



# MENDICANT ORDERS IN MEDIEVAL PRUSSIA AND LIVONIA: PASTORAL ACTIVITIES IN TOWNS

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## Abstract

The paper presents the general conditions in which the pastoral work of mendicant orders was conducted in the domains of the Teutonic Order and particular bishoprics in Prussia and Livonia, at the same time indicating similarities and differences in the situations in which friars had to work in these areas. The research focuses exclusively on pastoral work conducted among the urban population. The network of mendicant friaries in Prussia and Livonia was a reflection of the demographic potential and the degree of urbanisation of both parts of the domains of the Teutonic Order. The scale of effectiveness of the friars is authenticated by numerous references to prayer agreements concluded with members of religious orders and guilds of craftsmen, burials in friary churches (tombstones), and bequests of townspeople. The degree of success of mendicant orders and the support of the townspeople is confirmed in the partially preserved great hall-type churches erected by mendicants in the main towns (Gdańsk, Toruń, Tallinn, Riga).

Key words: mendicant orders, domains of the Teutonic Order, Prussia, Livonia, pastoral activities in towns.

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## Anotacija

Straipsnyje nagrinėjama elgetaujančiųjų ordinų sielovadinė veikla Vokiečių ordino valdomoje teritorijoje, ypatingą dėmesį skiriant vyskupijoms Prūsijoje ir Livonijoje, siekiant parodyti jų veiklos panašumus ir skirtumus, su kuriais vienuoliai susidurdavo skirtinguose veiklos arealuose. Tyrimas apsiriboja tik elgetaujančiųjų vienuolių pastoracine veikla tarp miestų gyventojų. Elgetaujančiųjų vienuolių vienuolynų tinklas Prūsijoje ir Livonijoje buvo demografinio potencialo ir krašto urbanizacijos atspindys abiejose Vokiečių ordino valdomose teritorijose. Vienuolių veikla gerai paliudyta religinio pobūdžio literatūroje, kurią naudojo miesto amatų cechų ir gildijų nariai, taip pat miestiečių antkapiuose tiek bažnyčiose, tiek ir šventoriuose, testamentuose, kuriais miestiečiai elgetaujantiems vienuoliams palikdavo savo turtą. Elgetaujančiųjų vienuolių sielovadinės veiklos sėkmę miestuose iš dalies rodo ir iki šių dienų išlikusios didelės jų globai pavestos bažnyčios stambiausiuose miestuose: Gdanske, Torunėje, Taline, Rygoje.

Pagrindiniai žodžiai: elgetaujantieji ordinai, Vokiečių ordino valdos, Prūsija, Livonija, sielovadinė veikla miestuose.

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The activities of mendicant orders in the Middle Ages is traditionally identified with pastoral work conducted in urban areas, mainly among the lower classes in the suburbs. This situation was typical of great European urban centres, where since the first half of the 13th century, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, and later the Augustinian Eremites and Carmelites, would carry out pastoral duties, thus supporting the already-existing network of urban parishes.<sup>1</sup> Still, what is important is that their pastoral message was also directed at people outside the area of a parish.

The friars who came to Prussia and Livonia found themselves in a different situation. At that time, the process of the Christianisation of the Baltic peoples was progressing, implemented alongside the creation of new settlements, which resulted in urbanisation, among other effects. Therefore, their duties extended far beyond the usual activities of mendicants in other areas. Not only did they supplement the sparse parish network, but with the agreement of the local bishops, they would organise missionary activities among the native rural population. What is interesting is that, even with the strengthening of Church structures over time, and with quite a developed structure of rural parishes appearing in Prussia and Livonia, their actions were not limited to the inhabitants of towns, and they still ministered to the rural population. We shall attempt to outline here the general conditions in which the pastoral work of mendicant orders was conducted in the domains of the Teutonic Order and particular bishoprics in Prussia and Livonia, at the same time as indicating similarities and differences in the situations in which friars had to work in these areas. We will focus exclusively on the pastoral work conducted among the urban population.

In order to present a general view of the situation in which the mendicant orders came to operate in these lands, it is first necessary to highlight the essential differences between the administrations in Prussia and in Livonia. In the former, the dominant position was held by the Teutonic Order, which in accordance with the decision of the papal legate Wilhelm of Modena on 28 July 1246, was to hold two thirds of the territories conquered in Prussia, while the remaining lands were to be handed over to the three dioceses created there: the Pomesanian, Warmian and Sambian dioceses. Simultaneously, Wilhelm decided to create in the region of

<sup>1</sup> WALZ, Angelus Maria. *Compendium historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum*. Romae, 1930, p. 160–166; HOLZAPFEL, Heriberto. *Manuale historiae ordinis fratrum minorum*. Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1909, p. 183–214; HINNEBUSCH, William A. *The History of the Dominican Order*. Vol. 1: *Origins and growth to 1500*. Staten Island, NY, 1966, pp. 119–139, 400–404; MOORMAN John. *A History of the Franciscan Order from its origins to the year 1517*. Oxford, 1968, pp. 216–225, 295–304; SMET, Joachim, DOBHAN, Ulrich. *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; ANDREWS, Frances. *The other friars. The Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages* (Monastic Orders, vol. 2). Woodbridge, 2006, pp. 23–29, 107–119.

Chełmno/Kulm a fourth diocese, the Chełmno diocese.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, after 1309, when the Teutonic Order subdued Gdańsk/Danzig Pomerania, it took control of most of the area, except for the endowments of the ducal period held at the time by the Cistercians in Oliwa/Oliva and Pelplin, the Cistercian nuns in Żarnowiec/Zarnowitz, the Norbertines in Żukowo/Zuckau, and the Joannites in Skarszewy/Schöneck (the lands of the latter were finally purchased whole by the Teutonic Order in 1370). Within the framework of the Church administration, most of the Gdańsk Pomeranian territories were part of the archdeaconry of the Włocławek bishopric, while the bishop owned nearly 40 villages in the area, as well as in the Kamień/Cammin bishopric and the Gniezno archbishopric.<sup>3</sup> This situation ensured the Teutonic Order could control the territories of Prussia, and influence heavily Church policy, even more so as in the 13th century it had managed to incorporate into its order three out of four diocesan chapters in the Chełmno region and in Prussia (Chełmno, Pomesania and Sambia), with the exception of the diocese of Warmia. Thus, the Order took control of the appointments of bishops in these dioceses, who afterwards would include members of the Teutonic Order.<sup>4</sup> The situation in Livonia, however, was different. There, an important but still not dominating position was held at first by the Livonian Order of Brothers of the Sword. However, due to their defeat at the hands of the Lithuanians at Šiauliai in 1236, the decision was made for all the remaining friars to be admitted to the rule of the Teutonic Order, which meant incorporating them into its structures. Thus, the Teutonic Order gained control of the territory belonging to the Livonian Order. They also later in 1346 bought the territory of Estonia (Haria and Vironia) from the King of Denmark. Consequently, its domains covered in total three fifths of all Livonian territory, whereas the remaining lands belonged to the Archbishop of Riga and the bishops of Courland, Tartu/Dorpat and Osilia. Still, the Bishop of Tallinn/Reval did not possess his own territorial governance, as his diocese lay within the lands purchased by the Teutonic Order from Denmark.<sup>5</sup> The Archbishop of Riga would play an important role in Livonia, as he supervised the dioceses in Livonia and Prussia, except for the diocese in Tallinn (subject to the metropolitan in Lund) and Gdańsk Pomerania (the metropolitan in Gniezno). In practice, Livonia constituted a sort of confederation of five small states, four of

<sup>2</sup> RADZIMIŃSKI, Andrzej. Podziały kościelne w Prusach. In *Zakon krzyżacki w Prusach i Inflantach. Podziały administracyjne i kościelne w XIII-XVI w.* (Dzieje Zakonu Niemieckiego, t. 2). Red. Roman CZAJA, Andrzej RADZIMIŃSKI. Toruń, 2013, s. 108–120.

<sup>3</sup> RADZIMIŃSKI, A. Podziały kościelne w Prusach..., s. 125.

<sup>4</sup> RADZIMIŃSKI, Andrzej. Fundacja i inkorporacja kapituły katedralnej w Chełmży oraz załamanie misji dominikańskiej w Prusach w połowie XIII w. *Zapiski Historyczne*, 1991, t. 56, z. 2–3, s. 7–24; RADZIMIŃSKI, Andrzej. Z dziejów kształtowania i organizacji kapituł krzyżackich. Inkorporacja pruskich kapituł katedralnych do zakonu krzyżackiego. In *Zakon krzyżacki a społeczeństwo państwa w Prusach* (Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, r. 86, z. 3). Red. Zenon Hubert NOWAK. Toruń, 1995, s. 123–135.

<sup>5</sup> BISKUP, Marian. Władztwa terytorialne w średniowiecznych Inflantach i ich granice. In *Zakon krzyżacki w Prusach i Inflantach...*, s. 159–160; RADZIMIŃSKI, Andrzej. Podziały kościelne Inflant. In *Zakon krzyżacki w Prusach i Inflantach...*, s. 241–263.

them belonging to bishops, and the largest one to the Teutonic Order. Nevertheless, the Order would never achieve such a dominating position as it had in Prussia.

