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THE BEGINNINGS OF THE REFORMATION  
IN THE LIGHT OF GDAŃSK AND KÖNIGSBERG CHRONICLERS  
OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE 16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY  
THE ACTIVITY OF THE FIRST REFORMERS

**Key words:** Reformation, historiography, Gdańsk, Königsberg, preaching, Royal Prussia, the Duchy of Prussia

The issue of the beginnings of the Reformation in Prussia is richly described in the literature of the subject matter. Still, the preserved chronicles have not been fully examined, particularly in the field of the research on mentality and perception of the period. Applying the methodology connected with the research of the “history of representation” (*Vorstellungsgeschichte*), which refers to the manner in which contemporary people perceived, explained and represented the surrounding world, brings very interesting findings. The method was fully developed and its assumptions were formulated in 2003 by Hans-Werner Goetz.<sup>1</sup> The method provides promising findings in reference to the analysis of the chronicle material.<sup>2</sup> Although we are aware of the factors influencing the rapid expansion of the Reformation ideas in the towns of Royal and Monastic Prussia, including their further formation,<sup>3</sup> it is hard to

<sup>1</sup> Hans-Werner GOETZ, *Wahrnehmungs- und Deutungsmuster als methodisches Problem der Geschichtswissenschaft*, Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung, Bd. 8: 2003, H. 2, pp. 23–33.

<sup>2</sup> Julia Możdżeń, *Przedstawianie świata przez gdańskich kronikarzy na przełomie XV i XVI w.* (Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 95/2), Toruń 2016.

<sup>3</sup> A good example of the recapitulation of the present state of knowledge are the articles: Jacek Wijaczka, *Luteranie w Koronie od 1517 do 1795 r.*, [in:] *Kościoły luterańskie na ziemiach polskich (XVI–XX w.)*, vol. 1: *W czasach Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów*, ed. Jarosław Kłaczek, Toruń 2012, pp. 13–88; Janusz Małecki, *Zarys dziejów Kościoła Luterańskiego w Prusach Księżeckich (1525–1657), Prusach Brandenburskich (1657–1701) i (Prusach Wschodnich) Królestwa Polskiego (1701–1817)*, [in:] *Kościoły luterańskie na ziemiach polskich (XVI–XX w.)*, vol. 1: *W czasach Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów*, red. Jarosław Kłaczek, Toruń 2012, pp. 151–186.

find the data concerning the manner in which inhabitants of the towns reacted to such ideas;<sup>4</sup> when they perceived the religious and social “changes” (and which of them were the first to perceive?); how they judged them and how the changes affected their perception of the contemporary reality. The representation of the beginnings of the Reformation is expected to have been described differently by Catholics and Protestants, but the question arises whether there were some areas which both groups perceived in a similar way.

#### THE SOURCE BASE

The centres which undoubtedly affected most the whole territory of Royal and Monastic Prussia were Gdańsk (with about 30 000 inhabitants) and Königsberg (about 10 000 inhabitants). The condition of the source base allows us to use only the material generated in the Main City of Gdańsk and the Old City of Königsberg. We shall be interested mainly in the current accounts, or accounts recorded from the beginning of the 1530s, when the memory about the described events was still fresh. Current accounts are characterized by the chaotic narration and the changeability of judgement in time, which is the thing that determines their value for the research on the manner of representing the reality. Accounts recorded several years after the described event are well thought out and are characterized by the cause- and effect order of presenting the events. In such accounts only the most distinguished events are depicted, whilst the minor ones are forgotten.

These criteria are fulfilled by few chronicles available nowadays. The most valuable chronicle for the history of the Reformation in both cities is *Preussische Chronik* by Simon Grunau<sup>5</sup> (written in the years 1517–1529/1530<sup>6</sup>), who in the 1520s travelled from one town to the other. He collected oral accounts, gossips and refrains, even carnival games, which reflected the ambience of the time. He found documents, letters and read the first printed Lutheran sermons, songs and texts to judge them critically as a Dominican who had

<sup>4</sup> Only the chronicle by Simon Grunau was analyzed in this way – Sławomir ZONENBERG, *Wizerunek heretyka w Preußische Chronik dominikanina Szymona Grunaua*, [in:] *Persona – gestus habitusquae – insignium. Zachowania i atrybuty jako wyznaczniki tożsamości społecznej jednostki w średniowieczu*, ed. Jacek BANASZKIEWICZ, Jacek MACIEJEWSKI, Joanna SOBIESIAK, Lublin 2009, pp. 103–116.

<sup>5</sup> *Simon Grunau's Preussische Chronik* (further cit. Grunau), Bd. 1, hrsg. v. Max PERLBACH (Die preussischen Geschichtsschreiber des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, Bd. 1), Leipzig 1876; *Simon Grunau's Preussische Chronik*, Bd. 2, hrsg. v. M. PERLBACH, Rudolf PHILIPPI, Paul WAGNER (Die preussischen Geschichtsschreiber des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, Bd. 2), Leipzig 1889; *Simon Grunau's Preussische Chronik* 3, hrsg. v. Paul WAGNER (Die preussischen Geschichtsschreiber des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, Bd. 3), Leipzig 1896.

<sup>6</sup> The most recent research on the biography and writings of Grunau by: Sławomir ZONENBERG, *Kronika Szymona Grunaua*, Bydgoszcz 2009.

received a thorough theological education.<sup>7</sup> What is most valuable is the fact that he recorded in his chronicle many examples from the period, which he represented on the basis of the current events.<sup>8</sup> They reflect the way of understanding the Reformation ideas by ordinary people.

The next chronicle is the compilation by Bernt Stegmann who was connected with the city authorities (recorded in the years 1527–1529).<sup>9</sup> This is the oldest preserved Gdańsk chronicle in the form of a codex.<sup>10</sup> The compiler Bernt Stegmann provided his own comments to the texts included in the compilation. That is why the work may be treated as the creation of a particular person reflecting the author's views and opinions. The compilation was written for the Catholic reader belonging to the authorities of the Main City of Gdańsk; it gives advice how to govern the city well. The compilation was written in the years 1527–1529<sup>11</sup> from a certain time perspective. The edition of the chronicle by Christopher Beyer (not preserved by now) does not stand the criticism of the source,<sup>12</sup> nor does another edition by T. Hirsch *Die Ferber Chronik von 1511–1525*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 76–106.

<sup>8</sup> J. MOŻDZEŃ, op.cit., pp. 255–256.

<sup>9</sup> The original: Biblioteka Gdańska PAN, Ms 1265 (further cit. Ms 1265). The edition of extracts: *Die Danziger Ordenschronik*, hrsg. v. Theodor Hirsch, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit* (further cit. SRP), Bd. 4, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, Max TÖPPEN, Ernst STREHLKE, Leipzig 1870, pp. 357–404; *Die Danziger Chronik vom Bunde*, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, [in:] ibid., pp. 405–489; *Die Ermahnung des Carthäusers*, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, [in:] ibid., pp. 450–465; *Danziger Hanseatische Chronik*, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, [in:] SRP, Bd. 5, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, Max TÖPPEN, Ernst STREHLKE, Leipzig 1874, pp. 49–587; *Bernt Stegmann's Chronik vom Aufruhr*, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, [in:] ibid., pp. 546–574. The author prepares the source edition of the manuscript financed as part of the program of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education called the “Narodowy Program Rozwoju Humanistyki” [“National Program for the Development of Humanities”] no. 0116/NPRH3/H21/82/2014 in the years 2014–2017.

<sup>10</sup> A codex is the collection of historical texts selected subjectively by the author/compiler or as requested by the commissioner in accordance with their interests. See more: Jacek WIEŚIŁOWSKI, *Kolekcje historyczne w Polsce średniowiecznej XIV i XV w.*, Wrocław 1967, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> J. MOŻDZEŃ, op.cit., pp. 42–45, 94–144; Arno MENTZEL-REUTERS, *Stadt und Welt. Danziger Historiographie des 16. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Kulturgeschichte Preußens königlich polnischen Anteils in der Frühen Neuzeit*, hrsg. v. Sabine BECKMANN, Klaus GARBER (Frühe Neuzeit. Studien und Dokumente zur deutschen Literatur und Kultur im europäischen Kontext, Bd. 103), Tübingen 2005, pp. 111–115.

<sup>12</sup> *Christoph Beyer des älteren Danziger Chronik*, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, [in:] SRP, Bd. 5, pp. 413–491; J. MOŻDZEŃ, op.cit., pp. 24–25; A. MENTZEL-REUTERS, op.cit., p. 116.

<sup>13</sup> *Die Ferber Chronik von 1511–1525*, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, [in:] SRP, Bd. 5, pp. 538–543. The edition based on the codex by Konstanty Giese of the end 16<sup>th</sup> century – A. MENTZEL-REUTERS, op.cit., p. 111. It is not possible to establish who the author of the account was. It was written from a large time perspective and is devoid of the more extensive description of the first years of the activity of Lutheran priests in Gdańsk.

In the case of the Königsberg accounts the researchers are in a much better situation. Although the manuscripts, which were of fundamental significance for the edition, did not survive WWII, thanks to the work of historians done at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries we have the memorial book (*Memorialbuch*) recorded by the city's notary Johann Beler<sup>14</sup> (written in the years 1519–1523) and Casper Platner (1523–1528)<sup>15</sup> who continued his work. The researchers may also use the text of the chronicle by Johann Freiberg,<sup>16</sup> of whom not much is known except the fact that he was a Catholic connected with the Old Town. He recorded interesting events from a certain time perspective; he finished writing in 1548.<sup>17</sup> There have survived the accounts written by the compiler Christopher Johann Weißenfels<sup>18</sup> and the secretary of Grand Master Albrecht Hohenzollern – Baltasar Gans<sup>19</sup> (died in 1580), who used in the description of the period the so called *Kneiphofische Chronik* written in the years 1519–1525 (not preserved by now).<sup>20</sup> Yet, the texts fail to provide more extensive information about the beginnings of the Reformation.

