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Remarks on town, parish and monastic schools in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and in Royal Prussia in the Middle Ages

<https://doi.org/10.26881/sds.2024.27.04>

Keywords: medieval schools, Mendicant Friars, Prussia, Teutonic Order

The issue of organisation and functioning of schools in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia has already been addressed in historical research.¹ In this article, we will not only provide

¹ On the topic of teaching, schools and their organisation, see F. Hipler, *Literaturgeschichte des Bisthums Ermland*, Braunsberg–Leipzig 1873; *idem*, *Christliche Lehre und Erziehung in Ermland und im preussischen Ordensstaate während des Mittelalters*, “Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands” 1876, Bd. 6, pp. 81–183; *idem*, *Das Erziehungs- und Schulwesen im Deutschordensstaate. Festschrift zur VII. Provinzialsammlung des Verbandes katholischer Lehrer Westpreussens*, Marienburg 1898; A. Karbowiak, *Szkoły dyecezyi chełmińskiej w wiekach średnich*, Toruń 1899 (RTNT, R. 6); E. Hollack, F. Tromnau, *Geschichte des Schulwesens der Königlichen Haupt- und Residenzstadt Königsberg i. Pr. mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der niederen Schulen*, Königsberg 1899, pp. 1–37; E. Waschinski, *Erziehung und Unterricht im Deutschen Ordenslande bis 1525 mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des niederen Unterrichtes*, Danzig 1907; G. Matern, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Schulwesens im Ermland*, Braunsberg 1911; B. Quassowski, *Obrigkeitliche Wohlfahrtspflege in den Hansestädten des Deutschordenslandes (Braunsberg, Elbing, Königsberg, Kulm und Thorn) bis 1525*, part 3, “Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins” 1921, H. 61, pp. 122–126; H. Bauer, *Bildungs- und Bibliothekswesen im Ordenslande Preußen*, “Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen” 1929, Jg. 46 pp. 391–406; M. Borzyszkowski, *Szkoły diecezji warmińskiej w okresie od XIII do połowy XVI wieku*, “Studia Warmińskie” 1965, t. 2, pp. 31–63; T. Borawska, *Życie umysłowe na Warmii w czasach Mikołaja Kopernika*, Toruń 1996, pp. 50–78; W. Sieradzan, *Oblicza kultury intelektualnej*, in: *Zakon krzyżacki w Prusach i Inflantach. Podziały administracyjne i kościelne w XIII–XVI wieku*, red. R. Czaja, A. Radziwiński,

a summary of the results of previous studies by Polish and German scholars concerning urban and rural parish schools, but we will also discuss monastery schools. It seems that including the latter in the picture makes it possible to offer a more comprehensive presentation of the entire education system that existed in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and in Royal Prussia in the Middle Ages.

In the earliest period of the dominion of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, founding schools was dictated by the need to educate future clerics, including those originating from the Prussian population; this purpose was served by cathedral schools established by the local bishops. It was not much later that the idea emerged of setting up schools in towns in order to provide education for the laity; those schools were closely connected with the functioning of parishes. First parish schools appeared in towns most probably already in the thirteenth century. In 1251 the Order concluded an agreement with the bishop of Warmia, which stipulated that in the Teutonic part of the diocese teachers would be appointed and removed by the Order.²

The existence of schools in the Teutonic Order state on a broader scale is confirmed by sources from the fourteenth century. The researchers studying their organisation (Antoni Karbowski, Emil Waschinski) reconstructed their network not on the basis of preserved accounts but mostly through the analysis of the numbers of students sent from individual towns to study at university in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, having assumed that this confirms the operation of proper schools in those towns. In the case of rural parish schools, often the only mentions of them were noted in the ledger of the Teutonic Order's treasurer from the years 1399–1409 (*Tresslerbuch*), where records were made of providing aid to students originating from various towns and villages on the route of

Toruń 2013, pp. 496–498; J. Tandecki, *Struktury administracyjne i społeczne oraz formy życia w wielkich miastach Prus Krzyżackich i Królewskich w średniowieczu i na progu czasów nowożytnych*, Toruń 2001, pp. 141–146; A. Radzimiński, *Anmerkungen zum Schul- und Bibliothekswesen des Deutschordensstaats in Preußen*, in: *Deutschordensgeschichte aus Internationaler Perspektive. Festschrift für Udo Arnold zum 80. Geburtstag*, hrsg. v. R. Czaja, H. Houben ("Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens", Bd. 85), Imtäl-Weinstraße 2020, pp. 277–294.

² CDW, Bd. 1. 1, hrsg. v. C.P. Woelky, J.M. Saage, Mainz 1860, no. 27, p. 50; G. Matern, *Beiträge...*, p. 12.

the Grand Masters' journeys.³ Similar records also exist in the case of the Grand Master's tour of the country in 1448.⁴

The network of parish and town schools

Emil Waschinski, using mainly those accounts, estimated the number of rural and urban schools, confirmed in various ways in the sources, at around 150, including around 50 located outside towns. Considering particular areas, they operated in 32 settlements in Gdańsk Pomerania, 23 in the bishopric of Chełmno, 36 in the bishopric of Pomesania, 41 in the bishopric of Warmia and 5 in the bishopric of Sambia.

Moreover, he assumed that including ones of which no accounts had been preserved, there might have been about 200 schools in the Teutonic Order state. He assumed that the overall number of 4,000 students from Eastern Pomerania and Prussia who studied at universities within the period of 200 years came from among 200,000 school students (1 out of 50 continued education at universities). Annually, a total of 2,000 students attended around 200 schools (on average 10 students per school).⁵ The aforementioned treasurer's book from the beginning of the fifteenth century records donations to students from around 70 settlements, including about 15 villages.⁶ However, the estimates quoted cannot be verified in any way. In turn, Antoni Karbowski, who did not know

³ A detailed tabular compilation of this data is provided in E. Hollack, F. Tromnau, *Geschichte des Schulwesens...*, pp. 32–37.

⁴ K. Neitmann, *Der Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen – ein Residenzherrscher unterwegs. Untersuchungen zu den Hochmeisteritineraren im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, Köln–Wien 1990 (“Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preußischer Kulturbesitz”, Bd. 30), pp. 45, 139–149.

⁵ See E. Waschinski, *Erziehung und Unterricht...*, pp. 36–40, 88–89. Regarding students from Gdańsk, see P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, Bd. 1: *Von den Anfängen bis 1517*, Danzig 1913, pp. 175–176, 220–221.

