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## CISTERCIAN NUNS OF ZARNOWITZ (ŻARNOWIEC) AND THE TEUTONIC ORDER IN THE YEARS 1309–1454

### KEYWORDS

*history; the Middle Ages; military orders; Cistercian nuns; Zarnowitz (Żarnowiec); Eastern Pomerania; Teutonic Order; conflicts and cooperation*

### ABSTRACT

The subject of this study is an attempt to determine major matters over which direct relations between the congregation of Cistercian nuns of Zarnowitz (Pol. Żarnowiec) and the Teutonic Order, kept during its rule over Eastern Pomerania. As has been indicated, the grounds for contacts between the monastery and the Teutonic Order were established by the Grand Master or his representatives, in this case the commander of Danzig and the fish master (*Fischmeister*), based in Putzig. The nature of these contacts were mostly cases regarding the confirmation of borders and the purchases of property. From the point of view of the Teutonic Order, the Cistercian nuns' convent was in that regard strictly connected with the abbey of Oliwa. In the first half of the 15th century, a certain independence of the prioress can be seen, which is reflected in her direct contacts with the Grand Master. We do not know whether it was a manifestation of the prioress's own initiative undertaken in regard to matters of property, or actions of the Teutonic Order, who may have wanted to loosen the actual relations of the monastery with the abbey of Oliwa. Another area of mutual contacts were cases regarding the delineation of properties between the monastery and the Teutonic Order and, in particular, resolving border disputes with knights. In these cases, the Teutonic Order acted as an arbitrator. A separate matter was the bestowal by the Grand Master of the right to present the parson in the parish of Putzig to the Cistercian nuns,

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and the intervention of the Teutonic Order's procurator in Rome regarding the later incorporation of the parish. Alongside issues regarding confirmations of border territories and property purchases of the convent in Zarnowitz, remarks referring to the character of the relationship of the Cistercian nuns with the convent in Oliva are also formulated in this paper, in addition to the significance of the relationship in direct contacts of the prioress and the sisters with the Teutonic Order.

Policies of the Teutonic Order regarding other monastic congregations in Prussia is usually analysed as a relationship between a territorial ruler with a given monastery or a whole order. Soles common, however, are these policies analysed on strictly monastic grounds (including agreements of reciprocal prayer communes). The severity of the Teutonic Knights towards other convents is often highlighted, of which an exceptional symbol was the prevention of establishing a Cistercian monastery in Garnsee in Prussia (Pol. Gardeja).<sup>1</sup> After 1309, when the Order subjugated Eastern Pomerania, a significant part of its politics in this area focused on establishing an approach towards local convents, especially those possessing large estates. This was especially the case in regard to Cistercians in Oliva (Pol. Oliwa) and Pelplin, as well as the Norbertines in Zuckau (Pol. Żukowo).<sup>2</sup> The fourth, a less significant monastery in question, was the congregation

<sup>1</sup> Generally on the topic of relations of the Teutonic Order with other religious orders in Prussia see: Ireneusz Czarciński, "Polityka zakonu krzyżackiego wobec korporacji religijnych i świeckich," in *Zakon krzyżacki a społeczeństwo państwa w Prusach*, ed. Zenon Hubert Nowak, Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu 86/3 (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 1995), 111–122; Stefan Kwiatkowski, "Powstanie i rozwój krzyżackich koncepcji przywództwa religijnego w Prusach," in *Zakon krzyżacki a społeczeństwo*, 137–148; Marian Biskup, "Das Verhältnis des Deutschen Ordens zu den anderen Orden in Preußen," in *Ritterorden und Kirche im Mittelalter*, ed. Zenon Hubert Nowak, Ordines militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica IX (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1997), 61–79; Marian Biskup, "Średniowieczna sieć klasztorów w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach (do r. 1525)," *Zapiski Historyczne* 64, no. 1 (1999): 35–61.

<sup>2</sup> Attempts to characterize the Teutonic Order's policy towards monasteries in Eastern Pomerania were undertaken by Klemens Bruski, "Opactwa cystersów w Oliwie, Pelplinie i Byszewie – ich miejsce w dziejach Pomorza," *Studia Pelplińskie* 18 (1987): 24–27; Maksymilian Grzegorz, *Struktura administracyjna i własnościowa Pomorza Gdańskiego pod rządami zakonu krzyżackiego w latach 1309–1454* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1987), 132–145 and tab. 3 (188) and tab. 13 (198); id., "Zabiegi instytucji kościelnych z terenu Pomorza Gdańskiego o zachowanie swych przywilejów i dóbr w okresie panowania zakonu krzyżackiego w latach 1309–1454," *Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Bydgoszczy, Studia Historyczne* 4 (1994): 58–61; id., *Pomorze Gdańskie pod rządami zakonu krzyżackiego w latach 1308–1466* (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uczelniane Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 2007), 125–137; Biskup, "Das Verhältnis," 72–77; Biskup, "Średniowieczna sieć," 54–56. About the Cistercians see: Stanisław Kujot, *Opactwo pelplińskie* (Pelplin: author's own publication, 1875), 74–76; Romuald Frydrychowicz, *Geschichte der Cistercienserabtei Pelplin und ihre Bau- und*

of Cistercian nuns in Zarnowitz (Pol. Żarnowiec), which in terms of economy and church matters, had considerable ties with the abbey in Oliva.<sup>3</sup>

Against this background, the subject matter of this study is an attempt to indicate major areas of direct relations between the convent in Zarnowitz and the Teutonic Order during the period of its rule over Eastern Pomerania. In addition to issues regarding property borderlines confirmation and matters of land purchase of the monastery of Zarnowitz,<sup>4</sup> the problem of the relationship of the Cistercian nuns with the convent in Oliva and its significance to direct relations with the Teutonic Order will also be examined.

The attitude of the Teutonic Order towards other congregations in Eastern Pomerania is usually depicted in scholarly literature of the subject as a consequent drive towards submitting them to strict control and regulation. Limiting the influence of these institutions is also highlighted, particularly when it comes to purchasing properties belonging to monasteries whose main seats were located outside Pomerania. This may be best illustrated by the Order's taking over the Knights Hospitaller' estates in 1370, but also by partial or total purchases of settlements belonging to other monasteries (e.g. the Cistercians from Eldena, Byszewo and Łekno).<sup>5</sup> Although it is also emphasised that the Teutonic Knights support-

*Kunstdenkmäler* (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1907); Dariusz A. Dekański, "Z dziejów opactwa cysterskiego w Oliwie ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem problematyki zmian majątkowych w latach 1308–1342," in *Ludzie, władza, posiadłość*, ed. Jan Powierski and Błażej Śliwiński, Gdańskie Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza 1 (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 1994), 48–49; Andrzej Marek Wyrwa, *Opactwa cysterskie na Pomorzu. Zarys dziejów i kultury* (Poznań: Patria Polonorum / Księgarnia św. Wojciecha, 1999); and Józef Piotr Śliwiński, *Cystersi z Łekna – Oliwy – Pelplina od połowy XII do XV wieku / The Cistercians from Łekno – Oliwa – Pelplin since the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> until the 15<sup>th</sup> century* (Olsztyn: Centrum Badań Europy Wschodniej UWM, 2014), 121–136.

