

Marek Smoliński

(University of Gdańsk)

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1231-6531>

A military order in an order state. Pomeranian Hospitallers and the Teutonic Knights, 1308–1370*

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Certain aspects of the multifaceted relations between the Knights of St John and the Teutonic Knights in the Teutonic Order's state in Prussia have already featured in the pages of history books. However, to date there has been no dedicated study on this subject. The lack of such a study is surprising given that the existence of one military order and its administrative structure within the state of another military order is so exceptional a scenario. In the case of the Teutonic Knights and the Hospitallers, this episode in their history can be divided into two phases and traced throughout the periods 1308/1309–1370 and 1402–1454/1455. This chronological timeframe is defined by the territorial expansion of the Teutonic *Ordensstaat*. The first phase of the two orders' coexistence began with the capture of Gdańsk Pomerania (where the Hospitallers owned properties) by the Teutonic Knights. This period came to an end in the 14th century with the Order of St John selling its Pomeranian estates and withdrawing from Pomerelia. The second

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phase is marked by the Teutonic Knights taking over the Neumark, which was pawned to them by Sigismund of Luxembourg. The Hospitallers also possessed wealthy endowments in this region, having inherited from the Order of Knights Templar, which had ultimately been dissolved in 1312.

Both phases offer plenty of interesting issues to discuss, but it would be difficult to cover them all in one article. This is because of the different circumstances that led to the Teutonic Order's acquisition of the two aforementioned territories. There are also evident differences in the wealth and political status of the knights (or even in the case of Neumark, the social elite subordinate to the Teutonic Order) who supported the Hospitallers' local houses. The Knights of St John also took a different stance on the Teutonic Order's policy towards the Kingdom of Poland. For this reason, the main focus of this article are the relations between Pomerelian Hospitallers and the supreme power in the land, which since 1308/1309 had been the Teutonic Order. It should be noted that individual aspects of mutual relations between the two orders in Pomerania, or more broadly in the *Ordensstaat*, can be found in works on the Hospitallers and their houses written by Walter Hubatsch, Emil Waschinski, Tadeusz Wojciech Lange, Karl Borchardt, Maria Starnawska, and lastly by the present author.¹ Other scholars who have examined Teutonic-Hospitaller

¹ E. Waschinski, *Geschichte der Johanniterkomturei und Stadt Schöneck Westpr. mit ihrem Anfang von Urkunden*, Danzig 1904, pp. 18–20; *idem*, *Die ersten Johanniter in Westpreußen*, "Westpreußen Jahrbuch" 1970, Bd. 20, pp. 134–135; W. Hubatsch, *Die Johanniterorden in Ost- und Westpreußen*, "Zeitschrift für Ostforschung" 1972, Bd. 21, no. 2, pp. 7–11; W. Lange, *Joannici na Pomorzu Gdańskim. Stan badań – interpretacje – próba syntezy*, ZH 1994, t. 59, z. 4, pp. 13–18; *idem*, *Szpitalnicy, joannici, kawalerowie maltańscy*, Poznań 1994, pp. 87–88; K. Borchardt, *The Hospitallers in Pomerania: Between the Priors of Bohemia and Alamania*, in: *The Military Orders, vol. 2: Welfare and Warfare*, ed. H. Nicholson, Aldershot 1998, pp. 303–304; M. Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem. Zakony rycerskie na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 27–28; *eadem*, *Joannici w średniowiecznej Polsce*, in: *Joannici i ich związki z ziemią polskimi*, red. P. Deles, P. Mrozowski, Warszawa 2014, p. 126 *et seq.*; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce książąt polskich i pomorskich od połowy XII do pierwszego ćwierćwiecza XIV wieku*, Gdańsk 2008, pp. 276, 293, 295 *et seq.*; *idem*, *Zur Geschichte der Johanniter und ihrer politischen Rolle in Polen bis zum Jahre 1370*, in: *Regionalität und Transfargeschichte: Ritterordenskommanden der Templer und Johanniter im nordöstlichen Deutschland und in Polen*, hrsg. v. C. Gahlbeck, D. Heimann, D. Schumann (Studien zur brandenburgischen und vergleichenden Landesgeschichte, Bd. 9; Schriften der Landesgeschichtlichen

relations include historians with an interest in the Hospitaller commandery in Zagość (Lesser Poland), the bishopric of Kuyavia, or the trials between Poland and the Teutonic Knights concerning Gdańsk Pomerania.²

The Knights of St John arrived in Poland and Pomerania in the 12th century. They were the first order that had the capacity to engage in military action against the pagan Prussians. Their Pomeranian houses were located near communication routes that led from the territories of the Reich through West, Central and East Pomerania up to the border of lands occupied by Prussian tribes.³ The Hospitallers' first foothold in Pomerelia was the

Vereinigung für die Mark Brandenburg, Bd. 4), Berlin 2014, pp. 88–90; *idem*, *Der Johanniterorden in Pommern und Pommerellen im Mittelalter – Politik, Wirtschaft, Menschen*, in: *Die geistlichen Ritterorden in Mitteleuropa Mittelalter*, eds. K. Borchardt, L. Jan, Brno 2011 (printed 2012), pp. 149–151; *idem*, *Henning von Wartenberg, templariusz, pan domów w Skarszewach i Czarnocinie oraz joannicki dzierżawca*, in: *Dzierżawcy, literaci, posłowie*, red. B. Możejko, M. Smoliński, S. Szybkowski, Malbork 2011 (“*Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza*”, no. 16), p. 196 *et seq.*; *idem*, *Die Versuche einer Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungsreform in den Besitzungen der Johanniter in Pommerellen im 14. Jahrhundert*, “*Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders*” 2017, vol. 22, pp. 43–53.

² K. Tymieniecki, *Majątność księżęca w Zagościu i pierwotne uposażenie klasztoru joannitów na tle osadnictwa dorzecza dolnej Nidy. Studium z dziejów gospodarczych XII w.*, (“*Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego*”, seria 2, t. 30 [55]), Kraków 1912, p. 386; *idem*, *Studia nad XIV wiekiem. I. Proces polsko-krzyżacki z lat 1320–1321*, PH 1917/1918, t. 21, pp. 88, 125, 143; P. v. Kriedte, *Die Herrschaft der Bischöfe von Włocławek von den Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1409*, Göttingen 1974, pp. 163–167; K. Jasiński, *Rola Siemowita księcia dobrzyńskiego w stosunkach polsko-krzyżackich w 1308/1309 r.*, “*Zapiski Kujawsko-Dobrzyńskie*” 1978 (seria A, Historia), p. 79; S. Gawlas, *Verus heres. Z badań nad świadomością polityczną obozu Władysława Łokietka w początkach XIV w.*, KH 1988, t. 95, no. 1, pp. 97–98; J. Bieniak, *Środowisko świadków procesu polsko-krzyżackiego z 1339 r.*, in: *Genealogia – kręgi zawodowe i grupy interesu w Polsce średniowiecznej na tle porównawczym*, red. J. Wroniszewski, Toruń 1989, p. 16; *idem*, *Okres zjednoczenia państwa (łącznie z procesem polsko-krzyżackim) w twórczości Kazimierza Tymienieckiego*, in: *Kazimierz Tymieniecki (1887–1968): dorobek i miejsce w mediewistyce polskiej*, red. J. Strzelczyk, Poznań 1990, p. 42; J. Maciejewski, *Działalność kościelna Gerwarda z Ostrowa, biskupa włocławskiego w latach 1300–1323*, Bydgoszcz 1996, pp. 123–127.

³ M. Starnawska, *Musi – rycerze – szlachta. Templariusze i joannici na pograniczu wielkopolsko-brandenbursko-zachodniopomorskim*, KH 1992, no. 99, z. 1, pp. 12–13; M. Smoliński, *Der Johanniterorden in Pommern und Pommerellen*, p. 141; see also *idem*, *Inmitten der Kreuzzüge und deren ideologischen und wirtschaftlichen Hintergrunds. Der Johanniterorden und die Pläne der Christianisierung und Eroberung des Prußenlandes in der frühen Organisationsphase des Ordens*

domus they established at Starogard Gdański.⁴ Mention of their first commandery in Pomerelia appears in the 1280s, though it may already have been in operation by the 1270s.⁵ Lubiszewo (earlier recorded as a house of the order⁶) became a seat of the Hospitallers. In the first half of the 14th century, sources note the existence of a second commandery, founded in Skarszewy.⁷ In the 1330s, officials of the Order who held the title of ‘provisor’ ran the Hospitallers’ estate at Obozin (German: Thomaswalde),⁸ but we do not know whether it became a separate commandery. Meanwhile, the commanderies at Lubiszewo and Skarszewy continued to coexist for some time. During the 14th century, the base at Starogard doubtless took on a more limited role, whilst the mid-14th century saw the growing importance of the Order’s house at Czarnocin (German: Neuwartenberg)⁹. In the 1360s another Hospitaller commandery was probably established there and was managed in parallel with the one at Skarszewy by a single commander.¹⁰

Due to the politics of the Order’s central authorities, who saw the Holy Land as the main focus of their activities, the Knights of St John did not play a major part in the efforts of the Piast dynasty, and later the House of Pomerania, to expand into Prussia.¹¹ Not much can be said about their defence of Pomerelia against Prussian invasions. In contrast, surviving sources quite frequently make mention of the Hospitallers’ difficulties in keeping hold of their Pomerelian properties throughout most of the 13th century. Their problems stemmed from court disputes with ecclesiastical institutions and the animosity of certain members of the House of Pomerania (in particular Sambor II).¹² To guarantee the security

in Polen, Pommern und Pommerellen (bis 1201), “Questiones Medii Aevi Novae” 2017, vol. 22, pp. 305–334.

⁴ P, no. 64; see M. Smoliński, *W sprawie domów joannickich w Starogardzie i Lubiszewie w bulli z 1238 r.*, in: *Szlachta, starostowie, zaciężni*, red. B. Śliwiński, Gdańsk–Koszalin 1998 (“Gdańskie Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza”, no. 5), pp. 221–238.

⁵ P, no. 425; E. Waschinski, *Die ersten Johanniter...*, p. 151.

⁶ P, no. 64 (AD 1238), 300 (AD 1278).

⁷ PrUB, Bd. 1, H. 2, no. 843; Bd. 2, nos. 818, 819; E. Waschinski, *Die ersten Johanniter...*, p. 115.

⁸ See, for example, PrUB, Bd. 2, no. 821.

⁹ M. Smoliński, *Henning von Wartenberg...*, pp. 198–199.

¹⁰ PrUB, Bd. 6, Lieferung 1, nos. 469, 470.

¹¹ M. Smoliński, *Inmitten der Kreuzzüge...*, pp. 305–334.

¹² PU, no. 104 (featuring Sambor II), nos. 80, 456, 467, 470, 471 (featuring the bishops of Kuyavia), no. 425 (featuring Pelpin Abbey). See E. Waschinski, *Die ersten*

of its estates, the Order relied on its cooperation with the rulers of Gdańsk: Mściwój (Mestwin) I, Świętopelk (Swantopolk) and Mściwój II.¹³ After this local dynasty had died out, Przemysł II, duke of Greater Poland, tried to assert his influence among the Pomerelian Hospitallers.¹⁴ Attempts to create pro-Polish sentiment within the Order were thwarted by the death of the king in 1296. It was then that the politics of the Order leaned towards political factions supporting rulers opposed to Władysław Łokietek (the Elbow-High) succeeding Przemysł II.¹⁵ The Hospitallers' administrative structure in Central-Eastern Europe played a major role in this process. In the early 14th century, the Order's estates in Poland and Pomerania were managed from two centres: the Order's so-called 'Polish province', which included the house of the Poznań Hospitallers, and the seat of the Silesian Hospitallers, which came under the authority of the masters and priors of Bohemia. The Pomeranian estates were initially connected to the Hospitallers of Bohemia and Moravia. By the mid-13th century there had been a reform in the administration of the Order's Pomeranian estates. They were now run by the German Hospitallers, primarily by officials from commanderies in Brandenburg and Mecklenburg. During the 1320s, estates in Kuyavia and Lesser Poland, associated with the Order's Polish province, were overseen by Hospitaller

Johanniter..., p. 152; W. Hubatsch, *Die Johanniterorden in Ost- und Westpreußen*..., p. 2; K. Bruski, *Ziemię nad Dolną Wierzą od XIII do początku XIV wieku*, Gdańsk 1997, p. 36; B. Klaska, *Siedziby joannitów na ziemiach polskich do 1312 roku*, Zielona Góra 2012, p. 68; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce*..., pp. 176–177 *et seq.*; *idem*, *Der Johanniterorden in Pommern und Pommerellen*..., p. 150; *idem*, *Sąsiedztwo cystersów z Pelplina oraz joannitów z Lubiszewa i Skarszew w świetle Kroniki pelplińskiej*, "Rydwon. Roczniki Muzealne Muzeum Ziemi Kociewskiej w Starogardzie Gdańskim" 2012, no. 7, pp. 97–111.

