

RAFAŁ KUBICKI  
(University of Gdańsk)

MENDICANT FRIARIES IN THE DOMINION  
OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER IN PRUSSIA AND IN ROYAL PRUSSIA  
AFTER 1466 UNTIL THE REFORMATION

**Key words:** new foundations of friaries, reform of friaries, mendicants'

Changing the balance of political forces between the Polish Kingdom and the Teutonic Order in Prussia, confirmed by the provisions of the Second Peace of Toruń (1466), was, of course, also important for the existing the ecclesiastical structures in the Teutonic dominion, including monasteries. At this point, we consider the problem of the conditions of functioning in the friaries of the Mendicant orders, namely Dominicans, Franciscans, Franciscan Observants, Augustinians-hermits, and Carmelites, both within the territories that remained under the rule of the Teutonic Order, i.e. in the so-called State of the Teutonic Order, and in the Gdańsk Pomerania, in the Chełmno land, Powiśle and the episcopal Warmia, the areas known as the Royal Prussia from that time on. This issue will be presented in three perspectives: organizational and legal, the creation of new foundations of the Mendicant assemblies after 1466, the transformation taking place within the individual order communities, attempts to reform in them and change in the functioning model, and the new forms of relationships with communities in cities and beyond<sup>1</sup>. The beginnings of the Reformation will be the turning point here. Therefore,

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<sup>1</sup> An attempt to holistically view the functioning of orders in the Teutonic dominion was undertaken by Marian BISKUP, *Das Verhältnis des Deutschen Ordens zu den anderen Orden in Preußen*, [in:] *Ritterorden und Kirche im Mittelalter*, hrsg. v. Zenon Hubert NOWAK, Toruń 1997, pp. 61–79; idem, *Średniowieczna sieć klasztorów w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach (do r. 1525)*, *Zapiski Historyczne*, vol. 64: 1999, no. 1, pp. 35–61. Erich Joachim presented the state of monasteries functioning in the State of Teutonic Order after 1466: Erich JOACHIM, *Vom Kulturzustande im Ordenslande Preußen am Vorabend der Reformation*, *Altpreußische Forschungen*, Bd. 1: 1924, H. 1, pp. 12–17.

the scope of the chronological study covers a period of half a century after the conclusion of the abovementioned Second Peace of Toruń.

#### 1. CHANGES IN THE NETWORK OF THE MENDICANT FRIARIES AFTER 1466

Only four Mendicant friaries remained within the dominion of the Teutonic Order in the State of the Teutonic Order because of the Thirteen Years' War after 1466. These were the two houses of Augustinian-hermits (Patollen and Heiligenbeil) and one of the Dominicans (Gerdauen) and the Franciscans (Wehlau)<sup>2</sup>, the latter was abandoned as it was partially destroyed during the war, the same as the mentioned town. In general, the number of monasteries in these areas was low, because next to these, there was still only one Cistercian-Benedictine convent of in Königsberg<sup>3</sup> and several monasteries of the Teutonic Order (Balga, Brandenburg, Königsberg, Klaipeda, Ragnit and Ostróda). Indirectly, this was due to the fact that the most urbanized areas, including all major towns except for the settlement complex of Königsberg, were incorporated into the Polish Kingdom, creating a new province of the state, the so-called Royal Prussia. The network of monasteries in these areas compared to the State of the Teutonic Order was much more extensive. There were 14 Mendicant friaries, including six Franciscan friaries (Gdańsk, Nowe, Chełmno, Toruń, Braniewo and Barczewo)<sup>4</sup>, five Dominican (Gdańsk, Tczew, Elbląg, Chełmno and Toruń), two Augustinian-hermits (Chojnice and Reszel) and one Carmelite (Old Town of Gdańsk) and several other orders with great land grants (Cistercian, Norbertines and Carthusians).

Not only the Franciscan monastery in Wehlau suffered during the Thirteen Years War, but also the Carmelites in Gdańsk, whose headquarters was forcibly relocated from the area of the demolished Young Town of Gdańsk to the Old Town of Gdańsk. In the first years after the forced relocation, its situation was so difficult that the prior, at the provincial meeting of the Order held in 1468 in Bydgoszcz, stated that due to the dismantling of the old monastery and the destruction of the Prussian lands, he must abstain from paying the

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<sup>2</sup> Hugo EYSENBLÄTTER, *Die Klöster der Augustiner-Eremiten im Nordosten Deutschland (Neumark, Pommern, Preussen)*, *Altpreußische Monatsschrift*, Bd. 35: 1898, pp. 357–391; Adalbero KUNZELMANN, *Geschichte der Deutschen Augustiner-Eremiten*, 5. Teil: *Die Sächsisch-Thüringische Provinz und die sächsische Reformkongregation bis zum Untergang der beiden*, Würzburg 1974, pp. 271–272, 276–282, 288–290, 300–305; Werner ROTH, *Die Dominikaner und Franziskaner the Deutsch-Ordensland Preußen bis zum Jahre 1466*, Königsberg 1918, pp. 85–86.

<sup>3</sup> Walther FRANZ, *Das Benediktinerinnenkloster St. Marien zu Königsberg*, *Altpreußische Forschungen*, Bd. 11: 1934, pp. 168–187; Franz GAUSE, *Die Geschichte der Stadt Königsberg*, Bd. 1, Köln–Graz 1965, p. 66 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Hans NIEDERMEIER, *Die Franziskaner in Preußen, Livland und Litauen im Mittelalter*, *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, Bd. 27: 1978, H. 1, pp. 4–16.

usual contributions to the province<sup>5</sup>. Despite such a difficult situation of the only Carmelite monastery in these areas, it was the members of this congregation that attempted to establish new monasteries in Prussia. The attempt to found a new monastery of the Carmelites near Kętrzyn in 1457 during the Thirteen Years War was a very interesting episode of these efforts. These areas were then in control of the Polish king Casimir IV Jagiellon who made appropriate efforts in Rome through the Cistercian Abbot of Oliwa<sup>6</sup>. However, after the conclusion of the Second Peace of Thorn, the foundation of the monastery near Kętrzyn could not be kept for political and legal reasons. As the town remained under the authority of the German Order. Perhaps some unknown negotiations took place on this matter. In any case, already in 1467, the Carmelite meeting of the Czech-Polish province formally appointed an abbot of the monastery there. The Carmelites made another attempt to organize the new foundation before 1485 in Dzierzgoń, located in the Royal Prussia, and therefore under the control of the king. We do not know since when and how long these facilities of the Carmelites had operated. However, the local conditions proved to be not favourable enough that a decision was made to transfer the seat of the monastery to another location. This time, the friars reached Prabuty in the State of the Teutonic Order, where the Pomesanian bishop received them. The sources of the Teutonic Order confirm the functioning of the monastery in the years 1489–1495. The monastery in Prabuty did last long though. Thus, despite several attempts of a new foundation, the Carmelites had only one monastery in the Old Town of Gdańsk in these areas<sup>7</sup>. Attempts

