

## RAPPORTS

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### POLISH RESEARCH WORK ON THE HISTORY OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER STATE ORGANIZATION IN PRUSSIA (1945—1959)

#### I

The history of the Teutonic Order state organization in Prussia has been for many years arousing keen interest of Polish historians. This is quite understandable in view of the important part played by the Teutonic Knights in the Polish medieval history, and of their lasting influence on social and national transformations of the Baltic countries. Beginning from the second half of the 19th century, when works by W. Kętrzyński, S. Kujot and A. Prochaska first appeared, the number of studies devoted to the Teutonic Order problems has been growing constantly. The years between the two World Wars (1918—1939) saw a still livelier development of the research work, particularly at the newly established Polish university centres in Poznań (especially the studies initiated by K. Tymieniecki, L. Koczy and Karol Górski) and in Wilno (especially the works by H. Łowmiański and S. Zajączkowski).

Continuing these traditions after the war, Polish historians resumed in 1945 their study of the Teutonic Order problems, on a considerably larger scale and in new, far more favourable circumstances. First of all, the Teutonic Order problems continued to be the main object of interest of both the Poznań university centre (reinforced with a number of historians from the Wilno university centre, H. Łowmiański in particular) and the new Toruń University (founded in 1945) where the study was initiated by Karol Górski. Besides, an intensive study of the Teutonic Order state organization has been undertaken by a group of workers of Warsaw University, led by M. Małowist. The above mentioned three universities have become the centres of the research conducted in People's Poland on historical problems connected with the Teutonic Order. The results of the research are being published either as separate monographs or in historical periodicals, particularly 'Kwartalnik Historyczny' and 'Przegląd Historyczny' (Warsaw), 'Zapiski Historyczne' (Toruń) and 'Roczniki Historyczne' (Poznań).

Another circumstance favourably influencing the postwar line of study of the Teutonic Order state organization in Prussia is the range of archive sources now made available. After 1945, Polish historians could work not only on the 13th century records published in full, but also on the 14th and 15th century archives of the Teutonic Order kept in the State Archives in Gdańsk, Toruń and Warsaw (The Central Archive of Ancient Records), as well as in the archives of the Olsztyn diocese (including the former Frombork archive for the Warmia region). On the other hand, the richest collections of records from the Teutonic Order archives in Königsberg, evacuated in 1945 to Germany, had been inaccessible for a number of years. Only after they had been sorted out at the *Staatliches Archivlager* in Göttingen (German Federal Republic), and after the Teutonic Order correspondence and privileges had been published in the well-known work by E. Joachim and W. Hubatsch, the records were made available to Polish researchers, mainly through the exchange of microfilms. This circumstance, as we shall see later, has resulted in a specific line in the publication of the records concerning the Teutonic Order, as well as partly influenced the selection of the subjects of monographs.

However, the most important change was one that occurred in the scope itself of the study. It was closely connected with the new methodological ideas. At first, the results and methods of the pre-war studies were used as the starting point for the postwar Polish research work on the Teutonic Order problems. Without going into a detailed evaluation of the pre-war studies it should be stated that, particularly since W. Kętrzyński's works, the subject of the origin of the Teutonic Order state organization in Prussia, i.e. the problem of introducing the Order into that country, and of the political and military conflict between Poland and the Order in the 14th and early 15th centuries (Grunwald) had always been prevalent there. After 1918, studies of the internal history of heathen Prussia, prior to the arrival of the Teutonic Knights, were intensified, particularly as regards the questions of internal decline of the state organization of the Order in the middle of the 15th century, of the incorporation of the Prussian territories into Poland in 1454, and of the thirteen-years' war (1454—1466). A national viewpoint in the approach to the Teutonic Order state and community organization, as well as to the question of return of Pomerania to Poland, was dominant in all these works. Their important results, especially those achieved in the years between the wars, have been summed up in a synthetic study published in 1946 by Karol Górski, where the history of the Teutonic Order state organization in Prussia up to 1525 has been presented briefly but exhaustively, with special attention given to the period of decline in the first half of the 15th century, especially the opposition on the part of the Prussian Union.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> K. Górski, *Państwo krzyżackie w Prusach [The Teutonic Order State in Prussia]*, Gdańsk 1946. General, popular studies of the history of the Teutonic Order State in Prussia are also

In the late 1940s some new tendencies appeared in the study of the Teutonic Order state organization. Particularly well marked was the tendency to move the centre of interest from political and diplomatic problems (especially those connected with the forgeries of the Teutonic Order documents in the early 13th century), to a study of the actual economic possibilities and achievements of the Order, so as to find an explanation of its successes in Prussia and the Gdańsk part of Pomerania. Similarly, a postulate was put forward that the history of the Order in Prussia and of its expansion should be treated in close connection with the whole Polish mediaeval history.<sup>2</sup> To make a study of the economic role of the Teutonic Order state organization of the 15th century played at home, in the Baltic countries, as well as in west European countries, was considered a matter of particular importance.<sup>3</sup> The necessity was also emphasized of making a study of the class character of the Order not only as a representative of the German element but, in the first place, as a representative of the expansionism of feudal knights in the Baltic countries, less advanced in the feudalization process and made the subject of exploitation.<sup>4</sup>

The above mentioned tendencies which, by the way, reflected the changes then occurring in the Polish historiography, have found a marked expression in works published at that time. A striking feature of the majority of them is that the centre of interest has been shifted to the 15th century, the time of a crisis of the Teutonic Order state organization in Prussia and of the unification of its territories with Poland. What doubtlessly favoured the development of that line of studies was the abundance of archive records, particularly from Gdańsk and Toruń, but partly from Königsberg as well, only very little used by German historians up to that time. The dominant feature of these studies was, therefore, the prominence given to economic and social matters in Prussia, in conjunction with the transformations occurring in the Baltic zone, at the cost of purely political or national questions.

Another striking feature was an intensification of the research work on the Prussian history prior to the arrival of the Teutonic Order, especially on the ma-

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to be found in a monograph published by the Western Institute: *Warmia i Mazury* [*Warmia and Mazury*], Poznań 1953; S. Zajączkowski, *Dzieje Zakonu Krzyżackiego* [*History of the Teutonic Order*], Łódź 1946; K. Górski, *Krótkie dzieje Prus Wschodnich* [*Short History of East Prussia*], Warsaw 1946.

<sup>2</sup> *Polska historiografia bałtycka* [*Polish Baltic Historiography*], Gdańsk 1949 — a paper by G. Labuda: *Problematyka dziejowa Wielkiego Pomorza* [*Problems of the History of Great Pomerania*], p. 38 etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, a paper by M. Małowist, *Problemy gospodarcze w dziejach zlewiska Bałtyku* [*Economic Problems in the Baltic History*], p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> E. Maleczyńska, *Problematyka polsko-niemiecka w dotychczasowej historiografii polskiej*, Konferencja naukowa na temat badań nad stosunkami polsko-niemieckimi w przeszłości [*Polish-German Problems in Polish Historiography*, Scientific Conference on Polish-German Relations in the Past], 'Sobótka', vol. V, Wrocław 1951, p. 36 etc.

terial and cultural standards and social relations. Historical studies were in that case very happily combined with a simultaneous archaeological research.

Generally speaking, the Polish studies of the history of the Teutonic Order are confined to the history of its state organization in Prussia. The questions of the Livland branch of the Order, and of the bailiwicks in the Reich have been left aside. This is doubtlessly connected with the above described specific character of the sources, but above all with the recognition of the importance and role of the Prussian state organization in the history of the Order itself and of the Polish state.

## II

When considering separate problems discussed by postwar Polish historians, it should be stated that the origin of the Teutonic Order state organization in Prussia continued to arouse interest. But the problem was treated in a manner different from that applied to it in the earlier studies. First of all, the main emphasis was placed on studies of the conditions prevailing in Prussia up to the end of the 13th century. Polish historiographers wanted to make a study of the economic and social situation of the Prussians, as well as of its evolution since the arrival of the Teutonic Order. In this connection, the necessity arose of an independent study of the population of Prussia (Old Prussians) within the Teutonic Order state organization as well as, finally, of the causes of its extinction in the 15th—16th centuries. Later, attempts were made at throwing some new light on the question of Polish mission in Prussia shortly before the introduction of the Order.

A preliminary resumé of the results of studies of German, Lithuanian and Polish historians concerning the problem of Prussians is contained in an article written by H. Łowmiański in 1947.<sup>5</sup> At the same time the author put forward the postulates briefly presented above. He has also made a separate study of the problem of Polish-Prussian relations in the 10th—12th centuries, where he has come to the conclusion that the Prussians were at that time living through the process of transition from the tribal to the state organization. In the author's opinion the definite shaping of the Prussian state was delayed by the earlier establishment of stronger Slav monarchies.<sup>6</sup>

The author's statement concerning the existence among the Prussians of tendencies towards a state organization has been strongly supported by the results of the archaeological research conducted since 1949 by a group of Warsaw

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<sup>5</sup> H. Łowmiański, *Stan badań nad dziejami dawnych Prusów* [*Research on History of Ancient Prussians*], 'Komunikat Działu Informacji Naukowej Instytutu Mazurskiego w Olsztynie', 1947, No. 7—8, p. 1—28.

