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The Teutonic Order and monasteries in Gdańsk Pomerania in the first half of the 14th century*

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In “Chronicle of the Prussian Land”, Peter of Dusburg placed under the year 1234 a story concerning the dream of a brother of the Teutonic Order in Radzyń “who, tempted by the devil’s deception, sincerely believed that he could not save his soul in the Teutonic Order. In his mind he wondered whether he should move on to a stricter order. After this event, in a dream he saw Saint Bernard, Dominic, Francis and Augustine walk with their brothers, whom he pleaded with, tears in his eyes, to receive as their brother. But each of them declined his request”.¹ Therefore, one can ask to what extent this message, recorded by Peter of Dusburg around 1326, related to the actual state of relations of the Teutonic

* This article is based on a paper of the same title which was presented at the international scientific conference *Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum* (Malbork, 15–17 November 2019), organised by the Malbork Castle Museum.

¹ *Petrus de Dusburgk, Chronica terrae Prussiae*, eds. J. Wenta, S. Wyszomirski, in: MPH, s.n., t. 13, part III, chapter 12, p. 59; Polish translation see *Piotr z Dusburga, Kronika Ziemi Pruskiej*, translated by S. Wyszomirski, introduction and commentary by J. Wenta, Toruń 2004, pp. 51–52. On this subject, see J. Trupinda, *Wizerunek dominikanów w kronice Piotra z Dusburga – obraz rzeczywistości czy oficjalna propaganda polityczna Zakonu niemieckiego?*, in: *Dominikanie. Gdańsk – Polska – Europa*, eds. D.A. Dekański, A. Gołębniak, M. Grubka, Gdańsk–Pelplin 2003, p. 534.

Order with other orders, those invoked in referencing their great representatives, Cistercians, Dominicans and Franciscans?²

Characterizing the relations of the Teutonic Order with other orders in their Prussian rule, traditionally sources point to the restrictions consistently applied to the foundation of monasteries in Prussia.³ Against this background, of particular interest is the issue of evaluating the activities of the Teutonic Order conducted against other orders in 1308–1309 in the captured Gdańsk Pomerania⁴ – an area where not only the Mendicant congregations known in Prussia (Dominicans and Franciscans) functioned, but above all monasteries, possessing great land estates: Cistercians in Oliwa and Pelplin,⁵ Cistercian nuns monasteries in Żarnowiec,

² In the case of the Teutonic Order–Dominicans relations, it was not without significance that the Teutonic Order in the liturgy adopted the Dominican rite in the middle of the 13th century, which it then adapted to its needs, see W. Rozyńkowi, *Omnes Sancti et Sanctae Dei. Studium nad kultem świętych w diecezjach pruskich państwa zakonu krzyżackiego*, Malbork 2006, pp. 25–29.

³ In general, comments on the ratio of the Teutonic Order to other religious congregations in Prussia were formulated by: I. Czarcieński, *Polityka zakonu krzyżackiego wobec korporacji religijnych i świeckich*, in: *Zakon krzyżacki a społeczeństwo państwa w Prusach*, red. Z.H. Nowak, Toruń 1995 (RTNT, R. 86, z. 3), pp. 111–122; S. Kwiatkowski, *Powstanie i rozwój krzyżackich koncepcji przywództwa religijnego w Prusach*, in: *Zakon krzyżacki a społeczeństwo...*, pp. 137–148; M. Biskup, *Das Verhältnis des Deutschen Ordens zu den anderen Orden in Preußen*, in: *Ritterorden und Kirche im Mittelalter*, hrsg. v. Z.H. Nowak, Toruń 1997 (“Ordines militares Colloquia Torunensia Historica”, vol. 9), pp. 61–79; *idem*, *Średniowieczna sieć klasztorów w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach (do r. 1525)*, ZH 1999, vol. 64/1, pp. 35–61.

⁴ An attempt to characterize the policy of the Teutonic Order towards monasteries in the Gdańsk Pomerania was made by K. Bruski, *Opactwa cystersów w Oliwie, Pelplinie i Byszewie – ich miejsce w dziejach Pomorza*, “Studia Pelplińskie” 1987, vol. 18, pp. 24–27; M. Grzegorz, *Struktura administracyjna i własnościowa Pomorza Gdańskiego pod rządami zakonu krzyżackiego w latach 1309–1454*, Warszawa 1987, pp. 132–145; *idem*, *Zabiegi instytucji kościelnych z terenu Pomorza Gdańskiego o zachowanie swych przywilejów i dóbr w okresie panowania zakonu krzyżackiego w latach 1309–1454*, “Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Bydgoszczy. Studia Historyczne” 1994, pp. 4, 58–61; *idem*, *Pomorze Gdańskie pod rządami zakonu krzyżackiego w latach 1308–1466*, Bydgoszcz, 2007, pp. 125–137; M. Biskup, *Das Verhältnis des Deutschen Ordens...*, pp. 72–77; *idem*, *Średniowieczna sieć klasztorów...*, pp. 54–56.

⁵ On the relationship between the Teutonic Order and the Cistercians, see S. Kujot, *Opactwo pelplińskie*, Pelplin 1875, pp. 74–76; D.A. Dekkański, *Z dziejów opactwa cysterskiego w Oliwie ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem problematyki zmian majątkowych w latach 1308–1342*, in: *Ludzie, władza, posiadłość*, red. J. Powierski, B. Śliwiński, Gdańsk 1994 (“Gdańskie Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza”, nr 1), pp. 48–49. The issue was also more broadly discussed by J.P. Śliwiński, *Cystersi*

Norbertine nuns monasteries in Żukowo, and the Order of the Knights Hospitaller. Other monasteries had their estates here, however, their main seats were located outside this area. Our deliberations will attempt to characterize the relations of the Teutonic Order with these institutions in the first half of the 14th century and to indicate two factors affecting this state, which could most generally be described as the process of implantation of monasteries and territorialization of offices in the Teutonic Order. Simultaneously, the study will disregard the relations of the Teutonic Order with the monasteries in the Słupsk Land, which in the years 1329–1341 was only temporarily under their control as a pledge obtained from the princes of Pomerania.⁶