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<sup>5</sup> *Ad historiam ecclesiasticam Pomeraniae apparatus pauper subsidia literaria poscens a viris bonis et doctis collectus ad interim a Georgio Schwengel*, ed. Bruno CZAPLA (Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, 16–19), Toruń 1912–1915, p. 386; Archiwum klasztoru oo. karmelitów w Krakowie na Piasku [Archive of Carmelites Friars in Kraków] (further: AKKr), ref. 92/682, Alexander KOŚLIŃSKI, *Index foundationum monasteriorum Provinciae Poloniae Carmelitarum Antiquae Regularis Observantiae*, Anno 1676 (further: A. KOŚLIŃSKI, *Index foundationum*), p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> „Abbati Monast Olivae Wlad. d.: Ad sup. generalis et fratrum Ord. Carmelitarum mandatur, ut erectionem conventus in loco extra oppidum Rastemberg Warmiense d. per Kaszemirum regem Poloniae eisdem donato confirmet. XL.”, Bullarium Poloniae, vol. 6, ed. et cur. Irena SUŁKOWSKA-KURAŚ, Stanisław KURAŚ, Roma–Lublin 1998, no. 1203, p. 251.

<sup>7</sup> „Monasterii Rastenburgensis in Prussia Ducali non longe Regio Monto per Casimiri Jagellon idem Regem Polonia fundati binam inveni mentionem. [...] Monasterii Christburgensis in Palatinatu Margerburgensi in civitate Christburgo vulgo Kisborg, duplex habetur memoria, in actis provincialis una in capitulo provinciali Posnaniensis in anno 1485 celebrato, in quo in priorem Christburgensem fuit institutus pater lector Bernardus Croner, altero in actis capituli provincialis Plonscensis in anno 1486 celebrati in quibus habetur, quod inter caeteros priores, qui in illo capitulo non comparverunt, fuit patri priori Christburgensi mandatum, ut pro expensis, quas caeteri RRPP. priores pro illo capitulo fuerunt, nomine sui conventus solveret pro necessitatibus provincialis duos florenos ungaricales. Monasterii Prabutensis alias Risemburgensis in Prussia Ducali sub episcopatu Pomeraniae eadem acta aliquoties memoriam faciunt”, AKKr, ref. 92/682, A. KOŚLIŃSKI, *Index foundationum*, pp. 41–43.

of the Carmelites to found new establishments are part of a wider issue of changes in the network of the Mendicant friaries in these areas. Profound changes took place within the Franciscan community, parallel to the efforts made by their monastery in Gdańsk, the result of which was practically the emergence of a new congregation, gathering followers of strict rules, called the Observants. In 1463, as first they occupied the Franciscan monastery in Riga, existing since the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The friars, who organised further friaries of the Observants in Tartu, Viljandi and Limbaži (between 1466 and 1472), which together with the monastery in Riga, formed a new Livonia Custody of the Observants, originated from this monastery. The next friaries of the Observants in Livonia were formed in Hazenpot, Kokenhusen and Wesenberg (between 1484 and 1502)<sup>8</sup>. The friars originating from these centres also organized new monasteries in the State of the Teutonic Order and the Royal Prussia. The first monastery of the Observants was established in 1477 near Wehlau (in 1517 moved to Königsberg), although there was an abandoned monastery of the Conventual Franciscans in the actual town then. In the next years, four consecutive monasteries were established, located both in the State of the Teutonic Order (Zalewo 1480, Tilsit 1515/1516 and Königsberg 1517), as well as in the Royal Prussia (Lubawa 1502) and the land of Łębork donated in fief to the Pomeranian dukes (Łębork before 1492)<sup>9</sup>. Interestingly, most of these were the foundations established at the initiative of the Teutonic Order. The Order supported the creation of monasteries of the Observants near Wehlau, in Zalewa and Tilsit, and the subsequent transfer of the monastery from Wehlau to Königsberg. The monastery in Lubawa was established on the initiative of the bishop of Chełmno Mikołaj Crapitz, and probably the Pomeranian dukes, namely Eric II or Bogislaw X, were the founders of the monastery in Łębork. It is certain that the monastery in Łębork was not established

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<sup>8</sup> Heinrich von BRUININGK, *Die Franziskanerklöster zu Lemsal und Kokenhusen*, Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands aus dem Jahre 1905, Riga 1906, pp. 18–37; Leonhard LEMMENS, *Die Franziskanerkustodie Livland und Preussen. Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte der Gebiete des Deutschen Ordens*, Düsseldorf 1912, pp. 20–23; H. NIEDERMEIER, op.cit., p. 20.

<sup>9</sup> *Urkundenbuch der alten Sächsischen Franziskanerprovinzen* (further: USF), I: *Die Observantenkustodie Livland und Preussen*, hrsg. v. Leonhard LEMMENS, Düsseldorf 1912, pp. 8–9; L. LEMMENS, *Die Franziskanerkustodie*, pp. 6–7, 18–33; E. JOACHIM, op.cit., pp. 15–16; Rafał KUBICKI, *Die Rolle der Bettelorden im Ordensland Preußen*, [in:] *Cura animarum, Seelsorge im Deutschordensland des Mittelalters*, hrsg. v. Stefan SAMERSKI (Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands Bd. 45), Köln–Weimar–Wien 2013, p. 78; Jürgen SARNOWSKY, *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*, ed. Michael ROBSON, Jens RÖHRKASTEN, Berlin 2010, p. 56.

thanks to the Polish royal court, who supported only the Polish Observants (Bernardines).