## Colonisation and urbanisation versus the friary network in Prussia and Livonia

The conditions under which mendicant orders in Prussia and Livonia worked were influenced mostly, alongside the Church structures there (the bishops, the Teutonic Order and monastic orders), by the ethnic structure of the settlements and the urban structure which constituted the somewhat natural habitat of their activity. Essential differences existed both in the former and in the latter. In their domains in Prussia, the Teutonic Order and the local bishops developed intense rural colonisation, and brought in German settlers, which allowed for the location of over 1,000 tenant villages based on Chełmno rights before 1410 in Prussia alone, not counting those in Gdańsk Pomerania. In the whole domain, there were also 93 towns, 76 of them in Prussia alone, without Gdańsk Pomerania.<sup>6</sup> One permanent effect was also a change in ethnic relations, so that in the whole state, the German population constituted at the beginning of the 15th century circa 40% (200,000) of the whole population, mostly inhabiting towns and the western part of Prussia proper. Around 30% of the remaining population was of Polish origin, living mostly in Gdańsk Pomerania and in the Chełmno region, and 30% was of Prussian origin, living in the villages of the eastern part of Prussia proper (140,000 each).<sup>7</sup> Therefore, it is not surprising that Dominican preachers in Chełmno, Toruń/Thorn, Tczew/Dirschau and Gdańsk preached their sermons in German and Polish.<sup>8</sup> A similar situation existed with the Franciscans in Gdańsk, and probably other monasteries of the order in Gdańsk Pomerania and the Chełmno region.<sup>9</sup> In Dominican friaries in Prussia, there were also friars of local Prussian origin. They would most likely work as collectors, and preached to Prussians in rural areas in the catchment areas of particular convents (in Pomesania,

<sup>6</sup> WEBER, Lotar. *Preussen vor 500 Jahren in kulturhistorischer, statistischer und militairischer Beziehung nebst Special-Geographie*. Danzig, 1878, S. 318; ERLÉN, Peter. *Europäischer Landesausbau und mittelalterliche deutsche Ostsiedlung. Ein struktureller Vergleich zwischen Südwestfrankreich, den Niederlanden und dem Ordensland Preussen* (Historische und Landeskundliche Ostmitteleuropa-Studien, Bd. 9). Marburg an der Lahn, 1992, S. 4, 164–167.

<sup>7</sup> BISKUP, Marian. Das Problem der ethnischen Zugehörigkeit im mittelalterlichen Landesausbau in Preussen. Zum Stand der Forschung. *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands*, 1991, Bd. 40, S. 13.

<sup>8</sup> KUBICKI, Rafał. *Środowisko dominikanów kontraty pruskiej od XIII do połowy XVI wieku*. Gdańsk, 2007, s. 141–142.

<sup>9</sup> HIRSCH, Theodor. *Die Ober-Pfarrkirche von St. Marien in Danzig in ihren Denkmälern und in ihren Beziehungen zum kirchlichen Leben Danzigs überhaupt dargestellt*. Theil 1. Danzig, 1843, S. 214, Anmerkung 2.

Warmia and Sambia<sup>10</sup>). The case may have been similar with the local Franciscan and Augustinian Eremite friars.

The conditions in which mendicants in Livonia operated were slightly different. Peasant colonisation with a Germanic element had not developed on a large scale there, but was concentrated exclusively in towns. This meant that rural areas were dominated by the native population: Estonians in the north in Estonia (Haria, Vironia), Livs in the mid-western part (Livland), and Latvians in the south and southeast part of the domain (Courland, Semigallia and Latgalia). Due to this fact, not only were mendicants in Livonia heavily engaged in pastoral activities directed at the German townsfolk, but they also specifically addressed the local population in their native language, for example, the Dominicans to the Estonians in Tallinn, Tartu and Narva/Narwa.<sup>11</sup> In all of Livonia, only 19 towns were developed in total, including ten towns in areas belonging to the Teutonic Order, and nine owned by bishops. The majority of them were located in Estonia (nine), Livonia (five) and Courland (four); there were none, however, in Semigallia,<sup>12</sup> a land on the border with Lithuania. The various populations of Prussia and Livonia were reflected not only in the degree of urbanisation, but also in the network of parishes. In Prussia in the Middle Ages, there were 948 parishes altogether, including 97 urban and 851 rural parishes. They were most numerous in the Warmian (286) and Pomesanian dioceses (267), and much fewer in the Sambian diocese located in the northeast (49, including five urban ones).<sup>13</sup> At that time in Livonia, there were only 180 parishes, with 41 of them in the sole Tartu diocese (including six urban ones).<sup>14</sup>

All of this, of course, had an influence on the conditions in which mendicant orders came to operate. The Dominicans arrived first in the area, and with the duke's support built a monastery in Gdańsk in 1227. Later Dominican and Franciscan friaries, however, were founded by the Teutonic Order in the territories they conquered in Prussia. In the process of strengthening their authority, the Order would also locate the first towns where monasteries were built by the preaching friars. In the 1230s, there were Dominicans in Chełmno (1233-1236) and Elbląg/Elbing (1239), and afterwards also Franciscans in Toruń (1239) and Chełmno (1258). By the end of the

<sup>10</sup> KUBICKI, Rafał. Remarks on the Process of Institutionalisation of Mendicant Orders and their Role in Pastoral Work based on the Example of the Dominion of the Teutonic Order in Prussia from the 13th to the Beginning of the 16th Century. In *Mobility in the Eastern Baltics (15th–17th Centuries)* (Acta Historica Universitatis Klaipedensis, vol. XXIX). Ed. by Dainius ELERTAS. Klaipėda, 2014, pp. 24–25.

<sup>11</sup> WALTHER-WITTENHEIM, Gertrud, von. *Die Dominikaner in Livland im Mittelalter. Die natio Livoniae* (Institutum Historicum FF. Praedicatorum Romae. Dissertationes historicae, fasc. IX). Romae, 1938, S. 104.

<sup>12</sup> CZAJA, Roman. Miasta Inflanckie w XIII-XVI wieku. In *Zakon krzyżacki w Prusach i Inflantach...*, s. 219.

<sup>13</sup> BISKUP, Marian. Parafie w państwie krzyżackim. In *Zakon krzyżacki w Prusach i Inflantach...*, s. 146.

<sup>14</sup> JÄHNIG, Bernhart. *Verfassung und Verwaltung des Deutschen Ordens und seiner Herrschaft in Livland* (Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission, Bd. 16). Berlin, 2011, S. 113–114; RADZIMIŃSKI, A. Podziały kościelne Inflant..., s. 267–268.

13th century in Prussia and Gdańsk Pomerania, incorporated in 1308 by the Teutonic Order, further friaries of both orders would appear: the Dominicans in Toruń (1263, founded by the Teutonic Order), in Tczew/Dirschau (1289, founded by the Dukes of Pomerania), and the Franciscans in Nowe/Neuenburg on the River Vistula (1282, founded by the Dukes of Pomerania). Thanks to the Bishop of Warmia, the Franciscans would also settle in Braniewo/Braunsberg (1296).<sup>15</sup> The next phase of foundations of mendicant friaries took place in the 14th century, together with rural colonisation and the location of towns deep in the Prussian interior. The Franciscans would gain new friaries at that time. In 1349, at the initiative of the Teutonic Order, the Franciscan friary in Znamensk/Wehlau was founded, and in 1364 another house of the Friars Minor in Barczewo/Wartenburg was founded by the Bishop of Warmia.<sup>16</sup> At the decision of the Bishop of Warmia, members of a third mendicant order appeared in Prussia, namely the Augustinian Eremites. Their friary was founded in 1347 in Reszel/Rössel. Following the bishop's example, the Teutonic Order soon also founded two more Augustinian friaries in Chojnice/Konitz, in the southwest of Gdańsk Pomerania (1356), and in the small town of Mamonovo/Heiligenbeil, east of Braniewo/Braunsberg.<sup>17</sup> Mendicant friaries in Prussia were founded in later periods as well. Before 1391, in the Young Town in Gdańsk, the Teutonic Order founded a Carmelite friary,<sup>18</sup> also considered a mendicant convent. Moreover, due to its long-term plans for expansion towards Lithuania, and the attempt to conquer Samogitia, the Teutonic Order was aiming at establishing new mendicant friaries in the eastern part of the state. Consequently, around the year 1400, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order supported the foundation of an Augustinian friary in the Patollen estates, halfway between Braniewo/Braunsberg and Znamensk/Wehlau, whose actual initiator was the local knight Peter Nagel.<sup>19</sup> At that time, the Teutonic Order was also planning to found several more friaries of mendicant orders, which were to participate in the process of Christianisation in the part of Samogitia that was already controlled. That was when the idea of founding a Dominican friary in Lithuania by the Prussian friars came up. Although it never materialised, the Teutonic Order still supported the foundation of a new Dominican friary in Nordenburg, in the east of the domain. The foundation was established around 1407.<sup>20</sup> There were further plans

<sup>15</sup> ROTH, Werner. *Die Dominikaner und Franziskaner im Deutsch-Ordensland Preußen bis zum Jahre 1466*. Inaugural-Dissertation. Königsberg, 1918, S. 61–85, 126–143; NIEDERMEIER, Hans. *Die Franziskaner in Preussen, Livland und Litauen im Mittelalter*. *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, 1978, Jhg. 27, Hf. 1, S. 5–9.