<sup>3</sup> An attempt to present property issues of the monastery was undertaken in a monograph by Kazimierz Dąbrowski, *Rozwój wielkiej własności ziemskiej klasztoru cysterek w Żarnowcu od XIII do XVI wieku* (Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1970). The study met with numerous remarks and important amendments Franciszek Sikora, "Początki klasztoru cysterek w Żarnowcu," *Zapiski Historyczne* 48 vol. 1–2 (1983): 7–29. A summary of hitherto research was conducted by Klemens Bruski, "Krokowa i okolice w średniowieczu," in *Dzieje Krokowej i okolic*, ed. Andrzej Groth (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo "Marpress", 2002), 9–20. Some remarks for the premodern period see: Małgorzata Borkowska, "Początki i koniec cysterskiej przynależności klasztoru w Żarnowcu," in *Cysterki w dziejach i kulturze ziem polskich, dawnej Rzeczypospolitej i Europy Środkowej*, ed. Andrzej Marek Wyrwa, Antoni Kielbaso, and Józef Swastek (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2004), 873–882. A popular approach to the history of the monastery, see Hanna Domańska, *Żarnowiec* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1977), and Małgorzata Borkowska, *Legenda żarnowiecka* (Gdańsk: Oficyna Czac, 1999).

<sup>4</sup> General remarks on the topic were formulated by Grzegorz, "Zabiegi," 55–56.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 60; Grzegorz, *Pomorze Gdańskie*, 128–129.

ed the creation of the Carthusian monastery in Paradisus Beatae Mariae (Germ. Karthaus, Pol. Kartuzy) in the second half of the 14th century, and would not hinder the development of its domain. At the same time, the development of this monastery proceeded mainly by means of purchasing knights' estates. Moving on to the issue of their attitude towards the Cistercians, particularly the female monastery of the congregation in Zarnowitz, it must be mentioned that the Teutonic Order founded in their state three convents of Cistercian nuns, also referred to as Benedictine nuns, in the Culmerland (Culm, Thorn) and in Prussia (Königsberg-Löbenicht).<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the convent in Culm (Pol. Chełmno) also owned rural bestowals in Eastern Pomerania.<sup>7</sup> In this case the devotional character of those foundations is indicated, with the control over them exercised through the bishops of Culm<sup>8</sup> and Samland, who belonged to the Teutonic Order and within the frameworks of the corporation answered to the Grand Master of the Order.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Walther Franz, "Das Benediktinerinnenkloster St. Marien zu Königsberg," *Altpreußische Forschungen* 11 (1934): 168–187; Stefan Kwiatkowski, "Mniszki toruńskie i chełmińskie w 1453 roku w świetle korespondencji Zakonu Niemieckiego," in *Studia nad dziejami miast i mieszczaństwa w średniowieczu. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Antoniemu Czacharowskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. Roman Czaja and Janusz Tandecki (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1996), 173–177; Piotr Oliński, "Motywy fundacji klasztorów przez zakon krzyżacki w Prusach w świetle dokumentów fundacyjnych (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem dokumentów fundacyjnych żeńskiego klasztoru benedyktyńskiego w Królewcu i klasztoru augustianów-eremitów w Chojnicach)," in *Kancelarie krzyżackie: stan badań i perspektywy badawcze: materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej, Malbork, 18–19 X 2001*, ed. J. Trupinda (Malbork: Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku, 2002), 191–209; Piotr Oliński, "Między zakonem krzyżackim a mieszczaństwem pruskim. Uwagi o klasztorach żeńskich w wielkich miastach pruskich," in: *Cysterki w dziejach*, 883–897; id., "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 and Antoni Gąsiorowski (Warszawa–Poznań: Instytut Historii PAN, 2015), 221–231; Jolanta Kurek, "Klasztory cysterek-benedyktynek w Chełmnie, Toruniu i Królewcu od średniowiecza do czasów potrydenckich. Powiązania i cechy wspólne," *Studia Pelplińskie* 37 (2006): 295–317; ead., "Obserwacja zakonna toruńskich cysterek-benedyktynek w latach 1311–1632," in *Sanctimoniales. Zakony żeńskie w Polsce i Europie Środkowej (do przelomu XVIII i XIX wieku)*, ed. Andrzej Radziwiński, Dariusz Karczewski, and Zygmunt Zyglewski (Bydgoszcz–Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2010), 105–126.

<sup>7</sup> Grzegorz, "Zabiegi," 47, 54.

<sup>8</sup> Czarcziński, "Polityka," 113.

<sup>9</sup> On the topic of various status of female monasteries in the Cistercian Order, which were subject to local bishops or were exempted from see: Immo Eberl, *Die Zisterzienser. Geschichte eines europäischen Ordens* (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2002), 155.

## THE STATUS OF MONASTIC ESTATES AND CISTERCIAN NUNS IN RELATION TO THE TEUTONIC ORDER

Amidst all of this, what did the situation of the Cistercian nuns monastery in Zarnowitz look like, especially after 1308 when it became a part of the Teutonic Order's dominion?<sup>10</sup> First of all, it must be remembered that the monastery did not enjoy the status of an independent abbey, but was subordinate in terms of church and property matters to the Cistercian abbey in Oliva, the expression of which was the presence of conventual provost in Zarnowitz and the fact that a prioress, not an abbess, would stand at the helm of the congregation<sup>11</sup>. When summarizing his remarks on the topic of the status of the foundation of Zarnowitz, Franciszek Sikora stated his opinion that "the monastery of Oliva shortly before 1257 conducted a foundation of a female outpost of the Cistercian order in Zarnowitz, bestowing it with an estate dedicated from its own lands, providing them with pastoral, administrative and economical duties".<sup>12</sup> Therefore, the monastery in Zarnowitz was not treated as a separate foundation, since it was not an abbey, yet was it was at the same time never mentioned in the records of the general chapters of the Cistercians.<sup>13</sup> As a consequence of this status, contacts between the Cister-

<sup>10</sup> Generally on the topic see: Grzegorz, *Pomorze Gdańskie*, 131–132.