An unusual phenomenon of successful foundations of the Observants in Prussia and Livonia was probably associated not only with the great dynamism of a new religious congregation, strengthened with the strict adherence to the original monastic rule, but also with the role played by the friars in ministry directed not only to the population of small towns, but also to the non-German population inhabiting villages. Within the area of the State of the Teutonic Order, it could mostly mean the Prussian and Lithuanian population living in the collection district (*terminus*), visited by friars collecting alms. It seems that the location of the friary in Zalewo on the border of Pomesania and Pogesania, where the numerous rural population of Prussia and Tilsit lived and<sup>10</sup> where the intensively developed Lithuanian settlement reached in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, advocates<sup>11</sup> it. Stating the reasons for the foundation of the friary of Tilsit it was mentioned that its purpose was to honour the Virgin Mary and the salvation and happiness of the poor, uneducated and non-believers<sup>12</sup>. The pastoral work was carried out around Lubawa among the German and Polish population. Characteristic is the fact that after the death of the last friar in 1566, the monastery stood empty, and in 1580, the friars of the Polish province of the Observants, called the Bernardines here, took it over<sup>13</sup>.

In fact, the Bernardines of the Polish province tried to found their monasteries in the Royal Prussia already in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In a letter to the City Council on 15 December, 1477, the Governor of Prussia Ścibor Bażyński asked to grant the Franciscans Observants (“Bruder vom Observancia Sancti Francisci”) the permit for the construction of a monastery in the city, as they had already been promised, so they told him, and which would not bring any harm to the city<sup>14</sup>. These measures were undertaken later

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<sup>10</sup> The state of the Prussian settlement in these areas has been discussed by Heide WUNDER, *Siedlungs- und Bevölkerungsgeschichte der Komturei Christburg (13.–16. Jahrhundert)*, Wiesbaden 1968, pp. 77–143, 165; Peter GERMERSHAUSEN, *Siedlungsentwicklung der preußischen Ämter Holland, Liebstadt und Mohrunge vom 13. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert*, Marburg 1970, pp. 9–38.

<sup>11</sup> Wiesław DŁUGOKĘCKI, *Odbudowa osadnictwa, kolonizacja i przemiany wsi w państwie krzyżackim (1411–1525)*, [in:] *Państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach. Władza i społeczeństwo*, ed. Marian BISKUP, Roman CZAJA, Warszawa 2008, pp. 381–383; L. LEMMENS, *Die Franziskanerkustodie*, pp. 24, 35.

<sup>12</sup> „Gothe dem demuthige seiner unbefelkten geberen Marie zu lob und ehr den armen unsern unwissenden und ungläubigen underthannen heyl und seligkeit etc.”, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (further: GStA PK), XX. HA, Ordensfoliant, no. 37, p. 127; USE, I, no. 212, p. 50; L. LEMMENS, *Die Franziskanerkustodie*, p. 24; E. JOACHIM, op.cit., p. 16.

<sup>13</sup> USE, I, no. 365, p. 81.

<sup>14</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku [State Archive in Gdańsk], Akta miasta Gdańska [Records of the city of Gdańsk], documents and letters until 1525, ref. 300,D/49, 258.



as well. The Bernardine Jan of Komorowo mentioned in his chronicle that the friars again tried in Rome for the foundation of a monastery in Prussia<sup>15</sup>.

To sum up, the following facilities operated in the State of the Teutonic Order and the Royal Prussia until the Reformation: seven friaries of the Franciscans, six friaries of the Dominicans, five friaries of the Franciscan Observants, four friaries of the Augustinian-hermits and one friary of the Carmelites, a total of 23 Mendicant friaries, including 16 in the Royal Prussia (including two created after 1466) and seven in the State of the Teutonic Order (including three new ones after 1466)<sup>16</sup>.

As already mentioned, the big difference in the number of friaries in the two parts of the former dominion of the Teutonic Order reflected a different degree of development, particularly the degree of urbanization and rural coverage of the colonization process. There was only one bigger settlement complex in the State of the Teutonic Order, in the form of three cities forming Königsberg (Altstadt, Kneiphof and Löbenicht). It had an impact on the strong diversity of social base and the functioning conditions of individual monasteries. This was also related to the time of the foundation and the formation of a network of friaries. Dominicans and Franciscans, who came in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, built their monasteries mainly in the largest cities. The Dominicans and the Franciscans had monasteries in large urban centres, which had a population of more than 10 thousand in the late Middle Ages. The Dominicans in Gdańsk (35 thous.), Toruń (12 thous.) and Elbląg (10 thous.), and the Franciscans in Gdańsk and Toruń. Both orders had also their facilities in mid-sized cities: the Dominicans in Chełmno (2 thousand), the Franciscans in Chełmno and Braniewo (2,5–3,5 thousand) and small towns: the Dominicans in Tczew (approx. 1 thousand) and Gerdauen (less than 1 thousand), and the Franciscans in the towns of Nowe, Wehlau, and Barczewo<sup>17</sup>. The Carmelites had their only monastery in a large urban centre, namely was the settlement complex of Gdańsk. Nevertheless, they functioned there alongside two other monasteries belonging to the older Mendicant congregations: Dominicans and Franciscans. Their above-mentioned attempts to establish a second monastery in three small towns (Kętrzyn, Dzierzgoń,

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<sup>15</sup> *Memorial Ordinis Fratrum minorum Observantiae a fr. Ioanna de Komorowo compilatum* (further: *Memorial Ordinis*), ed. Xavery LISKE, Antoni LORKIEWICZ, [in:] *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 5, Lwów 1888, pp. 226–227; USF, II, no. 471, p. 125; Zbigniew ZYGLEWSKI, *Monarcha a klasztor w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, Bydgoszcz 2009, p. 241. It is worth noting that among the first generations of the Polish Bernardines there were eight friars from Prussia, including four in the monastery in Poznań, see Małgorzata MACISZEWSKA, *Klasztor bernardyński w społeczeństwie polskim 1453–1530*, Warszawa 2001, pp. 151–152.

<sup>16</sup> R. KUBICKI, *Die Rolle der Bettelorden*, pp. 74–91.

<sup>17</sup> See Maria BOGUĆKA, Henryk SAMSONOWICZ, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, pp. 116, 120.

Prabuty) failed, however. The Augustian-hermits, present on these areas since around the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and who, as a Mendicant order, were the only ones that had the right to receive fixed salaries and to own estates, operated in small centres only (Chojnice, Reszel, Heiligenbeil and knights' estates of Patollen). The Observants, who began their activity here in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, came here at the latest and mainly settled in smaller towns (Zalewo, Lębork, Lubawa and Tilsit), but eventually they also managed to settle in Königsberg, numbered among the great cities, despite the resistance of the Sambian chapter, which feared the reduction of its income from devises, burials and other sources, as well as the competition from the Franciscan preachers<sup>18</sup>.