In prior literature on the subject, the policy of the Teutonic Order towards other congregations in Gdańsk Pomerania was and is usually presented as a consistent effort to subject them to strict control. References point to a willingness to limit the state of ownership of these institutions, especially by making unfavourable exchanges and purchases of property. The latter was to apply primarily to monasteries, having their seats outside of the Gdańsk Pomerania territory. Older works also discuss attempts to liquidate monasteries. In his synthesis of Pomerelia, Stanisław Mielczarski wrote that: “The policy towards the great land estates [...] was definitely negative. Not only did the Teutonic Order, with the exception of the early period of activity, not make land endowments, but on the contrary: they attempted to limit development opportunities of this social group, and numerous confiscations of properties were aimed at its liquidation. This is best exemplified by the great ecclesiastic properties, particularly monasteries”.⁷ This view was firmly rejected in a review of this work by Maksymilian Grzegorz, stating that: “There was literally no confiscation of monastic and generally ecclesiastic properties in Gdańsk Pomerania. [...] However, the Teutonic Order carried

z Łekna – Oliwy – Pelplina od połowy XII do XV wieku / The Cistercians from Łekno – Oliwa – Pelplin since the middle of the 12th until the 15th century, Olsztyn 2014, pp. 121–136.

⁶ S. Józwiak, *Centralne i terytorialne organy władzy zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w latach 1228–1410. Rozwój – przekształcenia – kompetencje*, Toruń 2001, pp. 123–124.

⁷ S. Mielczarski, *Wielka własność pod panowaniem krzyżackim*, in: *Dzieje Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego od VII wieku do 1945 roku*, red. W. Odyniec, Gdańsk 1978, p. 72.

out consolidation of monastic properties, bought certain properties or exchanged them for others, or captured them in exchange for annual compensation in the form of rent [...]”. He further stated that “The attitude of the Teutonic Order towards monasteries was obviously reluctant, but the Teutonic Order, unwilling to enter into conflict with the Holy See, could not commit confiscation of monastic properties”.⁸ When describing this matter, Karol Górski more generally noted that: “There were no proper abbeys in Prussia, and those that existed in Gdańsk Pomerania had to make an unfavourable exchanges of goods with the Teutonic Order”.⁹ Ireneusz Czarciński disagreed with this view, noting that “the Teutonic Order tolerated the existence and activity of all convents and the activities of other orders in the state of Teutonic Order were under the control of the authorities”.¹⁰ In turn, according to Marian Biskup: “the reservedness with which the Teutonic Order related to these rural, wealthy monasteries is striking, apparently seeing them as competing in the state of possession and in the struggle for the “rule over people’s hearts and minds” in Gdańsk Pomerania, also in the political sense”.¹¹ Of course, the primary arguments for formulating such theses were the total or partial purchase of settlements belonging to individual monasteries, including the Cistercians from Eldena, Byszewo and Łekno and, above all, the goods of the Knights Hospitaller (the latter in 1370).¹² It was simultaneously noted that the Teutonic Order would allow the establishment of a Carthusian monastery in the second half of the 14th century and did not specifically limit the development of its domain. At the same time, however, it is emphasized that the expansion of the Carthusian estate was effected primarily through the purchase of knightly estates, and not through donations from the Teutonic Order. As M. Grzegorz stated, summarizing his research on the network of settlements in Gdańsk

⁸ W. Wrzesiński, J. Dygdała, M. Grzegorz, *Synteza Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego*, “Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie” 1980, nr 2 (nr 221–248), p. 227. The same thought returns in the work of M. Grzegorz, *Zabiegi instytucji kościelnych...*, p. 61.

⁹ K. Górski, *Zakon krzyżacki a powstanie państwa pruskiego*, Wrocław 1977, p. 96; J.P. Śliwiński, *Cystersi z Łekna – Oliwy – Pelplina...*, p. 127.

¹⁰ I. Czarciński, *Polityka zakonu krzyżackiego...*, pp. 114–115; J.P. Śliwiński, *Cystersi z Łekna – Oliwy – Pelplina...*, p. 136.

¹¹ M. Biskup, *Średniowieczna sieć klasztorów...*, p. 54; M. Biskup, *Das Verhältnis...*, pp. 64, 77.

¹² M. Grzegorz, *Zabiegi instytucji kościelnych...*, p. 60; *idem*, *Pomorze Gdańskie pod rządami zakonu...*, pp. 128–129.

Pomerania: “Despite the Teutonic Order’s reluctance towards any other ecclesiastical institutions and its active attempts to limit their state of possession, they were in most cases able to save their property from the designs of the Teutonic Order through stubbornness and consequence, and sometimes even increase their immovable property, using knightly bestowals and their own purchase abilities”.¹³

Monasteries and monastic estates in Gdańsk Pomerania in the first half of the 14th century

When attempting to refer to these theses, let us recall the image of the Gdańsk Pomerania monastery landscape in the early 14th century.¹⁴ The first Cistercian foundation in this area took place in Oliwa (1188), and another in Pogódki (1258). Later, the monks were transferred to Pelplin (1276). Importantly, Oliwa was a daughter house of the abbey in Kołbacz (affiliated with Clairvaux), and Pelplin was daughter house of the abbey in Doberan (affiliated with Morimond). A women’s convention in Żarnowiec was closely connected with the monastery in Oliwa (it was established before 1257).¹⁵ In addition to Cistercian nuns, there was also a Norbertine nuns monastery in Żukowo (1209), which was the prefecture of the Premonstratensian Abbey of St. Vincent in Wrocław. Since the end of the 12th century (1198), the Knights Hospitaller, who likely came from West Pomeranian Stargard, also owned rural properties here.¹⁶ These included the areas around Lubiszewo, Skarszewy and Starogard Gdański, with a functioning commandery in Lubiszewo (before 1287), and then in Skarszewy (around 1323). These facilities predominantly served as an economic base, and the income obtained there was to be used for the purposes of expeditions to the Holy Land and to maintain its structures.¹⁷ Apart from monastic

¹³ M. Grzegorz, *Zabiegi instytucji kościelnych...*, p. 58.

¹⁴ See: R. Kubicki, *Monastycyzm na Pomorzu do początku XIX wieku – uwagi na temat organizacji struktur i działalności zakonów*, in: *1050. rocznica Chrztu Polski*, red. K. Lewalski, Gdańsk 2016, pp. 134–157.

¹⁵ F. Sikora, *Początki klasztoru cysterek w Żarnowcu*, ZH 1983, t. 48/1–2, p. 27.