<sup>16</sup> ROTH, W. Op. cit., S. 144.

<sup>17</sup> General data on the subject of Augustinian foundations in the area was compiled by KUNZELMANN, Adalbero. *Geschichte der deutschen Augustiner-Eremiten*. Teil 5: *Die sächsisch-thüringische Provinz und die sächsische Reformkongregation bis zum Untergang der beiden*. Würzburg, 1974, S. 271–272, 276–282, 288–290, 300–305.

<sup>18</sup> DONNER, Gustav Adolf. St. Erich in Danzig. *Mitteilungen des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins*, 1930, Bd. 29, Nr. 3, S. 39–47.

<sup>19</sup> KUBICKI, R. Remarks..., pp. 19–20.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22–23.

for foundations, which can be confirmed by the fact that in 1409 the grand master Ulrich von Jungingen granted lands for building new Franciscan friaries in Neman/Ragnit and Klaipeda/Memel.<sup>21</sup> The outbreak of a new uprising in Samogitia in 1409, and, most of all, the defeat in the war against Poland and Lithuania in the following year, resulted in giving up the planned foundations. The political reasons for the foundations are indicated by the fact that the already-established Dominican friary in Krylowo/Nordenburg would later seriously struggle to accommodate. Due to the lack of social support and the limited possibilities for collecting alms, in 1428, at the request of the friars, the friary moved westwards to the town of Zheleznodorozhny/Gerdauen.<sup>22</sup> The source of the problems was not only the fiasco of the further expansion of the Teutonic Order in Samogitia, but also the general crisis in the state and the halting of colonisation in the east, already visible since the end of the 14th century, which deepened more after 1410. In the first half of the 15th century, only one more mendicant friary was established in Prussia, the Franciscan foundation in Gdańsk (1419). The further development of mendicant friaries in these lands went on after 1466, in a completely changed political situation. As a result of the second Treaty of Toruń (1466), the Teutonic Order lost Gdańsk Pomerania, the Chełmno region, Malbork/Marienborg, Elbląg and Warmia. As a consequence, only two Augustinian Eremite friaries remained within its domains (Patollen, Mamonovo/Heiligenbeil), and one Dominican friary (Zheleznodorozhny/Gerdauen). The Franciscan friary in war-stricken Znamensk/Wehlau would remain abandoned. An interesting fact is that already during the Thirteen Year War (1454-1466), the King of Poland had undertaken to establish a new Carmelite friary in Kętrzyn/Rastenburg in the lands of the Teutonic Order that he controlled in Prussia. The foundation there would not last, but still in 1467, the chapter of the Czech-Polish province established a friary there. The friars from Kętrzyn/Rastenburg moved first to Dzierzgoń/Christburg (1485), and later to Prabuty/Riesenburg (1489-1495), but eventually they would not last in any of the centres there, and were left with only one friary in Gdańsk.<sup>23</sup> However, the failed Carmelite foundations did not mean stopping the further development of the network of mendicant friaries in these lands. A new impulse was caused by the internal reforms conducted at the time in the Franciscan friary. Supporters of a stricter rule (the Observants) took over the longstanding Franciscan friary in Riga. The centre promoted groups of friars to establish new friaries in the Teutonic Order's Prussian lands, as well as in Royal Prussia. The first was built at Znamensk/We-

<sup>21</sup> LEMMENS, Leonhard. Aus der Geschichte der deutschen Franziskaner im Ordenslande Preußen. *Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn*, 1912, Bd. 20, S. 62; ROTH, W. Op. cit., S. 103; NIEDERMEIER, H. Op. cit., S. 15.

<sup>22</sup> KUBICKI, Rafał. Dominikanie w Nordenborku i Gierdawach w XV – początkach XVI wieku. *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie*, 2012, nr. 2 (276), s. 227-242.

<sup>23</sup> Index fundationum monasteriorum provinciae Polonae Carmelitarum Antiquae Regularis Observantiae, Anno 1676. *Archiwum klasztoru o karmelitów w Krakowie na Piasku* (The Priory of Carmelite Friars in Cracow 'Na Piasku'. The Archive of the Province and Prior), sygn. 92/682, s. 41-43.

hlau (it later moved to Kaliningrad/Königsberg), but an abandoned Franciscan friary stood in the town. The Observants set up new foundations consecutively in Zalewo/Saalfeld (1480), Sovetsk/Tilsit (1515) and Kaliningrad/Königsberg (1517). The dynamic development of their structures also included the territories lost by the Teutonic Order after 1466. New friaries appeared in Lębork/Lauenburg (before 1492) and Lubawa/Löbau (1502<sup>24</sup>). Thus, in total, before the Reformation, in the Prussian lands of the Teutonic Order and Royal Prussia (after 1466), the following friaries were established and functioned: seven Franciscan friaries, six Dominican friaries, five Franciscan Observant friaries, four Augustinian Eremite friaries, and one Carmelite friary; 23 mendicant friaries altogether.<sup>25</sup>

Mendicant friaries were also founded at that time in Livonia, although in smaller numbers. Still, only the Franciscan Observants and the Dominicans had outposts there at the end of the Middle Ages. The first Dominican friary was established in 1234 in Riga. Several years later, a Franciscan friary was set up (1238),<sup>26</sup> for a long time the only one in Livonia. The network of Dominican convents was to develop faster in these lands, though. At a Danish initiative, a friary was founded in Tallinn (the first in 1229, and another in 1246), in the part of Estonia they controlled.<sup>27</sup> Another Dominican friary was founded shortly before 1300 in Tartu, probably an initiative by the friars from Riga.<sup>28</sup> A new impulse for developing the network of mendicant friaries in Livonia was brought by the aforementioned takeover of the Franciscan friary in Riga by the Observants in 1463. Soon, thanks to the support of Pope Paul II, new Observant friaries appeared in Tartu, Viljandi/Fellin and Limbaži/Lemsal (between 1466 and 1472), which, together with the one in Riga, created a new network of Observants in Livonia. Further Observant friaries were established in Aizpute/Hasenpoth, Koknese/Kokenhusen and Rakvere/Wesenberg (between 1484 and 1502).<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Urkundenbuch der alten sächsischen Franziskanerprovinzen*. Bd. I: *Die Observantenkustodie Livland und Preussen*. Hrsg. von Leonhard LEMMENS. Düsseldorf, 1912 (hereafter, *USF* I), S. 8–9; LEMMENS, Leonhard. *Die Franziskanerkustodie Livland und Preussen. Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte der Gebiete des Deutschen Ordens*. Düsseldorf, 1912, S. 6–7, 18–33; SARNOWSKY, Jürgen. Dominikaner und Franziskaner im Ordensland Preußen. In *Franciscan Organisation in the Mendicant Context. Formal and informal structures of the friars' lives and ministry in the Middle Ages* (Vita Regularis. Ordnungen und Deutungen Religiösen Lebens im Mittelalter, Bd. 44). Ed. by Michael ROBSON, Jens RÖHRKASTEN. Berlin, 2010, S. 56.

<sup>25</sup> KUBICKI, Rafał. Die Rolle der Bettelorden im Ordensland Preußen. In *Cura animarum. Seelsorge im Deutschordensland Preußen* (Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands, Bd. 45). Hrsg. von Stefan SAMERSKI. Köln, Weimar, Wien, 2013, S. 74–91. The mendicant friary network in Royal Prussia and the Teutonic State in Prussia in the late 15th and early 16th century is presented in figure 1.

<sup>26</sup> NIEDERMEIER, H. Op. cit., S. 19; JÄHNIG, B. Op. cit., S. 101.

<sup>27</sup> A new monograph on the friary has lately been created in Estonia, see KALA, Tiina. *Jutlustajad ja hingede päästjad: Dominiiklaste ordu ja Tallinna Püha Katariina Konvent*. Tallinn, 2013.

<sup>28</sup> OTTO, Richard. *Ueber die Dorpater Klöster und ihre Kirchen* (Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft, Bd. XXII, Hf. 2). Dorpat, 1910, S. 48–65; WALTHER-WITTENHEIM, G. von. Op. cit., S. 6–13.

<sup>29</sup> BRUININGK, Hermann von. Die Franziskanerklöster zu Lemsal und Kokenhusen. In *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands aus dem Jahre 1905*.