## 2. REFORM OF THE INNER LIFE OF FRIARIES – PROVINCIAL AFFILIATION

In addition to changes in external functioning conditions of the Mendicant friaries in Prussia and the formation of new foundations of the Observants, the level of internal life of the friaries and the associated attempts to reform them, were the important issues in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. This problem, in the case of the Royal Prussia, was strongly related to the provincial affiliation of the monasteries and the competition of different centres to gain control over them. The reform movement of the inner life applied to these communities, and was, of course, a part of much broader processes taking place in the various congregations and the entire Church. Therefore, the number of measures were undertaken at the level of the entire orders and individual provinces. In the case of the Dominicans, the reform movement was associated with the appointment of the Observant congregations. The Holland congregation, gathering reformed friaries situated on the territory of the present-day Netherlands up to Estonia, which then belonged to the Saxon, Polish and Danish provinces of the Dominican order, implemented such measures on the northern areas, including in the Baltic Sea. In practice, the reformed monasteries were under control of the congregation authorities, though formally they still operated under individual provinces<sup>19</sup>. In 1477, the Holland congregation attempted to reform the Dominican friary in Gdańsk, which was to be introduced by Albert Pieters (Albertus Petri), a friar origi-

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<sup>18</sup> L. LEMMENS, *Die Franziskanerkustodie*, p. 26; USF, I, no. 137–138, p. 38; E. JOACHIM, op.cit., p. 16.

<sup>19</sup> Angelo M. WALZ, *Compendium Historiae Ordo Praedicatorum*, Romae 1930, pp. 242–245; Piotr OLIŃSKI, *Umowy modlitewne mniszek z klasztorów benedyktynek-cysterek w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego*, [in:] „*Memoria viva*”. *Studia historyczne poświęcone pamięci Izabeli Skierskiej (1967–2014)*, ed. Grażyna RUTKOWSKA, Antoni GĄSIOROWSKI, Warszawa–Poznań 2015, pp. 221–231.

nally bound with the monastery in The Hague<sup>20</sup>. In 1474 (June 10), he was appointed to reform Kashubian contrata in the Polish province of the Order (today's Western Pomerania)<sup>21</sup>, and in 1475 (August 26), he received the authority from the superior general of the Order to reform the three friaries in the Polish and Saxon provinces, which were to be under control of the Holland congregation<sup>22</sup>. In the meantime, in connection with these decisions of the Superior General, the Provincial Superior Jakub from Bydgoszcz convoked a meeting of church elders of the Polish province at the friary in Słupsk in the spring of 1475<sup>23</sup>. Its files from this year (the meeting took place around 29 September, 1475) include a call to strengthen the already implemented reform in these monasteries, including the monasteries in Gdańsk and Słupsk<sup>24</sup>. It should be added here that at that time Albert Pieters conducted extensive activities as a reformer of monasteries belonging to the Danish, Saxon and Polish provinces. Mainly monasteries located on the Baltic Sea, i.e. Schleswig, Ribe, Haderslev, Reval and Abo (Danish province), Wismar, Rostock, Altenburg, Weida and Riga (Saxon province) and in Greifswald, Pasewalk and Opole (Polish province).

However, in response to these actions, the authorities of the Polish province of the Order intervened in the Superior General of the Order and the Polish king. In correspondence addressed to the king, they directly accused

<sup>20</sup> Gertrud von WALTHER-WITTENHEIM, *Die Dominikaner in Livland im Mittelalter. Die natio Livoniae*, Roma 1938, pp. 106–114.

<sup>21</sup> „fratri Alberto Petri congregacionis Hollandie committitur reformacio nacionis Casubie prov. Polonie cum omnibus graciis talibus dari consuetis, et secuta reformacione submittitur illa nacio sub [vicario] Hollandie”, *Registrum litterarum pro provincia Saxoniae Leonardi de Mansuetis 1474–1480, Salvi Cassettae 1481–1483, Barnabae Saxoni 1486* (further: *Registrum litterarum*), hrsg. v. Gabriel M. LÖHR, Köln 1939, p. 14; Servatius P. WOLFS, *Dominikanische Observanzbestrebungen: die Congregatio Hollandiae (1464–1517)*, [in:] *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*, hrsg. v. Kaspar ELM (Berliner Historische Studien, Bd. 14, Ordenstudien VI), Berlin 1989, p. 286. Unfortunately, R.F. Madura omitted this information in his extracts from the correspondence registries of the superior generals of the Order. *Acta capitulorum Provinciae Poloniae Ordinis Praedicatorum* (further: ACPP), vol. 1, ed. Roman F. MADURA, Romae 1972. Basing on the work of G. von Walther-Wittenheim (op.cit., p. 107) quoted by Jerzy KŁOCZOWSKI, *Dominikanie polscy nad Bałtykiem w XIV–XVI stuleciu*, [in:] *Pastori et magistro. Praca zbiorowa wydana dla uczczenia jubileuszu 50-lecia kapłaństwa Jego Ekscelencji ks. bp dr. P. Kałwy profesora i Wielkiego Kanclerza KUL*, red. Piotr KAŁWA, Andrzej KRUPA, Lublin 1966, p. 503.

<sup>22</sup> „Fratri Alberto Petri datur auctoritas erigendi in provinciis Polonie et Saxonie tres conventus habita licentia apostolice sedis, qui conventus subjiciantur vicario congregationis Hollandie. Nullus inferior molestet. Datum Rome 26. aug. 1475 prout plenius habes in copia signata”, *Registrum litterarum*, p. 18. Unfortunately, R.F. Madura omitted this information in his extracts from the correspondence registries of the superior generals of the Order.

<sup>23</sup> J. KŁOCZOWSKI, op.cit., p. 503.