<sup>6</sup> H. Łowmiański, *Stosunki polsko-pruskie za pierwszych Piastów* [*Polish-Prussian Relations under the first Piasts*], 'Przegląd Historyczny', vol. XLI, Warsaw 1950, p. 152—179.

archaeologists led by J. Antoniewicz. The research, conducted chiefly on the territories of the ancient lands of Yatvingians, has proved, first of all, the existence of differences in wealth and social status and, consequently, class differences among the Old-Prussian population. At the same time, it has initiated a revision of views on the material culture of the Prussians, revealing their important role in the Baltic trade, the expansion of handicrafts and the prosperity of the leading group of Prussian nobles.<sup>7</sup> The problem of the name, range and economic and social situation of the Yatvingians, a tribe most prominently figuring in the Old-Prussian sources and chronicles, has also been dealt with in detail in a work by A. Kamiński.<sup>8</sup> The political role played by the Yatvingians in the Polish-Ruthenian relations from the 10th to the late 13th century, and especially the endeavours on the part of the Polish and Ruthenian states to impose their rule upon the Yatvingian tribal organization have been presented by B. Włodarski.<sup>9</sup>

Generally speaking, the principal point of these studies is the establishment of the fact that the Prussians had been progressing towards a state organization of their own. When considered from this angle, the entry of the Teutonic Order had been an invasion which brutally interrupted the above mentioned natural process.

The problem of the Polish mission in Prussia before 1226 and the reasons for the introduction of the Teutonic Order are dealt with in works by T. Manteuffel.<sup>10</sup> He particularly stressed the role played by the Cistercians in the

<sup>7</sup> J. Antoniewicz, *Polskie badania archeologiczne nad Baltami w okresie powojennym (1945—1957)* [Polish Archaeological Research on the Balts in Postwar Years 1945—1957], 'Rocznik Olsztyński', vol. I, Olsztyn 1958, p. 295—317 — contains a full list of Polish archaeological literature relating to the excavations works in Prussia. A separate synthetic review of the findings: J. Antoniewicz, *Prusowie we wczesnym średniowieczu i zarys ich kultury materialnej* [Early Medieval Prussians and Their Material Culture], in: *Szkice z dziejów Pomorza* [Studies of History of Pomerania], vol. I, Warsaw 1958, p. 121—159.

<sup>8</sup> A. Kamiński, *Jaćwież. Terytorium, ludność, stosunki gospodarcze i społeczne* [Yatvingia. Its Territory, Population, Economic and Social Relations], Łódź 1953; also S. Zajączkowski, *O nazwach ludu Jaćwingów* [Yatvingian Names], 'Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego', vol. XVIII, Toruń 1953, p. 175 etc. For critical remarks on the results of Kamiński's work see J. Wiśniewski, *W sprawie badań nad Jaćwieżą* [On the Research on Yatvingia], 'Przegląd Historyczny', vol. XLVIII, fasc. 2, 1957, p. 319—326.

<sup>9</sup> B. Włodarski, *Problem jaćwiński w stosunkach polsko-ruskich*. [Yatvingian Problem in Polish-Ruthenian Relations], 'Zapiski Historyczne', vol. XXIV, fasc. 2—3, Toruń 1959, p. 7—36. The question of the name and origin of Galindians is dealt with by J. Otrębski, *Zagadnienie Galindów* [Problem of Galindians], in: *Studia Historica, w 35-lecie pracy naukowej Henryka Lowmiańskiego*, Warsaw 1958, p. 37—41.

<sup>10</sup> T. Manteuffel, *Próba tworzenia cysterskiego państwa biskupiego w Prusach* [An Attempt at Establishing a Cistercian Episcopal State in Prussia], 'Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego', vol. XVIII, Toruń 1953, p. 157—174, also by the same author: *Papiestwo i Cystersi ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem ich roli w Polsce na przełomie XII i XIII w.* [The Papacy and the Cistercians and Their Role in Poland in the 12th and 13th Centuries], Warsaw 1955, p. 87 etc.

mission in Livland, and above all in Prussia, where it had been conducted under the auspices of the Popes. The purpose of the mission, established in Prussia about 1206, was to organize a Cistercian state of Bishop Christian, with the help of permanent militia, i.e. the so-called Dobrzyń Order, the foundation of which the author convincingly dates back to about 1209, and with the exclusion of the influence of Polish princes from these territories. In the author's opinion the introduction of the Teutonic Order by Prince Konrad of Masovia, could have been a competitive move directed against the Cistercians. In this connection, the opinion that devastating Prussian incursions in Masovia were the reason for the invitation extended to the Teutonic Knights, has been decidedly rejected by the author. The withdrawal of the papal support for the Cistercians (about 1230) spelt disaster to Bishop Christian's plans in Prussia and victory to the Teutonic Order conception. We should add that S. M. Szacherska has made an attempt at revealing the aggressive plans concerning the Dobrzyń region, prepared in the early 1230s by the Mainz Archbishopric, some more important feudal knights from Thuringia, and the Teutonic Order itself. The plans had not been realized because of the action taken by Konrad of Masovia in 1235.<sup>11</sup>

Works by K. Tymieniecki and G. Labuda are also connected with the problem of origin and early stages of the Teutonic Order state organization in Prussia. The former sees the origin of the 'Teutonic Order ideology', i.e. of the state, first of all in the actions of Emperor Frederick II, whom he considers the actual founder of both the Order itself and its state organization. The Teutonic Order state had been founded as a move in the struggle for influence in the Baltic zone between the Emperor and the Papacy.<sup>12</sup> G. Labuda for his part, has made an attempt to analyse the controversial question of the position in Public Law of the relationship of the Order and the German Reich, as laid down in the privilege issued by Frederick II in 1226.<sup>13</sup> While also emphasizing the important role played by the Emperor and his conflict with the Papacy, as well as the rivalry in the Baltic area, in the foundation of the Teutonic Order state organization in Prussia, the author states that the Emperor's privilege did in fact apply only to Prussia and that it only confirmed the grant of the Chełmno region, considered a separate grant from Prince Konrad of Masovia. While rejecting or

<sup>11</sup> S. M. Szacherska, *Akt prepozyta dobrzyńskiego Ekberta z 1233 r. a feudalna ekspansja niemiecka na ziemie polskie* [*The Act of Ekbert, the Dobrzyń Praepostor, of 1233 and the German Feudal Expansion on Polish Territories*], 'Przegląd Historyczny', vol. L, fasc. 3, Warsaw 1959, p. 448—472.

<sup>12</sup> K. Tymieniecki, *Krzyżacy (próba odnalezienia źródeł ideologii)* [*The Teutonic Knights. An Attempt at Finding the Ideological Sources*], 'Roczniki Historyczne', vol. XVIII, Poznań 1949, p. 49—80.

<sup>13</sup> G. Labuda, *Stosunek prawno-polityczny Zakonu Krzyżackiego do Rzeszy Niemieckiej w świetle Złotej Bulli Fryderyka II z 1226 r.* [*Legal Relation of the Teutonic Order to the German Reich in the Light of the Golden Bull of Frederick II of 1226*], 'Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne', vol. III, Poznań 1951, p. 87—124. French translation: p. 124—154.

modifying the views of earlier researchers (A. Werminghoff, E. E. Stengel), he defines the relative legal position of the Empire and the Order as only a 'protection' which made it possible for the Teutonic Order state to exist as a sovereign organism within the universal Empire, an organism which recognised only the authority, not the rule, of the Emperor. However, the Order had been forced by the changing circumstances to recognise the papal authority over Prussia. A separate study by G. Labuda has been devoted to the legal position of the Chełmno region within the Teutonic Order state, as from 1228.<sup>14</sup> He has shown that the grant from Prince Konrad of Masovia was effected within the Polish legal system of the period of feudal partitions. It did not mean, however, that Masovian rulers, who were to act as superior protectors of the Order, had entirely renounced their sovereign rights. In the author's opinion, the papal bulls of 1234 and 1243 do not establish the fact of placing the Chełmno region under the papal authority, but only the area of Prussia itself. In this connection, the author comes to the conclusion that the forgery of the so-called 'Kruszwica privilege' of Prince Konrad of Masovia took place in 1234. In view of the absence of documents originating from Polish princes and concerning the renouncement of the sovereign rights in the Chełmno region, the area in question had been treated by Polish opinion as a part of the Polish Kingdom, which the Order refused to recognise. During the struggle for reunification of the Kingdom, early in the 14th century, an erroneous view that the Chełmno region had been temporarily granted to the Teutonic Order, was formed in Poland.

A study by B. Włodarski, describing the attempts made by Prince Kazimierz of Kuyavia in the middle of the 13th century and aimed at an extension of his authority to the southern parts of Prussia (Galindia and Yatvingia), as well the effective counteraction on the part of the Teutonic Order, is connected with the early stages of the Teutonic Order state organization in Prussia.<sup>15</sup>

Generally speaking, the above described works by Polish historians have put the problem of origin of the Teutonic Order state against the wider background of European relations, especially of the opposing drives of the two universalist powers — the Papacy and the Empire. They have also corrected and specified a number of facts. Finally, they have partly connected the problem with internal conditions in Poland during the period of feudal partitions, particularly as regards the Chełmno region, thus showing the way and possibilities for further research.

<sup>14</sup> G. Labuda, *Stanowisko ziemi chełmińskiej w państwie krzyżackim w latach 1228—1454* [*Position of the Chełmno Region in the Teutonic Order State in 1228—1454*], 'Przegląd Historyczny', vol. XLV, fasc. 2—3, Warsaw 1954, p. 280—337.