<sup>11</sup> On the topic of female monasteries in the Cistercian Order and limitations which applied to them, also in the case of convents managed by abbesses, in particular on the supervising role of the abbot see: Eberl, *Die Zisterzienser*, 142–159 (especially 149–151, 155–157).

<sup>12</sup> Sikora, "Początki klasztoru," 27. It is worth reminding here that in a document of duke Mściwoj II (Germ. Mestwin II) dated 7 March 1283 confirming the properties of the Cistercian abbey in Oliva, the duke separately confirmed the property status of the monastery in Zarnowitz as well, using the following formula: *Clastrum etiam dominarum Cisterciensis ordinis nomine Sarnouicz, quod pertinet in Olivam, sub nostram proteccionem suscipimus, confirmantes ipsis possessiones et villas* – see: *Pommerellisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. Max Perlbach (Danzig, 1882), 321–322 no. 358; Karl Kasiske, *Das Deutsche Siedelwerk des Mittelalters in Pommerellen* (Königsberg: Kommissionsverlag Gräfe und Unzer, 1938), 36; Dąbrowski, *Rozwój*, 29. It benefits to add that the primal bestowal to the Cistercian nuns in Zarnowitz was not connected to the estates of Oliva, it was the bestowal of the Cistercian nuns with Schwetzin in 1281 and the exchange of properties conducted by Cistercians from Oliva with the Teutonic Order in the years 1331–1333, when as a result they gained Domatowo, led to a situation where their properties had common borders, although both settlements were separated most probably, as it is today, a forest. On the topic of the bestowal see: Dąbrowski, *Rozwój*, 37–38; Sikora, "Początki klasztoru," 25; Dekanski, "Z dziejów opactwa," 43–44.

<sup>13</sup> *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, vol. 1–8, ed. Joseph Maria Canivez (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1933–1941).

cian nuns from Zarnowitz and the Teutonic Order were kept mostly through the abbots of Oliva,<sup>14</sup> regarding mainly the monastery property issues.<sup>15</sup>

These issues were already indicated in the first document referring to Zarnowitz, released after Eastern Pomerania had been subjugated by the Teutonic Order, issued on 3 February 1310 and signed by Henrik Hiserstet, the commander of Danzig. In it, he confirmed to the abbot of Oliva the purchase of a half of the village of Sobiensitz (Pol. Sobieńczyce) for the convent of Cistercian nuns in Zarnowitz from a knight named *Wenczeslao Palescowicz*. What seems characteristic is that the prioress of the convent is not mentioned in the document.<sup>16</sup> A similar case occurred later, when the transaction was reconfirmed on 20 November 1314, by Karl von Trier, the Grand Master.<sup>17</sup> On this occasion, more details were provided. The aforementioned purchase was conducted in 1310 by abbot Rudiger<sup>18</sup> and the rights to half of the village were sold by the brothers Michael and Wenceslaus Pole-scowiz. The contract was signed in the Cistercian manor in Starsin (Pol. Starzyno). In the same document, the Grand Master confirmed yet another transaction. This was in regard to a purchase of the other half of the village of Sobiensitz on behalf of the Cistercian nuns in Zarnowitz, from Petro de Kolkowo and his relative *Dargoslao*, which had been conducted by the subsequent abbot of the monastery, Alexander.<sup>19</sup> It occurred when David von Cammerstein was the commander in

<sup>14</sup> Instances when the convent in Zarnowitz was represented outside by the abbot of Oliva: *Pommerellisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. Perlbach, 598 no. 679; *Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. II, 1309–1335, ed. Max Hein and Erich Maschke (Königsberg: Gräfe und Unzer, 1939), no. 122, 449; *Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. III, inst. 2, 1342–1345, ed. Hans Koeppen (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1958), 372–376 no. 492; Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku (henceforth as: APG), 942, no. 202, p. 14–35.

<sup>15</sup> On the topic of properties of the nunnery see: Franz Schultz, *Geschichte der Kreise Neustadt und Putzig*, (Danzig: Danziger Allgemeinen Zeitung, 1907), 671–681; Kasiske, *Das Deutsche Siedelwerk*, 36–37, 47, 108, 208; Dąbrowski, *Rozwój*, 32–39, 72–74; Bruski, “Krokowa,” 9–12, 16–20, 31; Ulrich Niess, *Hochmeister Karl von Trier (1311–1324). Stationen einer Karriere im Deutschen Orden*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 47 (Marburg: Elwert Verlag, 1992), 67.

<sup>16</sup> *Pommerellisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. Perlbach, 598 no. 679. The lack of mentioning of the prioress has already been noted by Dąbrowski, *Rozwój*, 59, footnote 276.

<sup>17</sup> *Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, II, ed. Hein and Maschke, 76–77 no. 122. On the topic of Karl von Trier’s policy towards monasteries in Eastern Pomerania, among others, see: Niess, *Hochmeister Karl*, 65–73.

<sup>18</sup> Rudiger, the abbot of the monastery in the years 1289/1291 – 18 February 1313 see Dekański, “Z dziejów opactwa,” 33.

<sup>19</sup> Alexander, abbot in the years 1313–1320, see: Dariusz A. Dekański, “W sprawie narodowości i chronologii opatów oliwskich w pierwszej połowie XIV wieku,” *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie* 1 (175) (1987): 114.

Danzig.<sup>20</sup> That contract document has since been lost, yet on the basis of a ledger of people listed in the Grand Master's confirmation, it may be suspected that the transaction took place between 18 February 1313 and 20 September 1314.<sup>21</sup> What seems interesting is that on the topic of the monastery itself, the Grand Master spoke indirectly in the narration and the disposition of the aforementioned document, admiring the poverty and hoping for the nuns to increase the noble customs and keep their piety and discipline, following St. Benedict's rule and sharing all the blessings resulting from the good work of the monastic congregation (including prayers, vigils and alms).<sup>22</sup> Even when taking into consideration the form of expressions within the documents, the broad justification and devotional motifs must be highlighted, for they directly indicate the work of the sisters from Zarnowitz, recalled on the occasion of the confirmation of the two aforementioned transactions by the Grand Master. In this context, one must remember that the document was issued during the period of good relations between the Cistercians and the Teutonic Order. The character of Karl von Trier was described on the pages of the *Chronicle of Oliwa*, reading: "Master [Karl] was pious and kind to everybody, and especially gracious to the abbey of Oliwa. It was him who confirmed all the privileges, freedoms, rights and properties which the monastery owned, having them bestowed by kings and dukes of the old."<sup>23</sup> The Cistercians from Pelplin and Oliwa received from the Grand Master general documents of confirmation of the owned estates in 1312, whereas in 1313, representatives of both abbeys served as interme-

<sup>20</sup> David von Cammerstein, commander in the years 1311–1317, see: Dieter Heckmann, *Amtsträger des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen und in den Kammerballeien des Reiches (oberste Gebietiger, Komture, Hauskomture, Kumpane, Vögte, Pfleger, Großschäffer)*, accessed 08.10. 2020, <http://www.hiko-owp.eu/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Amtstr%C3%A4ger-DO-Preu%C3%9Fen.pdf>.

