

Handlungsspielraum; häufig wurden sie durch die Herrscher nur instrumentalisiert oder sogar unter Druck gesetzt. Vor diesem Hintergrund mussten sie für ihre Sache werben, um Unterstützung zu bekommen, zumal der Verlust von Rhodos auch nach außen als Schwäche erschien. Es ist das besondere Verdienst der vorl. Arbeit, dies erstmals herausgearbeitet und einer Analyse unterzogen zu haben, mit interessanten Einsichten in das – gegenüber früheren Epochen gewandelte – Selbstverständnis der Brüder und ihre Wahrnehmung durch andere. Die durchweg schlüssig aufgebaute und flüssig geschriebene Arbeit kann so der weiteren Erforschung der frühneuzeitlichen Geschichte der geistlichen Ritterorden wesentliche Impulse vermitteln.

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***Zakon krzyżacki w Prusach i Inflantach. Podziały administracyjne i kościelne w XIII–XVI wieku*, eds. Roman Czaja, Andrzej Radziwiński, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 2013, 573 pp. + illustrations and maps, ISBN 978-83-231-3073-3.**

Roman Czaja and Andrzej Radziwiński are both renowned Polish scholars from Toruń specializing in the medieval history of the south-eastern Baltic region. The volume edited by them is a comprehensive collection of studies that aims to provide a synthesis of the current stage of research of the crusader state ruled by the Teutonic Order in the Baltic from the 13th until the 16th century. The goal of the publication, according to the editors, is to counter old fashioned views, stereotypes and prejudices derived from 19th century tradition which still affect the popular perception of the Teutonic Order in Poland today. The volume is thus aimed at a wider audience and individual articles inside lack references which are substituted by a bibliography of relevant sources provided at the end of each chapter. Nonetheless, the volume possesses an immense academic value because of the wide scope of its studies and the fact that it deals not only with the Teutonic state and bishoprics in Prussia which, understandably have attracted most interest in Poland, but also devotes equal attention to the Teutonic dominion and bishoprics established in Livonia. Such an approach provides valuable opportunity for comparison between two regions that is often impossible in the case of narrower, individual studies. The academic value of the publication is also enhanced by the fact that it provides a broad selection of historical sources and documents translated into Polish and discussed in a separate section.

The volume is divided into five parts which will be discussed separately in this review. The first two consist of 11 articles dealing with various aspects of the everyday realities and functioning of late medieval Prussia and Livonia respectively. The two parts are arranged in a similar manner with the same authors addressing similar issues in the context of the two regions. The great advantage of this arrangement is that it makes the comparison between the two regions much easier and enforces the sense that Livonia and Prussia were once closely related which despite its importance is often neglected in studies dealing with just one of the two areas.

The first text, written by Roman Czaja and Zenon H. Nowak, is a form of introduction that provides the reader with general overview of the history of the Teutonic state in the Prussia and discusses some of its general characteristics with particular focus on its administrative division, social composition and economy as well as the possible reasons for its initial success and decline in the 15th century. A corresponding introductory article in the part dealing with Livonia is written by Marian Biskup who broadens the scope of his article by including in it the history of the Christianisation of Livonia and northern Estonia in the period before became dominated by the Teutonic Order. This includes the history of the establishment of the archbishopric in Riga and other Livonian dioceses in Tartu, Tallin, Hapsalu and Courland, and the formation of the Order of Swordbrothers until its incorporation into the Teutonic Order. Despite the fact the text is very general, the author makes some valuable observations regarding the differences in the development of the Christian states in Prussia and Livonia. He emphasises for example the fierce rivalry between the Teutonic Order and the prince-bishops of Livonia, particularly the archbishops of Riga and bishops of Tartu and Ösel-Wiek, and the different social composition of the region which, unlike Prussia, did not attract numerous German settlers, particularly in the rural areas.

