

Maja Gąssowska
(Polish Academy of Sciences)

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3541-8234>

By whom and when was the foundation of the Cistercian nunnery in Dorpat initiated?

<https://doi.org/10.26881/sds.2022.25.04>

Keywords: Cistercian nuns, Dorpat (Tartu), Livonia, Frederick von Haseldorf, bishop

Livonia, which was roughly the area of modern Latvia and Estonia, was situated on the periphery of the Christian world and did not have a well-developed network of religious institutions in the Middle Ages. Consequently, this area was largely unavailable to residents from western and southern Europe, which was Christianized much earlier, and this contributed to the very late start of founding Christian missions there. This resulted in the exceptionally brief development, on a European scale, of all church structures during the Catholic period of a little more than 300 years.¹ Another

¹ Basic studies on the history of the Christianization of Livonia – L. Arbusow, *Grundriß der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands*, Riga 1918; H. von zur Mühlen, “Livland von der Christianisierung bis zum Ende seiner Selbstständigkeit (etwa 1180–1561)”, in: *Baltische Länder*, hrsg. v. G. von Pistohlkors, Berlin 1994 (Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas), pp. 25–172; *Studien über die Anfänge der Mission in Livland*, hrsg. v. M. Hellmann, Sigmaringen 1989 (Vorträge und Forschungen, Sonderband, Bd. 37); F. Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder. Fratres Militiae Christi de Livonia*, Köln 1965 (Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, Bd. 9); P. Johansen, *Nordische Mission, Revals Gründung und die Schwedensiedlung in Estland*, Stockholm 1951 (Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, vol. 74); A. Selart, *Livland und das Rus’ im 13. Jahrhundert*, Köln 2007 (Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte, Bd. 21), A. Bysted et al., *Jerusalem in the North: Denmark and the Baltic Crusades 1100–1522*, Turnhout 2012 (Outremer: Studies in the Crusades and the Latin East, vol. 1); *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier (1150–1500)*, ed. A.V. Murray, Aldershot 2001.

important factor was the very small demographic potential of Livonia, which included both the indigenous population and settlers coming mainly from the territories of the Holy Roman Empire. During the entire pre-Reformation period up to 1525, only a few more than 30 religious institutions were founded there; most of these were monasteries, and no more than ten were institutions for women.

The reasons for this disproportion is evident in the way the new Christian colony emerged and developed in this area. During crusade expeditions, people sailed to Livonia from Old Europe for one year; this was determined by the length of the shipping season in the Baltic Sea and the availability of merchant ships. Apart from the Danish king, these crusaders did not have their own fleet and had to use merchant transport.

Only after a period of permanent association with this newly Christianized land, thanks to the fiefdoms newcomers received from local territorial rulers, were bishops and royal vassals given the opportunity to settle there permanently with their families. It is therefore completely natural that the founding and establishment of male orders, the earliest of which were Cistercians, who played a leading role during the first half-century of Christianization, and later the mendicant Dominicans and Franciscans preceded the establishment of religious institutions for women in this area. Only by the second or even third generation following the establishment of “*novellae plantationis fidei Catholicae in partibus Livoniae ac Estoniae*”² was it necessary to provide a dignified life for orphaned or unmarried daughters and widows of vassals who died or fell in battle with pagans. The problem was all the more pressing because the local vassal fiefs were not hereditary, and only male descendants of vassals had the right to enter into a fief. These, in turn, often came from little-known families that were just aspiring to form the new feudal elite there, and they were all the more sensitive to matters of their own position in a hierarchical society. Thus, in the early days of the Livonian colony, there were not many suitable candidates for the daughters of vassals to marry. Little is known about marriages between representatives of the former pre-Christian elite and the daughters of vassals. These relationships would probably have been regarded as leading

² LECUB 1, no. 452 (1277).

to a loss of social status and the descent of families to lower levels in the social hierarchy. In such situations, the best, and often the only, solution, was the religious path, provided, of course, there was a sufficient number of religious institutions for women.

Given the general state of preservation of the written legacy of Catholic legal institutions of the Catholic era in Livonia, it is fortunate that a small set of archival sources on the four oldest Cistercian convents survives, but their share of these sources in this preserved legacy is highly disproportionate. There are several dozen diplomas concerning the Reval Cistercian nuns (admittedly, most are falsifications³) and more than a dozen diplomas issued by or for the Cistercian nuns of Riga, and, although they have been rebuilt several times, their churches and parts of their convent buildings survived even if, after secularization, they became Orthodox churches or secondary schools for boys. Such a legacy for the convents in Dorpat (Estonian – Tartu) and Lehal (Estonian – Lihula) hardly exists. Moreover, no material remains of their existence have survived, and there are no traces of convent buildings or churches. Only their approximate locations in the urban spaces of Lehal and Dorpat is known.

It was the duty of the Livonian territorial rulers, i.e., the Danish king in northern Estonia until 1346 and later the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order, and the three clerical hierarchs—the Archbishop of Riga and his local suffragans – the bishops of Dorpat and Ösel (Estonian – Saaremaa) – to establish and provide for such convent centers.

The first challenge was undertaken by the Danish king Erik IV Plovpennig who founded, or more precisely planned a nunnery in his Estonian Principality in Reval (Estonian – Tallinn). This attempt was probably made in the first half of the 1240s,⁴ but the first confirmed information on the functioning of this nunnery dates to 1267.

³ Cf. M. Gaśowska, “Klasztor cysterek pw. św. Michała w Rewalu wobec wielkiej wojny (1409–1411)”, in: *Kancelaria wielkich mistrzów i polska kancelaria królewska w XV w. Materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej Malbork 2–3 IX 2004*, red. J. Trupinda, Malbork 2006, pp. 63–83, here pp. 64–65.