<sup>24</sup> ACPP, p. 106.



the congregation of trying to split off the monastery in Gdańsk from the Polish province and move it to the Saxon province<sup>25</sup>. The intervention was so successful that the congregation's reform attempt was thwarted. Following this, the authorities of the Polish province initiated an independent reform of the most important houses in the Polish province. In 1484, the biggest monasteries in Gdańsk, Elbląg and Toruń were on the list of monasteries reformed and formally subjected to the rule of the Superior Provincial. However, these actions were not permanent. Already in 1487, further reforms in the monastery in Gdańsk followed. Only this reform proved to be effective, so that still in 1496, the priors of the friary in Gdańsk and Elbląg were instructed, at the provincial meeting of the Order in Lublin, to reform the remaining monasteries of the Prussian provincial district of the Dominicans, the lower unit in the administration of the Order, covering all the houses in the State of the Teutonic Order and the Royal Prussia<sup>26</sup>. Of course, also the Franciscans undertook the reform of the internal life of monasteries at that time. This, however, was strongly influenced by external factors associated with the efforts to change the provincial affiliation of the monasteries, which previously belonged to the Saxon province of the Order. In this context, the reform carried out using own resources would also be an effective measure blocking the attempts undertaken by the Polish Franciscan Observants (Bernardines) to incorporate these monasteries into their province. A special role in these treatments played the royal court, which made the plan to subordinate all local monasteries of the Polish church organisation as one of the elements of its policy towards the Royal Prussia, by incorporating them into the Polish province of individual orders and filling the monasteries with friars who came from within the kingdom. It should also be noted that this problem did not exist in the case of a diocesan affiliation, since most of the land of the new province has long been subordinated to the bishop based in Włocławek and the Archdiocese of Gniezno. The first attempt to take over the Franciscan monastery in Toruń by the Polish Bernardines, undertaken around 1468, was, however, effectively blocked by the Prussian Franciscans belonging to the Saxon province<sup>27</sup>. Such efforts though were also undertaken later. The ultimately unrealized plan for

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<sup>25</sup> Rafał KUBICKI, *Próby reformy konwentu gdańskiego dominikanów na tle reformy innych klasztorów mendykanckich Prus Królewskich w XV w.*, [in:] *Ecclesia semper reformanda. Kryzysy i reformy średniowiecznego Kościoła*, ed. Tomasz GAŁUSZKA, Tomasz GRAFF, Grzegorz Ryś (Societas Vistulana), Kraków 2013, pp. 522, 533–534.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 520–527.

<sup>27</sup> *Memoriale Ordinis*, pp. 186–187; USF, II: *Die Kustodie Preussen*, hrsg. v. Leonhard LEMMENS, Düsseldorf 1912, No. 460; Leonhard LEMMENS, *Aus der Geschichte der deutschen Franziskaner im Ordenslande Preussen*, Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn, H. 20: 1912, pp. 63–64; Kamil KANTAK, *Franciszkanie polscy*, vol. 1, Kraków 1937, pp. 358–361.

the foundation of further monasteries in Malbork and Elbląg by the Observants of the Saxon province emerged in 1500 in connection with efforts made to this end by the Observants (Bernardines) from the Polish province. At the same time, considering a support for plans to organize a friary of the Observants from the Saxon Province in Elbląg, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order stipulated that he would support this idea only on the condition that, if, in the future, the city is back under his rule, the friars would willingly return the Castle boroughs, granted to them by the city, to the<sup>28</sup> Teutonic Order.

The dispute over the provincial affiliation of the Franciscan friaries in the Royal Prussia lasted later. Still in the letter of 5 March, 1518, King Sigismund wrote to the Cardinal Protector of the Franciscan Order Dominic Grimani (1503–1523) on the incorporation of the Franciscan monasteries in the Royal Prussia to the Polish Province of the Order, which also did not take place<sup>29</sup>. In the face of these tensions, a proper reform of the Franciscan monasteries in Gdańsk and Toruń was carried out only in 1491 with a considerable participation of municipal authorities, which directly encouraged these activities, writing requests to the authorities of the Saxon province of the Order<sup>30</sup>. In the case of Toruń, introduction of the reform did not take place without problems. The disobedient friars left the monastery and went to the Superior Provincial with a complaint about the custodian (the superior of the monasteries in Prussia). The attitude of the municipal authorities, however, was overwhelming and led to the reformation of the monasteries by restoring discipline, poverty and community life of the friars. It is characteristic that the reform was implemented according to the constitution of Pope Martin V (the so-called Martini)<sup>31</sup>, introduced at the Conventual Franciscans. This occurred despite the fact that, as we remember, the Observants, also present in the Saxon province, were particularly active in these areas in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and who, however, did not take over the monasteries of the Conventual Franciscans, but set up their own monasteries in other

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<sup>28</sup> L. LEMMENS, *Die Franziskanerkustodie*, p. 38; USF, I, no. 133, p. 36; Marian BISKUP, *Polska a zakon krzyżacki w Prusach w początkach XVI w. U źródeł sekularyzacji Prus Krzyżackich*, Olsztyn 1983, p. 95, annotation 126.

<sup>29</sup> L. LEMMENS, *Aus der Geschichte*, p. 64.

<sup>30</sup> USF, II, no. 473, 474; Ferdinand DOELLE, *Die Martinianische Reformbewegung in der sächsischen Franziskanerprovinz (Mittel- und Nordostdeutschland) im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Münster 1921, pp. 37, 78–79.

<sup>31</sup> On the principles of the reform carried out in the Saxon province by the provincial minister Matthias Döring see Petra WEIGEL-SCHIECK, *Landesherrn und Observanzbewegung. Studien zur Reformverständnis des sächsischen Provinzialminister Matthias Döring (1427–1461)*, [in:] *Könige, Landesherrn und Bettelorden. Konflikt und Kooperation in West- und Mitteleuropa bis zur Frühen Neuzeit*, hrsg. v. Dieter BERG (Saxonia Franciscana. Beiträge zur Geschichte der sächsischen Franziskanerprovinz, Bd. 10), Werl 1998, pp. 361–390.