<sup>21</sup> Alexander became the abbot after Rudiger's death which was to occur on 18 February 1313. Thus, the document would have been issued after 18 February 1313 and before 30 September 1314 when confirmation was released in Malbork by Grand Master Karl von Trier.

<sup>22</sup> [...] *cenobii, quod Sarnewiz dicitur, siti in terra nostra Pomeranie paupertatis molem recumbere cupientes, ut sacrosancte religionis opinio, que exinde suaveclementem virtutum spirat fraglanciam, in honestis moribus ac disciplinarum observantiis spectabile capiat incrementum et in devota sanctorum monialium caterva inibi sub s. Benedicti regula celorum domino militante fomentetur ac dilatetur karitatis [...]. Et insuper ut orationum, vigiliarum et elemosinarum et aliorum omnium bonorum operum, que ibidem per dedicatas virgines ex nunc et deinceps per multa secula spiritus sancti gracia dignabitur sua dulcedine operari, nobis suffragans participium mercaremur possessionem hereditariam prelibate ville dicto cenobio et monialibus confirmamus volentes, ut in hac sicut in aliis suis bonis tranquilla et omni servitutis pensione soluta gaudeant libertate* – see: *Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, II, ed. Hein and Maschke, 77 no. 122.

<sup>23</sup> *Chronica Olivensis. Auctore Stanislao abbate Olivensi*, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 6 (Kraków: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, 1893), 310–350, here 321.

diaries in the purchase of a Cistercian abbey in Livonia by the Teutonic Order at Dünamünde in the Daugava (Germ. Düna) estuary.<sup>24</sup>

Another account referring directly to the relations between the Teutonic Order and the monastery in Zarnowitz appears later, on 2 February 1324, when Johannes, the commander of Danzig, approved an agreement struck between the abbot of Oliva and a knight called Pribislau Mestconis regarding borderline separating the properties of Zarnowitz from the estates of Gelsin (Pol. Jeldzino).<sup>25</sup> The monastery's interests were then represented by abbot Paul of Oliva<sup>26</sup>, brother Henry de Greez, the deputy supervisor (aide) of the nuns of Zarnowitz (*provisor monialium in Sarnovicz*) and lay brother Nicolaus (*frater Nicolaus conversus*). All three were listed among the witnesses to the document. A decade later, on 13 January 1334, Jordan, the commander in Gdańsk, ruled in the favour of the sisters concerning their dispute regarding using the lake of Zarnowitz against a knight known as *Bosey* (Boczey).<sup>27</sup> This time, neither the presence of the abbot of Oliva nor the administrator of the monastic estates in Zarnowitz was noted. The general approval of the monastery's estates in Zarnowitz, just like in the case of the Cistercians of Oliva, was given by Grand Master Ludolf König. Most likely the confirmation of the Grand Master was in connection with the negotiations between the Order and the King of Poland before Treaty of Kalisz (1343).<sup>28</sup> It should be noted that in a document issued in reference to it on 31 October 1342, with a separate one drawn for the Cistercian nuns, reminding about earlier donations made to the benefit of the convent by Pomeranian dukes, Grand Master Ludolf

<sup>24</sup> Niess, *Hochmeister Karl*, 84–85; *Capitulum generale confirmat venditionem abbatiæ de Dünamünde, quæ per patrem abbatem de Stolp[a] facta fuerat; quam abbas Alexander de Oliva utilem esse Ordini testatur – Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, vol. 3, ed. Joseph Maria Canivez (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1935), 327 no. 3.

<sup>25</sup> *Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, II, ed. Hein and Maschke, 318–319 no. 449.

<sup>26</sup> Paul was mentioned as an abbot in the years 1323–1324, yet he could have held this function circa the years 1320–1330 see Dekański, “W sprawie narodowości,” 114–115.

<sup>27</sup> [...] *profitemur, quod venientibus nobis quodam tempore in cenobium sanctimonialium Zarnewicz quadam dissensione inter ipsas sanctimoniales ex parte una et quendam nostrum militem dictum Boczey – Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, II, ed. Hein and Maschke, 551–552 no. 822. Boczey was to be the son of Witek, whereas his grandson was also named Witek. The right to fish in the lake was mentioned in the general confirmation of the monastery's properties from 1342, where the decision from 1334 was changed to the benefit of Witek, son of Boczey, allowing him to catch fish there. *Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, III.2, ed. Koeppen, 375 no. 492; Schultz, *Geschichte der Kreise Neustadt*, 64.

<sup>28</sup> Klaus Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen 1230–1449. Studien zur Diplomatie eines spätmittelalterlichen deutschen Territorialstaates* (Köln–Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1986), 137; Stanisław Szczur, “Traktat pokojowy Kazimierza Wielkiego z zakonem krzyżackim z 1343 r.,” *Zapiski Historyczne* 56, no. 4 (1991): 7–43.



König also described mutual relations between Oliva and Zarnowitz. He pointed out that “the monastery of the sisters in Zarnowitz, of the same Cistercian order of the diocese of Włocławek, in [matters of] temporary life as well as spiritual, with the monastery of Oliva is annexed (connected)” (*tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus ipsi monasterio de Olyva est annexum*).<sup>29</sup> It must be emphasised here that the issue of reaching an agreement between the Cistercians and the Teutonic Order with respect to the borderlands of their monastic estates was approved by the general chapter of the Order already in 1341 at the request of Stanisław, the abbot of Oliva. The properties of the monastery were listed there (*de bonis monasterii*), yet Zarnowitz was not included, as from that perspective it was not recognised as a distinct body.<sup>30</sup>

The confirmation of the abbot’s role in managing the property of the sisters is found in the first location document for Wierschutzin (Pol. Wierzchucino), a village in the estates of Zarnowitz issued on 12 March 1363, by Wessel, abbot of Oliva. He referred to himself there as an administrator (*Verweser*) of the monastery, issuing the certificate as advised by prioress Gertrud and the sisters from Zarnowitz.<sup>31</sup> On the list of witnesses to the document is also a Master of the Household (Germ. *Hofmeister*) of Zarnowitz Johann Kopperland. In April 1375, the nuns bought the village of Nadol (Pol. Nadole) for 126 marks from Michel von Slawoschin. The document was drawn up in the monastery of Oliva in the

<sup>29</sup> *Et quia monasterium sanctimonialium de Sarnowicz eiusdem ordinis Cyst[er]ciensis Wladislawiensis dyocesis tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus ipsi monasterio de Olyva est annexum, hinc est, quod hereditates et possessiones omnes, iura, gracias et libertates eidem monasterio de Sarnowicz a predecessoribus nostris principibus Pomeranie, quocumque nomine proprio vel dignitatum nominibus censeantur, collatas ratificamus, innovamus et ex certa sciencia confirmamus non obstante, quod ipsum monasterium de Sarnowicz et termini possessionum ac proprietatum eiusdem in maiori privilegio nostro ipsi de Olyva concesso nullatenus conscribatur* – see: *Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, III.2, ed. Koeppen, 372–376 no. 492 (quotation p. 373).