⁴ Cf. M. Gaśowska, “Klasztor cysterek w Rewalu i jego znaczenie dla duńskiego władztwa w Estonii w XIII i XIV w.”, in: *Klasztor w państwie średniowiecznym i nowożytnym*, red. M. Derwich, A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz, Wrocław–Opole–Warszawa 2005, (Opera ad historiam monasticam spectantia, Series I, Colloquia 5), pp. 211–224.

The first archbishop of Riga, Albert Suerbeer, founded the second female congregation under Cistercian rule, and he probably made preparations for its implementation before he finally managed to come to the seat of his metropolis in person in 1253. This seems to be evidenced by the papal bull of 1255, by which Pope Alexander IV approved Cistercian rule to the Cistercians of Riga, which were not yet in existence, and took this emerging religious congregation under his protection as well as the lands constituting its rich endowment, a large part of which were the areas included in the Semigallia bishopric that was abolished between 1251 and 1253. The diploma of Archbishop Albert in agreement with the Riga cathedral chapter that erected, in his opinion, the first convent in Livonia (perhaps he did not know about earlier or almost parallel Danish undertakings) was dated May 1, 1257, i.e., two years later than the bull that placed it under papal protection.⁵

Chronologically, the next foundation of a Cistercian nunnery was during the ministry of Bishop Hermann I von Buxhoeveden, who was the bishop of the diocese of Ösel-Wiek (Läänemaa) and held this office from 1262 to 1285. Information about the bishop's activities as a founder of nunneries was preserved in a message added incidentally to the German translation of the Latin diploma on the demarcation of the boundary between the rule of Bishop Hermann I and the Danish province of Harrien (Estonian – Harju).⁶ This is almost the only information about its origins that has survived. It is known that the nunnery was located in Lehal in a location intended for the seat of the first Estonian bishop, Theodoric (1211–1219). Perhaps it occupied one wing of the castle built in the second half of the thirteenth century, which was the joint property of the bishop and the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order,⁷ or perhaps it was located in its immediate vicinity.⁸ The first evidence of the functioning of the nunnery dates from 1293.⁹ Almost nothing is known about its endowment, only a passing mention from 1402

⁵ LGU, no. 23 (2. VIII 1255).

⁶ LECUB 3, no. 439b (1275–1285) – “[...] Herr Hermen, bischop van Ozell, ein besteder des klostere to Leall [...]”.

⁷ *Ibidem*, no. 156 (28. II 1238).

⁸ K. von Löwis of Menar, *Burgenlexikon für Alt-Livland*, Riga 1922, p. 76; A. Tuulse, *Die Burgen in Estland und Lettland*, Dorpat 1942 (Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft, Bd. 33), pp. 72–73.

⁹ LECUB 6, no. 2760 (30. IV 1293).

concerns the agreement between the religious institutions in Lehal and Padis (Estonian – Padise) and indicates that some of their estates bordered each other in the vicinity of the village Neve.¹⁰ The nunnery, which was located away from large urban centers, survived the victory of the Reformation and the secularization of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order in 1561, but its existence was ended by the First Northern War. The last known mention of the last abbess of this congregation, unknown even by name, who was in exile near Arensburg on the island of Ösel dates from 1564.¹¹ However, awareness of the existence of this nunnery as a subject of international law, despite the lack of its actual functioning, and above all about the real estate belonging to it, was also reflected in the provisions of the Treaty of Szczecin that ended the First Northern War in 1570.¹² According to the provisions of the treaty, both Cistercian religious houses, the monastery in Padis and the convent in Lehal, were situated on the Estonian lands, and above all, their estates were to be under Swedish rule under the feudal power of Emperor Maximilian II, and Sweden had the right to buy them back for compensation.

The last nunnery of Cistercian rule operating in the Middle Ages in Livonia was in Dorpat. Our knowledge of it is as meager as that of the Lehal convent. Moreover, while we know more or less when it ceased to exist, following the capture of the city by Ivan IV's troops in July 1558,¹³ nothing is known about its origins. The first mention

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, no. 1608 (10. VIII 1402).

¹¹ L. Arbusow, "Livlands Geistlichkeit vom Ende des 12. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert", *Jahrbuch für Genealogie, Heraldik und Sphragistik*, 1911–1913, pp. 1–432, here p. 335.

¹² "Traktat mellan Sverige och Kejsaren angående Lifland," in: *Sveriges traktater med främmande magter*, utg. O.S. Rydberg, Bd. 4 (1521–1571), Stockholm 1888, pp. 432–441, no. 62 (13. XII 1570).

¹³ After the capture of Dorpat by the Poles in 1582, the buildings and probably the estates of the local Cistercian nuns were handed over to the Jesuits. Their state of preservation is reported by the Catholic Church Visitation of 1613 – "[...] Ecclesia S. Catharinae Collegii ruinosa, quoad fornicem et tectum [...]" – "Protokoll der Katholischen Kirchenvisitation in Livland vom Jahre 1613", hrsg. v. F.G. von Bunge, *Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands* 1842, Bd. 1, pp. 23–77, here p. 34. After the capture of the city by the Swedes in 1625, the monastery buildings were demolished by them. In the second half of the seventeenth century, only some ruins of the medieval sacral buildings of Dorpat existed – cf. A. Moller, *Fata Dorpati. Den i förra tiden namnkundiga Lifländiska Staden Dorpats Öde*, Wästerås 1755, p. 11 – "[...] De öfrige Kyrkijor, som der fordorm