⁶ According to the compilation by E. Hollack, F. Tromnau, *Geschichte des Schulwesens...*, pp. 32–37. According to other researchers, the *Tresslerbuch* contains information on over 80 schools from the area of the whole country, including over 30 rural schools, see E. Waschinsky, *Erziehung und Unterricht...*, p. 27. Different data, mentioning 33 parish schools recorded in the *Tresslerbuch*, are cited by A. Radziwiński, *Anmerkungen...*, p. 278. The data regarding schools and teachers in the commandery of Dzierzgoń (in the villages of Stary Dzierzgoń, Bożęcin, Wenecja, Zajezerze and Witoszewo), compiled based on the book of debts of this

the content of the *Tresslerbuch*, made a conservative estimate of the number of settlements with schools in the Chełmno diocese in the Middle Ages at 13.⁷

The existence of schools has been confirmed only in the case of large towns; they played the biggest role in educating the youth.⁸ Among those there were schools in the Old Town of Elbląg (established circa 1300), the Old Town of Königsberg (established between 1333 and 1339), the Old Town of Toruń (established possibly at the beginning of the fourteenth century), in Chełmno (with students first recorded in 1353), Malbork (1365: a school mentioned in the town *Willkür*, 1395: a remark on the schoolmaster) and the Main Town of Gdańsk (1399: a mention of students).⁹ They were most often connected with parish churches, as in the case of the school in the Old Town of Toruń at St John's or the school in the New Town of Toruń at St James's, mentioned in 1345.¹⁰ The situation was similar in Gdańsk in the fifteenth century, where there were schools at several churches: St Mary's, St John's, St Catherine's, St Peter and Paul's, St Bartholomew's and St Barbara's.¹¹ In 1436, the city communicated about school matters with the parish priest of St Mary's Church,¹² which belonged to the Teutonic Order. There

commandery, can be found in: H. Wunder, *Siedlungs- und Bevölkerungsgeschichte der Komturei Christburg 13.–16. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 58.

⁷ Apart from this, in the areas incorporated into the diocese in the nineteenth century from the archdiocese of Gniezno: 7, from the Włocławek diocese: 14, and from the Pomesanian diocese: 7, in total: over 40, see A. Karbowiak, *Szkoły dyecezyi chełmińskiej...*, pp. 55–83, 90–111.

⁸ A. Radziwiński, *Anmerkungen...*, pp. 279–280.

⁹ Detailed compilations of data can be found in: A. Karbowiak, *Szkoły dyecezyi chełmińskiej...*, pp. 57–71, 77–82, 94–97, 105–110; E. Waschinsky, *Erziehung und Unterricht...*, pp. 18–22; B. Quassowski, *Obrigkeitliche Wohlfahrtspflege...*, pp. 123–124.

¹⁰ The right to appoint its rector was granted by Grand Master Ludolf König to the prioress of the Cistercian/Benedictine monastery, *Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Culm*, hrsg. v. C.P. Woelky, Bd. 1: *Das Bisthum Culm unter dem deutschen Orden, 1243–1466*, Danzig 1885, no. 281, p. 212.

¹¹ E. Waschinsky, *Verzeichnis der mittelalterlichen Lehrer an den sechs Danziger Kirchschulen*, "Weichselland. Mitteilungen des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins" 1940, Jg. 39, H. 2, pp. 30–33.

¹² In 1436, it was recorded: "Item umbe die schreibschulen hat sich der rath mit dem herren pfarrer also geeynet, das der rath setze sechß deutsche schulen zcu der jungen leringe vff eyn versuchen, ab es eyn gut besten wil haben, und das sie den kinderen genuge thun können. Wurde es abir hernochmals erkant, das es nicht genug seyn wurde, das denne nach des rathes erkenntniße meher schulen mochten

were also plans to establish separate schools for girls.¹³ The selection of teachers was made in agreement between the parish priest of each church and the city council.¹⁴

Schools operated also in smaller urban centres. They were accounted for in Młynary (1338) and in Wehlau (1339). There is a record of a teacher in Kisielice (1339) and in Chojnice (1375),¹⁵ and students were mentioned in Bartoszyce (1377).¹⁶

Control over town and parish schools

Control over schools initially stemmed from the right of patronage over parishes, which belonged to the Teutonic Order or individual bishops. Accordingly, parish priests supervised not only the activity of schools, but also the appointment of their rectors (in German sources referred to as “schoolmasters”, *Schulmeister*). However, in the process of their emancipation, town councils tried to gain control over appointing teachers. One factor at play was that the costs of building and maintaining school premises were covered by the

gesaczt werden und dieselben, die der rath also gesetzet erbarer frome personen seyn und erbarer und unnversprochene weibe zcur ee haben”, GSPK, XX HA, OBA, no. 7262, f. 1; T. Hirsch, *Die Ober-Pfarrkirche von St. Marien in Danzig in ihren Denkmälern und in ihren Beziehungen zum kirchlichen Leben Danzigs überhaupt*, Th. 1, Danzig 1843, p. 104.

¹³ “Item desgleiches die, die jungffrawen sollen lernen, das der rath nach der vorgeschriebene weize dorczu setze also vil als sie erkennen des nottorfftig zcu seyn, dach bey solchen bescheide, wer meydechen lernet, das der keyne knechte sal lernen”, GSPK, XX HA, OBA, no. 7262, f. 1; T. Hirsch, *Die Ober-Pfarrkirche...*, p. 104; P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig...*, p. 220; J. Rink, *Die Mädchenerziehung in Westpreussen vor 1772*, Danzig 1910 (“Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Jahresprogramm 1910/11 der Marienschule zu Danzig”), p. 4.

¹⁴ “Item umbe die schule und glockeney zcu Sant Peter und Pauwel ist der herrn pfarrer und der rath also eynsgewurden, das men das gleicher weize, als hir in der stat zcu Unsir Lieben Frauwen halten sal, also das men den schulmeister und glockener daselbst mit willen und eyntrecht beider teile, als des herren pfarrers und des rathes setze, uff das sie eynem teile nicht mynner ungehorsam seyn denne dem andern”, GSPK, XX HA, OBA, no. 7262, f. 2.

¹⁵ *Handfesten der Komturei Schlochau*, bearb. v. P. Panske, Danzig 1921, no. 112, p. 127.

¹⁶ H. Freytag *Die Beziehungen der Universität Leipzig zu Preussen von ihrer Begründung bis zur Reformation, 1409–1539*, “Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins” 1902, H. 44, p. 12.

councils; the remuneration of teachers usually came from fees paid by students from affluent families.