The paper is divided into two main parts. In the first part the author shall discuss the historiography of Gdańsk and the specific nature of the development of Lutheranism in Gdańsk, while the second part shall address similar issues in reference to Königsberg. Owing to the length of the source material I shall limit myself to the period of the so called Early Reformation (until 1526

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<sup>14</sup> Published twice: *Die Beler-Platnersche Chronik*, hrsg. v. Sophie MEYER, Altpreußische Monatsschrift, Bd. 49: 1912, pp. 343–415, 593–663; *Die Beler-Platnersche Chronik*, [in:] SRP, Bd. 6, hrsg. v. Walther HUBATSCH, bearb. v. Udo ARNOLD, mit einer Einl. v. Erich MASCHKE, Frankfurt am Main 1968, pp. 168–264; Fritz GAUSE, *Beler Johannes*, [in:] Neue Deutsche Biographie (further cit. NDB), Bd. 2, 1955, p. 28 (Onlinefassung), <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd135924545.html> [access: 8 X 2016]).

<sup>15</sup> Udo ARNOLD, *Geschichtsschreibung im Preussenland bis zum Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ost-Deutschlands, Bd. 19: 1970, p. 105; Fritz GAUSE, *Die Geschichte der Stadt Königsberg in Preussen*, Bd. 1: *Von der Gründung der Stadt bis zum letzten Kurfürsten*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 1966, p. 285; Max TÖPPEN, *Geschichte der preussischen Historiographie von P. v. Dusburg bis auf K. Schütz*, Berlin 1873, pp. 211–212.

<sup>16</sup> Published three times: *Die Chronik des Johannes Freiberg*, [in:] SRP, Bd. 6, pp. 356–544; *Preussische Chronik des Johannes Freiberg, aus den auf der Königsberger Stadtbibliothek befindlichen Handschriften*, hrsg. v. Friedrich Adolf MECKELBURG, Königsberg 1848; U. ARNOLD, op.cit., p. 106; F. GAUSE, op.cit., p. 285; M. TÖPPEN, op.cit., pp. 212–218.

<sup>17</sup> Friedrich Adolf MECKELBURG, *Vorwort*, [in:] *Preussische Chronik des Johannes Freiberg*, s. V.

<sup>18</sup> *Cronica des hochlobwirdigen ritterlichen Teutschen ordens von Christoph Jan (von Weißenfels)*, [in:] SRP, Bd. 6, pp. 600–603; U. ARNOLD, op.cit., p. 107; M. TÖPPEN, op.cit., pp. 218–221.

<sup>19</sup> *Die Chronik des Balthasar Gans*, [in:] SRP, Bd. 6, pp. 545–592; Janusz MAŁŁEK, *Geneza sejmu 1566 r. w Prusach Książęcych*, Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie, 1961, no. 4, p. 514; U. ARNOLD, op.cit., p. 108.

<sup>20</sup> U. ARNOLD, op.cit., p. 108.

– the year in which King Sigismund the Old restored Catholicism in Gdańsk), when the ideas were being shaped.<sup>21</sup>

#### GDAŃSK

The literature of the subject matter recognizes the marriage of the Gdańsk priest Jacob Knade (Knothe) in 1518, who held the duties of the parish priest in the Church of SS. Peter and Paul in the Stare Przedmieście (Vorstadt), as the first trace of the Reformation ideas appearing in Royal Prussia. Theodor Hirsh in his book *Die Ober-Pfarrkirche von St. Marien in Danzig*<sup>22</sup> published in 1843 was the first to quote this date basing on the late account of the chronicle by the Dominican Martin Gruneweg (1562 – ca. 1618) from the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries,<sup>23</sup> which he recorded from memory at the end of his life. The chronicler knew the widow of Knade (she died in 1580), but he fails to provide the exact date of the marriage.<sup>24</sup> This event is considered by researchers to be momentous.<sup>25</sup> However as early as 1898 Hermann Freytag wrote about the “undeserved fame” of Knade as a Gdańsk Reformer; he indicated earlier traces of the Reformation in Gdańsk.<sup>26</sup> Also Paul Simson, the author of *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*<sup>27</sup> published in 1913, which by the 1980s had played the role of the most complete monograph of the city, originally recognized this date as the beginning of the Reformation in Gdańsk. Two years later the researcher negated the date of the marriage of Knade in 1518,<sup>28</sup> pointing out that Gruneweg's chronicle is the only chronicle which provides the information. The preserved letter to the city council of Gdańsk of 10 October 1528<sup>29</sup> says about the marriage of Knade being concluded during the

<sup>21</sup> Marian BISKUP, *O początkach reformacji luterańskiej w Prusach Królewskich*, Kwartalnik Historyczny, vol. 100: 1993, no. 4, p. 111.

<sup>22</sup> Theodor HIRSCH, *Die Ober-Pfarrkirche von St. Marien in Danzig in ihren Denkmälern und in ihren Beziehungen zum kirchlichen Leben Danzigs überhaupt*, Bd. 1, Danzig 1843, pp. 256–257.

<sup>23</sup> *Die Aufzeichnungen des Dominikaners Martin Gruneweg (1562 – ca. 1618) über seine Familie in Danzig, seine Handelsreisen in Osteuropa und sein Klosterleben in Polen*, hrsg. v. Almut BUES, Bd. 1, Wiesbaden 2008, pp. 229–230.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 119; Paul SIMSON, *Wann hat der Danziger Priester Jakob Knothe geheiratet?*, Mitteilungen des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins, Bd. 14: 1915, pp. 3–4. Comp. also: Hermann FREYTAG, *Die Beziehungen Danzigs zu Wittenberg in der Zeit der Reformation*, Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins, Bd. 38: 1898, pp. 18–20.

<sup>25</sup> Eduard SCHNAASE, *Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche Danzigs actenmäßig dargestellt*, Danzig 1863, p. 8.

<sup>26</sup> H. FREYTAG, op.cit., pp. 19–20.

<sup>27</sup> Paul SIMSON, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, Bd. 2, Danzig 1913, p. 49.

<sup>28</sup> Idem, *Wann hat*, pp. 3–4.

<sup>29</sup> Paul TSCHACKERT, *Urkundenbuch zur Reformationsgeschichte des Herzogthums Preussen*, Bd. 1: *Urkunden, Th. 1: 1523 bis 1541*, Leipzig 1890, no. 608, p. 207.

time of the revolt (between 1525 and 1526<sup>30</sup>) and Knade's being imprisoned for half a year in 1526. According to Simson, the year 1518 provided on the margin of Gruneweg's manuscript must have referred to another event.<sup>31</sup> In the chronicle by Gruneweg it reads that prior to marrying Anna Rastenberg, who he had been in love with for many years, Knade studied the Bible and the texts about marriage.<sup>32</sup> The time when he started giving sermons in the spirit of the new doctrine<sup>33</sup> remains unknown. Scholars have various opinions about this issue.<sup>34</sup> Let us then turn to what the contemporary chroniclers said about the event.

Stegmann does not know Jacob Knade at all.<sup>35</sup> He is not a major figure for this chronicler in the context of the development of the Reformation in the city. On the other hand, Grunau mentions him marginally while referring to

<sup>30</sup> According to the account by Gruneweg, Knade was to be imprisoned immediately after the wedding *Die Aufzeichnungen*, Bd. 1, p. 230. It is known that upon the order of the city council the majority of Gdańsk Lutheran priests were imprisoned. This means that the wedding did take place in 1525. The date is also given by the publishers of Gruneweg's chronicle *Die Aufzeichnungen*, Bd. 1, p. 229, fn. 654.

<sup>31</sup> P. SIMSON, *Wann hat*, pp. 3–4.

<sup>32</sup> *Die Aufzeichnungen*, Bd. 1, pp. 229–230.

<sup>33</sup> See: H. FREYTAG, op.cit., p. 20.

<sup>34</sup> Jolanta Dworaczkowa in 1962 reminded the opinion of Paul Simson – Jolanta DWORACZKOWA, *O genezie i skutkach rewolty gdańskiej 1525/26*, Roczniki Historyczne, vol. 28: 1962, p. 99. The German scholar Udo Arnold questioned this date in 1972 – Udo ARNOLD, *Luther und Danzig*, Zeitschrift für Ostforschung, Jg. 21: 1972, p. 111. In 1983 Maria Bogucka maintained the opinion expressed by Simson – Maria BOGUCKA, *Luter a Gdańsk. Społeczne przesłanki zwycięstwa luteranizmu w Gdańsku w XVI wieku*, Rocznik Gdańsk, vol. 43: 1983, no. 1, p. 55; yet, in *Historia Gdańsk* she supported the original date – eadem, *Przemiany społeczne i walki społeczno-polityczne w XV i XVI w.*, [in:] *Historia Gdańsk*, vol. 2: 1454–1655, ed. Edmund CIEŚLAK, Gdańsk 1982, p. 230. We shall not find the event in the studies by Marian Biskup: idem, *Über die Anfänge der lutherischen Reformation im Königlichen Preußen*, [in:] *Das Preußenland als Forschungsaufgabe. Festschrift für Udo Arnold zum 60. Geburtstag*, hrsg. v. Bernhart JÄHNIG, Georg MICHELS, Lüneburg 2000, pp. 274–286; idem, *O początkach reformacji luterańskiej*, pp. 101–112. In the most recent synthesis of the history of Royal Prussia, Sławomir Kościelak says that the momentous event was the marriage of Jacob Knade in 1518 – Sławomir KOŚCIELAK, *Dzieje wyznaniowe Prus Królewskich w XVI–XVIII w.*, [in:] *Prusy Królewskie. Społeczeństwo – kultura – gospodarka, 1454–1772. Szkice z dziejów*, ed. Edmund KIZIK, Gdańsk 2012, p. 211. In the same way – Janusz MAŁLEK, *Polska wobec luteranizacji Prus*, *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, vol. 49: 2005, p. 9; Katarzyna CIEŚLAK, *Miedzy Rzymem, Wittenbergą a Genewą. Sztuka Gdańskiego jako miasta podzielonego wyznaniowo*, Wrocław 2000, p. 49; Dariusz KACZOR, Beata Możejko, Błażej ŚLIWIŃSKI, *Zarys dziejów klasztoru dominikańskiego w Gdańskim, od średniowiecza do czasów nowożytnych (1226/1227 – 1835)*, Archeologia Gdańsk, vol. 1: 2006, p. 175.