of its existence dates to 1345, and it is a legacy in the will of the Lübeck merchant Johann Russenberg.¹⁴ This testament mentions two orders for female religious congregations in Dorpat. The first was the legacy for the construction of the *sanctimonialium* church, and the second was a legacy for its convent. Thus, the name of the monastic rule according to which the nuns lived there was not even mentioned, but there is no doubt that it was Cistercian, because such was the common *usus* and it was generally used in relation to female cloistered congregations, and in Livonia in the thirteenth century only Cistercian religious houses were functioning (apart from a few mentions of the presence of a convent of beguines in Riga at the parish church of St. Peter, with a simultaneous recommendation that there should be only one beguinage in the city¹⁵). St. Catherine, the patron of the nunnery, was first confirmed only in 1477.¹⁶

The remaining (sometimes only hypothetical) congregations of Poor Clares and Tertiary Sisters date to the beginning of the fifteenth century at the earliest. Only the Bridgets managed to settle near Reval in Estonia at the beginning of the fifteenth century thanks to the joint efforts of the rich townspeople of Reval and the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order, which was the territorial ruler of northern Estonia after 1346. In the foundation diploma of the Cistercian nuns of Riga, their congregation is called both the “collegium aliquod ancillarum Christi Cisterciensis ordinis” and the “monialium collegio”¹⁷ while the diploma supplementing their convent refers to it with the term “[...] plantatio sacra in civitate Rigensi [...] fundata in ordine Cisterciensi [...] abbatisae et conventui sanctimonialium praedicti ordinis [...]”¹⁸ It seems highly

warit; deraf stodo än murarna och pelarena utaf den i sinom tid prägtiga och stora Domäkyrkjan [...]; men af de andre, som Dominicaner–Muncke–Kloster, Minorites Kyrkja, Francisci Jungfru-Kloster, Andelige Jungfrurs Kloster [...] fans i min tid dels stenhopar, dels ingen ting igen [...]”.

¹⁴ LECUB 6, no. 2819 (29. V 1345) – “[...] It. ecclesiae sanctimonialium ibidem duas marc. arg. ad structuram, sed conventui earum lego etiam duas marc arg. [...]”. Cf. R. Otto, *Über die Dorpater Klöster und ihre Kirchen*, Dorpat 1910 (Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft, Bd. 22, Th. 2), pp. 1–24, here pp. 1–2.

¹⁵ LECUB 1, no. 602 – “[...] nen vidwen kovent sal wesen in der stat, den dat kovent bi sente Petir [...]”.

¹⁶ LGU 1, no. 521 (11. VII 1477).

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, no. 25 (1. V 1257).

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, no. 26 (1259).

probable that in Dorpat, one of the three largest Livonian cities, as in Riga, as early as in the thirteenth century there could also have been a beguine convent intended for pious widows, because, like all medieval cities, they also had to face the problem of managing solitary, often poor women, but the term “sanctimoniales” was certainly not applied to them, as the terminology used in preserved city accounts of Riga from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries teaches. Beguines are referred to as “bagutis iuxta sanctum Petrum”,¹⁹ “bagutis de conventu”,²⁰ “bagguinen in dem conuente”,²¹ “convente by sunte Peterē”,²² and “baghinen in dem convente by sunte Peterē”,²³ and the pensions paid to them are “elemosinis bagutis”.²⁴ Cistercians appear only as “sanctimoniales”,²⁵ “closteriuncfrowen”,²⁶ “iuncfrouwen in dem clostere”,²⁷ while their superior is “domina abatisse”,²⁸ “ebedissen”,²⁹ or “ebbedischen”,³⁰ and their monastery is “iuncfrouwen klostere”.³¹ The fundamental difference in the status of the two congregations is thus illustrated; in the monastery behind the cloister there were nuns under the power of the abbesses, who took perpetual vows, while beguines, who could always return to secular life, served in the convent.

Therefore, we only know the *terminus ante quem* of the foundation of the Cistercian monastery in Dorpat, which was 1345. It can be assumed that at the time the Lübeck merchant wrote his testament, it was a fully functioning institution that was also known to foreign merchants passing through the city. It was already rooted in the urban space of Dorpat since it successfully grew out of the foundation stage, and nuns who had their own church lived in the nunnery. Therefore, presumably, it was founded, in my opinion,

¹⁹ KR, p. 53.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 63, 68, 77.

²¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 82, 96.

²² *Ibidem*, pp. 85, 93, 107, 116.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 96.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 57.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 53, 57, 73.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 82, 86, 88, 91, 99, 101–103, 105, 107–110, 113, 115, 116, 129, 152, 153, 170, 324.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 89, 93, 125, 157, 167, 168, 171, 204, 240.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 62.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 77, 237, 250.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 148, 323, 243.

³¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 77, 80, 82, 161.

long before 1343 and the anti-Christian uprising in northern Estonia, because, although it did not directly affect the rule of the Dorpat bishop, it certainly had a negative impact on the prevailing mood throughout Livonia and was not conducive to the establishment of new religious establishments.

As mentioned above, the founder of this monastery should be sought among the local Dorpat bishops, because only they could support such an undertaking financially. Unfortunately, the state of preservation of Livonian sources does not facilitate such investigations. For the initial period of the Dorpat bishopric, we do not even have a complete list of its hierarchs. The dark period in the initial history of this diocese covers more than 20 years between the ministry of Bishop Hermann I (1219–1247), brother of Bishop Albert of Riga, and Frederick von Haseldorf (1268–1289?). We have only a single mention from this period of an unknown bishop³² and the name of a second one (Alexander), who fell in battle with Russian troops from Novgorod the Great near Maholm on February 18, 1268.³³ Perhaps in these years the bishop's seat was not filled at all.³⁴ It is all the more difficult to suppose that, in these troubled times, the founding of a nunnery could have happened.