Disputes over schools arose already in the first half of the fourteenth century, first with regard to the school in the Old Town of Königsberg and the Old Town of Toruń, and later the school in Braniewo.¹⁷ In the former case, in 1333 Grand Master Luther von Braunschweig granted the chapter of Sambia the right to run a school for the Old Town of Königsberg and Kneiphof, which was to be attended by boys from both towns. At the same time, the bishop of Sambia issued a ban on establishing other schools in the city and in the suburbs. However, the Old Town did not agree to these arrangements and the dispute had to be resolved by Grand Master Dietrich von Altenburg. According to the chapter of 1339, Königsberg was to have two schools: the cathedral school and a separate Old Town parish school. Students from the southern part of the town were to attend the cathedral school, and those from the northern part were to go to the parish school; they were to swap every two years. The parish school was supervised by the Old Town parish priest and the chapter of Sambia: they decided on the appointment of the teacher. The issue of the functioning of the school returned in 1376, when the town acquired the right to only send children to the parish school and to assess the candidate for the schoolmaster proposed by the chapter and present him to the Grand Master for approval. Another agreement concerning the school was concluded in 1381: the town council acquired the right to decline a candidate for the schoolmaster proposed by the chapter and to demand another one.

Similar disputes over the supervision of schools took place in the Old Town of Toruń, where the agreement concluded in 1375 confirmed the rights of the town.¹⁸ In turn, in Braniewo in 1402 it was decided that the town council would appoint the school teacher and the bell-ringer, who were to be presented to the parish priest for confirmation.¹⁹ The issue of general regulations concerning the

¹⁷ For a detailed discussion of this issue, see E. Hollack, F. Tromnau, *Geschichte des Schulwesens*, pp. 14–16; B. Quassowski, *Obrigkeithliche Wohlfahrtspflege...*, pp. 122–123; F. Gause, *Die Geschichte der Stadt Königsberg in Preußen*, Bd. 1, Köln–Graz 1965 pp. 125–126.

¹⁸ J. Tandecki, *Struktury administracyjne...*, p. 143.

¹⁹ CDW, Bd. 3, hrsg. v. C.P. Woelky, Braunschweig–Leipzig 1874, no. 384, p. 373; E. Hollack, F. Tromnau, *Geschichte des Schulwesens...*, p. 16; E. Waschinsky, *Erziehung und Unterricht...*, pp. 45–46.

powers of town councils related to appointing parish school teachers returned in the fifteenth century in the demands put forward at the conventions of Prussian estates. In 1411, 1414 and 1434 the towns demanded that the Grand Masters should grant them the right to oversee schools and appoint teachers.²⁰ In practical terms, town councils appointed them in agreement with parish priests and only acquired formal approval from the Teutonic Order,²¹ as was the case in Zalewo (1408), Toruń and Gdańsk (1427).²² In Malbork, however, until the end of its rule, the Order had the right to oversee the town school, although even in this case proposals for the appointment of staff members submitted by town authorities were considered.²³

As regards rural parish schools, they were controlled by parish priests, who were appointed by the Teutonic Order or individual bishops. It has already been mentioned above that in 1251 the Order concluded an agreement with the bishop of Warmia, which stipulated that in the Teutonic part of the diocese teachers would be appointed and revoked by the Order. In all likelihood, this agreement also referred to rural schools.²⁴ Not much is known about their personnel: the function of teacher might have been performed by the sacristan or the bell-ringer.²⁵ The close organisational ties with the parish probably had an influence on how they were maintained. From the sparse records it is known that school fees (*schulerlon*) were paid by farm-owning peasants or smallholders (Germ. Gärtner) in small farm villages. In a document from 1382 regarding grants for the inhabitants of Swornegacie village in the commandery of Tuchola, it was stated that the tithe and

²⁰ B. Quassowski, *Obrigkeitleiche Wohlfahrtspflege...*, p. 123; R. Czaja, *Miasta pruskie a zakon krzyżacki. Studia nad stosunkami między miastem a władzą terytorialną w późnym średniowieczu*, Toruń 1999, pp. 53–55.

²¹ Such a decision can be found, among other sources, in the records of the convention of Prussian estates held in Malbork in 1414: *Acten der Ständetage Preussens unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, hrsg. v. M. Toeppen, Bd. 1: *Die Jahre 1233–1435*, Leipzig 1878, no. 186, p. 240 (point no. 12).

²² E. Waschinsky, *Erziehung und Unterricht...*, pp. 46–47.

²³ W. Długokęcki, *Elita władzy miasta Malborka w średniowieczu*, Malbork 2004, pp. 100–103; M. Pawlak, W. Długokęcki, *Studia uniwersyteckie malborezyków do 1773 roku*, Bydgoszcz 2004, pp. 17–18; according to other researchers, the appointment of staff members only required confirmation from the Order, see A. Karbowski, *Szkoły dyecezyi chełmińskiej...*, pp. 105–106.

²⁴ CDW, Bd. 1, no. 27, p. 50; G. Matern, *Beiträge...*, p. 12.

²⁵ E. Waschinsky, *Erziehung und Unterricht...*, p. 26.

the school fee was to be paid to the parish priest quarterly in the sum of a *skot*²⁶ without one *pfennig*.²⁷ In the grant of 4 *Hufen* of land (Ger. *Hufe/Hube*, 1 *Hufe* = 16.8 hectares) from 1383 in Wielki Mędomierz in the commandery of Tuchola to a certain Pecze, it was stated that he was to pay a fee to support the teacher (*schulerloh*) and village shepherds (*hirtenlon*), just like any other villagers.²⁸ In most cases, rural parish schools taught singing and, perhaps, reading. Interesting information on the topic can be found in the record of a visitation of Ostrowite parish near Tuchola from 1485, which arguably might also reflect the situation from the earlier period. According to this record, a cantor and at the same time a *schola regens* assisted the parish priest during liturgies and taught boys in the period between St Martin's (11 November) and Easter. He received an annual remuneration for his work, a *Creutz-grosch* per each child aged seven to ten attending the school, as well as, among other things, firewood, flour and bread; poor children were exempt from the fee.²⁹

Organisation of town and parish schools and their teaching process

The organisation of urban and rural parish schools in the earliest period is very sparsely documented in sources. One exception is the school in Malbork, whose operations can be reconstructed thanks to the preserved fourteenth-century school ordinance.³⁰ There were three teachers in the school in Malbork: the school rector,

²⁶ The *mark* was a unit of silver weight (around. 195–197 g) and a unit of account, where 1 *mark* = 4 *Viertel-Marken* (*ferto*) = 24 *skots* (*scotus*) = 720 *pfennigs*.

²⁷ *Urkunden der Komturei Tuchel. Handfesten und Zinsbuch*, hrsg. v. P. Panske, Danzig 1911, no. 89, p. 96.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, no. 91, p. 98.

