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SECULAR CLERGYMEN IN THE CASTLES OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER IN PRUSSIA***

KEYWORDS

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ABSTRACT

The article addresses the problem of the functioning of secular clergymen in the castles of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. Brother priests were to run the religious life of the convents, but there is sufficient evidence showing that non-Teutonic clergymen were also employed to do this job. This group belonged to the category of “servants” (*gesinden*). It included chaplains of Teutonic officials, chaplains serving in the choir, vicars in infirmaries, deacons, sub-deacons, ringers and alumni. They played auxiliary functions in relation to brother priests, the shortage of whom may be noticeable in the first half of the 15th century. Secular clergymen helped to say the canonical hours in the castle's choirs; however, they acted also as chaplains and notaries of Teutonic commanders, Pflegers or Vogts. They received remuneration for their work for the convents – both in the form of money and maintenance in the castle. Nevertheless, not all secular clergymen lived in the castle. Some of them owned prebendaries in the vicinity of the castle and treated their service in the castle as extra work, which not only provided them with additional income, but also facilitated the career development – as it is indicated in the

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recommendations of Teutonic officials to take over prebendaries. The service in the castle was often the preliminary step to become a member of the Teutonic Order.

In November 1453 the Kulm (today: Chełmno) episcopal official Paul Sifridi¹ wrote to the Grand Master about two priests whom he defined as chaplains in the castle of Strasburg (Brodnica) (*prister dÿ itczunt dynen zcu Strosberg offem howse vor cappelan*).² The church official intended to punish both priests for offences they had committed. However, the Teutonic commander, whose letter, sent to the official, was enclosed to this correspondence, impeded the punishment.³ In the letter the commander referred to the privileges of Pope Honorius, the aim of which was to provide legal protection to all servants of the Teutonic Order. As far as clergymen were concerned, he probably referred to two papal bulls of 1221, in which the Teutonic knights were given permission to employ the diocesan clergy, to which Church hierarchs should not object.⁴ The interpretation of the commander probably referred to the phrase included in one of the bulls about leaving such clergymen in peace (*manere sinatis in pace*), where he probably added the ban to try them in court and punish them (*laden, richten noch bannen*). The official had doubts about this.

Referring to the papal documents in the context of the ancillary role of clergymen indicates quite clearly their place in the Strasburg (Brodnica) convent. Both officials – the religious one and the secular one – indicated the service of clergymen as the reference point for the problem of subordination (*sy zcum komptur czu Strosberg zcu dÿnste qwomen; zcu euwes ordins dÿnste seyn gekomen; sie in unsers ordens dinste seyn*). The commander described them as chaplains of his convent (*die beiden caplan meyns conuents*). What is of crucial importance is that he included them in the category of the castle's servants (*gesinde*). This record confirms that

¹ See: Marc Jarzebowski, *Die Residenzen der preussischen Bischöfe bis 1525* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2007), 452; Radosław Krajniak, *Duchowieństwo kapituły katedralnej w Chełmży do 1466 roku: Studium prozopograficzne* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Europejskie Centrum Edukacyjne, 2013), 65.

² The Kulm official Paul Sifridi to the Grand Master, 19 November 1453, Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. HA (henceforth as GStA PK, XX. HA), Ordensbriefarchiv 12541, fol. 1r.

³ The Teutonic commander of Strasburg to the Culm official, 10 November 1453, GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 12541, fol. 2r.

⁴ *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, ed. Ernst Strehlke (Berolini: Apud Weidmannos, 1869), 284–286 no. 314, 302, 336; Maciej Dorna, *Bracia zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w latach 1228–1309: Studium prozopograficzne* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2004), 32–33 [Maciej Dorna, *Die Brüder des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen 1228–1309: Eine prosopographische Studie*, trans. Martin Faber (Wien–Köln–Weimar: Böhlau, 2012), 33–34].

those priests could not have belonged to the group of clergymen from the Teutonic Order.⁵ The letters clearly indicate that secular clergymen also resided in the Teutonic castle.