¹⁶ M. Smoliński, *Joannicy w polityce książąt polskich i pomorskich (od połowy XII do pierwszego ćwierćwiecza XIV w.)*, Gdańsk 2008, pp. 127–128.

¹⁷ W. Hubatsch, *Die Johanniterorden in Ost- und Westpreußen*, “Zeitschrift für Ostforschung” 1972, Jg. 21/2, pp. 1–19; T.W. Lange, *Joannicy na Pomorzu Gdańskim. Stan badań – interpretacje – próba syntezy*, ZH 1994, t. 59, z. 4, pp. 7–19;

and knightly orders, the monasteries also had mendicant congregations: Dominicans and Franciscans. The first ones to appear were brothers of the order of preachers, who organized their friary in Gdańsk around 1226–1227.¹⁸ On their initiative, with the support of local princes, two more houses of this order were built in the second half of the 13th century. First in Słupsk (1278), and later also in Tczew (1289). In turn, around the year 1282, Franciscans from the Polish–Czech province organized their friary in Nowe on the Vistula.¹⁹ In addition, one may also mention the Benedictine provostship in Święty Wojciech near Gdańsk, which was created at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries and was subordinate to this congregation's monastery in Mogilno,²⁰ the short-term presence of representatives of the Knights' Order of Calatrava,²¹ and the small community of Augustinians in Swornegacie, which was established around 1255, but which was already incorporated into the Cistercian monastery in Oliwa in 1303.²² Summarising this review, in the early 14th century, in Gdańsk Pomerania there were three Mendicant monasteries operating in cities (Gdańsk, Tczew and Nowe on the Vistula) and several rural monasteries: two Cistercian abbeys (Oliwa, Pelplin), two independent women's convents: Cistercian nuns monastery (Żarnowiec)²³ and Norbertine

M. Smoliński, *Der Johanniterorden in Pommern und Pommerellen im Mittelalter – Politik, Wirtschaft, Menschen*, in: *Die geistlichen Ritterorden in Mitteleuropa Mittelalter*, hrsg. v. K. Borchardt, L. Jan, Brno 2011, pp. 139–156.

¹⁸ Priority should be given to the foundation in Kamień Pomorski, which appears after Kraków and Wrocław, and before Płock and Gdańsk on the list of monasteries of the Polish province drawn up in 1304 on the initiative of Bernard Gui, see J. Kloczowski, *Dominikanie polscy na Śląsku w XIII–XIV wieku*, Lublin 1956, p. 289.

¹⁹ The city came under the rule of the Teutonic Order in 1313 after it was bought from the Święca family, cf. M. Biskup, *Średniowieczna sieć klasztorów...*, p. 48.

²⁰ A. Zbierski, *Rozwój przestrzenny Gdańska w IX–XIII w.*, in: *Historia Gdańska*, t. 1: *Do roku 1454*, red. E. Cieślak, Gdańsk 1978, p. 122.

²¹ M. Smoliński, *Kalatravensi w Tymawie na Pomorzu Gdańskim. Idea sprowadzenia zakonu nad Morze Bałtyckie*, in: *Mieszczanie, wasale, zakonnicy*, red. B. Śliwiński, Malbork 2004 ("Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza", nr 10), pp. 205–242; A. Mur i Raurell, *Gracias a la inspiración y a pesar de la desconfianza: la orden de Calatrava en el área germánica y este de Europa*, "Cistercium. Revista cisterciense" 2005, n. 238, pp. 227–233.

²² M. Bruszevska-Głombiowska, *Krótką historią klasztoru augustianów ze Swornegaci na Pomorzu Gdańskim*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Akademii Marynarki Wojennej" 2011, 52/1, pp. 155–166.

²³ On the subject of female monasteries in the Cistercian Order and the restrictions concerning them, also in the case of convents managed by abbesses,

nuns monastery (Żukowo), associated with their male monasteries (in Oliwa and Wrocław, respectively) and a larger complex of Knights Hospitaller estates with a commandery in Lubiszewo and small estates (usually several villages), belonging to monasteries outside the area of Gdańsk Pomerania.

In an attempt to assess the situation of these institutions at the time of the transition of power and the takeover of control over the Gdańsk Pomerania by the Teutonic Order, it should be noted that individual monasteries were at various stages of their functioning, which could also have some impact on their relationship with the new territorial ruler. This references the well-known concept of the monastic implantation proposed model for religious congregations by Philippe Racinet.²⁴ According to him, the process of “creating” Cluniac priories was to last about 100 years and consisted of five subperiods. The foundation (1) was to be followed by successive stages, each lasting about 25 years, referred to as: installation (2) related to the rapid growth of properties and the first building investments, then consolidation (3), which included inhibiting the growth rate of properties, domain reconstruction, and construction activity, this was followed by the fourth stage characterized by the end of the foundational “vigor” and the first conflicts with the surroundings, and lastly, the fifth stage, in which the existence of the monastery was confirmed through privileges and a new wave of assignments, often related to the termination of construction activity.²⁵ Of course, this model can only to a certain extent be referred to the process of implantation of Mendicant orders. By definition, they did not have permanent ownership, and in the State of Teutonic Order they could not, in principle, acquire or inherit any real estate. Different activities were also involved their process of growing into the social environment and creating a sustainable basis for action in the urban environment. In the case of Mendicants, the implantation period was

in particular the supervisory function of the abbot, see I. Eberl, *Die Die Zisterzienser. Geschichte eines europäischen Ordens*, Stuttgart 2002, pp. 142–159, particularly pp. 149–151, 155–157.

²⁴ P. Racinet, *Les maisons de l'ordre de Cluny au Moyen Âge. Évolution et permanence d'un ancien ordre bénédictin au nord de Paris*, Bruxelles 1990. The main theses of the dissertation were discussed in the review by G. Constable, “Speculum. A Journal of Medieval Studies” 1993, 68/1, pp. 245–246; M. Derwich, see KH 1994, R. 101, z. 1, pp. 177–179.