²⁹ "A quolibet infante septem annorum usque ad decimum annum scholam adeunte unum grossum crucis, unam vecturam lignorum, unam scutellam pisorum, farinae, unum panem et portionem carnis cujusvis. Pauperes docebit propter Deum.", *Visitatio Archidiaconatus Camenensis Andrea de Leszno Leszczyński archiepiscopo A. 1652 et 1653 facta*, ed. P. Panske, Toruń 1908, p. 223.

³⁰ For a full text of this ordinance, see T. Breiter, *Die alte lateinische Schule in Marienburg, ein Beitrag zur städtischen Schulgeschichte*, Marienburg 1864, pp. 10–11; A. Karbowski, *Szkoły dyecezyi chełmińskiej...*, pp. 107–108; W. Sieradzian, *Oblicza kultury intelektualnej...*, pp. 521–522.

a vocal teacher (*succentor*) and a supporting teacher; there was also a school servant, responsible mainly for heating the rooms (*calefaktor*). It was a Latin higher school with three grades, where students trained in reading and writing, most likely having graduated from lower school (*Schreibschule*), where reading and writing was taught. In the first grade, they learned from the Latin grammar textbook by Aelius Donatus (*De partibus orationis ars minor*), in the second grade – from a book referred to as the Rules (probably the *Distichs* of Pseudo-Cato), and in the third – from a more advanced Latin grammar in verse by Alexander of Villa Dei (*Doctrinale puerorum*).³¹ The learning process was based on memorising the material with the use of a wide range of memory techniques as well as practical exercises in the use of Latin. The school also taught the skills of decorative writing, conducting correspondence, editing and formulating documents and, of course, correct Latin pronunciation.³² The whole education of students, including lower school, took eight years altogether.³³ They started school at around eight years of age and finished when they were about fifteen years old.³⁴ Education was not free of charge, but in the case of poorer students the fee could be reduced to heating fees only. The school was attended by sons of rich burghers from Malbork and other towns; some of them were probably candidates for future clerics.

We also know the curriculum of the final grade (*prima*) of the parish school in Reszel. In the summer, classes began at six o'clock. During the first hour, students discussed the *Sentences* by Peter Lombard. The next hour was devoted to the study of *Etymologiae* by Isidore of Seville. It was followed by a general review of the material. After the meal break, the cantor taught Latin singing from noon to half past one. The last hour of instruction was devoted to syntax. The lessons began and ended with prayers. In the morning, the students sang the hymn *Jam lucis*

³¹ T. Borawska, *Życie umysłowe na Warmii...*, p. 53; M. Pawlak, W. Długocki, *Studia uniwersyteckie...*, pp. 19–20; A. Radziwiński, *Anmerkungen...*, pp. 280–281.

³² J. Tandecki, *Struktury administracyjne...*, pp. 143–144.

³³ A. Karbowski, *Szkoły dycjezyi chełmińskiej...*, p. 108; E. Waschinsky, *Erziehung und Unterricht...*, pp. 84–85; W. Sieradzan, *Oblicza kultury intelektualnej...*, p. 497.

³⁴ A. Karbowski, *Szkoły dycjezyi chełmińskiej...*, pp. 29–32; J. Tandecki, *Struktury administracyjne...*, p. 143.

orto sidere, in the afternoon – *Veni sancte Spiritus*, and in the evening – *Defensor noster*.³⁵

The levels of individual schools varied considerably. Rural parish schools covered only basic elements of religious knowledge and choir singing required in liturgy. Most parish schools in towns taught their students reading and writing, first in German and only later the basics of Latin, as well as singing. In the fourteenth century, larger towns also had the so-called Latin schools, in which students improved their knowledge of Latin and followed the curriculum of the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic) and elements of the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy).³⁶ The best schools had the form of *studium particulare*. These were unfortunately sparse: in the second half of the fourteenth century, they operated in the Old Town of Elbląg, Chełmno, the Old Town of Toruń, the Old Town of Königsberg, Malbork and the Main Town of Gdańsk. Considering the level of teaching, the best one was the parish school in the Old Town of Elbląg. In the aforementioned agreement of 1381 between the chapter of Sambia and the council of the Old Town of Königsberg it was settled that the school would provide instruction in liberal arts and choir singing, thus following the Elbląg school model.³⁷ In the fifteenth century, certain town schools followed the curriculum of basic skills in reading and writing in German as well as arithmetic, which was particularly useful in urban life.

The close ties between parish schools and the local churches explain why the former provided instruction in singing and basics of Latin: these skills were indispensable in liturgy.³⁸ Students were obliged to take an active part in Masses and devotions in the parish church, including singing in the choir. In practice, this also meant participation in many religious celebrations, such as processions

³⁵ M. Borzyszkowski, *Szkoły diecezji warmińskiej...*, p. 36; A. Radziwiński, *Anmerkungen...*, p. 279.

³⁶ A. Radziwiński, *Anmerkungen...*, p. 279.

³⁷ "allerley freye kuenste nach der gewohnheit der schule in der altenstadt elbing und halten seinen chor mit gesange, als man denn zu Elbing helt", UBS, no. 519, p. 352. Detailed data on the school in Elbląg was compiled by M. Toeppen in his *Elbinger Antiquitäten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des städtischen Lebens im Mittelalter*, Danzig 1871–1873, pp. 127–129.

³⁸ A. Karbowski, *Szkoły dyecezyi chełmińskiej...*, p. 61; E. Waschinsky, *Erziehung und Unterricht...*, pp. 72, 90.

and funerals.³⁹ They were numerous enough to be included in the 1381 agreement between the council of the Old Town of Königsberg and the chapter of Sambia: holidays on which students were exempt from attending processions outside the towns were listed in the document.⁴⁰ As mentioned above, some students received support from the Grand Masters of the Teutonic Order on the grounds that they attended religious celebrations and sung in the choir.⁴¹

Not much is known about the educational background and the line-up of schoolmasters and other teachers. We only know several names of rectors teaching in particular towns. The situation looks better in the case of parish school teachers in large urban centres, such as Gdańsk.⁴² The high number of students hailing from towns who entered universities may be an indication of the level of teaching at those schools. There were some distinguished scholars among town school teachers, such as the famous Toruń school rector Conrad Gesselen. It is also worth noting a treatise devoted to pedagogical issues: *De vita coniugali*, authored by Konrad of Byczyna (*Bitschin*), a town scribe in Chełmno.⁴³

Teachers were remunerated in coin or in nature. The ordinance of the Malbork school indicates that students paid the rector and other teachers, which means that the remuneration of the latter depended on the number of students. However, we do not have exact data on this issue. In large town schools there might have been no more than twenty or thirty students altogether.⁴⁴

³⁹ In the synodal statutes of the diocese of Włocławek from 1402, 45 holidays were mentioned in total, E. Waschinsky, *Erziehung und Unterricht...*, p. 61.

⁴⁰ UBS, no. 280, p. 210.