<sup>35</sup> Antoni Lorkiewicz also underlined it. The main source he used in reference to the revolt in Gdańsk was the chronicle by Stegmann. However, he must have considered Knade's speech to be not radical enough to make it worth mentioning – Antoni LORKIEWICZ, *Bunt gdański w roku 1525. Przyczynki do historii reformacji w Polsce*, Lwów 1881, p. 33.

the year 1525. Grunau gives his name among priests who were recognized by the Lutheran city council of Gdańsk. Knade became the parish priest in the Church of St. John<sup>36</sup> in the Main City. His surname is mentioned for the second time in 1526 among the names of the priests who were imprisoned upon the order of the Polish king,<sup>37</sup> which overlaps with the account by Gruneweg and the letter to the city council mentioned above by Simson. What is more, neither Grunau<sup>38</sup> nor Gruneweg<sup>39</sup> writes about him in the context of a fugitive Dominican.<sup>40</sup> Apparently, it was not Knade who the contemporary chroniclers considered to be the first Gdańsk Reformer.

The moment corresponding to the beginning of the Reformation in Gdańsk still remains unknown. The year 1518 when the first information about the Reformation reached the city is recognized by scholars. This date seems probable as the earliest order issued by King Sigismund the Old prohibiting the distribution of Lutheran literature upon the threat of banishment and confiscation of property<sup>41</sup> was issued in Toruń on 26 July 1520. Still, the question is when the inhabitants of Gdańsk started to perceive the upcoming changes.

Bernt Stegmann recorded the beginnings of the Reformation as part of the description of the causes of the outbreak of the social revolt in Gdańsk in the years 1524–1526.<sup>42</sup> The origin of the Reformation for Stegmann is the speech of the preacher Jacob Hegge<sup>43</sup> in the Old City in the summer of 1523.<sup>44</sup> Interestingly, Stegmann fails to mention his surname – he leaves an empty space to be filled in.<sup>45</sup> Yet, Stegmann provides his nickname – Finkelblock. The chronicler fails to provide the name of the parish church where Hegge

<sup>36</sup> Grunau, Bd. 2, pp. 781–782.

<sup>37</sup> Grunau, Bd. 3, p. 171.

<sup>38</sup> Grunau honestly informed about the dissents of his brother-priests – Grunau, Bd. 2, pp. 688–689.

<sup>39</sup> Gruneweg writes about as a priest, *Die Aufzeichnungen*, Bd. 1, p. 229.

<sup>40</sup> According to some scholars – Edmund KIZIK, *Die Reformation im königlichen (polnischen) Preußen bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Die Reformation in Mitteleuropa. Beiträge anlässlich des 500. Geburtstages von Primus Trüber*, 2008, hrsg. v. Vincenc RAJŠP, Ljubljana 2011, p. 204; J. WIJACZKA, op.cit., p. 38. He was not a Francisca, either. Comp. D. KACZOR, B. MOŻEJKO, B. ŚLIWIŃSKI, op.cit., p. 175.

<sup>41</sup> H. FREYTAG, op.cit., s. 23; Marian BISKUP, *Historia Torunia*, vol. 2/1, Toruń 1992, pp. 214; Janusz MAŁĘK, *Zarys dziejów Kościoła Luterańskiego*, p. 156; idem, *Polska wobec*, p. 8.

<sup>42</sup> Bernt Stegmann's *Chronik*, pp. 546–574.

<sup>43</sup> Robert STUPPERICH, *Reformatorenlexikon*, Gütersloh 1984, p. 101; M. BOGUCKA, *Luter a Gdańsk*, p. 56; U. ARNOLD, *Luther und Danzig*, p. 104; Gerhard LIPPKY, *Die ersten Danziger Reformationsprediger*, Danzig-westpreußischer Kirchenbrief, 1967 (Sonderdruck), pp. 4–5; H. FREYTAG, op.cit., pp. 17, 25.

<sup>44</sup> Bernt Stegmann's *Chronik*, p. 553.

<sup>45</sup> Ms 1265, f. 153v; Bernt Stegmann's *Chronik*, p. 553.

worked. He presents the figure of a priest who remained in conflict with the Church authorities, which punished Hegge for banishment for his lack of obedience. Banished from Gdańsk, he gave sermons beyond the city walls in the hill fort (Hagelsberg), and his sharp words directed against the Church authorities won him many supporters among various people, servants – mainly common people.<sup>46</sup> Interestingly, the Reformation activity of Hegge is presented as his personal struggle against the Church authorities; preaching God's word has not been given much attention in the account. Hegge was to receive from his supporters a pulpit in the cemetery of St. Gertrude. Undoubtedly, the fact of his being allowed to preach in the parish church of the Main City of Gdańsk was a major distinction. Stegmann describes the growing interest in Hegge's sermons, but he reproaches Hegge for his aggressive and profane utterances. He even cites some of Hegge's words,<sup>47</sup> which may give the reader the impression that Stegmann is not against the attempts of carrying out reforms, but he definitely opposes violence, the destruction of the figures of the saints, blasphemy against the pope and other sacred things. He is resentful about such facts and gives a detailed account of destructions accusing Hegge of inciting to acts of violence and blasphemy.<sup>48</sup> Yet, Stegmann does not refer to the question of purifying faith and forms of worship directly. Instead, he underlines the growing radicalization of Hegge after his return from Wittenberg in 1524. The priest was to say that Franciscans wore habits tied with a rope around their waists to have something to hang them on. He also incited to destroy the images of Virgin Mary, roods and saints – they were to be broken and burnt, which in fact took place. Stegmann stresses the increasing social unrest in Gdansk: "Disser vorborgener neyt und has wuchs und vormerete sich teglich mennickfalt zcwisschen den eynwoneren der stadt Danczke. Dy vornemesten in der stadt wornen in under sich nicht eyns".<sup>49</sup> Hegge is presented as a ringleader – the more sermons he preached, the more he blasphemed against the Church authorities, monks, nuns and priests. He compared the work of priests celebrating the Holy Mass to the job of an executioner breaking someone on the wheel; altar servers were compared to the executioner's assistants. According to Stegmann, Hegge was to "lead" other priests.<sup>50</sup>

The Dominican Simon Grunau kept his chronicle up to date. He was personally and emotionally involved, taking into account the short-term dissolution of the monastery from January 1525 to July 1526. This chronicle consti-

<sup>46</sup> Bernt Stegmann's *Chronik*, pp. 553–554.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> G. Lippky stressed the negative image of Hegge as presented by Stegmann – G. LIPPKY, op.cit., p. 5; also A. LORKIEWICZ, op.cit., pp. 41–42.

<sup>49</sup> Bernt Stegmann's *Chronik*, pp. 553–554.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

tutes a marvellous source to do research on the mentality of the Dominican. I shall omit the long-lasting discussion of the scholars about the reliability of the chronicle as the source to establish historical facts.<sup>51</sup> Now, it leaves no doubt that the chronicle is a valuable source for the research on the history of the territory of Royal Prussia and the Duchy of Prussia. Despite its biased anti-Lutheran attitude, it reveals the ambiance in the city, particularly among monks. Although the accounts are scattered in the whole chronicle, it is possible to follow the growth of the knowledge of the Dominican concerning the development of the Reformation in Gdańsk and Königsberg.

Grunau mentions the appearance of the “particular” heresy both among clergymen and laymen at the beginning of 1522.<sup>52</sup> He wrote about its rapid growth. Being an educated person, Grunau tried to collect the most precise data about the subject matter. He presented the person of Martin Luther as the author of the Reformation briefly describing his opinions. It is an objective account about the viewpoints of the man who wanted to conduct reforms. However, he reprimanded Luther for undermining the authority of the pope.<sup>53</sup> He regardes Lutheranism as heresy and the work of the devil, which was one of the reasons for the collapse of Prussia.<sup>54</sup> As Sławomir Zonenberg pointed out, Grunau judged the Prussian supporters of Luther in a different way.<sup>55</sup> Here again the person of Jacob Hegge appears, but in 1524 he appears as the first preacher-blasphemer, who dishonoured the sacred (“schendepraediger”). Grunau calls the year 1523 the Lutheran year as it was then that Luther’s texts allowing monks and nuns to have children reached Prussia. Luther encouraged monks and nuns to leave their monasteries and lead secular lives since God had ordered people to proliferate. According to Grunau, Luther’s preaching caused that monks and nuns started to quit monasteries taking with them the valuables belonging to the Church. They went to Wittenberg, where they enjoyed themselves. When they ran out of money, some of them returned and commenced the act of penitence. A case in point was as Dominican deacon-thief.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>51</sup> The critical judgement by – S. ZONENBERG, *Kronika*, pp. 76–106. Comp. also J. MOŻDŻEŃ, op.cit., passim.

<sup>52</sup> Grunau, Bd. 2, pp. 645–646. S. Zonenberg dated this paragraph at the beginning of March – S. ZONENBERG, *Kronika*, p. 89, fn. 460.

<sup>53</sup> Grunau, Bd. 2, pp. 645–646.

<sup>54</sup> S. ZONENBERG, *Wizerunek*, s. 110. Comp. Julia MOŻDŻEŃ, *Die Vision der fortschreitenden Reformation in Preussen aus der Sicht des Dominikaners Simon Grunau (\*1455–1465/70 – †1529/30)*, *Bulletyn Polskiej Misji Historycznej*, Bd. 7: 2012, pp. 337–363; eadem, *Zjawiska demoniczne w późnośredniowiecznych Prusach. W świetle kroniki Szymona Grunaua*, Toruń 2010.

<sup>55</sup> S. ZONENBERG, *Kronika*, pp. 92–93.

<sup>56</sup> Grunau, Bd. 2, pp. 688–689.