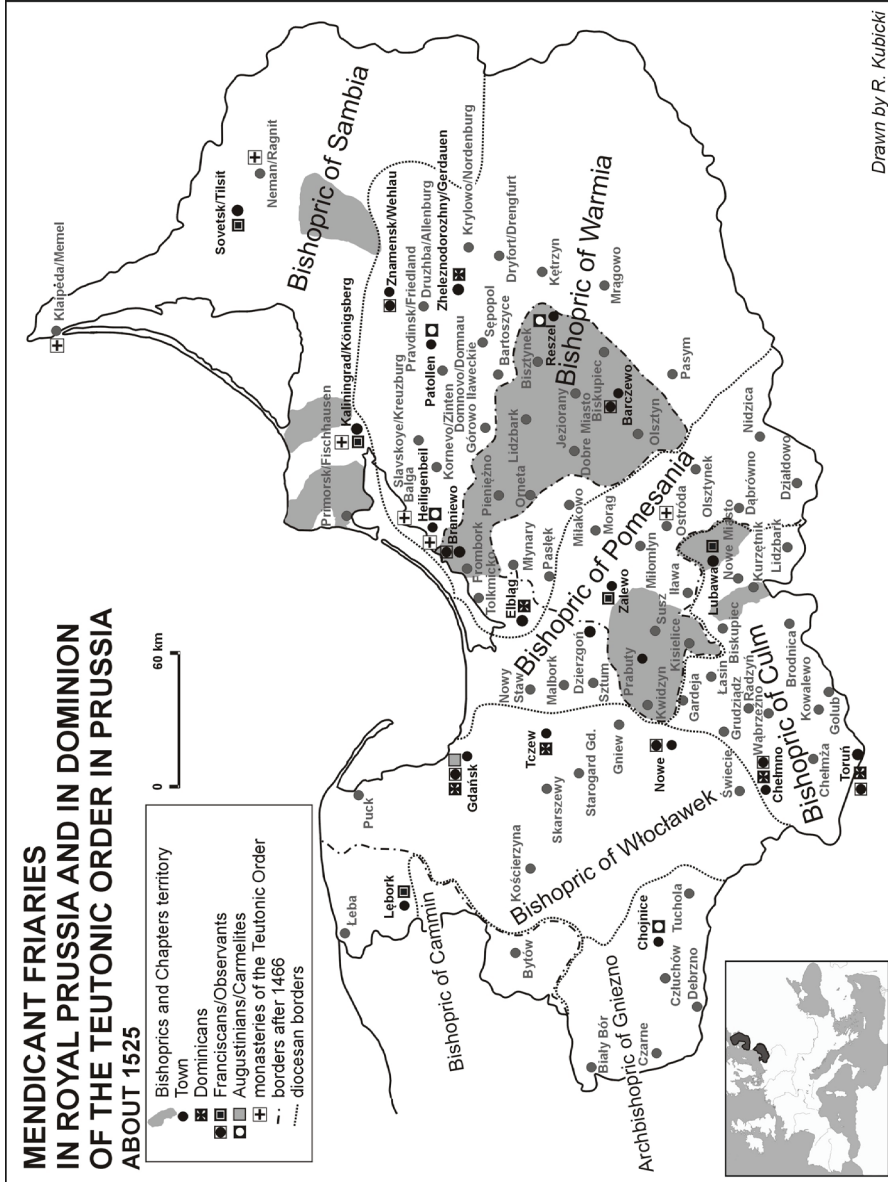


Fig. 1. Mendicant friaries in Royal Prussia and in dominion of the Teutonic Order in Prussia around 1525. Map by Rafat Kubicki

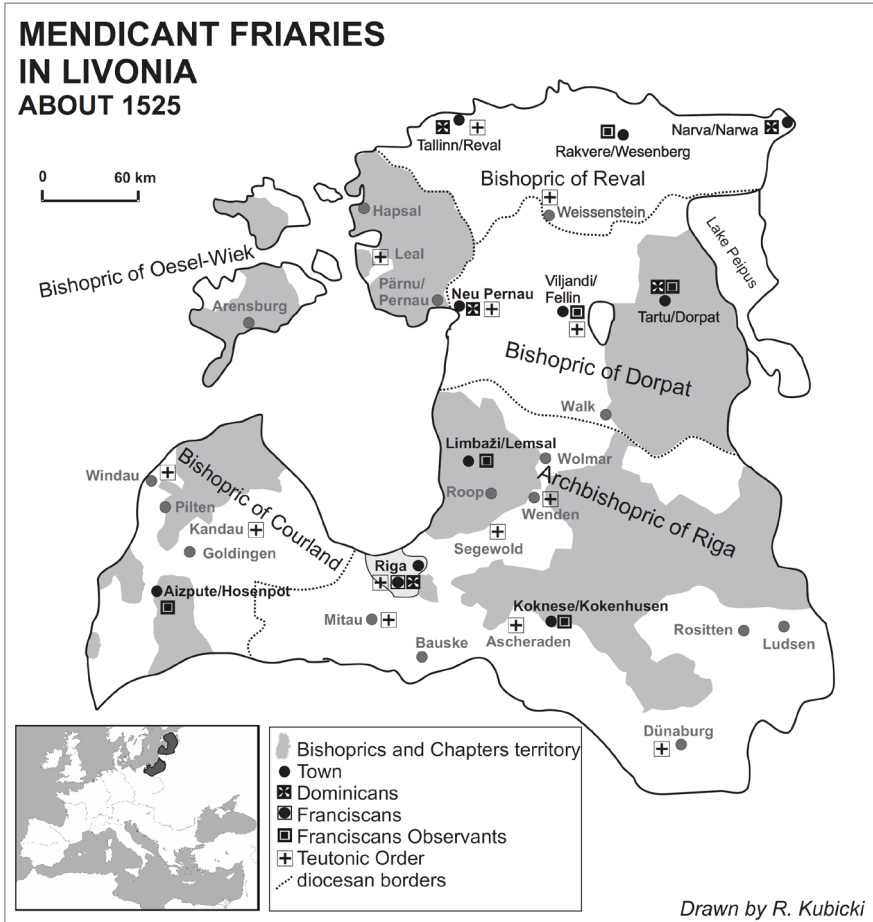


Fig. 2. Mendicant friaries in Livonia around 1525. Map by Rafał Kubicki

Also, the Dominicans attempted to create two new friaries using already-existing bases of the order that had been collecting alms there. A friary in Pärnu/Neu Pernau was established in the area of the Teutonic Order's domains, which was to be accepted into the structures of the Dominican Order at the general chapter in Milan in 1505. However, due to strong objections by the town authorities, the friary soon ceased to exist. The second, and at the same time the last, Dominican foundation was in Narva/Narwa in 1520. The friars had earlier owned a chapel, probably located in the quarters of the Order in that part of Estonia.<sup>30</sup> Thus, in total, at the beginning

Rīga, 1906, S. 18–37; LEMMENS, L. *Die Franziskanerkustodie...*, S. 20–23; NIEDERMEIER, H. *Op. cit.*, S. 20; JÄHNIG, B. *Op. cit.*, S. 104.

<sup>30</sup> WALTHER-WITTENHEIM, G., von. *Op. cit.*, S. 14–15; JÄHNIG, B. *Op. cit.*, S. 104; RADZIMIŃSKI, A. *Podziały kościelne Inflant...*, s. 32.

of the Reformation, there were 11 mendicant friaries in Livonia (four Dominican and seven Observant).<sup>31</sup> This number may be increased by adding female convents abiding by the rule of the Franciscan Third Order (Riga, Tartu). It is an interesting fact that, unlike Prussia, the mendicant friaries in Livonia were first of all established in areas controlled by the local bishops. Only five friaries were set up in the domains of the Teutonic Order (Viljandi/Fellin, Rakvere/Wesenberg, Pärnu/Neu Pernau, Narva/Narwa, Tallinn, the last of these under the rule of the Danes), whereas in Prussia foundations by the Teutonic Order dominated (19), as the founding of friaries in the bishops' areas occurred in only four instances (Braniewo/Braunsberg, Reszel/Rössel, Barczewo/Wartenburg and Lubawa/Löbau).

Apart from the founder, the provincial affiliation of particular friaries was an important factor. The Dominicans in Prussia belonged to the Polish province of the order (they constituted a separate Prussian contract), the Franciscans to the Saxon province (a separate Prussian network, but their first two friaries in Chełmno and Toruń in the 13th century belonged to the Czech-Polish province), the Carmelites at the end of the Middle Ages to the Czech-Polish province, the Augustinian Eremites to the Saxon-Thuringian province (Prussian district), whereas the Franciscan Observants, and their friaries in Livonia, constituted one Livonian-Prussian custody.<sup>32</sup> In the case of the Dominicans in Livonia, they belonged to different provinces: the friaries in Riga and Tartu to the Saxon province, and the one in Tallinn periodically to the Danish or Saxon province.<sup>33</sup>

## Mendicants in the urban milieu

The conditions which prevailed in particular urban centres naturally had a major influence on the everyday functioning of friaries. It is commonly believed that the Dominicans, unlike the Franciscans, tried to form congregations in the biggest towns, where they would organise large and strong monastic houses. This observation is partially confirmed in the cases of Prussia and Livonia. The Dominicans settled there in three major urban centres, which at the end of the Middle Ages each had a population of over 10,000: Gdańsk (35,000), Toruń (12,000) and Elbląg (10,000). All

<sup>31</sup> The mendicant friary network in Livonia in the early 16th century is presented in figure 2.