This remark is not new in historiography. There have been records saying about the possible employment of secular clergy to religious services in convents.⁶ However, the issue does not seem to be sufficiently examined. That is why, the aim of this article is to draw attention to the functioning of the secular clergy in Teutonic castles.⁷ It is a vital problem for two reasons. Firstly, making oneself aware of the existence of this fact has a major significance for the research on clergymen in monasteries in the context of their number, position, the extent in which they joined the Teutonic Order and made their careers there. It should be underlined that recently the research on this subject matter has been flourishing.⁸ Secondly,

⁵ About the term “brother priests” (German “Priesterbrüder”) used in historiography see: Dorna, *Bracia*, 26–27 [Dorna, *Die Brüder*, 26–27]. About the statute distinction between “brother priests” and “brother clerics”, see: Jürgen Sarnowsky, “The Priests in the Military Orders – A Comparative Approach on Their Standing and Role,” in *On the Military Orders in Medieval Europe: Structures and Perceptions*, ed. Jürgen Sarnowsky (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 2 no. XVIII.

⁶ In the context of the example from Strasburg provided here see: Roman Czaja, “Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu (XIII wiek – 1466 rok),” in *Brodnica: Siedem wieków miasta*, ed. Jerzy Dygdała (Brodnica: Rada Miejska w Brodnicy / Towarzystwo Miłośników Ziemi Michałowskiej, 1998), 88. See also: Jürgen Sarnowsky *Die Wirtschaftsführung des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen (1382–1454)* (Köln–Weimar–Wien: Böhlau, 1993), 353; Dorna, *Bracia*, 26–27 [Dorna, *Die Brüder*, 26–27]; Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, *Zakon niemiecki jako „corporatio militaris,”* vol. 1, *Korporacja i krąg przynależących do niej. Kulturowe i społeczne podstawy działalności militarnej zakonu w Prusach (do początku XV wieku)* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2012), 301–303; Wiesław Długokęcki, “Z dziejów duchowieństwa na zamku malborskim w końcu XIV – pierwszej połowie XV wieku,” in *Wieża Klesza i domek dzwonnika na Zamku Wysokim w Malborku: dzieje i konserwacja*, ed. Janusz Hochleitner and Mariusz Mierziński (Malbork: Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku, 2016), 15. In the works cited here there are references to the literature. Waldemar Rozynekowski assumed the possibility of foreign people taking part in the liturgy in the castle’s chapels, but he underlined it only in the context of the presence of alumni, not priests, see: Waldemar Rozynekowski, *Studia nad liturgią w zakonie krzyżackim w Prusach: Z badań nad religijnością w późnym średniowieczu* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2012), 45.

⁷ I exclude here the bishop’s castles and chapter castles. About them see: Jarzebowski, *Die Residenzen*, passim. A significant part of the Church hierarchs in Prussia was to be found in the structures of the Teutonic Order, but in this article we deal with the castle in the sense of the Teutonic convent. See: Arno Mentzel–Reuters, “Der Deutsche Orden als geistlicher Orden,” in *Cura animarum: Seelsorge im Deutschordensland Preußen*, ed. Stefan Samerski (Köln–Weimar–Wien: Böhlau, 2013), 33–37.

⁸ See: *Priester im Deutschen Orden. Vorträge der Tagung der Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens in Wien 2012*, ed. Udo Arnold, *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 77* (Weimar: VDG Verlag und Datenbank für

the category of “servants” deserves being treated separately. Among the servants are also mentioned *dieners* and *knechts*, while chaplains and other clergymen did not generate major interest.⁹

The clergy serving in the castles were diversified. According to the inspection instruction for the Teutonic convents from the mid-15th century, inspectors were to ask about the number of priests, chaplains, alumni and ringers.¹⁰ All of them were involved in the religious service in the convent¹¹ and probably belonged to the category of clergymen despite the fact they had received different holy orders. In reference to the diversification mentioned above, the regulation is complemented with the inspections of the convents preserved for Kulmerland of 1442 and 1446.¹² They mention usually one or two brother priests, chaplains or alumni in a similar number. Such a division into categories is suggested also in the inventories of the castle’s chapels. Let us focus on a few examples. In the years 1394–1439 in the capital castle of Marienburg (Malbork), there were recorded chalcices and chasubles designed for brother priests or the chaplain of the Grand Master, crosses and choir surplices for alumni.¹³ In Mewe (Gniew) in the years 1416–1422 there were three chasubles for brother priests and four for chaplains.¹⁴ In Danzig

Geisteswissenschaften, 2016); cf. Marcin Sumowski, review of *Priester im Deutschen Orden. Vorträge der Tagung der Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens in Wien 2012*, by Udo Arnold (ed.), *Ordines Militares Colloquia Torunensia Historica. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders* 22 (2017): 326–329.