How does Grunau present the first Lutheran preacher Jacob Hegge? He considers him to be an uneducated liar, married to a prostitute. Before Hegge became a priest, he had been a drunkard wandering from one inn to another – from one sin to another. He became a priest only to avoid being hanged for theft. Judges in Elbląg were to show mercy towards him owing to his vow to become a clergyman. Immediately after this event, Hegge was to go to Wittenberg, where he became involved in making counterfeit money. To avoid being executed, he fled to Gdańsk.<sup>57</sup> In another place, Grunau writes about Hegge's half-a-year studies in Wittenberg. According to Grunau, Hegge went there to learn to preach the Gospel from Luther. Prussian Lutherans were to send him there as they failed to understand Luther's texts; they also sent a letter to Luther. The Reformer was to acknowledge that Hegge and people similar to him brought shame to him.<sup>58</sup> For example: Prussian Lutherans were to preach that every man was the Holy Trinity. The Holy Father was the mind, the Holy Son was the body and the Holy Spirit was the soul.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, they were vulgar and violent.<sup>60</sup> The chronicler also quotes a fictional dialogue between Luther and Hegge in Wittenberg, in which the Reformer reprimanded the priest for distorting his teachings and harming rather than helping. Luther says that he cannot teach Hegge how to preach the Gospel, because even God will not make a sage out of a fool.<sup>61</sup>

The ambiance in the city is reflected in the description of the carnival activities.<sup>62</sup> Hegge was the main protagonist of one of the performances. In 1524 the performance presenting his marriage with an old mare was staged.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Grunau, Bd. 1, p. 435.

<sup>58</sup> Comp. S. ZONENBERG, *Wizerunek*, pp. 111–112.

<sup>59</sup> Grunau, Bd. 2, p. 717.

<sup>60</sup> The rich vocabulary is described by: S. ZONENBERG, *Wizerunek*, pp. 111–114.

<sup>61</sup> Grunau, Bd. 2, pp. 653–754. Comp. S. ZONENBERG, *Kronika*, p. 92; idem, *Wizerunek*, p. 111.

<sup>62</sup> Grunau considers some of them to be very funny. He describes the performance of 1522, where Luther was presented: his disputes with the Pope, bishops, cardinals, monks, priests about the faith, his being excommunicated by the Pope Leon X, the assembly of the Parliament of the Reich in Worms in 1521, and eventually his being abducted by the devils – Grunau, Bd. 2, pp. 646–647. E. Simon supposes that burghers did not know the life of Luther and the anti-Lutheran ending was invented by Grunau – Eckehard SIMON, *Fastnachtspiele inszenieren die Reformation. Luthers Kampf gegen Rom als populäre Bewegung in Fastnachtspielzeugnissen, 1521–1525*, [in:] *Fastnachtspiele. Weltliches Schauspiel in literarischen und kulturellen Kontexten*, hrsg. v. Klaus RIDDER, Tübingen 2009, pp. 126–127. In 1526 making fun of the Lutheran mayor Johann Wendtland, the leader of the Gdańsk revolt, who collected liturgical vessels and other valuable things stolen from churches in his private box, the participants of the carnival condemned the blasphemy in Gdańsk – Grunau, Bd. 3, p. 130; E. SIMON, op.cit., pp. 128–129. Comp. also U. ARNOLD, *Luther und Danzig*, pp. 107–108.

<sup>63</sup> Grunau, Bd. 2, p. 734.

The activity of another priest – Paul Grunwald – a chaplain in the Church of St. James or St. John,<sup>64</sup> was to lead to the interference of the bishop of Włocławek Michał Drzewicki (1513–1535) in February 1524, who during his stay in Gdańsk ordered that the priest be imprisoned.<sup>65</sup> This situation is described by both chroniclers, but neither of them knows the name or surname of this priest.<sup>66</sup> Grunau calls him an uneducated drunkard and makes fun of his teaching about the childhood of Jesus. He was captured and put in the basement of the Church of Blessed Virgin Mary in order to be able to explain himself to the bishop Michał Drzewicki on the following day.<sup>67</sup> However, he managed to escape to Poland thanks to the assistance of his advocates. Stegmann compares this behavior to the conduct of pigs, which also escape together when one of them squeaks.<sup>68</sup> They both depict the event when the wild crowd (according to Grunau about 300 people) threw stones, wooden planks and knives at the bishop who was walking from the church to the parsonage after the evening mass. Two mayors were to calm down the situation.<sup>69</sup> Stegmann writes that during the night dead dogs and cats were hung on the door of the parsonage. Many respectable people suffered because of this occurrence, but they could not do anything as the Lutherans constituted the majority in the city.<sup>70</sup> The incident reflects how tense the situation in Gdańsk was. It must be noted that Paul Grunwald returned to Gdańsk, where he was imprisoned in the summer of 1524 in the parish church of St. John.<sup>71</sup>

One of the first Lutheran preachers were also local fugitive Carmelites, who, according to Grunau, contributed largely to winning over indecisive believers. At the same time he informs that nobody was satisfied with the sermons, and Lutherans were originally made fun of and persecuted.<sup>72</sup> Among the most active were Matthias Biennwald, the future parish priest of the Church of St. Bartholomew in the Old Town,<sup>73</sup> Ambrose Hitfeld<sup>74</sup> sent to the

<sup>64</sup> According to Grunau he served in the Church of St. James, while according to the account of Stenzel Bornbach (20 years later) and Theodor Hirsch – in the Church of St. John – Grunau, Bd. 1, p. 428; T. HIRSCH, *St. Marien*, Bd. 1, p. 275. In the literature of the subject the Church of St. John is recognized to be the place of his service – H. FREYTAG, op.cit., p. 26.

<sup>65</sup> Comp. M. BOGUCKA, *Luter a Gdańsk*, p. 58.

<sup>66</sup> His name and surname were established on the basis of the subsequent chronicle of the city's scribe and historian Stenzel Bornbach – Grunau, Bd. 1, p. 428, fn. 3.

<sup>67</sup> Grunau, Bd. 1, p. 429.

<sup>68</sup> Bernt Stegmann's Chronik, p. 555.

<sup>69</sup> Grunau, Bd. 1, p. 429.

<sup>70</sup> Bernt Stegmann's Chronik, p. 555. Comp. J. MOŻDŻEŃ, *Przedstawianie*, p. 131.

<sup>71</sup> H. FREYTAG, op.cit., p. 27; M. BOGUCKA, *Luter a Gdańsk*, p. 58.

<sup>72</sup> Grunau, Bd. 1, p. 428.

<sup>73</sup> U. ARNOLD, *Luther und Danzig*, p. 111; H. FREYTAG, op.cit., p. 27.

<sup>74</sup> Grunau did not know much about Ambrose Hitfeld; he wrote that he had avoided being hanged in 1526 escaping to Königsberg, where he worked under the auspices of Duke Albrecht. He was to spread Lutheranism in the Duchy of Prussia – Grunau, Bd. 3, p. 187.

parish church of St. Peter and Paul in the Stare Przedmieście (Vorstadt)<sup>75</sup> and Jacob Molner (Möller), the parish priest of the Church of St. Barbara in Długie Ogrody (Langgarten).<sup>76</sup> Grunau describes the demoralization of Biennwald, who had many lovers; after his marriage he was to question the virginity of his wife. He put forward a formal complaint to the council of Lutherans asking for divorce. The council refused to grant him divorce and ordered him to stay with his wife. Finally, the woman had to leave herself.<sup>77</sup> Grunau was aware of Biennwald's education and knew that he was the author of the translation of the Lord's prayer into German, which was printed in 1522 in the printing house of Hans Weinreich.<sup>78</sup> Stegmann indicates the social background of those Carmelites – both Molner and Hitfeld were children of the citizens of Gdańsk.<sup>79</sup> He might have stressed that their blame was even bigger as they acted against the unity of the community they were part of.<sup>80</sup>

Grunau shows the question of marriages of priests and monks as the main reason for their becoming Lutherans. He writes extensively about the discussions led by Lutherans with the bishop Maciej Drzewicki during his stay in Gdańsk in 1523, where the issues of marriage and sexual needs were one of the key problems.<sup>81</sup> According to the data provided by Grunau, during the time of King Sigismund the Old's interference in 1526 seventy-six priests, monks and nuns from Gdańsk were to be married.<sup>82</sup> All of them were expelled from the city in the summer of 1526. Grunau presents the introduction of Lutheranism in Gdańsk as the forced activity done under pressure. According to him, people were forced to adopt the new faith.<sup>83</sup>

Priests who were moderate supporters of the Reformation were presented in the positive light, such as a ex-Franciscan from Gdańsk Alexander Svenichen (Schweinichen),<sup>84</sup> educated at Wittenberg University and regarded as a moderate advocate of Lutheranism. In the years 1523 and 1524 he was asked by the city council to settle and appease the situation among the clergymen so that preaching

<sup>75</sup> U. ARNOLD, *Luther und Danzig*, pp. 104, 112; H. FREYTAG, op.cit., p. 27.

<sup>76</sup> Bernt Stegmann's *Chronik*, p. 556. According to Grunau, he was a preacher in the Church of Blessed Virgin Mary – Grunau, Bd. 1, p. 429.

<sup>77</sup> Grunau, Bd. 1, pp. 437–438.

<sup>78</sup> Grunau, Bd. 2, pp. 738–742. Comp. U. ARNOLD, *Luther und Danzig*, p. 111; H. FREYTAG, op.cit., p. 17.

<sup>79</sup> Bernt Stegmann's *Chronik*, p. 556.

<sup>80</sup> Such a point of view overlapped with the general character of the chronicle which warned against bad governing of the city and taught about the consequences of destroying the unity and peace of the community of the inhabitants of the city. See more – J. MOŹDŻEŃ, *Przedstawianie*, pp. 139–144.

<sup>81</sup> Grunau, Bd. 1, p. 427.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 438.

<sup>83</sup> Grunau, Bd. 3, pp. 19–20.