In the second article in both sections, Tandecki investigates the development of the structure of the Teutonic Order in Livonia and Prussia, the social backgrounds and responsibilities of its dignitaries as well as of individual knights and priests in the regions, the resources at their disposal and the administrative and territorial divisions of Prussia and Livonia under Teutonic rule. The data presented in the text is arranged chronologically and the author emphasises that the structure of Teutonic administration in both regions reflected the dual nature of the Order's authority which combined a mixture of secular (feudal) and religious (theocratic) elements. The two studies demonstrate that the structure of Teutonic administration in Prussia and Livonia was not very different although the author admits that there are fewer historical sources preserved for the study of the latter region, especially in the context of the early 13th century. The second study also explores the changing relation between the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order with

Prussia and emphasises that the 15th century saw a rapid decline in these relations associated with the collapse of Teutonic authority in Prussia and its endurance in Livonia.

The third set of articles, written by Marian Arszynski shifts from purely historical analysis to the study of material remains and focuses on the role, architecture and layouts of castles owned by the Teutonic Order as well as bishops and their chapters. The author has published numerous studies of this subject in the past and the article represents a summary of the current stage of research on this subject. Both texts attempt to reconstruct the development of the layout of Teutonic castles and discuss the functions of different chambers within the convents. The author provides examples of similarly planned conventual castles in Prussia and Livonia, for example in Viljandi or Ventspils, but argues that the development of defensive architecture in Livonia differed from that of Prussia. The principal differences include the fact that stone, particularly limestone was easily available in Livonia which not only challenged the monopoly of brick as principal building material used in the construction of castles but also allowed the crusaders to build defences made of stone significantly earlier than in Prussia, that is already in the late 12th and early 13th century, before the Teutonic Order made its first appearance in the Baltic. This resulted in the greater variety of architectural forms adopted in the planning of various Livonian castles, particularly those commissioned by the local bishops and archbishops of Riga who competed with the Teutonic Order for authority and were not always keen to copy architectural forms promoted by the Order. Arszynski's studies are also valuable because they provide insight into the last stage of development of the Teutonic castle architecture in the late 15th to mid. 16th century which is impossible to investigate in the context of Prussia alone due to limited building activity in the region due to internal and economic crisis and wars with Poland and Lithuania. Many of the castles in Livonia however, were modernized in that period. The arguments are illustrated by photographs as well as plans and reconstructions that were already published in earlier studies but their principal limitation is the absence of interregional comparisons with castles preserved in areas that may have served as sources of inspiration for the architects working in Prussia and Livonia, for example in Germany or Bohemia though this is understandable given the general character of the studies.

The following two articles by R. Czaja discuss the foundation of cities and the development of urban space in Prussia and Livonia. The study investigates the documents related with the founding of towns in the south-eastern Baltic, their layouts and spatial relation to Teutonic castles located in their proximity as well as the economic structure of both large and small towns and their changing role in the Teutonic state; from one of the principal pillars providing the Teutonic state

with reliable source of manpower, manufacture and revenue to becoming centres of opposition to the Teutonic rule. Another issue discussed by Czaja is the relation between newly found towns and earlier settlements which already served as centres of crafts and production. The author observes that not all earlier settlements were transformed into towns and that the growth of cities depended on the arrival of settlers from the west. The author illustrates his argument by a number of plans and maps showing the territorial possessions of major Baltic cities. Once again, the study emphasises the stark difference in the position of towns in Prussia and Livonia where urban centres were few, some of the major ones, like Tartu, where controlled by bishops rather than the Teutonic Order and only one, namely Riga attempted to openly oppose the authority of the Teutonic Order as well as the archbishops. The principal limitation of the two texts is that they focus on different aspects of the functioning of cities in their prospective regions which narrows the scope of potential comparisons. The study of Prussian cities focuses heavily on their economic conditions and obligations while the analysis of Livonian towns emphasises the development of urban identity of towns, traces the formation of city councils and analyses the political role of towns and their social composition.