<sup>15</sup> B. Włodarski, *Rywalizacja o ziemie pruskie w połowie XIII wieku* [*Rivalry for Prussian Territories in the Middle of the 13th Century*], 'Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu', vol. 61, fasc. 1, Toruń 1958.

## III

However, the keenest interest has been shown by Polish historians for problems of the Teutonic Order state of the first half of the 15th century. Particular interest has been aroused by the problem of economic changes occurring in the Teutonic Order state, inadequately presented by earlier historians. Research in this field was initiated in 1948 by M. Małowist, who analysed the economic policy of the Order in the 15th century, placing special emphasis on the role of the big trade of the Order in the 14th century, the change in its character after 1410, as well as the growing internal antagonism connected with these events. On this occasion he pointed to trade contacts of the Gdańsk Pomerania and the Chełmno region with Poland, as an important factor in the Prussian economy and policy in the middle of the 15th century<sup>16</sup>. In his later works M. Małowist presented a far more detailed study of these problems, linking them with the question of changes occurring in the structure of the Baltic trade, resulting chiefly from the appearance of new customers, mostly Dutchmen, successfully competing with the former Hanseatic intermediary and penetrating as far as the Prussian countryside where they were warmly greeted as new partners. However, the Prussian knights were unable to ensure free trade to the Dutch traders in Prussia, where it was decidedly restricted by the big cities.<sup>17</sup> The author has also separately accentuated the changes occurring in the economic structure of Prussia in the first half of the 15th century, drawing attention to an increase in labour duties imposed on peasants in the Teutonic Order estates. The purpose of the duties was not so much to help in transport of timber (G. Aubin) as to remedy the shortage of manpower in the farms belonging to the Order.<sup>18</sup> The question of economic interrelations between Prussia and Poland, as important factor in the process of unification of the Teutonic Order state with Poland has been dealt with in a separate work.<sup>19</sup>

M. Małowist's works have pointed to a new line of research on internal changes in the Teutonic Order state. This is reflected in two works by B. Geremek dealing with the economic and social background of the changes within the Prus-

<sup>16</sup> M. Małowist, *Polityka gospodarcza Zakonu Krzyżackiego w XV w.* [*Economic Policy of the Teutonic Order in the 15th Century*], in: *Pamiętnik VII Zjazdu Historyków Polskich we Wrocławiu* [*Commemorative Book of the 7th Congress of Polish Historians*], Wrocław 1948.

<sup>17</sup> M. Małowist, *Studia z dziejów rzemiosła w okresie kryzysu feudalizmu w zachodniej Europie w XIV i XV w.* [*Studies on History of Handicrafts During the Crisis of Feudalism in Western Europe in the 14th and 15th Centuries*], Warsaw 1954.

<sup>18</sup> M. Małowist, *Über die Frage der Handelspolitik des Adels in den Ostseeländern im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, 'Hansische Geschichtsblätter', vol. 75, Hamburg 1957.

<sup>19</sup> M. Małowist, *Podstawy gospodarcze przywrócenia jedności państwowej Pomorza Gdańskiego z Polską w XV wieku* [*Economic Basis of the Restoration of Unity of Gdańsk Pomerania and Poland in the 15th Century*], 'Przegląd Historyczny', vol. XLV, fasc. 2/3, Warsaw 1954, p. 141—187. Compare below.

sian community. In the first of them <sup>20</sup> the author points to a considerable development of the commodity-money economy which found its expression in grain exports from Prussia and in the prevalence of cash payments in the imposts paid by German and Polish peasants. A more detailed analysis has been made of the process of shaping economic differences among Prussian peasants, as well as of the role of a commercial go-between played by the Prussian cities, with a decided underdevelopment of handicrafts in towns. Against this background the author has made a detailed analysis of the causes of the town-country antagonism which lessened the cohesion and unity of action of the Prussian Union. As a separate study Geremek has presented the important question of manpower in Prussia in the middle of the 15th century. While pointing out the important role played in the Teutonic Order farms and peasant farms by hired labour, both permanent and seasonal, he analysed the problem of maximum wages for farm workers and labourers of the beginning of the 15th century, as an expression of a manpower crisis and of the antagonism between the knights and the cities which absorbed large numbers of the poorer rural population. That was the background of the tendencies to restrict the freedom of movements of the rural population, (i.e. the tendencies leading to serfdom), and to increase soccage type duties, particularly in the estates belonging to the Order. <sup>21</sup>

M. Gumowski has made a separate study of the minting policy of the Order, with special emphasis on the depreciation of the Teutonic Order coins after 1410. <sup>22</sup>

Connected with the question of social transformations in the first half of the 15th century is the problem of Hussitism in the Teutonic Order state. The opinion of J. Maček, a Czech historian, concerning the wide expansion of the Hussite ideas in Prussia, has not been generally accepted by Polish historians. <sup>23</sup> The initial research concerning the Chełmno region failed to prove the existence there of Hussite trends. <sup>24</sup> What has been found, however, is indubitable proof

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<sup>20</sup> B. Geremek, *Ze studiów nad stosunkami gospodarczymi między miastem a wsią w Prusach Krzyżackich w pierwszej połowie XV w.* [*Studies on Economic Relations Between Towns and Country in the Teutonic Order Prussia in the First Half of the 15th Century*], 'Przegląd Historyczny', vol. XLVII, fasc. 1, Warsaw 1956, p. 48—102.

<sup>21</sup> B. Geremek, *Problem siły roboczej w Prusach w pierwszej połowie XV w.* [*Manpower Problem in Prussia in the First Half of the 15th Century*], *ibidem*, vol. XLVIII, fasc. 2, Warsaw 1957, p. 195—233.

<sup>22</sup> M. Gumowski, *Moneta u Krzyżaków* [*Teutonic Order Coins*], 'Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego', vol. XVII, Toruń 1952, p. 7—68.

<sup>23</sup> J. Maček, *Husyci na Pomorzu i w Wielkopolsce* [*Hussites in Pomerania and Wielkopolska*], Warsaw 1955 — a critical review by M. Biskup and J. Serczyk in 'Zapiski Historyczne', vol. XXII, fasc. 1/3, Toruń 1957, p. 255—260.

<sup>24</sup> J. Serczyk, *W sprawie husytyzmu w ziemi chełmińskiej w latach 1415—1433* [*Hussitism in the Chełmno Region in 1415—1433*], 'Zapiski Historyczne', vol. XXIII, fasc. 4, Toruń 1958, p. 43—62.

of growing anti-clerical feelings directed against both the higher Church hierarchy closely co-operating with the Order, and parish priests, particularly in the Gdańsk Pomerania, the feelings caused chiefly by the levied tithes and sometimes even resulting in murders of parish priests committed by local peasants or knights.<sup>25</sup> The problem of the Gdańsk revolts has also been presented in more detail, pointing to the participation in the revolts of much wider sections of the community. This particularly applies to the 1416 revolt in which not only representatives of guilds but also of the city lower classes as well as of suburban peasants took part.<sup>26</sup>

The Polish postwar research work, in general, has doubtlessly advanced the knowledge of the clearly marked signs of a crisis in the Teutonic Order state, thus throwing new light on the subjects of earlier studies, and pointing to a number of new elements, as well as emphasizing the necessity of continued studies particularly of the peasant duties or problems of Hussitism.

#### IV

The problem of the resettlement and colonization policy of the Teutonic Order state has also found some reflection in the Polish postwar historiography. The problem has been studied chiefly with the view to establish the role of the Prussian element in the colonization under the rule of the Order. The general colonization policy and practice of the Order from the viewpoint of its population policy have been presented by H. Łowmiański.<sup>27</sup> Miss M. Pollak for her part, has made a detailed study of the participation of the Prussian element in the colonization in bishops' Warmia up to the middle of the 15th century,<sup>28</sup> pointing to its important role in the colonization of the countryside, even where the Chełmno (German) law was in force. At the same time, she made for the first time a synthetic study of the problem of extinction of the ethnical Prussian population at the turn of the 17th century.<sup>29</sup> She attributes it to the fast progressing Germanization of the upper classes (Prussian nobles) which enjoyed equal rights with the German knights. The mass of the villeinage population survived till the 15th century, retaining their old customs and forms of economy. Only the wars of the 15th century resulted in their partly destruction. In her opinion,

<sup>25</sup> M. Biskup, *Zjednoczenie Pomorza Wschodniego z Polską w połowie XV wieku* [Unification of Eastern Pomerania with Poland in the Middle of the 15th Century], Warsaw 1959, chap. I, p. 15 etc.

<sup>26</sup> E. Cieślak, *Rewolty gdańskie w XV w. (1416—1456)* [Gdańsk Revolts in the 15th Century (1416—1456)], 'Kwartalnik Historyczny', vol. LXI, fasc. 3, Warsaw 1954, p. 110—142.

<sup>27</sup> H. Łowmiański, *Polityka ludnościowa Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach i na Pomorzu* [Population Policy of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Pomerania], Gdańsk 1947.

<sup>28</sup> M. Pollakówna, *Osadnictwo Warmii w okresie krzyżackim* [Warmia Settlements under the Teutonic Order], Poznań 1953.

<sup>29</sup> M. Pollakówna, *Zanik ludności pruskiej* [Extinction of the Prussian Population], in: *Szkice z dziejów Pomorza* [Studies on History of Pomerania], vol. I, Warsaw 1958, p. 160—207.

however, the decisive moment came with the deterioration of the situation of German villages ruled by the Chełmno law, when they became virtually equal in position to Prussian villages. That led to the disappearance of differences between them. The Prussians mixed with other ethnical groups, Germans and Poles in particular, (with the latter especially in settlements built in clearings in the Mazury forests). The Reformation has also its influence on the disappearance of traditional customs and beliefs and, in consequence, the extinction of the language in the 17th century.

