawel h. Stango*, p. 2; J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 78.

¹³² [A.] Poschmann, op. cit., p. 491.: „starb er [Legendorf – J.P.] in der Nähe von Braunsberg – wahrscheinlich an der Pest und nicht durch Gift, wie man vermutete“.

¹³³ *Jana Długosza Roczniki*, Księga dwunasta, Cz. 2: 1462–1480, p. 203. He repeats C. Schütz, op. cit., k. 333a.

¹³⁴ *Aus Simon Grunau’s Preussischer Chronik*, in: SRW, Bd. II, p. 192: „Idah mit der zeit alsz er [Legendorf – J.P.] war zu Thorne, do man fride machte, wart ym vorgeben, von eytm trommitter des homeisters, wie er sich denne öffentlich rumete, und er quam Braunsbergk und starb do und wart do yn er pfarre begraben, wen er war seer heis und stangk seer ubel“.

where he «Legendorf – J.P.» met with the Grand Master, a trumpeter of the Grand Master called Weigel Letzeldt, who was his enemy also after his death, gave him the poison, as the rumour claims; poisoned and ill, he came to Braniewo and died soon after; as his body [produced] strong stench in the heat, he was buried in the Braniewo parish church in front of the main altar as they did not want to leave him there nor was it possible to transport him to Frombork]¹³⁵.

Teutonic chronicler wrote, that after Treaty of Toruń: “the king returned to his country, the Grand Master to Sambia and Koenigsberg. The Prince-Bishop went from Toruń to Braniewo sick and poisoned; many suspected it was a plague prowling in Toruń at that time, but others see different causes. [The Grand] Master Ludwig lived almost a year after that and died, soon the Lidzbark Warmiński Prince-Bishop was also deceased. This is how worldly glory and honours perish¹³⁶.”

The report of the chronicler Christoph Falk is similar: “the Lidzbark Warmiński bishop, master Paul Legendorf, also left Toruń to travel to his bishopric in Braniewo and on the way fell ill with the plague prowling in Toruń, causing [his] illness¹³⁷.”

In a modern book found in the Ornetá archive, it is written about Prince-Bishop Paul that “master elect «Prince-Bishop Legendorf – J.P.» on his travel arrived to his bishopric, granted «to him» by the Polish king under the condition that he would not participate in the war on «any» side”. Added on the margin are the following words: “a Prussian noble, poisoned by the Grand Master’s [of the Order] trumpeter in Braniewo, others claim that [his death happened] there due to the 1467 plague, buried there¹³⁸”.

¹³⁵ *Die Heilsberger Chronik von Martin Oesterreich*, in: SRW, Bd. II, pp. 317–318: „Im ist zu Bartstein, da er mitt dem hohemeyster ein zusammenkunfft hielt, von des hohemeisters trommetter Weigel Letzeldt genandt, der im feindt war, auch nach seinem tode sich solcher vergebung gerünett hett, vergeben und krank ken Brunzberg gekommen, und balde gestorben, und weil sein cerper so sehr stanck in der grossen hitz, dasz man nicht wol kundte bey im bleiben, auch wegen des wehrenden kriges man in nicht sicherlich ken Frawenburg füren kundte, so ist er in der Brunzbergischen pfar[r]kirchen fürn hogen altar begraben, Anno domini 1471 umb Mariae Magdalanae“ [it’s a mistake: it’s about 23 VII 1467]; here is also the Latin version of this entry: „Cum ad colloquium cum magistro ordinis Bartsteinum accessisset, a Weigelo Leczelt magistri tibicine, qui ille fuit inimicissimus, veneno propinato in morbum incidit atque ita aeger Brunsbergam delatus subito mortuus est. Et quoniam propter aestivos calores foetor cadaveris ferri non poterat, nec propter bellicam rabiem tutum erat, ut Varmiam deduceretur, ibidem Brunsbergae in parochiali ecclesia ante maius altare tumulatum est, anno domini 1471 circa festum s. Mariae Magdalanae“ [it’s a mistake: it’s about 23 VII 1467].

¹³⁶ *Die aeltere Hochmeisterchronik*, in: SRP, Bd. III, p. 706: „Der konig czog yn seyn lant, der meister ken Same-land und Konigesberg. Der bischoff quam von Thorn ken Bunsberg krank und vorgiffiget, vil leichte von der pestilencien, dy do zcu Thorn regnirte, adder lichte von andern sachen. Der meister Ludwig lebete dornoch kawme I jor und starb, und nicht lange dornoch starb och der bischof von Heilsberg. Also geet hyn der loff und ere der werlde“.

¹³⁷ *Christoph Falks Elbingsch-Preussische Chronik*, pp. 23–24: „Der bischof von Helesberck, her Paul Legendorf, ist och von Toren geczogen noch seinem bischtume ken den Braunesberck und ist auf dem wege krank worden an der peste, den zu Toren regirte die krankheit. Do der bischof man ken Helesberck ist gekomen in der rese, ist her gestorben“. About the great master Ludwig death 4 IV 1467 r. *Ibidem*, p. 25.

¹³⁸ *Archiwum Państwowe w Olsztynie, Magistrat Wormditt*, sygn. 260/1, k. 142 (p. 303): „Dominus electus per Poloniae regnum Rege permittente iter suum ad Episcopatum direxit, ista conditione, ne quovis modo se faceret in guerra partialem“. *Dopisek na marginesie*: „Nobilis Prutenus, dem wardt durch den Trommeter des Hohemeisters mit giffit vergeben Brunsbergae, alii volunt peste mortuum ibid[em] anno 1467, ibidem sepultus est“.

An 18th century Warmian historian, Jacob Joseph Harwart, presented his state of knowledge on Legendorf's death in such a way: "next, when he «Legendorf – J.P.» was invited by the Grand Master for a meeting in Bartoszyce, by Weigel Leczelt, the «Grand Master's» trumpeter, who was fairly hostile towards him, «after drinking» a poisoned drink, returned to Lidzbark Warmiński, died suddenly, those standing close to him «due to the» heat and stench «of the body was unbearable», he could not be buried further than «taken to» Braniewo; there «he was buried» in front of the main altar in the parish church; he left this earth around the day of St. Mary Magdalene «23 July» 1467, as reported by Kaspar Schütz, Kaspar Hennenberger, Krzysztof Hartknoch and others"¹³⁹.

The Knights, who at some point fully trusted Prince-Bishop Paul (and he seemed to be a devoted ally and friend), might have finally seen him as a traitor. The Grand Master Ludwig surely felt a grudge considering Legendorf's attitude in the final years of the Thirteen Years' War (and the humiliating episode related to forbidding him and his entourage to travel via Braniewo while going for the Toruń negotiations, though very unpleasant for Ludwig – was Legendorf afraid that the Order would seize Braniewo on such an occasion? – was surely not the most crucial)¹⁴⁰. The bishop – despite the necessity to choose the winning Polish party – always showed a friendly attitude towards the Grand Master (apart from the above mischief) and perhaps it was the reason why he promptly agreed to meet in Bartoszyce, where he used to be a frequent guest. Was the hypothetical poisoning the idea of the Grand Master's trumpeter only or was the servant a mere tool and the chroniclers blame him as it is unbecoming to accuse the head of the Order?

It is puzzling that – as Jan Długosz wrote – the body of the deceased bishop has swollen and broke open, with the July heat not having much to do with it (if his death was the result of a plague, such post mortem symptoms would probably not be observed). Today, it is impossible to settle this matter, though in the eyes of numerous contemporaries and the progeny it was the final Teutonic payment for lasting cooperation, the results of which could not and did not satisfy them (half

¹³⁹ J.J. Harwart, *Archivi pars secunda refert seriem episcoporum Varmiensium archipresbyterorum parochorum ecclesiae Heilsbergensis*, [Heilsberg] 1765, p. 35: „Postremo cum a Magistro Ordinis ad colloquium Bartensteinium invitatus comparuisset, a Weigelo Leczelt Tibicinae, qui ipsi fuit inimicissimus veneno propinato Heilsbergam rediens, subito mortuus est, cum autem propter astisos calores foetoremque funeris non poterat demortuus ultra quam Brunbergam deferti, ibidem in Ecclesia Parochiali ante majus altare, terrae mandatus est circa festum S[anct]ae Mariae Magdalenaee Anno 1467, ut referunt Caspar Schütz, Caspar Hennenberger, Christophorus Hartknoch et alii“.

¹⁴⁰ This was well described by the Teutonic chronicler, describing and aptly commenting on the meeting of Ludwik and Paweł in Toruń in October 1466, after a laughter prepared by the grand council of the Old Town on the orders of the bishop: King Kazimierz Jagielloń, in a gesture of agreement, joined the right of both husbands, but only „God he knows [has joined] the hearts of both „ (got wuste abir erer beide herczen): *Die aeltere Hochmeisterchronik*, in: SRP, Bd. III, p. 706.

a century before, a similar speculation surrounding the sudden death of another Warmian Prince-Bishop, Heinrich Vogelsang, was popular among the public).

The Frombork cathedral was then largely destroyed, with “the interior still serving as stables, established there by the Czech Hussites, subordinates of Jan Skalski”¹⁴¹. Therefore, the place and cause of his death put aside, Prince-Bishop Paul could not be buried in Frombork. His earthly remains were thus buried in the church of St. Catherine in Braniewo in front of the main altar¹⁴².

In 1494, the Warmian Prince-Bishop Łukasz Watzenrode founded a spectacular bronze tombstone of considerable size (it is presently located in the Warmian Museum in Lidzbark Warmiński, a branch of the Museum of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn). The writing on the tombstone informs that it is “the tombstone of master Paul Legendorf, Warmian bishop, deceased in devotion to God, prevented by the war from being buried in his Warmian church «namely the Frombork cathedral – J.P.», a notable deed of his successor master Łukasz on the year of our Lord 1494 «was founded»”¹⁴³.

It is worth quoting some interesting remarks made by Kamila Wróblewska on the persona of Prince-Bishop Paul Legendorf based on the view of his tombstone. In general, as the author provides, the appearance of this monument does not surprise the observer, but the “greatest surprise lies in the interpretation of his «Legendorf’s – J.P.» face. It is a clearly individualised image; an ugly and characteristic face; restless, full of expression and life-related authenticity. Irregular features, wrinkled skin muscles, some double chins. It is not the face of an idealised bishop whose tombstone was erected to maintain the tradition, but a representation of a modern way of expressing the memory of a person bordering with the Renaissance ideas”¹⁴⁴. Further, the author states: “the ugliness, realism of Legendorf’s features also, or even more strongly, disappear in the gothic framework of the composition. Irregular features of Legendorf’s face seen only en face make it possible to imagine his profile. His ears decoratively on top, protruding above the cheeks.

¹⁴¹ Quotation: J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 78.

¹⁴² F. Hipler, *Die Grabstätten der ermländischen Bischöfe*, ZGAE, 1875–1877, Bd. 6, pp. 309–310 (This author seems to doubt Jan Długosz’s message about poisoning Legendorf, claiming that he contracted during his stay in Toruń in the autumn of 1466. – ibidem, p. 309); *Zur Geschichte der inneren Ausstattung der St. Katharinen Kirche der Altstadt Braunsberg*, Pastoralblatt für die Diözese Ermland, 1881, Jg. 13, Nr 6, s. 71: Lapidēs Sepulcrales in Ecclesia Archipresbyterali Brunsbergensi de Anno 1750 (it is a copy from: AAWO, AB, H 19, k. 467–469) – in part I. „A porta sub campanili incipiendo per medium ambitum prosequendo” pod poz. 39 zapisano: „ad gradus Altaris maioris intra Presbyterium Lapis Sepulcralis cum figura magnitudinis personae p[ia]e m[emorialis] Reverendissimi D[omini] Pauli de Legendorf olim Episcopi Varmiēnsis”.

¹⁴³ K. Wróblewska, *Późnogotycka brązowa płyta nagrobna*, p. 104, footnote. 11; F. Hipler, op. cit., p. 310; A. Boetticher, *Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Ostpreussen*, Bd. 4, Königsberg 1894, p. 56. The Latin inscription is: MONVMENTVM D[OMI]NI PAVLI DE LOGENDORF EPISCOPI WARMIENSIS PIE DEFUNCTI QVI PROHIBENTE VI ARMORVM CVM // PATRIBVS SVIS IN ECCLESIA SVA WARMIEN[SI] MINIME COLLOCARI POTVIT FACTUM IMPENSIS D[OMI]NI LVCE SVCCESORIS SVI ANNO DNI 1494.

¹⁴⁴ Quotation: K. Wróblewska, *Późnogotycka brązowa płyta nagrobna*, p. 107.

His cheeks are also presented in a manner making it possible to image their profile view. The width of his cheeks is not justified by the protruding cheekbones, but may be seen as a way of faithfully presenting the sagging skin with a galaxy of wrinkles¹⁴⁵.

K. Wróblewska hypothesises that the author of Legendorf's tombstone is probably Hans Brandt¹⁴⁶, probably working in Gdańsk around that time, and the casting was prepared possibly by the bronze caster Andreas Grottkau, executing the orders of the Warmian Cathedral Chapter since 1490¹⁴⁷.

III

“The course of the conflict between Poland and the Order «in 1454–1466 – J.P.» pointed to the fact that a war led by Christians may be brutal and ignorant with respect to its costs¹⁴⁸. In the middle of the military conflict lasting thirteen years, Paul Legendorf came to his diocese as an administrator with the papal blessing and a task to resolve the conflict. He started prudently: declaring his neutrality, he met with the leaders of two conflicted parties and convinced them to his will. The task was not easy: both sides trusted neither him nor his papal protector. The administrator could not initially settle in Lidzbark Warmiński and when he left Ornetka – where he stayed – to meet the Grand Master, he did not have a way to travel back (Ornetka was seized and plundered by the Confederation mercenaries). Garrisons of the Polish king and the Order protected Warmian towns and castles. What was Legendorf supposed to do? He started to gather more and more facilities in the Warmian diocese, officially still standing neutral. After a year, he gained recognition and respect among his Warmian subjects, with his wise long-term policy soon bearing fruit: with both weaponry and diplomacy, he gained almost all towns and castles within his dominium¹⁴⁹. He was forced to skilfully manoeuvre among the conflicted parties (who did not consider the interests of the bishop or the welfare of his diocese). Evident achievements in this matter prove that he must have had the temper of a smart and efficient politician (perhaps over ten years of experience in the Roman Curia granted him such abilities).

Both parties of the conflict were not satisfied with such a behaviour on Legendorf's part: both expected a clear statement. However, they were not without blame themselves: they could not control their mercenaries, who were not duly paid and, above all, not paid on time. The administrator, pressured by both con-

¹⁴⁵ *ibidem*, p. 113.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 115.

¹⁴⁷ *Eadem*, *Lukasz Watzenrode jako fundator dzieł sztuki*, p. 152.

¹⁴⁸ Quotation: J. Smółucha, *Polityka Kurii Rzymskiej*, p. 227.