²⁵ Discussion of M. Derwich, KH 1994, R. 101, z. 1, pp. 177–179.

probably no more than 20–25 years, i.e. one generation. Over the course of a quarter of a century, the friars active in a given convent had to educate their successors, preferably closely related to the local environment, which gave a chance to consolidate the community and the relative strengthening of the foundation.²⁶ When applying Racinet's model, which concerns monastic congregations, to the monasteries operating in Gdańsk Pomerania, it can be concluded that until 1308/1309 the implantation process was completed in the case of Cistercians from Oliwa, Norbertine nuns from Żukowo, while it was still ongoing in the case of Cistercian nuns from Żarnowiec and, above all, Cistercians from Pelplin. Considering the amendment concerning the mendicants, shortening the implantation time to 25 years, it was completed in the case of the Dominicans in Gdańsk, and nearing completion in the case of the Franciscans in Nowe on the Vistula and the Dominicans in Tczew. Of course, the reference to the model can only be treated as a guideline helpful in a deeper interpretation of the detailed relations of the Teutonic Order with individual religious communities in Gdańsk Pomerania. It seems that this issue cannot be overlooked in further research, especially concerning the phases of a given congregation's church and monastery building construction.²⁷ It is also necessary to consider the general situation of the monastic and mendicant orders, and the entire monastic movement in the fourteenth century.²⁸

²⁶ R. Kubicki, *Fundacja i implantacja klasztoru dominikańskiego na przykładzie państwa zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach*, "Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza" 2013, t. 17, pp. 76–78.

²⁷ For the phases of construction of Cistercian facilities in Oliwa and Pelplin, see D.A. Dekański, L. Wetesko, *Oliwa* and K. Bruski, A. Konieczny, *Pogódki–Pelplin*, in: *Monasticon Cisterciense Poloniae*, t. 2: *Katalog męskich klasztorów cysterskich na ziemiach polskich i dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, red. A.M. Wyrwa, J. Strzelczyk, K. Kaczmarek, Poznań 1999, pp. 274–276, 304–306. Unfortunately, their results do not provide the possibility to precisely determine the stage of implantation of monasteries in the period up to the middle of the 14th century. It is similar in the case of the Dominican monastery in Gdańsk, see J. Gzowski, *Klasztor*, in: *W cieniu klasztoru dominikanów*, red. A. Golembnik, Gdańsk [2002], pp. 45–59.

²⁸ Case studies on Cistercian nuns in Żarnowiec and Cistercians in Pelplin, see R. Kubicki, *Cistercian Nuns of Zarnowitz (Żarnowiec) and the Teutonic Order in the years 1309–1454*, "Ordines Militares Colloquia Torunensia Historica" 2020, vol. 25, pp. 363–383; *idem*, *Anmerkungen zu den Beziehungen der Zisterzienser von Pelplin zum Deutschen Orden in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Zwischen Mittelmeer und Baltikum. Festschrift für Hubert Houben zum 70. Geburtstag*, hrsg. v. U. Arnold, R. Czaja, J. Sarnowsky, ("Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens", Bd. 90), Ilmtal-Weinstraße 2023, pp. 274–282.

Outline of the Teutonic Order's relations with monasteries in Gdańsk Pomerania until the mid-fourteenth century

The nature and general principles of the Teutonic Order's territorial rule should also be taken into account. Studies emphasize the specific context of these types of knightly order activities. The Teutonic Order, adopting the organizational patterns also developed by the Templars, thanks to the construction of their own territorial rule in Prussia, found themselves in a special situation. Because of that, they had the opportunity to transfer some of the experience of governance within a monastic corporation to the level of territorial administration, which was usually performed by the brother knights themselves.²⁹ However, they were not officials, but members of a religious corporation within which they were to act, guided by the three evangelical counsels contained in religious vows: chastity, obedience and poverty.³⁰ The principle of action of superiors was also obligatory consultation with brother knights³¹ and acting as a corporation, a collegial body, towards external factors, and thus other orders. It should be added, that the solutions concerning the congregation's internal organization, including the role of the general chapter and visitation of convents, the Teutonic Order adopted as a model, through the Templars, the principles developed by the Cistercians.³²

Let us remember that the Teutonic Order in Gdańsk Pomerania established the first commandry, and thus a Teutonic convent, as early as 1283 in Gniew, shortly after taking control of the surrounding area (Gniew land).³³ Similarly, construction of further

²⁹ K. Militzer, *Der Aufbau von Landesherrschaften durch Ritterorden, besonders durch den Deutschen Orden*, in: *Innovationen durch Deuten und Gestalten. Klöster im Mittelalter zwischen Jenseits und Welt*, hrsg. v. G. Melville, B. Schneidermüller, S. Weinfurter ("Klöster als Innovationslabore", Bd. 1), Regensburg 2014, pp. 307–316.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 313.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 315.

³² *Ibidem*

³³ S. Józwiak, *Centralne i terytorialne organy...*, pp. 60, 119; M. Grzegorz, *Komturstwo gniewskie i jego strategiczne znaczenie*, Bydgoszcz 2003, pp. 95–116. At that time, Pelplin, and thus part of the Cistercian estate, was also located within the Teutonic Order estates in Gdańsk Pomerania, as mentioned in the document

structures of the Teutonic Order began after the occupation of Gdańsk Pomerania in 1308/1309. Subsequently, commandries were established in Gdańsk (1309), Świecie (1320), Człuchów (1321) and Tuchola (1328–1330), and the seats of lower order officials (prosecutors, vogts) usually included in the composition of the Teutonic Order's individual territorial units in Gdańsk Pomerania, or directly subordinate to the Grand Master in Malbork, as was the case with the vogt in Tczew (1320/1326) and periodically prosecutors in Bytów (1346) and Lębork (1368).³⁴

What were the Teutonic Order's relations with monasteries in Gdańsk Pomerania after 1308?³⁵ They were probably influenced by the attitude taken by the grand masters themselves. This is shown by the example of Karl von Trier (1311–1324, outside Prussia after 1317).³⁶ From the perspective of the Cistercians of Oliwa, he appeared as a benefactor of the monastery. In characterizing his reign, the author of the "Oliwa Chronicle" wrote: "the master

dated 5 March 1283 by Prince "volentes quod predictum monasterium Polplin sub domino magistri et fratrum predictorum de Prussia debeat permanere", P, no. 351, p. 309. It is noteworthy, however, that until 1308 the Teutonic Order did not issue documents confirming the extent of monastic estates, which could indicate that it may not have exercised supreme power over the Cistercian facility in practice see R. Frydrychowicz, *Geschichte der Cisterzienserabtei Pelplin und ihre Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler*, Düsseldorf 1905, p. 23.

³⁴ S. Józwiak, *Centralne i terytorialne organy...*, pp. 118–125; D. Heckmann, *Amtsträger des Deutschen Ordens / Dostojnicy zakonu niemieckiego*, Toruń 2020, pp. 284–298, 404–408, 451–459, 461–464, 476–480.