The situation changed with the pontificate of Frederick von Haseldorf, mentioned above, who was one of the most interesting figures in the history of the Baltic crusades in the second half of the thirteenth century; unfortunately there is much less evidence in the sources than in the earlier period, which was known from the chronicle of Henry who was known as Henry of Latvia.³⁵ Frederick von Haseldorf came from a Holstein family whose ancestors appear in sources in the mid-twelfth century as the initiators of establishing their own family seat in Haseldorf on the lower Elbe

³² F. Schonebohm, "Die Besetzung der livländischen Bistümer bis zum Anfang des 14. Jahrhundert", *Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands* 1910, Bd. 20, pp. 295–365, here p. 337.

³³ "Hermanni von Wartberge Chronicon Livoniae", hrsg. v. E. Strehle, in: SRP, Bd. 2, Leipzig 1863, pp. 9–116, here p. 46; F. Schonebohm, "Die Besetzung...", p. 337.

³⁴ L. Arbusow, "Livlands Geistlichkeit...", p. 303; F. Schonebohm, "Die Besetzung...", p. 337.

³⁵ "Heinrici Chronicon Lyvonie" (further: HCR), hrsg. v. L. Arbusow, A. Bauer, Hannover 1955 (SRG).

near Hamburg.³⁶ His ancestors belonged to the power elite of the Schauenburg family that ruled in the county of Holstein from the beginning of the twelfth century.

It was in the territory of their rule that the Augustinian monastery in Segeberg was located, one member of which was Meinhard, the first Christian missionary who settled permanently near the mouth of the Daugava around 1184, thus beginning the Christianization of Livonia. The two immediate ancestors of the future bishop (grandfather and father) knew about the Christianization mission in Livonia since both were on the list of witnesses in 1224 to the sale by the abbot of the Cistercian monastery in Dünamünde of several measures of land to the monastery in Neumünster.³⁷ Moreover, Bishop Frederick's father personally embarked on a crusade to Livonia in 1236 and was killed in the last battle fought by the Knights of the Livonian Sword Brethren with the Lithuanians at Saule on September 22, 1236.³⁸ Surely this must have had an impact on his son, who was probably still a juvenile at the time.

Although the Counts of Holstein did not personally take part in the initial phase of the Baltic crusades (at least there are no sources on this subject), they certainly knew about them and their achievements, for example, from merchants who traveled to Daugava every year. The first ruler of Holstein to go to Livonia and personally engage in armed struggles with pagans was Count Albert von Orlamünde, nephew of the Danish king Waldemar II,³⁹ who ruled the County of Holstein by his uncle's fiefdom after the

³⁶ A. Selart, "Friedrich von Haseldorf, Bischof von Karelien", in: *Sõnasse püütud minevik*, eds. P. Raudkivi, M. Seppel, Tallinn 2009, pp. 79–91; F. von Aspern, *Beiträge zur älteren Geschichte Holsteins*, H. 1, Hamburg 1849, pp. 76–100; F.G. von Bunge, *Livland, die Wiege der deutschen Weihbischöfe*, Leipzig 1875, (Baltische Geschichtsstudien, Bd. 1), pp. 77–82; A. von Transehe-Roseneck, *Die ritterlichen Livlandfahrer des 13. Jahrhunderts: eine genealogische Untersuchung*, hrsg. v. W. Lenz, Würzburg 1960 (Marburger Ostforschungen, Bd. 12), pp. 77–79.

³⁷ LECUB 1, no. 59 (29. III 1224).

³⁸ "Annales Stadenses", hrsg. v. M. Lappenberg, in: MGH SS, Bd. 16, Hannoverae 1859, p. 363 – "AD 1236: [...] Facta est maxima stages peregrinorum in Livonia circa festum Mauricii. Theoricus de Haselitor ibi cecidisse dicitur [...]"; "Necrologium Capituli Hamburgensis", hrsg. v. K. Koppmann, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hamburgische Geschichte* 1875, vol. 6, p. 121 – "[...] Mauricii et sociorum eius. Obiit Tydericus, pater domini Frederici de Haseldorpe [...]".

³⁹ His deeds are described exhaustively in the chronicle of Henry called the Latvian – HCL, cap. XXI, 1–2, 6–7, cap. XXVI, 2. It shows that Albert was in Livonia

Schauenburg family was exiled from there in 1203. With the political changes that followed the Battle of Bornhöved in 1227 and the removal of the Danes from Holstein and from Nordalbingia lands, the Schauenburg family not only regained power in Holstein, but its members also began to participate personally in the crusades to Livonia. In 1238, Count Adolf IV set off on a crusade, and thanks to his family ties he was certainly well informed about the history of this Christianization mission.⁴⁰ His wife Heilwig was the granddaughter of Bernhard II von der Lippe (the second abbot of the Cistercian monastery in Dünamünde and the first bishop of Selonia). She accompanied her husband on his expedition to Livonia,⁴¹ and their sons, Counts Johann and Gerhard I, were actively involved in the Baltic mission, e.g., by granting the city of Riga customs duty exemptions in Hamburg⁴², while Count Gerhard left for Livonia in 1253.⁴³

Frederick von Haseldorf first appears in the sources as a witness to a diploma issued by Counts Johann and Gerhard Schauenburg in 1252,⁴⁴ and again in 1255.⁴⁵ From the very beginning, he was one of the most important witnesses among secular Holstein dignitaries. A three-year break in his appearance on counts' charters during their exercise of power in their territories might suggest that Frederick was not in Holstein at that time, and perhaps he

twice in 1217/1218 and 1222. Cf. A. von Transehe-Roseneck, *Die ritterlichen...*, pp. 42–44.