¹⁴⁹ V. Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 460.

flicted countries, deferred the moment of finally declaring his allegiance. Eventually, forced by circumstances, he chose the Teutonic side. However, when they started to lose and his Roman protector as well as friend died, he saw it fit to lean towards the winning side, trying not to burn bridges on the road to Königsberg. As a responsible diocese administrator, he had to consider the grand devastation the war had brought to his castles, cities and villages. Towards its end, the famished and unpaid Teutonic mercenaries “who pillaged her «Warmia – J.P.» and plundered at will”¹⁵⁰ earlier on destroyed harvest and crops on bishop’s lands, captured horses and cattle; when there was nothing more to steal on the fields and in barns – took interest in beehives. “Szczytno garrison only ventured with impunity as far as Lidzbark, Dobre Miasto i Jeziorany, specialising particularly in emptying and damaging all beehives”¹⁵¹. The scale of atrocities of this long war is clearly visible in the fact that Warmian population dropped from 60 thousand in 1400 to only 30 thousand in 1466, to restore itself after two centuries only as high up as 45 thousand inhabitants¹⁵².

Some researchers raise the issue of changing allies by Prince-Bishop Legendorf, claiming that after the first pledge of allegiance towards the Polish king (July 1460), as a result of the whirlwind of this war, he broke his promises twice: in July 1463 by declaring the Grand Master his sovereign, only to change sides in March 1464¹⁵³. Such a judgment is unfair and does not take into account the circumstances of time and place. “The issue of loyalty is closely tied on those northern regions «of the Republic – J.P.» with the shaped and fluctuating socio-ethnic structure, also in the demographic and state-related aspect. The problem of both separatism and particularism, so often accompanying the loyalty towards the state, cannot be ignored”¹⁵⁴.

From the end of the 14th century in, among other places, the Chełmno Land, so the area of Legendorf’s birth, a crucial role “was played by a middle class of knights with undoubtedly a Slavic background and customs as well as staying in contact with the people of the Polish Crown. This middle class of knights largely contributed – alongside big Prussian towns – to the creation of the Prussian Confederation in 1440 and overthrowing the power of the Order in the years 1454-1466 while surrendering to the Jagiellon Poland. It also bore the greatest sacrifice throughout the Thirteen Years’ War, losing its political and social position for al-

¹⁵⁰ Quotation: J. Sikorski, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

¹⁵¹ *Ibidem*; V. Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 475. Unpaid mercenaries were sometimes desperate for lack of everything, as evidenced by the letter from Barczewo Nickl Taubenheuer to the great master on 27 January 1465, in which he says that instead of beer, „almost six days have to quench the water and [continue] they will have to drink it again „ (wohl sechs tage nach einander haben müssen wasser saufen und werden’s müssen trincken).

¹⁵² W. Brüning, *op. cit.*, Teil II, p. 66.

¹⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 54; V. Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 474.

¹⁵⁴ Quotation: M. Biskup, *Prusy Królewskie w II połowie XV i w XVI stuleciu*, in: *Panorama lojalności*, p. 7.

most 50 years”¹⁵⁵. The Legendorf family was also a member of this social group. The older brother of the future Warmian ordinary, Janusz, gave his life in the war while fighting for the Confederation; their father Janusz – an advocate of peace with Poland – collaborated with the Order as a diplomat in its service and an official; Paul – exploiting the support of the Order for nearly 25 years – for the last several years of his life assumed a position towards the Order and the Polish Crown dependent on external circumstances and own political speculations. He was not the only one.

For comparison, stepping back to the first decade of 14th century when the “great war” of the Order with the Polish Kingdom broke off (1409–1411), the Warmian Bishop Heinrich Vogelsang and the Chełmno bishop Arnold Stapil (both subjects of the Order, the second even its member) paid tribute to the Polish king Władysław Jogaila. As has already been mentioned, Janusz Legendorf (Paul’s father) and Ścibor Bażyński (later on members of the Secret Council of the Grand Master) did a similar manoeuvre.

In turn, on 10 June 1454, after the outbreak of the Thirteen Years’ War, the three Prussian bishops (all were members of the Teutonic Order) paid tribute to Casimir Jagiellon; only Franciscus Kuhschmalz, the Prince-Bishop of Warmia and a fierce enemy of Poland and the Confederation, did not do it. As soon as in September 1454 one of those three tributaries, the Chełmno bishop Johann Marienau, “ensured the Ostróda komtur about his faithfulness towards the Grand Master”¹⁵⁶. Also, the author of an interesting paper on this last Teutonic clergyman “on the throne of a bishop of the Chełmno diocese” wrote in the summary that Bishop Jan “seemed to be a loyal subject of the Order, to which he belonged”¹⁵⁷.

It appears that Prince-Bishop Paul Legendorf was a precursor of a way of thinking accompanying the action of subsequent administrators of the Warmian dominium, especially in the 16th century – “understanding the paramount importance of loyalty towards the state, expressed in the tax resolutions of the Warmian sejmik to the benefit of the Crown, the Warmian ordinaries on a daily basis put the loyalty towards their little Warmian state above that towards the entire Prussia”¹⁵⁸. And yet, the situation of Bishop Paul in the mid-15th century was much more complex as the two neighbouring countries waging a ruthless war demanded his loyalty, from time to time testing it while not always being loyal towards Warmia and its shepherd.

Tombstone writings in a poetical form present the period of Legendorf hold-

¹⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 8.

¹⁵⁶ Quotation: M. Sumowski, *op. cit.*, p. 513.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 518.

¹⁵⁸ Quotation: D. Bogdan, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

ing the Prince-Bishop's position in the following manner: "The time of harsh war has crushed me the unbiased «neutral»/«The conflicted» party knows nothing of loyalty, on both sides «only» fierce viciousness"¹⁵⁹ and: "Pope «Pius«II» trusted Paul like you trust a friend/«and granted» him the Warmian mitre «of a bishop»/ who, however, surrendered himself and his cathedral to the Poles./ The «Grand» Master of the Order could not bear it/and deceitfully poisoned Paul by the hands of his servant"¹⁶⁰.

* * *

The life of the Warmian Prince-Bishop Paul Legendorf, especially its decline, witnessed times difficult to fit into the legal categories of the 15th century. In 1440s in Prussia, an unheard and unprecedented event in the history of the Middle Ages took place: subjects rioted against their legal authority, broke their allegiance and acknowledged a monarch from a different country as their sovereign. It may be undoubtedly seen as a rebellion. This is exactly how this unusual and complex legal-political situation in the Baltic Sea basin was perceived by leading political factors of Europe. For this reason, the Prussian Confederation was fiercely contradicted by the papacy and the Empire, which tried to combat this organisation by any means necessary. It was probably feared that, after the recently suppressed socio-religious movement of the Czech Hussites, another anti-state incident – this time in Prussia – may not be the last one.

In such a situation, Bishop Legendorf, who came to Warmia as a papal envoy and the executor of the idea of neutrality in the Polish-Teutonic conflict favoured by the Holy See, did not face an easy task. Wanting to protect his dominion and the dominion of the Frombork Chapter and his war-troubled subjects at all costs, he probably tried to apply the principle of lesser evil, especially when his papal protector died. It was certain the Paul Legendorf was a wise and prudent administrator of the Warmian diocese, who never put himself above the interests and wellbeing of the bishopric.

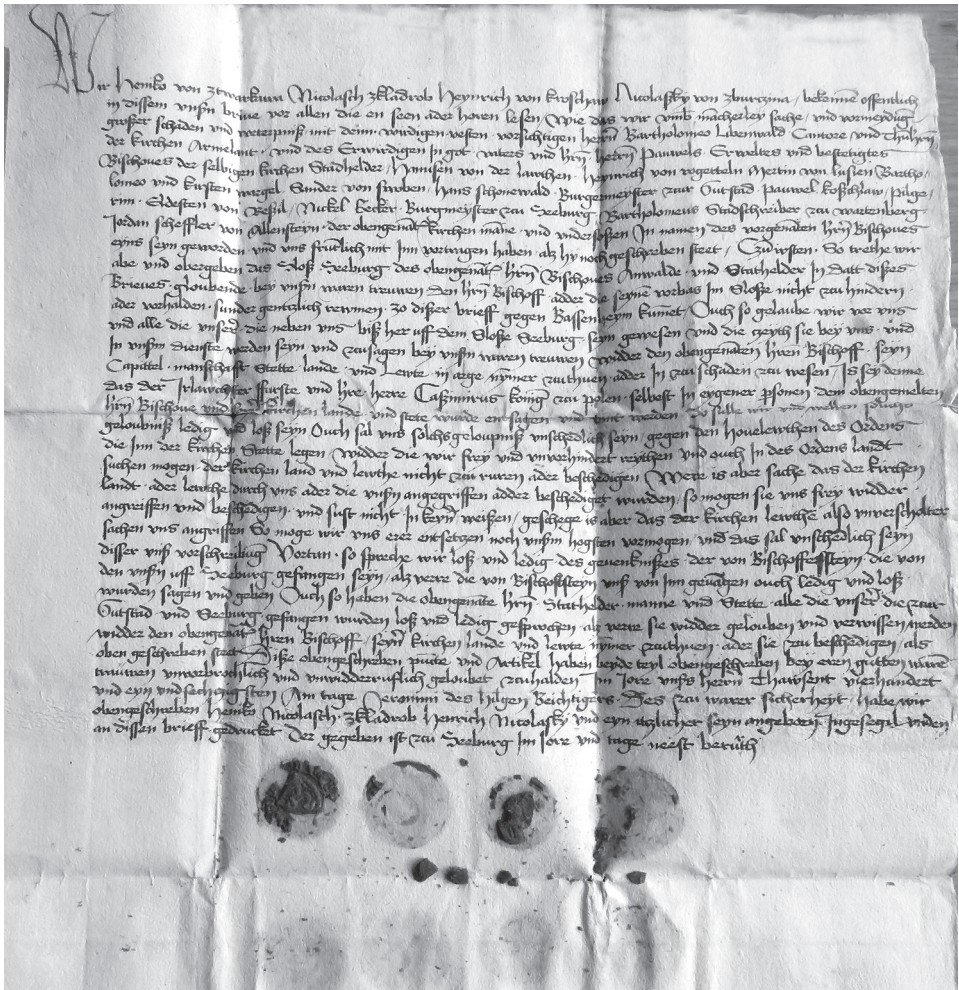
Paul Legendorf is surely a European personality; his long involvement in the European politics and with politicians in the Roman Curia are worth remembering. He was also a fervent politician as a Warmian Prince-Bishop and – as it appears – his undeniable talent in this area was not highly appreciated – to their own detriment – by both sides of the conflict, which mercilessly devastated the entire

¹⁵⁹ *Die älteren Elogia episcoporum Varmiensium*, in: SRW, Bd. II, p. 499: „Tempora me belli neutrum pressere superbi,/Neutrobisque fides, saevus utrinque furor”.

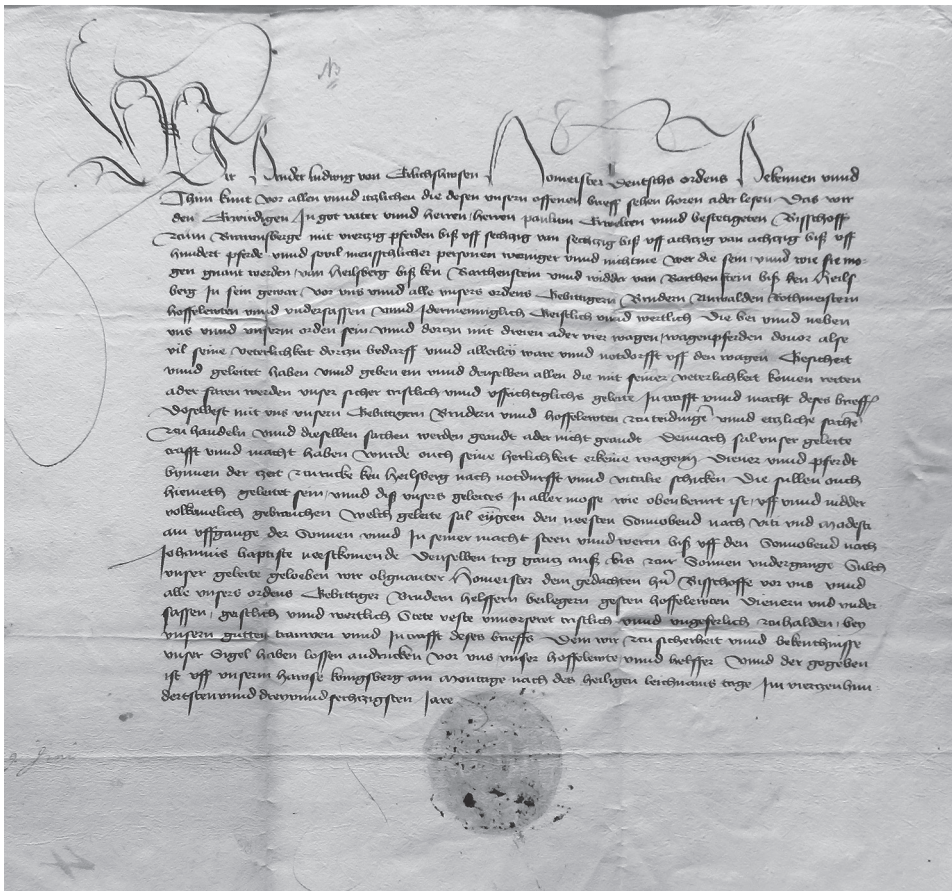
¹⁶⁰ *Die jüngeren Elogia episcoporum Varmiensium*, ibidem, p. 582: „Papa Pius Paulo fido imponit amico/Varmiacam mitram, qui se cathedramque Polonis/subdit. Non potuit factum hoc tolerare Magister/Ordinis, et Paulo dat servi fraude venerum”. Here, also written about Bishop Paul: „He died poisoned in Bartoszyce in 1467. Buried in Braniewo „ (Obiit Bartensteinii veneno 1467. Sepultus Brunsbergae).

region, especially Warmia.

Therefore, it is my belief that historical figures from the far past cannot be judged historically – their motivation has to be understood first, which will surely be facilitated by the research of future historians.



II. 1. Original agreement signed by the cantor and vicar general of the Warmian diocese, Bartholomaeus Liebenwald, and two commanders of Teutonic mercenaries besieging Jeziorany castle, referring to the issue of its surrender to Prince-Bishop Paul Legendorf, dated 30 September 1461 (Archiwum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej w Olsztynie, Archiwum Kapituły, Dok. Kap. L 38)



Il. 2. Original safe passage issued by the Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen for Bishop Paul Legendorf to travel from Lidzbark Warmiński to Bartoszyce and back, dated 13 June 1463 (Archiwum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej w Olsztyn, Archiwum Biskupie, D 1, k. 33)

Jerzy Przeracki, *Biskup warmiński Paweł Legendorf (ok. 1410–1467). Między zakonem krzyżackim a Polską*

Streszczenie

Życie i działalność Pawła Legendorfa (ok. 1410–1467) były uwarunkowane poprzez trudne sąsiedztwo państwa zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach i Korony Polskiej. Sytuacja syna ziemi chełmińskiej, należącej do Krzyżaków na początku XV w., kiedy Paweł przyszedł na świat, skomplikowała się w połowie tego stulecia, po wypowiedzeniu przez ludność tej ziemi posłuszeństwa, a następnie wojny Zakonowi, co było niewątpliwie rebelią. Położenie Legendorfa stało się szczególnie trudne, kiedy podczas owej trzynastoletniej wojny zakonu krzyżackiego z Polską (1454–1466) został mianowany jesienią 1458 r. przez papieża Piusa II administratorem diecezji warmińskiej.