<sup>84</sup> H. FREYTAG, op.cit., pp. 20–21.

the “pure word of God” did not incite social unrest. He became the parish priest in the Church of Blessed Virgin Mary in the Main City of Gdańsk in 1524.<sup>85</sup>

Stegmann describes him as a very well educated scholar in the Holy Scriptures, doctor of theology. According to the chronicler, it was not his intention to destroy and blaspheme like others. That is why other Lutheran priests hated him, as did the lowest social classes, which were becoming more and more radical.<sup>86</sup> Stegmann writes that he was intransigent towards the order to quit the habit, which he definitely refused to do.<sup>87</sup> He also did not recognize the prohibition to give sermons by monks (the order of the Lutheran council of 8 January 1525). Stegmann gives an extensive account of the event of 22 January 1525 when Svenichen was attacked by a mercenary worker Bernt von Eyten on the way to the pulpit.<sup>88</sup> Svenichen did not react to the violent protest against his intention to preach a sermon.<sup>89</sup> The attacker was imprisoned in the loch.<sup>90</sup> Stegmann was impressed by the behavior of Svenichen. Grunau presents this Franciscan in a different manner. He criticizes Svenichen for his original work for the development of Lutheranism and associates him with Elbląg. Still, he stresses the exceptional knowledge which the preacher evinced in the disputes with Lutherans and his subsequent return to the old faith.<sup>91</sup> Preaching in 1524 he was to “follow the Christian path against the Lutherans”.<sup>92</sup> During the stay of Duke Albrecht Hohenzollern and King Sigismund the Old in Gdańsk in May 1526 it was Alexander Svenichen who celebrated the Catholic Holy Mass in the Church of Blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>93</sup>

Stegmann informs that after the dissolution of the Franciscan monastery Svenichen went to Wittenberg and asked Luther to send preachers to Gdańsk to preach Lutheran teachings in Prussia.<sup>94</sup> The Reformer was to send a fugitive monk Michael (no surname provided), who was to become an official preacher in the Church of Blessed Virgin Mary in Gdańsk.<sup>95</sup> Stegmann did not

<sup>85</sup> M. BOGUCKA, *Luter a Gdańsk*, p. 57; eadem, *Przemiany społeczne*, p. 233.

<sup>86</sup> More details – M. BOGUCKA, *Przemiany społeczne*, pp. 233–235; U. ARNOLD, op.cit., pp. 108–110.

<sup>87</sup> *Bernt Stegmann's Chronik*, p. 557.

<sup>88</sup> Grunau also writes about this occurrence, but he fails to give the details – Grunau, Bd. 3, p. 14.

<sup>89</sup> Expanded by A. LORKIEWICZ, op.cit., pp. 59–60.

<sup>90</sup> *Bernt Stegmann's Chronik*, p. 557. Comp. M. BOGUCKA, *Przemiany społeczne*, p. 236; A. LORKIEWICZ, op.cit., p. 61.

<sup>91</sup> Grunau, Bd. 1, pp. 369–370, 374, 378.

<sup>92</sup> Grunau, Bd. 2, p. 782.

<sup>93</sup> Grunau, Bd. 3, p. 173.

<sup>94</sup> It is known that Johann Bonholt also went to Luther with the same request in February 1525; M. BOGUCKA, *Przemiany społeczne*, pp. 241–242; eadem, *Luter a Gdańsk*, p. 59.

<sup>95</sup> He was accompanied by Arnold Warwick – M. BOGUCKA, *Luter a Gdańsk*, p. 60; U. ARNOLD, *Luther und Danzig*, pp. 116–117. The copy of Luther's letter to Gdańsk in which he rec-

consider him very harmful.<sup>96</sup> The information refers to Michael Meurer (died in 1537), a fugitive Cistercian monk from Alt-Zella,<sup>97</sup> Master of theology, who through the agency of the city council of Gdańsk (which recommended inviting educated reformers from Wittenberg) arrived in Gdańsk with the recommendation letter from Luther. He gave his first sermon in the Church of Blessed Virgin Mary and a new hospital established in the former Dominican monastery on 4 June 1525 – on the Day of Pentecost. He is considered the reformer from Gdańsk; his activity was interrupted by King Sigismund the Old. Duke Albrecht saved Meurer from being beheaded in 1526 by inviting him to promote the Reformation in Königsberg.<sup>98</sup> Meurer operated in Gdańsk for merely a year.

Simon Grunau provides more information about Meurer. The chronicler informs that he does not know how Meurer abandoned the monastery. He quotes his moderate opinions: he did not insult the holy sacraments, nor any other thing. He stated that fasting, prayers, confession, organs, priests, monks and the like were respectable and not to be detested.<sup>99</sup> Such views made him the target of attacks by Lutheran preachers, who threatened to kill him if he did not stop spreading his opinions. Meurer started to admonish them how they should understand the teachings of Luther, indicated the abuses and stressed the importance of being obedient to the king.<sup>100</sup> Thus, Grunau presents Meurer in the positive light. They both wanted to eliminate abuses.<sup>101</sup> The chronicler gave him a mild nickname – Awerhahn (a grouse).<sup>102</sup>

In 1525 Johann Franck with his wife and child arrived from the Netherlands. He was referred to as “Landsknecht” (here in the sense of an executioner), who was based in the Church of St. John in the Main City.<sup>103</sup> Grunau writes that before he became a Lutheran preacher, he had worked as an executioner.<sup>104</sup> Jacob Hegge, sent to be the parish priest in the Church of St. Catherine in the Old City, was to welcome the chaplain from the “west,” who was equally pernicious. The chaplain was to marry the former abbess of the Bridgettine Or-

ommended Michael Meurer is to be found in the chronicle of the councilman Georg Melmann – Biblioteka Gdańska PAN, Ms 58, pp. 743–744.

<sup>96</sup> Bernt Stegmann's *Chronik*, p. 561.

<sup>97</sup> His biogram and detailed literature – Janusz MAŁEK, *Michał Meurer – reformator Mazur*, Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie, 1962, no. 3, pp. 561–568. Comp. R. STUPPERICH, op.cit., p. 145; G. LIPPKY, op.cit., p. 2; H. FREYTAG, op.cit., p. 37 n.

<sup>98</sup> J. MAŁEK, *Michał Meurer*, pp. 564–565.

<sup>99</sup> Grunau, Bd. 3, p. 178.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> S. ZONENBERG, *Kronika*, pp. 87–88, 92.

<sup>102</sup> See also: J. MAŁEK, *Michał Meurer*, p. 564.

<sup>103</sup> Bernt Stegmann's *Chronik*, pp. 561–562.

<sup>104</sup> Grunau, Bd. 3, pp. 76, 171.

der, and consume all her wealth. Later, the actual wife of the chaplain arrived; he was imprisoned before he had escaped with her.<sup>105</sup> Stegmann complains: "Wer kan alle dy ketczereye beschreybenn etc." He considers Hegge, Johann Franck and his chaplain Michael to be the greatest blasphemers. They were to break the tabernacle in the Church of St. Catherine, destroy chapels, altars, pictures and sculptures. They believed that the Host should not be found in any church in Gdańsk.<sup>106</sup> Stegmann stresses the poor education of Lutheran preachers, some of whom could not read and gave sermons according to their whim.<sup>107</sup> Grunau also writes that after the interference of King Sigismund the Old twenty-four preachers were imprisoned.<sup>108</sup> In August 1526 Duke Albrecht Hohenzollern defended them, saved them from being beheaded and eventually led to their being released.<sup>109</sup>

#### KÖNIGSBERG

Grunau considers the Sambian bishop Georg Polentz (1519–1550) and the Grand Master of the German Order (from 1511), and from 1525 the Prussian duke Albrecht Hohenzollern (1525–1568)<sup>110</sup> to be responsible for the spread of Lutheranism in Prussia. Originally, in 1523 he was to preach against the will of Grand Master Albrecht Hohenzollern. Grunau quotes and criticizes his famous sermon given on Christmas Day in 1523<sup>111</sup> which he knew from the printed version issued at the beginning of 1524.<sup>112</sup> As early as 1523 Grunau says that the bishop and his chapter would willingly quit their ordination and stop paying taxes, but they did not do it for fear of the Grand

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<sup>105</sup> Grunau also writes about the fact that after the outbreak of the revolt in 1525 the Bridgettine nuns were told to get married, which led to many misfortunes. Married men married young nuns only to leave them later on – Grunau, Bd. 3, pp. 69–70.

<sup>106</sup> Bernt Stegmann's *Chronik*, pp. 561–562.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., p. 562.

<sup>108</sup> Grunau, Bd. 3, p. 171.

<sup>109</sup> J. MAŁLEK, *Polska wobec*, p. 15.

<sup>110</sup> R. STUPPERICH, op.cit., pp. 168–169; Carl Alfred von HASE, *Polentz Georg von*, [in:] *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (further cit. ADB), Bd. 26 (1888) (Onlinefassung), <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118792695.html> [access: 9 X 2016]; Paul TSCHACKERT, *Georg von Polentz, Bischof von Samland. Ein Charakterbild*, Leipzig 1888.

<sup>111</sup> According to Grunau, one of the orders of Polentz was the abolition of all Christian festivals and the introduction of one day when everybody could drink alcohol; he wanted a Sunday to be this kind of day. He abolished all fasts, banished nuns and made them get married; he also introduced holy masses in German. Poles were to call them blasphemers of Virgin Mary as they maintained that she was the same woman as others, while Jesus had brothers – Grunau, Bd. 1, pp. 397–401. The study of the sermon – J. MAŁLEK, *Zarys dziejów Kościoła Luterańskiego*, pp. 158–159.

<sup>112</sup> P. TSCHACKERT, *Georg von Polentz*, pp. 17–18.

Master, who at that time was not a Lutheran yet.<sup>113</sup> He also criticized another sermon of the bishop given by him at Easter of the same year.<sup>114</sup> We know that the Pope Hadrian VI (1522–1523) reacted to the information about Polentz's sermons; the Pope ordered Grand Master Albrecht to reprimand the Sambian bishop, which he eventually did. Yet, Albrecht Hohenzollern is known to have supported the Reformation informally – from 1522 he maintained personal contacts with Luther.<sup>115</sup> However, in 1523 the chronicler presents the Grand Master as the opponent of Lutheranism, which he considered to be against the Holy Scriptures.<sup>116</sup>

Grunau honestly admits that some Teutonic brothers had a negative attitude towards the new faith, but most of them thought mainly about marriage.<sup>117</sup> Writing those paragraphs in 1523 he did not know yet the surnames of Königsberg preachers.<sup>118</sup> His information come from what he heard. The chronicler refers to Lutheran registers informing that in 1523 in Kneiphof there were 3000 listeners of Lutheran sermons.<sup>119</sup> Grunau records the rumours and local scandals from the period and he indicates errors in the views expressed by Lutherans.<sup>120</sup> He writes that Königsberg Lutherans were to declare that Luther preached the same as the prophet Elijah. They installed altars with images of Luther and lit candles. At the same time when Catholics lit candles, the same Lutherans called them pagans. In 1524 the Catholics had to hide their faith.<sup>121</sup> Bad moods were incited by poor harvest and high prices. Lutherans insisted on accusing Catholics of the fact that all the Catholic practices had been invented only to make people give money to the Church.<sup>122</sup> According to Grunau, Lutherans did exactly the same thing – they appealed to people to donate money to special boxes under the threat of being accused of treason.<sup>123</sup> Many believers were irritated by this fact.<sup>124</sup> According to Grunau, the Teutonic knights were to introduce Lutheranism in the territories subordinated

<sup>113</sup> Grunau, Bd. 1, p. 397.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., pp. 405–408.