¹³ P, nos. 104 (grants by and Zwinisława, the parents of Świętopelk II), 300, 444, 454 (Mściwój II). See reference in n. 11.

¹⁴ P, no. 529; M. Smoliński, [...] *familiaris nostri specialiter et dilectus... Joannici w służbie władców Czech i Rzeszy Niemieckiej w dobie odnowienia Królestwa Polskiego w 1295 roku*, in: *Średniowieczni władcy i ich otoczenie. Materiały V Kongresu Mediewistów Polskich*, t. 5, red. J. Sperka, K. Kollinger, Rzeszów 2018, p. 93 *et seq.*

¹⁵ See M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce*..., pp. 264, 272 *et seq.*; *idem*, *Krajobraz sporu. Joannici wobec Władysława Łokietka, Jana Luksemburskiego i książąt śląskich w latach dwudziestych i trzydziestych XIV wieku*, in: *A Pomerania ad ultimas terras. Studia ofiarowane Barbarze Popielas-Szultce w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, red. J. Sochacki, A. Teterycz-Puzio, Słupsk 2011, pp. 333–349.

officials from Pomerelia. It was the Pomerelian Knights of St John who represented the Order in a dispute over properties in Kuyavia and Lesser Poland that had been confiscated from the Hospitallers.¹⁶ In the 1320s their Pomeranian properties became part of the Order's Bailiwick of Brandenburg, established under the German priory. There, superiors of the Order from the Brandenburg Ascanian line, and later from the House of Wittelsbach, played a key role during the first half of the 14th century. Officials who managed the Polish province were recruited from Hospitallers sympathetic to the Přemyslid party, and later predominantly from supporters of the Luxembourg faction (though there were also Habsburg and Bavarian partisans among the Knights of St John).¹⁷

To better understand the political direction taken by the Hospitallers (including their Pomeranian branches) in the early 14th century, it is worth recalling the family ties of officials who influenced the Order's local structures (see genealogical chart at the end of this article). A good example is provided by members of the German Houses of Henneberg and Schwarzburg, who became related through the marriage of and Sophie von Schwarzburg. Both families produced individuals who held the highest offices of the Order and managed the Hospitaller properties in Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, Austria and Germany during the first decades of the 14th century.¹⁸ We know that by the beginning of the 14th century, von Henneberg was playing a major role in the Order's Polish province.¹⁹ Sometime before March 1313 he became a Hospitaller preceptor, with authority over his brethren in Bohemia, Moravia,

¹⁶ K. Borchardt, *The Hospitallers in Pomerania...*, pp. 299–301; *idem*, *The Hospitallers, Bohemia, and the Empire, 1250–1330*, in: *Mendicants, Military Orders, and Regionalism in Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Sarnowsky, Ashgate 1999, p. 205 *et seq.*; M. Smoliński, *Czesko-morawscy joannicy na Pomorzu 1182–1252*, in: *Rola komunikacji i przestrzeni w średniowiecznych i wczesnonowożytnych dziejach Czech i Polski*, red. A. Paner, W. Iwańczak, Gdańsk 2008, pp. 311–344; *idem*, *Joannicy w polityce...*, p. 133 *et seq.*, diagram on p. 299; *idem*, *Zur Geschichte der Johanniter...*, p. 86 *et seq.*

¹⁷ See J. Borchardt, *The Hospitallers, Bohemia, and the Empire...*, pp. 219–231; M. Smoliński, *Krajobraz sporu...*, *passim*.

¹⁸ J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Johanniter- und Deutsche Orden im Kämpfe Ludwigs des Bayern mit der Kurie*, Leipzig 1900, p. 202 *et seq.*; M. Smoliński, *Joannicy w polityce...*, p. 273 *et seq.*; *idem*, *Krajobraz sporu...*, pp. 336–337.

¹⁹ In 1309, when opposition to the Teutonic Knights had died down, Berthold was stationed at the commandery in Poznań (which had links with the Pomeranian commanderies), where he acted “as regente vice summi magistris per provincia

Poland and Austria. Berthold combined this post with that of prior of the Order for the aforementioned countries.²⁰ His connections were one of the reasons why the Knights of St John managed to take over so many previously Templar-owned properties in Bohemia and Moravia. He held office until 1325, when an attempt was made to remove him from power and replace him with Michael, commander of Tynec, who had links with the dukes of Silesia and probably also with the Luxembourg dynasty.²¹ It is not easy to trace the history of after 1325 from surviving written sources. He may have initially relinquished the management of the Order's estates in Bohemia and Austria. In 1325 Michael, commander of Tynec, began styling himself prior "per Boemiam, Poloniam, Austriam, Moraviam, Styriam i Carinthiam".²² This title indicates a further attempt to limit the power of Berthold VI. However, this was not the end of Henneberg's career, as in 1326 he again adopted the title of master of the Order in Bohemia and in Poland.²³ Extant documents omit the full titulature used by Hospitaller officials, making it impossible to determine whether in 1326 regained the

Polonie"; KDW, t. 2, no. 929; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce...*, p. 273 *et seq.*; *idem*, *Krajobraz sporu...*, pp. 336–337.

²⁰ The office of prior of Germany has also occasionally been attributed to Berthold von Henneberg. However, this may have been the post of another family member named Berthold, sometimes called 'the Younger', who appears in documents relating to the Hospitaller Order from the late 1320s; see M. Smoliński, *Krajobraz sporu...*, p. 338. On Berthold VI, see J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Johanniter- und Deutsche Ordens*, p. 60 and no. 5, p. 209: "oberster magister ze Polen, ze Pehen, ze Ostereich und furbaz", no. 7: "preceptor in Boemiam, Poloniam, Moraviam, Austriam" (both documents of 1313); no. 14, p. 211: "prior des priorates in Böhmen, Polen und Österreich" (1317). Similar titles are ascribed to in later years, sometimes additionally embellished with the title of master of the Knights of St John in either Würzburg, Schleusingen or Kündorf; J. Borchardt, *The Hospitallers, Bohemia, and the Empire...*, p. 221, n. 68.

²¹ J. Mitáček, *Čeští johanité v prvních desetiletích vlády Lucemburků*, „Acta Musei Moraviae. Scientiae Soc.” 2003, p. 155; *idem*, *Konflikt a smíření u voleb českých johanitských převorů. Ke vztahům českých Lucemburků, papežské kurie a řádu johanitů*, in: *Rituál smíření. Konflikt a jeho řešení ve středověku. Sborník příspěvků z konference konané ve dnech 31. května – 1. června 2007 v Brně*, eds. M. Nodl, M. Wihoda, Brno 2008, p. 307 *et seq.*; M. Smoliński, *Krajobraz sporu...*, p. 336 *et seq.*

²² *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae*, ed. C.J. Erben, Pars 3, Praha 1890, no. 1053.

²³ J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Johanniter- und Deutsche Orden...*, no. 29, p. 214, no. 32, p. 215, no. 33, p. 216, no. 34, pp. 216–217; J. Mitáček, *Die böhmische Provinz des Johanniterordens und die Luxemburgen 1310–1437*, in: *Die geistlichen Ritterorden in Mitteleuropa...*, p. 107.

full extent of power he had previously exercised, or whether he had to surrender management of the Order's houses in at least some countries.

Berthold VI's brother, Henry von Henneberg,²⁴ was one of several members of the family who chose a career with the Teutonic Order.²⁵ Another of their brothers, Berthold VII, opted for a career as an official serving reigning German kings. In the context of the topic under discussion, it is worth recalling his indirect involvement in the early 14th-century Ascanian attack on Pomerania, the main aim of which was to capture Gdańsk. On 16 December 1307, Count wrote a letter to Lübeck. In it he explained that a dispute had arisen between the margraves of Brandenburg and the Slavs. The then king of Germany, of Habsburg, had taken the side of the Brandenburg margraves in this dispute. In consequence, Lübeck, as a city of the Reich, was expected to support the margraves by supplying 100 armoured horseman for their military campaign.²⁶ Later, became one of John of Luxembourg's advisors.²⁷ The policy of supporting Luxembourg interests, including plans for John of Luxembourg to take power in the Kingdom of Bohemia after the death of in 1306, was also pursued by the Hospitallers.²⁸ Together with the Cistercians they took part in negotiations that led to the marriage between John of Luxembourg and Elizabeth of Bohemia. Grants made by Berthold VII, in agreement with Berthold VI, to the Hospitallers furnished them with valuable estates near Schleusingen and Kundorf.²⁹ Taking only a brief look at the political career of Bejrthold VII, we can recall that he served as advisor to Albert I, and Louis IV. Thanks to his work with these monarchs he held the offices of governor of Meissen (1305), Bohemia and Poland (1313) and the March of Brandenburg

²⁴ For more on Henry, see M. Dorna, *Bracia zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w latach 1228–1309. Studium prozopograficzne*, Poznań 2004, pp. 202–203.

²⁵ M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce...*, p. 271 *et seq.*

²⁶ Regesten, Lief. 7, Berlin 1924, no. 2038.

²⁷ J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Johanniter- und Deutsche Orden...*, p. 202 *et seq.*

²⁸ K. Borchardt, *The Hospitallers, Bohemia, and the Empire...*, p. 221.

²⁹ In 1291 the rights of patronage over the parish church of Schleusingen were granted together with revenues from Rappelsdorf, Ratscher, Silbach and Eichenberg. In 1308 the parish was taken over by the Hospitallers. This provided the basis for establishing a commandery. In 1315 also sold the castle and lordship of Kühndorf to the Hospitallers, which enabled them to set up another commandery in the region. See J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Johanniter- und Deutsche Orden...*, pp. 52–54.

(1323).³⁰ The cousins of the aforementioned von Henneberg brothers were Teutonic Knights: Günther (the Elder) and Sieghard von Schwarzburg, of whom more later.

Contemporary literature on the subject suggests that von Henneberg and Albert von Schwarzburg were also related. Albert was apparently the uncle of the aforesaid prior and preceptor who governed the Order's houses in Bohemia, Moravia, Poland and Austria, namely Berthold VI. Albert von Schwarzburg himself also played a significant role in the history of the Knights of St John. As marshal of the Order, in 1306 Albertus Alamanus, along with other members of the Hospitallers' general chapter, took part in talks between Grand Master Folques de Villaret and Vignolo de Vignoli. These gave rise to a plan to conquer the island of Rhodes for the Order.³¹ During 1307–1313 Albert was preceptor of Limassol.³² In 1310 he was sent by the grand master to conduct talks aimed at bringing an end to the dispute between members of the House of Lusignan. In 1312, he found himself representing the Order at the papal court of Clement V, where talks were being held about who would take over the former Templar properties.³³ He was referred to at the time as the visitator of the Order. In 1313 sources record that he was grand preceptor or grand preceptor overseas (*ejusdem domus magni preceptori in partibus cismarinis*), hence in Europe.³⁴ Thus, the Order's European properties came under his control, including those within the Reich and its

³⁰ W. Huschke, *Berthold VII.*, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Berlin 1955, Bd. 2, p. 155; online-version: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118658549.html#ndbcontent> [accessed: 30.06.2021].