- ⁹ Categories of servants in the military context were discussed by Kwiatkowski, *Zakon*, 292–430. See also the remarks of the scholar concerning the term “servant”: Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, *Wojaska zakonu niemieckiego w Prusach 1230–1525: Korporacja, jej pruskie władztwo, zbrojni, kultura wojny i aktywność militarna*, with Maria Molenda (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2016), 103. About “dieners” see: Sławomir Józwiak, “Dienerzy w służbie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w drugiej połowie XIV – pierwszej połowie XV wieku. Liczebność, utrzymanie, zakwaterowanie,” *Zapiski Historyczne* 83, no. 1 (2018): 7–37.
- ¹⁰ *Visitationen im Deutschen Orden im Mittelalter*, part I, 1236–1449, ed. Marian Biskup and Irena Janosz-Biskupowa, with Udo Arnold, *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* 50/I (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 2002), 195 no. 114.
- ¹¹ The description of the liturgy in the Marienburg castle includes both brother priests (*prister bruder*) and priests and alumni (*prister und schuler*), see: Sławomir Józwiak and Waldemar Rozynkowski, “Porządek liturgiczny na zamku w Malborku w pierwszej połowie XV wieku. Źródło do dziejów liturgii w zakonie krzyżackim,” *Zapiski Historyczne* 73, no. 4 (2008): 130–131 (Source edition).
- ¹² *Visitationen*, I, ed. Biskup and Janosz-Biskupowa, 197–205 no. 115. See also the analysis of this source from the liturgical point of view: Rozynkowski, *Studia*, 34–40.
- ¹³ *Das Marienburger Ämterbuch*, ed. Walther Ziesemer (Danzig: Druck und Verlag von A. W. Kafemann, 1916), 123, 127 and 131.
- ¹⁴ *Das Grosse Ämterbuch des Deutschen Ordens*, ed. Walther Ziesemer (Wiesbaden: Dr. Martin Sändig oHG, 1968), 743 and 745.

(Gdańsk) in 1428 there were five choir chasubles for Teutonic priests, twenty-six for chaplains and four for alumni (*junghen*).¹⁵ In Christburg (Dzierzgoń) in 1434 there were two chasubles for brother priests and twelve for chaplains and alumni.¹⁶ A similar situation was in Osterode (Ostróda) in 1437, where they recorded eight choir surplices for chaplains and alumni.¹⁷ What is significant is that the latter records suggest the division of the clergy in the castle into two categories: brother priests (referred to as *priesterbruder* or *priesterher*) and the remaining clergymen, who probably belonged to the secular clergy.

Including chaplains, alumni, ringers, etc. in the common category as against the other category of brother priests clearly reveals the economic sources concerning the convents. In the second half of the 14th century in Elbing (Elbląg), among “servants” receiving *oppergelt* there were three chaplains, a deacon, a sub-deacon, a ringer, two alumni (*frumesseschulern*) and the commander’s chaplain.¹⁸ In the accounts of the commander of Balga (Balga) of 1417 there appeared a chaplain of the castle’s commander, the infirmary’s chaplain, two choir chaplains, a deacon, a sub-deacon and a ringer.¹⁹ Those clergymen were recorded under the same category, which allows us to include them in one analytical category. In the Marienburg (Malbork) castle we may observe the further division of this group of the clergy into servants in the castle’s chapel and those who served in other centres of worship. In 1417 there were recorded there remunerations for chaplains reading at the table (*tisschlesern*) and ringers “from the castle” (*off dem huwse*). Next to them there appeared the names of clergymen from St. Anne’s and St. Bartholomew’s

¹⁵ Ibid., 704.

¹⁶ Ibid., 139.