Autor przedstawia stosunek Legendorfa do zakonu krzyżackiego i do Korony Polskiej na podstawie licznych źródeł i opracowań, konkludując, iż biskup Paweł miał niewątpliwie temperament zręcznego i skutecznego

polityka (może to efekt kilkunastoletniej praktyki w kurii rzymskiej). Sytuacja Legendorfa w połowie XV w. była trudna, ponieważ obie walczące strony oczekiwały jego lojalności, co jakiś czas testując ją, podczas gdy same nie zawsze były lojalne wobec Warmii i jej pasterza.

Na podstawie dokumentu z 26 stycznia 1432 r. autor uzasadnia także potrzebę cofnięcia daty urodzenia Pawła Legendorfa do ok. 1410 r.

Jerzy Przeracki, *Der ermländische Bischof Paul Legendorf (ca. 1410–1467). Zwischen dem Ordensstaat und Polen*

Zusammenfassung

Das Leben und die Tätigkeit von Paul Legendorf (ca. 1410–1467) waren durch eine schwierige Nachbarschaft des Ordensstaates Preußen und des Königreichs Polen bedingt. Die Situation im Kulmer Land, das dem Ordensstaat Anfang des 15. Jh., als Paul geboren wurde, angehörte, gestaltete sich Mitte des Jahrhunderts noch schwieriger, weil die Bevölkerung dieses Landes dem Ordensstaat zuerst Gehorsam versagte, dann den Krieg erklärte. Die Lage von Legendorf wurde besonders schwierig, als er während des dreizehnjährigen Krieges des Deutschen Ordens mit Polen (1454–1466) im Herbst 1458 durch den Papst Pius II. zum Verwalter der Ermländischen Diözese ernannt wurde.

Der Autor präsentiert das Verhältnis Legendorfs zum Deutschen Orden und zum Königreich Polen anhand zahlreicher Quellen und Abhandlungen, um einen Schluss zu ziehen, dass der Bischof Paul ein talentierter, geschickter und erfolgreicher Politiker war, was zweifelsohne aus seiner langjähriger Praxis in der Römischen Kurie resultierte. Die Situation Legendorfs war Mitte des 15. Jh. noch aus dem Grund schwierig, weil zwei gegeneinander kämpfende Seiten seine Loyalität erwarteten, indem sie sie immer wieder auf die Probe stellten, wenn auch sie selbst dem Ermland und seinem Seelsorger gegenüber nicht immer loyal waren.

Aufgrund der Urkunde vom 26. Januar 1432 rechtfertigt der Autor die Notwendigkeit, das Geburtsdatum von Paul Legendorf um das Jahr 1410 zurückzusetzen.

Übersetzt von *Alina Kuzborska*

mgr Jerzy Przeracki
Ośrodek Badań Naukowych
im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie
The Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre
in Olsztyn
wydawnictwowarmia@poczta.fm

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Danuta Bogdan

COPERNICUS AS CHAPTER ADMINISTRATOR OF THE OLSZTYN DISTRICT

Słowa kluczowe: Mikołaj Kopernik, administracja, Warmia, komornictwo olsztyńskie

Schlüsselwörter: Nicolaus Kopernikus, Verwaltung, Ermland, Allensteiner Kämmerer

Keywords: Nicolaus Copernicus, administration, Warmia, Olsztyn district

Nicolaus Copernicus became a Warmian canon of the cathedral chapter in Frombork in 1497¹ mainly due to the support of his uncle Lucas Watzenrode (1489–1512). He was then a student of canon law at Bologna (1496–1501)². However, at the age of 30, after returning from his studies in Italy to Warmia in the middle of 1503, he did not immediately engage in the work of the chapter³. Before that, he was an inseparable companion of his uncle at the castle in Lidzbark Warmiński⁴. On 7 January 1507, the chapter formally exempted him from his obligation of residence in Frombork, and from then he was to take on the role of personal physician to Bishop Watzenrode⁵.

The atmosphere of the bishop's court supported Copernicus' wide-ranging interests. In Lidzbark, Copernicus led a very active life, serving as secretary to the Bishop and accompanying him on diplomatic visits and assemblies of estates. His stay in the castle also provided opportunities to participate in the life of the court and pursue his scientific interests. During this time he translated the letters of the

¹ J. Sikorski, *Mikołaj Kopernik na Warmii. Kalendarium życia i działalności* (Kalendarium), in: *Kopernik na Warmii, Życie i działalność publiczna. Działalność naukowa. Środowisko. Kalendarium (Kopernik na Warmii)*, Olsztyn 1973, no 4, p. 429: 20.10.1497 in Bologna, in the presence of a notary Copernicus authorizes Warmian canons Krzysztof Tapiaw and Andrzej Cletz to assume on his behalf the Warmia canonicate after the deceased Jan Zanau.

² K. Górski, *Studenci z Prus w Bolonii w XIV-XV wieku*, Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie (KMW), 1989, no 1, pp. 3–20.

³ H. Schmauch, *Die Rückkehr des Koppernikus aus Italien im Jahre 1503*, Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands (ZGAE), Bd. 25, 1935, pp. 231–232.

⁴ M. Biskup, *Lidzbark Warmiński w życiu Mikołaja Kopernika*, in: *Kopernik na Warmii*, pp. 57–74.

⁵ H. Schmauch, *Nikolaus Kopernikus in Frauenburg und Heilsberg*, Unsere ermländische Heimat, Jg. 4, 1958, no. 2; idem, *Neues zur Copernicus-Forschung*, ZGAE, 1938, Bd. 26, pp. 646–647.

Byzantine historian and writer Theophilakt Simocatta (born 580 AD) from Greek into Latin, studied cartography, and probably also made astronomical observations⁶.

On the other hand, as Bishop Watzenrode was rather a hot-tempered man, the cathedral chapter made a postmortem accusation to the king claiming that his reign was 'tyrannical'⁷. In the Lidzbark court, there was also another person close to the Bishop which Copernicus may have competed against for his uncle's affections. This person was most probably Paweł Deusterwald from Dobrze Miasto (ca. 1470–1538)⁸, who held the post of chancellor at the Watzenrode's court and accompanied him on all his trips⁹.

In 1510, Copernicus left Lidzbark and went back to Frombork, where he was appointed, for the first time, as the chapter's chancellor¹⁰. He would act as the chapter's chancellor three more times in his life: from 8 November 1512 until 8 November 1513, from 9 November 1519 until 8 November 1520, as well as from 13 November 1523 until 8 November 1524¹¹. Arriving in Olsztyn in 1516, he knew the city from his previous visits; one of his documented stays there was on 1 January 1511, when, together with Fabian Luzjański, still a canon at the time, he was a visitor attesting before the chapter that he received the remaining money for the needs of the castle's vicars by the deceased Zachariah by the amount of 238 grzywnas (Mark, unit of account = 20 groschen) and 3 wiardunek (which equalled 1/4 of grzywna)¹².

In 1512 Copernicus was appointed as the administrator the chapter's provisioning office as 'magister pistoriae'; he was responsible for bakeries, brewery, mills, and distribution of food among the canons¹³.

⁶ E. Brachvogel, *Die Bibliothek der Burg Heilsberg*, ZGAE, 1929, Bd. 23, p. 274 and n.; *Ordinancia castri Heylsberg*, ed. C. P. Woelky, in: *Scriptores rerum Warmiensiū* (SRW), Bd. 1, Braunsberg 1866, p. 316 and n.; K. Górski, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Środokowisko społeczne i samotność*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1973, pp. 121–122.

⁷ *Akta Stanów Prus Królewskich* (ASPK), vol. 5, part 3 (1511–1512), ed. M. Biskup, Warszawa-Poznań-Toruń 1975, no. 377 (Recess 11 VI–8 VII 1512), par. 9, 10; M. Biskup, „*Articuli iurati*“ biskupa warmińskiego Fabiana Luzjańskiego z 1512 r., *Rocznik Olsztyński* (RO), 1972, vol. 10, pp. 289–312.

⁸ Deusterwald Paweł: T. Oracki, *Słownik biograficzny Warmii, Prus Książęcych i Ziemi Malborskiej od połowy XV do końca XVIII wieku*, vol. 1, Olsztyn 1984, pp. 46–47. In the Bishop Watzenrode's service from March 1496 to 1512. From 1498, Warmia canon, and since 1508 the parish priest of the St. Nicholas' Church in Elbląg.

⁹ K. Górski, *Łukasz Watzenrode – życie i działalność polityczna (1447–1512)*, Wrocław 1973, *Studia Copernicana*, V. 10; D. Jamiolkowska, *Memoriale Łukasza Watzenrodego. Analiza paleograficzna*, in: *Kopernik na Warmii*, pp. 406–408. After the death of Watzenrode, Deusterwald did not remain in Lidzbark and went to take over the Elbląg parish.

¹⁰ J. Sikorski, *Kalendarium*, in: *Kopernik na Warmii*, no. 51, p. 436.

¹¹ J. Sikorski, *Kalendarium*, in: *Kopernik na Warmii*, no. 70, 71, p. 440; no. 205, p. 457; no. 266, p. 472.

¹² M. Biskup, *Regesta Copernicana*, *Studia Copernicana* VII, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1973, no. 64, p. 70–71; Dr Gigalski, *Nicolaus Copernicus und Allenstein. Sein Studium, seine Tätigkeit als Stathalter in Allenstein, sein Entwicklungsgang zum Entdecker de neuen Weltsystems*, Allenstein 1907, p. 15.

¹³ *Mikołaj Kopernik Administrator i ekonomista*, Wydawnictwo Polskiego Towarzystwa Ekonomicznego, Oddział Wojewódzki, Kujawsko-Pomorskie Towarzystwo Kulturalne w Bydgoszczy, Bydgoszcz 1972, p. 10.

Lucas Watzenrode's death on 29 March 1512 in Toruń¹⁴ coincided with intensified efforts on the part of the Polish king to gain control over the staffing of Warmia bishopric, which resulted in a compromise established between the king and the Frombork Chapter within the Second Treaty of Piotrków Trybunalski on 7 December 1512¹⁵. The king acknowledged the Watzenrode's successor selected by the chapter, Bishop Fabian Luzjański (1512–1523)¹⁶, a colleague of Copernicus from his Bologna studies. Since then, the chapter was to present the king with four candidates for the bishopric of Warmia. Copernicus was actively involved in the negotiations of the Treaty of Piotrków which proved to be especially long-lasting, as it survived 250 years¹⁷.

In 1516, at the November general meeting of the chapter, Copernicus was elected the administrator of the chapter's common goods¹⁸ ('Administrator bonorum communium Venerabilis Capituli Warmiensis'), both of the Olsztyn and Melzak district. He took over responsibilities after the sickly Krzysztof Suchten, having acted in this role only for one year, resigned¹⁹. When Copernicus arrived in Olsztyn in 1516 to assume the position of the chapter administrator, he was already 43 and had vast experience in performing these kind of functions. Copernicus held this post twice: first, for three years, from 8 November 1516²⁰ until 9 November 1519, and then from 8 November 1520 to June 1521²¹. Jerzy Sikorski, a scrupulous researcher of the vicissitudes of Copernicus' life, stated that the years of his stay at the Olsztyn castle can be considered 'the most active, busy and extensive period in his life'²². In private, however, Copernicus was seen as a very

¹⁴ *Memoriale domini Lucae episcopi Warmiensis*, ed. C. P. Woelky, in: SRW, Bd. 2 (*Monumenta Historiae Warmiensis oder Quellenschriften zur Geschichte Ermlands*, Bd. 8), Braunsberg 1889, p. 169.

¹⁵ Cf. H. S. Zins, *Walka Polski o obsadę biskupstwa warmińskiego na przełomie XV i XVI w. na tle polityki zjednoczeniowej*, *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska*, Sectio F, Nauki Filozoficzne i Humanistyczne, Lublin 1960, vol. 12, pp. 49–102; B. Leśnodorski, *Dominium warmińskie (1243–11569)*, Poznań 1949, pp. 59–63; M. Biskup, *Łukasz Watzenrode inicjatorem wybrania przedstawiciela Korony biskupem warmińskim*, KMW, 1970, no. 1 (107), pp. 135–142.

¹⁶ M. Biskup, *Fabian Luzjański*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (PSB), vol. 18, 1973, pp. 162–166; S. Achremczyk, R. Marchwiński, J. Przeracki, *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, Olsztyn 1994, pp. 87–89.

¹⁷ M. Biskup, *Łukasz Watzenrode inicjatorem wybrania przedstawiciela Korony*, pp. 135–141; H. Schmauch, *Die kirchenpolitischen Beziehungen des Fürstbistums Ermland zu Polen*, ZGAE, 1937, Bd. 26 (2), pp. 306–309.

¹⁸ Cf. A. Kopiczko, *Ustrój i organizacja diecezji warmińskiej w latach 1525–1772*, Olsztyn 1993, p. 107. In 1530, the chapter reorganised the management over the districts and established a separate Melzak administrator.; W. Thimm, *Die Ordnungen der ermländischen Kapitelsburgen Allenstein und Melzak aus dem Jahre 1563*, ZGAE, 1969, Bd. 33, pp. 53–160. In the 1532 statutes, four district administrators are named, including the Tolkmicko administrator (until 1569).

¹⁹ T. Borawska, Suchten Krzysztof (died before 1519), *Słownik Biograficzny Kapituły Warmińskiej* (SBKW), ed. rev. J. Guzowski, Olsztyn 1996, p. 241.

²⁰ *Spicilegium Copernicanum oder Quellenschriften zur Literaturgeschichte des Bisthums Ermland im Zeitalter des Nikolaus Kopernicus (hereinafter: Spicilegium Copernicanum)*, hrsg. v. F. Hipler, in: *Bibliotheca Warmiensis oder Literaturgeschichte des Bisthums Ermland*, Braunsberg 1873, vol 1, Braunsberg 1873, p. 272. F. Hipler gives the date 11 November 1516; Comp. J. Sikorski, *Kalendarium*, no 107, p. 445: here the date is 8 November 1516–9 November 1519.

²¹ J. Sikorski, *Kalendarium*, no 218, p. 459.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 116.

withdrawn, which fact is also corroborated by the accounts in his numerous biographies²³. He lost his father when he was only ten years old; the responsibility over his upbringing and career was assumed by his uncle, Bishop Watzenrode. It is very probable that, towards the end of the Bishop's life, their relationship was rather flawed. It was not short after his father's death that Copernicus lost his mother, too. What is more, it is probable that already short before his administration in Olsztyn in 1519, his brother Andrzej died after a long illness. He was also a Frombork canon and studied together with Nicolaus in Italy²⁴.