³¹ J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre (1100–1310)*, Paris 1904, n. 2, pp. 274–276 (featuring the text of the document in question); A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus: 1310–1378* (IX), in: *idem*, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World*, Ashgate 1992, p. 176.

³² A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus 1310–1378* (IX)...., p. 176.

³³ T. Rymer, *Foedera Conventiones, Litterae et cujuscunque generis Acta Publica, inter Reges Angliae, et alios quosvis Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes, vel Communitates, ab Ingressu Gulielmi I. in Angliam, A.D. 1066, ad Nostra usque Tempora habita aut tractata*, vol. 2, part 1: *ab anno M.CCCVII. ad annum M.CCCXXVII*, London 1818, pp. 182–184.

³⁴ T. Rymer, *Foedera Conventiones*...., p. 235 (when negotiating the takeover of English Templar estates: "frater Albertus de Nigro Castro magnus preceptor domus hospitalis [...]"); A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus 1310–1378* (IX)...., p. 176; K. Borchardt, *Verwaltungsstrukturen bei den deutschen Johannitern (12. bis 14. Jahrhundert)*, in: *Geistlichen Ritterorden*...., p. 59.

subordinate estates in Poland and Pomerania. In the following years (1315–1317?) Albert officiated in Cyprus while holding the title of grand preceptor.³⁵ On the cusp of the late 1300s and early 1310s, Albert's activities were centred around the Mediterranean.³⁶ He also played a major part in steering the Order through the crisis that emerged in 1317, when the incumbent grand master, Folques de Villaret, was removed from office. The extravagance of the latter, the vast sums he spent on the defence of Rhodes, and the costs involved in taking over the possessions of the dissolved Templars significantly depleted the Order's treasury. Despite the fact that in some parts of Europe the Hospitallers practically trebled their holdings through the acquisition of former Templar estates, their coffers were so exhausted that in the late 1310s the Order almost went bankrupt. The size of the responcion (a tax collected by the head of each of the Order's *langues*) set in 1317 was not enough to cover the costs of their own upkeep. In fact, the financial capacity of the Order's houses varied quite considerably in different parts of Europe. For example, in 1317 von Henneberg as prior of Bohemia, Moravia, Poland and Austria was due to collect 1000 guilders from the Hospitaller houses under his jurisdiction (the same amount was to be supplied by the head of the German priory), whilst in that same year Albert von Schwarzburg was meant to collect 60,000 bezants or 10,000 florins from Cyprus. Obtaining these sums posed a certain administrative challenge.³⁷ Although the Knights of St John expected large profits from their increased territorial acquisitions in Europe, it took them almost until 1340 to recover from their financial crisis and to pay off debts of around 500,000 florins.

³⁵ A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus 1310–1378* (IX)...., p. 177; K. Borchardt, *The Hospitallers, Bohemia, and the Empire*...., p. 221.

³⁶ For a list of the relevant literature see: M. Smoliński, *Die Johanniter und die Eroberung Pommerellens durch den Deutschen Orden*, "Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders" 2011, vol. 16 (*Die Ritterorden in Umbruchs- und Krisenzeiten. The Military Orders in Times of Change and Crisis*), pp. 103–117. On Albert's role in the transfer of Templar possessions to the Hospitallers, see K. Borchardt, *Verwaltungsstrukturen bei den deutschen Johannitern*...., p. 59.

³⁷ See J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la mort de Philibert de Naillac (1310–1421)*, introd. A. Luttrell, London 1974, pp. 24–25; A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus: 1310–1378* (IX)...., pp. 160–161; K. Borchardt, *Verwaltungsstrukturen bei den deutschen Johannitern*...., p. 63.

It should be noted that the tasks assigned at that time to Albert von Schwarzburg by his Order had an impact on the frequency of the Hospitaller diplomat's contacts with the papal curia. A significant factor in this was the animosity of Pope towards Wittelsbach, whose position as king of the Romans had been considerably strengthened by his victory in the 1322 Battle of Mühldorf over Frederick the Fair of the House of Habsburg. In response to Louis IV's political claims to lands in Italy, the Pope instituted canonical proceedings against Wittelsbach.

These events were hugely problematic for the Hospitallers under von Henneberg, who, like the rest of his family, was considered a supporter of Louis IV.³⁸ In an effort to bolster the pro-Bavarian faction within the Order, the grand master nominated Albert von Schwarzburg to the office of prior of Germany as well as visitor of the Order for Bohemia and Denmark (*in Bohemie et Dacie*).³⁹ This appointment was advantageous, as Albert's earlier contacts with the papal curia enabled him to conduct negotiations between Pope and of Bavaria.⁴⁰ In official documents of the Order it was claimed that Albert had obtained his office because he was related to princes, dukes and knights in the territories of which he was preceptor.⁴¹ From 1323 to 1328/1329 Albert acted as *magnus preceptor ordinis per Alamaniam*.⁴² According to some historians, it was possibly around 1324 that he was also mentioned as preceptor of the Order in Saxony, Thuringia and the March

³⁸ K. Borchardt, *The Hospitallers, Bohemia, and the Empire...*, p. 226 et seq.; J. Mitáček, *Die böhmische Provinz...*, p. 103.

³⁹ J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes...*, p. 73; K. Borchardt, *The Hospitallers, Bohemia, and the Empire...*, p. 226.

⁴⁰ *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regem*, ed. I. Swalm, in: *Momumenta Germaniae Historica. Legum*, Section IV, Bd. 5, [hereinafter: *Constitutiones*] Hannoverae–Lipsiae 1909–1911, nos. 817, 839, 840, 881, 928, 941; K. Borchardt, *The Hospitallers, Bohemia, and the Empire...*, pp. 226–227; J. Mitáček, *Die böhmische Provinz...*, p. 106.

⁴¹ K. Borchardt, *The Hospitallers, Bohemia, and the Empire...*, p. 226, n. 86, wherein the relevant source citation from an unpublished document.

⁴² J.G. Dienemann, *Nachrichten vom Johanniterorden, insbesondere von dessen Herrenmeisterthum in der Mark, Sachsen, Pommern u. Wendland, wie auch von der Wahl und Investitur des jetzigen Herrenmeisters, Prinzen August Ferdinand... Nebst einer Beschreibung der in den Jahren 1736, 1737, 1762 und 1764 gehaltenen Ritterschläge*, Berlin 1767, p. 61; J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Anfänge des Johanniter-Ordens...*, p. 90, *idem*, J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Johanniter- und Deutsche Orden...*, p. 69.

of Brandenburg.⁴³ It is widely accepted in the literature on the subject that for a certain period (possibly up to 1325) Albert was head of the German priory.⁴⁴ In 1325 of Bavaria referred to him as German preceptor, friend and secretary, through whom the king passed on secrets and confidential matters.⁴⁵ For Albert remained loyal to the king despite Louis IV's excommunication by Pope John XXII. Moreover, the German grand prior supported Wittelsbach's efforts to secure the election of an anti-pope. Albert probably did not change his political allegiance until the time that his name disappears from historical records.

The incidents outlined above clearly indicate that during the period in question the family ties of Hospitaller officials dictated their position within the Order. They also influenced the alliances which local representatives of the Order made with secular authorities. It has to be said that it was highly likely that this was the case with Teutonic Schwarzburgs. According to one of the testimonies given at the Polish-Teutonic trials of the 1420s, the fact that the wife of Siemowit, duke of Dobrzyń, was related to the *Landmeister* of Prussia (Günther or Sieghard von Schwarzburg) had been instrumental in Władysław Łokietek's decision to follow Siemowit's advice and entrust the defence of Pomerania (where he could not intervene himself) against Brandenburg in 1308 to the Teutonic Knights.⁴⁶ This deposition, despite doubts about which particular Schwarzburg it refers to (of the two, only Sieghard was ever *Landmeister* of Prussia), is regarded as a reliable source in the literature on the subject.⁴⁷ The same testimony also

⁴³ See J. Sarnowsky, *Vorgeschichte und Anfänge der Reformation in der Ballei Brandenburg des Johanniterordens*, in: *The Military Orders and the Reformation. Choices, State building and the Weight of Tradition. Papers of the Utrecht conference, 30 September – 2 October 2004*, eds. J.A. Mohl, K. Militzer, H.J. Nicholson, Verloren 2006, p. 123.

⁴⁴ J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Johanniter- und Deutsche Orden...*, p. 69; K. Borchardt, *The Hospitallers, Bohemia, and the Empire...*, p. 226; J. Mitáček, *Die böhmische Provinz...*, p. 106.

⁴⁵ *Constitutiones*, Bd 6, Hannovere 1914–1922, no. 11; K. Borchardt, *The Hospitallers, Bohemia, and the Empire...*, p. 227.

⁴⁶ *Lites ac res gestae inter Polonos Ordinemque Cruciferorum. Spory i sprawy pomiędzy Polakami a zakonem krzyżackim. Akta postępowania przed wysłannikiem papieskim Antonim Zeno z Mediolanu w latach 1422–1423*, red. S. Józwiak, A. Szweđa and S. Szybkowski, Toruń 2015, p. 306.

⁴⁷ K. Jasiński, *Rola Siemowita księcia dobrzyńskiego...*, p. 77; M. Smoliński, *Die Johanniter und die Eroberung Pommerellens...*, p. 115.

states that Władysław Łokietek gave orders that the garrison manning the Gdańsk stronghold was to obey all of the Teutonic master's commands. Władysław Łokietek's inability to intervene in Pomerania stemmed from his involvement in the interests of the princes of Ruthenia, who were relatives of his sister-in-law. The first to reach Gdańsk with a contingent from the Order was Günther (the Elder) von Schwarzburg⁴⁸ – “beloved kinsman”⁴⁹ of Siemowit. However, events took a more dramatic turn for the Polish troops with the arrival in Gdańsk of Prussian *Landmeister* Heinrich von Plötzke.⁵⁰

Meanwhile, Sieghard von Schwarzburg appears in encounters between Poland and the Teutonic Knights after the Order had captured Pomerania. It is possible that, as the son of a Ruthenian princess and a “beloved kinsman” of Princess Anastasia's nephews, Lev and Andrei,⁵¹ as well as a diplomat of the Teutonic Order, he was able – as Wigand of Marburg claimed – to chat amiably with Władysław Łokietek even at a time of conflict and despite the enmity between the Polish king and the Teutonic Knights.⁵² If Sieghard's mother was (as genealogists contend) Sofia, daughter of Daniel of Galich, then there was a chance that he may have been reasonably fluent in a Slavic language (see chart at end of article).

Help from the other Schwarzburg, Günther (the Younger), had also earlier been eagerly anticipated by the sons of Ziemomysł of

⁴⁸ *Chronica Oliviensis auctore Stanislao abbate Olivensi*, ed. S. Kętrzyński, in: MPH, t. 6, Kraków 1893, p. 319.

⁴⁹ PrUB, Bd. 1\2, no. 854; K. Jasiński, *Rola Siemowita księcia dobrzyńskiego...*, p. 75.

⁵⁰ Interestingly, his brother Bernhard had been among the ranks of the Brandenburg forces that had earlier captured the city. The von Plötzke brothers were also involved in the Teutonic Order's purchase of the rights to Pomerania from the margraves of Brandenburg. See M. Smoliński, *Sytuacja polityczna w Miśni, Turynii i na Łużycach na początku XIV wieku jako przyczynek do wojny brandenbursko-krzyżackiej z 1308 roku i zajęcia Pomorza Gdańskiego przez Krzyżaków*, in: *Komturzy, rajcy, żupani*, red. B. Śliwinski, Malbork 2005 (“*Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza*”, no. 11), pp. 367–370.

⁵¹ PrUB, Bd. 2, no. 157.