⁴⁰ A. von Transehe-Roseneck, *Die ritterlichen...*, pp. 80–81. Already after his abdication and putting on monastic habit, he went to Riga again with his son in 1253, as indicated by the list of witnesses of the diploma issued in Riga renewing customs privileges for Riga – LECUB 1, no. 267 (16. IV 1254) – “[...] frater Adolphus, pater noster [...] datum in Riga [...]”.

⁴¹ “Annales Stadenses...”, p. 363 – “1238 [...] Comes Adolfus cum uxore sua Heilewiga, filia filii Bernardi domini de Lippia, postea abbatis et episcopi, Livoniam intravit [...]”.

⁴² LECUB 1, no. 227 (7. VIII 1251), no. 267 (16. IV 1254).

⁴³ SHL, no. 53 (6. X 1253) – “[...] quia frater suus G. comes in peregrinatione ist [...]”; A. von Transehe-Roseneck, *Die ritterlichen...*, pp. 83–84.

⁴⁴ LUB, no. 189 (6. II 1252) – in the first place among witnesses as “miles”.

⁴⁵ SHL, no. 84 (10. III 1255), no. 86 (29. IV 1255) – as “miles” in the first place among witnesses; no. 93 (1255) – as “dominus” and “miles” as the first after the witnesses of the clergy, no. 94 (1255) – “[...] dominus fredericus dictus de haseltorpe [...]” as the first after the witnesses of the clergy; no. 95 (1255) – “[...] dominus fridericus de haseldorpe [...]” also in the first place after the clergy.

was among Count Gerhard's retinue when he set off for Livonia.⁴⁶ This possible stay in Livonia could have influenced a key decision in Frederick's life. As the chronicler Albert of Stade reports, Frederick von Haseldorf withdrew from secular life and was ordained a priest in 1255⁴⁷ and became a member of the Hamburg cathedral chapter,⁴⁸ although this information is not entirely accurate, because at the beginning of 1256 Frederick still appears as a knight ("miles").⁴⁹ Even before he was ordained a priest, he made large grants to the Hamburg chapter,⁵⁰ confirmed by the counts of Holstein, and to the Benedictine monastery in Zeven in Lower Saxony⁵¹ and the monastery in Stade.⁵² Perhaps he was also one of the founders of the Cistercian monastery in Himmelpforten near Stade.⁵³ The donation to the Hamburg chapter was transformed into two canon prebends in the cathedral and supplemented with tithes from several villages and capital income, while the founder reserved the right of patronage and lifetime benefit from them.⁵⁴ The founder linked the prebends to celebrating a perpetual *memoria* for the perpetual salvation of his ancestors and himself ("pro sua suorumque ut dictum est memoria").⁵⁵

It is worth emphasizing the already apparent relationship of the future bishop with female monasticism, especially with Cistercians through the Himmelpforten nunnery, the nunnery of St. John the Evangelist in Lübeck,⁵⁶ the "sanctimoniales" of Virchin in

⁴⁶ Cf. P. Johansen, "Friedrich von Haseldorf", in: *Neue deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 5, Berlin 1961, pp. 510–511.

⁴⁷ "Annales Stadenses...", p. 373 – "[...] 1255 [...] Fridericus dominus de Haselthorp de laycatu ad clericatum ascendit [...]".

⁴⁸ *Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch*, hrsg. v. J.M. Lappenberg, Bd. 1, Hamburg 1842, no. 621 (8. III 1258) – "[...] concanonicus noster [...]".

⁴⁹ SHL, no. 102 (1. I 1256).

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, no. 86 (29. IV 1255), no. 96 (1255).

⁵¹ *Zevener Urkundenbuch*, H. 1, hrsg. v. W. von Hodenberg, Celle 1857 (Bremer Geschichtsquellen, Bd. 3), no. 22 (20. II 1255).

⁵² "Annales Stadenses...", pp. 373–374 – "[...] villam Worthen cum omnibus suis attinentiis contulit ecclesiae beatae Virginis in Stadio [...]".

⁵³ B.U. Hucker, "Die Gründung des Klosters Himmelpforten", *Mitteilungen des Stader Geschichts- und Heimatvereins* 1971, Bd. 46, pp. 26–37.

⁵⁴ SHL, no. 104 (8. II 1256).

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, no. 149 (1257) – approval of retrofitting of Hamburg prebends by the Archbishop of Bremen.

⁵⁶ LUB, no. 298 (12. V 1267), no. 303 (27. I 1267); F. Selart, "Friedrich von Haseldorf...", p. 83; F.G. von Bunge, *Livland, die Wiege...*, p. 79.

West Pomerania,⁵⁷ and Benedictine nuns (nunneries in Rehna, Mecklenburg,⁵⁸ and Preetz⁵⁹).