Entrusting Copernicus with the administration of such large resources was a proof of his high esteem among the chapter members as well as the trust his Frombork comrades vested in him. During the first three years of Copernicus' stay in Olsztyn, his work was dominated by economic and settlement matters. The second period coincided with the difficult time of the Polish-Teutonic war of 1519–1521, which required the administrator to make decisions on the defensive measures of the castle and the city.

Copernicus' predecessor left him detailed inventories recording the full economic potential of the Olsztyn and Melzak districts, including with their villages, manors, mills, castles, lakes, forests, as well as a register of any valuable items and weaponry located at the Olsztyn castle. It was a regular custom in the chapter part of the district, being also defined in article 51 '*De resignatione officiorum*' of the chapter statute of 1488 (from the times of Bishop Nicholas Tungen [1467–1489])²⁵, that every year, all the chapter officials resigned from their posts and were to be re-elected for another year or ultimately dismissed. At their dismissal, they had to submit all the accounting books, seals and keys as well as other related items. Thus, the chapter administrators, the Frombork vogt (wójt) and the Tolkmicko governor (starosta) tendered their resignations to the chapter during the general chapter meeting which took place on All Saints' Day (1 November), whereas the Melzak governor (starosta) and a castle steward did it on St. Martin's Day (11 November). The Olsztyn starosta and a castle steward handed in their resignation to the administrator and the visitors on the Feast of the Circumcision (1 January)²⁶.

The gothic Olsztyn castle, which was the administrator's residence, is a typical defensive structure of the Teutonic state. Its residents led a community life, participated in the divine services in the castle chapel, worked and ate together. Co-

²³ K. Górki, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Środowisko społeczne i samotność*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1973.

²⁴ J. Dobrzycki, L. Hajdukiewicz: Mikołaj Kopernik, in: PSB, vol. XIV, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1968–1969, p. 14–16. Andrzej moved out of Warmia in the autumn of 1512 and died probably in Italy on 30 March 1519.

²⁵ In 1488, the chapter statute containing 67 clauses was created. Print: *Spicilegium Copernicanum*, pp. 246–265.

²⁶ *Die Statuten des Domkapitels von Frauenburg aus dem Jahre 1532 und ihre Novellierungen* (Statuten), hrsg. und eingeleitet von Werner Thimm, übersetzt von Anneliese Triller, ZGAE, 1972, Bd. 36, H. 97, p. 93; cf. *Die Statuten des ermländischen Domkapitels von B. Nicolaus von Tungen*, *Spicilegium Copernicanum*, hrsg. v. F. Hipler, Braunsberg 1873, par. 59, p. 263 and n.

pernicus, following the example of his predecessors, lived in the north-east wing of the castle, which consisted of the chapel and the administrator's apartment. These were two connected diamond vault chambers with an additional entrance from the gallery. One chamber, with windows facing north-east and north-west and a lavatory, was the residential part; the other was the office chamber²⁷.

In those times, the administrator had to combine the roles of the property supervisor, judge, and military chief. Still, despite the fact that he resided in Olsztyn, he could not neglect the Melzak district. The entrepreneurship and activity of the administrator largely determined the economic condition of the chapter properties and the state of the chapter treasury. The administrator managed the chapter estates, collected rent from the villages, oversaw the repopulation of abandoned farms, and ensured the smooth functioning of the castle in economic and defensive terms.

The preserved ordination documents of 1563 provides a detailed description of all the duties of the castle officials²⁸. The record refers to the administrator as 'Herr', which implied the highest status a chapter official could obtain. In the castle management, the administrator was supported by his subordinate officials: governor, a castle steward, forester and fishery manager. All were obliged to present their accounts to the administrator, who, in turn, was accountable for it before the chapter.

Two senior castle officials highest in rank, the governor (burgrabia) and a steward, accompanied Copernicus during his meals, but only if there were no honourable guests visiting the castle. Otherwise, the steward had his meal in his apartment whereas the burgrabia sat at the table with the other servants²⁹.

The steward of the Olsztyn castle exercised control over the kitchen, bakery, and brewery, as well as over the stocks of grain and pantries. Moreover, he controlled the meal schedule, managed table leftovers, and kept the key to the cellar, where the barrels of beer were stored, always on him until they were tapped. The ordination document of 1563 advised a moderate consumption of beer, especially for the governor; therefore, the earlier provision was deleted according to which the governor obtained one sztof of beer (1 Stof = 1.4 litres) a day, and two sztofs on the days of the court assembly³⁰.

Every four weeks on Saturday, a castle steward had to hand in to the administrator bills detailing all incomes and expenses; once a year, he also prepared

²⁷ Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin-Dahlem (GStAPK), XX.H.A., Etats Ministerium (EM), 31 a2, no. 3, Inventarium Allenstein 1552, vol. 1–10 (vol. 3–3v Stuba Administratoris); print: *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte Allensteins*, 1552 Allenstein, Inventar-Verzeichnis des Allensteiner Schlosses, hrsg. v. H. Bonk, Allenstein 1926, Bd. III, 1. Teil: *Schloss und Domkapitel*, Allenstein 1926, no. 494, pp. 101–112 [p. 104 In stuba Administratoris]; ibidem, no. 499, Allenstein 1564, Inventar des Allensteiner Schlosses, pp. 129–131.

²⁸ *Geschichte der Stadt Allenstein*, hrsg. v. H. Bonk, vol. V, Urkundenbuch III, part I: Spezielle Urkunden, part 1: *Schloss und Domkapitel*, Allenstein 1926, Hausordnung für die Burg Allenstein 1563, no. 498, pp. 115–128.

²⁹ K. Górski, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Środowisko społeczne i samotność*, p. 169.

³⁰ Ibidem, Auch dem Burggraffen ein Stof Bier des tages oder zwene in gericht's tagen, wo er darnach schicken würde'.

a general account clearance document³¹. The steward reported to the administrator the current number of visitors and their servants living in the castle, also recording the time of their arrival and departure. Besides, he was responsible for feeding the horses, four of which, at the expense of the chapter, were kept in the castle at the disposal of the administrator.

In addition to managing the homestead, the steward supervised all the production at the castle, including four mills, sawmill, smithy, chapter manor farm (folwark) Tiefensee/Althof, forests as well as the production of tar and a fish farm (he would have to keep a record of all fish introduced into the castle ponds).

Local craftsmen could only work for the castle if they had special certificates, or special signs granted by the steward that specified the kind of work to be done.

The chapter administrator worked closely with the castle governor, who was responsible for the judicial system as well as criminal cases within the city and the district. However, in criminal cases as well as the so-called 'Halssachen', which involved the risk of a death sentence, the governor only led the investigation, as the sentence itself remained in the hands of the city court. However, the governor had to report to the administrator about each arrest and hand him case files. The administrator also received any incoming appeals. He could confirm the sentence through tacit consent, or decrease the size of the punishment to be administered. According to Karol Górski, court sessions were held in the hall on the first floor, adjacent to the living chamber and the gallery³². In addition to collecting rent and taxes, the administrator oversaw the collection of court fines.

From their very outset, the town and the castle constituted a unified defensive and economic system. Copernicus, like former administrators, had to take care of the good relations with the Olsztyn town council, while, at the same time, carefully monitoring its activities and controlling the staffing of town institutions. The administrator was the final authority for the town (Olsztyn and Melzak/Pieniężno) and district officials (village heads – sołtysi and country heads) alike.

The article 50 '*De creatione et magistratuuum officialium*' of the statutes of the Warmian Chapter of 1532 stated that, by the power of his office, a chapter administrator could appoint and remove all the officials of the town council and castles subjected to his jurisdiction, with the exception of the chapter vogt (wójt), the steward, and the governors, whose right of appointment was reserved only for the cathedral chapter itself³³.

³¹ *Geschichte der Stadt Allenstein*, vol. III, part 1: *Schloss und Domkapitel*, Allenstein 1926, no. 498, Hausordnung für die Burg Allenstein 1563, pp. 115–128.

³² K. Górski, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Środowisko społeczne i samotność*, p. 169.

³³ Statuten, p. 93.

In turn, the article 48 of the statutes, '*De iurisdictione singulorum officialium capitularium*' indicates that the chapter administrators who have their headquarters in Olsztyn, Melzak, Frombork, and Tolkmicko, exercise control over these town and the whole district in lay matters on behalf of the chapter; it was also their duty to rectify the poor state of affairs in territories they were in charge of³⁴.

Therefore, during annual visitation by the canons delegated on behalf of the Frombork Chapter to Olsztyn, complaints were brought not only by villagers but also by the city inhabitants³⁵.

It was usual practice of the administrator and the Olsztyn governor to choose a few village heads, who also acted as country councillors (Landschöppen), to assist them in rural matters³⁶. They were elected by the governor within a given district from free people who already had experience in official matters and enjoyed some authority among the village inhabitants. As a rule, country councillors were usually appointed among village heads (Schulzen), or the so-called free men (Freie), who had proved to be successful in their contribution to the community. After swearing-in, they became the most important officials in the service to the governor. Not only did they have to be reliable people with impeccable reputation but they had to have some degree of education as well.

The presence of the country councillors at the Olsztyn castle in the mid-16th century is confirmed by a document from 1560–1561 included in the castle book which concerned Simon Hannow, the Wartembork (Barczewo) governor, and his plan to dam up the pond in Tęguty (Tengutten) at the beginning of the 1550s (in Appendix)³⁷.

The document was written on 22 October 1561 with the knowledge and consent of the Honorable Administrator Mr. Jacob Zimmerman [1559–1565], Frombork canon and current Olsztyn administrator, when "the noble and venerable" Caspar Stossel was the Olsztyn governor (burgrave) and in presence of rural representatives: Peter Pfaff heir from the Bałąg (Ballingen) village, Matz village head of Tomaszkowo (Thomasdorff) and Thewes village head of Unieszewo (Schönfelde), both the country councillors (Landschöppen)³⁸.

³⁴ Ibidem, pp. 89–90.

³⁵ Riksarkivet Stockholm, Extranea: IX Polen, vol. 149, Visitatio Allensteinensis 8 VI 1570, The chapter rector Eggert Kempen, canon Joannes Leomann and Olsztyn administrator Jacobus Czimmermann.

³⁶ *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensiis oder Regesten und Urkunden zur Geschichte Ermlands* (CDW), Bd. 2, ed. C.P.Woelky and J.M.Saage, Mainz 1864., no. 122, p. 127: these offices were known in Warmia already in the Middle Ages. On 4 December 1348 a privilege was granted by Bishop Herman before the land court in Orneta (provinciali Landding iudicio quod dicitur) for the exchange of inherited goods between Baudo Borin and Willico von Tüngen. Witnesses of this act were: Johannes de Baysen „milite Judice" and the five councillors, „discretis viris": enrico Wendepfaffe, Henrico de Arnoldsdorf, Alberto de Calcsteyn, Tilone de Rutenberg, Nicolao de Cussin „Sabinis provincialibus"; cf. H. Zins, *Kapituła fromborska w czasach Mikołaja Kopernika*, KMW, 1959, no. 4(66), p. 419.

³⁷ GStAPK Berlin-Dahlem, XX. H.A., EM 31d, no. 666, vol. 1–3.

³⁸ „Und diese einschreibungk dess Instrumentds ist geschehen mitt wissen, willen undt Zulass dess Achtbarn Wirdigen Herrn Jacobi Zimmermans Thumbherrn zur Frawenburgk, etc. undt zurselbigen Zeitt Landt

The original text of 1550–1561, despite having been written after Nicolaus Copernicus' death, is a valuable account of the course of meetings of the administrator of the Olsztyn district with lower-level country officials at the Olsztyn castle around the mid-16th century. Witnesses of the above mentioned legal actions refer to events and customs recorded in their memory, which makes them a unique testimony also for the first decades of the 16th century.

What is especially worth emphasising, is the crucial role of the country councillors (Landschöppen), known in Warmia since the Middle Ages, in all matters relating to land transactions. There were at least two of them for each bishop and chapter administrative district.

* * *

Copernicus could observe by himself the depreciation of money flowing from rents, that were collected during the period of his administration over the Olsztyn and Melzak districts. After the devastating Polish-Teutonic 15th-century wars and the subsequent abandonment of Warmia villages, it was necessary for the chapter estates to be reconstructed economically so that the rents could, again, generate satisfactory incomes regularly add funds to the treasury of the Frombork Chapter.

The area of the chapter estates was dominated by peasant farms based on ground rent (71.5%). Nobility-owned estates (11.8%) and the so-called free men's property (16.7%) made up only a small part of the ownership structure not only of the chapter estates but also of Warmia as a whole³⁹.

The difficult socio-economic situation of Warmia after the devastation of the Polish-Teutonic War (1519–1521) is captured perfectly by the source material contained in the extremely valuable document written by Copernicus himself, which is known as the "Leases of *Abandoned* Farmsteads" (Lokacje łanów opuszczonych). According to the calculations of Hans Schamuch, in 1479, in the Olsztyn district, every second field (łan) was vacant, and already in ca. 1500 every fourth field⁴⁰ was abandoned. The territory was already intensely populated in the period between the wars (1480–1519). As the document suggests, in 1519, in the Olsztyn district, 76% of rural areas were being cultivated, whereas in the Melzak district this number was even higher (85%)⁴¹.

Probst auff Allenstein, in den tagen, do der Edle unst Ehrenvehste Caspar Stossel Burggraff war, Peter Pfaff von Balingen, Matz Scholtz von Thomasdorff undt Thewes Schultze vom Schonfelde Landschöppen waren. Ahm 22. Octob[ris] A[nn]o 1561³⁹.

³⁹ B. Leśnodorski, *Dominium warmińskie (1243–1569)*, Poznań 1949, p. 86.

⁴⁰ H. Schmauch, *Nicolaus Copernicus und die Wiederbesiedlungsversuche des ermländischen Domkapitel um 1500*, ZGAE, 1942, Bd. 27, p. 479; idem, *Die Wiederbesiedlung des Ermland im XVI Jahrhundert*, ZGAE, 1929, vol. 23 (3), p. 542, annot. 3.

⁴¹ H. Zins, *W kręgu Mikołaja Kopernika*, Lublin 1966, p. 238; idem, *Położenie ludności chłopskiej na Warmii w pierwszej połowie XVI wieku*, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 1955, Yearbook LXII, no. 4–5, p. 74;

From the late 15th century, the Warmian Chapter started a new settlement operation in the abandoned territories, and from 1481, subsequent administrators had to keep a register of the repopulated farmsteads. The documents constituted a great source for studying economic situation in rural areas of the Olsztyn and Melzak districts in the first half of the 16th century. The source – ‘Locationes mansorum desertorum’ – had already been the subject of a thorough analysis, first by Jerzy Sikorski, and then by Marian Biskup⁴². Both researchers, relying on the data presented in the text, found that for all the 37 records of changes of land users, 23 cases involved peasant desertion, 12 were caused by the peasant’s death, and two described peasants receiving an abandoned land (‘pustki’ – vacant land).