In connection with colonization problems in the Gdańsk Pomerania a study has been made of the problem of large numbers of peasant and knight settlements which were still ruled by the Polish law as late as in the middle of the 15th century, when the Teutonic Order rule was on the decline. M. Biskup's work<sup>30</sup> devoted to this problem also contains a polemic with the earlier findings of K. Kasiske. It should be added that Kasiske's scientific methods and findings concerning the ethnical problem in the Gdańsk Pomerania under the Teutonic Order rule have been strongly criticized by K. Górski as well.<sup>31</sup> The rural colonization problem in the Gdańsk Pomerania under the Teutonic Order rule has also been given much space in a work by M. Kiełczewska—Zaleska who has described, using the geographical-historical method and with the help of a rich collection of land maps dating from the late 18th and the early 19th centuries, the principal changes in the types of settlements, resulting from the influence of the colonization under the Polish and German laws. She has rejected the view that certain ethnical groups had a decisive influence on the shape of the settlements.<sup>32</sup>

A geographical and historical study by K. Ślaski, concerning hypothetic changes in the wooded areas of the country resulting from the progressing colonization, can doubtlessly prove useful in a study of the colonization problems of Gdańsk Pomerania.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> M. Biskup, *Osady na prawie polskim na Pomorzu Gdańskim w połowie XV w.* [*Polish Law Settlements in Gdańsk Pomerania in the Middle of the 15th Century*], Warsaw 1956. Prace Instytutu Geografii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, No. 5.

<sup>31</sup> K. Górski, *W sprawie statystyk narodowościowych w późnym średniowieczu* [*Nationality Statistics in Late Middle Ages*], 'Przegląd Zachodni', No. 7/8, Poznań 1954, p. 445—454. A critical article connected with K. Kasiske's work *Beiträge zur Bevölkerungsgeschichte Pommerellens im Mittelalter*, Königsberg 1942.

<sup>32</sup> M. Kiełczewska-Zaleska, *O powstaniu i przeobrażaniu kształtów wsi Pomorza Gdańskiego* [*Origin and Transformations of the Shape of Gdańsk Pomerania Villages*], Warsaw 1956. Prace Instytutu Geografii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, No. 5.

<sup>33</sup> K. Ślaski, *Zasięg lasów Pomorza w ostatnim tysiącleciu* [*The Area of the Pomerania Forests in the Last Ten Centuries*], 'Przegląd Zachodni', No. 7, Poznań 1951, p. 207—263 and a map. It should be added that in a study by W. Kowalenko, *Baltyk i Pomorze w historii kartografii (VII—XVI w.)* [*The Baltic and Pomerania in History of Cartography (7th—16th Century)*], 'Przegląd Zachodni', No. 7/8, Poznań 1954, p. 353—389, the earliest cartographical records relating to the territories of the Teutonic Order state in Prussia have been described.

## V

Still arousing keen interest among Polish historians is the problem of the struggle, carried on by the Polish State with the Lithuanian support since the 14th century, for the recovery of Gdańsk Pomerania and the Chełmno region annexed by the Teutonic Order. Special prominence has been given here to the problem of the 'Great War' of the years 1409—1411. The question of the Polish revendication drive has been, however, connected with the whole of the economic and social changes occurring in Poland in the 14th century. From this point of view, the question of recovery of Pomerania has been treated as a fragment of the general unification process in the reborn Polish Kingdom. These problems have been synthetically presented by G. Labuda.<sup>34</sup> New light on the origin of the Teutonic Order incursions in Lithuania in the 14th and early 15th centuries has also been thrown by H. Łowmiański who describes the separate stages of the aggression and the real material and political potential of the Order.<sup>35</sup> The problem of the beginning of the opposition within the Teutonic Order state strictly speaking in the Chełmno region where pro-Polish tendencies existed, embodied in the Lizard Society (*Eidechsenengesellschaft*), has been extensively dealt with by M. Bartkowiak.<sup>36</sup> The attempt at acquiring the New Mark through repayment of the mortgage debt to Sigismundus of Luxembourg, made by Poland in 1402 and frustrated by the Teutonic Order counteraction among the New Mark knights, has also been analysed in detail.<sup>37</sup>

An attempt at throwing new light on the relationship between various Polish circles and the Order at the turn of the 14th century has been made by E. Maleczyńska who points out the compromising attitude of Queen Jadwiga and of the Małopolska nobles, influenced by the general policy pursued in Europe by the Luxembourg dynasty, which was hostile to Poland. The persistently anti-

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<sup>34</sup> G. Labuda, *Walka o zjednoczenie Pomorza z Polską w X—XIV w.* [*The Struggle for Unification of Pomerania with Poland in the 10th —14th Centuries*], in: *Szkice z dziejów Pomorza* [*Studies on History of Pomerania*], vol. I, Warsaw 1958, p. 208—267.

<sup>35</sup> H. Łowmiański, *Agresja Zakonu Krzyżackiego na Litwę w wiekach XII—XV* [*The Teutonic Order Aggression in Lithuania in the 12th —15th Centuries*], 'Przegląd Historyczny', vol. XLV, fasc. 2/3, Warsaw 1954, p. 338—371. The conflict between Poland and the Teutonic Order in the early 14th century has been described in a popular form by T. Nowak, *Walki z agresją Zakonu Krzyżackiego w okresie jednoczenia państwa polskiego* [*The Struggle Against the Teutonic Order Aggression During the Period of Unification of the Polish State*], Warsaw 1952.

<sup>36</sup> M. Bartkowiak, *Towarzystwo Jaszczurcze w latach 1397—1437* [*The Lizard Society in the Years 1397—1437*], 'Rocznik Towarzystwa Naukowego', vol. LI, fasc. 2, Toruń 1948.

<sup>37</sup> W. Fenrych, *Próba nabycia Nowej Marchii przez Polskę w roku 1402 (w świetle dokumentu Sędziwoja z Szubina i towarzyszy z dn. 14 lutego t. r.* [*A Polish Attempt to Purchase the New Mark in 1402 — in the Light of a Document of Sędziwój of Szubin, Dated February 14th, 1402*], 'Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. A. Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Historia', fasc. 3, Poznań 1958, p. 69—113.

-Teutonic character of Władysław Jagiełło's policy has been strongly accentuated on this occasion.<sup>38</sup>

The course of the 'Great War' (1409—1411), particularly the battle of Grunwald of July 15th, 1410, is the subject of a study by S. M. Kuczyński.<sup>39</sup> In his extensive work he has summed up the results of the earlier research, and presented a number of important problems in a new light. He has made a specially detailed analysis of the economic and military potential of the two belligerents, and expressed a determined opinion that Władysław Jagiełło had been the supreme commander in the battle of Grunwald. The author has also emphasized the socially mixed character of the two armies, composed of not only knights but also warriors of peasant and town origin, and pointed to the great variety of nationalities taking part in the battle, specially accentuating the prevalence of the Ruthenian element in the Lithuanian Army. He has also analysed the strategic plans of the two sides, highly appreciating the conception of a concentric march on Malbork, worked out by the royal staff and modelled on the eastern tactics. He has analysed the course of the battle itself, expressing the view that the Lithuanian-Ruthenian forces, only a part of them, though, had really fled the battlefield in the early stages, that strong Polish reserves had been available and they decided on the victory. The author has also made an attempt at defending the importance of the Toruń peace treaty of 1411, as a turning point in the relations between Poland and the Teutonic Order.

Kuczyński's views have initiated the discussion now in progress. When pointing out the above mentioned findings of the author special attention has been drawn to his over-estimation of the role of Władysław Jagiełło as the commander, as well as his exaggerated estimate of the economic and military potential of the Teutonic Order and of the opposition feelings among its subjects. The inadequacy of his analysis of the sources (*Cronica conflictus* in particular) has been also pointed out<sup>40</sup>. A discussion has also been initiated on separate phases and the course of the battle of Grunwald, with a recourse to cartographical

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<sup>38</sup> E. Maleczyńska, *Spoleczeństwo polskie I połowy XV stulecia wobec zagadnień zachodnich* [Polish Community of the First Half of the 15th Century and Western Problems], Wrocław 1947.

<sup>39</sup> S.M. Kuczyński, *Wielka Wojna z Zakonem Krzyżackim w latach 1409—1411* [The Great War with the Teutonic Order 1409—1411], Warsaw 1955; by the same author, *Kto dowodził w bitwie pod Grunwaldem* [Who Was in Command in the Battle of Grunwald], 'Nauka i Sztuka', vol. V, Jelenia Góra—Wrocław 1947; by the same author, *Pierwszy pokój toruński (1 lutego 1411)* [The First Toruń Peace Treaty — February 1st, 1411], 'Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego', vol. XX, Toruń 1955, p. 139—165; by the same author, *Grunwaldzkie lata* [The Grunwald Years], in: *Szkice z dziejów Pomorza* [Studies on History of Pomerania], vol. I, Warsaw 1958, p. 268—329.