The next stage in Frederick's career was his ordination as titular bishop of Karelia, which probably did not happen until 1267 or 1268.⁶⁰ Still listed among the witnesses to Count Gerhard's donation to the monastery of Preetz, Frederick von Haseldorf does not have any rank,⁶¹ and appears with them on a diploma issued in Goslar in 1268.⁶²

The appearance of this bishopric in the sources should be treated as a constantly smoldering hope for the success of a possible Christianization mission in the future to be conducted in the areas east of the Narva River in the lands ruled by the Principality of Novgorod the Great, where the Latin Crusaders managed to settle briefly in the early 1240s, before being quickly expelled, and the Narva River became the border of the Roman Catholic Church's influence until the second half of the sixteenth century.

The institution of titular bishops is noted in thirteenth-century sources concerning various parts of Livonia, but in most cases these bishops never reached there, or, after leaving Livonia, they functioned in the Holy Roman Empire, granting indulgences and ordaining altars in church chapels and monasteries. Perhaps they proclaimed the ideas of crusade propaganda on occasion. At the same time, there are no sources confirming their active participation in the expeditions that could lead to the establishment of dioceses intended for them in the areas conquered from pagans. Frederick von Haseldorf was an exception among them. Following

⁵⁷ LECUB 6, no. 2746 (26. XI 1268).

⁵⁸ MUB, no. 1137 (1268) – indulgence of 40 days.

⁵⁹ SHL, no. 372 (21. I 1268).

⁶⁰ The issue of the date of obtaining the episcopal dignity by Frederick von Haseldorf was the subject of many years of discussion. Although P. Johansen, "Friedrich...", p. 510 believed that he had been ordained in the early 1260s; similarly, E.L. Nazarova, "The Crusades against Votians and Izhorians in 13th Century", in: *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150–1500*, Burlington 2001, pp. 177–195, here p. 193; F.G. von Bunge, *Livland, die Wiege...*, pp. 79–80; F. von Aspern, *Beiträge...*, p. 89; A. Selart, "Friedrich von Haseldorf...", pp. 79–82 – indicate that he first appeared with such a title in 1268.

⁶¹ SHL, no. 361 (12. V 1267).

⁶² *Urkundenbuch der Deutschordens-Commende Langeln und der Klöster Himmelpforten und Waterler in der Grafschaft Wernigerode*, bearb. v. E. Jacobs, Halle 1882, p. 109, no. 19 (4. VII 1268) – "[...] Fredericus dei gratia Kareliensis episcopus [...]".

the death of Bishop Alexander of Dorpat at the battle of Maholm on February 19, 1268, the real, not titular, bishop's seat became empty, with the territorial power, the cathedral chapter, and the diocesan vassals under the bishop's rule. It is not known where or exactly when Frederick von Haseldorf was ordained a bishop, but in the same year he appears with the double title of "Karelensis episcopus et Darbacensis postulatus",⁶³ and additionally as "crucis Christi minister".⁶⁴ The preserved diplomas prove that at the time of his ordination he was in the territory of the Holy Roman Empire, where he presumably, apart from his ordinary bishop's ministry, also preached crusade sermons.⁶⁵ He probably arrived in his new diocese in the second half of 1269 (the Baltic shipping season traditionally ended on the day of St. Michael on September 29). This is evidenced by the first confirmation of his presence in Livonia, i.e., his participation at the head of a military unit of Dorpat vassals in the battle with pagan Lithuanians on the frozen waters between the Island of Ösel and the Estonian province of Wiek on February 16, 1270.⁶⁶

In the subsequent years of his pontificate, Bishop Frederick usually stayed in the area of his sovereignty⁶⁷ taking part, *inter alia*, in the battles of the Livonian Teutonic Knights with the Semigallian chief Nameis in 1279–1281.⁶⁸ He also supervised the development of trade, abolishing coastal law in the area of his

⁶³ *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Pforte*, hrsg. v. P. Boehme, 1. Hb (1132–1300), Halle 1893 (Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen und angrenzender Gebiete, Bd. 33), p. 221, no. 210 (8. IX 1268).

⁶⁴ MUB, no. 1137 (1268); LECUB 1, no. 409 (22. VII 1268.)

⁶⁵ *Urkundenbuch der Deutschordens-Commende Langeln...*, p. 110, no. 20 (1268 – Goslar); *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Pforte...*, pp. 219–221, no. 209 (8. IX 1268), no. 210 (8. IX 1268), no. 211 (10. IX. 1268); p. 555, no. 102 (8. IX 1268).

⁶⁶ "Livländische Reimchronik", hrsg. v. T. Kallmeyer, K.E. Napiersky, in: *Scriptores Rerum Livonicarum*, Bd. 1, Riga 1853, vv: 7825–7830 "[...] Von darbet bischof widerich / Der quam wol einem belde glich / Mit allen, die er mochte ban. / Der legete sinem vlies daran; / Er quam mit sinem luten gar / Willecliehen an die schar [...]" ; E. Bonnell, *Russisch-livländische Chronographie von der Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts bis zum Jahre 1410*, St. Petersburg 1862, pp. 80–81.

⁶⁷ Only in 1272 is it certified in Segeberg – *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck*, 2. Abt. *Urkundenbuch des Bistums Lübeck*, Bd.1, hrsg. v. W. Leverkus, Oldenburg 1856, no. 229 (18. XI 1272).