⁴¹ E. Hollack, F. Tromnau, *Geschichte des Schulwesens...*, pp. 32–37.

⁴² E. Waschinski, *Verzeichnis...*, pp. 30–33.

⁴³ For an edition of the fragments of Book 4 of this work, see R. Galle, *Konrad Bitschins Pädagogik. Das vierte Buch des enzyklop. Werkes 'De vita coniugali'*, Gotha 1905, pp. 1–84. For more on this subject, see Z. Wardęska, *Konrad Bitschin z Łukowa zwany Konradem z Byczyny, pedagog chełmiński*, "Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki" 1967, R. 12, nr 2, pp. 253–267; E. Potkowski, *Konrad Bitschin – edukacja kobiet i pożytki czytania*, in: *Prusy – Polska – Europa. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza i czasów wczesnonowożytnych. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Zenonowi Hubertowi Nowakowi w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, red. A. Radziwiński, J. Tandecki, Toruń 1999, pp. 349–359.

⁴⁴ Information concerning Königsberg provides some indication on the number of students: in 1333 it was specified that the choir participating in celebrations in the parish church of the Old Town was to be composed of 26 students, UBS, no. 280, p. 210.

In Malbork, it was decided that the rector would receive from one student a fee only slightly higher than the total fee charged by the vocal teacher (*succentor*) and the supporting teacher.⁴⁵ Apart from fees, teachers could count on additional earnings connected with attending church celebrations, baptisms, weddings and funerals, as well as on bequests in last wills and testaments.⁴⁶ Working as a teacher, especially in a parish school, was often considered to be a transition stage towards priestly ordination and the status of parish priest or the office of town scribe.⁴⁷

Although the general level of teaching in parish schools in the Teutonic dominion might not have been overly high, they would still provide their graduates with basic reading and writing skills. Schools operating in the largest towns prepared their students well enough to undertake university studies, as evidenced by the fact that about 4,000 students from Gdańsk Pomerania and Prussia entered universities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁴⁸ The plans of the Teutonic Order to establish their own university in Chełmno in the fourteenth century failed to materialise.⁴⁹

It has been confirmed that girls were also taught at a school in Gdańsk (1436). The classes were run by monasteries of female congregations and focused not so much on basic skills of reading and writing but rather on handiwork (sewing, embroidery, etc.).⁵⁰

⁴⁵ E. Waschinski, *Verzeichnis...*, p. 52; M. Pawlak, W. Długokęcki, *Studia uniwersyteckie...*, p. 19.

⁴⁶ E. Waschinski, *Verzeichnis...*, pp. 49–55. In 1493 in Löbenicht (Königsberg) it was stipulated that the rector, *succentor* and students would receive the remuneration of 2 small *marks* for their participation in Advent prayers: *Quellen-Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Königsberg im Mittelalter*, hrsg. v. M. Perlbach, Göttingen 1878, no. 72, p. 160. The teacher and students taking part in prayers at the altar of St Anne in the parish church of the Old Town of Toruń also received remuneration, see K. Górski, M. Golembowski, *Wykaz prebend kościelnych Torunia z 1541 roku*, ZH 1977, t. 42, z. 4, p. 157.

⁴⁷ G. Matern, *Beiträge...*, p. 13; M. Sumowski, *Duchowni i mieszczanie. Kler niższy w społeczeństwie późnośredniowiecznych miast pruskich*, Toruń 2022, pp. 389–390.

⁴⁸ A list of those students can be found in: *Prussia scholastica. Die Ost- und Westpreussen auf den mittelalterlichen Universitäten*, gesammelt von M. Perlbach, Braunsberg 1895. For additions to the list, see H. Boockmann, *Die preußischen Studenten an den europäischen Universitäten bis 1525*, in: *Historisch-geographischer Atlas des Preußenlandes*, hrsg. v. H. Mortensen, G. Mortensen, R. Wenskus, Lieferung 3, Wiesbaden 1973pp. 1–12.

⁴⁹ Z.H. Nowak, *Starania o założenie uniwersytetu w Chełmnie w XIV i XV w.*, ZH 1966, t. 31, z. 4, pp. 7–36.

⁵⁰ E. Waschinski, *Verzeichnis...*, pp. 93–94.

Monastic schools – organisation and system of teaching

Monastic schools were an extension of the system of education based on town and parish schools.⁵¹ They were established separately by particular congregations for their own needs, especially by mendicant orders, first and foremost the Dominicans⁵² and the Franciscans.⁵³ A network of such schools functioned at the monasteries in Gdańsk Pomerania and in Prussia.⁵⁴

Considering the Dominicans, the first stage of study was the conventual school, which was run by a lector. He was to be present in each friary and his lectures were to be attended by all members of the convent.⁵⁵ Arguably, conventual schools existed in all Dominican friaries in the area under discussion, although information on lectors, due to the lack of sources, dates to as late as the second half of the thirteenth century (Gdańsk), the fourteenth century (Toruń, Elbląg) or even the fifteenth century (Tczew, Chełmno).⁵⁶

⁵¹ For general remarks on the subject, see E. Waschinski, *Erziehung und Unterricht...*, p. 31; A. Karbowski, *Szkoły dycjezyi chełmińskiej...*, p. 27.

⁵² For a general overview of the Dominican school system, see J. Kłoczowski, *Zakon dominikański i początki wyższego szkolnictwa na ziemiach polskich*, in: *Dominikanie. Gdańsk – Polska – Europa*, ed. D.A. Dekanski, A. Golembnik, M. Grubka, Gdańsk–Pelplin 2003, pp. 67–87. On the subject of the school system in the Polish province, see K. Kaczmarek, *Szkoły i studia polskich dominikanów w okresie średniowiecza*, Poznań 2005; M. Zdanek, *Szkoły i studia dominikanów krakowskich w średniowieczu*, Warszawa 2005; on the Dominican school system in the dominion of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, see R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów kontraty pruskiej od XIII do połowy XVI wieku*, Gdańsk 2007, pp. 85–94. For a discussion of profiles of students from the Dominican friary in Gdańsk, see D.A. Dekanski, *Kilka uwag o edukacji zagranicznej dominikanów i karierach zakonnych Kaznodziejów z Pomorza Gdańskiego w średniowieczu*, in: *Klio viae et invia. Opuscula Marco Cetwiński dedicata*, red. A. Odrzywska-Kidawa, Warszawa 2010, pp. 619–626; R. Kubicki, *The Schools and Studies of the Dominicans in the Prussian Contrata to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century*, “*Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza*” 2018, t. 22, pp. 117–135.

⁵³ B. Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210–1517)*, Leiden–Boston–Köln 2000, p. 65.