<sup>40</sup> Particularly a review by H. Łowmiański in 'Kwartalnik Historyczny', vol. LXII, fasc. 4/5, Warsaw 1955, p. 222—231.

sources and to a morphological and geological analysis of the battlefield.<sup>41</sup> At the same time, excavation work started on the battlefield. Studies have also been undertaken of the other stages of the 'Great War', with the help of the inadequately explored Teutonic Order archives (from Königsberg), and a number of new facts established, particularly concerning the first phase of the war (Summer 1409 in Kujawy and Wielkopolska /Great Poland/), as well as the post-Grunwald period. The part played in war operations by the Polish peasant and city element has been specially pointed out.<sup>42</sup>

The question of the polemic battle between Poland and the Order of the Grunwald period and during the Council of Constance, particularly the personality and views of Paweł Włodkowic, as well as his activities at the Council, have been presented in more detail by L. Ehrlich who, at the same time, rescued from oblivion another outstanding personality — that of Stanisław of Skarbimierz, the first Rector of the Cracow University in 1400.<sup>43</sup> The most important work of Stanisław of Skarbimierz is his sermon *De bellis iustis* virtually a treatise constituting the first European exposition of the public war law, and justifying the war waged by Poland against the Order as well as the admissibility of recruiting the help of infidels. The treatise was probably written in the middle of 1410, just before the Grunwald operation. It has been published by L. Ehrlich separately, with a detailed introduction and a commentary.<sup>44</sup>

## VI

Prominent among the subjects of interest to Polish historians in the recent years is the problem of the recovery of Pomerania and of its unification with Poland in the middle of the 15th century (i.e. the incorporation of Prussia in 1454). Already before the war this question aroused keen interest of Polish historians, especially K. Górski, who concentrated his interest on the problem of the opposition within the Teutonic Order state, embodied in the Prussian Union. His studies have shown the character of the opposition and its organizational structure.

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<sup>41</sup> S. Herbst, *Uwagi o bitwie grunwaldzkiej* [Remarks on the Battle of Grunwald], 'Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie', No. 3, Olsztyn 1958, p. 193—196; W. Majewski, *Kilka uwag o bitwie pod Grunwaldem* [Some Remarks on the Battle of Grunwald], 'Zapiski Historyczne', vol. XXV, fasc. 2, Toruń 1960.

<sup>42</sup> M. Biskup, *Z badań nad 'Wielką Wojną' Polski z Zakonem Krzyżackim* [Studies on the 'Great War' between Poland and the Teutonic Order], 'Kwartalnik Historyczny', vol. LXVI, fasc. 3, Warsaw 1959, p. 671—715.

<sup>43</sup> L. Ehrlich, *Paweł Włodkowic i Stanisław ze Skarbimierza* [Paweł Włodkowic and Stanisław of Skarbimierz], Warsaw 1954.

<sup>44</sup> L. Ehrlich, *Polski wykład prawa wojny XV wieku* [Polish Exposition of the War Law in the 15th Century], Warsaw 1955.

The results have been presented in his above quoted work *Państwo krzyżackie w Prusach*, but they can be found in a much more detailed form in the commentary to the published sources, including reprints of the most important material concerning the history of the Prussian Confederation.<sup>45</sup> Working on the material found in the Teutonic Order archives (from Königsberg) the author has also presented some more examples of abuse committed by the Teutonic Order authorities, and the growth of individual opposition in 1440s.<sup>46</sup> M. Biskup has written a separate biography of Jan Cegenberg, the leader of the Prussian Union.<sup>47</sup> Similarly, Mrs. I. Janosz-Biskup has presented the role of the leader of the opposition among the Prussian burghers, Tileman vom Wege, the burgo-master of Toruń.<sup>48</sup> A study has also been made of the Lizard Society of the middle of the 15th century, whose role (clearly overestimated by J. Voigt) has now been greatly reduced in favour of the Prussian Union.<sup>49</sup>

New lines of research on the problem of the decline of the Teutonic Order state and of the return of Pomerania to Poland have been explored by M. Małowist. The author has treated these problems from the viewpoint of economic relations between Poland and the Teutonic Order state in the middle of the 15th century, which provided the background for the restoration of political unity of Gdańsk Pomerania and the Chełmno region with Poland. The author has analysed the trade relations developing between the two states, particularly the expansion of Polish exports of agricultural and forest produce to Pomerania. A large proportion of these goods was shipped on through Gdańsk harbour to west European countries, but a part of them was used to meet the demands of the Pomeranian market where products of Polish artisans also penetrated. Imports from Poland had become indispensable for the economic life in the Teutonic Order state, especially for the development of Gdańsk and Toruń. On the other hand, exports from Prussia of goods, both west European and home made, as well

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<sup>45</sup> *Związek Pruski i poddanie się Prus Polsce* [*The Prussian Union and the Surrender of Prussia to Poland*], published by K. Górski, Poznań 1949. See also a review of E. Weise's publication: *Das Widerstandsrecht im Ordenlande Preussen*, Göttingen 1955, published in *Journal of Central European Affairs*, vol. 17, April 1957.

<sup>46</sup> K. Górski, *Sprawa Skolimów i pierwsza próba oporu zbrojnego przeciw Krzyżakom w Prusach w latach 1443—1446* [*The Skolims Case and the First Attempt at Armed Resistance Against the Teutonic Knights in Prussia in 1443—1446*], 'Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego', vol. XX, Toruń 1955, p. 197—222.

<sup>47</sup> M. Biskup, *Jan Cegenberg, współtwórca Związku Pruskiego* [*Jan Cegenberg, Co-founder of the Prussian Union*], 'Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego', vol. XV, fasc. 1—2, p. 73—122, and fasc. 3—4, p. 27—78. Toruń 1949—1950.

<sup>48</sup> I. Janosz-Biskupowa, *Tileman vom Wege — burmistrz toruński* [*Tileman vom Wege, Burgomaster of Toruń*], 'Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego', vol. XX, Toruń 1955, p. 223—256.

<sup>49</sup> M. Biskup, *Uwagi o roli i znaczeniu Towarzystwa Jaszczurczego w latach 1438—1454* [*Remarks on the Role and Importance of the Lizard Society in 1438—1454*], 'Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego', vol. XV, fasc. 1—2, Toruń 1949, p. 63—72.

as the penetration of the Gdańsk capital especially to the northern territories of the Polish state of that time, had become a very important factor helping the expansion of the Polish commodity economy. Consequently, Małowist has strongly stressed the fact of the economic unification of the territories of the Polish and the Teutonic Order states, while their fundamental economic interdependence was taking shape.<sup>50</sup> The author has also drawn attention to the attitude of various social groups in the Teutonic Order state towards the problem of struggle against the Order, with special emphasis on the complex question of the attitude of artisans and peasants.

The above mentioned problems were, in part, the subject of a little earlier studies of Polish historians. The questions of trade relations between Polish cities and Gdańsk, and of the existence of Polish shipping on the Vistula and in the Baltic in the 14th and 15th centuries have already been studied by W. Kowalenko,<sup>51</sup> and the question of Nieszawa, an important Polish trade centre opposite Toruń, has been studied by I. Janosz-Biskup.<sup>52</sup> However, Małowist, apart from his valuable findings, was the first to point to the line of further study and the possibilities it offered.

K. Górski, for his part, concentrated his interest on the political and diplomatic sides of the incorporation of Prussia with the Polish State. In his works he chiefly analysed the Polish part in the polemic between the Prussian Union and the Teutonic Order authorities in the early 1450s, pointing out the role played by Polish jurists from the Włocławek diocese in formulating their treatises in defence of the Prussian Confederation.<sup>53</sup> It was also K. Górski who called attention to the attitude of the Polish political circles towards the Prussian Union and the possibility to incorporate Prussia (especially the role played by Queen Zofia Holszańska, the mother of Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, as well as by Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki).<sup>54</sup>

The studies initiated by M. Małowist have been continued by H. Chłopocka who has supplemented the study of the economic interrelations between Poland and Pomerania dating back to the early 15th century, and called for a more detailed study of the unification ideas concerning Pomerania and appearing as early

<sup>50</sup> M. Małowist, *Podstawy gospodarcze...* see Note 19.

<sup>51</sup> W. Kowalenko, *Polska żegluga na Wiśle i Bałtyku w XIV i XV wieku [Polish Shipping on the Vistula and in the Baltic in the 14th and 15th Centuries]*, 'Roczniki Historyczne', vol. XVII, Poznań 1948, p. 336—377.

<sup>52</sup> I. Janosz-Biskupowa, *O położeniu i przeniesieniu Nieszawy [The Location of Nieszawa]*, 'Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego', vol. XX, Toruń 1955, p. 167—196.

<sup>53</sup> K. Górski, *Pisma polskie w obronie Związku Pruskiego a geneza 'złotej wolności'* [*Polish Statements in Defence of the Prussian Union and the Origin of the 'Golden Liberty'*], 'Roczniki Historyczne', vol. XVIII, Poznań 1949, p. 81—104.