⁶⁸ "Livländische Reimchronik", vv: 9435–9442 – "[...] Vriderich ein bischof hies, / Den sin tugent nicht enlies, / Er vure selber an die schar / Mit sinen rittern, das ist war. / Von haseldorf was er geborn / Und was in das stifte gekorn; / Das darbete ist genant; / Die stat ist manchen wol bekannt [...]" .

sovereignty, exempted merchants from customs duties, and allowed them to freely obtain wood for the repair and maintenance of their ships.⁶⁹ Together with other Livonian territorial rulers, he tried to persuade overseas merchants to give up going to Ruthenia and instead to trade in Livonia and Estonia.⁷⁰ He himself participated in trade with Rus' through the activities of Lübeck merchants in the wax trade.⁷¹

In 1284 he fell seriously ill during his stay in Reval and on December 15, expecting his imminent death, he made his will, allocating the money he had deposited in Lübeck "ad pias causas".⁷² The obituary of the Hamburg chapter, however, records December 4 as the date of death of Bishop Frederick von Haseldorf.⁷³ This means that the bishop managed to recover, and he died later, perhaps in 1288 or 1289, as evidenced by the diploma lesson in which Prince Wislaw II of Rügen undertook not to allow the appropriation by anyone unauthorized of any part of the remaining legacy of late Bishop Frederick von Haseldorf in Stralsund.⁷⁴ The knight Marquard⁷⁵ and the Cistercians of the Himmelpforten monastery⁷⁶ also relinquished their unspecified claims to the bishop's inheritance, while Bishop Hermann of Ösel tried to regain Frederick's goods deposited in Lübeck and intended by him for the Dominicans and

⁶⁹ LECUB 1, no. 439 (3. IV 1274).

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, no. 452 (1277).

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, no. 493 (15. XII 1284).

⁷² *Ibidem*, no. 494 (15. XII 1284) – "[...] nostrae ultimae voluntatis testamentum [...] deposuerimus per debitores nostros pecuniam, ad pias causas erogandam, secundum formam testamenti [...] nunc primitus esse volumus exoratum, quo intuitu pietatis, omnem pecuniam sive denarios receptos, secundum formam testamenti [...] in pios usus converti faciatis. Satisfactio servata humana, clementia Deo accepta, nostrae extremae voluntati [...]".

"Necrologium Capituli Hamburgensis...", p. 146 – "[...] December 4 Barbare virginis. Obiit Fredericus de Haseldorp Darabatensis episcopus, quondam huius ecclesie canonicus, qui fecit duas prebendas maiores de bonis suis et instituit de eisdem prebendis servicium refectoriale in die apostolorum Petri et Pauli et 2 memorias, que dantur a capitulo pro patre et matre ipsius [...]".

⁷³ "Necrologium Capituli Hamburgensis...", p. 146 – "[...] December 4 Barbare virginis. Obiit Fredericus de Haseldorp Darabatensis episcopus, quondam huius ecclesie canonicus, qui fecit duas prebendas maiores de bonis suis et instituit de eisdem prebendis servicium refectoriale in die apostolorum Petri et Pauli et 2 memorias, que dantur a capitulo pro patre et matre ipsius [...]".

⁷⁴ LECUB 3, no. 531a (9. III 1290).

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, no. 540a (17. III 1291).

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, no. 540b (17. III 1291).

Cistercian nuns in Reval.⁷⁷ Similarly, Bernard, successor of Frederick von Haseldorf to the Dorpat seat, together with the Dorpat chapter, asked the council of Lübeck to hand over to the Dorpat envoy the legacy of the deceased bishop remaining in Lübeck, citing the threat of pagans and Orthodox Ruthenians.⁷⁸

We know the testamentary legacies of Bishop Frederick, and it is clear from them that there is nothing about the Cistercian nunnery in Dorpat. How do we reconcile this with the hypothesis that he was the initiator of the foundation of this institution and its first benefactor? As shown above, Bishop Frederick did not die in 1284 when he made bequests to the Dominicans and Cistercian nuns of Reval. It is unlikely that there was already a Cistercian nunnery in Dorpat at that time, as it would indeed be difficult to understand why the testator did not allocate any legacy to his own monastic foundation. Perhaps only after recovering in the last years of his episcopal ministry did he decide to found the first female religious congregation in his diocese recognizing that he should develop a network of monasteries in his bishopric (previously there was only one monastery there, the Cistercian monks in Falkenau, founded in the early 1230s by the first Bishop of Dorpat, Hermann I von Buxhöveden). After almost half a century, it was time to found another religious institution.

As indicated above, Bishop Frederick supervised the development of trade in his domains, probably not only overseas, but almost certainly in Dorpat, too, the capital of his diocese. Perhaps these trade privileges prompted the Dorpat authorities either to donate or to sell some plots of land in the city in the vicinity of

⁷⁷ LECUB 1, no. 505 (n.d.) – “[...] consulibus civitatis Lubicensis [...] legata, quae dominus Fridericus, episcopus ecclesiae Tharbatensis pia recordationis, ante supremum vita suae exitum legasse noscitur fratribus praedicatoribus et monialibus in Revalia, super quibus et aliis publicum ab ipso est editum instrumentum, de bonis, quae apud vos reposuit, faciatis, cum ad vos praemissorum nuntii venerint, assignari [...]”.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, no. 503 (n.d.) – “[...] consulibus civitatis Lubicensis [...] omnes res seu bona a venerabili padre ac domino nostro, felicis memoriae Friderico Tharbatensi episcopo, relicta, ad nos et ecclesiam nostram [...] supplicamus, quatinus propter Deum et respectu iustitiae, eidem ecclesiae nostrae, quae multis undique tam paganorum quam Ruthenorum propulsatur insultibus, pia compassione condolentes, omnia in civitate vestra deposita, quae dicti domini Friderici, patris nostri, exstiterant, praefatae ecclesiae nostrae et nobis liberaliter remittere curetis [...]”.

the city walls to the bishop. Earlier research showed that the seat of the Dorpat Cistercian nuns was partly on the territory of the city patrimony and partly on the cathedral hill,⁷⁹ which proves the cooperation of church and city authorities in the creation of the first monastic foundation in Dorpat itself.