⁵⁴ Here, to some extent, we refer to research already presented in: R. Kubicki, *Zakony mendykanckie w Prusach Krzyżackich i Królewskich od XIII do połowy XVI wieku*, Gdańsk 2018, pp. 224–234.

⁵⁵ P. Kielar, *Organizacja szkolnictwa dominikańskiego w Polsce w XIV wieku*, “*Sprawozdania TN KUL*” 1968, nr 17, p. 159; W.A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, vol. 2, New York 1973, pp. 20–22.

⁵⁶ R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, p. 91; *idem*, *The Schools and Studies...*, pp. 132–134.

The second stage of education in the Dominican order were theology schools known as *studia particularia theologiae*, which began to be established in individual provinces after 1288,⁵⁷ they were attended by students from several friaries. Such schools existed also in Prussia and Gdańsk Pomerania, at the friaries in Gdańsk, Toruń and Elbląg.⁵⁸ Apart from this, from extant sources it appears that *studia particularia* of the lower level, only devoted to arts and known as *studium artium*, operated periodically at the friaries in Tczew and Chełmno.⁵⁹ The observed rotation might have been related to the sharing of the costs incurred by individual friaries.

In the Franciscan order, in turn, in 1260 a rule was introduced which said that each friary was to have its own lector.⁶⁰ In reality, in the fourteenth century only about 70% of them met that requirement.⁶¹ The general chapter of the order, proceeding in 1292 in Paris, recommended to the provincial ministers that one friary in each custody should have a *studium artium* for young candidates.⁶² Those schools were later referred to as *studia particularia* and taught grammar, logic, philosophy and basics of theology.

In the dominion of the Teutonic Order, such schools functioned at the friaries in Gdańsk and Toruń. In Gdańsk, the main lector (*lector principalis*) was mentioned in 1426: Johannes Swyden.⁶³ The school also operated in the later period. In 1510 the main lector (*lector*) was the local guardian Teophil Quant, and the supporting lector (*lector secundarius*) was a brother Ludwig.⁶⁴ In Toruń, in turn, the following main lectors (*lectores principales*) were noted – in 1438:

⁵⁷ R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, p. 91.

⁵⁸ For more details on the subject, see *ibidem*, pp. 91–93. For new data on the subject of the *artium*, *naturarum* and theology schools in Elbląg (confirmed by sources in 1384), see T. Gałuszka, *Szkolnictwo konwentualne i partykularne w strukturach polskiej prowincji dominikanów w XIV stuleciu. Nowe ujęcie w świetle nowych źródeł*, RH 2012, t. 78, pp. 197–198, 200.

⁵⁹ R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, pp. 92–93.

⁶⁰ B. Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education...*, pp. 82.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 86.

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 67.

⁶³ Archiwum Diecezjalne w Pelplinie (Diocesan Archives in Pelplin), monastica, dominikanie, no. 1, f. 42–42v; Ł. Myszka, *Dominikanie w Toruniu od XVI do XIX wieku. Katolicki zakon w protestanckim mieście*, Kraków 2015 (“*Studia i Źródła Dominikańskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Krakowie*”, t. 15), p. 45.

⁶⁴ *Briefe und Urkunden des XVI. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der sächsischen Franziskaner*, ed. L. Lemmens, “*Beiträge zur Geschichte der sächsischen Franziskanerprovinz*” 1911/1912, Bd. 4/5, p. 44; no. 2, p. 50; no. 4, pp. 51–52.

Johannes Belcz;⁶⁵ in 1446: Jacob Orlob;⁶⁶ and in the first half of the fifteenth century: Johannes Poloni.⁶⁷ There is a mention of a lector at the friary in Chełmno in 1467: Johannes Freitag.⁶⁸ However, there is no information on friars holding that position in Braniewo, Barczewo or Wehlau.⁶⁹ The *custos* would decide that the more talented friars could continue their education at *studia physicae* or *philosophiae*, treated as preparation for *studium generale*. A considerable proportion of friars, however, would never go beyond the basic course at *studia particularia*, and continued their education under the supervision of the conventual lector. Only the brighter ones were chosen for a two- or three-year course at *studia logicalia*. In the 1370s, there were also *studia physicae*, often referred to as *studia philosophiae*, where for two or three years logic, philosophy, metaphysics and moral philosophy were taught.⁷⁰

The school system of Augustinian Hermits was also based on continuous education of friars in each convent.⁷¹ The first stage was initial preparation of candidates for priestly ordination, which mainly included practical Latin. There were two further stages of study: lower schools (*studia provincialia vel minora*), where grammar and logic were taught, and higher schools (*studia generalia et maiora*), teaching theology.⁷² Like the Dominicans, after initial preparation at the conventual school Augustinian friars advanced to the second-degree schools, referred to as *studia particularia*, teaching logic, philosophy and basics of theology. Some of them operated along general study courses conducted at the same friaries. Education at provincial schools took three years

⁶⁵ *Urkundenbuch des alten sächsischen Franziskanerprovinzen* [hereafter: USF], Bd. 2: *Die Kustodie Preussen*, hrsg. v. L. Lemmens, Düsseldorf 1913, no. 452.

⁶⁶ A notarial instrument describing the negotiations over that issue in detail was written in Malbork on 4 April 1446, GSPK, XX HA, OF, no. 16, pp. 1073–1077.

⁶⁷ In 1431 mentioned as a custodian (USF, Bd. 2, no. 449), in 1438 a custodian (USF, Bd. 2, no. 452), in the first half of the fifteenth century a *lector principalis* in Toruń (GSPK, XX HA, OBA, no. 28050).

⁶⁸ R. Kubicki, *Zakony mendykanckie...*, p. 351.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 236.

⁷⁰ B. Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education...*, p. 69.

⁷¹ On the organisation of the school system of Augustinian Hermits, see R. Walczak, *'Protocollum' augustianina-eremity zwanego Angelusem ze Stargardu. O polsko-pomorskich związkach historiograficznych w średniowieczu*, Poznań 1991, pp. 50–60.

⁷² G. Uth, *Szkie historyczno-biograficzny zakonu augustjańskiego w Polsce*, Kraków 1930, p. 15.

to complete.⁷³ In the vicarage of Augustinian Hermits encompassing the dominion of the Teutonic Order and the New March (Ger. Neumark), a *studium particulare* existed in the fourteenth century.