<sup>54</sup> K. Górski, *Zjazdy parczewski i piotrkowski 1453 r. [Parczew and Piotrków Assemblies in 1453]*, 'Sprawozdania z posiedzeń i czynności PAU', No. 5, Cracow 1949, p. 237—239, and in publications of the sources (see below).

as just after 1308. She has also made a separate study (working on the materia relating to the law-suits between Poland and the Teutonic Order in 1320, 1339 and 1422) of the problem of the existence and development of the tradition of Poland's rights to Gdańsk Pomerania, the tradition that had been developing in the Polish northern territories (Wielkopolska, Kujawy, Masovia) since the early 14th century. Chłopocka very highly values the depositions made by witnesses for Poland, as an expression of the tradition with a cultural and historical function, playing an important part in strengthening the Polish national consciousness.<sup>55</sup> M. Biskup, for his part, referred to M. Małowist's methods and findings, as well as to the subjects first dealt with by K. Górski, and tried to present a synthesis of the problem of the incorporation of Prussia with Poland.<sup>56</sup> Working on a wider range of records taken from the Polish archives (mostly from Gdańsk, Toruń and Warsaw) and from the Göttingen archive, he has analyses in more detail the wide-spread system of economic links between Poland and the Teutonic Order state, establishing more of their characteristics and interrelations. He has also drawn attention to the social links initiated by peasant settlers from northern Poland and Masovia, as well as by the penetration to the Prussian cities of newcomers from Poland, and to the cultural and legal links. He has described the growing interest of both Małopolska (Little Poland) and Wielkopolska cities for the Baltic trade, particularly for relations with Gdańsk harbour as the central place of meetings with west European traders. He has also given a more detailed account on political groups in Poland, interested in the recovery of Pomerania, pointing to Wielkopolska and Kujawy noblemen and followers of Queen Zofia Holszańska (former Hussites in part) as chief promoters of the Prussian Union activities. He has tried to explain the reasons for the support given by the German princes (spiritual and temporal) to the Teutonic Order

<sup>55</sup> H. Chłopocka, *O elementach zjednoczenia Pomorza Gdańskiego z Polską w XV w.* [*Elements of the Unification of Gdańsk Pomerania with Poland in the 15th Century*], 'Roczniki Historyczne', vol. XXIV, Poznań 1958, p. 253—282, and *Tradycja o Pomorzu Gdańskim w zeznaniach świadków na procesach polsko-krzyżackich w XIV i XV wieku* [*Gdańsk Pomerania Tradition in Depositions of Witnesses in Law Suits between Poland and the Teutonic Order in the 14th and 15th Centuries*], *ibidem*, vol. XXV, 1, Poznań 1959, p. 65—142. A summary of the findings, especially of M. Małowist and K. Górski, is contained in a paper by K. Lepszy, *Walka o zjednoczenie Pomorza z całością ziem polskich (od 1454 do połowy XVII w.)* [*The Struggle for Unification of Pomerania with Poland from 1454 till the Middle of the 17th Century*], in: *Konferencja Pomorska 1954* [*The Pomeranian Conference 1954*], Warsaw 1956, p. 47—67.

<sup>56</sup> M. Biskup, *Zjednoczenie Pomorza Wschodniego z Polską w połowie XV w.* [*The Unification of Eastern Pomerania with Poland in the Middle of the 15th Century*], Warsaw 1959. The problem has also been sketchily treated by the same author in: *Do genezy inkorporacji Prus* [*On the Origin of the Incorporation of Prussia*], 'Przegląd Zachodni', No. 7/8, Poznań 1954, p. 293—306, and *Walka o zjednoczenie Pomorza Wschodniego z Polską w połowie XV w.* [*The Struggle for the Unification of Eastern Pomerania with Poland in the Middle of the 15th Century*], in: *Szkice z dziejów Pomorza* [*Studies on History of Pomerania*], vol. I, Warsaw 1958, p. 330—368.

in its conflict with the Prussian Confederation, pointing to the struggle then in progress between the territorial rulers in the Reich and their own cities. In conclusion, he has accentuated the close connection of the incorporation problem not only with Prussian but also Polish internal changes, ascribing to the activities of Polish circles an influence in accelerating the decision of the Prussian states concerning the break with the Teutonic Order. In his work he also raises the problem of the so-called Cracow negotiations held late in February 1454 between representatives of Poland and of the great deputation of the Prussian Union. This problem has earlier been studied by German historians. Polish postwar historians, have also tackled it, especially K. Górski who attacked the theses (of E. Weise in particular) radically minimizing the role of the Prussian Union and the importance of the incorporation act.<sup>57</sup> The problem has also been presented by A. Vetulani who analysed chiefly the question of Polish intervention in Prussia as fully justified from the political and legal viewpoint prevailing in Poland in the 15th century. He has also analysed the substance of the incorporation act and its importance to the Prussian states<sup>58</sup>. W. Hejnosz has rebutted E. Weise's arguments, proving in a detailed legal analysis that the act, or rather the privilege of incorporation provided the incorporation 'with full rights', only granting to the states of all Prussia a fairly wide autonomy. He has also accentuated the groundlessness of the thesis about the 'Polish-Prussian union' and a bilateral agreement between the Polish king and the Prussian states.<sup>59</sup> Finally, M. Biskup has made a more detailed analysis of the course of the Cracow negotiations, working on a wider range of records and describing the counteraction of Eberhard Kinsberg, an emissary of the Teutonic Order, among the members of the Crown Council. He especially pointed out the main, in his opinion, political and social (not national) sense of the negotiations, as well as the specific conflict that had developed between the particularist concept of the Prussian deputation and the centralist programme of the royal camp.

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<sup>57</sup> Especially K. Górski in a commentary on the publication *Związek Pruski* [*The Prussian Union*], p. LIX—LXX.

<sup>58</sup> A. Vetulani, *Rokowania krakowskie r. 1454 i zjednoczenie ziem pruskich z Polską* [*Cracow Negotiations of 1454 and the Unification of Prussian Territories with Poland*], 'Przegląd Historyczny', vol. XLV, fasc. 2—3, Warsaw 1954, p. 188—236. The author has also presented the view that Jan Bażyński (Baysen), chairman of the deputation of the Prussian states, had delivered two speeches: one at an early stage of the negotiations (the version reported by Długossius), and the other at the final stages (the version reported by Schütz). This view has been questioned by J. Dworzaczkowa, *Jedna czy dwie mowy Jana Bażyńskiego* [*One or Two Speeches by Jan Bażyński*], 'Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne', vol. VII, 1, Poznań 1955, p. 213—221, who is of the opinion that there was only one speech, as indicated by the great similarity of the two versions.

<sup>59</sup> W. Hejnosz, *Prawnopanstwowy stosunek Prus do Korony w świetle aktu inkorporacyjnego z r. 1454* [*Legal Position of Prussia and the Polish Crown in the Light of the Incorporation Act of 1454*], 'Przegląd Zachodni', No. 7/8, Poznań 1954, p. 307—330.

The concessions concerning autonomy, contained in the incorporation act had been a result of a compromise between the two concepts. He has made an analysis of the individual attitudes of the Polish political representatives, with a special accent on the part played by the Wielkopolska representatives — promoters of the delegation of the Prussian states, as well as on the opposition on the part of representatives of the Polish episcopacy.<sup>60</sup>

The thirteen-years' war (1454—1466) between Poland and the Prussian states on one side and the Teutonic Order on the other has been made the subject of a number of studies, mostly based on the rich Gdańsk archives.<sup>61</sup> The centre of attention on this occasion were not only war operations but also the role of Gdańsk during the war, the attitude of the city towards the new Polish ruler, as well as the question of the so-called *privilegia Casimiriana*. These studies, rejecting the former nationalist viewpoint deeply rooted in the Polish historiography as well, have shown a doubtless financial superiority of the city influencing to a considerable degree the grant of a number of privileges by the Polish king. Those concessions had made closer the relationship between Poland and the city which made considerable efforts to break the resistance of the Teutonic Order.<sup>62</sup> Similarly, renewed studies of the Gdańsk mob revolt of 1456 have shown, first of all, its social background and tendencies to reform the constitution of the city, with very little pro-Teutonic feeling, except for the leader himself, i.e. Martin Kogge.<sup>63</sup> A separate study has been devoted to the military part played by Gdańsk in operations in the Baltic Sea, exemplified by the wide-spread privateering operations conducted with the knowledge and consent of Kazimierz Jagiellończyk.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> M. Biskup, *Zjednoczenie Pomorza Wschodniego z Polską*, p. 278—315. The author is also of the opinion that Schütz's version of J. Bażyński's speech seems more authentic. He considers Długossius's version less reliable.

<sup>61</sup> For a review of archive records relating to the incorporation of Prussia and to the thirteen-year war, see M. Biskup, *Źródła do inkorporacji Prus i do wojny trzynastoletniej w archiwach polskich* [*Records Relating to the Incorporation of Prussia and to the Thirteen-Years' War in Polish Archives*], 'Archeion', vol. XXIV, Warsaw 1955, p. 179—192.

<sup>62</sup> M. Biskup, *Stosunek Gdańska do Kazimierza Jagiellończyka w okresie wojny trzynastoletniej* [*Gdańsk Attitude to Kazimierz Jagiellończyk During the Thirteen-Years' War*], 'Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu', vol. 56, fasc. 1, Toruń 1952. For a polemizing commentary on Erich Weise's views on the question of the attitude of Gdańsk to Kazimierz Jagiellończyk during the war, see an article by M. Biskup, *W sprawie publikacji traktatów państwowych Zakonu Krzyżackiego z XV wieku* [*On the Publication of the Teutonic Order Treaties of the 15th Century*], 'Kwartalnik Historyczny', vol. LXIII, fasc. 4—5, Warsaw 1956, p. 486—502.

<sup>63</sup> See Note 25.

<sup>64</sup> M. Biskup, *Gdańska flota kaperska w okresie wojny trzynastoletniej* [*The Gdańsk Privateering Fleet in the Thirteen-Years' War*], Gdańsk 1953; by the same author, *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk a początki polskiej floty wojennej* [*Kazimierz Jagiellończyk and the Origin of the Polish Navy*], 'Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego', vol. XVII, Toruń 1951, p. 19—30.

