

***Cura animarum. Seelsorge im Deutschordensland Preußen*, hrsg. v. Stefan Samerski (Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands, Bd. 45), Böhlau Verlag, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2013, 249 pp., ISBN 978-3-412-21027-4.**

Cura animarum is a conference volume devoted to the organizational, religious and cultural aspects of the dominion of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. It is the result of the 47th meeting of the Institut für ostdeutsche Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte e.V., which took place in Gdańsk-Oliwa on 6–9 September 2010. Apart from the introduction by the editor Stefan Samerski (pp. 9–14) the volume includes 13 articles written by 12 authors (two texts were written by Edith Feistner).

The publication opens with an article by Arno Mentzel-Reuters (“Der Deutsche Orden als geistlicher Orden”, pp. 15–43). The researcher from Munich addresses the important issue of the significance of the clergy in the structure of the Teutonic Order and spiritual aspects of the performance of its members. The main argument presented in the article is the opinion that the communal life of the brothers of the Teutonic Order was based primarily not on the idea of a military struggle, but on the tradition of Western monasticism, that is monastic life aimed at self-development in grace, peace and discipline (pp. 27, 29, 30, 41). The author seeks evidence supporting this view in various aspects of the functioning of the Teutonic Order. In the first part of the text, he underlines the significance of statute norms for monastic life (p. 16); next, he goes on to analyse the influence of court literature on the development of the idea of *miles christianus*, the traces of which may be found also in Prussia (pp. 17–18). The subsequent pages discuss the importance of brother-priests in the Order, including the office of the prior, along with the functions of “choir masters”, that is priest brethren who organised worship within the Liturgy of the Hours (pp. 21–23). Further on, the researcher discusses the issue of the discrepancy between statute norms and the reality of everyday life in monastic houses. It is assumed that the phenomenon was growing as the laws passed by grand masters in the 14th century were not adjusted to the Prussian conditions. The only way to explain the increasing disparity were the transition from the educational guidelines, delivered to members of the Order during sermons, to the allegorical spiritual texts (an example of this is the Latin text written by brother Ulrich in the 1330s) (pp. 23–26). The presented opinions may cause some objections. The subsequent pages discuss the main ideas which shaped the spiritual identity of the Teutonic Order. A. Mentzel-Reuters rightly points out that continuously recited texts and rituals were important factors which forged the bonds within the Order, not the administration as was suggested in earlier historiography (p. 32). He analyses the role of convent chapters taking into account

their physical aspects such as the arrangement and symbolic significance of chapter houses which, according to the author, constituted separate rooms in convent castles (pp. 32–37). He indicates that chapter houses were spaces where members of the Order learnt texts, including monastic statutes (p. 38). In the context of the latter, the author underlines the ritual importance of books including the norms which may seem as a too optimistic vision; on the other hand, he draws the reader's attention to the spiritual content included in the extracts used during chapter meetings. Arno Mentzel-Reuters rightly points out their fundamental importance for the construction of the communal identity of monks (pp. 38–41). This important text is an essential element in the research and discussion on mental factors regarding the functioning of the corporation of the Teutonic Order.

In the second article, Roman Czaja addresses the theme of the “identity” of the Teutonic Order in Prussia (“Die Identität des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen”, pp. 44–57). The author stresses difficulties connected with research on the issue, which is hard to define and may be conceptualised from various perspectives (sociology, social psychology, cultural studies, classical history). As Czaja rightly states, the phenomenon of “identity” has a double nature – it is a fully subjective phenomenon, but still may be seen as objective (p. 44). The author focuses on the collective identity of the Teutonic Order because he argues that factors influencing the relations of an individual towards the community are more tangible in the sources. R. Czaja underlines the major significance of religiousness in communal worship, seeing there the powerful determinant of the collective identity (pp. 51–52). Both the manner of worship (*devotio antiqua*) and its content (cult of relics and saints such as St. George and Virgin Mary) created the sense of identity among members of the Order until the end of the 15th century. According to the author, another important factor contributing to this feeling was the idea of military actions against pagans that played an important role until the first quarter of the 15th century (pp. 47, 50–53). Czaja questions whether the Order's hospitaller role, affected the shaping of the collective identity of its members (pp. 53–54). Apart from religious factors, the author mentions other elements connected with the secular authority of the Order executed in Prussia. He argues that the significance of class and knightly elements in the “proper concept” of the Order grew in parallel with its progressing “secularisation” throughout the 14th century (p. 54–55). He also emphasises the fact that in the second quarter of the 15th century the regional identity of the members of the Order grew at the expense of the feeling of a communal identity within the Prussian branch of the corporation (p. 56). In the final part of the article the author refers to the question of the self-awareness of the brother-priests who functioned mostly beyond convent structures (pp. 56–57). Undoubtedly, Roman Czaja is right in underlining that