<sup>32</sup> KUBICKI, R. *Środowisko...*, s. 29–35; *USF* I, S. 9. The different provincial affiliation of Dominicans and Franciscans in Prussia, and thus their different relations with the Teutonic Order, was indicated by ROTH, W. *Op. cit.*, S. 13–21, 99–105; SARNOWSKY, J. *Op. cit.*, S. 58; ZONENBERG, Sławomir. *Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Deutschen Orden und den Franziskanern in Preußen bis zum Jahre 1466. In Leben zwischen und mit den Kulturen. Studien zu Recht, Bildung und Herrschaft in Mitteleuropa* (Studienreihe der Polnischen Historischen Mission, Bd. 2). Hrsg. von Renata SKOWROŃSKA, Helmut FLACHENECKER. Toruń, 2015, S. 69–113.

<sup>33</sup> WALTHER-WITTENHEIM, G., *von. Op. cit.*, S. 19–20.

the other friaries were in smaller towns: Chełmno (2,000), Tczew/Dirschau (1,000) and Zheleznodorozhny/Gerdauen (under 1,000);<sup>34</sup> whereas the Franciscans set up in large towns (Toruń, Gdańsk), medium-sized centres (Chełmno, Braniewo/Braunsberg) and very small settlements (Nowe/Neuenburg, Znamensk/Wehlau, Barczewo/Wartenburg). The Augustinian Eremites conducted their ministry in small provincial towns (Chojnice/Konitz, Reszel/Rössel, Mamonovo/Heiligenbeil and Patollen knightly estates). Only one friary was set up by the Carmelites, although they were able to do so in a large town (Gdańsk), as attempts to establish congregations in the smaller towns were unsuccessful (Kętrzyn/Rastenburg, Dzierzgoń/Christburg, Prabuty/Riesenburg). The Observants, in turn, set up in smaller towns (Zalewo/Saalfeld, Łębork/Lauenburg, Lubawa/Löbau, Sovetsk/Tilsit), but they managed eventually to settle in Kaliningrad/Königsberg, which also counted among the larger towns. At the same time in Livonia, the Dominicans settled in the three largest towns, Riga (12,000 inhabitants), Tallinn (6,500) and Tartu (5,000), and later also in the smaller settlements of Pärnu/Neu Pernau (around 1,000), and Narva/Narwa (600 to 700).<sup>35</sup> The Observants, apart from the great towns such as Riga (initially a Franciscan foundation) and Tartu, used to operate mainly in small towns, although they also tried unsuccessfully to set up a friary in Tallinn.<sup>36</sup> What is important is the fact that Livonian towns were different to Prussian ones in terms of relations, due to their ethnic composition, with considerable non-Germanic populations inhabiting them. In Riga itself, apart from the Germans, making up half the population, Livs and Latvians also lived there. In Tallinn, in the first half of the 16th century, Germans made up 40% of the population, Estonians 41%, and Swedes 19%; whereas in Narva, Germans made up no more than 20% of the population. The large towns of Riga, Tallinn and Tartu, as well as Narva/Narwa and other centres, were also inhabited by Russians.<sup>37</sup> In the towns of Gdańsk Pomerania and the Chełmno region, the Polish population would play a major role, whereas in Prussia proper the Prussians did too, but they did not enjoy as strong a position in almost any towns as much as the natives in Livonia did. The economic power of particular towns is indicated indirectly by the fact that it was only in Gdańsk that three mendicant friaries functioned at the same time, with two permanent ones in Toruń, Chełmno, Riga and Tartu, and temporarily in the small town of Znamensk/Wehlau.

<sup>34</sup> For estimated data for the year 1500, see BOGUCKA, Maria; SAMSONOWICZ, Henryk. *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*. Wrocław, 1986, s. 116, 120.

<sup>35</sup> CZAJA, R. *Miasta Inflanckie...*, s. 235–236. According to other estimates, just before the Reformation, the population of Riga was assessed at 8,000, of Tartu at 6,000, and of Tallinn at 4,000, see WALTHER-WITTENHEIM, G. von. *Op. cit.*, S. 21.

<sup>36</sup> It was met with refusal from the town authorities, *USFI*, Nr. 120, S. 34; Nr. 158–159, S. 41 (from the years 1490 and 1506).

<sup>37</sup> CZAJA, R. *Miasta Inflanckie...*, s. 236.

All of this had a certain impact on the mode of operation of friaries in individual urban centres and the rural catchment areas for alms belonging to them. Due to the very method of operation and funding of mendicant congregations, the friaries had to create very close and permanent bonds with members of urban communities, which would give them the possibility to maintain themselves. Assembling the many faithful followers in churches, and the numerous liturgical services conducted for them, were opportunities for the townsfolk's generosity, which would usually take the form of contracts concluded with members of religious brotherhoods or guilds of craftsmen, as well as individual legacies.<sup>38</sup> Building large monastery churches was a visible effect of the efficiency of the work of friars. They would stand out from other buildings by their size, often standing out from the whole town, which can be confirmed in the instance of the Dominican Church of St Catherine in Tallinn, which was the biggest structure in the town.<sup>39</sup> In Prussia, great churches were built by the mendicant orders too (especially the Franciscans in Gdańsk and Toruń).<sup>40</sup>

An important source of maintenance for friaries was the burial of members of the town elites in churches, which can be proven even today by the partially preserved tombstones. A similar case applies to chapels, where members of religious brotherhoods were buried. Mendicants would guarantee to sign the names of the townsfolk in the friary book connected with the promise of remembering them in their prayers. There was a possibility of funding a perpetual Mass, as well as acceptance into the order and permission to participate in all the spiritual assets that stemmed from the prayers of the convent (*participationem omnium bonorum*).<sup>41</sup> This is noted in preserved documents drawn up to order by particular friaries represented by priors and guardians, vicars or representatives of the provincial authorities of a congregation, which guaranteed their share of the benefits coming from the prayers of a friary, a province, or even the whole order. These contracts were also concluded between friaries and private persons.<sup>42</sup> Confirmation of contacts with guilds of craftsmen and brotherhoods is found in the form of the aforementioned contracts of acceptance to participate in all the spiritual assets of a friary,

<sup>38</sup> KUBICKI, Rafał. Sources for the history of mendicant economy in Royal Prussia from the 15<sup>th</sup> till the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. *Hereditas Monasteriorum*, 2013, vol. 3, pp. 60–61.

<sup>39</sup> On the subject of the Church in Tallinn, see HANSEN, Gotthard von. *Die Kirchen und ehemaligen Klöster Revals*. Reval, 1873, S. 64–96; KÜHNERT, Ernst. Das Dominikanerkloster zu Reval. *Beiträge zur Kunde Estlands*, 1926–27, Bd. XII, Hf. 1–3, S. 13. On the mendicant churches in Riga, see NEUMANN, Wilhelm. *Das mittelalterliche Riga. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der norddeutschen Baukunst*. Berlin, 1892, S. 28–30, 41–44.

<sup>40</sup> SCHMIDT, Peter. *Die St. Trinitatis-Kirche zu Danzig nach Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*. Danzig, 1901, S. 44–47; *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Westpreussen*, Heft VI–VII: *Der Kreis Thorn*. Danzig, 1889, S. 267–291.

<sup>41</sup> On the subject of practices in Prussia, see KUBICKI, Rafał. *Participationem omnium bonorum*. Forma i znaczenie przyjęcia do udziału w dobrach duchowych zakonu na przykładzie mendikantów w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach. *Nasza Przyszłość*, 2009, t. 112, s. 55–86.

<sup>42</sup> *USFI*, Nr. 115–118, S. 34; Nr. 202, S. 48.

issued to individual people, guilds of craftsmen and brotherhoods.<sup>43</sup> Particularly close contacts were established by the mendicants with the guild of butchers. The guild concluded contracts with the local Dominicans in Gdańsk (1357) and the Franciscans of Prussia even before the latter established a friary in the town (1381). In Elbląg, the Dominicans drew up such contracts with the guilds of Vistula transport carriers (1382, 1444), fishermen (1409) and bakers (1499). In Toruń, the Dominicans concluded agreements with skippers (16th century), fishermen (1401) and furriers (before 1392). The bakers in Kętrzyn/Rastenburg, in turn, made agreements with the Franciscans from Znamensk/Wehlau (1433), and in Elbląg with the local Dominicans (1499). In Toruń, the clothiers did so with the Dominicans (1470) and in Gdańsk also the brewers and maltsters with the local Dominicans and a distant friary of Augustinian Eremites in Chojnice/Konitz (both in 1480). Next, the Franciscans in Gdańsk did so with the guild of cup and bucket producers (1495), and the Franciscans in Toruń with a religious brotherhood comprising leather producers, glovers and purse makers (1366), as well as with fishermen (1501). Moreover, the Dominican convent in Gdańsk concluded an agreement with the brotherhood of priests and the brotherhood of sailors (1386), as well as with the members of the Dutch board and the Lübeck board of the Artus Court (1492). There is a clear domination of craftsmen's corporations visible here, usually those of lesser importance, but there are also some considered to be wealthy, such as the brewers, and even members of the authorities (the Dutch and the Lübeck boards in Gdańsk). Within the framework of the agreements concluded, particular brotherhoods received not only a guarantee of participation in the spiritual benefits of friaries, but sometimes also the right to have their own chapels or altars in friary churches. In the years 1438 and 1439, in the Franciscan church in Braniewo/Braunsberg, an altar of 10,000 knights was built. The altars in the Dominican church in Elbląg were owned by the fishmongers' guild, skippers, bricklayers and perhaps also maltsters and cobblers. In the Dominican church in Toruń, it was the clothiers and the brotherhood of furriers, and in the Dominican church in Gdańsk, chapels belonged to the Dutch and Lübeck boards, and before them to members of the Teutonic Order from the local castle friary. A similar case was true in the mendicant friaries in Livonia. In the Dominican church in Tallinn, a tombstone was funded by merchants from Cologne in 1470, in a part where members of their organisation would probably be buried.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup> On the compilation and complete documentation of preserved sources, see KUBICKI, R. *Participationem...*, s. 64–70, 79–80; KUBICKI, Rafał. Dwa nieznanne źródła dotyczące kontaktów konwentu augustianów w Chojnicach z Gdańskiem z 1480 i 1500 r. *Zeszyty Chojnickie*, 2015, nr. 31, s. 161–168. About the brotherhoods, see CZARCIŃSKI, Ireneusz. *Bractwa w wielkich miastach państwa krzyżackiego w średniowieczu*. Toruń, 1993.