<sup>30</sup> *Capitulum generale, ex petitione Stanislai abbatis de Oliva, concordiam inter ipsum et Ordinem Cruciferorum de bonis monasterii factam, confirmat* – see: *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 3, ed. Canivez, 469 no. 10. About the petition of Abbot Stanisław and the decision of the Abbot of Cîteaux see *Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. III, inst. 1, 1335–1341, ed. Max Hein (Königsberg: Gräfe und Unzer, 1944), 275–276 no. 405–406.

<sup>31</sup> *Abt czu der Oliuen unde eyn vorweser des closters Szarnowicz myt wolbedochten mutte unde rathe der swester Girdruten priorissen unde alle der anderen juncfrawen czu Szarnowicz*, The location document for Wierschutzin, 12 March 1363, Gdańsk, APG, 942, no. 202, p. 20–25; APG, 942, no. 17a; see also *Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. VI, inst. 1, 1362–1366, ed. Klaus Conrad (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1986), 74–75 no. 135. Detailed content of the document was presented by Bruski, “Krokowa,” 17. Essentially, as it results from the corroboration formula of a preserved copy from the 15th century, two seals were attached to the original: one of the abbot of Oliva and the other of the convent of Zarnowitz. The latter indicated a certain degree of independence of the congregation.

presence of abbot Albert.<sup>32</sup> The transaction was confirmed on 1 December 1375, by Grand Master Winrich von Kniprode.<sup>33</sup> The commander of Gdańsk, Siegfried Walpot von Bassenheim, on 2 December 1381, approved a donation to the monastery of 4 morgen of meadow belonging to Nadol, which was made by Jeszke, his brother Kunost and Paul von Knostowitz.<sup>34</sup> During the period of the Teutonic rule the monastery purchased the village of Slawoschin (Pol. Sławoszyño) from Czoncze von Slawoschin. This most likely took place in 1430, as on 7 December of that year, prioress Barbara asked Grand Master Paul von Russdorf to approve the transaction.<sup>35</sup> The purchase of the village was confirmed by the Grand Master in a document from 22 April 1431. Russdorf kept in place the abiding military duty of the knight's village to keep a mounted retinue.<sup>36</sup> Other estates of the monastery were, however, exempt from such obligations. For that reason, at the sisters' request, the Grand Master released them from that duty, issuing on 10 November 1432, yet another document confirming the purchase of the village and its release from military obligations.<sup>37</sup> In this context, it seems interesting that in the instance of buying the village of Slawoschin, neither the abbot of Oliva nor the provost of Zarnowitz were mentioned. The agreement was struck directly between the prior-

<sup>32</sup> *Acta sunt hec in domo domini Alberti abbatis in Olyva*, The nuns bought the village of Nadole from Michel von Slawoschin (Sławoszyño), 25 April 1375, APG, 942, no. 18; Max Perlbach, "Materialien zur Geschichte Pommerellens hauptsächlich während der Ordenszeit," *Altpreussische Monatsschrift* 40 (1903), 296 no. 25; Bruski, "Krokowa," 17. The confirmation of this transaction was made by knights: Przecheslaus, Gneomyrus von Krokow and Nicolaus son of Dyten.

<sup>33</sup> The Grand Master confirmed the bought of the village of Nadol, 1 December 1375, APG, 942, no. 47/8, p. 19–20; APG, 942, no. 74.

<sup>34</sup> The donation was made in exchange for the sisters' prayer for the salvation of the souls of the donors and their families: *sych der ewelichen myt alle erin erbin und nachkomeligen vorczegin habin und gegeben den vorgeschrebin juncvrouwen zcu eyme selgeret und ewegin gedechtnys ere und ere eldirn zelen yn dem vorgeschrebene clostir*, The commander of Gdańsk confirmed a donation to the monastery of 4 morgen of meadow belonging to Nadole, 2 December 1381, APG, 942, no. 21.

<sup>35</sup> *swester Barbara priorine und ganzce couent czu Zarnowitz*, Józef Śliwiński, *Zakon krzyżacki a cystersi z Oliwy i Pelplina. Niepublikowane źródła z pierwszej połowy XV w. (korespondencja)*, Nowe Miscellanea Historyczne 4 | Pomorze 1 (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo NDAP, 1999), 43–44 no. 15 (edition), 63 (reproduction of a letter); for summary, see: *Regesta Historico-Diplomatica Ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum 1198–1525* (henceforth as: RHDO), pars I, vol. 1, 1198–1454, ed. Erich Joachim and Walther Hubatsch (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht, 1948), 346 no. 5525.

<sup>36</sup> *Księga komturstwa gdańskiego*, ed. Karola Ciesielska and Irena Janosz-Biskupowa (Warszawa–Poznań–Toruń: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1985), 157–158 no. 177.

<sup>37</sup> Grand Master confirmed the purchase of the village of Slawoschin, 10 November 1432, APG, 942, no. 47–48; *Księga komturstwa*, ed. Ciesielska and Janosz-Biskupowa, 158–159 no. 178.

ess, her convent, and the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. At the same time, it must be added that in privileges issued with regard to the facilities in the properties of the monastery in Zarnowitz, including water mills, the abbot of Oliva appears to be acting in liaison with the prioress and the convent (for example, in issuing mill privileges in Schwetzin (Pol. Świecino) in 1406 and in Wierschutzin in 1516).<sup>38</sup> As far as contacts of the Cistercian nuns with the Teutonic Order are concerned, it is worth mentioning that in 1407 the monastery received a sum of 20 nobles (money units) donated in his last will by the late Grand Master Konrad von Jungingen.<sup>39</sup>

The ground for mutual relations between the monastery in Zarnowitz and the Teutonic Order in the first half of the 15th century were also the cases of its disputes with local knights. In those issues the Teutonic Knights, as land masters, would usually assume an arbitrary role. An undated letter (probably written in the years 1410–1411, certainly before 1417) from the prioress Catherine to the Grand Master has survived, in which she complains about hostile acts committed by neighbours of the monastery.<sup>40</sup> From what seems to be an incomplete documentation of the later disputes, it appears that in 1443 a delineation of the monastery's properties from its neighbours occurred. Interestingly enough, in regards to the letter of 11 April 1443, the prioress, Catherine, did not ask the abbot of Oliva but the mayors of Danzig, Lucas Melkelfeld and Meinhard Kölner, to in-

<sup>38</sup> Rafał Kubicki, "Przywileje na młyny w dobrach cysterek w Żarnowcu (Świecino 1406 r., Wierzchucino 1516 r.)," in *Dzierżawcy, literaci, postowie*, ed. Błażej Śliwiński, *Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza* 16 (Malbork: Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku, 2011), 295–299. In the former document the abbot referred to himself as *vorweser der sammelunge der Jungfrawen zcu Szarnowitcz*, whereas in the latter literarily as: *abt der cloestere Oliva unde Szarnowitcz*.