⁵² *Chronik Wigands von Marburg*, ed. T. Hirsch, in: SRP, Bd. 2, Leipzig 1876, pp. 473–774; Wigand von Marburg, *Nowa kronika pruska*, oprac. S. Zonenberg, K. Kwiatkowski, Toruń 2017, 163–165; K. Jasiński, *Rola Siemowita księcia dobrzyńskiego...*, p. 77; see also B. Włodarski, *Polska i Ruś 1994–1340*, Warszawa 1966, p. 271 *et seq.*

Kuyavia (Władysław Łokietek's nephews) in their efforts to reclaim the Michałów land from the Teutonic Order.⁵³

It is difficult to say whether the Hospitaller members of the same family circle, namely von Henneberg and Albert von Schwarzburg, were equally well-versed in diplomacy. It is certain that they represented anti-Łokietek factions within the Order who supported the Přemyslids in the early 14th century, and later the Luxembourgs and the Wittelsbachs.⁵⁴ After the Brandenburg attack on Central Pomerania in 1306, and during the margraviate's subsequent phase of Pomeranian expansion in 1308, it was probably because of the ties of Brandenburg and Mecklenburg Hospitallers with the Ascanians that the Knights of St John sided with the margraves of Brandenburg.⁵⁵ However, it quickly became apparent that the Hospitallers' Brandenburg backers were no match for the Teutonic Order in the struggle for Pomerania. Thus, the Hospitallers had to find a new ally who could guarantee that they would retain their estates in Pomerania. In view of their long-running court case with the bishops of Kuyavia, the Hospitallers were doubtless keen to curb the influence of the Polish church in Pomerania and hence to limit Polish political influence over this region in general. It seems that the Teutonic Order's alienation of Pomerania from Poland in 1308/1309 elicited a spirited response from the Pomerelian Hospitallers.

The turmoil stirred up in Pomerania after the Teutonic Order's campaign was taken advantage of by the Hospitallers to repudiate the ecclesiastical court ruling against them in their dispute with the bishops of Kuyavia. This conflict had arisen back in the 13th century and centred on the payment of tithes and other dues owing to the

⁵³ J. Karwasińska, *Sąsiedztwo kujawsko-krzyżackie 1235–1343*, in: *eadem, Kujawy i Mazowsze. Wybór pism*, Warszawa 1997, pp. 112–113.

⁵⁴ On this subject, see M. Smoliński, *Joannicy w polityce..., passim*.

⁵⁵ PU, no. 663, wherein mention is made of compensation for the losses suffered by the Knights Hospitaller during the Brandenburg invasion of Pomerania; M. Smoliński, *Joannicy w polityce...*, p. 279 *et seq.* Hospitaller relations with the margraves of Brandenburg were markedly influenced by the generous endowments made by Margrave to the commanderies of Mecklenburg, which provided the officials who managed the Order's Pomerelian possessions in the 14th century. On Hospitaller houses in Mecklenburg and their links with Pomerelia, see R. Szczeniowski and C. Gahlbeck, *Die Kommenden der Johanniter in Mirow, Gardow und Nemerow in der Herrschaft Stargard in Südmecklenburg*, in: *Regionalität und Transfergeschichte...*, pp. 204–248.

bishops.⁵⁶ It may have been initiated by Michael, bishop of Kuyavia. Later, Bishop Wislaw tried to assert his rights, but also failed. The dispute was still unresolved when the Hospitallers left Pomerania in 1370. The first sign of it being renewed in the 14th century dates from 1320.⁵⁷ We know from a document drafted that year that as a result of the damage inflicted on the bishopric by the Hospitallers of Lubiszewo, the Order was threatened with the loss of Zagość in Lesser Poland as well as its estates in Kuyavia: Zbłag and Niemojewko. The dispute continued in 1321, this phase of it culminating in the Hospitallers of Lubiszewo being excommunicated and the Order losing its estates in Lesser Poland and Kuyavia.⁵⁸

The conflict in question also came into focus during hearings relating to another dispute, which took place in Brześć Kujawski between Poland and the Teutonic Knights, and concerned the annexation of Pomerania by the Teutonic Order. Notably, the same judges ruled in both cases against both orders of knights.⁵⁹ This suggests that the two cases may have been linked. The document of 1320 implies that the Hospitallers must have already earlier refused to pay tithes to the bishop and inflicted damage on his villages and estates. This must have spurred the bishop to react, and he may well have set up an ecclesiastical commission to try and assess his losses during pre-trial proceedings. A scarcity of source evidence means that we can only hypothesize about how the Hospitallers reacted to these events. One theory is that the steps taken by Polish church authorities goaded the Hospitallers into an armed response. They unlawfully attacked the bishop's villages and estates, causing damage estimated at several thousand marks. In addition, some of the bishop's people were robbed and imprisoned, whilst others (as stated in the document recording these events) were "savagely murdered".⁶⁰

⁵⁶ PU, nos. 467, 470, 471.

⁵⁷ PrUB, Bd. 2, no. 287 (29.05.1320 r.): "commendator et fratres de Lubysow Wladyslaviensis dyocesis, ordinis hospitalis s. Iohannis Ierosolimitani, ei et ecclesia sue Wladyslaviensi graves molestias et iniurias intulerunt ac dampna plurima villas, bona et homines suos spoliando, captivando et alios occidendo crudeliter irrogantur".

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, no. 327.

⁵⁹ S. Gawlas, *Verus heres...*, pp. 97–98; J. Bieniak, *Środowisko świadków procesu polsko-krzyżackiego...*, p. 16; *idem*, *Okres zjednoczenia państwa...*, p. 42.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, no. 287: "et eccliesie sue Wladislaviensis graues molstias et iniurias, ac dampna plurima, villas, bona et homies suos spoliando captiuando et alios

Although the cited document does not specify exactly when this dispute arose, bearing in mind the problems Bishop Gerward's predecessors had in extracting tithes from the Hospitallers, we can assume that the Order had probably not been paying them from the beginning of his episcopate. Hence, Gerward may have held a grievance against the Order since 1300/1301. It was then, thanks to the backing of the dukes of Kuyavia, that he was elected to office and later consecrated by Jakub Świnka, archbishop of Gniezno. From at least 1306 onwards, Gerward is thought to have been a staunch advocate of Władysław Łokietek, supporting the Polish duke not only on the political and diplomatic front, but also in financial terms. Thus, the Hospitallers' dispute with Gerward meant a conflict with the followers of Łokietek (though Hospitaller relations with the duke himself did not finally break down until c. 1317).⁶¹

Further information on Gerward's dispute with the Knights of St John comes from a court document of 26 February 1321, witness testimonies from the Polish-Teutonic trials, and the chronicle of Jan Długosz.⁶² Contrary to some of the literature on the subject, I believe that they provide further details of events that took place before 1320, mentioned in the first of the documents cited above, and do not refer to what supposedly happened between 1320 and 1321.⁶³ A writ of 28 May 1320, served to the Hospitallers of

occidendo crudeliter, irrogarunt, que ad plura milia marcarum". On the subject of the trial, see K. Tymieniecki, *Studia nad XIV wiekiem...*, 140–143 (wherein there are reservations as to the identification of the judges who ruled on both disputes. These were convincingly countered by J. Bieniak, who pointed out that the appearance of different names in the panel of judges was attributable to secondary factors [absence or illness] unrelated to the original plan of selecting specific judges). See references cited in n. 36; J. Karwasińska, *Sąsiedztwo kujawsko-krzyżackie...*, p. 157; P. v. Kriedte, *Die Herrschaft der Bischöfe von Włocławek...*, p. 167 *et seq.*; J. Maciejewski, *Działalność kościelna Gerwarda z Ostrowa...*, p. 123 *et seq.*; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce...*, p. 282 *et seq.*

⁶¹ KDM, t. 2, no. 568; K. Tymieniecki, *Majątność książęca w Zagościu...*, p. 81; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w Polityce...*, pp. 283–284; *idem*, *Krajobraz sporu...*, p. 334 *et seq.*

⁶² PrUB, Bd. 2, no. 287; *Lites ac res gestae inter Polonos Ordinemque Cruciferorum. Spory i sprawy pomiędzy Polakami a zakonem krzyżackim*, t. 1: *Sprawa wytoczona w Inourocławiu r. 1320, Sprawa wytoczona w Warszawie r. 1339*, ed. S. Zakrzewski, Poznań 1890 [hereinafter: *Lites*, Zakrzewski], p. 338; Długosz, lib. 9, p. 100.

⁶³ Such a chain of events was outlined by K. Tymieniecki (*Majątność książęca w Zagościu...*, p. 125). His hypothesis was taken up by J. Maciejewski (*Działalność kościelna Gerwarda z Ostrowa...*, p. 123 *et seq.*) and S. Gawlas (*Verus heres...*, pp. 97–98). According to this scenario, the dispute between the Hospitallers and

Lubiszewo, represented by their master, Conrad (probably Conrad von Dorstadt),⁶⁴ listed the charges levelled at them by the bishop of Kuyavia. The only prosecutors on behalf of the bishop named in this document were the scholaster Albrecht, Piotr, cantor of Włocławek, and Maciej, dean of Włocławek. Conrad subsequently asked for proceedings to be deferred, as he wanted to consult his master (*magistrum suum superiorem*).

The 1321 document made reference to the fate of Henryk, rector of the church in Miłobądz,⁶⁵ and the episcopal procurator, Paweł, scholaster of Kruszewice, whose stories were recorded in testimonies describing the cruelty of the Teutonic Order in Gdańsk in 1308. Both men were imprisoned by Hospitallers and most probably handed over to the Teutonic Knights. However, the document of 1320 says nothing about their having taken part in the trial between the Hospitallers and the bishop. Hence, it is highly unlikely that they suffered at the hands of the Hospitallers returning from the Brześć trial of the aforementioned year. The sources make no mention of their presence at this trial, and the episcopal procurator in 1320 was not the scholaster Paweł, but the scholaster Albrecht, cantor Piotr and dean Maciej. Henryk and Paweł were only set free by the Teutonic Order after the payment of a large ransom. They testified that the Hospitallers had attacked Subkowy, Miłobądz, Malenin, Mieszczyn, Gielmice and Godziszewo. It was also then that the bishop's people had been robbed, killed or taken into captivity, which sounds like the incidents alluded to in the 1320 document, and detailed in the court summons of 1321.⁶⁶

the bishop of Kuyavia was reignited in 1320, after which the Hospitallers raided the estates of the bishopric. The bishop's procurators were attacked and imprisoned on their way back from a trial that took place in Brześć in 1320. This was all reported in a document from another trial held in Brześć in 1321.

⁶⁴ On 9 October 1320, as commander of Świecie and Lubiszewo, he made an appearance in Sulęcyno together with Gebhard von Bortfelde, master *per Saxoniam, Thuringiam, Marchiam et Slaviam*; PU, Bd. 5, no. 3409.

⁶⁵ See *Lites ac res gestae inter Polonos Ordinemque Cruciferorum. Spory i sprawy pomiędzy Polakami a zakonem krzyżackim*, t. 1: *Sprawa wytoczona w Inowrocławiu i Brześciu Kujawskim w latach 1320–1321*, red. H. Chłopocka, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1970, p. 44.