<sup>115</sup> J. MAŁLEK, *Zarys dziejów Kościoła Luterańskiego*, p. 159.

<sup>116</sup> Grunau, Bd. 2, pp. 705–708.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., p. 718.

<sup>118</sup> In the paragraph recorded in January 1524, he does not mention either Amandus or Bienwald despite the fact that he comments on their utterances Grunau, Bd. 2, pp. 729–731.

<sup>119</sup> Grunau, Bd. 2, p. 718. See J. MAŁLEK, *Zarys dziejów Kościoła Luterańskiego*, p. 158; Carl Alfred von HASE, *Herzog Albrecht von Preussen und sein Hofprediger*, Leipzig 1879, p. 15.

<sup>120</sup> More details – S. ZONENBERG, *Wizerunek*, pp. 113–114.

<sup>121</sup> Grunau, Bd. 2, p. 718.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., p. 721.

<sup>123</sup> It refers to the so called common boxes in which Lutherans collected private donations and revenues from former charity church foundations. The sums of money were devoted to the support of the poor and new clergymen. See more – S. ZONENBERG, *Charakterystyka*, p. 289.

<sup>124</sup> Grunau, Bd. 2, p. 721.

to the Grand Master exclusively in order to seize the monastery's wealth under the pretext of using the resources to help the poor.<sup>125</sup>

The city council, burghers and Teutonic knights were to convert into Lutheranism in 1524.<sup>126</sup> On 28 January 1524 the Reformation mandate was issued by the bishop Georg Polentz recommending reading the teachings of Luther.<sup>127</sup> Still, according to Grunau, in Prussia there were many people who opposed the new faith. However, they did not undertake any actions to stop the dissemination of Lutheranism for fear of being accused of inciting riots. The common people – plebeians – liked the new faith as it "allowed them to do everything".<sup>128</sup>

Emotionally, Grunau speaks about the hostile attitude of Lutherans towards monks. He writes that they were severely persecuted; they did not kill only because Luther forbade them to do so that they went to Heaven having suffered for a short time.<sup>129</sup> He gives a detailed account of the plundering of the Franciscan monastery in Königsberg on 28 March 1524, the Church of St. Barbara, the Church of the Holy Trinity, the cathedral and the monastery in Löbenicht.<sup>130</sup> Supposedly, he was a witness of some of those acts of violence.<sup>131</sup> The acts were to be incited by the priest whose surnames Grunau did not know. He wrote that they were a Franciscan apostate from the Old City (Johann Briesmann; 1488–1549<sup>132</sup>) and a fugitive Antonine from Löbenicht (Johann Amandus; died in 1530<sup>133</sup>). They were to say that monks worshipped God only to have something to eat.<sup>134</sup> Like in Gdańsk, in a short time nuns were forced to get married under the threat of being placed in public houses.<sup>135</sup> Grunau quoted insulting utterances of Lutheran preachers directed against the Catholic Church hierarchs and monks. They are visible in the sermons

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid., pp. 761–762.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., pp. 414–416.

<sup>127</sup> J. MAŁEK, *Polska wobec luteranizacji Prus*, Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce, vol. 49: 2005, p. 11; *Die Reformation im Ordensland Preussen 1523/24. Predigten, Traktate und Kirchenordnungen*, hrsg. v. Robert STUPPERICH, Ulm 1966, pp. 7, 108–111.

<sup>128</sup> Grunau, Bd. 1, p. 416.

<sup>129</sup> Grunau, Bd. 2, p. 721.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., pp. 747–751.

<sup>131</sup> Suffice it to quote the description of the destruction of the figure of St. Francis which was deprived of the legs and arms, the trunk was put into the feces; later, the figure was dragged through the city only to be burnt publicly – ibid., p. 749. Acts of violence towards the figures of the saints took place in many German and Prussian towns of the period – J. Moźdżen, *Przedstawianie*, p. 272; Sergiusz MICHALSKI, *Protestanci a sztuka. Spór o obrazy w Europie nowożytnej*, Warszawa 1989, pp. 256–259.

<sup>132</sup> R. STUPPERICH, op.cit., pp. 44–46.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., pp. 24–25.

<sup>134</sup> Grunau, Bd. 2, p. 748.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., p. 749.

given by the bishop Polentz, e.g.: “clergymen transmit to people rubbish and fantasies instead of the Gospel”; “monks” teachings are the food of pigs”; “the pope, cardinals, bishops, monks and priests are despicable, diabolic sophists”; “they are as stupid as mules and buffoons.” Mendicants were compared to the guards of the Tomb of Jesus, who did not want the truth to come out. Polentz called the pope and Catholic bishops “ulcers and drabants of the devil”.<sup>136</sup> The utterances are the evidence of mutual hatred and hostility among Catholics and Lutherans.

According to Grunau, the best example of the demoralization and being steered by low instincts was Georg Polentz himself. He was the first bishop to get married after 700 years (Grunau calls him “hurenbischoff”<sup>137</sup>). The chronicler quotes current opinions revealing how negatively his conduct was received by the contemporaries. After the one-year-and-a-half marriage his wife Catherine died in 1526. Five weeks after her death, the bishop started looking for another wife (Anna von Heydeck). At this point Grunau reminds the teachings of St. Paul, whom he respected highly.<sup>138</sup> St. Paul dissuaded from remarrying and recommended maintaining the marital status of a widower.<sup>139</sup> In this way, Polentz acted against the teachings of the Holy Scriptures, which he himself ordered to observe. Polentz was to excuse himself saying that St. Paul prohibited only having two wives at the same time.<sup>140</sup>

The preacher that Grunau criticized most harshly was Amandus (died in 1530) from Westphalia, the doctor of theology and superintendent in Goslar.<sup>141</sup> Once he had got to know his surname, he collected all the information about him. He devoted to him an extensive passage in his chronicle written in 1526. He describes Amandus as a violent man inciting riots, expelled from Königsberg by the city’s inhabitants in 1524 during the absence of the Grand Master. Grunau knew exactly that Amandus had gone to Pomerania, where he had been accused of heresy and imprisoned in Wolgast. He provides the testimony of Amandus who defended himself from tortures. He was to confess to his Jewish background, to his not having been baptized and to having given false information in the letters describing his life, thanks to which he had joined the Order of St. Anthony. He was to have learnt Latin only to commit

<sup>136</sup> Grunau, Bd. 1, pp. 403–408.

<sup>137</sup> Grunau, Bd. 3, p. 227.

<sup>138</sup> Comp. S. ZONENBERG, *Kronika*, p. 83; J. MOŹDŻEŃ, *Przedstawianie*, pp. 326–327.

<sup>139</sup> Grunau, Bd. 1, p. 418.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Hugo DUENSING, *Amandus Johannes*, [in:] NDB, Bd. 1 (1953), p. 240 (Onlinefassung), <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd133860833.html#ndbcontent> [access: 9 X 2016]; Adolf BRECHER, *Amandus Johannes*, [in:] ADB, Bd. 1 (1875), p. 389 (Onlinefassung), <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd133860833.html#adbcontent> [access: 9 X 2016].

treachery later on. Grunau was aware that Amandus knew Luther in person. According to him, it was Amandus' intention to lead to the situation in which the city council of the Old City of Königsberg, town councillors, noblemen and common people murdered each other. At no point in his life was preaching the Gospel his objective.<sup>142</sup>

Grunau discredits Amandus and his supporters in the toughest possible way – pointing out that one of the most popular preachers in Königsberg, who enjoyed the trust of the King, was not even a Christian. He was a deceiver like the devil. It must be noted here that Grunau's attitude to Jews did not diverge from the common dislike towards this ethnic group in the period under discussion. It cannot be excluded that the information about the Jewish background of Amandus reflected the common opinion about the Lutheran-Jewish conspiracy, the aim of which was to lead to the collapse of Christianity.<sup>143</sup> The chronicler quotes the libel against Lutheran preachers in Königsberg which was transmitted from household to household and which included this information:

„Doctor Brismann, der vorlaufene bube,  
Magister Desperatus, der boschnittene und getaufte jude,  
Ochse Averhan, zwar ein vorreter uber sie alle,  
Ambrosius Hittfeldtt, den unfletiger nichtt batt die weldtt,  
Die wolfische bischofe von Riesenburg und Samelandtt,  
o wie bekantt istt ihre vorretere in cristenlandtt!  
Satanas warf zu ihn den gottlosen Spoliander.  
Merk, dies sein sieben personen, und ein schalk so gutt, wie der ander”<sup>144</sup>

According to Grunau, apart from Amandus there were about thirty Jews who hid their background, such as the Königsberg preacher Johann Poliander (referred to as Spoliander<sup>145</sup> (Latin: Robber/ Looter/ Thief), who had made an agreement with Luther and had scattered all over Germany. Each of them was to adopt a false name so that they could not betray one another.<sup>146</sup> In the end Grunau states: “Solche und dergleichen prediger hette und bogehrte der furstt von Preusen, in seinem lande die religion zu reformieren”.<sup>147</sup>

Grunau intended to prove that Lutherans were prompted by Satan. According to him, the main Lutheran preachers were demoralized. A case in point is Amandus whose wife – a former nun – bore quadruplets-monsters.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>142</sup> Grunau, Bd. 3, pp. 189–191.

<sup>143</sup> More – S. ZONENBERG, *Kronika*, p. 91.