<sup>44</sup> This and 15 other tombstones from the former Church of St Catherine in Tallinn were described by NOTTBECK, Eugen, von; NEUMANN, Wilhelm. *Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Reval*. Lfg. 2: *Kirchliche Kunst. Die Grabsteine Revals*. Reval, 1899, S. 174–180 (tombstone of merchants from Cologne, S. 177, Nr. 9); KÜHNERT, E. *Das Dominikanerkloster...*, S. 37–39; KALA, T. Op. cit., S. 96–104.

A private altar there also belonged to the town council and the Blackhead brotherhood (in German *Schwarzhäupter*) bringing together foreign merchants.<sup>45</sup> The friary would also receive support from brotherhoods and guilds connected with them: the brotherhoods of St Olaf and St Job, the guilds of St Luke, goldsmiths, barbers and council servants (in German *Ratsdiener*).<sup>46</sup> The friaries also had contacts with craftsmen by ordering numerous jobs from them, which is confirmed by a well-documented instance of the Dominican friary in Tallinn.<sup>47</sup> Foundations by vicariates would also provide considerable earnings for the friaries, noted by the Dominicans in Gdańsk (1446),<sup>48</sup> Tallinn (1386) and Riga (1392).<sup>49</sup>

Certain data on the subject of the way townsfolk perceived the role of mendicants is shown by dispositions contained in their wills, preserved in large number in the cases of Gdańsk, Elbląg and Tallinn.<sup>50</sup> Let us look closer at this issue, referring first to several selected examples from particular towns. In 1492, Otto Angermünde, a juror and councillor from the Main Town of Gdańsk, whose possessions were estimated at circa 30,000 marks, wrote his last will.<sup>51</sup> In his will, he bequeathed to pious causes (*ad pias causas*) the sum of 1,065 marks (3.55% of his fortune). As part of that, small donations were made not only to friaries in the town (30 marks for the Dominicans and Franciscans each, 20 marks for the Carmelites and the nuns of St Brigid each), but also 100 marks each for the Cistercian nuns in Żarnowiec and the Carthusians in the Paradise of Mary (today Kartuzy/Karthus), 20 marks each for the Carthusians in Świdwin/Schivelbein and the Franciscan Observants in Lębork/Lauenburg, as well as ten marks each for the Norbertines in Żukowo/Zuckau and

<sup>45</sup> The Brotherhood of Blackheads also had their own altar in the Franciscan church in Riga, see MÄND, Anu; RANDLA, Anneli. Sacred space and corporate identity: the Black Heads' Chapels in the Mendicant Churches of Tallinn and Riga. *Baltic Journal of Art History*, 2012, vol. 4, pp. 43–80.

<sup>46</sup> WALTHER-WITTENHEIM, G., von. Op. cit., S. 94, 141–142 (Anhang VIII); KALA, T. Op. cit., S. 302–314.

<sup>47</sup> WALTHER-WITTENHEIM, G., von. Op. cit., S. 96.

<sup>48</sup> It was meant to be manned by a priest not belonging to the Dominican Order, see KUBICKI, R. *Środowisko...*, s. 36.

<sup>49</sup> WALTHER-WITTENHEIM, G., von. Op. cit., S. 52.

<sup>50</sup> Taking into consideration only documents written after 1450, in the instance of Gdańsk, a total of 144 testamentary bequests from 1451 to 1526 are known, with the majority of them entered in the town books of the Main Town – MOŹEJKO, Beata. *Rozrachunek z życiem doczesnym. Gdańskie testamenty mieszczańskie z XV i początku XVI wieku*. Gdańsk, 2010, tabl. 1, s. 42–47. In the case of Elbląg, we have 128 documents from 1415 to 1550 at our disposal, see: KUBICKI, Rafał. Testamenty elbląskie z XIV – początków XVI w. – charakterystyka wraz z listą testatorów w układzie chronologicznym. *Rocznik Elbląski*, 2006, nr. 20, s. 204–208 (index of documents). In Tallinn, 101 testaments from 1341 to 1507, and 236 from 1508 to 1560, have been preserved, see *Revaler Regesten*. Bd. III: *Testamente Revaler Bürger und Einwohner aus den Jahren 1369 bis 1851* (Veröffentlichungen der Niedersächsischen Archivverwaltung, Bd. 35). Hrsg. von Roland SEEBERG-ELVERFELDT. Göttingen, 1975; ALLIK, Kadri-Rutt. *Revaler Testamente aus dem 15. Jahrhundert. Das Testament des Revaler Bürgers Gerd Satzem (1491)*. *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, 1997, Jhg. 46, Hf. 2, S. 181; HAHN, Kadri-Rutt. *Revaler Testamente im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission, Bd. 19). Berlin, 2015, S. 13, 566–584.

<sup>51</sup> SAMSONOWICZ, Henryk. *Badania nad kapitałem mieszczańskim Gdańska w II połowie XV wieku* (Badania z Dziejów Rzemiosła i Handlu w Epoce Feudalizmu, t. 5). Warszawa, 1960, s. 94–97.

the Benedictine nuns in Chełmno and Toruń.<sup>52</sup> Next, in the will of Peter Schorm, the mayor of the Old Town in Elbląg, drawn up in 1450, donations in cash to a total of 1,523 marks were bequeathed, but only a little over 100 marks (6.5%) was provided for pious causes and the poor. It is characteristic that not only did he remember in his will the local Dominican friary in Elbląg (ten marks), but also six other mendicant friaries outside the town (altogether, they received 24 marks), including three Dominican friaries (Chełmno, Toruń and Gdańsk), two Franciscan (Braniewo/Braunsberg and Gdańsk) and an Augustinian friary (Mamonovo/Heiligenbeil). All of them were mentioned together with the Carthusians in the Paradise of Mary, who were bequeathed ten marks, and were to conduct wakes and say Mass for his soul.<sup>53</sup> A typical legacy was also written in 1503 by Hinrick Horneryt, a townsman from Tallinn. He gave ten marks each to the Dominican church and the friary in the town, and 60 marks to each of the four friaries of the Observants in Rakvere/Wesenberg, Tartu, Viljandi/Fellin and Limbaži/Lemsal.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, in 1504, Hans Meckinck, another townsman in Tallinn, left in his will 20 marks to the local Dominicans, ten marks to the Dominicans in Riga, and 20 marks to the Observants in Viljandi/Fellin and Tartu each.<sup>55</sup> Even bigger sums were left to mendicants in 1513, in the last will of, Jurgen Kule a Riga townsman originating from Nuremberg. He decided that, in return for prayers for his soul, he would leave to each of the six Observant friaries in Livonia the sum of 100 Riga marks, and 30 marks to each of the Dominican friaries there.<sup>56</sup> These examples of dispositions in favour of mendicant friaries confirm the essential changes occurring in the late Middle Ages in the behaviour of testators. The concern for ensuring prayers for the benefactor's soul and family is rated at the top, which can be guaranteed by legacies to parish churches and those of mendicant friaries. Legacies to the poor and hospitals were of lesser importance at that time.<sup>57</sup> Bequests to friaries thus serve directly as reassurance to benefactors of being remembered in prayers. Considering the phenomenon glob-

<sup>52</sup> SIMSON, Paul. Das Testament des Danziger Schöffen und Ratsherrn Otto Angermünde von 1492. *Mitteilungen des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins*, 1915, Jhg. 14, Hf. 3, S. 44–45; MOŻEJKO, B. Op. cit., s. 71–72; DŁUGOKĘCKI, Wiesław. W sprawie późnośredniowiecznych testamentów Gdańskich. *Zapiski Historyczne*, 2011, t. 76, z. 3, s. 133–134.

<sup>53</sup> *Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku*, Akta miasta Elbląga, dokumenty i listy (State Archives in Gdańsk, Elbląg City Archives, Collection of Elbląg Documents), 368/III, 26; OLIŃSKI, Piotr. Społeczne uwarunkowania zapisów testamentowych w średniowiecznym Elblągu. In *In memoriam honoremque Casimiri Jasińskiego*. Red. Jarosław WENTA, Piotr OLIŃSKI. Toruń, 2010, s. 190.