<sup>39</sup> *Item 20 nobeln den nonnen zu Sarnowicz gegeben, die uns der meister seliges gedechtnisse selben gab*, see: *Marienburg Tresslerbuch der Jahre 1399–1409*, ed. Erich Joachim (Königsberg: Thomas&Oppermann, 1896), 423.

<sup>40</sup> The prioress of Zarnowitz to the Grand Master, the first half of the 15th century, Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (henceforth as: GStA PK), XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv (henceforth as: OBA), no. 28213. Summary see RHDO, pars I, vol. 3, 1511–1525, ed. Erich Joachim and Walther Hubatsch (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973), 498 no. 28213. The document mentions the knights of Gniewomir von Krokow (*Genymmer*), Tycze (*Tyczen*) von Rutzau (Rzucewo) and Stefan (*Stbefphan*) son of Nicze von Rutzau (Rzucewo). Stefan died before 1417 see Klemens Bruski, "Dziedzice z Rzucewa i Osłonina w XIV i XV wieku," in *Krzyżowcy, kronikarze, dyplomaci*, ed. Błażej Śliwiński, *Gdańskie Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza* 4 (Gdańsk–Koszalin: Wydawnictwo Miscellanea, 1997), 11–13; Klemens Bruski, *Lokalne elity rycerstwa na Pomorzu Gdańskim w okresie panowania zakonu krzyżackiego studium prozopograficzne* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2002), 104–106. Probably other prioress Catherine was noted in the years 1436–1443, *suwester Katherina prioryny czu Sernewicze myt erem convent*, APG, 300,D, 45E, no. 128, 132. Yet another prioress Catherine being active in the years 1486–1487 see: Dąbrowski, *Rozwój*, 127–128.

tervene at the Grand Master's, who was about to arrive to Danzig<sup>41</sup>, in matters of their border disputes and rents, among others.<sup>42</sup> Due to this, on 3 September 1443, the fish master (Germ. *Fischmeister*) of Putzig wrote to the Grand Master about the declarations of the eldest people from the region of Putzig (Pol. Puck) regarding borderlands between the Teutonic Order and the monasteries of Oliva and Zarnowitz. It was established then that the marshland of Karben (nowadays the hamlet of Karwieńskie Błota) and swamps near the Reda river belonged to the Teutonic Order.<sup>43</sup> He undoubtedly mentioned the testimony which was written in 1443 and submitted to the court in Putzig by Henszel von Titauw and knight Nysche von Wosslonyn<sup>44</sup>, regarding the ownership of Karben marshland as property of the Teutonic Order and not of Zarnowitz, with another one regarding the borderlands between the Teutonic Order properties and those of the monastery of Oliva over the Reda river marshes.<sup>45</sup> Meanwhile, prioress Catherine was undertaking further attempts to gain aid in that matter in Danzig. In a letter dated 5 October 1443, she asked the aforementioned mayors of Danzig to participate in a review of borders between the estates of the monastery and its neighbours on

<sup>41</sup> In the matter of Konrad von Erlichshausen's itinerary, see: Klaus Neitmann, *Der Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen – ein Residenzherrscher unterwegs. Untersuchungen zu den Itineraren der Deutschordenshochmeister im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preußischer Kulturbesitz 30 (Köln–Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1990), 108–131.

<sup>42</sup> The prioress of Zarnowitz to the mayors of Gdańsk, 11 April 1443, APG, 300.D, 45E, no. 131.

<sup>43</sup> *das bruch Karben und das bruch bey der Rede, der herschafft horthe und eyn geheget ding, das vor dan czeuget*, The fish master of Puck to the Grand Master, 3 September 1443, GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, no. 8310; RHDO, I.1, ed. Joachim and Hubatsch, 519 no. 8310. In this context one may also mention that during the dispute between Oliva and the Teutonic Knights before 1342 their rights to *Prosnow* forest near Zarnowitz were questioned (*circa Sarnowitz silvam Prosnow*), *Chronica Olivensis*, ed. Kętrzyński, 335.

<sup>44</sup> Knight Nicze von Rutzau (Rzucewo) and Oslanin (Osłonino) see Bruski, "Dziedzice," 11–13; id., *Lokalne elity*, 104–106.

<sup>45</sup> Document No. 1: *vor uns gekomen sseynt dy eldesten 4 mannen, dy yn dem Puwczker gebitte gessen seyn, und vom bruchen Karben wissentlich ist, und haben geczeuget bey eren geswornen eynden, das yn anders nicht wissentlich ist, und och von eren eldern anders ny gehort haben, wen das bruch Karben genant und dy mast hot gehort der herschaft bas an das flys, das dy Szernevische beke genant ist*, Document No. 2: *wol wissentlich ist von den grenzen zcwussen ussern bern und dem heren abte des closters Olyue yn dem bruche bey der Rede und haben geczeuget bey eren geswornen eynden, das yn anders nicht wissentlich ist, und och ny gehort haben, von eren eldern, wen das dy grence von der Danczker lantstrosse, das Weysse flys nydder bas yn das flys Romke genant und vort das flys Romke nydder zcu geen bas an das /=flys=/ grosse flys Rede, das wellen ssy all bey eren eynden bohalden*, The testimony before the court at Putzig, the first half of the 15th century, GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, no. 28271. Summary see RHDO, I.3, ed. Joachim and Hubatsch, 501 no. 28271. In these documents was mentioned the decision of fish master of Puck, which was made in 1443. GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, no. 8310.