Copernicus’ entries were part of the records of the Warmia resettlement plan included in the notebook, started by the administrator Balthasar Stockfisch in 1484, which ends in 1520. Copernicus took part in the operation only at its end because in 1519 only 10% of the vacant land did not have the owner. His notes appeared on 15 pages of the register of abandoned farmsteads, but are now incomplete (former signature from the Frombork Archive, Schbl. II, no. 56). Currently, in the Warmia Archdiocese Archives in Olsztyn, only the first page of the manuscript is preserved (a fragment written in the Melzak district in the years 1517–1519), as the rest can be seen in photocopies. All notes made by Copernicus in 1521 were introduced into the books by Tiedemann Giese, his successor in the office of the administrator⁴³.

It is assumed that in the period from 10 December 1516 to 31 May 1521, Copernicus visited 43 rent-paying villages as the chapter administrator in the Olsztyn and Melzak districts and conducted 72 reestablishments⁴⁴. In the Olsztyn district alone, there were 32 villages for which 59 establishment records were written; however, two of them were removed, which might suggest that the operation was unsuccessful⁴⁵.

In accordance with the Chełm law of the early 15th century, the Warmia peasants could leave their village unrestricted, but with the provision of settlement of all dues towards their landlord, and finding a successor to replace them on their farm. However, the situation changed when the peasants started to look for better living conditions during the time of post-war chaos. From the first half of the 15th

H. Schmauch, *Nicolaus Copernicus und die Wiederbesiedlungs*, pp. 481, 519.

⁴² M. Biskup, *Mikołaja Kopernika „Lokacje łąnów opuszczonych”*, Olsztyn 1970; *Mikołaj Kopernik. Lokacje łąnów opuszczonych*, ed. M. Biskup, Olsztyn 1983.

⁴³ *Mikołaj Kopernik. Lokacje łąnów opuszczonych*, Introduction, S. XI; cf. J. Sikorski, *Mikołaj Kopernik w Olsztynie*, p. 117, annot. 42.

⁴⁴ In the beginnings of 16th century, the Olsztyn district included 59 villages, while the Melzak district comprised 60 villages.

⁴⁵ J. Sikorski, *Mikołaj Kopernik w Olsztynie*, p. 119.

century onwards, there began in Prussia the practice of allocating peasants to the land. This was done by the introduction of written consents in case a peasant was willing to abandon his village and the need of obtaining the administrator's approval for any changes of land users⁴⁶. Analysing all the records from Copernicus' times, it turns out that in most cases the introduction of new land users was rather the act of passing it from one man to another. Only in two cases new people were appointed. On 10 April 1519 in the village of Dywity (Diwitten), four previously abandoned łans, by then already afforested, were granted to parish priest Augustyn, and two łans were given to the village head Hans with five years of rent-free period (*wolnizna*)⁴⁷. Other records concern the abandonment of land by the peasants (some areas did not have owners even for five years). The registry features 35 cases of land abandonment as a result of user desertion or death. Altogether, Copernicus granted land to new users in 37 cases. As an aid to the newcomers, the chapter provided them with cattle and agricultural tools as well as a three or four years' exemption from rent⁴⁸.

However, not all reestablishment efforts were successful. In the village of Pluski (Plauzig), for instance, Brosien Trokelle took over three łans from a deceased Peter. For a start, he received two horses, a cow, three goats, two pigs, a bushel of rye, and three bushels of oats. He had to pay his first rent the following year. The record first states that '(this) occurred on Monday after the Laetare Sunday [23 March]', and further that 'it was unsuccessful because of the great dishonesty of the man; the [livestock] listed has been returned'⁴⁹. This passage proves that reestablishment was a kind of a legal action that was extended in time, as it is hard to imagine that the act of granting land to the settler could have been simultaneous with discovering his dishonesty.

Copernicus did not exhibit great severity towards the peasants: he provided a fugitive one – Jakub Wayner from the Skajboty (Skaibotten), who was brought back by the village head, with a horse and a quarter of the previous amount of spring sowing grain, granting him an exemption from paying the upcoming rent.⁵⁰

When analysing the data, however, a fundamental question arises: Did Copernicus have to personally participate in trips to each of the villages and make on-site records? If it were the case, only in 1517 he would have made a total of 29 trips, in 1518 – 16, and in 1519 he would have been present in 18 villages.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 19–20.

⁴⁷ *Mikołaj Kopernik. Lokacje łanów opuszczonych*, pp. 37–38.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 33. Changes in ownership resulted from owner's death (8 cases), desertion (17 cases), regular transactions (34), such as voluntary renunciation of land, user impairment, exchange of land, excess of arable land and voluntary resignation, old age, moving to another village, and unknown reasons, as in Nagładach (Nagladen), where the village head Peter sold his property along with his office

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 15.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p.23.

The thesis that Copernicus did not always take part in those tours is supported by the fact that in his entries he never uses the regular formula ‘this happened in my presence’. He only generally emphasizes his active role in this project in the following words on the title pages of each year: ‘the reestablishment of arable land by myself, Nicolaus Copernicus, in the year of Our Lord... [1517]’⁵¹.

It was then a common practice to name all the present persons when legal documents were drawn up. In the case of reestablishment of farmsteads, the document most often mentions the presence of various dignified people (chaplains, foresters, villages heads) and also Copernicus’ henchmen (Hieronim or Wojciech/Albert). It is only once, in the village of Miłkowo (Millenberg) in the Melzak district, that a Melzak governor and a local village head appear as witnesses⁵².

Some of the records from specific villages do name the people present. In such cases the following phrases are used: “this was in the presence of the chaplain and one of the...,” or “in the presence of the village head and the chaplain”, or “in the presence of two servants Wojciech and Hieronim”. In case of Wołowno, in the presence of the servant Wojciech, the local forester, and the village head. On 22 May 1517 Nicholas Copernicus, acting as the administrator, confirms the acquisition of four łans in the village of Wołowno (Windtken, Vindica) by Jan after the deceased uncle Szczepan Kopeć (Czepan Copetz). The new settler was vouched for by his son-in-law, Stenzel. Witnesses to the transaction were the forester Wojciech (Adalbert) and the local village head (sołtys)⁵³. In case of Gryżliny (Grieslienen), in 1517 the record notes the acquisition of three łans by Jan, previously abandoned by a certain Asman: ‘this took place before 30 January 1517 in the presence of the chaplain and my boy Hieronim’. There is no mention of the presence of Copernicus but only of his servant Hieronim who may have accompanied the chaplain on his trip. As a rule, Copernicus’ name does not feature in the records.

In fact, Copernicus could have visited some of the villages on the occasion of his obligatory annual district visitations defined in the chapter statutes *De visitationibus* (art. 55). An annual general meeting of the chapter was held on 1 November, during which two visiting canons were elected. Accompanied by the administrator of the Melzak district, they visited the districts⁵⁴ on St. Martin’s Day (11 November) as well as on the day of the Feast of the Circumcision (1 January). They received complaints

⁵¹ Ibidem, p. 4: „Locatio mansorum per me Nicolaum Copernic anno Domini MDXVII”.

⁵² Ibidem, p. 5 (Jonkowo), 11 (Pluski), 13 (Linowo), 17 (Porbandy), 21 (Wołowno), 25 (Bartąg).

⁵³ Ibidem, p. 21.

⁵⁴ Statuten, p. 97; Riksarkivet Stokholm, Extranea Polen: IX, vol. 147, Visitatio Allensteinensis 8 VI 1570 (visitors: Eggert Kempen dziekan, Joannes Leomann and Olsztyn administrator Jacobus Zimmermanus); In the 18th c. the chapter visitations occurred also in the summer; for example: Print: Acta visitationis Mehlsaccensis cameratus of 20 May 1583, *Monumenta Historiae Warmienseis, Bibliotheca Warmienseis*, Bd. IV, Braunsberg 1931, pp. 178–194 and n.; ibidem, pp. 276–299, Acta visitationis Allensteinensis anni 1763 diei 28 mensis Julii, the visitation lasted from 28 July to 23 August.

of the inhabitants, analyzed them, and offered solutions on the spot; the matters they were unable to solve were sent to the Frombork Chapter to be decided upon⁵⁵.

We can infer for example from the Jonkowo (Jonkendorf) record a personal involvement of the administrator and his desire to help the new owner: '... Marcin Caseler took over three łans after Joachim, who was hanged for theft, which were not sown last year. I exempted him from paying this year's rent: he will pay the next year and in the forthcoming years. He received a cow, a heifer, an axe and a scythe, as well as a bushel of grain: oats and barley intended for sowing by his predecessor. This happened on Wednesday, 10 December 1516. I also promised [him] two horses. The sołtys vouched [for him] for four years.'⁵⁶ The phrase 'I promised him' suggests that Copernicus made a promise personally⁵⁷.

To ensure the security of transactions, a system of guarantees was used which is recorded for 27 times throughout the documents. Guarantors were usually village heads (11 times), settler's relatives (7 times), and neighbours (9). The guarantees often had defined time frames spanning from 2 to 7 years, yet in 9 cases they were perpetual. It is not known what made the guarantors undertake such a great responsibility for their neighbours or family members. In the case of unauthorised abandonment of the land by the peasant, the guarantor had to take it over along with any liabilities.

* * *

In the rush of his numerous activities in Olsztyn, Copernicus still found time for scientific research, conducting astronomical observations. He was engaged in the creation of the experimental astronomical board, measuring 705 × 140cm, located on the south-western wall of the 14th-century castle galleries. It was hand-drawn on the plastered wall by Copernicus himself. Its creation is dated to 1517, to the period preceding the Spring Equinox (11 March) or some days immediately after it. In Copernicus' times, the board was located under the stairs, above the entrance to his chamber, facing the second and third arcades of the gallery⁵⁸.

It is highly probable that while in Olsztyn, Copernicus used an astronomical tool called the astrolabe, employed for the observation of opposition of Saturn, Jupiter and Mars. The best possible observation spot in the castle was the roof of the castle tower, which was flat at that time⁵⁹.

⁵⁵ Statuten, p. 97.

⁵⁶ *Mikołaj Kopernik. Lokacje łanów opuszczonych*, p. 5. In fact, this is about the reestablishment of 10 December 1516.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 17. Similarly in Łęgwałd (Hochwalde, Hogenwalt) of 23 April 1519.

⁵⁸ T. Przytkowski, *Astronomiczne zabytki Olsztyna*, RO, 1959, vol. 2, p. 140 and n.; P. Sobotko, *Astronomiczna tablica doświadczalna Mikołaja Kopernika na zamku w Olsztynie. Bibliografia*, KMW, 2014 no. 4 (286), pp. 539–551; J. Szubiakowski, *Astronomiczny aspekt badań słonecznej tablicy obserwacyjnej na olsztyńskim zamku*, in: *Tablica astronomiczna Mikołaja Kopernika na zamku w Olsztynie. Stan badań*, Olsztyn 2013, pp. 61–89.

⁵⁹ L. A. Birkenmajer, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Studiya nad pracami Kopernika oraz materyały biograficzne*, Kra-

In 1518, Copernicus made attempts at mitigating the conflict with the Teutonic Order, especially the border disputes with one of the Order's officials, Philip Greussing. The matter became serious when Greussing's accusations were directed at the the Olsztyn burgrave (Christoph Drauschwitz). In view of this, the burgrave, accompanied by Copernicus, arranged a meeting with the Bishop in Lidzbark⁶⁰.

Raised in a merchant family and being frequently involved in financial matters as the chapter's administrator, Copernicus must have become an expert on monetary affairs of the Prussian district and must have been well aware, too, of the growing problem of depreciation of the coins minted in Królewiec (Königsberg). In 1517, Copernicus developed the first version of his Latin treatise on economy – the *Meditata*. On its basis, a German memorial was created in 1519 that was directed to the estates of Royal Prussia. It was entitled *The Treatise on Coin (Tractatus e monetis)* and was presented to the public in March 1522 at an estate assembly in Grudziądz (Graundenz)⁶¹. The *Meditata* manuscript preserved on 1.5 pages and dated to 15 April 1517 was found before the Second World War in the Gdansk archives by Hans Schmauch (1887–1966), a prominent expert on the history of Warmia⁶². Already in 1519, the peace conditions which the Polish side offered to Albrecht contained a clause prohibiting the minting of coins by the Prince without the consent of the Prussian State Council and the king; also, at that time, Copernicus wrote the first draft of the Treatise at the request of the Prussian State Council⁶³.

Copernicus resigned from the office of the administrator on 9 November 1519 and moved to Frombork, where he continued his engagement in the Polish-Teutonic war⁶⁴. On 23 February 1520, as a result of the Teutonic invasion, Frombork was burned down along with the canons' curiae facilities outside the town

ków 1900, p. 295; This observation he made on 12 December 1518, J. Sikorski, *Kalendarium*, in: *Mikołaj Kopernik na Warmii*, no. 181, p. 50.

⁶⁰ M. Biskup, *Regesta Copernicana*, no 167, Melzak 22 October 1518.

⁶¹ H. Schmauch, *Nicolaus Copernicus und die preussische Münzreform*, Gumbinnen 1940, pp. 27–34; M. Gumiowski, *Poglądy Kopernika w sprawach monetarnych*, in: *Kopernik na Warmii*, pp. 237–287; M. Biskup, *Mikołaj Kopernik na zjeździe stanów Prus Królewskich w Grudziądzu w marcu 1522 roku (do początków działalności dla reformy monetarnej)*, KMW, 1994, no. 4, pp. 383–394; S. Cackowski, *Mikołaj Kopernik jako ekonomista*, Toruń 1970, p. 28.

⁶² Ibidem; F. Bujak, *Traktat Kopernika o monecie*, in: *Mikołaj Kopernik*, Lwów–Warszawa 1924, pp. 41–103 (p. 66). The Copernicus' treatise on the minting of coin was created in stages. The first edition from 1519 was discovered by prof. Birkenmajer and prof. Łęgowski in November 1922 in the city archives in Toruń; the second, larger edition from the manuscripts of Ossol. vol. 199, pp. 263–269 was included in volume V of the *Acta Tomiciana* (p. 167–169). The text of the second edition, translated from Latin into German, was incorporated into the archives of the Grudziądz general assembly (sejmik) of 1522 and dated to 1519. The full version of the treatise is stored in the Królewiec Archives (OF 12.868 fol. 41 and H. V. 22–27). The text exists in two manuscripts: the first was written by Felix Reich in 1526 or 1527, while the second is a manuscript by Frederick Fisher, Duke Albrecht's chancellor who died in 1529, which was probably copied from the Reich's text.

⁶³ M. Biskup, „*Wojna Pruska*” czyli walka Polski z zakonem krzyżackim z lat 1519–1521. *U źródeł sekularyzacji Prus Krzyżackich*, part II, Olsztyn 1991, p. 222.

⁶⁴ J. Sikorski, *Mikołaj Kopernik w Olsztynie*, in: *Kopernik na Warmii*, p. 115.

walls, which forced the canons to leave the town. Copernicus then returned to Olsztyn, where he remained until June 1521⁶⁵.