centres. It seems that introducing reforms of the Franciscan monasteries according to the constitution of Martin V resulted from a desire to maintain a greater control over monasteries by the municipal authorities, similarly as it was in Silesia, where they preferred to strictly control the Franciscans than allow to take over monasteries by the more independent Observants<sup>32</sup>. Later, the Franciscan monasteries in Braniewo, Wehlau (1498)<sup>33</sup>, Barczewo (1499)<sup>34</sup> and Nowe (1520) were also reformed<sup>35</sup>. The City Council of Gdańsk was also the initiator of the reform of the local friary of the Carmelites. In 1493, a letter with a request to introduce reforms in this monastery was sent to the authorities of the Czech-Polish province of the Order in Kraków, which directly led to the appointment of the friar to implement these reforms<sup>36</sup>. Due to the lack of sources, its further fate is unknown. It had to be effective since a meeting of the elders of the Carmelites took place in the monastery in Gdańsk in 1500. The Carmelites had also problems with the functioning of the shortly existing monastery in Prabuty. In 1496, a decision was made at the provincial meeting to imprison the friar Bernard Croner, who was accused of embezzling funds for the construction of the monastery church in Prabuty<sup>37</sup>. These examples indicate that the reform of the inner life of the Mendicant friaries in the Royal Prussia followed in the context of the efforts to change the provincial affiliation of the Mendicants<sup>38</sup>, of which only the Dominicans belonged to the Polish province of their order from the beginning<sup>39</sup>. As mentioned, the Franciscan monasteries, belonging to the Saxon province, were to be incorporated into the Polish province, which, however, was not implemented ultimately. Similarly, there were also efforts made in the case of the only monastery of the Carmelites in those areas. In fact, their monastery in Gdańsk first belonged to the Upper Germany province, and since 1411 to the Czech province, after

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<sup>32</sup> Gabriela WĄS, *Rola rad miejskich w reformie zakonu franciszkańskiego na Śląsku i Łużycach w XV i XVI wieku na przykładzie Zgorzelca*, [in:] *Klasztor w mieście średniowiecznym i nowożytnym*, red. Marek DERWICH, Anna POBÓG-LENARTOWICZ, Wrocław–Opole 2000, pp. 516–517.

<sup>33</sup> „die bruder des closters czu Welaw des gemeyne lebens, wie czu Thorn, Gdanczk und Brunszberg in Prewssen reformiret sein auch in ordentlich wesen gebracht und reformirt werden”, GStA PK, XX. HA, OF 18b, fol. 67r (no. 81).

<sup>34</sup> *Memoriale domini Lucae episcopi Warmiensis*, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Warmienses*, hrsg. v. Carl P. WOELKY, Bd. 2, Braunsberg 1889, p. 121; USF, II, no. 482, p. 129.

<sup>35</sup> K. KANTAK, op.cit., p. 360.

<sup>36</sup> Paul SIMSON, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, Bd. 1, Danzig 1913, p. 380.

<sup>37</sup> „Tandem in capitulo etiam Posnaniensis in anno 1496 in quo pater Bernardus Croner fuit per sententiam diffinitorum ad carcerus deputatus quousque redderet ea omnia, quae praetextu novam fabricam Prabutensis acceperat, et in usus suos converterat”, AKKr, ref. 92/682, A. KOŚLIŃSKI, *Index foundationum*, p. 43.

<sup>38</sup> W. ROTH, op.cit., pp. 13–21, 99–105; J. SARNOŃSKY, op.cit., p. 58.

<sup>39</sup> W. ROTH, op.cit., p. 18; R. KUBICKI, *Die Rolle der Bettelorden*, p. 75.

1440 to the Saxon province, and ultimately, in 1462, it was incorporated into the Czech-Polish province ("Bohemiae et Poloniae")<sup>40</sup>. The Franciscan Observants created their own Livonian-Prussian Custody and the Augustinian hermits a Prussian District, first as part of the Saxon province and second of the Saxon and Thuringian province of their Order<sup>41</sup>.

### 3. CHANGES IN RELATIONSHIPS WITH SOCIAL BASE

In addition to new foundations and internal changes, associated with attempts to reform the friaries, significant changes also followed in relations between the friaries of their social base after 1466. It seems that the two factors had greatest impact on this. The first was the growing independence of municipal councils, which sought to control more and more spheres of urban life and expand their autonomy toward supreme power of the king and church factors (the communalisation process). This was expressed, inter alia, in procedures for the patronage over the parish church, the school and hospitals, followed by the monasteries in the town. Another factor, however, was the growing importance of the new elite of knights, nobles, shaping in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, who held land offices in the Royal Prussia and were associated with the new knighthood in the dominion of the Teutonic Order, who derived from the mercenary commanders and who were covered by considerable land grants from the state domain as a repayment form of war obligations<sup>42</sup>.

For example, representatives of the knights from the Gdańsk district were admitted to participate in the spiritual wealth of the Franciscan monastery in Gdańsk (1476)<sup>43</sup>. The Dominicans from Gerdaun (the foundation of the knight Caspar Sparrow from 1477)<sup>44</sup> and the Augustinians-hermits in Patollen (1483–1484) also had contacts with the knights<sup>45</sup>. In a document issued in

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<sup>40</sup> Adalbert DECKERT, *Die Oberdeutsche Provinz der Karmeliten nach den Akten ihrer Kapitel von 1421 bis 1529*, Rom 1961, pp. 35–36.

<sup>41</sup> USF, I, no. 113; GStA PK, XX. HA, Perg. Urk., LIV, no. 17b.

<sup>42</sup> Lothar Dralle generally presented the process of developing goods of the new nobility, see Lothar DRALLE, *Der Staat des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen nach dem II. Thorner Frieden. Untersuchungen zur ökonomischen und ständepolitischen Geschichte Altpreußens zwischen 1466 und 1497*, Wiesbaden 1975, pp. 39–46.

<sup>43</sup> Rafał KUBICKI, *Dwa dokumenty franciszkanów gdańskich z drugiej połowy XV w. – przyczynek do badań nad społecznym kręgiem oddziaływania zakonu*, *Rocznik Gdański*, t. 67–68: 2007–2008, pp. 89–91.

<sup>44</sup> Georg A. VON MÜLVERSTEDT, *Fromme Stiftungen in Preussen*, *Neue Preußische Provinzial-Blätter andere Folge*, Bd. 10: 1856, pp. 146–148.

<sup>45</sup> G.A. VON MÜLVERSTEDT, op.cit., pp. 9–13; Emil J. GUTTZEIT, *Das Kloster Patollen (zur heiligen Dreifaltigkeit) innerhalb der Geschichte des Rittergutes Gross Waldeck, Kreis Pr. Eylau*, [in:] *Studien zur Geschichte des Preussenlandes. Festschrift für Erich Keyser zu seinem 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern*, hrsg. v. Ernst BÄHR, Marburg 1963, pp. 200–201.