this situation had a negative impact on maintaining a sense of belonging to the community. However, the question arises whether all brother-knights of the Prussian branch of the corporation lived in convents. To sum up, the researcher from Toruń emphasises the decreasing identity potential of the factors discussed above in the 15th century and the collapse of a single communal identity within the Prussian branch of the Teutonic Order, which was influenced by a variety of objective factors (p. 57).

Radosław Biskup examines the church structure in Prussia (“Bistümer im Deutschordensstat in Preußen (bis 1525)”, pp. 58–73). A short historiographical introduction, in which the author underlines the “state-building” role of the church administrative structure formed in the 13th century (p. 58), is followed by the outline of the process of the construction of bishoprics and chapters in Prussia (pp. 61–66). The author discusses the term “incorporation” which, according to him, should not be used to describe the relationship between the corporation of the Teutonic Order and the chapter of Pomesania and Sambia. Instead, he uses the term “monastic bishoprics” to refer to those three dioceses, where bishops, who came from the communities of canons following the rule of the Teutonic Order, were at the same time its members. Biskup argues that the vision of the church system in Prussia, included in the document of Wilhelm of Modena of 28 July 1243, was based on the conventual model proposed by the Teutonic Order (p. 66). Further discussion concerns the development of the parish network, the structure of the church administration (deaneries and archpresbyteries; he underlines a lack of archdeaconries) and its transformations after 1466 (pp. 66–71). The article ends with the outline of two research projects (the author was their *spiritus movens*) closely connected with the issue presented in the text, one of which deals with the database of parishes in the Prussian dominion (1243–1525), while the other refers to the so called Prussian formula book of Uppsala (pp. 71–73) which is essential for research on the church structures.

The next two articles concern the Mendicant Orders. Rafał Kubicki addresses the issue of Mendicant Orders in the Prussian dominion of the Order (“Die Rolle der Bettelorden im Ordensland Preußen”, pp. 74–91). In the first part of the article the author briefly presents some individual convents: the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Carmelites and Observants, including the circumstances of their foundations and further development (pp. 75–78). Next, he outlines the relations between the Mendicant Orders, the Teutonic Order and Prussian bishops (pp. 79–80); then, he characterises the role of the Mendicant Orders in the religious life of the country, underlining that they were active not only in big cities, but also in small towns and villages (pp. 80–81). In the subsequent parts of the text Kubicki discusses the relations between the convents and municipal commu-

nities, including the institution of secular prebendaries and the participation of the Mendicant Orders in the religious life of cities (pp. 82–86). He emphasises the lack of sources on the functioning of individual convents both in the spiritual and material dimension. A rare exception is the short record concerning the political activity of the Dominicans in the 15th century. At the end of the article, the author addresses the role of the Mendicant Orders in the intellectual life of the region; however, the discussion does not refer to the influence of members of the Mendicant Orders on the intellectual condition of secular elites, but on internal monastic institutions and the structures of education (the researcher discusses the studies of monastic brothers, conventual schools and libraries, pp. 87–90). The article also includes a map presenting the convents of all the monastic orders (not only the Mendicant ones) found in the Late Middle Ages in Prussia (p. 91).