Until the autumn of 1520, Olsztyn stayed on the margins of the military actions. In mid-October 1520, Albrecht's troops invaded central Warmia and from 19 October to 28 November 1520 they besieged Lidzbark. After losing hope for the support from the German mercenaries, Albrecht attacked Dobre Miasto (Guttstadt) and took it by storm on 15 November; on 16 November, Orneta was besieged and, after eight days, the town capitulated. It was then when Olsztyn, in which most of the canons had hidden, was included in the area of military action⁶⁶. As a result, the chapter administrator Jan Krapitz resigned, and the post of the district administrator was entrusted to Nicholas Copernicus⁶⁷. The canons left Olsztyn, where only Copernicus and Heinrich Snellenberg remained.

In view of the difficult situation, Copernicus asked the Warmian archdeacon, Jan Sculteti, who resided in Elbląg (Elbing), to send arquebuses and food; the latter fulfilled his request, sending two wagons with 17 arquebuses. In his letter, Sculteti mentions his support from Bishop Fabian Luzjański for his attempts to strengthen the Olsztyn defence 'in order not to lose this bulwark (*antemurale*) of the entire diocese'⁶⁸. Copernicus demanded more cannons to be bought in order to strengthen the city's defensive potential. It was backed by Sculteti, who suggested purchasing 20 arquebuses in Elbląg or Gdańsk (Danzig) for the castle, and the same number, or even ten more hackbuts, for the city⁶⁹.

From the spring of 1520, the Olsztyn castle was manned by 100 Polish soldiers under the command of Paweł Dołuski. Following the chapter's request, the officer wrote to the royal commander in Lidzbark (Heilsberg), Jakub Sęcygniewski, to send him some military support, but he was met with refusal.⁷⁰ Also the canons, fearing that the city should be burnt, sent a messenger to the king residing in Bydgoszcz, to hand him a letter in which they assured Sigismund I the Old about their loyalty. However, the letter never reached the intended recipient⁷¹.

The negotiations on 5 April 1521, taking place in Torun (Thorn), concluded with a four-year truce. However, Braniewo (Braunsberg), Orneta (Wormditt) and

⁶⁵ Ibidem; H. Schmauch, *Neue Funde zum Lebenslauf des Copernicus*, ZGAE, Bd. 28, H. 1, 1943, pp. 53–99 (after Schmauch's discovery of the letters written from Olsztyn of 7 Feb., 29. April, 11 Sept. and 22 Dec. 1520).

⁶⁶ M. Biskup, *List kapituly warmińskiej do króla Zygmunta I napisany własnoręcznie przez Mikołaja Kopernika w Olsztynie w 1520 roku*, KMW, 1970, no. 2 (108), pp. 307–315; idem, in: *Kopernik na Warmii*, pp. 161–172; original in Ordensbriefarchiv (OBA) 16 November 1520, formerly signed D 641.

⁶⁷ M. Biskup, *Regesta Copernicana*, no. 212, after 8 Nov. 1520, p. 117; K. Górski, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Środowisko społeczne i samotność*, p. 139.

⁶⁸ M. Biskup, *Regesta Copernicana*, no. 223, Elbląg, end of Feb. 1521, pp. 121–122.

⁶⁹ Ibidem, no. 223.

⁷⁰ Ibidem, no. 213, Olsztyn 16 XI 1520, p. 117.

⁷¹ M. Biskup, *W sprawie zagrożenia Olsztyna przez wojska krzyżackie w początkach 1521 roku*, in: *Kopernik na Warmii*, pp. 173–182; cf. idem, *List kapituly warmińskiej*, pp. 166–167.

Dobre Miasto, together with their districts, remained in the hands of the Order and were to be returned as late as in 1525 on the basis of the Treaty of Kraków⁷². Interestingly, Olsztyn did not share this fate thanks to Copernicus' great engagement in ensuring the proper defensive measures of the castle and the city. After resigning from the office of the chapter administrator in the beginnings of June 1521, Copernicus was granted the title of the Warmian Commissioner, 'Warmiae commissarius' (20 August 1521), acting as the chapter's representative during the period of the Polish-Teutonic truce⁷³.

SOURCE APPENDIX

Copy: Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin-Dahlem, XX. H. A., Etats Ministerium 31d, no. 666, p. 1–3, Allenstein 22 X 1561, document 19 × 30cm, in the German language, conservation status: good, written in black ink.

[vol. 1] Copia eines Instruments belangende Herrn Simon Hannow⁷⁴ von Wartenbergk etc⁷⁵.

Und diese Einschreibung deß Instrumentds ist geschehen mit Wissen, Willen undt Zulaß deß Achtbarn Wirdigen Herrn Jacobi Zimmermans⁷⁶ Thumbherrn zur Frawenburg etc. und zur selbigen Zeit Land Probst auf Allenstein, in den Tagen, do der Edle unst Ehrenvehste Caspar Stoßel⁷⁷ Burggraf war, Peter Pfaff von Balingen⁷⁸, Matz Scholtz von Thomasdorf⁷⁹ undt Thewes Schultze vom Schonfelde⁸⁰ Landschöppen waren. Am 22. Octob[ris] A[nn]o 1561.

In dem Namen dess Herrn. Amen. Im Jahre nach Christi Geburt 1560 am zehenden dess Monats Decemb[ris] vor dem Achtbarn und Wirdigen Herrn Jacobo Timmerman Thumbherrn zur Frawenburg und Land Probst auf Allenstein etc.

In mein offenbaren Notarien undt d[en] glaubwürdigen hierunden geschriebenen Gezeugen Gegenwertigkeit, seindt persönlich erschienen, der Erbare undt Ehrenvehste Peter Pfaff von Balingen, undt der beschedene Bartusch Schultz zu

⁷² J. Sikorski, *Mikołaj Kopernik w Olsztynie*, in: *Kopernik na Warmii*, p. 145; M. Biskup, G. Labuda, *Dzieje Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach. Gospodarka–Społeczeństwo–Państwo–Ideologia*, Gdańsk 1986, p. 474.

⁷³ W. Thimm, *Nicolaus Copernicus Warmiae commissarius*, ZGAE, 1971, Bd. 35, pp. 171–176.

⁷⁴ Simon Hannow – governor of the Wartenburg district, died 1578.

⁷⁵ Publishing instruction: J. Schultze, *Richlinien für die äussere Textgestaltung bei Herausgabe von Quellen zur neueren deutschen Geschichte*, Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte, 1962, Jg. 98, pp. 1–11; *Richlinien für die Edition landesgeschichtlicher Quellen*, hrsg. von W. Heinemeyer, Marburg–Köln 1978, pp. 25–36.

⁷⁶ Jakub Zimmermann (Timmermann, Tymmermann) – Frombork canon and the Olsztyn Administrator in the years 1559–1565, died 1582; see: SBKW, pp. 260–261.

⁷⁷ Caspar Stoßel (Stößel) – governor of the Olsztyn district till about 1566.

⁷⁸ Balingen – Bałag, in the Olsztyn district.

⁷⁹ Thomasdorf – Tomazkowo, in the Olsztyn district.

⁸⁰ Schonfelde/Schönfelde – Unieszewo, in the Olsztyn district.

Tollauken⁸¹ und haben daselbst beide einhellig ein Jeder vor sich, bei Irem guttem Gewissen undt starcken Eide, aus guttem, freien ungezwungenen Willen, offentlich bekandt undt gezeüget, wie Ihnen in rechtter Warheit wisslich sei und noch in frischen, guttem Gedechnüß haben, daß nach deme der Achtbare Wirdige Edler undt Ehrenvehste Löblicher milder Gedechnüß und in Gottseliger verstorbener Herr Achatius von d[er] Trenck⁸², etwan Dechandt undt Thumbherr zur Frawenburg undt zurselbigen Zeit Landtprobst auff Allenstein, sein wuste Dorf Tollauken mit Gebawersleutten besetzt hatte, auf eine Zeit zu seiner Acht[baren] W[ürdigen] alhier hero gegen Allenstein gekommen ist, der Edle Erbare undt Ehrenvehste Herr Simon Hannow⁸³ auf // [k. 2] die Zeit Burggraf zu Wartenburg, anzeigende, daß er gesinnett were, in sein Gutt Thurgutt⁸⁴ genandt, einen Teich zustewen und derselbe Teich besorgte er sich, wurde biß uf und in genentes seiner Achtbaren Würdigen Gut Tollaucken stewen, welche Stehunge dennoch wieder den Leutichen im selben Dorffe, noch dem Viehe schaden brechte, dan sie wieder an irkeinem Acker, noch Weisewachs, sonder in ein wüste, dicke, gehecke strauchs undt schumpliche Gebruche, welchen Ort man nicht leichtlich wieder den Menschen, noch Viehe zu Nutz und fromme gebrauchen Kund bedreffen und rechnen wurde. Hierauf genentter Achtbar, Wirdiger Herr Achatius, Ihme dem gedachten Hannow, bald geandtwortd und gesprochen: Lieber Gefatter, weil dem also und nicht grossen Schaden gibdt, bin ich woll zufrieden will euch und euern Erben solche Stehunge in meinem Gutte gerne vorgunnen undt sage sie euch undt euern Erben zu, so lange es euch undt euern Erben gefeldt zugebrauchen, dennoch mitt diesem Bescheide, daß meine Underthane deiselben Leutichen zu Tollauken, in derselben Stehunge, so ferne die in meines Gut undt Grenze belanget mit Secken, freie Fischerei, zu Irem Tische alleine haben mögen. Welche Ihme oft genantter Herr Hannaw in seinem und seiner Erben Namen, weil die Stehunge waret, auch vereischen und zugesagt hat, allein den Abeloß etc., welchen sie Ihme zufrieden lassen sollen, hat er sich furbehalten undt außgeredt. Geschehen seind diese Ding auffm Schlosse Allenstein, in obgenantes Achtbaren Würdigen Heren Landtprobsts Kammer, in Beiwesen der Ersamen und Bescheidenen, als nemlich Simon Scholtzen, Peter Zichslossen, George Nosske undt Matz Zichslossen, alle// [k. 3] semplich vom Kleinen Kleberge⁸⁵, zu Gezeuge, sonderlich gebetten undt beruffen, im Jare undt Tage, wie oben vormelden.

Und ich Thomas Bronisch Bepstlicher Gewalt offenbarer Notarius und geschworner Stadtschreiber zum Allenstein, dieweil ich samt obgeschriebenen

⁸¹ Tollauken/Tollaucken/Tolak, Tolack – Tuławki, in the Barczewo (Wartenburg) district.

⁸² Achatius von d[er] Trenck-Dechant of the Warmia Cathedral Chapters' and the Olsztyn Administrator.

⁸³ Siomn Hannow governor of the Wartenburg district.

⁸⁴ Thurgutt – Tengutten– Tęgutny, in the Wartenburg district.

⁸⁵ Klein Kleberg– Klebark Mały, in the Olsztyn district.

Gezeugen bei obengemelten Gezeugnüß undt Bekendtnüß undt allen erzelten Dingen selbst persönlich Gegenwertig gewesen bin. Diß alleß also geschehen, gestehen, zeugen undt verlautbaren angehören, habe ich diß offene Instrument darüber begrieffen undt gemach in diese offene Forme gebrache, mit meinem Notariat Zeichen, Tauffnamen undt Zunahmen bezeichnet, mit eigener Hand treulich geschrieben und undterschrieben zum Gezeugnis undt Glauben aller obgeschriebenen Sachen, darzu fleissig erfordert und gebeten.

Danuta Bogdan, *Kopernik jako administrator kapitulny komornictwa olsztyńskiego*

Streszczenie

Do 1530 r. administrator dóbr wspólnych kapituły (Administrator bonorum communium Venerabilis Capituli Warmiensis) musiał łączyć nadzór nad dwoma komornictwami: olsztyńskim i melzackim. Funkcję tę Kopernik pełnił dwukrotnie, najpierw przez trzy lata: od 8 listopada 1516 do 8 listopada 1519 r., a następnie przez rok: od listopada 1520 do czerwca 1521 r. Administrator zarządzał kapitulnymi folwarkami, ściągał czynsze ze wsi, osadzał chłopów na opuszczonych gospodarstwach, a także dbał o funkcjonowanie zamku i jego obronność. Był też najwyższym sędzią i dowódcą obrony swojego okręgu. Administrator współdziałał ze starostą olsztyńskim, a w sprawach dotyczących wsi dobierał sobie kilku sołtysów pełniących jednocześnie w komornictwach funkcję ławników ziemskich (Landschöppen).

W 1517 r. Kopernik opracował pierwszą wersję rozprawy na tematy ekonomiczne; są to spisane po łacinie *Meditata*, na bazie której powstał w 1519 r. w języku niemieckim memoriał skierowany do stanów Prus Królewskich – tzw. Traktat o monetach (*Tractatus e monetis*), wyłożony w marcu 1522 r.

Gdy w połowie października 1520 r. wojska Albrechta wtargnęły na obszar środkowej Warmii do dymisji podał się administrator kapitulny Jan Krapitz, a funkcję zarządcy komornictwa powierzono Mikołajowi Kopernikowi, który rozpoczął przygotowania do obrony miasta i olsztyńskiego zamku, organizując zakup broni i żywności.

Po złożeniu urzędu administratora kapitulnego w początkach czerwca 1521 r. Kopernik występował z tytułem Komisarza Warmii „*Warmiae commissarius*” (20 VIII 1521), pełniąc tę ważną funkcję reprezentanta części kapitulnej w okresie rozejmu polsko-krzyżackiego.

Danuta Bogdan, *Kopernikus als Kapitelverwalter der Allensteiner Kämmerer*

Zusammenfassung

Vor 1530 r. sollte der Verwalter von Gemeingütern des Kapitels (Administrator bonorum communium Venerabilis Capituli Warmiensis) die Aufsicht über zwei Kämmerereien verbinden: in Alleistein und Mehlsack. Diese Funktion übte Kopernikus zweimal aus, zuerst innerhalb von drei Jahren: vom 8. November 1516 bis zum 8. November 1519, dann ein Jahr lang: vom November 1520 bis zum Juni 1521. Der Administrator verwaltete die Vorwerke des Kapitels, zog die Zinsen ein, siedelte die Bauern auf den verlassenen Bauernhöfen an, kümmerte sich um die Burg und ihre Wehranlagen. Er war außerdem der höchste Richter und Verteidigungskommandant in seinem Kreis. Als Administrator arbeitete er mit dem Allensteiner Landrat zusammen, für die Angelegenheiten des Dorfes wählte er einige Schultheißen, die bei den Kämmerereien gleichzeitig die Funktion von Landschöppen innehatten.

1517 r. schrieb Kopernikus die erste Version seiner Abhandlung zu wirtschaftlichen Themen; es waren in lateinischer Sprache verfassten *Meditata*, auf deren Grundlage 1519 die Denkschrift in deutscher Sprache an die Stände des Königreichs Preußen entstand, das sog. Traktat über die Münzen (*Tractatus e monetis*), das im März 1522 gehalten wurde.