³⁵ Generally on this subject, see M. Grzegorz, *Pomorze Gdańskie pod rządami zakonu...*, pp. 125–137. General remarks on this subject were also formulated in monographic studies devoted to the history of individual monasteries, see S. Kujot, *Opactwo pelplińskie...*, Pelplin 1875; R. Frydrychowicz, *Geschichte der Cisterzienserabtei Pelplin...*; A. Zacharowski, *Uposażenie i organizacja klasztoru norbertanek w Żukowie od XIII do połowy XV wieku*, Toruń 1963 (RTNT, R. 68, z. 2), pp. 61–62, 95–102; P. Czaplewski, *Kartuzja Kaszubska*, Gdańsk 1966, pp. 13–19; K. Dąbrowski, *Rozwój wielkiej własności ziemskiej klasztoru cysterek w Żarnowcu od XIII do XVI wieku*, Gdańsk 1970, pp. 70–72; *idem*, *Opactwo cystersów w Oliwie od XII do XVI wieku*, Gdańsk 1975, pp. 83–90. Some information on the perception of other orders by the Teutonic Knights is contained in the chronicle of Peter of Dusburg, concerning the Dominicans, see J. Trupinda, *Wizerunek dominikanów w kronice...*, pp. 531–535.

³⁶ On his policy towards monasteries in Gdańsk Pomerania, see U. Niess, *Hochmeister Karl von Trier (1311–1324). Stationen einer Karriere im Deutschen Orden*, Marburg 1992 ("Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens", Bd. 47), pp. 65–73, especially pp. 68–70; S. Józwiak, *Centralne i terytorialne organy...*, p. 120.

was pious and good to all, and especially gracious to the Oliwa monastery. For he confirmed all the privileges, liberties, rights and estates which the monastery possessed by the bestowment former kings and princes”.³⁷ From this perspective, the issue of the approval of owned estates was the most important field of relations with the new territorial ruler.³⁸ At this point it is important to remember that the Cistercians from Pelplin and Oliwa received general confirmation documents of their estates from the aforementioned Grand Master Karl von Trier as early as 1312. This was influenced by the interests of the Teutonic Order in Livonia, as in 1313 representatives of both abbeys mediated in the Teutonic Order’s purchase of the Cistercian monastery in Daugavgrīva (Germ. Dünamünde) at the mouth of the Daugava³⁹ River. The change in Cistercian and Teutonic Order relations took place during the reigns of subsequent grand masters. The issue of the dispute with Oliwa was the range of monastery properties and the recognition of ownership rights to the Cistercian estates described in detail.⁴⁰ As we know, the general approval of estates belonging of the monastery in Oliwa and the Cistercian nuns in Żarnowiec by the Teutonic Order’s Grand Master Ludolf König was made

³⁷ *Chronica Olivensis. Auctore Stanislao abbate Olivensi*, ed. W. Kętrzyński, in: MPH, t. 6, p. 321. Polish translation see *Kronika oliwska. Źródło do dziejów Pomorza Wschodniego z połowy XIV wieku*, tłum. D. Pietkiewicz, introduction and commentary by B. Śliwiński, Malbork 2008, p. 87.

³⁸ M. Grzegorz, *Zabiegi instytucji kościelnych...*, pp. 44–61. An important issue in the relations between the Teutonic Order and the monasteries in Gdańsk Pomerania was also their fishing privileges from the ducal period (see U. Niess, *Hochmeister Karl...*, pp. 69–70).

³⁹ U. Niess, *Hochmeister Karl...*, pp. 84–85; “*Capitulum generale confirmat venditionem abbatiæ de Dunamunde, quæ per patrem abbatem de Stolp[a] facta fuerat; quam abbas Alexander de Oliva utilem esse Ordini testatur*”, *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786* [hereinafter: *Statuta Capitulum Generalium*], vol. 3 ab anno 1262 ad annum 1400, ed. J.M. Canivez, Louvain 1935, no. 3, p. 327; B. Śliwiński, *Studia z dziejów zakonu krzyżackiego, Pomorza Wschodniego i Polski w latach 1310–1320*, cz. 1, in: *Komturzy, rajcy, żupani*, Malbork 2005 (“*Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza*”, nr 11), pp. 467–490. The efforts of the abbot Alexander were mentioned in a document from 1316, concerning the confirmation of the purchase of half of the Clergy Countesses by the Cistercians of Oliwa and the exchange of properties in Smoldzino for part of Żukczyn, the grand master Karl von Trier, PrUB, Bd. 2, no. 158, p. 109.

⁴⁰ D.A. Dekański, *Z dziejów opactwa cysterskiego...*, pp. 25–52. Old literature of the subject was recorded therein.

only on 31 October 1342.⁴¹ It should be added that the agreement with the Teutonic Order concerning the Cistercian monastery property from Oliwa and Żarnowiec (*de bonis monasterii*) at the request of Stanislaus, the abbot of Oliwa, was already confirmed in 1341 by the general chapter of the Cistercian Order.⁴² Before this happened, the relations between the Teutonic Order and the Cistercians concerned the approval by the Teutonic Order's officials of the purchase and bestowment of individual monastery estates, which were obtained by the Cistercians. For example, regarding the Cistercian nun congregation from Żarnowiec, there were several documents from 1310–1334.⁴³ As early as 3 February 1310, the Commander in Gdańsk Heinrich Hiserste confirmed to the abbot of Oliwa his purchase of half of the village of Sobieńczyce from the knight Wenceslaus Paleszkowic for the Cistercian nun monastery in Żarnowiec.⁴⁴ This transaction was confirmed on 20 September 1314 by the great master Karl von Trier.⁴⁵ In the same document, the grand master also approved another transaction. It concerned the purchase of the second half of the village of Sobieńczyce from Peter of Kolkowo and his relative Dargoslao for Cistercian nuns in Żarnowiec, which was made by another abbot of the Olive monastery, Alexander.⁴⁶ On the other hand, on 2 February 1324, the Commander in Gdańsk confirmed the settlement concluded by the abbot of Oliwa with knight Pribislaus Mestkowicz regarding the border between the estates of Żarnowiec and the properties in Jeldzino.⁴⁷ 10 years later, on 13 January 1334, the Com-

⁴¹ PrUB, Bd. 3/2, no. 490, pp. 355–371; no. 492, pp. 372–376. On prior negotiations and the role of arbitration, see *Chronica Olivensis...*, pp. 336–337; *Kronika oliwska...*, pp. 108–109.