The article by Piotr Oliński discusses details concerning selected aspects of the functioning of the Mendicant Orders in Prussia presented by R. Kubicki. The text addresses the question of the activity and role of the Franciscans in Prussia in the initial stage of formation of the political, church and settlement structures in the region in the 13th century (“Die Franziskaner und ihre missionarische und friedensstiftende Aktivität im Deutschordensland des 13. Jahrhunderts”, pp. 92–104). The author starts with the presentation of the Franciscan foundations in the Culm Land (in Thorn and Culm) discussing mainly the circumstances of the establishment of the Thorn convent (he considers the year 1239 to be the foundation year, while the extension of the convent took place during approximately 1252–1256) (pp. 92–96). Oliński considers the involvement of the Franciscans in the Prussian crusades and underlines the missionary nature of their activity among the Balts. On the other hand, he points out to the existence of Friars Minor among the crusaders arriving in Prussia. He indicates that the knightly ethos was a cultural element not unfamiliar in the Franciscan Order. Their missionary activities won the support of the papacy and the Teutonic Order; however, the Franciscan “tolerant” perception of pagans as “God’s children” could have led to conflicts with the Teutonic Order (pp. 96–101). The other essential aspect analysed by Oliński is the activity of Friars Minor as mediators or arbitrators in various conflicts. The author provides the reader with a series of detailed examples which confirm the argument proposed by him that Franciscan mediation played important role easing social tensions and interactions in the 13th century Prussia (on the edges of the country too, including the relations with the Lithuanian ruler Mindaugas) (pp. 102–104).

The next article by Edith Feistner deals with the debate between scholars and linguists regarding the significance of non-historiographic writing in the Teutonic Order and generally in the Prussian country. In the first of her two articles published

in the volume (“Zur Katechese der Ritterbrüder in den Anfängen des Deuschordensstaates”, pp. 105–120) the German philologist from Regensburg addresses the question of the relations and functionality of a few biblical texts written in the second half of the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century (“Apokalypse”, “Judith”, “Hester”, “Makkabäer”, “Daniel”, “Hiob”, “Esra und Nehemia”, “Historien der alden ê”), which according to the 19th century tradition, popular until the 1990s were defined as the “literature of the Teutonic Order” (*Deuschordensliteratur*). The scholar examines the texts by applying three questions: a) the reference to the Teutonic Order, b) the “communication situation” in each text (that is the relation between the creator of the text and its recipients), and c) the manner and extent of using the biblical content in the space between history and the critical interpretation of the text (exegesis), and between the story and the commentary (p. 105). She underlines that addressing these issues is essential for defining the real functions of these texts which were all included in the manuscripts used by the Order even though not all of them were inspired by it (pp. 107–109). Generally speaking, it may be concluded that Feistner stresses the far-reaching heterogeneity of the analysed texts in terms of linguistic-literary features both in the 13th century texts (pp. 109–112) and in the 14th century writings (pp. 113–117). In this context, the question about using biblical texts by the Teutonic Order appears to be difficult to define (pp. 117–118). Taking into consideration the prevailing role of the Order as the commissioner of the texts or as their importer, it can be assumed, according to the author, that members of the corporation considered the texts to be a kind of material to be used for catechesis in the Order. In the spiritual-religious context and in the context of legal texts or other professional literature, we may speak therefore about the “pragmatism” of the Order (pp. 118–120).

The second article by E. Feistner, concerns a single text – “Der Litauer” by Schondoch who lived in the 14th century and came from the Alemannic dialectic region (“Der Deuschordensstaat als literarischer Katecheseschauplatz. Schondochs Erzählung *Der Litauer* (mittelhochdeutscher Text mit neuhochdeutscher Übersetzung)”, pp. 227–238). Apart from analysing the text, Feistner again (for the second time) provides a contemporary German translation of the Middle High German text along with the printed original version (based on the edition by Udo Arnold from 1968, with one addition by Manfred Caliebe) (pp. 231–238). As far as the context of the creation of the text is concerned, the researcher is quite sceptical about Arnold’s hypothesis suggesting the possibility of there being a relationship between the text and the baptism of the Lithuanian Duke Butawd in 1365. The author underlines the significance of the text for the idea of the christianization of Lithuania, military rhetoric and the policy of the Order as

a territorial ruler; the major background for this *exemplum* text seems to be the rhetorics of the crusades (pp. 229–230).