⁶⁶ See n. 59, featuring an excerpt from the document of 1320, and PrUB, Bd. 2, no. 327: “commendator et fratres de Lubissow ordinis s. Johannis hospitalis Ierosolimitani in vindictam processuum nostrorum, quos dudum ad instanciam eiusdem Wladislaviensis episcopi pro dampnis et iniuriis per ipsos in bonis ecclesie sue multipliciter irrogatis contra ipsos fecimus auctoritate sedis apostolice, qua

Given the above information about the trial between Bishop Gerward and the Knights of St John, it is worth looking into the issue of the master whom Conrad, commander of Lubiszewo, consulted in 1320.⁶⁷ Conrad answered to Gebhard von Bortfelde, the Hospitaller master of Saxony, Thuringia, the March (of Brandenburg) and Slavia.⁶⁸ At that time, the previously mentioned von Henneberg also held the title of prior and master of the Order for Bohemia and Poland.⁶⁹ In 1317 the Order's visitor-general ("in allen Landen uppe des Sit des Meeres in Dudshem Lande, Bemen, Denemarcken, Sweden und Norwegen"), Leonard de Tibertis, appointed as his deputy Paul of Modena, the Hospitaller commander responsible for managing the commanderies in Topstedt and Erfurt that had been taken over from the Templars.⁷⁰ During this period, there had been a return to the earlier division of the Hospitallers' German priory into *Alemania superior* and *Alamania inferior*, with a separate prior at the head of each. On 23 January 1318, Paul together with Leonard de Tibertis and the Hospitaller commanders of Gardow, Nemerow, Brunswick and Goslar concluded an agreement with Herman, margrave of Brandenburg,

fungemur et fungimur in hac parte, mala malis cumulantes bona ecclesia predicti domini episcopi videlicet Sobcow, Milobancz, Malenino, Messczino, Gemelcze et Goczessowo hostiliter spoliatur et bona mobilia raptam ibidem ausu temerario abduxerunt, et quod nephandius est, honorabiles viros dominos Paulum scolasticum Crussiviciensem procuratorem ipsius domini episcopi et Henricum rectorem ecclesie de Milobacz, capellanum ipsis, presumptione dampnabili captivaverunt et vinculatos ac graviter aafflictos aliquo tempore turpiter tenuerunt et astrictos fideiussionibus et fideiussoribus ab eisdem magnas pecunia extorserunt".

⁶⁷ PU, Bd. 5 (Hf. 1–3), no. 3350. As commander of Slawno and Lubiszewo, Conrad sold the village of Bantow on behalf of the Order to the Świąca family in 1320. The sale was approved by Gebhard von Bortfelde; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce...*, p. 281.

⁶⁸ PU, Bd. 5, no. 3409; J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Anfänge der Johanniter-Ordens...*, no. 2, p. 111 (9 October 1320): "Nos frater Gheverhardus de Bortvelde, sancte domus hospitalis sancti Iohannis Iherosolimitani per Saxoniam, Thuringiam, Marchiam et Slaviam".

⁶⁹ See J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Johanniter- und Deutsche Orden...*, no. 21, p. 212 (1 May 1321): "der priol und meister ist der huser Sante Johannis ordinis des spitalis von Jherusalem zu Beheim, Polen und andirswow, und commendur zu Bockisberc; no. 22, p. 213 (8 July 1322): von scheidung und unterheidinge der edlen manne bruder Bertholdes von Hennebeg, des prior der husser des ordens sancte Johannes in Beheyen und in Pohlen".

⁷⁰ PU, Bd. 5, no. 2166 (January 1318), in which Paul of Modena is referred to as Leonard's deputy; on the date of Paul's nomination, see K. Borchardt, *Verwaltungsstrukturen bei den deutschen Johannitern...*, p. 62, n. 52.

concerning conditions attached to the transfer of Templar estates in the March of Brandenburg. This agreement suggests then that Paul of Modena was head of the Knights Hospitaller in northern Germany. In 1323 Paul of Modena was replaced as preceptor general *in Alamania* by Albert von Schwarzburg.⁷¹ The titles used by officials at the head of the aforementioned regions gradually changed over time and became more precise. Another of the Hennebergs, Berthold the Younger, who replaced Albert von Schwarzburg as preceptor of Germany in the 1330s, referred to himself as “magister domorum ordinis s. Johannis batpiste in Alamania, scilicet Saxonia, Marchia et Slavia”.⁷²

Berthold could have known about the dispute between the Hospitallers and the bishopric of Włocławek from numerous sources. One of these may have been a visit to the Avignon curia made by Albert in 1317 with a Hospitaller mission, concerning the upheaval within the Order caused by the rebellion against Grand Master Folquin de Villaret.⁷³ Judging from the correspondence between Pope and Albert von Schwarzburg during 1317–1319, the latter was well known at the papal curia.⁷⁴ It may have been through his contact with the pope in 1317 that Albert helped his relative von Henneberg obtain a guarantee from the pontiff that he could hold the office of prior of Bohemia, Moravia, Poland and Austria for the next ten years.⁷⁵ We also know that Bishop Gerward was in regular contact with the papal curia, being a collector of Peter’s Pence, a judge appointed by to resolve property disputes, and a supplicant visiting Avignon to try and secure the crown for Władysław Łokietek.⁷⁶ As for the trial between Gerward and the Hospitallers, it is hard to believe that the events which led to it could have gone unnoticed during the period when the Teutonic Order was consolidating its authority in Pomerania, hence after 1309.

⁷¹ See list of offices *ibidem*, p. 252.

⁷² J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Johanniter- und Deutsche Orden...*, no. 45, p. 218.

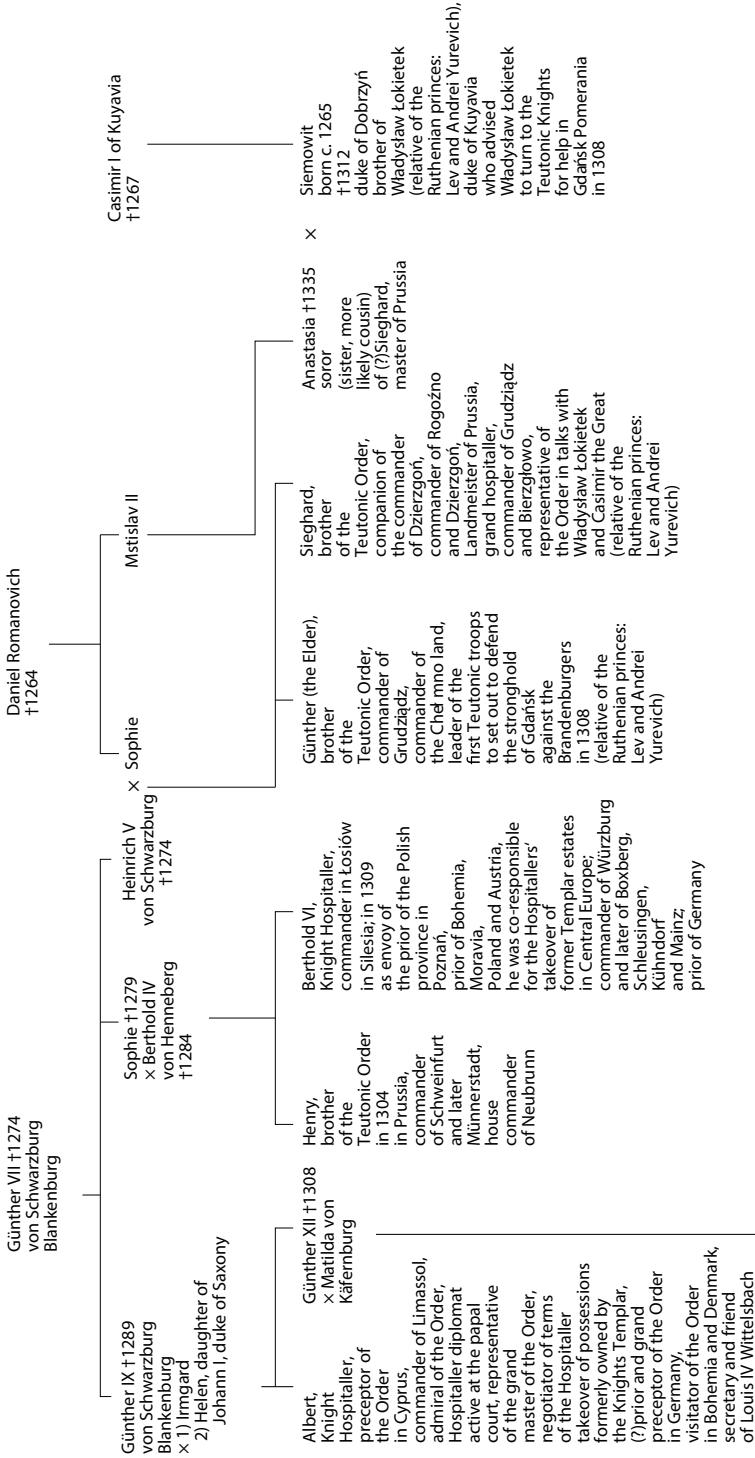
⁷³ See J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes...*, pp. 24–25; A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus: 1310–1378* (IX)..., pp. 160–161.

⁷⁴ See J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes, (Pièce justificatives, no. 2)...*, pp. 365–366; A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus 1310–1378* (IX)..., p. 160 and footnotes to the text on this page.

⁷⁵ *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae*, ed. J. Chtil, Brün 1845, no. 120; J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Johanniter- und Deutsche Orden* (no. 14)..., p. 211.

⁷⁶ J. Maciejewski, *Działalność kościelna...*, p. 111 *et seq.*

Genealogical chart showing relationships between representatives of the Hospitaller and Teutonic Orders and the princes of Ruthenia and dukes of Kuyavia*



* This chart was prepared based on conclusions drawn from my own research and from the findings published in: K. Jasinski, *Rola Siemowita księcia dobrzyńskiego...*; K.W. Prinz von Isenburg, *Stammtafeln zur Geschichte der europäischen Staaten*, Bd. 1, Warburg 1956 (Taf. 157, 159); M. Dom, *Bracia zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach...*; D. Schwennicke, *Europäische Stammatafeln*, NF, Bd. 1/3: *Die Häuser Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, Schwarzburg, Waldeck, Lippe und Reuss*, Frankfurt a. Main 2000, Taf. 312 and 313; and D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów książąt halicko-wołyńskich*, Poznań–Wrocław 2002. I am very grateful to Dariusz Dąbrowski for his help in tracing the genealogy of the Schwarzburgs.

Günther (the Younger), brother of the Teutonic Order, in Prussia 1304–1336, companion of Pukwyrno von Braunschwelg, commander of the Teutonic Order in Pokrzywno, Gniew and Dzierzgoń grand quartermaster and grand commander of the Teutonic Order

In August 1309, Johann von Rogow, Hospitaller commander of Lubiszewo, together with Johan, dean and parson of Subkowy, and Gotfryd, abbot of Pelplin, witnessed a commercial transaction conducted by the Cistercians of Oliwa.⁷⁷ Relations between the Hospitallers and the bishop's subordinates (the parson of Subkowy) appeared to be amicable at the time, as they did on 15 September 1309, when the commander of Lubiszewo (again with the parson of Subkowy and the abbot of Pelplin) visited Tczew. There they witnessed a document issued by Siegfried, commander of the Teutonic Order in Gniew, for the benefit of the abbey at Oliwa.⁷⁸ This is the last known document of the period featuring both the Hospitallers and clergy representing the bishop of Kuyavia. The same situation is not attested again in historical records until the previously cited court document of the 1320s.⁷⁹

Returning to the events of 1309, we know that in the autumn of that year the Teutonic Knights set about eradicating the last pockets of Polish resistance in Pomerania. It was probably after the aforementioned meeting in Tczew that Siegfried, Teutonic commander of Gniew, marched with an army towards Świecie, to join Heinrich von Plotzke and take part in the capture of this stronghold on 29 September 1309. It is conceivable that Johann von Rogow, commander of the Knights Hospitaller of Lubiszewo,⁸⁰ decided to take advantage of the existing state of war to raid the

⁷⁷ P, no. 674; M. Smoliński, *Die Johanniter und die Eroberung Pommerellens...*, p. 120.

⁷⁸ P, no. 677.

⁷⁹ PrUB, Bd. 2, no. 327.