<sup>54</sup> *Liv-, est- und kurländisches Urkundenbuch*. 2. Abtheilung (hereafter, *LUB*). Bd. 2: 1501–1505. Hrsg. von Leonid ARBUSOW. Riga, Moskau, 1905, Nr. 545, S. 444.

<sup>55</sup> *LUB*, Bd. 2, Nr. 656, S. 514–515.

<sup>56</sup> *USF* I, Nr. 201, S. 48.

<sup>57</sup> SAMSONOWICZ, Henryk. La vie religieuse dans les villes de la Baltique à la fin du Moyen Âge. In *L'Eglise et le Peuple chrétien dans les Pays de l'Europe du Centre-Est et du Nord (XIVe-XVe siècles)*. Actes du Colloque organisé par l'Ecole Française de Rome avec la participation de l'Istituto polacco di cultura cristiana (Rome) et du Centre Européen de Recherches sur les Congrégations et Ordres Religieux (CERCOR). Rome, 27–29 janvier 1986 (Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome, n° 128). Rome-Paris, 1990, p. 50.



ally, in the years 1466 to 1503, the townspeople in Gdańsk bequeathed to particular mendicant friaries in their town: 118 marks to the Dominicans in ten bequests, 200 marks to the Franciscans in 19 bequests, and only 17 marks to the Carmelites in two bequests. Legacies were also left to the Dominican friary in Tczew/Dirschau (one bequest of 15 marks) and the Franciscan Observant friary in Lębork/Lauenburg (three bequests of 31 marks in total).<sup>58</sup> In Elbląg, in the years 1411 to 1515, the local Dominican friary was left 64 testamentary bequests by local townspeople for a total sum of about 500 marks, with around 200 marks bequeathed to the Dominicans in 36 bequests from 1466 to 1503.<sup>59</sup> In the case of the Dominican friaries in Livonia (Riga, Tartu, Tallinn), a total of 63 bequests are known, in most cases made by the townspeople of Tallinn. Because of this, most of the bequests, as many as 53, went to the friary in Tallinn (45 of them in the years 1453 to 1510).<sup>60</sup> That way, the Dominican friary in Tallinn received 20 bequests from the townspeople, of around 200 marks, from 1494 to 1505.<sup>61</sup>

Sometimes the issue of burial in the friary church constituted the main motive behind bequests and other forms of donations to mendicants. Townspeople would usually include these dispositions in their will. In 1440, in Elbląg, Ursula Emyka, the widow of Werner Rowber, an alderman of Elbląg, bequeathed the Dominicans 30 marks, reserving the right to be buried on the sanctuary of the friary church, where her brother had already been buried.<sup>62</sup> Other townspeople also made bequests to the Dominican friaries in Elbląg and Toruń. Other donations are indicated by the tombstones preserved in churches. The right to be buried in a friary church was also guaranteed to brotherhoods of merchants and members of town councils. Members of the Dutch board and the Lübeck board of the Artus Court had been buried at the Dominican church in Gdańsk since 1492. Around 1438, the Carmelites in Gdańsk concluded an agreement with Swedish merchants to build a chapel and establish the brotherhood of St Erik in the friary. Members of the brotherhood also had the right to burial in the friary church.<sup>63</sup> A similar case applied to the mendicants

<sup>58</sup> MOŻEJKO, B. Op. cit., tabl. II, III, s. 84–96. For corrections on Możejko's data, see DŁUGOKEŃCKI, W. Op. cit., s. 115–139 (especially s. 132–133).

<sup>59</sup> KUBICKI, Rafał. Dominikanie w Elblągu – materialne podstawy egzystencji konwentu i jego związki z miastem. *Rocznik Elbląski*, 2004, t. 19, s. 27–30 (tabl.).

<sup>60</sup> On the compilation of testamentary bequests for the Dominicans, see WALTHER-WITTENHEIM, G. von. Op. cit., S. 143 (Anhang IX); HAHN, K.-R. Op. cit., S. 698–699.

<sup>61</sup> *LUB*, Bd. 1: *1494 Ende Mai–1500*. Hrsg. von Leonid ARBUSOW. Riga, Moskau, 1900, Nr. 97, S. 76–77; Nr. 111, S. 89–90; Nr. 267–268, S. 197–199; Nr. 545, S. 399–400; Nr. 895–897, S. 682–685; *LUB*, Bd. 2, Nr. 242, S. 167; Nr. 264, S. 184–185; Nr. 456, S. 362; Nr. 545, S. 444; Nr. 596, S. 472; Nr. 623, S. 488–489; Nr. 656, S. 514–545; Nr. 668, S. 522; Nr. 672, S. 525; Nr. 709, S. 556.

<sup>62</sup> KUBICKI, R. *Środowisko...*, s. 118–119.

<sup>63</sup> KUBICKI, Rafał. Podstawy ekonomiczne funkcjonowania mendiķantów w państwie krzyżackim i Prusach Królewskich do połowy XVI w. In *Inter œconomiam cœlestem et terrenam: mendiķanci a zagadnienia ekonomiczne* (Studia i Źródła Dominikańskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Krakowie, t. 9). Red. Wiesław

in Livonia.<sup>64</sup> Burials of merchants from Cologne in the Dominican church in Tallinn have already been mentioned. In his last will from around 1500, the Tallinn townsman Herman Menne bequeathed the local Dominicans 30 marks, stating that he wished to be buried in their church.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, in 1504, ten marks were bequeathed for the same reason by the Tallinn townsman Herman Lette.<sup>66</sup> Bequests concerning burials in friary churches are also authenticated in the case of the Observants in Limbaži/Lemsal.<sup>67</sup>

The pastoral successes of mendicants were sometimes a reason for disputes with the diocesan clergy. According to the contents of the *Super cathedram* bull issued by Pope Boniface VIII, Dominicans and Franciscans had the right to conduct funerals and charge fees connected with them, but they were obliged to give a quarter of the sum to the local priest.<sup>68</sup> The attractiveness of burial inside a church came from a deep-rooted conviction that the deceased could count on special favours if they were buried in a friar's habit. Alongside the funeral, friars would also customarily enter the name of the deceased in the friary obituary, and remember them in prayers.<sup>69</sup> The matter of sharing the income obtained from funerals led to conflicts with parish priests, who would demand a quarter of it, which the friars did not like to agree to (disputes between parish priests and Dominicans are known to have occurred in Gdańsk<sup>70</sup> and Tallinn<sup>71</sup>). Another aspect of the pastoral activity of mendicants was the care taken over communities of women in either informal associations (Beguines) or a form of third order (Terciars). Beguine communities, which later converted into Dominican and Franciscan Terciars, existed in Gdańsk, Toruń and perhaps Chełmno, and exclusively Dominican ones in Elbląg and Tczew/Dirschau.<sup>72</sup> There were also communities of Franciscan Terciars in Riga,<sup>73</sup> Tallinn<sup>74</sup> and Tartu.<sup>75</sup>

To sum up the above remarks, it may be stated that the network of mendicant friaries in Prussia and Livonia was a reflection of the demographic potential and the degree of urbanisation in both parts of the domains of the Teutonic Order, which still

DŁUGOKEŃCKI, Tomasz GAŁUSZKA, Rafał KUBICKI, Anna ZAJCHOWSKA. Kraków, 2011, s. 219–221; JURKOWLANIEC, Tadeusz. *Nagrobki średniowieczne w Prusach*. Warszawa, 2015.

<sup>64</sup> WALTHER-WITTENHEIM, G. von. Op. cit., S. 93–94.

<sup>65</sup> *LUB*, Bd. 1, Nr. 897, S. 684–685; HAHN, K.-R. Op. cit., S. 643, 682, 698.

<sup>66</sup> *LUB*, Bd. 2, Nr. 623, S. 488–489; KALA, T. Op. cit., S. 298–301; HAHN, K.-R. Op. cit., S. 571, 639, 698.

<sup>67</sup> BRUININGK, H. von. Op. cit., S. 18, 20; *USFI*, Nr. 340, S. 76; Nr. 344, S. 77.

<sup>68</sup> WALZ, A. M. Op. cit., p. 251.

<sup>69</sup> HINNEBUSCH, W. A. Op. cit., pp. 296–297.

<sup>70</sup> KUBICKI, R. *Środowisko...*, s. 50.

<sup>71</sup> WALTHER-WITTENHEIM, G., von. Op. cit., S. 68–70, 76–78.

<sup>72</sup> KUBICKI, R. *Środowisko...*, s. 110–115.

<sup>73</sup> *USFI*, Nr. 112, S. 33; Nr. 122, S. 35; Nr. 143, S. 39; Nr. 160 und 162, S. 41; Nr. 194, S. 47; Nr. 239, S. 55.

<sup>74</sup> *USFI*, Nr. 112, S. 33.