Michael Neecke analysed one of the biblical, paraphrasing texts discussed by Feistner – Judith (“Identitätsstiftung durch Bibelepik?”, pp. 121–131). He reveals the divergence between the content of the text which served as one foundation for the Order’s identity and the image of the Order expressed in the statutes (pp. 122–124). The author agrees with the earlier opinion by Helmut de Boor and maintains that the text was not created within the Order, nor had it been commissioned by it. According to him, the text was imported (pp. 124–125). The author, referring to the sociological-literary concept of the secondary conculturality (‘sekundäre konkulturalität’) argues that the Teutonic Order reinterpreted Judith, which allowed the brothers to see it as a text encouraging them to fight (pp. 126–127). Neecke, unlike Henrike Lähnemann, considers such a reinterpretation to be possible. He shows that the references to the biblical Book of Judith in the chronicles by Peter von Dusburg and Nicolaus von Jeroschin (pp. 129–130) may reveal what the reinterpretation might have looked like. Only in this way could the work be used by the Teutonic Order to serve as a foundation document for the identity of the members of the Order (p. 131).

In her article, Anette Löffler presents a comprehensive discussion of the issues connected with the liturgy of the Teutonic Order in Prussia (“Die Liturgie des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen”, pp. 161–184). Firstly, she briefly describes the period of the formation of the liturgical practice in the corporation (perceived as a whole in its supraregional dimension) until the process in the year 1257 (p. 162). She goes on to analyse the statute norms concerning the liturgy taking into account the changes taking place from the fourth quarter of the 13th century, recorded in the regulations of the (grand) masters (pp. 162–166). The next part of the article by Löffler provides detailed description of the monastic festivals and the rite of liturgical activities (i.e. festivals in the *totum duplex* rite, *duplex*, *semiduplex*, festivals with their own sequence and festivals with their own rhymed office); she focuses her attention also on the Prussian particularisms and frequent changes taking place from the 13th century (including the ones in the so called *Correctio Notulae*) (pp. 166–177). After a thorough presentation, she goes on to discuss the condition of the manuscripts (and incunables) including the monastic *Liber Ordinarius* and *Correctio Notulae* (in total 51 manuscripts, 8 incunables and 253 extracts). It should be noted that most of the preserved records come from Prussia (pp. 177–178). The article finishes with a much shorter section devoted to pastoral functions, including tasks of priest brethren of the Teutonic Order, their service in parishes and the dimension of their service as priests along with the role of Prussian chapters (pp. 179–184).

Cordelia Heß considers the question of the worship of the Virgin Mary in Prussia in the Late Middle Ages (“Himmelskönigin und Geburtshelferin. Marienverehrung im spätmittelalterlichen Preußen”, pp. 185–199). She focuses on the significance, role and character of the worship of the Virgin Mary in the Teutonic Order and the comparison of this phenomenon to the cult of God’s Mother among the population of the Prussian state. Heß is very skeptical about the old views concerning particular features of the monastic spirituality in relation to the Virgin Mary (pp. 185–186). She argues that within the monastic corporation, various universal forms of worship were adopted, which later became an element of the Order’s identity (p. 186). The discussion starts with analysis of forms of presentation of the Virgin Mary; as *regina coeli* and *mater misericordiae*. The former motif, expressed in the image of St. Mary crowned and seated on the throne is presented by Heß as a common element in Prussia, both in the Teutonic Order and beyond it, that is associated with political narrations and the legitimisation or the pious attitude in the context of death. The principal case study examined by the author in this context is the castle of Marienburg/Malbork, which accumulated the greatest number of elements manifesting the cult of St. Mary in Prussia. Heß demonstrates the objects connected with the worship of St. Mary (including relics) stored in the Marienburg Castle were divided into two groups: one for public (popular) worship and the other for internal monastic worship (elitist). In this way, Marienburg symbolically expressed the religious and political aspirations of both the Teutonic Order’s brothers and the local Prussian population (pp. 187–192).