⁸⁰ Elsewhere, I have tried to substantiate the possibility that Johann von Rogow came from the family of Gultowy, a line of the Grzymała clan. Members of this clan, were greatly indebted to Przemysł II, and during the reign in Poland of the Bohemian kings they showed loyalty to the state authorities. In reality, by early 1310s some of them had still not definitively left the camp of Henry III, duke of Głogów, a Silesian ruler hostile to Władysław Łokietek; see J. Bieniak, *Wielkopolska, Kujawy, ziemie łęczycka i sieradzka wobec problemu zjednoczenia państwowego w latach 1300–1306*, Wodzisław Śląski 2011, pp. 113, 125. On Hospitaller contacts with the dukes of Głogów, see R. Heś, *Joannici na Śląsku w średniowieczu*, Kraków 2007 (as per index, p. 548). More recently, the contacts of the Order of St. John with the Silesian dukes of the Świdnicko-Jaworski line have also been addressed. The lack of knowledge of the literature influences the conclusion that this research is not of a good standard. See M.A. Klemenski, *Polityka księcia świdnicko-jaworskiego Bolka II Małego wobec zakonu joannitów*, "Rocznik Biblioteki Naukowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie" 2022, R. 67, pp. 37–46.

estates of Bishop Gerward. This action may have been backed by officials from the Hospitaller houses in Brandenburg and Mecklenburg, who had authority over the Order's Pomerelian possessions, and approved by the representative of the Order's Polish province, von Henneberg, who happened to be in Poznań in 1309.⁸¹ If the decision came from the German Hospitallers, it may have been taken by Ulrich von Schwabe, who had political ties with the margraves of Brandenburg. In 1297 he had been commander of Łosiów and representative of the province of Poland, and during 1298–1302 he held office as commander of Brunswick, and until 1318 he was also commander of Gardow in Mecklenburg.⁸²

Considering the conduct of the sons of Ziemomysł of Inowrocław: Przemysław and Kazimierz, who, faced with a dire financial situation, attacked the estates of Bishop Gerward in 1310, laid waste to them and kept the tithes collected from them, it appears that in this turbulent period, military action motivated by the desire for financial gain was standard practice.⁸³ While in this case the bishop could have responded by excommunicating the dukes of Kuyavia, without the sentence of an ecclesiastical court he was unable to do so in respect of the Hospitallers. If we assume that the Hospitallers were acting with the consent of the Teutonic Knights, then Gerward's decision to go to court would have effectively struck a blow against both military orders.

The bishop of Kuyavia did not respond to the actions of the Hospitallers until negotiations in 1309 and 1313 between Władysław Łokietek and the Teutonic Knights ended in fiasco. Gerward took radical action around 1317. First he retaliated against the Teutonic Order. He refused to approve the appointment of a parish priest nominated by the Order for the church at Świecie.⁸⁴ He may also have taken some form of action against the Hospitallers at the

⁸¹ KDW, t. 2, no. 929: *fratre Bertholdo dicto de Henborg, regente vices summi magistri per provinciam Polonie*; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce...*, p. 273 et seq.; *idem*, *Krajobraz sporu...*, pp. 336–337.

⁸² On Ulrich's career and his connections with the margraves of Brandenburg, see M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce...*, p. 370, and index entry therein with references to pages mentioning Ulrich; see also R. Szczesiak and C. Gahlbeck, *Die Kommenden der Johanniter in Mirów, Gardow und Nemerow...*, p. 223 et seq.

⁸³ See J. Karwasińska, *Sąsiedztwo kujawsko-krzyżackie...*, pp. 112–113; B. Śliwiński, *Leszek, książę inowrocławski (1274/1275 – po 27 kwietnia 1339)*, Kraków 2010, pp. 124–125.

⁸⁴ See P. v. Kriedte, *Die Herrschaft der Bischöfe von Wloclawek...*, pp. 159–160.

same time. Contacts with the Knights of St John were broken off in 1317 by the bishop's political patron, Wladyslaw Lokietek. There is no doubt that in the face of rising tensions the Hospitallers had to find a protector who was not himself embroiled in a dispute with the head of the diocese of Kuyavia. The Order first sought to secure their property and rights through the decisions of the papal curia. It was probably under the curia's influence that in 1317 Johannes, bishop of Lübeck, acknowledged the earlier papal mandate, informing the prelates of the bishopric of Kuyavia and the Cistercians of the confirmation of the Hospitallers' rights and possessions.⁸⁵ In a bull of 30 July 1318, Pope instructed the archbishop of Magdeburg, the bishop of Kamień and the abbot of St Petersburg to see to the restoration of property and rights lost by the Knights Hospitaller.⁸⁶ In 1319 the pope appointed the archbishop of Lund, and the bishops of Lübeck and Sor as conservators and judges who were to defend the Order from those who harmed its estates and revenues.⁸⁷ also took the step of issuing an order to the Cistercians of Oliwa, which they received in February 1319, commanding them to ensure that the Hospitallers retained their assets.⁸⁸ The Cistercians' efforts must have impressed the Pomeranian Knights of St John, as in 1321 (possibly in gratitude for services rendered) the Hospitallers agreed to give Oliwa the rents collected from one of their mills.⁸⁹ Despite these endeavours, as stated earlier, the trial between the Hospitallers and the bishop of Kuyavia did not end well for the Order. After being punished with excommunication, the Hospitallers lost their possessions in Kuyavia and Lesser Poland.

The court dispute between the two sides was renewed during the tenure of the next bishop of Kuyavia, Maciej Pałuka. The case was recalled at the conclusion of a peace between the Teutonic grand master Werner von Orseln and Bishop Maciej on 24 August

⁸⁵ J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Johanniter- und Deutsche Orden...*, no. 3, p. 225.

⁸⁶ PU, Bd. 5, no. 3200; J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Johanniter- und Deutsche Orden...*, no. 4, p. 225; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce...*, p. 287. During 1318–1319 issued several other documents aimed at protecting the rights and possessions of the Hospitallers in Central Europe.

⁸⁷ J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Johanniter- und Deutsche Orden...*, no. 7, p. 232.

⁸⁸ PrUB, Bd. 2, no. 229.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, no. 330.

1330 after the Order had attacked Kuyavia.⁹⁰ Since the subject of the conflict between the bishop and the Hospitallers was raised during peace talks with the Teutonic Knights, the Hospitallers had either played a part in the events in Kuyavia in the 1330s, or else the bishop deemed them entirely subordinate to the Teutonic Order. The likelihood of the first of these scenarios (without entirely ruling out the second) is supported by the fact that in a later document (pre-1357), the Hospitallers were warned that the way to recover their lost property in Kuyavia and Lesser Poland was through legal recourse and that they should do *nichil per violecniam*.⁹¹ If this was not merely a documentary phrase, then the violence of the Knights Hospitaller must still have been remembered in the mid-14th century.⁹² The judges appointed to consider the case in 1330 (bishops Florian of Płock and Otto of Chełmno) upheld the court's ruling of the 1320s. The Hospitallers were required to give back to the bishop the Pomeranian estates they had occupied and to apply for a review of the previous judgement to try and regain their property in Kuyavia and Lesser Poland. However, the political situation of the day made this almost impossible. Nevertheless, accepting (out of necessity) the rule of the Teutonic Order in the lands encompassing the bishopric of Kuyavia opened the way for Bishop Maciej to pursue further claims against the Hospitallers.

Full acceptance (if not open support) for the rule of the Teutonic Order in Pomerania was probably highly influential in further relations between the two orders. The Hospitallers benefitted by gaining a resolution to a long-running dispute, this time with the Cistercians of Pelplin. This conflict was renewed with the rise to prominence of the Hospitaller commandery at Skarszewy and designation of Johann von Bortfelde as its commander (an official who had earlier been associated with the Order's Saxon estates and who was probably related to the first bailiff of Brandenburg – Gebhard von Bortfelde).⁹³ His appointment to this office around

⁹⁰ *Nowy kodeks dyplomatyczny Mazowsza*, red. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś [hereinafter: NKDM], cz. 3, Warszawa 2000, no. 12; J. Karwasińska, *Sąsiedztwo kujawsko-krzyżackie...*, p. 168.

⁹¹ NKDM, cz. 3, no. 12.

⁹² P. v. Kriedte, *Die Herrschaft der Bischöfe von Włocławek...*, pp. 175–176; see M. Smoliński, *Zur Geschichte der Johanniter...*, p. 89.

⁹³ The fact that they were related had already been presumed by J. Pflugk-Hartung (*Die Johanniter- und Deutsche Orden...*, p. 236, remarks on document

1333 resulted in the end of many years of cooperation between the Pomeranian Hospitallers and the local Cistercians. This coincided with the breaking off of an earlier agreement that had brought together representatives of Pomeranian monastic houses since the onset of political change in the late 13th/early 14th century. The agreement is attested by surviving Cistercian documents in which Hospitallers feature as witnesses.⁹⁴ The Order's economic plans may have been behind the decision to terminate it. To fulfil their plans, the Hospitallers had to first sort out their existing property-related problems and enter into closer cooperation with the Teutonic Order.

Hence, in the 1330s the Knights of St John again took legal action against the Cistercians of Pelplin.⁹⁵ The case was adjudicated in 1334 by Luther von Braunschweig, grand master of the Teutonic Order. He allowed the Cistercians to keep the disputed estates, but in return he awarded the Hospitallers such a large sum of compensation that the Cistercians of Pelplin were unable to pay them off for the next 20 years.⁹⁶ The Hospitallers did not oppose the verdict, which suggests that they were entirely satisfied with this settlement.

It is evident that Luther was very well aware of the needs of the Order of St John. His brother, Conrad of Brunswick, who died in 1303, had been a Hospitaller commander in his native Brunswick.⁹⁷ In 1318 this office, combined with that of commander of

no. 9). PrUB, Bd. 1/2, no. 843 (we know that this document could not have been issued in 1305. It can be linked to events of the 1330s, when the officials named in it did indeed hold posts at Hospitaller houses in Pomerania, and Skarszewy was already a town). In 1321 Johann von Bortfelde was still commander of the Order's manor in Leśnica (J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Johanniter- und Deutsche Orden...*, no. 9, p. 236; PrUB, Bd. 1/2, no. 818; Bd. 3, Lieferung 1, no. 39; M. Smoliński, *Die Versuche einer Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungsreform...*, p. 37).

⁹⁴ PU, nos. 476, 631, 658, 670, 674, 677; PrUB, Bd. 2, nos. 97, 229, 230, 819, 820; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce...*, p. 286 *et seq.* (this cooperation may have been advocated by Joahnn von Rogow, commander of Lubiszewo. He is mentioned not only in Cistercian documents. Because he was trusted in Pomerania, he also sometimes served as an arbiter in court cases between the Cistercians and their neighbours).

⁹⁵ The trial proceedings are discussed in: M. Smoliński, *Sąsiedztwo cystersów z Pelplina...*, p. 100 *et seq.*

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 108.

⁹⁷ K. Scholz, *Beiträge zur Personengeschichte des Deutschen Ordens in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts. Untersuchungen zur Herkunft livländischer und preußischer Deutschordensbrüder*, Münster 1971, genealogical diagram after p. 54; A. Luttrell, *Gli Ospitalieri e l'ederità dei Templari: 1305-1378* (III), in: *idem*, *The*

Goslar, was held by Gebhard von Bortfelde.⁹⁸ At the time (1318–1323) Gebhard was the representative of the preceptor of Germany (Paul of Modena) for Saxony and the March of Brandenburg.⁹⁹ He was in large measure responsible for the terms under which the Hospitallers received the possessions of the dissolved Knights Templar. In 1321 the second of Luther's brothers, Otto, who had been a Templar, concluded an agreement with the Hospitallers (Gebhard von Bortfelde and Paul of Modena) concerning the Hospitaller takeover of estates that had belonged to the one-time Templar commandery of Suppligenburg.¹⁰⁰

When examining the Hospitaller-Cistercian dispute in the 1330s, the Teutonic grand master may have heard news from his homeland about the significant financial needs of the Knights of St John. Much was doubtless said at the time about Gebhard von Bortfelde's personal troubles. By 1335 the importance of the Order's houses under his control had grown to such an extent that he began to use the title: *sancte domus hospitalis sancti Iohannis Ierosolimitani per Saxoniam, Marchaim et Slaviam preceptor generalis*.¹⁰¹ However, as it turns out, Gebhard was not adept at managing the Order's finances. On 29 March 1329 the pope ordered the provost of Cologne to force Gebhard von Bortfelde, under pain of excommunication, to hand over to the papal legate, Pierre de'Onge, prior of Toulouse, the 935 silver marks which he owed the papal curia. The affair must have dragged on into the early 1330s, when Gebhard undertook to secure repayment of the debt by making an unspecified deposit.¹⁰² This prompted Gebhard to back the Wittelsbach faction in the Reich even more fervently. In 1329 Gebhard became enough of a confidant to Louis of Bavaria

Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World, Ashgate 1992, pp. 81–82; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce...*, p. 268 et seq.