1477 by the prior of the Dominican monastery in Gerdauen, Szymon Loberg, the monastery promised to celebrate Gregorian Masses for Caspar and his family in gratitude for giving the monastery two fiefs (about 33.6 hectares) of forest in Dawer<sup>46</sup>. The prior mentioned that it was the second devise as previously Caspar gave the monastery five fiefs (about 83 hectares) of the said forest<sup>47</sup>. It was determined in the commitment of the Dominicans that they will eternally celebrate the Masses for the family of Caspar and for him, after his death, four times a year. In the case of the mentioned Augustinian-hermits in Patollen, five knights from this circle, namely Kunze von Egloffstein, Hans von Weyer, Kunze Pfersfelder, Siegmund from Eylau and Caspar Rauff, gave the monastery a considerable sum of 390 marks, which funded the erection of a chapel and an altar where the friars prayed for the founders' families. The knights were given the right to burial in that chapel, and friars pledged to keep the eternal light there and perform prayers for their souls. In addition, the legacies made by them to the monasteries are also the testimony of a close relationship with the knights. Such support was provided to the Dominicans in Toruń and the Franciscans in Chełmno (1498), gaining the prayer memorials of the local friars<sup>48</sup>. The Dominican monastery in Toruń was supported, inter alia, by the Chełmno province governor Gabriel Bażyński (600 marks in 1462) and the later Chełmno chamberlain Ludwig Mortęski (1497)<sup>49</sup>. The Augustinians-hermits in Reszel, who, in 1507, gained 10 fiefs in the village Pasterzewo from Ditrych and Hans von Schlieben, could also count on generosity from the knights<sup>50</sup>. Individual and collective foundations of the representatives of the appreciable knighthood, testified to its increased role after 1466, both in the Royal Prussia and State of the Teutonic Order. What is particularly interesting, the nobility representatives also joined the Order in this period, which was rare in the case of the Mendicant congregations in these areas. In the years 1519–1521, the curator of the Franciscans in Prussia was Jan Żeliślawski, who came from the Kociewie nobility and was the brother of the Gniezno gover-

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<sup>46</sup> This forest was probably located near the village Dobrzykowo (Ger. Dawerwalde) – Barciany commune, southwest of Gerdauen.

<sup>47</sup> „[...] zwey huben waldes, gelegen in dem Dawer bey dem funff huben die unser closter auch vor, von dem genandten Erbaren Casparn Sparraw gegeben und vorlihen sindt [...]”, G.A. VON MÜLVERSTEDT, op.cit., pp. 146–148.

<sup>48</sup> Rafał KUBICKI, *Participationis omnium bonorum operum – forma i znaczenie przyjęcia do udziału w dobrach duchowych zakonu na przykładzie mendykantów w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach*, *Nasza Przeszość*, vol. 112: 2009, p. 70.

<sup>49</sup> Rafał KUBICKI, *Środowisko dominikanów kontraty pruskiej. Od XIII do połowy XVI wieku*, Gdańsk 2007, p. 38.

<sup>50</sup> Adolf POSCHMANN, *Das Augustinerkloster in Rössel*, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands*, Bd. 24: 1932, no. 24, pp. 154–156.



nor Michał Żelisławski, who owned a mansion in Międzyzłęź<sup>51</sup>. The growing importance of contacts with the knighthood representatives or the emerging nobility, did not mean, however, general changes in the social structure of the friaries. The vast majority of friars still descended from the middle class. Also, the material support was mainly based on devises from the middle class, including precepts in wills<sup>52</sup>. At the same time, it must be emphasized here that the monasteries received them apart from many other church institutions at that time. For example, the sum of devises for Mendicant friaries (the Dominicans in Gdańsk and Tczew, the Franciscans and the Carmelites in Gdańsk and the Observants in Lębork) in wills of Gdańsk burghers of the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, amounted to 396 marks and accounted for 31,5% the total amount of devises in favour of monastic institutions (1,256 marks in total), but only 8,5% of the total sum paid by the townspeople for churches, hospitals and monasteries (about 4,650 marks)<sup>53</sup>. It should be added here that these devises were rising at the end of the Middle Ages. This confirms the more general tendency observed at this time, according to which testators, striving especially for prayers for their families, increased their contributions for the monasteries, which guaranteed prayer memorials for them, and limited their donations to the poor and municipal hospitals<sup>54</sup>.

Summing up the above comments on the transformations taking place in the life of the Mendicant orders in Prussia after 1466, it should be recalled here that the Franciscan Observants, who appointed five new friaries, were characterised by the greatest dynamism. However, the efforts made in this regard by the Carmelites and the Bernardine of the Polish Province proved to

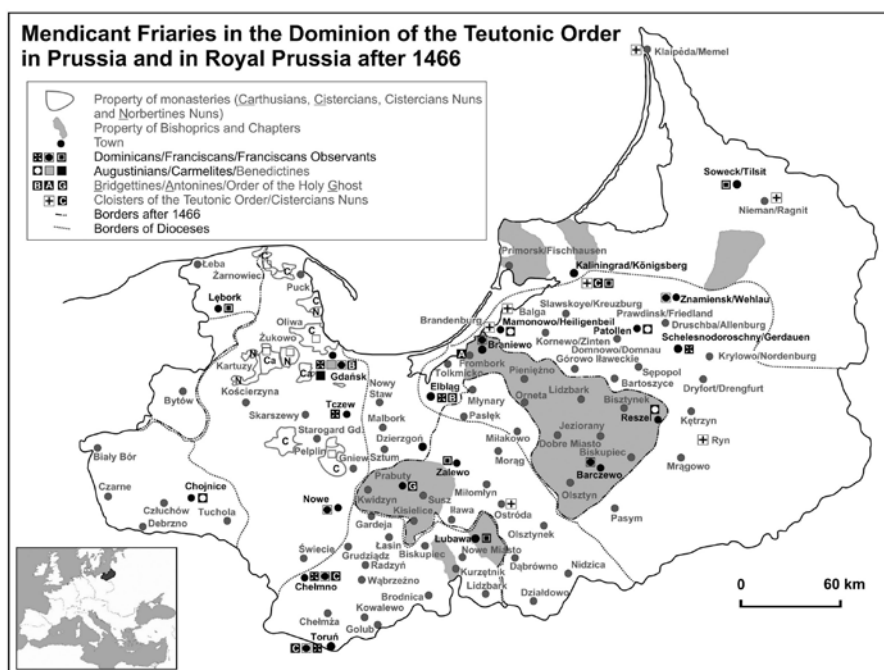
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<sup>51</sup> Paweł CZAPLEWSKI, *Senatorowie świeccy, podskarbiowie i starostowie Prus Królewskich 1454–1772* (Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, 26–28, 1919–1921), Toruń 1921, p. 136; USE, II, no. 508, p. 134; no 571, p. 147; no. 574, p. 148. The mentioned Michał Żelisławski had close, even personal contacts with the Franciscan monastery in Gdańsk. It is evidenced by the fact that on January 25, 1519, in a letter to the Guardian of the monastery Teofil Quant, he informed about the death of his wife Justyna, asking the friars to pray in her intentions, Leonhard LEMMENS, *Briefe und Urkunden des XVI. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der sächsischen Franziskaner*, Beiträge zur Geschichte sächsischen Franziskanerprovinz, Bd. 4–5: 1911–1912, p. 60, regest 1.