⁴² “*Capitulum generale, ex petitione Stanislai abbatis de Oliwa, concordiam inter ipsum et Ordinem Cruciferorum de bonis monasterii factam, confirmat*”, *Statuta Capitulum Generalium*, vol. 3, no. 10, p. 469.

⁴³ K. Kasiske, *Das Deutsche Siedelwerk des Mittelalters in Pommerellen*, Königsberg 1938, p. 108.

⁴⁴ P, nr 679, p. 598; PrUB, Bd. 2, no. 3. The lack of references to the prioress was already noted by K. Dąbrowski, *Rozwój wielkiej własności...*, p. 59, footnote 276.

⁴⁵ PrUB, Bd. 2, no. 122, pp. 76–77. On the subject of the policy of Karl von Trier towards, among others, monasteries in Gdańsk Pomerania, see U. Niess, *Hochmeister Karl...*, pp. 65–73.

⁴⁶ Alexander, abbot in the years 1313–1320, D.A. Dekański, *W sprawie narodowości i chronologii opatów oliwskich w pierwszej połowie XIV wieku*, “Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie” 1987, nr 1 (nr 175), p. 114.

⁴⁷ PrUB, Bd. 2, no. 449, pp. 318–319.

mander in Gdańsk Jordan ruled in favour of the Cistercian nuns from Żarnowiec in a dispute over the use of Lake Żarnowiec with the knight Boczey (Bosey).⁴⁸ The Teutonic side was usually represented by a local commander, in this case, one from Gdańsk and, as a matter of exception, the grand master himself. The latter also implemented a general regulation, which was the already mentioned general confirmation of the properties of the monasteries in Oliwa and Żarnowiec from 1342. It should also be added that at that time such a general approval of goods did not come to the Norbertine nuns from Żukowo.⁴⁹ It is also noteworthy, that local officials of the Teutonic Order had close relations with individual monasteries, for example the Commander in Gniew with the Cistercians from Pelplin.⁵⁰ The good relations of the Teutonic Order with the Cistercians in Pelplin are evidenced by the fact that six grand masters and many other Teutonic knights and priests were inscribed in the monastery obituary, including the figures of great masters Karl von Trier and Werner von Orseln from the period up to the middle of the 14th century.⁵¹ It is also worth mentioning the document of the abbot from Oliwa Paulus, who in 1323 accepted Stephano, a Teutonic Order priest from the convent in Gdańsk,

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, no. 822, pp. 551–552. Boczey was to be the son Wittko, while his grandson's name was also Wittko. The fishing rights in the lake were mentioned in the general confirmation of the monastery's properties of 1342, which amended the order of 1334 in favour of Wittko, the son of Bosey, allowing him to fish, PrUB, Bd. 3/2, no. 492, p. 375; F. Schultz, *Geschichte der Kreise Neustadt und Putzig*, Danzig 1907, p. 64.

⁴⁹ M. Biskup, *Średniowieczna sieć klasztorów...*, p. 55.

⁵⁰ See: K. Bruski, *Otoczenie komtura gniewskiego Henryka Buchholza w latach 1314–1323*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Wydziału Humanistycznego Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego. Historia" 1984, nr 14, p. 12. Table 1 also contains a list of Teutonic documents concerning individual monasteries. It is worth adding here that if the Teutonic Order was represented directly by a grand master, the witnesses of the written documents also included its local officials, who knew the detailed circumstances of the case. For example, in a document from 1347, the vogt of Grabiny on the matter of bringing the waters of Kłodawa to the monastery watermill in Grabiny Zameczek without harming the neighbouring estates of the Oliwa Cistercians (Łęgowo and Grabiny Duchowne), PrUB, Bd. 4, no. 269, pp. 240–241.

⁵¹ P. Oliński, *Cysterskie nekrologi na Pomorzu Gdańskim od XIII do XVII wieku*, Toruń 1997 (RTNT, R. 88, z. 1), pp. 111–115, 122. The relationships of the Cistercians from Pelplin with the Teutonic Order also seemed friendly from the perspective of the 17th-century chronicler, the author of the Pelplin Chronicle, see *Chronica monasterii Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensium Pelplini*, Biblioteka Diecezjalna (Diocesan Library) in Pelplin, manuscripts department, vol. I, ref. 421 (622), pp. 30–31, 36–37.

to take a share in the ecclesiastical properties of his monastery.⁵² The good relations of the Cistercians with the Teutonic Order are also indicated by the letter by Stanislaus, the Abbot of Oliwa dated 10 January 1338 to Pope Benedict XII, sent in connection with the Teutonic Order-Polish dispute, in which he defended the good name of the Teutonic Order as the light of the Church and the shield and defender of Christians.⁵³ It should be added, that similar letters in defence of the Teutonic Order were also sent to the Pope by the Prussian Dominicans (1310–provincial and chapter, 1335 – including, among others, the Priors in Gdańsk and Tczew) and Franciscans (1335 – including, among others, guardians from Nowe on the Vistula).⁵⁴ Earlier, the Franciscans and Cistercians (1323 and 1324) gave positive testimony to the Teutonic Order's role in the Christianization of Lithuania.⁵⁵

Interestingly, the issues of regulating the range of monastic properties concerned not only rural monasteries, but also Franciscans in Nowe on the Vistula (1336)⁵⁶ and Dominicans in Gdańsk. In the latter case, the monastery was actually only an object in the Teutonic Order's policy towards Gdańsk. According to the privilege bestowed to the Main City of Gdańsk in 1342, the townspeople obtained the right to purchase or exchange property within the city belonging, among others, to clergy or lay people and knights.⁵⁷ This gave them the opportunity to reduce the terrain held by the Dominican monastery to a plot limited by the monastery

⁵² U. Niess, *Hochmeister Karl...*, no. 26, p. 229.

⁵³ "in orientalibus partibus sint lumen ecclesie et nostrarum parcium christiani populi columpna, clipeus et munimen", PrUB, Bd. 3/1, no. 143, p. 106.