<sup>144</sup> Grunau, Bd. 3, p. 243.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Grunau, Bd. 3, p. 191.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Their bodies had the human shape, but their faces were devilish. To prove the veracity of this phenomenon Grunau cited eye-witnesses – Lutheran women. The children were to die

Other worrying signs appeared at that time in Königsberg, e.g. in 1524 as a warning against the religious unrest.<sup>149</sup>

Grunau discredits further activities of Amandus informing that he wanted to acquire the legacy after the dead woman who had made him her spiritual son when he was an Antonine monk in Frombork. Despite the fact that he had quit the habit, he insisted on her last will being executed in spite of it being invalid. The city council was to block the execution of the last will, which led Amandus to incite people against councilmen. According to Grunau, Amandus ridiculed himself in a coarse way. He could not have done a better favour to God. From a poor preacher, he became stingy and boastful. That is why the decision was made to get rid of him and his wife from Königsberg. In 1525 Amandus headed for Gdańsk, where he was not wanted, either.<sup>150</sup>

After the banishment of Amandus, Albrecht Hohenzollern – at that time a duke – invited Johann Poliander (1487–1541; the proper name Gramann) to Königsberg in the autumn of 1525. He was the rector of the school in Leipzig and the parish priest in the Old City.<sup>151</sup> Grunau did not devote much space to his activity. The chronicler was convinced that the Duke Albrecht had invited him to Prussia to eradicate Lutheranism. At that point the Duke was courting the princess of Holstein – Dorothea Oldenburg (1504–1547), but she refused

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within one hour after being born howling. The evidence of the veracity of this was to be the picture of the children made by a priest. Then people believed in the phenomenon – Grunau, Bd. 2, p. 761. The birth of deformed children was a frequent motif of prodigies. Recently on the subject matter – Adam KRAWIEC, *Człowiek średniowieczny wobec niezwykłości: przykład Thietmara z Merseburga*, [in:] *Cognitioni gestorum. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza dedykowane Prof. Jerzemu Strzelczykowi*, ed. Dariusz A. SIKORSKI, Andrzej M. WYRWA, Poznań 2006, pp. 235–236.

<sup>149</sup> The first sign refers to the dead burgher from Königsberg, who refused to take the communion in the new faith, which resulted in the refusal to bury him after his death. Lutherans preachers wanted to bury the man under the gallows like the antichrist. The man's friends turned to Amandus, who was very greedy with money. He granted dispensation to the dead man, but he did not agree to his being buried. It was after the bishop Polentz intervened in the case that the permission for the burial was granted. The dead man was to come back to life shortly before his death and transmit the message from the afterworld reprimanding the Lutherans. He was asked about the details concerning the new faith. He was to respond that there was one God, one faith – the old one and the new one. He advised the Lutherans to improve – Grunau, Bd. 1, pp. 408–411. See more about the role of the dead returning to life in Grunau's chronicle – J. MOŹDŻEŃ, *Zjawiska demoniczne*. Soon after that in Königsberg three suns appeared (the phenomenon of the sun dog), which frightened many people. Still, Lutherans questioned the prodigy character of the phenomenon. J. MOŹDŻEŃ, *Przedstawianie*, p. 218.

<sup>150</sup> Grunau, Bd. 1, pp. 414–416.

<sup>151</sup> R. STUPPERICH, op.cit., pp. 169–170; Carl Alfred von HASE, *Poliander Johann*, [in:] ADB, Bd. 26 (1888), pp. 388–389 (Onlinefassung), <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd101016603.html> [access: 9 X 2016].

to marry a misbeliever.<sup>152</sup> Poliander was to put the religious situation in Prussia in order. The chronicler treats him favourably. Poliander was to reprimand Lutheran preachers for not following the Holy Scriptures and common sense. He preached that priests were necessary, but abuses should be eliminated from the Church. These words caused that he became the target of numerous invectives. Poliander restored the custom of ringing the bell in High Mass although it was still sung in German. He reintroduced the celebration of festivals devoted to Blessed Virgin Mary and the Apostles. He also permitted the use of organs and defended the holy water. Every time, however, he introduced some new elements to the mass, the moderate use of which Luther did not forbid.<sup>153</sup>

Grunau's records made in the spring of 1526 are the evidence of his constant interest in the Lutheran question and collecting information about the blasphemous preachers. He wrote about the fear overwhelming the population of the Duchy of Prussia in connection with the planned marriage of the former grand master with the princess Dorothea (the wedding was to take place on 24 June). People and the Duke Albrecht feared the war with the Polish king since the Duke had not kept his vow given to King Sigismund the Old that he should eradicate Lutheranism in Prussia. What is more, he converted to the new faith himself.<sup>154</sup> The former grand master was advised by the heretic bishop of Sambia Georg von Polentz; a Teutonic apostate Gerard; the bishop of Pomesania, the Teutonic apostate Paul Speratus (1484–1551; referred to as Desperatus<sup>155</sup> – in Latin: Doubtful);<sup>156</sup> the apostate Johan Poliander; Michael Meurer and Johan Briesmann (1488–1549), the Francisca apostate. They were involved in the activity the aim of which was to lead Prussia to collapse. The main task of the preachers was to appease the tense situation among believers, which they did accusing the Prussians who were against the Lutheran ideas of treason. That is why they fell into disgrace and failed to win the support of the believers.<sup>157</sup> The Duke Albrecht himself was considered by Grunau to be a deceiver, perjurer, tyrant towards his subordinates and a heretic.<sup>158</sup> The

<sup>152</sup> Grunau, Bd. 3, p. 120.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., pp. 120–123.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., pp. 187–188.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., pp. 187, 227, 242.

<sup>156</sup> Paul Speratus, from 1524 the preacher in the castle of the Duke Albrecht, the bishop of Pomesania – R. STUPPERICH, op.cit., pp. 198–200; Paul TSCHACKERT, *Speratus Paul*, [in:] ADB, Bd. 35 (1893), pp. 123–135 (Onlinefassung), <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd118751875.html#adbcontent> [access: 9 X 2016]. Further literature to be found there.

<sup>157</sup> Grunau, Bd. 3, p. 189.

<sup>158</sup> Grunau called him a devil for the poor – the embodiment of all the vicious features of character. His craftiness was reflected in the uprising of peasants in 1525, which was a pure intrigue. See more – S. ZONENBERG, *Charakterystyka stanów iacji w Kronice Pruskiej dominikanina Szymona Grunaua*, Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie, 2003, no. 3, p. 289.

evidence for his falseness was his behaviour during the visit in Gdańsk in May 1526, when along with King Sigismund the Old he participated in Catholic holy masses – he accepted the holy water, walked in the procession holding a rod, listened to the sermons given by Alexander Svenichen. People felt confused<sup>159</sup> – they did not know which side the Duke supported. The conduct of Albrecht during the epidemics of the sweating sickness in 1529 was even more perspicuous.<sup>160</sup> Bed-ridden and sick, Albrecht asked for Catholic sacraments thanks to which he got over the sickness.<sup>161</sup> Such a detailed account provided by Grunau was to reveal how false the new faith was; Grunau also wanted to warn the readers of the chronicle against adopting it.

The chronicler of Königsberg Johann Freiberg also left an account connected with the beginning of the Reformation in this city (the autumn of 1524). Not much is known about the chronicler, though. We only know that he did not hold any official position in the city.<sup>162</sup> The chronicler writes about the order to bring preachers from beyond the city. He enumerates doctors Briesmann and Amandus. According to him, many people were against their teachings, particularly monks and older women. Those people were forced to listen to Lutheran sermons. The common people respected Amandus for his speeches inciting to a rebel against the city's authorities. The chronicler stresses that Amandus' sermons were so evocative that they would have led to a social revolt had he not been banished from the city (October 1524). Freiberg also informs about the expulsion of the Franciscans from the monastery. He adds that the reason for that was the unwillingness to maintain the monks from alms. It was the aftermath of Amandus' sermons, who persuaded common people that they should now be fed by Franciscans. As a consequence, Lutherans plundered the Church's premises – they stole both the valuables and the living stock/food. Freiberg writes that monks quickly decided to get married. Nuns and young women were forced to get married. The valuables belonging to the Church and the monastery were deposited in the box in the Town Hall after people had started to take them home. Freiberg shares the view of Grunau and Stegmann that some part of the valuables was taken over by the town councilors.<sup>163</sup>

The only preserved account written from the Protestant point of view is the chronicle written by the city's notary Caspar Platner (entries up to the

<sup>159</sup> Grunau, Bd. 3, pp. 172–173.

<sup>160</sup> See more – J. Moźdżen, *Przedstawianie*, pp. 243–245.

<sup>161</sup> Grunau, Bd. 3, pp. 277–278. Having recovered from his illness, Albrecht was again a tyrant for his people and a heretic, *ibid.*, p. 278.

<sup>162</sup> U. ARNOLD, *Geschichtsschreibung*, p. 106.

<sup>163</sup> *Preussische Chronik des Johannes Freiberg*, pp. 163–165.

year 1528<sup>164</sup>). According to him, the Reformation first appeared in Prussia in Gdańsk in 1524.<sup>165</sup> Shortly after that, the pure Word of God was preached in Königsberg. He attributed the leading role to Johann Briesmann, who remained the main preacher in the Old City for a long time. According to him, Briesmann left behind many good Christian teachings and texts in print. Thanks to him, the Church was to go in the right direction, with the pure impeccable teaching. For a long time he preached in Riga only to return to Königsberg to preach in the cathedral.<sup>166</sup> Many Teutonic brothers and priests used this time to get married. According to Platner, in the parish church in Königsberg and the cathedral God's truth was preached, while people's lies were disseminated in other churches. When somebody pointed out the mistakes they made, they got insulted and did not allow the speaker to finish. Next, he gives an account of the same carnival performance presenting the discussions between the pope, the Church's hierarchs and Luther – it was also described by Grunau. Platner considered it to be very comical. He mentions that Franciscans were outraged when the pope was insulted in performances of this type. Monks were to complain to the Teutonic commander and ask to prohibit this type of inscenizations. The commander dismissed them saying that he could not forbid burghers to organize traditional carnival festivities.<sup>167</sup> As it can be seen, Platner does not portray the emotional tension, which is very transparent in the accounts written by the Catholics. He fails to mention the acts of violence in churches and aggression towards monks and nuns.