Als Mitte Oktober 1520 das Heer von Herzog Albrecht auf das Gebiet des mittleren Ermlands einmarschierte, trat der Kapitelverwalter Jan Krapitz zurück, und die Funktion des Kämmererwalters wurde Nikolaus Kopernikus anvertraut. Der neue Administrator begann Vorbereitungen auf die Verteidigung der Stadt und der Allensteiner Burg zu treffen, indem er sich für den Einkauf der Nahrungsmittel und Waffen sorgte.

Nach dem Rücktritt vom Amt des Kapitelverwalters Anfang Juni 1521 behielt Kopernikus den Titel des ermländischen Kommissars „Warmiae commissarius“ (20.08.1521) und hatte diese wichtige Funktion des Vertreters des Kapitels auch in der Zeit des Waffenstillstands zwischen Polen und dem Deutschen Orden.

Übersetzt von Alina Kuzborska

dr Danuta Bogdan
Ośrodek Badań Naukowych
im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie
The Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre
in Olsztyn
koenigsberg@wp.pl

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CONTENTS

ARTICLES AND PAPERS

Robert Klimek, <i>Accounts of the Catholic Church adopting sacred pagan places throughout former Prussia in the Middle Ages</i>	639
Grzegorz Białuński, <i>Settlement in the south-eastern State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia after Thirteen Years' War (1466–1525)</i>	659
Stanisław Achremczyk, <i>Warmia in the Polish Kingdom</i>	677
Jerzy Kielbik, <i>Administration of the Warmia region in the light of its domestic laws</i> ...	709

MISCELLANEA

Jerzy Przeracki, <i>The Warmian Prince-Bishop Paul Legendorf (ca. 1410–1467) Between the Teutonic Order and Poland</i>	727
Danuta Bogdan, <i>Copernicus as Chapter Administrator of the Olsztyn District</i>	769

SPIS TREŚCI

ARTYKUŁY I MATERIAŁY

Robert Klimek, <i>Adaptacja pogańskich miejsc świętych przez Kościół katolicki na obszarze dawnych Prus w średniowieczu</i>	639
Streszczenie	653
Grzegorz Białuński, <i>Osadnictwo w południowo-wschodniej części państwa zakonu krzyżackiego po wojnie trzynastoletniej (1466–1525)</i>	659
Streszczenie	673
Stanisław Achremczyk, <i>Warmia w Rzeczypospolitej</i>	677
Streszczenie	701
Jerzy Kielbik, <i>Administracja Warmii w świetle ustaw krajowych</i>	709
Streszczenie	722

MISCELLANEA

Jerzy Przeracki, <i>Biskup warmiński Paweł Legendorf (ok. 1410–1467). Między zakonem krzyżackim a Polską</i>	727
Streszczenie	764
Danuta Bogdan, <i>Kopernik jako administrator kapituły komornictwa olsztyńskiego</i>	769
Streszczenie	785

INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

ARTIKEL UND MATERIALIEN

Robert Klimek, <i>Die Adaptation der heidnischen heiligen Orte auf den ehemaligen prußischen Gebieten durch die katholische Kirche im Mittelalter</i>	639
Zusammenfassung	654
Grzegorz Białuński, <i>Die Besiedlung des südöstlichen Teils des Ordensstaates Preußen nach dem dreizehnjährigen Krieg (1466–1525)</i>	659
Zusammenfassung	673
Stanisław Achremczyk, <i>Ermland in der Republik Polen (Rzeczpospolita)</i>	677
Zusammenfassung	701
Jerzy Kielbik, <i>Die Verwaltung Ermlands im Lichte der Landesgesetze</i>	709
Zusammenfassung	723

MISCELLANEA

Jerzy Przeracki, <i>Der ermländische Bischof Paul Legendorf (ca. 1410–1467). Zwischen dem Ordensstaat und Polen</i>	727
Zusammenfassung	765
Danuta Bogdan, <i>Kopernikus als Kapitelverwalter der Allensteiner Kämmerei</i>	769
Zusammenfassung	785

AUTHORS

prof. dr hab. Stanisław ACHREMczyk (Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre in Olsztyn/
Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie)

prof. dr hab. Grzegorz BIAŁUŃSKI (Faculty of Law and Administration University of Warmia
and Mazury in Olsztyn / Wydział Prawa i Administracji Uniwersytet Warmińsko-
-Mazurski w Olsztynie)

dr Danuta BOGDAN (Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre in Olsztyn / Ośrodek Badań
Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie)

dr Jerzy KIEŁBIK (Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre in Olsztyn / Ośrodek Badań
Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie)

mgr Robert KLIMEK (Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre in Olsztyn / Ośrodek Badań
Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie)

mgr Jerzy PRZERACKI (Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre in Olsztyn / Ośrodek
Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie)

CONTENTS FOR 2016

ARTICLES AND PAPERS

Achremczyk Stanisław, <i>Warmia in the Polish Kingdom</i>	677
Astramowicz-Leyk Teresa, <i>Program direction of „Gazeta Grudziądzka” 1894–1939 – selected aspects</i>	213
Białyński Grzegorz, <i>On the Borderland of the Barbarian and Feudal World. Old Prussian Kinship after the Teutonic Order’s Conquest of Prussia</i>	11
Białyński Grzegorz, <i>Settlement in the south-eastern State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia after Thirteen Years’ War (1466–1525)</i>	659
Bujko Anna, <i>Reconstruction of communications in Warmia and Mazury in the years 1945–1950</i>	261
Czermański Krzysztof, <i>The creation and organization of Prussian prison in Sztum</i> ...	71
Grażawski Kazimierz, <i>The attitude of the Church to the notion of crusades in the times of Christianization of the Old Prussians</i>	419
Jodkowski Marek, <i>The construction of an Evangelical church in Barczewo in the 19th century</i>	55
Kajkowski Kamil, <i>Saint Adalbert, urbs Gyddaanyzc and chrystianisation of Western Pomerania</i>	433
Kiełbik Jerzy, <i>Administration of the Warmia region in the light of its domestic laws</i> ...	709
Klimek Robert, <i>Accounts of the Catholic Church adopting sacred pagan places throughout former Prussia in the Middle Ages</i>	639
Kwiatkowski Krzysztof, <i>Bezlawki – several additional sources regarding the late medieval settlement complex on the periphery of Prussian lands</i>	31
Kwiatkowski Krzysztof, <i>Bäslack Castle as an alleged military base of the Teutonic Order during the summer Lithuanian expedition in 1402</i>	203
Mařík Jan, <i>Saint Adalbert – Apostle of Prussia His family environment and residence in Libice</i>	459
Panfil Rafał, <i>Does “Truska” mean the same as “Druska”? Once again on the Trusotoponym in the light of the preserved relics of the Old Prussian language</i>	189
Płotek Marcin, <i>Citizens’ militia officers in the prosecutors’ assessment in Olsztyn’s Court of Appeal</i>	227
Sokołowski Dariusz, <i>Degraded and potential towns in the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship</i> ...	243
Szczeptański Seweryn, <i>Christian – the Bishop of Prussia and his activities in the context of the Cistercian mission</i>	487
Wadył Sławomir, <i>Naprom, Ostróda county (Gross Nappern, Kr. Osterode). The Cemetery from the Early Medieval Period in the Light of Archival Data</i>	3
Wójcik Zbigniew, Jarosław Jaszczur-Nowicki, <i>The state stud farm Liski and its contribution to the development of recreation and equestrian sports in Warmia and Mazury</i>	289
Zawadzki Wojciech, <i>The role of the Dominicans in the Christianisation of Prussia up to the mid-13th century</i>	501

MISCELLANEA

Achremczyk Stanisław, <i>Bishop Wydźga's concerns for Warmia</i>	303
Bogdan Danuta, <i>Copernicus as Chapter Administrator of the Olsztyn District</i>	769
Chmielecki Adam, <i>Maciej Płażyński's (1958–1977) „Little Homeland”</i>	123
Gross Radosław, <i>Staffing problems in state owned estates in Warmia and Masuria (June 1945 – February 1946)</i>	91
Jakutowicz Joanna, <i>The gratitude monument in Lidzbark Warmiński</i>	353
Jasiński Grzegorz, <i>The situation in the Masurian diocese of the Evangelical-Augsburg Church in the light of statistical data from 1956–1959</i>	581
Kawiński Paweł, <i>Longue durée of Old Prussian tribal structures: an example of the parish organisation in Sambia</i>	563
Klimek Robert, <i>From a pagan cult site to a Christian sanctuary – Święta Lipka and Gietrzwałd within the sacred landscape of Warmia</i>	527
Kopiczko Andrzej, <i>Feliks Nowowiejski's Genealogy based on parish registers in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Warmia in Olsztyn</i>	513
Przeracki Jerzy, <i>The Warmian Prince-Bishop Paul Legendorf (ca. 1410–1467) Between the Teutonic Order and Poland</i>	727
Szczepański Seweryn, <i>Piotr Lasek, Hława (Deutsch Eylau) in the light of cartographic sources from the 17th until the 18th century</i>	333
Tomkiewicz Ryszard, <i>The celebrations of the millennium of the baptism of Poland in Warmia and Masuria</i>	541

SOURCES

Bogdan Danuta, <i>Testament of Katharina Hintzmann's, daughter of the Guttstad mayor Hans Hintzmann's</i>	139
Syrwid Robert, <i>„National Council tendencies were clearly reflected”. First Provincial Congress of the Polish Socialist Party in Olsztyn 9–10 June 1946 In the Security Service reports</i>	161

DISCUSSIONS AND POLEMICS

Szczepański Seweryn, <i>Antonius de Butrio – not so unknown (a side note on the Tomasz Garwoliński article)</i>	177
---	-----

REVIEWS AND REPORTS

Arszyński Marian, <i>Organizacja i technika średniowiecznego budownictwa ceglanego w Prusach w kontekście europejskim</i> , Wydawnictwo Muzeum Zamkowego w Malborku, Malbork 2016, ss. 405 (Sławomir Józwiak, Toruń, Janusz Trupinda, Gdańsk)	365
Ostródzki Przegląd Historyczny, Muzeum w Ostródzie, Ostróda 2016, t. 2 (Ryszard Tomkiewicz)	179

CHRONICLE OF SCIENCE

Gazda Daniel, <i>Archaeological research of the Pomezania-Baltycka Mission at the Cathedral Hill in Frombork in 2011</i>	389
Wadyl Sławomir, <i>The report of excavations at the „Okragła góra“ hillfort in Pasym, Szczytno County in 2016</i>	377
Wadyl Sławomir, <i>Preliminary results of excavations at the hillfort in Węgielsztyn, Węgorzewo County in 2016</i>	383
Wadyl Sławomir, <i>The results of sondage excavations at the stronghold of Palistka in Jedzbark, Olsztyń County</i>	625

SPIS TREŚCI ZA ROK 2016

ARTYKUŁY I MATERIAŁY

Achremczyk Stanisław, <i>Warmia w Rzeczypospolitej</i>	677
Astramowicz-Leyk Teresa, <i>Oblicze programowe „Gazety Grudziądzkiej” 1894–1939 – wybrane aspekty</i>	213
Białyński Grzegorz, <i>Na pograniczu świata barbarzyńskiego i feudalnego. Rody staropruskie po podboju krzyżackim</i>	11
Białyński Grzegorz, <i>Osadnictwo w południowo-wschodniej części państwa zakonu krzyżackiego po wojnie trzynastoletniej (1466–1525)</i>	659
Bujko Anna, <i>Odbudowa komunikacji na Warmii i Mazurach w latach 1945–1950</i>	261
Czermański Krzysztof, <i>Powstanie i organizacja pruskiego więzienia w Sztumie</i>	71
Grąźawski Kazimierz, <i>Kościół wobec idei krucjatowych podczas chrystianizacji Prusów</i>	419
Jodkowski Marek, <i>Budowa kościoła ewangelickiego w Barczewie w XIX wieku</i>	55
Kajkowski Kamil, <i>Święty Wojciech, „urbs Gyddaanyzc” i problem chrystianizacji Pomorza Wschodniego. Kilka uwag na marginesie rozważań dotyczących kultury duchowej mieszkańców grodu w widłach Wisły i Motławy</i>	433
Kielbik Jerzy, <i>Administracja Warmii w świetle ustaw krajowych</i>	709
Klimek Robert, <i>Adaptacja pogańskich miejsc świętych przez Kościół katolicki na obszarze dawnych Prus w średniowieczu</i>	639
Kwiatkowski Krzysztof, <i>Bezląwki – kilka uzupełnień źródłowych dotyczących późnośredniowiecznego zespołu osadniczego na obrzeżach kraju pruskiego</i>	31
Kwiatkowski Krzysztof, <i>Zamek w Bezlawkach rzekomą bazą militarną zakonu niemieckiego podczas letniej wyprawy litewskiej 1402 roku</i>	203
Mařík Jan, <i>Saint Adalbert – Apostle of Prussia His family environment and residence in Libice</i>	459
Panfil Rafał, <i>Czy „truska” równa się druska? Jeszcze raz o toponimie „Truso”</i>	189
Płotek Marcin, <i>Funkcjonariusze MO w ocenie prokuratorów apelacji olsztyńskiej</i>	227
Sokołowski Dariusz, <i>Miasta zdegradowane i potencjalne w województwie warmińsko-mazurskim</i>	243
Szczepański Seweryn, <i>Chrystian – biskup Prus i jego dzieło w kontekście cysterskiej misji chrystianizacyjnej</i>	487
Wadył Sławomir, <i>Naprom, powiat Ostróda (Gross Nappern, Kr. Osterode). Wczesnośredniowieczne cmentarzysko w świetle danych archiwalnych</i>	3
Wójcik Zbigniew, Jarosław Jaszczur-Nowicki, <i>Państwowa Stadnina Koni Liski i jej wkład w rozwój jeździectwa rekreacyjno-sportowego na Warmii i Mazurach</i> ...	289
Zawadzki Wojciech, <i>Udział dominikanów w chrystianizacji Prus do połowy XIII wieku</i>	501

MISCELLANEA

Achremczyk Stanisław, <i>Biskupa Wydźgi troska o warmińskie sprawy</i>	303
Bogdan Danuta, <i>Kopernik jako administrator kapitulny komornictwa olsztyńskiego</i>	769
Chmielecki Adam, „ <i>Mała Ojczyzna</i> ” Macieja Płażyńskiego (1958–1977)	123
Gross Radosław, <i>Problemy kadrowe w państwowych majątkach ziemskich na Warmii i Mazurach (czerwiec 1945 – luty 1946)</i>	91
Jakutowicz Joanna, <i>Pomnik Wdzięczności Armii Radzieckiej w Lidzbarku Warmińskim</i>	353
Jasiński Grzegorz, <i>Sytuacja w Diecezji Mazurskiej Kościoła Ewangelicko-Augsburskiego w świetle danych statystycznych z lat 1956–1959</i>	581
Kawiński Paweł, <i>Longue durée of Old Prussian tribal structures: an example of the parish organisation in Sambia</i>	563
Klimek Robert, <i>Od pogańskiego miejsca kultu do chrześcijańskiego sanktuarium – Święta Lipka i Gietrzwałd na tle krajobrazu sakralnego Warmii</i>	527
Kopiczko Andrzej, <i>Genealogia Feliksa Nowowiejskiego na podstawie ksiąg metrykalnych w Archiwum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej w Olsztynie</i>	513
Przeracki Jerzy, <i>Biskup warmiński Paweł Legendorf (ok. 1410–1467). Między zakonem krzyżackim a Polską</i>	727
Szczepański Seweryn, Piotr Lasek, <i>Łława w świetle źródeł kartograficznych XVII–XVIII wieku</i>	333
Tomkiewicz Ryszard, <i>Obchody 1000-lecia chrztu Polski na Warmii i Mazurach</i> ...	541