⁵⁴ PrUB, Bd. 2, no. 19, pp. 12–13; Bd. 3/1, no. 17, pp. 10–11; no. 20, pp. 13–14; R. Kubicki, *Zakony mendiakanckie w Prusach Krzyżackich i Królewskich od XIII do połowy XVI wieku*, Gdańsk 2018, pp. 211, 216; S. Zonenberg, *Stosunki krzyżacko-mendiakanckie w Prusach do 1466 roku*, Bydgoszcz 2018, pp. 100–102, 110–111, 235–236.

⁵⁵ PrUB, Bd. 2, no. 429, pp. 307–308; no. 430, p. 308; no. 446, pp. 315–316.

⁵⁶ PrUB, Bd. 3/1, no. 79, pp. 57–59; S. Zonenberg, *Stosunki...*, p. 239.

⁵⁷ The content of the lost privilege for Gdańsk, issued in 1342 by the grand master Ludolf König, is known from another document issued in 1378 by the grand master Winrych von Kniprode, P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, Bd. 4, Danzig 1918, no. 97, pp. 53–57; PrUB, Bd. 3/2, no. 489, pp. 354–355; B. Możejko, D. Kaczor, B. Śliwiński, *Zarys dziejów klasztoru dominikańskiego w Gdańsku od średniowiecza do czasów nowożytnych (1226/1227–1835)*, „Archeologia Gdańska” 2006, t. 1, p. 162; R. Kubicki, *Zakony mendiakanckie...*, p. 75; S. Zonenberg, *Stosunki...*, pp. 115–119.

walls, and thus to a size similar to other bestowments that Mendicant communities had in the cities of the Teutonic Order, such as Chełmno, Toruń or Elbląg. These changes were confirmed by a document issued on 29 October 1344 by a commission appointed at the Wrocław chapter by Stanislaus, the provincial of the Dominicans, consisting of the Priors of the friaries in Toruń, Chełmno, Elbląg, Gdańsk and Tczew. It approved the agreement with the townspeople of Gdańsk, according to which there were restrictions on the area belonging to the Dominican monastery. At the same time, negotiations took place before local officials of the Teutonic Order: the Gdańsk Commander Gerhard von Steegen (1344–1348),⁵⁸ the home commander (Germ. Hauskomtur),⁵⁹ and one senior brother knight from the local convent. The content of the concluded agreement was also confirmed by the aforementioned Commander, who affixed his seal to the document.⁶⁰ These regulations were confirmed by the document of the grand master Heinrich Dusemer dated 25 May 1348, which also limited the size of the monastery plot around which the wall was to be erected, and determined the rules for supplying water from the Siedlecki Stream.⁶¹ It should be added, that the monastery did not receive compensation for the lost land.⁶² Also in this case, one of the parties, or rather an arbitrator, was the local commander, and then the grand master of the Teutonic Order himself.

⁵⁸ D. Heckmann, *Amtsträger...*, p. 284.

⁵⁹ It was likely Siegfried von Ebersberg (cf. PrUB, Bd. 3, no. 776, p. 661; D. Heckmann, *Amtsträger...*).

⁶⁰ PrUB, Bd. 3/2, no. 674, pp. 555–556; B. Możejko, D. Kaczor, B. Śliwiński, *Zarys dziejów klasztoru...*, p. 162; R. Kubicki, *Zakony mendykanckie...*, p. 75; S. Zonenberg, *Stosunki...*, p. 116.

⁶¹ PrUB, Bd. 4, no. 333, pp. 293–294; B. Możejko, D. Kaczor, B. Śliwiński, *Zarys dziejów klasztoru...*, p. 163; Z. Maciakowska, *Kształtowanie przestrzeni miejskiej Głównego Miasta w Gdańsku do początku XV wieku*, Gdańsk 2011, p. 62; R. Kubicki, *Zakony mendykanckie...*, p. 75; S. Zonenberg, *Stosunki...*, pp. 117–118.

⁶² Perhaps it was 4 morgen of land located between Olszynka and the old moat and an annual rent of 12 marks, which was to be paid to the monastery by the City Council, which was only mentioned in the document by King Stefan Batory dated 23 May 1583., The State Archives in Gdańsk, City of Gdańsk Records, documents up to 1525 and letters up to 1814, 300,D/46, no. 53; R. Kubicki, *Podstawy gospodarze utrzymania klasztoru dominikanów w Gdańsku (1227–1835)*, in: *Inter oeconomiam coelestem et terrenam. Mendykanci a zagadnienia ekonomiczne*, red. W. Długocki, T. Gałuszka, R. Kubicki, A. Zajchowska, Kraków 2011, p. 320.

Property issues also appeared in the relations of Teutonic Order with other monasteries in Gdańsk Pomerania.⁶³ Basically, they were similar in nature to the previously referenced example of Cistercian nuns from Żarnowiec. Of course, this issue requires further detailed research, considering the broader context of the functioning of specific monasteries and entire congregations. The similar ethnic composition of the convents was also a factor that brought the monasteries closer to the Teutonic Order, in addition to the economic reform of properties carried out at that time, which involved transitioning villages to German law (Culm law).⁶⁴

In summary of the above remarks, it must be stated that the relations of the Teutonic Order with monasteries in Gdańsk Pomerania were not so much a consequence of the policy consistently pursued by the Teutonic Order, but rather a product of many factors arising from the situation in a given religious congregation (Cistercians) and regarding a specific monastery (the example of the Dominicans in Gdańsk). This was likely influenced by the aforementioned process of implantation of monasteries and territorialisation of offices in the Teutonic Order in Gdańsk Pomerania. At the same time, the Teutonic Order usually acted as a territorial ruler, confirming purchase-sale transactions or the bestowment or exchange of properties, and as an arbitrator in disputes with other institutions (town authorities). This role was performed by local commanders or the grand master of the Teutonic Order himself. The participation of the latter was usually related to the need for general regulation, as was the case with the general confirmation for properties held by the monastery in Oliwa and Żarnowiec made by the grand master Ludolf König. In general, the mutual relations between the Teutonic Order and monasteries were proper, if not good. Finally, it should also be emphasized that the position of the Teutonic Order towards monasteries in Gdańsk Pomerania was an element of a broader church policy implemented in this area also towards the bishop of Włocławek and the archbishop of Gniezno.

⁶³ For a detailed discussion of agreements concerning the exchange and redemption of monastic properties by the Teutonic Order, together with an attempt to statistically summarize this phenomenon, see M. Grzegorz, *Zabiegi instytucji kościelnych...*, pp. 45–61.