Figures have also been calculated concerning the volume of goods shipped along the Vistula between Poland and Gdańsk during the war, and the defence system worked out by Prussian cities, Gdańsk and Toruń in particular, in order to protect the shipments, has been described.<sup>65</sup> E. Cieślak has made a more detailed study of the relations between the Hanse and Poland and the Teutonic Order during the thirteen-years' war, with an accent on the generally partial (especially on the part of Lübeck) attitude to the Teutonic Order, resulting from the earlier economic connections.<sup>66</sup> The problem of the *privilegia Casimiriana* has been analysed separately, from the legal and historical angle, against the background of the privileges granted to other cities, particularly in northern Germany and on the West Pomeranian Baltic coast (Lübeck, Strzałów /Stralsund/ and Szczecin /Stettin/). It has been shown that the privileges granted to these cities were very much alike, and in the case of Gdańsk the powers of the new sovereign — the Polish king — were made more secure than in the other cities, although not so secure as the powers of the Great Masters under the Teutonic Order rule.<sup>67</sup> A study by K. Górski contains some sort of a summary of the findings of Polish historians in their research on the thirteen-years' war. He has presented the problem against a wider background of European relations in the middle of the 15th century.<sup>68</sup> The problem of the Toruń peace treaty between Poland and the Teutonic Order (1466) has been dealt with by K. Górski and W. Hejnosz who polemized with E. Weise and his publication of the Toruń treaty combined with attempts at questioning its legal foundations and its importance.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>65</sup> M. Biskup, *Handel wiślany w latach 1454—1466* [*The Vistula Trade in 1454—1466*], 'Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych', vol. XIV, Poznań 1953, p. 155—202.

<sup>66</sup> E. Cieślak, *Stosunek Związku Miast Hanzeatyckich do Polski w okresie wojny trzynastoletniej 1454—1466* [*Attitude of the Hanseatic League to Poland in the Thirteen-Years' War 1454—1466*], 'Zapiski Historyczne', vol. XXI, fasc. 1—2, Toruń 1956, p. 7—64.

<sup>67</sup> E. Cieślak, *Przywileje Gdańska z okresu wojny 13-letniej na tle przywilejów niektórych miast bałtyckich* [*Gdańsk Privileges During the Thirteen-Years' War as Compared with Privileges of Some Baltic Cities*], 'Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne', vol. VI, Poznań 1954, p. 61—122.

<sup>68</sup> K. Górski, *Wojna trzynastoletnia (1454—1466)*, [*The Thirteen-Years' War*], 'Przegląd Zachodni' No. 7/8, Poznań 1954, p. 330—352, also M. Biskup, *Walka o zjednoczenie Pomorza Wschodniego z Polską w połowie XV w.* — see Note 55. The participation of Czech mercenary troops in the wars between Poland and the Teutonic Order in the 15th century, the thirteen-years' war in particular, has been touched upon by S. Kotarski, *Udział Czechów w walce Polski o jej ziemie przybałtyckie, Szkic z wojny trzynastoletniej* [*The Czech Participation in Poland's Struggle for Her Baltic Territories, Study on the Thirteen-Years' War*], 'Przegląd Zachodni', No. 7/8, Poznań 1949, p. 25—39.

<sup>69</sup> W. Hejnosz, *Zagadnienie ważności pokoju toruńskiego z r. 1466* [*The Problem of the Validity of the Toruń Peace Treaty of 1466*], 'Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie', No. 2, Olsztyn 1957, p. 65—70; K. Górski, *Uwagi o traktacie toruńskim 1466 r.* [*Remarks on Treaty of Toruń of 1466*], 'Zapiski Historyczne', vol. XXII, fasc. 4, Toruń 1958; also a review of E. Weise's publication in 'Journal of Central European Affairs', vol. 18, April 1958. See also M. Biskup,

## VII

Relatively poorly represented in the Polish historical research of the recent years are studies of the period of decline of the Teutonic Order state in Prussia, a Polish dependency from 1466 to 1525. The difficulty of access to the necessary archives relating to that period has doubtlessly resulted in this restriction of interest.

A small number of Polish studies are devoted to more general accounts on the legal position of Prussia of the Teutonic Order in relation to Poland towards the end of the 15th century and emphasize the virtual dependence equivalent to the position of a tributary state.<sup>70</sup> More interest has been aroused by the question of Albrecht Hohenzollern's attitude towards Poland and of the secularization of Prussia in 1525. S. Herbst has made a study of the war between Poland and Albrecht (1519—1521), giving a description of the military operations and new tactics applied by the two sides, as well as an explanation of the defeat suffered by the army organized by Dietrich von Schönberg.<sup>71</sup>

Studies of the reasons for Poland's consent to the secularization of the Teutonic Order state in Prussia referred back to the earlier findings of W. Pociecha. In the opinion of Z. Wojciechowski,<sup>72</sup> Sigismundus the Old, when giving his consent, was also influenced by the news about the defeat suffered on Pavia by Francis I of France, the expected Polish ally in the war against the Habsburgs. Moreover, Poland might have seen in the secularization a development of the Reformation process making more difficult the position of Charles V. New light has been doubtlessly thrown on the negotiations between representatives of Poland and of Albrecht, conducted in Cracow in the Spring of 1525, by letters of Maurice Ferber, Bishop of Warmia, a participant in the talks. A. Wojtkowski<sup>73</sup> has drawn attention to the letters from which it appears

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*W sprawie publikacji traktatów państwowych Zakonu Krzyżackiego z XV w.* (see Note 62), p. 498 etc.

<sup>70</sup> A. Vetulani, *Prawny stosunek Prus Książęcych do Polski (1466—1657)* [*Legal Relation Between Ducal Prussia and Poland (1466—1657)*], 'Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne', vol. VI, Poznań 1954, p. 7—41.

<sup>71</sup> S. Herbst, *Ostatnia wojna polsko-krzyżacka 1520 r.* [*The Last War Between Poland and the Teutonic Order in 1520*], 'Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu', vol. 10, Toruń 1958, p. 31—32. Only a small fragment of the whole study has been published, relating to operations in Warmia — S. Herbst, *Kampania jesienna 1520 r. na Warmii i Powiślu* [*Autumn Campaign of 1520 in Warmia and on the Vistula*], 'Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie', No. 1, Olsztyn 1957, p. 4 etc.

<sup>72</sup> Z. Wojciechowski, *Zygmunt Stary* [*Sigismundus the Old*], Warsaw 1946; by the same author, *Hold Pruski i inne studia historyczne* [*The Prussian Tribute and Other Historical Studies*], Poznań 1946, p. 141 etc.

<sup>73</sup> A. Wojtkowski, *Hold Pruski według relacji Maurycego Ferbera, biskupa warmińskiego* [*The Prussian Tribute as Related by Mauritius Ferber, Bishop of Warmia*], 'Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego', vol. XIII, Toruń 1947, p. 95—99; by the same author, *Nowe przyczynki*

that one of the important reasons for the King's consent to end the controversy with Albrecht was the question of social movements in big cities of Royal Prussia, Gdańsk in particular, connected with the expansion of the Reformation. As an orthodox Catholic, the Polish king feared lest the Prussian cities should take the side of the Lutheran ruler if military operations against Albrecht were started. Another reason for the King's consent was his meanness, as well as the reluctance of the Polish nobility to start a war. The Prussian states, for their part, were for the continuation of the armed conflict with Albrecht and wanted to force him to give up the territories situated between Warmia and the Vistula, i.e. chiefly the Pomesanian diocese. However, this plan was not discussed in Cracow where Albrecht's representatives had imposed their own point of view.

Connected with the implementation of the Cracow agreements is the question of the return to Poland of the Teutonic Order privileges concerning Pomerania, the Chełmno region and Prussia (kept until 1939 at the Central Archive of Ancient Records [Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych] in Warsaw).<sup>74</sup> This question has aroused a discussion — still in progress — in the course of which it has been established without doubt that the 'Golden Bull' of Frederick II Hohenstauf of 1226, as well as other Teutonic Order privileges had been handed over to Poland in 1526 and that Sigismundus the Old issued, in exchange, a privilege confirming the powers of Prince Albrecht.<sup>75</sup> The question whether or not a part of the documents was transferred to Poland as early as in 1466 is still under discussion.<sup>76</sup> This problem, in spite of all appearances, is related to a more serious question, namely the one of diplomatic relations between Poland and the Teutonic Order, particularly of legal and historical arguments in diplomatic negotiations between the two parties.

The problem of the internal situation of the Teutonic Order state at the time of its decline has been presented in a study by W. Chojnacki who has given a review of the results of the research on the Masovian colonization in

*do genezy holdu pruskiego* [New Information on the Origin of the Prussian Tribute], 'Sprawozdania z czynności wydawniczej i posiedzeń naukowych Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL', Lublin 1947, p. 72—79.

<sup>74</sup> J. Karwasińska, *Z dziejów Archiwum Koronnego. Dokumenty Krzyżackie* [From the History of the Crown Archives. The Teutonic Order Documents], 'Przegląd Historyczny', vol. XXXVII, Warsaw 1948, p. 181—193.

<sup>75</sup> A. Wojtkowski, *W sprawie ustalenia daty wydania Polsce dokumentów krzyżackich* [On the Date of Handing Over to Poland of the Teutonic Order Documents], 'Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego', vol. XX, Toruń 1955, p. 295—304.