In 1415, the priors of Augustinian Hermits in Prussia and Pomerania concluded an agreement aiming to set up a cooperative organisational framework for the education of friars from their convents.⁷⁴ Following the recommendation of the province authorities, a joint *studium continuum* was established, which was to be run on annual rotation by eight friaries. The lector was to be appointed by friars of the convents in the New March or in the Teutonic dominion, depending on where the school operated at a given time (i.e. when it operated in a convent in the New March, the lector would be appointed by friars of the local convents, and vice versa). As decided, it would be hosted by friaries in Chojna, Strzelce Krajeńskie, Reszel, Heiligenbeil, Gartz, Stargard, Chojnice and Anklam. According to initial plans, in the first two years the school was to operate in the New March, followed by two years in the dominion of the Teutonic Order, with further two years in the New March and a year in each of the countries in turn.

The agreement also specified the rules and regulations of the school. Classes were to be held from St Michael's day (29 November) until the holiday of St Peter and St Paul's (29 June) the following year. The lectors and *cursor*s were to teach grammar, logic, philosophy and theology. Each friary had the right to send one friar to the school, which meant that there would be no more than eight of them each year. The document also set out the arrangements concerning the remuneration of lectors and the costs of their upkeep to be borne by the friaries. The lectors were to receive one *solidus* of Prague *groschen* a year, as well as footwear and candles.⁷⁵ The students were to be addressed in Latin only and they were to take turns practising their skills during the lessons (*lecciones*).

Moreover, it was stipulated that if a provincial study (*studium provincie*) was established in the district (New March and Prussia),

⁷³ F. Andrews, *The Other Friars. The Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages*, Woodbridge 2006, p. 150.

⁷⁴ CDW, Bd. 3, no. 502, pp. 513–514; A. Karbowskiak, *Szkoły dyecezyi chełmińskiej...*, pp. 90–91; A. Poschmann, *Das Augustinerkloster in Rössel*, "Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands" 1932, Bd. 24, p. 102.

⁷⁵ "vnum solidum grossorum bohematicalium [...] calceos et lumina", CDW, Bd. 3, no. 502, p. 513.

the existing study (*studium districtus*) should not be suspended; if the convent which was to host the district study a given year would at the same time be required to run the provincial study, its duties would pass on to the next convent, following the agreed order. We do not know whether this reservation meant that there were plans underway to establish such a school on the part of the province; the stipulations may have been a general guideline formulated in the instructions of the order. In any case, taking into consideration the peripheral location of the friaries in terms of the whole province, the potential provincial study could operate only in one of the convents in the New March, where sometimes the proceedings of the provincial chapter of the order were held, as was the case in Chojna.

In Gdańsk Pomerania, there was also a Carmelite friary,⁷⁶ at first in the Young Town and then in the Old Town of Gdańsk. Every friary of the congregation was to have a conventual school. The second level of education were *studia particularia*, and the third, and highest – the *studium generale*, usually incorporated in universities. The conventual school was run by a lector of theology. According to the curriculum, students learned Latin grammar for a year; after the profession, for five years, they acquired practical knowledge of the language in writing and in speech, and learned church singing and liturgy (*informatores gramaticae*). The next two or three years were devoted to a course in logic, referred to as *philosophia rationalis*. Thus, the entire process took about ten years. In the Czech/Polish province in the second half of the fifteenth century, a full course in theology (*studia particularia*) was only conducted at the friaries in Kraków, Poznań and Gdańsk (mentioned in 1462, 1483, 1485, 1495, 1496, 1500, 1504, 1506, 1508 and 1511), and for a certain period also in Strzegom (1483 and 1511).⁷⁷ In 1483, the fri-

⁷⁶ On the Carmelite education system, see B.M. Xiberta, *De descriptoribus scholasticis saeculi XIV ex ordine Carmelitarum*, Louvain 1931 (“Bibliothèque de la Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique”, vol. 6), pp. 8–23; J. Smet, U. Dobhan, *Die Karmeliten. Eine Geschichte der Brüder U.L. Frau vom Berg Karmel. Von den Anfängen (ca. 1200) bis zum Konzil von Trient*, Freiburg–Basel–Wien 1981, pp. 56–59; F. Andrews, *The Other Friars...*, pp. 42–44, 60–64. For a general overview of the Carmelite school system, see T.M. Trajdos, *U zaranja karmelitów w Polsce*, Warszawa 1993, pp. 181–196.

⁷⁷ General Archives of the Carmelite Order in Rome, II Polonia, Commune 1, Marcin Behm, *Compendium libri Provinciae, 1677* [hereafter: *Compendium*], pp. 9, 12–16, 18.

ary school in Gdańsk had the status of *studium particulare*,⁷⁸ which means that it had more teaching staff, composed of a theology lector, philosophy instructor and grammar instructor.⁷⁹ In several consecutive meetings of the provincial chapter it was decided that lectors were to be sent to Gdańsk (Płońsk 1481, Poznań 1485, 1491, 1495, 1496, 1506, Gdańsk 1500, Bydgoszcz 1504, Strzegom 1508, Płońsk 1511).⁸⁰ In 1502, during the proceedings in Poznań, a decision was made to send instructors to Gdańsk to teach young friars, professed members and novices.⁸¹ The *studium particulare* at the friary in Gdańsk was mentioned for the last time in 1511 during the proceedings of the provincial chapter in Płońsk.⁸² There are records confirming the presence of lectors in the case of both the Carmelite friary in Gdańsk and the aforementioned friaries of Augustinian Hermits.⁸³ Unfortunately, the lack of sources makes it impossible to reconstruct the system of conventual schools of Franciscan Observants operating in Prussia and Livonia.⁸⁴ An indirect confirmation of their existence is provided by the preserved data of the holdings of a Franciscan library in Zalewo, which had in its collection, among others, a coursebook of *Sentences* by Peter Lombard, writings of Bonaventura, Bernard of Siena and John Duns Scotus, as well as works by Thomas Aquinas and Thomas à Kempis.⁸⁵

⁷⁸ *Compendium*, p. 9. Despite that, friars from Gdańsk also learned at schools in other friaries of the province. In 1463 Subdeacon Joannes de Gdanck was a student in Poznań, *Compendium*, p. 4.

⁷⁹ T.M. Trajdos, *U zaranja karmelitów...*, p. 186.

⁸⁰ *Compendium*, pp. 9, 12–14, 16, 18.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 15.

⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 18.

⁸³ For a detailed compilation, see R. Kubicki, *Zakony mendykanckie...*, pp. 360–368. For information on several Augustinian Hermits lectors, see A. Kunzelmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Augustiner-Eremiten*, T. 5: *Die Sächsisch-Thüringische Provinz und die Sächsische Reformkongregation bis zum Untergang der Beiden*, Würzburg 1974, p. 302.

⁸⁴ On the organisation of the school system of Franciscan Observants, see J. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origins to the Year 1517*, Oxford 1968, pp. 452, 506; B. Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education...*, pp. 160, 164.