⁶⁴ K. Kasiske, *Das Deutsche Siedelwerk...*, pp. 196–200, 204–213; K. Bruski, *Ziemia nad dolną Wieżycą od XIII do początku XV wieku*, Gdańsk 1997, pp. 133–137.

Table 1. Documents concerning the relations of the Teutonic Order with monasteries, having their seats in Gdańsk Pomerania, in the years 1310–1350

Monastery/ Issuing authority	Cister- cians Oliwa	Cister- cians Pelplin	Cistercian nuns Żarnowiec	Norbertine nuns Żukowo	Domini- cans Gdańsk	Franciscans Nowe on the Vistula	Knights Hospitaller
Grand Mas- ter of the Teutonic Order	9	10	2	1	1	.	5
Commander in Gdańsk	1	.	3	1	(1) TO as arbitrator	.	.
Commander in Gniew	1	5
Vogt in Tczew	2	1	.	.	.	(1) TO as arbitrator	.

Source: PrUB, Bd. 2–4; *Dwa dokumenty krzyżackie dla klasztoru cystersów w Pelplinie z lat 1314–1315*, wyd. K. Bruski, W. Długocki, in: *Ludzie, władza, posiadłości*, red. J. Powierski, B. Śliwiński, Gdańsk 1994, pp. 245–256. Abbreviation in the table: TO – Teutonic Order.

Documents concerning individual monasteries:

Cistercians in Oliwa: PrUB, Bd. 2, nos. 3, 52, 97, 158, 173, 395, 399, 449, 785; Bd. 3, nos. 488, 490, 634; Bd. 4, no. 269.

Cistercians in Pelplin: PrUB, Bd. 2, nos. 47, 67, 75, 76, 121, 259, 260, 301, 402, 818, 870; Bd. 3, no. 486; Bd. 4, nos. 481, 594; *Dwa dokumenty krzyżackie dla klasztoru cystersów w Pelplinie...*, pp. 251–252, 255–256.

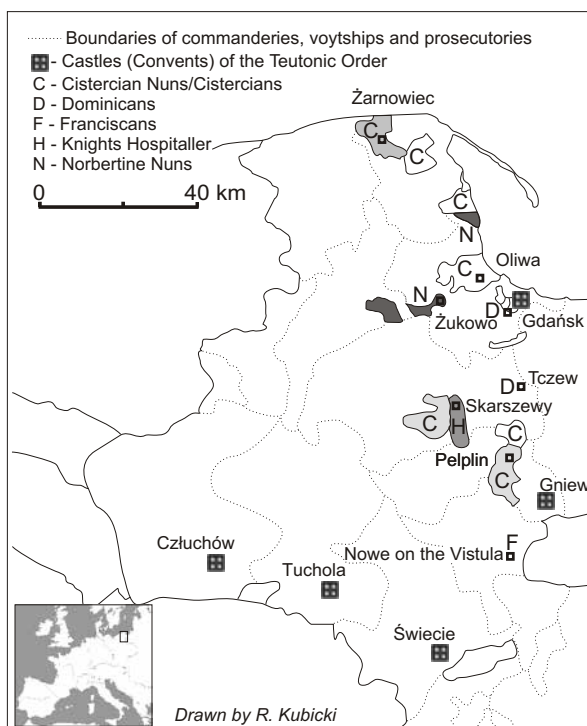
Cistercian nuns in Żarnowiec: PrUB, Bd. 2, nos. 3, 122, 449, 822; Bd. 3, no. 492.

Norbertine nuns in Żukowo: PrUB, Bd. 2, no. 156; Bd. 4, no. 236.

Dominicans in Gdańsk: PrUB, Bd. 3, no. 674; Bd. 4, no. 333.

Franciscans in Nowe on the Vistula: PrUB, Bd. 3, no. 79.

Knights Hospitaller: PrUB, Bd. 2, nos. 818, 819, 870; Bd. 3, no. 319; Bd. 4, no. 18.



Map 1. Urban monasteries and estates of rural monasteries in Gdańsk Pomerania around 1350

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Streszczenie

Zakon krzyżacki a klasztory na Pomorzu Gdańskim w pierwszej połowie XIV w.

Przedmiotem opracowania jest próba charakterystyki polityki prowadzonej przez zakon krzyżacki (niemiecki) wobec klasztorów na Pomorzu Gdańskim w pierwszej połowie XIV w. W dotychczasowych ocenach tradycyjnie wskazywano na konsekwentnie stosowane ograniczenia odnośnie do fundacji klasztorów mniszych w Prusach i dążenie zakonu niemieckiego do poddania ścisłej kontroli wszystkich zgromadzeń posiadających swoje siedziby na Pomorzu Gdańskim. W artykule wskazano przede wszystkim na dwa czynniki mające wpływ na relacje zakonu niemieckiego z klasztorami na Pomorzu Gdańskim, to jest na proces implantacji klasztorów i terytorializacji urzędów zakonu niemieckiego na Pomorzu Gdańskim.

Z przeprowadzonych analiz wynika, że relacje zakonu niemieckiego z klasztorami na Pomorzu Gdańskim były nie tyle następstwem konsekwentnie realizowanej przez niego polityki, ale raczej wypadkową wielu czynników, wynikających z sytuacji panującej w danym zgromadzeniu zakonnym (cystersi) i odnośnie do konkretnego klasztoru (przykład dominikanów w Gdańsku). Przy czym zakon niemiecki występował zazwyczaj jako władca terytorialny, potwierdzający transakcje kupna–sprzedaży względnie nadania lub zamiany dóbr oraz jako arbiter w sporach z innymi instytucjami (z władzami miejskimi). Funkcję taką pełnili miejscowi komturzy lub sam wielki mistrz zakonu. Udział tego ostatniego był zazwyczaj związany z potrzebą ogólnej regulacji, jak w przypadku generalnej konfirmacji dla dóbr klasztoru w Oliwie i Żarnowcu dokonanej przez wielkiego mistrza Ludolfa Königa. Ogólnie, wzajemne relacje zakonu z klasztorami były poprawne, jeśli nie wręcz dobre. Trzeba też podkreślić, że stanowisko zakonu niemieckiego wobec klasztorów na Pomorzu Gdańskim było elementem szerszej polityki kościelnej prowadzonej na tym terenie także wobec biskupa włocławskiego i arcybiskupa gnieźnieńskiego.