The volume reviewed here also includes texts concerning sacral architecture because it created material frameworks of the activity of priests and religious life in the region. This theme is explored by Christofer Herrmann (“Die Architektur der mittelalterlichen Kirchen in den preußischen Bistümern”, pp. 132–160), who presented the findings of his detailed research published in 2007. In the first part of the article the author presents the main aspects of the construction of gothic cathedrals in Prussia (Kulmsee/Chełmża, Königsberg/Kaliningrad, Frauenburg/Frombork, Marienwerder/Kwidzyn), pointing out characteristic features of individual elements and the influence of Prussian cathedrals on the architecture of parish churches (he provides a few examples of such influences for each cathedral) (pp. 132–136). The second part of the study provides a more detailed description of the parish churches. Firstly, Herrmann presents the most important urban churches (i.e. the church of SS John the Baptist & John the Evangelist in Thorn/Toruń, the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Kulmsee, the Church of St. James in Thorn, the Church of St. Catherine in Strasburg/Brodnica, the Church of St. Nicolaus in the Old Town of Elbing/Elbląg); next, he goes on to describe rural churches (pp. 136–141). Both groups of buildings are categorised

in terms of similarities of architectural solutions. The author focuses separately on Sambian churches which usually had long, narrow and vaulted aisles with a separate choir and a massive western tower (p. 142). The author associates the group's distinct characteristics with the settlement situation of the Sambian territories, where local Prussian population was to be psychologically affected by the symbolic content of the buildings expressing the authority of the church and priests. Finally, Herrmann points out that generally the urban and rural religious architecture did not differ much in Prussia; particularly smaller churches in towns resembled those in villages (p. 143). The article also includes 29 photos presenting religious architecture in Prussia and a map (pp. 145–160).

Stefan Samerski in his article ("Dorothea und kein Ende. Bemerkungen zur Prozess- und Kultgeschichte der hl. Dorothea von Montau", pp. 200–216) summarises the questions connected with the worship of the Marienwerder recluse in Prussia. The article has a summary character. The presentation of the life of Dorothea of Montau (Małtowy) is accompanied by a list of earlier and more recent literature on the subject (pp. 201–202); next, the author discusses the attempts of the monastic authorities to initiate Dorothea's canonisation process in Rome, which were unsuccessful (pp. 203–212). Samerski emphasises the considerable source value of the preserved sources including 243 recorded miracles which are said to have occurred due to intercession of Dorothea of Montau. The author also describes further attempts to renew the canonisation process at the end of the 15th century and at the beginning of the 16th century (p. 212–213). The article ends with a brief extract concerning the history of the worship of Dorothea of Montau in the early modern and modern period (pp. 213–216). Finally, the author stresses the fact that while the Teutonic Order attempted to promote Dorothea as a saint important for the whole of Prussia, her cult in Marienwerder in the 15th, 16th and subsequent centuries had a regional, exclusively Pomesanian character.

The last of the reviewed texts was written by Klaus Militzer who is an experienced researcher of the Teutonic Order and the late medieval towns (particularly Köln). He addresses the question of the functioning of secular fraternities in towns situated on the eastern frontier of the Latin Christendom ("Die verzögerten Wirkungen der Bruderschaften im Osten im Mittelalter", pp. 217–226). The author argues that the growth of confraternities in Central and Eastern European towns was delayed in comparison with their equivalents in western urban centers that were usually older and larger (p. 217). While secular confraternities appeared in the western part of the German-speaking territory around 1300, in the East this did not take place until the second half of the 14th century. Looking for the reasons for the situation, the researcher Militzer only partially agrees with the assumption that the Black Death in the mid-14th century had a decisive influence on

this phenomenon (p. 218). Instead, he argues that the presence of confraternities was dependant on the development of the urban life style in the growing, eastern towns. The study identifies two main aspects of the process: the presence of numerous affluent inhabitants and the development of pastoral activities carried out by Mendicant Orders (pp. 218–219). Both phenomena in the south-eastern coast of the Baltic Sea occurred with some delay in comparison with the Rhine territories. The author points out the immigration to the Prussian towns from larger cities of Westphalia and the Rhine regions. The new settlers transmitted customs associated with confraternities to the East although Militzer also stresses that the issue needs a detailed prosopographic analysis (p. 220). In subsequent analysis, he goes on to discuss issues connected with the functions of secular fraternities in towns: the task of commemorating the dead, religious foundations, religious worship and support of the poor. Once again the frontier territories were somewhat delayed in comparison with Western countries. Moreover, the number of confraternities situated in the East was considerably lower than in the western regions (pp. 220–226). Finally, Militzer identifies distinctive features of confraternities in greater West-European cities. He emphasizes in this context the role of priests employed for pastoral activities and the fact that the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary never became as popular in the East as its counterparts in the West (pp. 225–226).