ŹRÓDŁA

Bogdan Danuta, <i>Testament Katarzyny Hintzman, córki burmistrza Dobrego Miasta Jerzego Hintzman, z 20 listopada 1730 roku</i>	139
Syrwid Robert, „ <i>Wyraźnie odczuwało się tendencje WRN</i> ”. I Wojewódzki Zjazd Polskiej Partii Socjalistycznej w Olsztynie 9–10 czerwca 1946 roku w raporcie aparatu bezpieczeństwa	161

DYSKUSJE I POLEMIKI

Szczepański Seweryn, <i>Antonius de Butrio – wcale nie taki nieznan (na marginesie artykułu ks. Tomasza Garwolińskiego)</i>	177
---	-----

RECENZJE I OMÓWIENIA

Arszyński Marian, <i>Organizacja i technika średniowiecznego budownictwa ceglanego w Prusach w kontekście europejskim</i> , Wydawnictwo Muzeum Zamkowego w Malborku, Malbork 2016, ss. 405 (Sławomir Józwiak, Toruń, Janusz Trupinda, Gdańsk)	365
Ostródzki Przegląd Historyczny, Muzeum w Ostródzie, Ostróda 2016, t. 2 (Ryszard Tomkiewicz)	179

KRONIKA NAUKOWA

Gazda Daniel, <i>Badania Archeologicznej Misji Pomezkańsko-Baltyckiej na Wzgórzach Katedralnym we Fromborku w 2011 roku</i>	389
Wadyl Sławomir, <i>Sprawozdanie z badań wykopaliskowych na grodzisku zwanym „Okrągła Góra” w Pasymiu, pow. Szczytno, stan. 1 w roku 2016</i>	377
Wadyl Sławomir, <i>Wstępne wyniki badań wykopaliskowych prowadzonych w 2016 roku na grodzisku w Węgielsztynie, pow. Węgorzewo, stan. 1</i>	383
Wadyl Sławomir, <i>Wyniki badań sondażowych na grodzisku „Palistka” w Jedzbarku, pow. Olsztyn</i>	625

INHALTSVERZEICHNIS FÜR DAS JAHR 2016

ARTIKEL UND MATERIALIEN

Achremczyk Stanisław, <i>Ermland in der Republik Polen (Rzeczpospolita)</i>	677
Astramowicz-Leyk Teresa, <i>Programmgestaltung der „Gazeta Grudziądzka“ (Graudener Zeitung) 1894–1939 – einige Aspekte</i>	213
Białuński Grzegorz, <i>An der Grenze der Barbaren- und Feudalwelt. Altpreußische Geschlechter nach der Eroberung durch den Deutschen Orden</i>	11
Białuński Grzegorz, <i>Die Besiedlung des südöstlichen Teils des Ordensstaates Preußen nach dem dreizehnjährigen Krieg (1466–1525)</i>	659
Bujko Anna, <i>Wideraufbau des Verkehrs in Ermland und Masuren in den Jahren 1945–1950</i> ...	261
Czermański Krzysztof, <i>Die Entstehung und Organisation des preußischen Gefängnisses in Stuhm</i>	71
Grażawski Kazimierz, <i>Die Kirche angesichts der Kreuzfahrtideen während der Christianisierung von Preußen</i>	419
Jodkowski Marek, <i>Der Bau der evangelischen Kirche in Wartenburg im 19. Jahrhundert</i> ...	55
Kajkowski Kamil, <i>Heiliger Adalbert, urbs Gyddaanyzc und das Problem der Christianisierung Ostpommerns. Einige Anmerkungen zu Überlegungen über die Geisteskultur der Burgbewohner in der Deltamündung von Weichsel und Mottlau</i>	433
Kiełbik Jerzy, <i>Die Verwaltung Ermlands im Lichte der Landesgesetze</i>	709
Klimek Robert, <i>Die Adaptation der heidnischen heiligen Orte auf den ehemaligen preußischen Gebieten durch die katholische Kirche im Mittelalter</i>	639
Kwiatkowski Krzysztof, <i>Bezlawki (Bäslack) – einige Quellenergänzungen zum spätmittelalterlichen Siedlungskomplex im Randgebiet des Preußenlandes</i>	31
Kwiatkowski Krzysztof, <i>Die Burg von Bäslack (Bezlawki) als vermeintlicher militärischer Stützpunkt des Deutschen Ordens während des litauischen Sommerheerzugs 1402</i> ...	203
Mařík Jan, <i>Heiliger Adalbert – Apostel Preußens. Familienmilieu und Familiensitz in Libitz</i> ...	459
Panfil Rafał, <i>Bedeutet „*truska“ druska? Noch einmal über das Toponym „Truso“ im Lichte der erhalten gebliebenen Sprachdenkmäler des Altpreußischen</i>	189
Płotek Marcin, <i>Die Beamten der Bürgermiliz in Beurteilung der Staatsanwaltschaft des Olsztynener Berufungsgerichts</i>	227
Sokołowski Dariusz, <i>Ehemalige und potenzielle Städte in der Woiwodschaft Ermland – Masuren</i>	243
Szczepański Seweryn, <i>Christian – Bischof von Preußen und sein Werk im Kontext der Christianisierung mission der Zisterzienser</i>	487
Wadył Sławomir, <i>Naprom – Kr. Ostróda (Gross Nappern, Kr. Osterode). Frühmittelalterliches Gräberfeld im Lichte der Archivmaterialien</i>	3
Wójcik Zbigniew, Jarosław Jaszczur-Nowicki, <i>Staatliches Pferdegestüt Liski (Liskien) und ihr Beitrag zur Entwicklung des Reitsports in Ermland und Masuren</i>	289
Zawadzki Wojciech, <i>Die Teilnahme der Dominikaner an der Christianisierung des Preußenlandes bis zur ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts</i>	501

MISCELLANEA

Achremczyk Stanisław, <i>Bischofs Wdźgias Sorge um das Ermland</i>	303
Bogdan Danuta, <i>Kopernikus als Kapitelverwalter der Allensteiner Kämmererei</i>	769
Chmielecki Adam, „ <i>Kleine Heimat</i> “ von Maciej Płazyński (1958–1977)	123
Gross Radosław, <i>Personalprobleme in den staatlichen Landgütern in Ermland und Masuren (Juni 1945 – Februar 1946)</i>	91
Jakutowicz Joanna, <i>Dankbarkeit Denkmal in Lidzbark Warmiński (Heilsberg)</i>	353
Jasiński Grzegorz, <i>Die Situation der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche in der Diözese Masuren im Lichte der Statistik aus den Jahren 1956–1959</i>	581
Kawiński Paweł, <i>Lange Dauer der altpreußischen Stammesstrukturen am Beispiel der Organisation von Gemeinden in Samland</i>	563
Klimek Robert, <i>Von der heidnischen Kultstätte bis zum christlichen Heiligtum – Święta Lipka (Heilige Linde) und Gietrzwałd (Dietrichswalde) in der sakralen Landschaft Ermlands</i>	527
Kopiczko Andrzej, <i>Genealogie von Felix Nowowiejski auf der Grundlage der im Archiv der Erzdiözese Ermland in Olsztyn vorhandenen Kirchenbücher</i>	513
Przeracki Jerzy, <i>Der ermländische Bischof Paul Legendorf (ca. 1410–1467). Zwischen dem Ordensstaat und Polen</i>	727
Szczepański Seweryn, Piotr Lasek, <i>Itawa (Deutsch Eylau) im Lichte der kartographischen Quellen vom 17. bis zum 18. Jh.</i>	333
Tomkiewicz Ryszard, <i>Feierlichkeiten zum 1000. Jubiläum der Taufe Polens in Ermland und Masuren</i>	541

QUELLEN

Bogdan Danuta, <i>Testament des Katarina Hintzman, Guttstad Burgermeister Hans Hintzmann Tochter (20 November 1730 Jahr)</i>	139
Syrwid Robert, „ <i>Offensichtlich fühlte Tendenzen des WRN</i> “. Erste Provincial Kongress der Polnischen Sozialistischen Partei in Olsztyn 9–10 Juni 1946 in dem Bericht des Sicherheitsapparats	161

DISKUSSIONEN UND POLEMIKEN

Szczepański Seweryn, <i>Antonius de Butrio – wcale nie taki nieznan (na marginesie artykułu ks. Tomasza Garwolińskiego)</i>	177
---	-----

REZENSIONEN UND BUCHBESPRECHUNGEN

Arszyński Marian, <i>Organizacja i technika średniowiecznego budownictwa ceglanego w Prusach w kontekście europejskim</i> , Wydawnictwo Muzeum Zamkowego w Malborku, Malbork 2016, ss. 405 (Sławomir Józwiak, Toruń, Janusz Trupinda, Gdańsk)	365
Ostródzki Przegląd Historyczny, Muzeum w Ostródzie, Ostróda 2016, t. 2 (Ryszard Tomkiewicz)	179

WISSENSCHAFTLICHE CHRONIK

Gazda Daniel, <i>Archäologische Forschungen der Pomesanien-Baltischen Mission auf dem Domberg in Frombork (Frauenburg) im Jahre 2011</i>	389
Wadył Sławomir, <i>Die Forschungsergebnisse auf dem Burgberg „Okragła góra“ (Runder Berg) in Pasym (Passenheim), Kreis Szczytno (Ortelsburg) im Jahre 2016</i>	377
Wadył Sławomir, <i>Vorläufige Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen auf dem Burgberg im Węgielsztyn (Engelstein), Kreis Węgorzewo (Angerburg) im Jahre 2016</i>	383
Wadył Sławomir, <i>The results of sondage excavations at the stronghold of Palistka in Jedzbark, Olsztyń County</i>	625

LIST OF AUTHORS
IN KOMUNIKATY MAZURSKO-WARMIŃSKIE 2016

LISTA AUTORÓW
KOMUNIKATY MAZURSKO-WARMIŃSKIE 2016

LISTE DER AUTOREN
FÜR KOMUNIKATY MAZURSKO-WARMIŃSKIE 2016

prof. dr hab. Stanisław ACHREMczyk (Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre in Olsztyn /
Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie)

dr hab. Teresa ASTRAMOWICZ-LEYK (Faculty of Social Sciences University of Warmia and Mazury
in Olsztyn / Wydział Nauk Społecznych Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski w Olsz-
tynie)

prof. dr hab. Grzegorz BIAŁUŃSKI (Faculty of Law and Administration University of Warmia
and Mazury in Olsztyn / Wydział Prawa i Administracji Uniwersytet Warmińsko-
-Mazurski w Olsztynie)

dr Danuta BOGDAN (Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre in Olsztyn / Ośrodek Badań
Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie)

dr Anna BUJKO (University Library University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn / Biblioteka
Uniwersytecka Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski w Olsztynie)

mgr Adam CHMIELECKI (Faculty of Social Sciences University of Gdańsk / Wydział Nauk
Społecznych Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego)

mgr Krzysztof CZERMAŃSKI (Sztum)

mgr Daniel GAZDA (Ureusz Scientific Foundation Warszawa / Fundacja Ureusz Warszawa)

dr hab. Kazimierz GRĄŻAWSKI prof. UWM (Faculty of Humanities University of Warmia
and Mazury in Olsztyn / Wydział Humanistyczny Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazur-
ski w Olsztynie)

dr Radosław GROSS (Faculty of Humanities University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn /
Wydział Humanistyczny Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski w Olsztynie)

- dr Joanna JAKUTOWICZ (National Heritage Board of Poland in Olsztyn / Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa w Olsztynie)
- dr hab. Grzegorz JASIŃSKI prof. UWM (Faculty of Humanities University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn / Wydział Humanistyczny Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski w Olsztynie)
- dr hab. Jarosław JASZCZUR-NOWICKI (Faculty of Environmental Studies University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn / Wydział Nauk o Środowisku Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski)
- dr Marek JODKOWSKI (Faculty of Theology University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn / Wydział Teologii Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski w Olsztynie)
- prof. dr hab. Sławomir JÓŹWIĄK (Faculty of History Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń)
- dr Kamil KAJKOWSKI (West – Kashubian Museum in Bytów / Muzeum Zachodniokaszubskie w Bytowie)
- dr Paweł KAWIŃSKI (Faculty of History University of Gdańsk / Wydział Historyczny Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego)
- dr Jerzy KIEŁBIK (Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie / Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre in Olsztyn)
- mgr Robert KLIMEK (Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre in Olsztyn / Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie)
- ks. prof. dr hab. Andrzej KOPICZKO (Faculty of Humanities University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn / Wydział Humanistyczny Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski w Olsztynie)
- dr Krzysztof KWIATKOWSKI (Faculty of History Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń)
- dr Piotr LASEK (Institute of Art Polish Academy of Science in Warszawa / Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie)
- dr Jan MAŃIK (Institute of Archaeology Czech Academy of Science in Praga / Instytut Archeologii Czeskiej Akademii Nauk w Pradze)
- mgr Rafał PANFIL (Malbork Castle Museum in Malbork / Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku)
- dr Marcin PŁOTEK (Police Academy in Szczytno / Wyższa Szkoła Policji w Szczytnie)
- mgr Jerzy PRZERACKI (Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre in Olsztyn / Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie)

dr hab. Dariusz SOKOŁOWSKI (Faculty of Earth Sciences Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń / Wydział Nauk o Ziemi Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu)

dr Robert SYRWID (Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre in Olsztyn / Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie)

dr Seweryn SZCZEPAŃSKI (Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre in Olsztyn / Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie)

dr hab. Ryszard TOMKIEWICZ (Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre in Olsztyn / Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie)

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dr Sławomir WADYL (Institute of Archaeology University of Warsaw / Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytet Warszawski)

dr Zbigniew WÓJCIK (Faculty of Environmental Studies University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn / Wydział Nauk o Środowisku Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski)

ks. prof. dr hab. Wojciech ZAWADZKI (Faculty of Historical and Social Sciences Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warszawa / Wydział Nauk Historycznych i Społecznych Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego w Warszawie)

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of Sciences in Szczecin / Instytut Archeologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Szczecinie)

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Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski w Olsztynie)

dr hab. Norbert OSTROWSKI (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań / Uniwersytet Adama
Mickiewicza w Poznaniu)

dr hab. Ryszard TOMKIEWICZ (Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre in Olsztyn /
Ośrodek Badań Naukowych w Olsztynie)