<sup>75</sup> OTTO, R. Op. cit., S. 2–4, 43; *USFI*, Nr. 203, S. 48–49; LEMMENS, L. *Die Franziskanerkustodie...*, S. 35–37.

had a dominating position only in Prussia. The earliest congregations of Dominicans and Franciscans managed to establish friaries in the biggest towns of both parts of the Teutonic Order's domains, and often in the same towns (Gdańsk, Chełmno, Toruń, Riga, Tartu). The Augustinian Eremites, who arrived later, set up friaries only in smaller towns in Prussia, not reaching Livonia at all. The tasks conducted by the mendicants in individual towns were very similar. The scale of their effectiveness is proven by numerous references to prayer agreements concluded with members of religious brotherhoods and guilds of craftsmen, burials inside friary churches (tombstones), and bequests from townspeople. The degree of success of mendicants and the support of the townspeople are confirmed in the great hall churches erected by mendicants in the largest towns (Gdańsk, Toruń, Tallinn, Riga) which are unfortunately only partially preserved up to this day. The image presented is regrettably incomplete, due to the various degrees of preservation of sources, being relatively good in the instances of Gdańsk, Toruń, Elbląg and Tallinn (the wills of townspeople), and significantly worse in the case of Riga. Despite this, it confirms the considerable commitment of mendicants in their work for town communities, which, it is important to remember, was not their only sphere of activity. A major role was also played by itinerant preachers and collectors who would go around rural areas. This issue deserves a detailed examination in a comparative study considering the specific situation prevailing in Prussia and Livonia.

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## ELGETAUJANTIEJI ORDINAI VIDURAMŽIŲ PRŪSIJOJE IR LIVONIJOJE – SIELOVADINĖ VEIKLA MIESTUOSE

Rafał Kubicki

Santrauka

Elgetaujančiųjų ordinų (pranciškonų ir dominikonų) veikla viduramžiais tradiciškai siejama su pastoracine veikla miestuose, svarbų dėmesį skiriant žemesnio socialinio sluoksnio miestiečių sielovadai miestų priemiesčiuose. Elgetaujantieji vienuoliai, atvykę į Prūsiją ir Livoniją, atsidūrė skirtingose situacijose: dalis jų veiklą vykdė Vokiečių ordinui priklausiusiose žemėse, kiti buvo pakviesti vietos vyskupų. Tarp Baltijos regiono visuomenės narių tuo metu vyko christianizacijos procesas, į regioną atnešęs, be kitų veiksnių, ir naujų gyvenviečių steigimo bei krašto urbanizacijos pokyčių. Straipsnyje nagrinėjama elgetau-

jančiųjų vienuolių sielovadinė veikla Vokiečių ordino teritorijose bei vyskupijose Prūsijoje ir Livonijoje, išryškinant pastoracinės veiklos skirtumus ir panašumus, kuriuos lėmė skirtinga Vokiečių ordino valdų teisinė padėtis Vokiečių ordino valstybėje.

Elgetaujančiųjų vienuolių veiklos sąlygas Prūsijoje ir Livonijoje daugiausia lėmė šalia bažnyčių jau egzistavusios struktūros (vyskupijų struktūros, Vokiečių ordino ir kitų vienuolynų administracijos), taip pat gyvenviečių ir miestų, į kuriuos jie natūraliai kreipė savo veiklą, socialinė ir etninė sudėtis. Savo valdose Prūsijoje Vokiečių ordinas ir vietos vyskupai vykdė intensyvią kaimų apgyvendinimo politiką, į savo valdas kviesdami kurtis vokiečių kilmės gyventojus. Taip iki 1410 m. Prūsijoje, neskaitant Gdansko Pomeranijos srities, buvo įkurta apie tūkstantis gyvenviečių, turėjusių Kulmo miesto teises. Visose šiose valdose, be Pomeranijos Gdansko, buvo 93 miestai, iš jų 76 pačioje Vokiečių ordinui priklausiusioje Prūsijos teritorijoje.

Apgyvendinimo proceso raida ir etninių santykių dinamika lėmė, kad XV a. pradžioje 40 % visos vokiečių kilmės populiacijos (taigi maždaug 200 tūkstančių gyventojų) gyveno miestuose ir miesto tipo gyvenvietėse. Tai ypač būdinga vakarinėje Prūsijos dalyje. Kiti 30 % (taigi maždaug 140 tūkstančių gyventojų) pagal kilmę buvo lenkai, gyvenę Pomeranijos (Gdansko) ir Kulmo srityse, o likusieji 30 % – prūsų kilmės žmonės, kurie gyveno labiau kaimiškose rytinėse Prūsijos vietovėse. Dėl šios priežasties dominikonų pamokslininkai Kulmo, Torunės, Tczevo, Gdansko srityse pamokslus skelbė ne tik vokiečių (ar prūsų), bet ir lenkų kalbomis. Labai panaši pamokslų skelbimo vietos kalbomis situacija buvo kalbant apie pranciškonų pamokslininkus Gdanske ir kitose Pomeranijos bei Kulmo vietovėse.

Pabrėžtina, kad dominikonų ir pranciškonų vienuolynuose buvo ir prūsų kilmės vienuolių, kurie buvo įtraukiami į sielovados veiklą tarp vietos gyventojų. Greičiausiai prūsų kilmės vienuoliai taip pat skelbė pamokslus, mokė vietos prūsus tikėjimo tiesų kaimiškose vietovėse, prisidėjo prie vietos vienuolyno išlaikymo, dešimtinės surinkimo Pamedėje, Varmijoje ir Semboje. Tokia veikla tarp vietos žmonių buvo panaši į tą, kurią vykdė pranciškonai ir augustinai emeritai.

Pačioje Vokiečių ordino valdomoje Prūsijoje iki Reformacijos (atskirose Prūsijos srityse iki 1466 m., kai dalis teritorijos atiteko Lenkijos karalystei) buvo įkurti ir veikė šių vienuolių vienuolynai: septyni pranciškonų, šeši dominikonų, penki pranciškonų observantų (bernardinų), keturi augustinų emeritų, vienas karmelityų, taigi iš viso 23 vienuolynai. Analogiškai, laikotarpiu iki Reformacijos, Livonijoje buvo įkurti ir veikė vienuolika elgetaujančiųjų vienuolių vienuolynų (keturi dominikonų ir septyni pranciškonų observantų).

Minėtų vienuolynų skaičius priklausė nuo krašto apgyvendinimo tendencijų, populiacijos, kuriai buvo reikalingos sielovadinės paslaugos, augimo. Ankstyviausi dominikonų ir pranciškonų vienuolynai įsikūrė didžiausiuose ir svarbiausiuose Prūsijos ir Livonijos miestuose (Gdanske, Kulme, Torunėje, Rygoje, Dorpate (Tartu)). Augustinai emeritai į Prūsiją atvyko kiek vėliau ir įsikūrė mažesniuose miestuose, tuo tarpu Livonijoje iš viso nebuvo įkurtas joks šios kongregacijos vienuolynas. Pagal veiklos pobūdį elgetaujančiųjų vienuolių sielovadinė veikla miestuose buvo panaši. Tai rodo jų veiklos apibūdinimas to meto miestietiškoje raštijoje, sudarant testamentus, įrengiant antkapius kapinėse prie parapijų bažnyčių arba jose. Elgetaujančiųjų vienuolių sielovadinės veiklos sėkmę miestuose iš dalies rodo ir iki šių dienų išlikusios didelės jų globai pavestos bažnyčios stambiausiuose miestuose: Gdanske, Torunėje, Taline, Rygoje. Daugiausia medžiagos tyrimui galima rasti Gdansko,

Torunės, Elbingo, Talino miestų aplinkoje, tuo tarpu Rygos pranciškonų ir dominikonų veiklą apibūdinantys šaltiniai yra išlikę ne visi, jų yra mažiau ir jie labiau fragmentuoti.

Nepaisant šaltinių specifikos, galima atsekti elgetaujančiųjų vienuolių sielovadinę veiklą tarp miestiečių, suvokiant, kad ši veikla nebuvo vienintelė, kurią vykdė vienuoliai. Vienuoliai tam tikru laiku reguliariai vykdavo pamokslauti ir į kaimiškas vietas. Šaltiniai rodo, kad elgetaujančiųjų vienuolių pastoracinis aktyvumas kaimiškose vietovėse kartais sukeldavo vietos dvasininkų nepasitenkinimą ar net ginčus. XIII a. pab. išleistoje popiežiaus Bonifaco VIII bulėje *Super cathedram* nurodoma, kad pranciškonai ir dominikonai turi teisę vykdyti dvasinius patarnavimus (pvz., laidoti mirusiuosius) už vienuolyno ribų, taigi ir kaimiškose vietovėse, tačiau ketvirtadalį aukos sumos, gautos už šiuos patarnavimus, jie privalo perleisti vietos dvasininkui.

Apibendrinant galima teigti, kad miestuose įsikūrusių pranciškonų ir dominikonų vienuoliai sielovadą vykdė ne tik tarp miestiečių (kas būdavo dažniausiai ir kas dažniausiai yra akcentuojama istoriografijoje), tačiau ir tarp kaimiškų vietovių žmonių. Jų veikla neapsiribojo tik dvasiniais patarnavimais. Dažniausiai miestiečių testamentų sudarytojais arba testamentų vykdymo globėjais bei liudytojais buvo tie patys dominikonai arba pranciškoniai. Tai liudija tiesioginę ir netiesioginę elgetaujančiųjų vienuolių įtaką miesto bendruomenėms viduramžių Prūsijoje bei Livonijoje.