<sup>52</sup> See Rafał KUBICKI, *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> c.*, Hereditas Monasteriorum, vol. 3: 2013, pp. 60–61.

<sup>53</sup> Calculations based on data contained in the statement by Beata MOŻEJKO, *Rozrachunek z życiem doczesnym. Gdańskie testamenty mieszczzańskie z XV i początku XVI wieku*, Gdańsk 2010, table II and III pp. 84–96. The conditional precept of the devise of 700 marks for the St. Anna church and the local fraternity were not taken into account.

<sup>54</sup> Henryk SAMSONOWICZ, *La vie religieuse dans les villes de la Baltique à la fin du Moyen Âge*, [in:] *L'Église et le peuple chrétien dans les pays de l'Europe du Centre-est et du Nord (XIVe–XVe siècles)* (Actes du colloque de Rome, 27–29 janvier 1986), Rome 1990, p. 50.



be unsuccessful. The latter, despite repeated attempts, also failed to take over any of the local Franciscan friary belonging to the Saxon province of the Order. In general, competition for provincial affiliation of friaries was an important element in the calculation of the order authorities and the pressures from the royal court. In addition to this competition and the attempts to organize new friaries, important changes concerned the inner life of individual friaries. They were part of a much broader process taking place within individual congregations and the entire Church. They were not the only answer to the crisis, which touched the monastic life at the time, but also resulted from the growing influence of the municipal authorities on the episcopal structures functioning in cities. The new group developing broader contacts with friaries of Mendicants, traditionally functioning in the urban community, were the significant representatives of the nobility. They established contacts with friaries to ensure not only the memorial prayers for themselves (share in spiritual wealth of friaries), but above all, exclusive forms of burial and memorials (own chapels in the monastery church, Gregorian Masses). Both the undertaken reform of monastic life then, as well as expanding the social base of the monastery seemed to indicate the good state of the friaries, enjoying the constant support of the local community<sup>55</sup>. However, the actual state of monastic life and, above

<sup>55</sup> E. JOACHIM, op.cit., pp. 18–19.

all, radical transformations taking place in the social perception of monastic life, emerged with full force with the development of the Reformation.

*(transl. by Tomasz Leszczuk)*

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*dr hab. Rafał Kubicki, prof. UG*  
*Instytut Historii*  
*Uniwersytet Gdański*  
*e-mai: hisrk@univ.gda.pl*

KLASZTORY MENDYKANCKIE W PRUSACH KRZYŻACKICH  
I KRÓLEWSKICH PO 1466 R. DO REFORMACJI

Streszczenie

**Słowa kluczowe:** nowe fundacje klasztorne, reforma klasztorów, mendykanci

W artykule rozpatrzono problem warunków funkcjonowania zakonów mendykantkich na terenie Prus Zakonnych i Prus Królewskich w okresie od 1466 r. do początków reformacji. Zagadnienie to przedstawione zostało w trzech perspektywach: organizacyjno-prawnej, tworzenia nowych fundacji klasztornych po 1466 r., przemian dokonujących się w życiu wewnętrznym poszczególnych wspólnot zakonnych, nowych form relacji z zapleczem społecznym w miastach i poza nimi.

W okresie po 1466 r. największym dynamizmem odznaczali się na tym terenie nowo przybyli franciszkanie obserwanci, którzy powołali pięć nowych klasztorów. Nieskuteczne okazały się natomiast podobne starania podejmowane przez karmelitów i bernardynów z prowincji polskiej. Obok organizowania nowych klasztorów istotnym problemem była potrzeba reformy życia wewnętrznego poszczególnych konwentów. W tym samym czasie ważnym kręgiem społecznym, stale rozwijającym swe kontakty z klasztorami mendykantów, stali się przedstawiciele znaczniejszej szlachty. Motywacją ich działań była nie tylko chęć zapewnienia sobie wspomnienia modlitewnego, lecz także ekskluzywne formy pochówku i pamięci (własne kaplice w kościołach klasztornych i msze wieczyste).

KLÖSTER VON BETTELORDEN IM ORDENSLAND UND IM KÖNIGLICHEN  
PREUSSEN ZWISCHEN 1466 UND DER REFORMATION

## Zusammenfassung

**Schlüsselwörter:** Neugründung von Klöstern, Reform von Klöstern, Bettelorden

Der Artikel behandelt die Tätigkeit der Bettelorden auf dem Gebiet des dem Orden verbliebenen Preußens und des Königlichen Preußens in der Zeit von 1466 bis zum Beginn der Reformation. Das Thema wird aus drei Perspektiven dargestellt: 1. der organisatorisch-juristischen, der Gründung neuer Klöster nach 1466, 2. der Veränderungen, die sich im inneren Leben der einzelnen Ordensgemeinschaften abspielten, 3. der neuen Form der Beziehungen zur gesellschaftlichen Basis in den Städten und außerhalb von ihnen.

Im Zeitraum nach 1466 legten in diesem Gebiet die neuangekommenen Franziskanerobservanten die größte Dynamik an den Tag, die fünf neue Klöster gründeten. Erfolglos blieben dagegen ähnliche Bemühungen der Karmeliten und Franziskanerobservanten aus der polnischen Provinz. Neben der Organisation der neuen Klöster war ein wesentliches Problem die Notwendigkeit einer Reform des inneren Lebens der einzelnen Konvente. Zur gleichen Zeit wurden Vertreter des höheren Adels zu einem wichtigen sozialen Bezugfeld, das seine Kontakte zu den Klöstern der Bettelorden ständig ausbaute. Das Motiv dafür war nicht nur der Wunsch nach Gedenken im Gebet, sondern auch exklusive Formen des Begräbnisses und des Andenkens (eigene Kapellen in den Klosterkirchen und ewige Gedächtnismessen).