⁸⁵ Information on the friary library and a list of several dozen post-monastic manuscripts from Zalewo kept in the university library in Königsberg before the war: E. Deegen, *Geschichte der Stadt Saalfeld Ostpr.*, Mohrunen 1905, pp. 212, 220–223.

Schools also functioned at the Cistercian monasteries in Oliwa⁸⁶ and Pelplin;⁸⁷ they focused on the needs of the order rather than active participation in the intellectual life of Prussia and Gdańsk Pomerania of the time. The same was the case with the Carthusians of the Paradise of Mary (today Kartuzy) near Gdańsk.⁸⁸ It is worth noting that the Teutonic Order did not have its own schools and had other ways of recruiting educated people who were required.⁸⁹ A school in Chełmno run by the Brethren of the Common Life is a specific example of connections between education and church institutions of the time.⁹⁰

All things considered, the current picture of the functioning of town, parish and monastic schools in the dominion of the Teutonic Order in Prussia is somewhat superficial. In the case of town and parish schools, we know more about the effects of the teaching process than the system itself, or even the network of schools. This is due to the state of preservation and the character of sources available to us today. In the case of monastic schools, although we have extensive knowledge about their teaching staff and the types of schools at individual friaries or monasteries, we have much less information on their curricula or on how they functioned in practical terms.

⁸⁶ K. Dąbrowski, *Opactwo cystersów w Oliwie od XII do XVI wieku*, Gdańsk 1975, pp. 174–184.

⁸⁷ On the subject of education of the monks and the contents of its medieval library, see R. Frydrychowicz, *Geschichte der Cistercienserabtei Pelplin und ihre Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler*, Düsseldorf 1907, pp. 148–151, 155–158; P. Westphal, *Ein ehemaliges Klosterterritorium in Pommerellen. Eine Studie zur westpreussischen Geschichte*, Danzig 1905, pp. 111–114.

⁸⁸ On the subject of education of the monks, see P. Czaplewski, *Kartuzja kaszubska*, Gdańsk 1966, pp. 57–59, 63.

⁸⁹ A. Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma spiritualia. Bibliotheken, Bücher und Bildung im Deutschen Orden*, Wiesbaden 2003, pp. 43–104; R. Ruciński, J. Tandecki, *Intellektuelle Eliten im Deutschordensstaat Preußen im Mittelalter*. “Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae” 2004, vol. 9, pp. 89–116; Z.H. Nowak, *O sposobach werbowania intelektualistów do zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w pierwszej połowie XV wieku / Methoden der Intellektuellenwerbung für den Deutschen Orden in Preussen in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, in: *idem, Przyczynki źródłowe do historii zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach / Quellenbeiträge zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen*, Toruń 2011, pp. 103–113; J. Tandecki, *Intellektuelle Eliten in den Großstädten des Deutschordensstaates Preußen im Mittelalter*, in: *Vergangenes in Erinnerung rufen... Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Königlichen Preußens*, hrsg. v. L. Lewandowska, K. Szczerbowska-Prusevicus, W. Zientara, Berlin 2014, pp. 11–13.

⁹⁰ Z.H. Nowak, *Bracia Wspólnego Życia i ich szkoła w Chełmnie (1473–1536/1545)*, ZH 1987, t. 52, z. 4, pp. 53–77.

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Streszczenie

Uwagi o szkołach miejskich, parafialnych i klasztornych w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach i Prusach Królewskich w średniowieczu

Zagadnienie organizacji i funkcjonowania szkół w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach było już podejmowane w badaniach historycznych (Antoni Karbowski, Emil Waschinski). W tym miejscu podjęto próbę podsumowania dotychczasowych prac, uwzględniając nie tylko miejskie i wiejskie szkoły parafialne, ale także szkoły zakonne.

W najwcześniejszym okresie powstawania władztwa krzyżackiego w Prusach organizacja szkolnictwa była podporządkowana potrzebie przygotowania duchowieństwa, w tym wywodzącego się z ludności pruskiej, czemu służyły szkoły katedralne zakładane przez miejscowych biskupów. Niewiele później zaczęto zakładać szkoły także w celu kształcenia świeckich w miastach, co ściśle wiązało się z funkcjonowaniem parafii. Badacze szacują liczbę szkół miejskich i wiejskich, potwierdzonych w różny sposób w źródłach, na około 150, w tym około 50 poza miastami. Często jedyną wzmianką o wiejskich szkołach parafialnych były zapisy w księdze podskarbnego krzyżackiego z lat 1399–1409 (*Tresslerbuch*), gdzie odnotowywano przypadki udzielania pomocy uczniom pochodzącym z różnych miejscowości położonych na trasie podróży wielkich mistrzów. Inne źródła potwierdzają

istnienie szkół jedynie w dużych miastach. Te ostatnie odgrywały też największą rolę w kształceniu młodzieży.

Kontrola nad szkołami wynikała początkowo z prawa patronatu nad parafiami, które sprawował zakon krzyżacki i poszczególni biskupi. Wynikało to z faktu, że plebani nadzorowali nie tylko działalność szkół, ale także nominacje ich lektorów. Wraz z postępującą emancypacją rad miejskich starały się one przejąć kontrolę nad nominacjami nauczycieli. Wiązało się to również z tym, że koszty funkcjonowania szkół, a więc budowy i utrzymania pomieszczeń, ponosiły one same, choć wynagrodzenie nauczycieli pochodziło zazwyczaj z opłat wnoszonych przez zamożnych uczniów.

Niestety, organizacja szkół miejskich i wiejskich w najwcześniejszym okresie jest słabo udokumentowana w zachowanych źródłach. Wyjątek stanowi szkoła funkcjonująca w Malborku, której działalność można zrekonstruować dzięki zachowanej XIV-wiecznej ordynacji szkolnej. Wszystko to sprawia, że nasz obraz funkcjonowania szkół w Prusach Krzyżackich jest nieco powierzchowny, gdyż właściwie więcej można powiedzieć o efektach nauczania niż o samym systemie i sieci szkół.

Obok szkół miejskich i parafialnych istniały także szkoły klasztorne. Szczególny nacisk na ich funkcjonowanie kładły zakony żebracze (dominikanie, franciszkanie, augustianie eremici i karmelici). Ich celem było kształcenie braci, z których najlepsi kontynuowali edukację w studiach generalnych, często działających przy uniwersytetach. Własne szkoły mieli także cystersi w Oliwie i Pelplinie. Zajmowały się one jednak wewnętrznymi potrzebami wspólnoty zakonnej, a nie aktywnym uczestnictwem w życiu intelektualnym ówczesnych Prus i Pomorza Gdańskiego. Natomiast zakon krzyżacki nie utrzymywał własnych szkół, gdyż w inny sposób pozyskiwał potrzebną kadre wykształconych osób.