<sup>76</sup> G. Labuda, *W sprawie wydania dokumentów krzyżackich Polsce w 1526 r.* [On the Handing Over to Poland of the Teutonic Order Documents in 1526], 'Zapiski Historyczne', vol. XXI, fasc. 3—4, Toruń 1956, p. 184—200. An opposite view is supported by A. Vetulani, *Słowo o wydaniu dokumentów krzyżackich w ręce polskie* [Few Words on the Handing Over to Poland of the Teutonic Order Documents], *ibidem*, p. 201—202.

Prussia.<sup>77</sup> A number of studies by H. Zins are also connected with that period. In one of them the author describes the early stages of the Reformation in Warmia at the time when that country was occupied by Albrecht's troops until 1526. The most important point is the expansion of the new movement at Braniewo (Braunsberg) resulting in a mob revolt against the council.<sup>78</sup> In another of his studies, devoted to the peasant revolt in Sambia in the second half of the year 1525 (i.e. after the secularization of the Teutonic Order state), the author has also devoted much space to the situation of the rural and urban population in Prussia in the last years of the Teutonic Order rule, as well as to the expansion of new social and religious movements.<sup>79</sup>

It should be added that B. Leśnodorski has made a study of the legal position of the estate belonging to the dominion of Warmia, both under the Teutonic Order rule (1243—1454) and under the Polish rule until 1569. He has questioned the thesis of Warmian researchers, H. Schmauch in particular, as regards the political independence of Warmia as a sovereign 'principality' within the Teutonic Order state, especially because of the absence of military and finance powers of the Bishops of Warmia and of their complete subordination to the Teutonic Order in the foreign policy.<sup>80</sup>

## VIII

Finally, mention should be made of publications of records relating to the history of the Teutonic Order state. Polish efforts in this sphere are not very impressive for the above mentioned reasons. First of all we should mention a publication by K. Górski devoted to the history of the Prussian Union, the incorporation of Prussia and the thirteen-years' war. The publication has a mostly didactic character (Polish translations of original texts are included) and comprises the most important records relating to the opposition of the Prussian states against the Order in the years 1397—1466, embodied in the Lizard Society and the Prussian Union.<sup>81</sup> Much of the material contained there has been published previously, chiefly by M. Toeppen. However, the text of the Toruń

<sup>77</sup> W. Chojnacki, *Osadnictwo polskie na Mazurach w XIII—XVII w.* [*Polish Settlements in Mazury in the 13th—17th Centuries*], in: *Szkice z dziejów Pomorza* [*Studies on History of Pomerania*], vol. II, Warsaw 1959, p. 5—33.

<sup>78</sup> H. Zins, *Początki reformacji na Warmii* [*The Beginning of the Reformation in Warmia*], 'Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce', vol. II, Warsaw 1957, p. 53—90.

<sup>79</sup> H. Zins, *Powstanie chłopskie w Prusach Książęcych w 1525 roku. Walki społeczne w Prusach w początkach reformacji i ich geneza* [*The Peasant Revolt in Ducal Prussia in 1525. Social Struggle in Prussia in the Early Reformation Period and its Origin*], Warsaw 1953.

<sup>80</sup> B. Leśnodorski, *Dominium warmińskie (1243—1569)* [*The Dominion of Warmia — 1243—1569*], Poznań 1949.

<sup>81</sup> See Note 45.

treaty of 1466, as issued by the Teutonic Order, has been published for the first time with a critical commentary. Extensive introductions, analysing in detail individual documents, add very much to the value of the publication. Of a kindred type is a publication by A. Vetulani<sup>82</sup> containing, apart from the repeated reprints of some documents relating to the years 1454—1466, a translation of the Cracow treaty of 1525, without a reprint of the original version, though.

Some new, mostly unknown sources relating to the history of the Prussian Union have been published. Mention should be made here of a publication of the draft of the foundation act of the Prussian Union of March 14th, 1440, found in the Toruń archive and reprinted alongside of the original text for comparison. This makes it possible to draw conclusions regarding the formation process of the confederation of the Prussian states and its original attitude towards the Teutonic Order rule.<sup>83</sup> Smaller works by K. Górski contain reprints of some records, mostly from Toruń, dated 1452 and concerning the relations between the Prussian Union and Polish political circles.<sup>84</sup> A publication of Toruń records by I. Janosz-Biskup concerns the question of corrupt practices of Hans von Lichtenstein, the Teutonic Order Mint-Master in Toruń. It also reveals usurious methods used by the Teutonic Order officials in the middle of the 15th century, particularly in dealings with Prussian traders.<sup>85</sup> A number of items relating to the history of the 'Great War' of the years 1409—1410 and taken from the Teutonic Order archives at Göttingen, have been published by M. Biskup.<sup>86</sup>

It seems that the most important among the publications now available are *Acta Statuum Terrarum Prussiae Regalis* published by K. Górski and M. Biskup.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>82</sup> *Władztwo Polski w Prusiech Zakonnych i Książęcych* [*The Suzerainty of Poland in Prussia*], published by A. Vetulani, Wrocław 1953.

<sup>83</sup> I. Janosz-Biskupowa, M. Biskup, *Ze studiów nad konceptem aktu erekcyjnego Związku Pruskiego z 14 III 1440 r.* [*Studies on the Draft Foundation Act of the Prussian Union of March 14th, 1440*], 'Studia Źródłoznawcze', vol. III, Poznań 1958, p. 125—138.

<sup>84</sup> K. Górski, *Kilka dokumentów toruńskich z r. 1453* [*Some Toruń Documents of 1453*], 'Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego', vol. XV, fasc. 1—2, Toruń 1949, p. 181—186; by the same author: *Zagadkowy list plebana Piotra ze Sztymbarku (1451)* [*Puzzling Letter from Vicar Piotr of Sztymbark — 1451*], 'Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego', vol. XV, fasc. 3—4, Toruń 1950, p. 139—143 (a reprint of a document from the Teutonic Order archive in Königsberg); by the same author, *Przyczynek do zjazdu parczewskiego 3 VI 1453* [*On the Parczew Assembly of June 3rd, 1453*], 'Roczniki Historyczne', vol. XVII, Poznań 1948, p. 176—178.

<sup>85</sup> I. Janosz-Biskupowa, *Materiały do dziejów lichwy w Prusach Krzyżackich w połowie XV w.* [*Materials to the History of Usury in Teutonic Order Prussia in the Middle of the 15th Century*], 'Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza', vol. IV, fasc. 1, Poznań 1958, p. 355—372.

<sup>86</sup> Supplement to the article *Z badań nad Wielką Wojną* — see Note 42.

<sup>87</sup> *Acta Statuum Terrarum Prussiae Regalis*, vol. 1—2, 'Fontes Tow. Nauk. w Toruniu', vol. 41 and 43, Toruń 1955, 7, p. 606 and 502. Also see a review by H. Samsonowicz and A. Mączak, 'Acta Poloniae Historica', vol. I, Warsaw 1958, p. 115—119.

It is mostly the continuation of F. *Thunert's* publication for the territory of Royal Prussia of the years 1479—1526, it contains, however, a number of documents (records of meetings and correspondence chiefly from the Gdańsk, Toruń and Olsztyn archives) closely connected with the history of the Teutonic Order part of Prussia, documents which had been either omitted or very superficially treated in the volume V of *Acten der Ständetage Preussens* by M. Toeppen. They present at the same time the opposition attitude of the inhabitants of Royal Prussia towards their former ruler — the Teutonic Order.

The latest larger publication is *Joannis Dlugosii Banderia Prutenorum* published by K. Górski with the original Latin text and a Polish translation (the commentary and notes are also bi-lingual).<sup>88</sup> The publication, of a very high standard of editorial and printing work, with illustrations in colour, fully replaces the earlier, already obsolete editions of Dlugossius's work.

In connection with the question of sources and of knowledge of sources, it should be added that critical studies of works of chroniclers relating to the period of decline of the Teutonic Order and to Royal Prussia of the 16th century, have also been initiated. These chroniclers based their records to a considerable degree on earlier information passed to them and dating back to the Teutonic Order time. This study has been initiated in a paper by Mrs. J. Dworzaczek, devoted to an analysis of the well-known chronicle of S. Grunau of the early 16th century.<sup>89</sup> The paper points to the value of the chronicle first of all as a reflection of the social consciousness and ideological tendencies of its author. J. Dworzaczek ascribes the chronicle to the Elbląg centre of the Dominican Order where it had been kept as an aid in delivering sermons, which resulted in a number of distortions and enough licence in treating the facts.

(Translated by Jerzy Eysymontt)

<sup>88</sup> *Joannis Dlugosii Banderia Prutenorum*, ed. Carolus Górski, Warsaw 1958.

<sup>89</sup> J. Dworzaczekowa, *Kronika pruska Szymona Grunaua jako źródło historyczne* [*Simon Grunau's Prussian Chronicle as Historical Source*], 'Studia Źródłoznawcze', vol. II, Poznań 1958, p. 119—146. Also see by the same author, *Podania o głowie św. Barbary w dziejopisarstwie pomorskim* [*Legend About St. Barbara's Head in Pomeranian Historiography*], in: *Studia Historica w 35-lecie pracy naukowej Henryka Łowmiańskiego*, Warsaw 1958, p. 155—165, also relates to the existence of the cult and relevant records.