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To recapitulate, the preserved chronicle material reveals predominantly the Catholic point of view. The chroniclers show the chaos of the first years when the Reformation ideas were spread. They present the social movement setting free their frustrations connected with many years of abuse in the Church and the visible crisis of the monastic life. A small spark of open permission to introduce changes was sufficient to make them happen in a rapid and violent manner. Stegmann and Grunau show that the teachings of

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<sup>164</sup> Die Beler-Platnersche Chronik (Altpreußische Monatsschrift), p. 343; U. ARNOLD, *Geschichtsschreibung*, p. 105.

<sup>165</sup> The extract from the chronicle by Beler and Platner reprinted in the footnote to the chronicle by Johann Freiberg – *Preussische Chronik des Johannes Freiberg*, pp. 163–164.

<sup>166</sup> We know that he stayed there in the years 1527–1531, so the earliest time the account was written was 1531 – comp. F. GAUSE, *Die Geschichte*, p. 230; idem, *Briesmann (Briemann) Johannes*, [in:] NDB, Bd. 2 (1955), pp. 612 n. (Onlinefassung), <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd118660071.html#ndbcontent> [access: 8 X 2016]; ERDMANN, *Briesmann, Johannes*, [in:] ADB, Bd. 3 (1876), pp. 329–331 (Onlinefassung), <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd118660071.html#adbcontent> [access: 8 X 2016].

<sup>167</sup> See – F. GAUSE, *Die Geschichte*, p. 215.

Luther about celibacy deprived many monks and priests of moral scruples; they stopped hiding their sinful lives. According to Grunau, one sin entails another sin. He presents the majority of Lutheran priests as people of a shameful past – drunkards, thieves, deceivers and often uneducated rogues.<sup>168</sup> Some of them are shown as people without a past, people from nowhere. Others, like Amandus and Speratus, are accused of having the Jewish background and plotting against Christians. The Catholic chroniclers present the growing disagreement among the inhabitants of Gdańsk, which was steered by the desire to make a quick profit (the confiscation of the Church's wealth and dividing it among one another). According to Stegmann, Grunau, Freiberg and Platner the activity of Lutheran preachers threatened the public order and the values such as the common good ("Gemeine Nutz") and peace. Stegmann and Grunau point out that the blasphemy committed by some of them brought about negative effects for the whole community of the city, also in the supernatural dimension.<sup>169</sup> Stegmann blames Jacob Hegge and Johann Franck for inciting to violence. Analyzing the origin of the movement and the views of Luther himself, he does not consider the author of the Reformation to be the most harmful. According to him, the most pernicious are his Prussian uneducated supporters – Jacob Hegge and Johann Amandus. The chroniclers present the moderate preachers such as Svenichen, Johann Poliander and Michael Meurer (educated people who respected peace and rejected blasphemy) in the good light. This is the evidence that those chroniclers (Grunau, Stegmann, Platner) noticed the need to introduce some reforms and to eliminate abuses in the Church.

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<sup>168</sup> The features reflect the stereotype of a heretic in the chronicle – S. ZONENBERG, *Wizerunek*, passim. Nowadays, it is hard to establish whether the information provided by Grunau about the past of individual preachers was true. It cannot be excluded that it was then transmitted only orally.

<sup>169</sup> More extensive analysis – J. MOŹDŻEŃ, *Przedstawianie*, pp. 145–168, 105–341.

POCZĄTKI REFORMACJI  
W ŚWIETLE RELACJI KRONIKARZY GDAŃSKICH I KRÓLEWIECKICH  
Z PIERWSZEJ POŁOWY XVI WIEKU  
DZIAŁALNOŚĆ PIERWSZYCH REFORMATORÓW

Streszczenie

**Słowa kluczowe:** reformacja, dziejopisarstwo, Gdańsk, Królewiec, kaznodziejstwo, Prusy Królewskie, Prusy Książęce

W artykule postawiono pytanie o możliwość określenia rzeczywistego momentu pojawiения się idei reformacyjnych w Prusach oczami współczesnych. W literaturze przedmiotu trudno znaleźć jednoznaczną odpowiedź. Badacze powołują się najczęściej na rok 1518 – wystąpienie z zakonu i ożenek gdańskiego duchownego Jakoba Knadego. Autorka przypomina krytyczne analizy Paula Simsona, który wykazał, że data ta była błędym odczytaniem zapisu późniejszego źródła. Stawia pytanie źródłom narracyjnym pisany w Gdańsku i Królewcu mających charakter relacji pisanych z autopsji – żadna z nich nie zna wymienionego wydarzenia, a lata, w których dostrzegano reformację, to 1522–1523. Najwcześniej opisał te nowinki Simon Grunau wiosną 1522 r. W artykule wykorzystano zachowane do dziś gdańskie relacje kronikarskie Bernta Stegmann'a z 1528 r., kronikę Simona Grunaua (1517–1530) oraz kroniki pisarzy miejskich Starego Miasta Królewca Johanna Belera (1519–1523) i Caspra Platnera (1523–1528) oraz Johanna Freiberga (ok. 1548). Kronikarze ci niezależnie od siebie ukazują chaos pierwszych kilku lat upowszechniania się idei reformacyjnych. Zauważono, że dla kronikarzy początki reformacji w miastach wiążą się ściśle z wystąpieniami kaznodziejów luterańskich. Najbogatsze są relacje Simona Grunaua – podróżującego w tym czasie między Gdańskiem i Królewcem. Część z kaznodziejów luterańskich ukazuje on jako ludzi bez przeszłości, pochodzących nie wiadomo skąd. Innym, jak Amandusowi i Speratusowi, wytyka żydowskie pochodzenie i spiskowanie przeciw chrześcijanom. Zarówno Stegmann, Grunau, Freiberg, jak i Platner wskazują na zagrożenie, jakie niosła ze sobą działalność luterańskich kaznodziejów dla porządku miejskiego życia i wartości. Stegmann obwinia o podżeganie do przemocy przede wszystkim Jakoba Heggego i Johanna Francka. Grunau, analizujący genezę owego ruchu i poglądy samego Lutra, za najbardziej szkodliwych uznaje pruskich niedouczonych zwolenników Lutra – Jakoba Heggego i Johanna Amandusa. W pozytywnym świetle przedstawiono kaznodziejów o umiarkowanych poglądach, jak Aleksandra Svenichena, Johanna Poliandra i Michaela Meurera – ludzi wykształconych, szanujących pokój i odrzucających bluźnierstwa. Oceny te świadczą o dostrzeganej przez tych kronikarzy (Grunau, Stegmann, Platner) potrzebie wprowadzenia pewnych reform i potrzeb likwidacji nadużyć w Kościele.

DER BEGINN DER REFORMATION  
IM LICHT DER BERICHTE VON DANZIGER UND KÖNIGSBERGER CHRONISTEN  
AUS DER ERSTEN HÄLFTE DES 16. JAHRHUNDERTS  
DIE TÄTIGKEIT DER ERSTEN REFORMATOREN

Zusammenfassung

**Schlüsselwörter:** Reformation, Geschichtsschreibung, Danzig, Königsberg, Predigt, Königliches Preußen, Herzogliches Preußen

Der Artikel stellt die Frage, ob es möglich ist, den genauen Zeitpunkt anzugeben, an dem nach der Wahrnehmung der Zeitgenossen reformatorische Ideen in Preußen auftauchten. In der einschlägigen Literatur ist eine eindeutige Antwort auf diese Frage schwer zu finden. Die Forscher nennen meistens das Jahr 1518, als der Danziger Geistliche Jakob Knade aus dem Orden austrat und heiratete. Die Autorin verweist auf eine kritische Analyse von Paul Simson, der gezeigt hat, dass dieses Datum auf eine falsche Lesart des Eintrags in einer späteren Quelle zurückgeht. Die Autorin richtet die Frage an narrative Quellen, die in Danzig und Königsberg entstanden und bei denen es sich um Berichte aufgrund von Augenschein handelt. Keine dieser Quellen weiß etwas von dem oben genannten Ereignis, und die Jahre, in denen die Reformation wahrgenommen wird, sind 1522–1523. Die früheste Beschreibung dieser Neuheiten stammt von Simon Grunau aus dem Frühjahr 1522. Der Artikel stützt sich auf die bis heute erhaltenen chronikalischen Berichte aus Danzig von Bernt Stegemann von 1528, auf die Chronik von Simon Grunau (1517–1530) sowie auf die Chroniken der Stadtschreiber der Königsberger Altstadt, Johann Beler (1519–1523) und Caspar Platner (1523–1528) sowie Johannes Freiberg (um 1548). Diese Chronisten stellen unabhängig voneinander das Chaos dar, das in den ersten Jahren der Verbreitung reformatorischer Ideen herrschte. Für die Chronisten waren die Anfänge der Reformation in den Städten eng mit dem Auftreten lutherischer Prediger verbunden. Am inhaltsreichsten sind die Berichte von Simon Grunau, der in dieser Zeit zwischen Danzig und Königsberg hin- und herpendelte. Ein Teil der lutherischen Prediger wird bei ihm als Menschen ohne Vergangenheit und von unbekannter Herkunft dargestellt. Anderen, wie Amandus und Speratus, wirft er eine jüdische Herkunft und Verschwörung gegen die Christen vor. Sowohl Stegemann, Grunau und Freiberg als auch Platner weisen auf die Bedrohung hin, die die Aktivität der lutherischen Prediger für die Ordnung des Lebens und der Werte in der Stadt mit sich brachte. Stegemann beschuldigt vor allem Jakob Hegge und Johann Franck der Anstiftung zur Gewalt. Grunau analysiert die Entstehung dieser Bewegung und die Ansichten von Luther selbst und hält die ungebildeten Anhänger Luthers in Preußen, Jakob Hegge und Johann Amandus, für die schädlichsten Elemente. In positivem Licht werden Prediger mit gemäßigten Ansichten dargestellt, wie Alexander Svenichen, Johann Poliander und Michael Meurer, Männer, die gebildet waren, den Frieden schätzten und Lästerungen ablehnten. Diese Urteile zeugen davon, dass die Chronisten (Grunau, Stegemann, Platner) gewisse Reformen und die Beendigung von Missständen in der Kirche für erforderlich hielten.