The last set of studies, written by A. Radzimiński, addresses the issue of church administration and the structure of dioceses established in Prussia and Livonia after their incorporation into western Christendom. The framework of the analysis is the chronological overview of the process of establishment and development of church institutions in the discussed regions, starting from the period predating the arrival of the Teutonic Order in the Baltic until the early 16th century. The investigation focuses on a number of themes including the process of defining boundaries between lands managed by the Teutonic Order and those directly controlled by the bishops and their chapters, the internal division of dioceses into prebends, the procedure through which new bishops were elected and their relations with the Teutonic Order. Individual dioceses are considered separately which underlines their distinct character and contextualises their different relations with the Teutonic order. The study of the church administration in Prussia also includes a brief analysis of Pomerelia which administratively belonged to dioceses located outside the Teutonic sphere of influence in Poland and Pomerania. The article dealing with Livonia on the other hand, explores the stronger position of Livonian bishops (except of the bishop of Courland because this diocese was regarded as part of Prussia) who were granted control over $\frac{2}{3}$ of their dioceses rather than $\frac{1}{3}$ as was the custom in Prussia. Each discussion includes a list of major monasteries founded on the territory of the analysed diocese but fails to provide any analysis concerning their role or economic position.

Finally, the collection of articles dealing with medieval Prussia also includes a study by Marian Biskup which attempts to provide an overview of the origins and characteristics of the network of parishes in the different dioceses in region. The analysis is comprehensive and includes both rural and urban churches. The author distinguishes between Pomerelia and Culmerland, which possessed a number of parishes which existed prior to the arrival of the Teutonic Order in the Baltic and those in Pomesania, Sambia and Warmia that were established under strong influence of the Teutonic Order. Biskup investigates the different roles of various parishes and discusses the legal basis of their ownership by the Teutonic Order and other institutions. He also provides a detailed analysis of the distribution of parishes in different Prussian regions, their sizes and social composition as well as the role of the parish councils and the economic position and sources of revenue of different types of parishes. The volume lacks a comparable study conducted in the context of Livonia although the article by Radzimiński includes a separate section dealing with the establishment of the network of parishes in Livonia which concerns similar issues to those addressed by Biskup.

The second half of the volume consists of three sections the first of which provides a list, arranged chronologically and accompanied by discussions, of all higher dignitaries of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, discussed by Bernhart Jähnig, and Livonia, discussed by Klaus Militzer, as well as the bishops and their appointed bailiffs in both regions, discussed by Andrzej Radzimiński. The lists of Teutonic dignitaries are very detailed and include the commanders as well as bailiffs of Teutonic castles and thus provide excellent starting point for statistical and comparative analysis. The fourth part of the book is composed by Czaja and Radzimiński and provides a brief dictionary of major Polish and German place names in the territory of former Prussia, including the Russian enclave of the Kaliningrad oblast. The list would be a welcomed addition if it would include Livonia, that is the territory of modern Latvia and Estonia as most of the important locations in that area, have at least three names, German, Latvian or Estonian and Polish or Swedish dating from the 16th and 17th century, which are all used interchangeably in the literature and can be a source of confusion. To list just two of the many examples, the major Teutonic commandery in modern Ventspils in Courland (Latvia) can be referred to by its German name Windau or as Polish Windawa. Similarly, the residence of the Teutonic master of Livonia in Cēsis is also referred to as German Wenden or Polish Kies.

The last part of the publication provides Polish translations of a wide selection of historical sources arranged and discussed in 8 thematic sections prepared by different authors. Each section includes a separate introduction and brief discussion concerning the characteristics of the selected sources. The first, prepared by Leszek Zygnier, collects sources relevant for the origins and creation of the Teuton-