the following Thursday or Friday (10–11 October), which was to be conducted in the name of the Grand Master by his officials and knights.<sup>46</sup> The borderline matter returned in 1445 (10 June). Then, the delineation of properties between the Teutonic Order and the monastery of Zarnowitz was to occur. This was agreed at a meeting in Putzig, in which the Grand Master and the prioress were among the list of participants.<sup>47</sup> The review of the borders on 23 August was to be conducted by four people on each side including, among others, Friedrich von Eppingen and Floder from the district of Putzig, both appointed by the Grand Master, whereas on behalf of Zarnowitz, the knights Petrasch Pirch<sup>48</sup> and Niclos von Lobesanz were the representatives.<sup>49</sup> The border was to be determined in accordance with the aforementioned privilege of Ludolf König from 1342. The matter of delineation of Teutonic estates from the properties of Zarnowitz and Oliva was brought up again in 1449. A letter to the Grand Master about this was written by the fish master of Putzig.<sup>50</sup> The following year, the monastery was in dispute with Georg (Jorge) von Krokow.<sup>51</sup> Later on, in a letter of 4 December 1453, the commander of Danzig informed the Grand Master of an assault by Georg von Krokow on an deputy master (Germ. *Untermeister*), therefore probably on a deputy *Hofmeister* of the monastery's estates in Zarnowitz.<sup>52</sup> The same year, during the convention of society estates in Kwidzyn, a case of sister Elisabeth Pantelitz of Zarnowitz was heard.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>46</sup> The prioress of Zarnowitz to the mayors of Gdańsk, 5 October 1443, APG, 300,D, 45E, no. 132.

<sup>47</sup> The court agreement between Grand Master and prioress of the monastery in Zarnowitz, GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, no. 8780; RHDO, I.1, ed. Joachim and Hubatsch, 561 no. 8780; Bruski, *Lokalne elity*, 132.

<sup>48</sup> Petrasch (Peter) Pirch, a judge (1448) and land juror see Bruski, *Lokalne elity*, 121–122, 320.

<sup>49</sup> Nikolaus von Lobesanz (Lubocin), a land juror mentioned in the years 1429–1452 see Bruski, *Lokalne elity*, 132, 320.

<sup>50</sup> The fish master of Puck to the Grand Master regarding borderlines between the Teutonic Order district and both monasteries (Oliva and Zarnowitz), 9 September 1449, GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, no. 10052; RHDO, I.1, ed. Joachim and Hubatsch, 655 no. 10052.

<sup>51</sup> The dispute of the monastery in Zarnowitz with Georg (Jorge) von Krokow (Krokowa), about 1450, APG, 942, no. 202, p. 58–64.

<sup>52</sup> The complaint was lodged by the vogt from Oliva (*voith us der Olive*) together with the untermeister from Zarnowitz (*undermeister von Sarnowitz*), who was beaten and wounded. The fish master of Puck did not want to settle the matter himself and asked the Grand Master for instructions on what to do, see: The commander of Gdańsk to the Grand Master, 4 December 1453, GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, no. 12579; RHDO, I.1, ed. Joachim and Hubatsch, 819 no. 12579; presenting these events from the perspective of the monastery see APG, 942, no. 202, p. 58–64; Bruski, "Krokowa," 30–31.

<sup>53</sup> *Acten der Ständetage Preussens unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, vol. 3, 1447–1453, ed. Max Toeppen (Leipzig: Duncker&Humblot, 1882), 584 no. 315.

Yet another ground for mutual contacts between the Teutonic Order and the Cistercian nuns was the matter of the parish of Putzig. Its starting point is connected with a decision, formally confirmed in a document of 15 April 1385, on the basis of which Grand Master Konrad Zöllner von Rottenstein handed over the parish of Putzig (church beneficiary – *leen*) to the monastery, while excluding the Rekowo village from this parish.<sup>54</sup> In this context, it must be remembered that as early as 1356 Mathias, bishop of Włocławek, permitted the abbot of Oliva to appoint, correct, and dismiss Cistercian friars from his convent with clergymen from the chapel of St. James in Oliva and in the sisters' church in Zarnowitz.<sup>55</sup> On 3 June 1425, pope Martin V ordered the bishop of Włocławek to incorporate the parish in Putzig into the monastery of Zarnowitz following the death of its priest. It was mentioned in the document that the right to present the parson was bestowed upon the monastery by the Teutonic Order (via the Grand Master's decision from 1385), yet the profits of the monastery were so small that it had to ask for a full bestowal of the parish, with a guarantee of providing the parson appointed by the nuns with a part of the profit.<sup>56</sup> The pope approved the incorporation of the parish on 11 June 1425.<sup>57</sup> When incorporating the parish, the Cistercian nuns used help from the Teutonic Order. On 19 November 1426, a letter regarding that

<sup>54</sup> [...] *worlyen und gebin von sunderlichin gnadin den erwirdigin und geystlichin iuncvrouwen des nonnen closters czu Zarnowicz, lutirlich Gote unserm Herren und syner lyben Muter czu lobe und czu eren und durch heyl willen unser zelen, das leen unser pfarren czu Putzk in volkomener wys, als wirs gehadt haben, noch desis keginwertigin pfarrers tode adir noch syner ufgebunge durch ired closters besserunge und in durch hulfe wille in irem armute ewiclich czu behalden, usgenomen das dorf czu Raekow, das wir durch bequemikeyt der ynwoner behalden czu eyner andern kirchen, do sy neer hin habin*, The Grand Master handed over the parish of Puck to the monastery in Zarnowitz, 15 April 1385, APG, 942, no. 22. About the history of the parish, but without knowing this document, see: Stanisław Kujot, *Kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej? Studium historyczne* (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 1903), 72–73. On the topic of the parish general remarks were written by Klemens Bruski, "Puck w czasach krzyżackich," in *Historia Pucka*, ed. Andrzej Groth (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo "Marpress", 1998), 77–84.

<sup>55</sup> The abbot received the right of: *institutio, destitutio, correctio* whereas *cura animarum* and *investitura* was to be required by the bishop of Włocławek and outside his diocese by the archbishop of Gniezno, regestum of the document in *Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. V, inst. 1, 1352–1356, ed. Klaus Conrad (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1969), 281 no. 503. It most probably was a confirmation of a state already in existence for a long time.

<sup>56</sup> Perlbach, "Materiallien", 297 no. 26, 300 no. 31; *Bullarium Poloniae*, vol. 4, 1417–1431, ed. Irena Sulowska-Kuraś, Stanisław Kuraś, and Hubert Wąjs (Romae–Lublina: Fundacja Jana Pawła II / / Polski Instytut Kultury Chrześcijańskiej / Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, 1992), no. 1520–1521.