⁹⁸ *Urkundenanhang*, in: *Der Johanniterorden der Malteserorden. Der ritterliche Orden des hl. Johannes vom Spital zu Jerusalem. Seine Geschichte, seine Aufgaben*, 3. Aufl., hrsg. v. A. Wienand, Köln 1988, no. 32, pp. 640–641.

⁹⁹ See C. Gahlbeck, *Lagow (Lagów) oder Sonnenburg (Slonsk): zur Frage der Residenzbildung in der Ballei Brandenburg der Johanniter von 1317 bis 1527*, in: *Regionalität und Transfergeschichte...*, p. 304 et seq. and K. Wasilkiewicz, *Templariusze i joannici w biskupstwie lubuskim (XIII–XVI w.)*, Gniezno 2016, p. 155.

¹⁰⁰ J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Anfänge des Johanniter-Ordens...* (*Urkunden*, no. 11), p. 120.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, nos. 4–9, pp. 114–116.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, p. 256; K. Borchardt, *The Hospitallers, Bohemia, and the Empire...*, p. 228.

that the emperor awarded him the rather vague title of 'imperial abbot'.¹⁰³ However, Gebhard's woes continued, not least because of his difficulties in managing the Hospitaller houses in Western Pomerania, during the ongoing war between of Wittelsbach, margrave of Brandenburg, and the Griffin dukes. In this war Gebhard came out wholeheartedly in support of Wittelsbach rule in the March of Brandenburg.¹⁰⁴ Thus, financial difficulties may well have been one of the reasons why the Hospitallers were content to accept the judgement on their dispute with the Cistercians.

However, as with the aid which the Knights of St John received from the Cistercians of Oliwa, the ruling in the Order's favour by Luther von Braunschweig also came at a price. It involved the Hospitallers having to agree in 1334 to sell the Teutonic Order some of their Pomeranian holdings complete with the privileges that had been granted to these estates.¹⁰⁵ The Teutonic Order was represented in this transaction by Luther von Braunschweig, and the Hospitallers by Johann von Bortfelde and his associates. Another transaction between the two orders took place in that same year. It concerned the right to build dams and regulate water levels to power the Teutonic Order's mills on the River Szpegawa. In exchange for agreeing to this, the Teutonic Knights not only promised to protect the Hospitallers' estates, but also gave them ownership rights to Mały Demlin and Obozin, manors at Demlin and Czarnocin and a lake (*lacus Stenczk* – possibly Lake Godziszewskie).¹⁰⁶ Regardless of whose idea this deal was, both orders were probably quite satisfied with its outcome.

The advantages gained by the Pomeranian Hospitallers from their collaboration with the Teutonic Order is also reflected in their economic activities. There is no indication in extant documents that the Teutonic Order made any attempt to block the economic reforms which the Pomeranian Hospitaller estates underwent, primarily in the 1330s and '40s.¹⁰⁷ The Knights of St John were thus free

¹⁰³ H.J.A. Sire, *Kawalerowie maltańscy*, transl. H. Szczerkowska, Warszawa 2000, p. 309.

¹⁰⁴ J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Anfänge des Johanniter-Ordens...*, p. 96.

¹⁰⁵ PrUB, Bd. 2, no. 821.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, nos. 819, 820; W. Hubatsch, *Der Johanniterorden in Ost-...*, pp. 8–9; M. Smoliński, *Die Versuche einer Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungsreform...*, p. 43.

¹⁰⁷ On attempts at economic reform of the Hospitallers' Pomeranian estates in the 14th century, see M. Smoliński, *Die Versuche einer Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungsreform...*, pp. 42–53.

to found their estates under new settlement charters (mostly based on Kulm law). Nor did the Teutonic Knights object when the Hospitallers concluded contracts with local knights, forming a circle of people with political and financial ties to the Order.¹⁰⁸ Contrary to popular belief, nothing in the sources suggests that the Teutonic Knights put up any economic or political barriers to hinder the operation of Hospitaller houses in Pomerania.

The collaborative relationship between the two orders is also evident in the Teutonic Knights' attitude to the court battle between Maciej, bishop of Kuyavia, and the Hospitallers over tithes from the villages of Taszewo and Biała.¹⁰⁹ This case marked another phase in the dispute between the Hospitallers and the bishopric. It probably arose from Bishop Maciej's attempt to recover income from the Pomeranian properties of the diocese. Written records show that this conflict escalated during 1336/7–1349.¹¹⁰ In the meantime, in 1339 there was another Polish-Teutonic trial over the annexation of Pomerania. In testimonies given at the time, the imprisonment of people associated with the late Gerward, bishop of Kuyavia, was mentioned once again. By the 1330s this issue had become so ingrained in the collective memory as an act linked to the Teutonic Knights that it was they who were blamed for the offences committed against the bishopric by the Hospitallers.¹¹¹

The Knights Hospitaller prepared for the dispute over revenues from estates in Pomerania by sending Adolf von Schwalenberg, commander of Lubiszewo, to Dietrich von Altenburg, grand master of the Teutonic Order, to ask for an attested copy of a document that was supposed to have been issued to the Hospitallers back in the 13th century by Michael, bishop of Kuyavia.¹¹² Dietrich von Altenburg acceded to Adolf's request, despite the fact that the attested document was itself a *transumpt* supposedly issued by Bishop Michael based on his examination of a document drawn up by his predecessor, Bishop Stefan. The Teutonic grand master

¹⁰⁸ See K. Bruski, *Lokalne elity rycerstwa na Pomorzu Gdańskim w okresie panowania zakonu krzyżackiego. Studium prozopograficzne*, Gdańsk 2002, pp. 87–88; M. Smoliński, *Henning von Wartenberg*, p. 204; *idem*, *Die Versuche einer Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungsreform...*, p. 44.

¹⁰⁹ P, no. 80; PrUB, Bd. 3, nos. 319, 324.

¹¹⁰ PrUB, Bd. 3, no. 138; NKDM, no. 12.

¹¹¹ *Lites*, Zakrzewski, p. 338.

¹¹² PrUB, Bd. 3, no. 319.

even failed to notice the dubious reason for verifying this episcopal document. The *transumpt* had been made because the old document had been *a murribus corosum, maculatum et destructum*¹¹³ (= chewed, stained and destroyed by mice).

An attempt was made to settle the dispute in 1340, in the presence of the aforesaid grand master and other officials of the Teutonic Order in Prussia (including Ludolf König, grand commander and Dietrich von Blumenstein, treasurer). The Hospitallers were represented by Adolf von Schwalenberg. Bishop Michael sent the knight Wincenty Szymonowic and Andrzej, parson of Komórsk, as his representatives. The case was adjudicated by Otto, bishop of Chełmno, and Marcin, canon of Warmia and parson of Elbląg. During proceedings reference was made to the privilege granted to the Hospitallers in 1198 by Grzymisław, duke of Pomerania and to Bishop Michael's aforementioned document of 1243. The bishop's representatives had the opportunity to assess this evidence and present their own (possibly documents issued by Stefan, bishop of Kuyavia). On 29 October 1340 in Chełmża, Otto, bishop of Chełmno, delivered his arbitration award. He granted the tithes from Biała to the bishop, and the tithes from Taszewo to the Hospitallers, arguing that it belonged to their church.¹¹⁴

A document issued in April 1346 at Malbork by Heinrich Dusemer, grand master of the Teutonic Order, serves as an illustration of the healthy working relationship between the two orders. At the request of Johann von Bortfelde, commander of Skarszewy and Lubiszewo, the Teutonic Knights atoned for the damage to the mill at Lubiszewo that had been caused by damming the waters that powered the mill (*stowung des wassirs, das uf dyselbe mûle zu Lõbeschow geit*). In compensation, the Hospitallers were given a plot of land adjacent to their estates in Lubiszewo. The boundaries between the properties of both orders were also described in detail (*beschreibin sten*) by the grand master.¹¹⁵

The Teutonic Order was sufficiently tolerant of the Pomerelian Hospitallers that they raised no objections to their choice of procurator, who represented the Order of the Knights of St John in its contacts with superior authorities. This would have been

¹¹³ P, no. 80.

¹¹⁴ PrUB, Bd. 3, no. 324.

¹¹⁵ PrUB, Bd. 4, no. 18.

wholly unsurprising but for the fact that the man in question was Henning von Wartenberg, a former Templar.¹¹⁶ His family ties with Hospitaller officials resulted in his being employed to manage the Hospitallers' Pomeranian possessions following the dissolution of his own order. The position and prominence which Henning achieved in Pomerelia rather went against the grain of the decisions made at the Council of Vienne in 1312, when the Order of the Knights of the Temple was finally dissolved.

Looking at the documentary evidence, it appears that the actions of the Pomeranian Hospitallers prior to 1370 only once met with resistance from the Teutonic Order. In 1356 the Teutonic grand master Winrich von Kniprode was asked by the burghers and town councillors of Gdańsk to intercede with Herman von Werberg, the Hospitaller preceptor general in Saxony, concerning the house built in Gdańsk by Henning von Wartenberg. In 1356 this house was run by a relative of Henning's – Otto Paris, whose family had also had Templar connections. According to an existing arrangement, Henning was to run this house throughout his lifetime, and after his death the property was to pass, uncontested by the Hospitallers, into the ownership of Gdańsk.¹¹⁷ Historians believe that a dispute was sparked because of the city council's policy of trying to prevent outsiders (including religious orders) from owning property in urban areas.¹¹⁸

There was no drastic change in the cordial relations between the Teutonic Knights and the Hospitallers in Pomerania until the mid-1360s. It was then that the Knights of St John, who were putting all their financial resources into fortifying Rhodes and providing diplomatic support for the Italian policy of Luxembourg, again began to see the rapid depletion of their coffers.¹¹⁹ A further burden were the debts run up by the German priory, led at the time by Conrad von Braunsberg. In consequence, the general chapter of

¹¹⁶ On his activities as administrator of the Hospitaller estates in Pomerelia, see M. Smoliński, *Henning von Wartenberg...*, pp. 193–212.

¹¹⁷ PrUB, Bd. 5, Lieferung 1, no. 398; P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, Bd. 1, Danzig 1913, p. 60; M. Smoliński, *Henning von Wartenberg...*, p. 202.

¹¹⁸ P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, p. 60.