ic Order; notably fragments of the rule of the order. The second group of sources, composed by Tomasz Jasiński, deals with the early stages of the creation of the Teutonic state in the Baltic and includes, for example, privileges granted to the Teutonic knights by the Polish Duke of Masovia, local bishops and the Papacy. The third section is prepared by Janusz Tandecki and presents sources important from the perspective of the internal structure of the Teutonic state in Prussia; for example the documents associated with the granting of privileges and the founding of cities and villages by the Teutonic dignitaries. The fourth section is composed by A. Radziwiński and assembles documents dealing with the church and clergy. The selection of sources offered by the author is particularly valuable as it includes not only sources crucial for the functioning of Prussian dioceses, such as the document recording the creation of the chapter of the bishopric of Pomesania, but also materials with interregional significance including the nomination of Teutonic representatives in the papal curia, correspondence between Sambian chapter and the archbishopric of Riga or the oath of fealty of the bishop of Chełmno to the Polish King Władysław II Jagiełło.

The fifth section is prepared by Sławomir Józwiak and assembles materials dealing with the society and formation of class representation in Prussia. The sources selected here are often deal with conflicts and tensions between the burghers of Prussian towns, local knights and the Teutonic Order. The following section, by Si-eradzan attempts to provide insights into the various aspects of the intellectual life of medieval Prussia by including documents such as religious treatises and chronicles as well as documents for the establishment of educational institutions, notably the failed attempt at the founding of University in Chełmno. The penultimate group of sources, collected by R. Czaja, deals with economic activities in medieval Prussia and includes for example excerpts from the records of the Teutonic treasury and complaints of Prussian burghers and nobility presented to the Teutonic authorities. The last collection of historical documents is prepared by Arszyński and presents a number of sources associated with the construction of castles and fortifications in Prussia. These include for example narrative descriptions of events derived from chronicles and legal agreements between masons and institutions commissioning construction works such as the Teutonic Order or bishops.

Overall, the range of translated documents is certainly a major contribution to the study of the Teutonic Order which sheds additional light on the discussed aspects of the functioning of medieval Prussia. It is especially valuable for those members of the Polish audience who are not accustomed with German literature. However, the documents are translated in a very modern language and the use popular expressions, including insults, which must have required significant adaptation from the original style in which the translated sources were written. The

authors however, do not discuss the problems associated with such modern adaptations of medieval texts and do not explain the principles that were adopted during the adaptations. Also, it is a pity that the translated sources do not include material from medieval Livonia which is surprising given that records from 15th century inspections of Teutonic castles in Livonia were already published by Polish scholars.¹ Most often, translations are based on 19th century publications, not on the original manuscripts although this is understandable. A more serious problem/issue is the fact that it is not always clear who the author of the presented translations is. Sometimes the author is provided in a footnote but this is not always the case. Similarly, it is not always clear who is the author or what is the source of the presented photographs, plans and reconstructions.

Despite these minor limitations, the discussed volume represents a valuable initiative that will prove valuable to both educated wider audience and scholars specialising in the medieval history of the Baltic region. In the opinion of the reviewer, its principal advantage is the broad spectrum of its collected studies which allows for extensive comparisons between Teutonic Prussia and Livonia which is surprisingly rare in the modern literature. The only significant omission is the absence of articles that would focus on art and the theme of religiosity which certainly played important roles in both Prussia and Livonia though perhaps the addition of such studies would make the volume too long and more difficult to navigate through.

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***Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier. A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, eds. Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi, Carsten Selch Jensen, Ashgate Publishing Company, Farnham 2011, 487 pp. + illustrations and maps, ISBN 978-0-7546-6627-1.**

The *Cronicon Lyvoniae* by Henry of Livonia has been a subject of intensive, interdisciplinary studies for over 150 years. The academic interest in this four volume long chronicle, covering the history of Livonia from 1180–1227, and in its author, has additionally intensified after the collapse of the USSR and the regaining of the independence of the Baltic States, particularly Latvia and Estonia as their borders follow the historical boundaries of medieval Livonia. As a result, at the end of the

¹ M. Biskup, *Wizytacja zamków zakonu krzyżackiego w Inflantach z 1488 roku*, *Zapiski Historyczne* 49 (1984), 1, pp. 119–128.