<sup>57</sup> *Die Berichte der Generalprokuratoren des Deutschen Ordens an der Kurie*, vol. III, inst. 2, 1424–1428, ed. Hans Koepfen, Veröffentlichungen der Niedersächsischen Archivverwaltung 29 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht, 1971), 481 no. 242.

matter was addressed to the Grand Master by prioress Barbara.<sup>58</sup> She complained to the Grand Master that the parish priest in Putzig did not give them any money from the parish's income for over two years. In the abovementioned letter, the abbot of Oliva was again referred to as the administrator (*vorweser*) of the monastery.<sup>59</sup> The case was heard throughout the years 1426–1431.<sup>60</sup> In 1429, the papal treasurer confirmed the payment of thirty florins by the priory of Zarnowitz, for the incorporation of the parish church in Putzig.<sup>61</sup> The abbot of Oliva also inter-mediated with respect to the rights of the monastery in Zarnowitz to the parish in Putzig.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, the aid of the Teutonic Order's procurator in Rome, Kaspar Wandofen, was also sought.<sup>63</sup>

Summing up the above remarks, it may be stated that the ground for contacts between the Cistercian nuns of Zarnowitz and the Teutonic Order represented by the Grand Master and his representatives (the commander of Danzig and the fish master of Putzig), primarily regarded confirmations of properties and estate purchases.<sup>64</sup> From the point of view of the Teutonic Order, the Cistercian nuns' monastery was in that regard strictly connected with the abbey of Oliva, yet in the first half of the 15th century, a certain independence of the prioresses is visible. This is reflected in their direct contacts with the Grand Master, such as the case of the confirmation and the statute of Sobiensitz village. We do not know whether it was a manifestation of striving towards independence in property matters on Zarnowitz's side, or an initiative and action of the Teutonic Order, who may have wanted to loosen the actual connections of the monastery with the monas-

<sup>58</sup> The prioress of Zarnowitz to the Grand Master, 19 November 1426, GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, no. 4665; RHDO, I.1, ed. Joachim and Hubatsch, 291 no. 4665. Summary of the document in *Die Berichte*, III.2, ed. Koeppen, 481–482 no. 242.

<sup>59</sup> More details on the role of the abbot of Oliva and Bishop of Włocławek in this case, see: *Die Berichte*, III.2, ed. Koeppen, 482 no. 242.

<sup>60</sup> Correspondence in matter of the parish with the Teutonic Order in the years 1426–1430, RHDO, I.1, ed. Joachim and Hubatsch nos. 4552, 4665, 5017, 5116, 5541; Bruski, "Puck," 82.

<sup>61</sup> [...] *pro complemento et finali solutione integrorum fructuum primi anni parrochialis ecclesie in Pucizk dicte diocesis prefato monasterio apostolica auctoritate unite et incorporate* – see: *Die Berichte der Generalprokuratoren des Deutschen Ordens an der Kurie*, vol. IV, inst. 1, 1429–1436, ed. Kurt Forstreuter and Hans Koeppen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht, 1973), 250–251 no. 198.

<sup>62</sup> *Die Berichte*, III.2, ed. Koeppen, 481–482 no. 242, 508 no. 257, 516–520 no. 261; Bruski, "Puck," 82.

<sup>63</sup> *Die Berichte*, IV.1, ed. Forstreuter and Koeppen, 250–251 no. 198, 253 no. 200.

<sup>64</sup> Certain purchases were made by the monastery already in the second half of the 15th century. For the range of Cistercian nuns' properties in the second half of the 16th century see: Marian Biskup and Andrzej Tomczak, *Mapy województwa pomorskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w. I. Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej* (Toruń: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1955), 41–42.

tery of Oliva. Other areas of mutual contacts were cases regarding the delineation of properties between the monastery and the Teutonic Order and resolving border disputes with knights. In these cases, the Teutonic Order acted as an arbitrator. A separate issue was the bestowal of the parish in Putzig by the Grand Master to the Cistercian nuns, and the intermediation of the Teutonic Order's procurator in Rome regarding these matters. A sort of epilogue of the mutual relations between the Cistercian nuns and the Teutonic Order is the fact that, in 1462, the body of Fritz von Raweneck, a commander of the Teutonic Order mercenary forces, who had fallen in the battle of Schwetzin during the Thirteen Years War (1454–1466), was buried in the monastery church of the Cistercian nuns in Zarnowitz.<sup>65</sup>

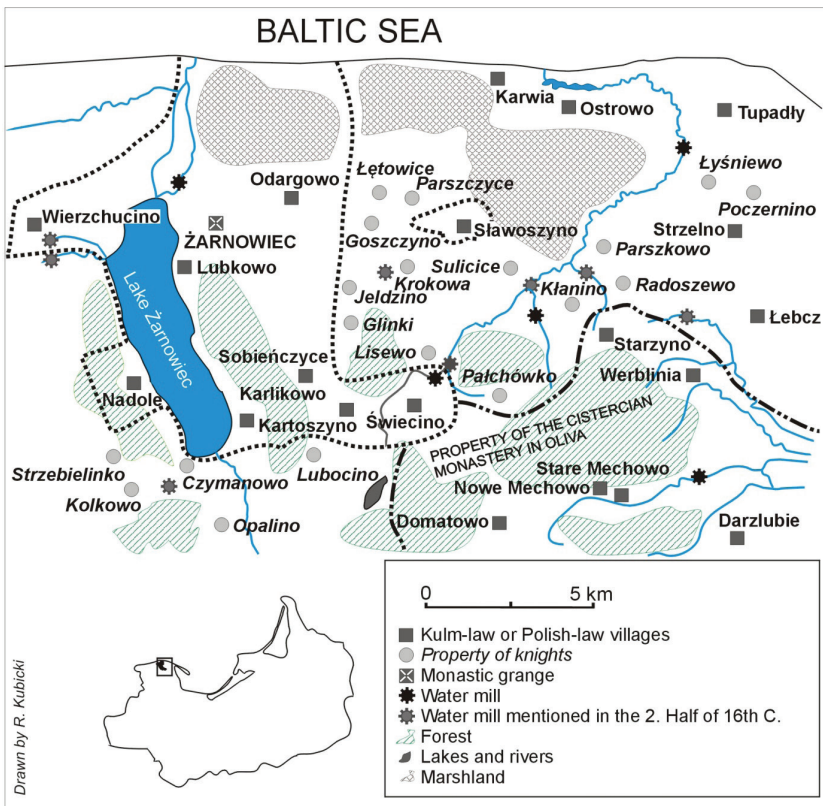


Fig. 1. Property of the Cistercian Nuns in Zarnowitz until the mid-fifteenth century.

<sup>65</sup> *Johann Lindau's Geschichte des dreizehnjährigen Krieges*, ed. Theodor Hirsch, in *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, vol. 4 (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1870), 594; Marian Biskup, *Trzynastoletnia wojna z zakonem krzyżackim 1454–1466* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1967), 630.



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