¹¹⁹ W. Hubatsch, *Die Geschichte der Ballei Brandenburg bis zur Säkularisation*, in: *Der Johanniterorden der Malteserorden...*, p. 306 (wherein mention is made of the Hospitaller involvement in the policy of and the consequences arising from it); Charles IV's relations with the Order are also examined by J. Mitáček, *W sprawie relacji z joannitami...*, pp. 69–92.

the Hospitallers and their grand master, Raimund de Berengar, decided at a meeting in Avignon in 1366 to sell some of the Order's possessions, namely the commanderies under the master of Saxony, the March, Slavia and Pomerania, and estates in East Friesland. They intended to sell Czaplínek, Skarszewy, Łagów, Aka and Exael.¹²⁰ A document outlining these plans makes no mention of any parties interested in purchasing these properties. The Teutonic Knights were among the buyers who made the Hospitallers an offer. They were not interested in buying all of the Hospitaller assets, only their Pomerelian estates. Between 1366 and 1370 the Knights of St John sold them these holdings, as attested by a document issued by the Hospitaller Order on 25 July 1370 in Speyer.¹²¹ The Teutonic Order paid over 10,000 marks for them.¹²²

In summary, it is tempting to conclude that cooperation between the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Knights was on a good footing after the latter had captured Gdańsk Pomerania. This is entirely at odds with the picture of rival military orders predominant in narratives about relations between military orders during the period pre-1291 and in the Holy Land. It is difficult to pinpoint

¹²⁰ PrUB, Bd. 6, Lieferung 1, no. 439. The identification of the last two commanderies remains disputed to this day. The Aka mentioned here has been identified with the Templar commandery of Achim near Wolfenbüttel (see L. Freiherr von Ledebur, *Das Johanniter-Ordenshaus Aka*. "Wochenblatt der Johanniter-Ordens-Balley Brandenburg" 1861, 2(14), p. 64), which was taken over by the Hospitallers after 1312. However, this suggestion is difficult to verify. Exael was supposed to have been one of the Order's properties in Friesland, but it is difficult to connect this Exael with any of the Hospitaller commanderies known from East Friesland: Dünebroek, Muhde, Jemgum, Langholt, Hasselt, Abbingweer, Burmöke; see W.G. Rödel, *Das Großpriorat Deutschland des Johanniter-Ordens im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Reformation anhand der Generalvisitationsberichte von 1494/1495 und 1540/1541*, (2. neubearbeitete Auflage), Köln 1972, pp. 397–407; J.A. Mol, *Johanniterklöster im mittelalterlichen Friesland*, in: *Die Johanniter Kapelle in Bokelesch*, ed. M. Piotrowski, Oldenburg 2005, 9–45. Thus, identifying this Hospitaller property is a problematic issue and requires further investigation.

¹²¹ *Ibidem*, ed. K. Conrad, Bd. 6, Lieferung 2, Marburg 2000, no. 843; E. Waschinski, *Die ersten Johanniter in Westpreußen...*, p. 155; K. Borchadt, *Verwaltungsstrukturen bei den deutschen Johannitern...*, p. 75.

¹²² Emil Waschinski calculated that around 1970 this sum would have been the equivalent of approximately 4 million German marks (see E. Waschinski, *Die ersten Johanniter in Westpreußen...*, p. 155). Though it is difficult to be precise with these types of calculation, if we take the exchange rate of marks to Euros after the introduction of the EU currency (c. 1.95), then the price for the Hospitaller possessions in 2002 would have amounted to around 2,051,282 Euros. Whether this sum was large or small, I will leave for the reader to decide.

the factors behind this harmonious collaboration between the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Knights in Prussia. Both orders were doubtless united by the animosity their officials (with a few exceptions) felt towards Władysław Łokietek and his supporters, in which Gerward, bishop of Kuyavia played a pivotal role. The family ties between Hospitaller officials and representatives both of the Reich's political elite and the Teutonic Order were also quite significant, as was the fact that Hospitaller commanderies in Pomerelia were taken over in the 14th century by incomers from the Reich, namely Brandenburg, Mecklenburg and Brunswick. Thus, both in terms of ethnicity and mentality they were closer to the German-speaking members of the Teutonic Order who came from the same parts of the Reich than to the subjects of Polish dukes and kings.

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Streszczenie

Zakon rycerski w państwie zakonu rycerskiego. Pomorscy joannici wobec Krzyżaków 1308–1370

W polskiej literaturze przedmiotu od lat funkcjonuje pogląd o niezbyt dobrych stosunkach panujących między zakonem krzyżackim w Prusach a joannitami na Pomorzu w latach 1308–1370. Głównego powodu wzajemnej niechęci obu zakonów dopatrywano się w konkurencji ekonomicznej. Po opanowaniu Pomorza Gdańskiego Krzyżacy mieli blokować rozwój gospodarczy dóbr joannickich na Pomorzu. Ze względu na to joannici mieli w końcu nie wytrzymać konkurencji gospodarczej z Krzyżakami i do 1370 r., poniekąd do tego zmuszeni, sprzedali swe dobra Krzyżakom.

Zaprezentowanego powyżej poglądu polskich badaczy, w obliczu zachowanych źródeł, nie da się jednak utrzymać. W latach 1308–1309 Krzyżacy zajęli Gdańsk, a potem opanowali resztę byłego Księstwa Pomorskiego (Gdańskiego) ze szkodą dla Władysława Łokietka. Dużą rolę w tych wydarzeniach, oprócz Henryka von Plotzke, odegrali Günther i Sieghard von Schwarzburgowie. Pierwszy z ich był m.in. komturem grudziądzkim, a potem komturem ziemi chełmińskiej. Wziął udział w zajęciu Gdańska przez Krzyżaków i w późniejszych walkach zakonu niemieckiego z Polską. Sieghard sprawował w zakonie niemieckim wiele urzędów, m.in. mistrza krajowego pruskiego. Był też uznanym dyplomata, często delegowanym przez Krzyżaków do rozmów ze stroną polską. Wedle niektórych źródeł Krzyżacy znaleźli się w Gdańsku po zaangażowaniu ich przez Władysława Łokietka do obrony grodu przed najazdem brandenburskim. Namówił ich do tego brat Łokietka, książę dobrzyński Siemowit – jednocześnie krewniak Günthera i Siegharda von Schwarzburgów. Po wydarzeniach z lat 1308/1309 polski książę musiał więc czuć się zdradzony nie tylko przez zakon niemiecki, ale też pośrednio przez wspomnianych Krzyżaków – braci Schwarzburgów. Nie oznaczało to jednak zerwania z nimi kontaktów. Wedle kroniki pruskiej autorstwa Wiganda z Marburga Władysław Łokietek pewną dozą sympatii darzył przynajmniej Siegharda von Schwarzburga.

We wspomnianym okresie przedstawiciele spokrewnionych ze sobą niemieckich rodów von Schwarzburg i von Henneberg odgrywali dużą rolę w strukturze zakonu joannickiego. Albrecht von Schwarzburg był uznanym joannickim dyplomata oraz zdolnym dowódcą wojskowym. Wsławił się operacjami wojskowymi w basenie Morza Śródziemnego. Jego siostrzeniec Berthold VI von Henneberg odznaczył się w dziejach polskiej prowincji zakonu joannickiego oraz joannitów z Czech, Moraw i Austrii, których został przeorem. Karierę zakończył na urzędzie przeora niemieckiego. Miał duży wpływ na sposób przejścia dóbr przez joannitów po skasowanym oficjalnie w 1312 r. zakonie templariuszy.

W polityce wewnętrznej i zagranicznej władców Rzeszy Schwarzburgowie i przede wszystkim Hennebergowie angażowali się w konflikcie na liniach: Wittelsbachowie – papieżstwo – Luksemburgowie. Ze względu na politykę zagraniczną Władysława Łokietka wobec Marchii Brandenburskiej i zakonu krzyżackiego oba wspomniane wyżej rody niemieckie należały do przeciwników polskiego władcy. Stosunki między Władysławem Łokietkiem i joannitami nie układały się poprawnie z pewnością dlatego, że joannicy pomorscy podlegali wówczas szpitalnikom z Meklemburgii i Brandenburskiej. W interesującym nas okresie, a zwłaszcza po stopniowym przejściu dóbr po skasowanych templariuszach, w grupie szpitalników z północnych Niemiec i Pomorza zaczął kształtować się pomysł utworzenia osobnego baliwatu

joannickiego, który później określano jako brandenburski. Powodzenie tego pomysłu było uzależnione od stosunków szpitalników z władcami terytorialnymi Brandenburgii i Meklemburgii. Do przeciwników Władysława Łokietka można zaliczyć tak Askańczyków, jak i później Wittelsbachów. Od 1317 r. należy również odnotować pogorszenie się relacji Władysława Łokietka z joannitami polskimi.

W konsekwencji powyższego splotu wydarzeń joannici pomorscy nie pozostali bierni wobec procesu uwolnienia Pomorza Gdańskiego spod polskiej władzy. Najprawdopodobniej już w pierwszej dekadzie XIV w. wzięli aktywny udział w walkach Krzyżaków z Polską. Wsławili się zwłaszcza wystąpieniami zbrojnymi przeciwko ludziom stronnika polskiego władcy, a więc biskupa kujawskiego Gerwarda z Ostrowa. Zostali za to ukarani i na mocy wyroku sądowego, który zapadł podczas procesu między Polską a Krzyżakami w 1321 r. – odebrano joannitom dobra kujawskie i małopolskie. O wykonanie tego wyroku miał zadbać Władysław Łokietek. Próbując odzyskać utracone dobra, joannici w kolejnych latach dalej występowali przeciwko biskupom kujawskim. Tym razem robili to już na drodze sądowej. Usiłowania te nie zakończyły się dla nich szczęśliwie – na zawsze utracili dobra kujawskie (Zbłag i Niemojewko) oraz małopolskie (Zagość).

W latach 30. i 40. XIV w. joannici na Pomorzu Wschodnim utrzymywali dość dobre relacje z Krzyżakami, w których uznawali swego feudalnego zwierzchnika. Dzięki temu udało im się zakończyć długotrwały spór sądowy z cystersami z Pelplina. Niewykluczone, że pewną rolę odegrało w tym orzeczenie wydane przez wielkiego mistrza krzyżackiego Luthera z Brunszwiku. Należy przypomnieć, że ród książąt brunszwickich, z których wywodził się Luther, zgodził się przekazać joannitom dobra po templariuszach w swych rodowych dobrach. Weszły one w skład formującego się Baliwatu Brandenburskiego. Jeden z rodzonych braci Luthera, Konrad, był też joannitą.

W zachowanych źródłach widzimy, że w dobie procesu sądowego między joannitami pomorskimi (z Lubiszewa) i cystersami z Pelplina pojawił się przedstawiciel szpitalników wschodniopomorskich – Henning von Wartenberg, dawny templariusz z Chwarszczan. Po rozwiązaniu swego macierzystego zakonu wstąpił na służbę do joannitów. Jego działaniom joannici pomorscy zawdzięczali próbę przeprowadzenia reform gospodarczych, które głównie polegały na lokacjach dóbr zakonu joannickiego na prawie niemieckim. Krzyżacy tym działaniom nie przeszkadzali. Z zachowanych źródeł wynika, że niekiedy przeprowadzali z joannitami wschodniopomorskimi transakcje handlowe, które przynosiły korzyści obu stronom.

Pozycja i znaczenie joannitów na Pomorzu Wschodnim zaczęły słabnąć w latach 60. XIII w. Nie wiązało się to jednak z niechęcią do nich

Krzyżaków, lecz było wynikiem zaangażowania środków finansowych zakonu joannickiego w umocnienie obrony ich głównej siedziby – wyspy Rodos. Nałożył się na to spadek zainteresowania społeczeństw europejskich udzielaniem wsparcia joannitom. Przejawiało się to w sferze finansowej oraz w dopływie nowych członków do zakonu. Zjawiska te dotknęły mocno siedziby joannitów na Pomorzu Wschodnim. Wobec koncentracji dóbr joannickich z Baliwatu Brandenburskiego w Brandenburgii, Meklemburgii, Saksonii, Pomorzu Zachodnim i Nowej Marchii, siedziby joannitów wschodniopomorskich stały się dla zakonu peryferyjnymi. W latach 60. XIV w. rozpoczęła się więc wyprzedaż dóbr joannitów. Naturalnym kupcem byli oczywiście Krzyżacy sprawujący zwierzchnictwo feudalne nad Pomorzem Wschodnim i zapewne ofiarowujący największą możliwą sumę wykupu. Między 1366 r. a 1370 r. joannici sfinalizowali kompletną wyprzedaż swych włości wschodniopomorskich Krzyżakom. Zakon niemiecki zapłacił za nie ponad 10 tys. grzywien, co na ówczesne warunki było chyba dobrą ceną.