It should also be remembered that Bishop Frederick maintained amicable relations with many nunneries in the Holy Roman Empire, so the idea of supporting women's monasticism was close to him, and, hence, so was the decision to create a similar institution in the Dorpat diocese, the more so because such nunneries already existed in all other Livonian dioceses. The bishop was a wealthy man and willingly supported church institutions in his native Holstein; he also ensured the liturgical *memoria* of his ancestors. Perhaps the money that was intended to be brought to Livonia after his death was to be used to support or complete the foundation of the Cistercian nunnery in Dorpat. The nunneries in bishops' jurisdictions in Livonia fulfilled not only important obligations as seigneur toward the families of diocesan vassals, their existence was, in the opinion of contemporaries, of great importance for the work of salvation of the recently Christianized lands, because women's prayers contributed to lasting victories over pagans and schismatics (Ruthenians) to a similar extent as armed struggles. It must be remembered that Dorpat was only about 170 km from Ruthenian Pskov. The awareness of threats from foreign and not only religious but also ethnic entities existed throughout the Middle Ages, and nunneries were important elements of the Catholic *antemurale*.

It seems that the above-mentioned premises are insufficient to conclude that Bishop Frederick von Haseldorf was the founder of the convent of the Dorpat Cistercian nuns; hence, he should be seen as just the initiator of this undertaking, which, as evidenced by other examples from the area of Livonia (mainly the Cistercian nuns of Reval), sometimes extended over several decades.

⁷⁹ Cf. R. Otto, *Über die Dorpater Klöster...*, p. 67 – Tafel I; R. Czaja, "Miasta inflanckie i estońskie w XIII–XVI w.," in: *Inflanty w średniowieczu. Władztwa zakonu krzyżackiego i biskupów*, ed. M. Biskup, Toruń 2002, pp. 55–74, here p. 66.

List of Abbreviations

- KR *Kämmerei-Register der Stadt Riga 1348–1361 und 1405–1474*, hrsg. v. A von Bulmerincq, Leipzig 1909.
- LECUB 1 *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten*, 1. Abteilung, Bd. 1 (1093–1300), hrsg. v. F.G. von Bunge, Reval 1853
- LECUB 3 *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten*, 1. Abteilung, Bd. 3 (1368–1393), hrsg. v. F.G. von Bunge, Reval 1857
- LECUB 4 *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten*, 1. Abteilung, Bd. 4 (1394–1413), hrsg. v. F.G. von Bunge, Reval 1859
- LECUB 6 *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten*, 1. Abteilung, Bd. 6. Nachträge zu Bd. 1–5, hrsg. von F.G. von Bunge, Reval 1873
- LGU *Livländische Güterurkunden*, Bd. 1 (1207–1500), hrsg. v. H. Bruiningk, N. Busch, Riga 1908
- LUB *Lübeckisches Urkundenbuch*, 1. Abt., *Urkundenbuch des Stadt Lübeck*, 1. Th., Lübeck 1843
- MUB *Meklenburgisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 2, Schwerin 1864
- SHL *Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgische Regesten und Urkunden*, Bd. 2 (1250–1300), hrsg. v. P. Hasse, Hamburg–Leipzig 1888

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Streszczenie

Kto i kiedy zainicjował fundację klasztoru cysterek w Dorpacie?

Celem niniejszego artykułu była próba odpowiedzi na pytanie, kto i kiedy zainicjował fundację żeńskiego klasztoru cysterskiego w estońskiej diecezji dorpackiej. Nie ulega wątpliwości, że zakładanie klasztorów żeńskich nie było sprawą priorytetową w świeżo chrystianizowanych, słabo zaludnionych i peryferyjnych Inflantach. Pierwsze klasztory męskie na tych ziemiach powstały w pierwszej dekadzie XIII w., klasztory żeńskie – dopiero na początku drugiej połowy XIII w. Fundatorami wszystkich byli lokalni władcy terytorialni – król duński i inflanccy biskupi (ryski, dorpacki i ozylski). Należy więc uznać, że podobnie było w wypadku klasztoru cysterek dorpackich, i szukać

jego fundatora wśród dorpackich hierarchów. Wydaje się, że inicjatorem tej fundacji, która po raz pierwszy była wzmiankowana źródłowo dopiero w 1345 r., mógł być biskup dorpacki Frederick von Haseldorf, sprawujący tę godność w latach 1268 – ok. 1289. Sprzyjały temu stosunkowo długi czas jego pontyfikatu, potwierdzone źródłowo wcześniejsze zainteresowanie biskupa monastycyzmem kobiecym (jego rodzinny Holsztyn, Meklemburgia, Pomorze Zachodnie) oraz wysoka pozycja społeczna i majątkowa. Wydaje się, że zamiar fundacji powstał dopiero w ostatnich latach życia biskupa Fredericka von Haseldorfa i po jego śmierci przeznaczono na ten cel pieniądze sprowadzone przez dorpacką kapitułę katedralną ze Stralsundu, a stanowiące spuściznę po zmarłym biskupie. Samo powstanie klasztoru zapewne było rozciągnięte w czasie, podobnie jak w wypadku nieco lepiej oświetlonych źródłowo i wcześniejszych fundacji żeńskich klasztorów cysterek w Rydze i Rewalu, ale być może zaczął on funkcjonować jeszcze w XIII w. – zamykając okres chrystianizacji Inflant – do którego przynależały wszystkie fundacje cysterskie na terenie Dawnych Inflant.