Overall, it must be stressed that the volume embraces a wide spectrum of issues. It includes studies concerning the political, organizational, legal, social, pastoral, cultural, liturgical, theological, and architectural questions as well as the issues referring to literature in its widest sense. In many cases, the authors go beyond the geographical scope of Prussia, particularly in reference to topics connected directly with the Teutonic Order, which is fully justified taking into account the fact that it was a universal organisation in the Latin Christendom. The abundance of analysed issues shows that spiritual life in late medieval Prussia remains a fruitful research area.

While reading individual texts however, one may notice that the articles written by German researchers sometimes fail to include Polish studies – even those which are of major importance and contribute greatly to the subject of the research. The discussion of the literature devoted to the spiritual life in late medieval Prussia provided by S. Samerski for example, fails to refer to two books written by Waldemar Rozykowski¹ (not to mention a range of relevant articles), does not

¹ W. Rozykowski, *Ommes Sancti et Sanctae Dei. Studium nad kultem świętych w diecezjach pruskich państwa zakonu krzyżackiego*, Malbork 2006; idem, *Studia nad liturgią w zakonie krzyżackim w Prusach. Z badań nad religijnością w późnym średniowieczu*, Toruń 2012.

explore sufficiently the synthetic study written by Andrzej Radzimiński², nor does he mention the works by Rafał Kubicki (including his monograph devoted to the Prussian contrata of the Dominican Order³). In his article he also does not refer to the study by Stefan Kwiatkowski analysing the documents from the canonisation trial of Dorothea of Montau.⁴ Furthermore A. Mentzel-Reuters discusses whether the convent of Malbork had a prior (p. 22) without being aware that the question has already been analysed and verified positively by Sławomir Józwiak and Janusz Trupinda⁵. Also, in his discussion concerning the existence and possible functions of the room between the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the chapter house on the second floor of the south-eastern wing of the Teutonic Order's convent in Marienburg he omits a very important study by Szczyśny Skibiński.⁶ K. Militzer does not refer to the book by Ireneusz Czarciński devoted to confraternities⁷ (and also he does not refer to the article by Piotr Oliński written in German⁸). One may conclude therefore that in this hermetic circle of researchers dealing with the history of the Prussia (*Preußische Landeskunde*), which almost two generations ago stopped being the exclusive domain of German researchers, a passive knowledge of Polish should be a standard. The youngest generation of colleagues from Germany (and other neighbouring countries) has acquired sufficient knowledge of Polish to prepare their research. The same is true for the Lithuanian language in the research on the relations between late medieval Prussia and Lithuania (in this context Polish scholars tend to ignore the importance of a passive knowledge of Lithuanian in their work).

Krzysztof Kwiatkowski (Toruń)

² A. Radzimiński, *Kościół w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach 1243–1525. Organizacja – uposażenie – ustawodawstwo – duchowieństwo – wierni*, Malbork 2006 (also available in German: *Die Kirche im Deutschordensstaat in Preussen (1243–1525). Organisation, Ausstattung, Rechtsprechung, Geistlichkeit, Gläubige*, transl. L. Lewandowska (Prussia Sacra 4), Toruń 2014).

³ R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów kontraty pruskiej od XIII do połowy XVI w.*, Gdańsk 2007.

⁴ S. Kwiatkowski, *Klimat religijny diecezji pomezkańskiej u schyłku XIV i w pierwszych dziesięcioleciach XV wieku* (Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu 84, 1), Toruń 1990.

⁵ S. Józwiak, J. Trupinda, *Organizacja życia na zamku krzyżackim w Malborku w czasach wielkich mistrzów (1309–1457)*, Malbork 2011, p. 505.

⁶ Sz. Skibiński, *Kaplica na Zamku Wysokim w Malborku* (Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Seria Historia sztuki 14), Poznań 1982.

⁷ I. Czarciński, *Bractwa w wielkich miastach państwa krzyżackiego w średniowieczu*, Toruń 1993.

⁸ P. Oliński, *Die Anfänge der Bruderschaften in den preußischen Hansestädten*, Bulletin der Polnischen Historischen Mission / Biuletyn Polskiej Misji Historycznej 3 (2005), pp. 125–130.