¹⁷ *Das Grosse Zinsbuch des Deutschen Ritterordens (1414–1438)*, ed. Peter G. Thielen (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1958), 78.

¹⁸ Arthur Semrau, “Der Wirtschaftsplan des Ordenshauses Elbing aus dem Jahre 1386,” *Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn* 45 (1937): 53 (Source edition, Der Text des Wirtschaftsplans von 1386). The source was published twice, with each publisher dating it differently, see: Sławomir Józwiak and Janusz Trupinda, *Krzyżackie zamki komtureckie w Prusach. Topografia i układ przestrzenny na podstawie średniowiecznych źródeł pisanych* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2012), 161 footnote 223; Józwiak, “Dienerzy,” 26, footnote 88. The older edition of the source: Walther Ziesemer, “Wirtschaftsordnung des Elbinger Ordenshauses,” *Sitzungsberichte der Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia* 24 (1923): 79–91 (Source edition, Hy volget noch alle usgebunge vnd ufhebunge des huszes Elbing). In this article I refer to the edition of Arthur Semrau.

¹⁹ Jürgen Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen (1382–1454)* (Köln–Weimar–Wien: Böhlau, 1993), 804 (Source edition no. 32, Rechnungsheft der Komturei Balga aus der Zeit des Komturs Ulrich Zenger (1412–1418), mit verschiedenen Ausgaben).

chapel.²⁰ In a lesser extent such a division of tasks existed also in other convents, where along with the clergy serving in the castle's chapel there were also priests from infirmaries in the outer ward.²¹

The division of clergymen functioning within the castle affected the issue of their membership in the Teutonic Order. In historiography the above-mentioned division into brother priests and chaplains²² has been noticed; sometimes, however, the latter were considered to belong to the Teutonic Order.²³ Meanwhile, this category of clergymen does not appear in the Teutonic Order's norms. In *Customs* (*Consuetudines, Gewonheite*) along with priests (*sacerdotes, priesterbruderes*) there appears a person referred to as *capellarius* (*capellere*), but his task was only to summon brothers for the prayers of the canonical hours with the bell.²⁴ In the decree of the Grand Master of the first half of the 14th century there are recorded two priests responsible for the holy service – in this context probably members of the Order – and alumni.²⁵ The inspections of the convents of the mid-15th century mention chaplains as clergymen acting in the choir. In the post-inspection recommendation the Grand Master indicated that there should be two brother priests and two chaplains in each castle.²⁶ Thus, it seems that in the case of the latter we deal with the function which grew out of practice. The division into brother priests and chaplains is too consistent to be treated as a different name for the same function.

That is why, we should not automatically assume that the category of chaplains invariably included members of the Teutonic Order. When we look at the lists of the composition of the convents, many of which are quite well preserved, we shall not find there chaplains and other clergymen – they include only brother priests.²⁷ Although chaplains were recorded in the inspection files, they were

²⁰ *Das Ausgabebuch des Marienburger Hauskomturs für die Jahre 1410–1420*, ed. Walther Zieseimer (Königsberg: Verlag von Thomas & Oppermann, 1911), 290.

²¹ The fact that infirmaries were situated in the outer ward of the castles is confirmed by the latest research: Józwiak and Trupinda, *Krzyżackie zamki*, 185–202.

²² See, for example: Długokęcki, "Z dziejów," 18.

²³ Rozykowski, *Studia*, 39.

²⁴ *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens*, ed. Max Perlbach (Hildesheim–Zürich–New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2013), 117.

²⁵ *Die Statuten*, ed. Perlbach, 150; Rozykowski, *Studia*, 24.

²⁶ Józwiak and Trupinda, *Krzyżackie zamki*, 63.

²⁷ Osterode in 1413, see: Register from Osterode, 19 January 1413, GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 1957; Memel, see: The commander of Memel to the Grand Master, (the first half of the 15th century), GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 1809; Osterode in 1437, see: Register from Osterode, 1437, GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 7398, fol. 7v; Schlochau in 1454, see: The commander of Schlochau to the Grand Master, 1 March 1454, GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 12862, fol. 2r; *Das Grosse Ämterbuch*, ed. Zieseimer, 20–21 (Königsberg in

not treated as Teutonic knights.²⁸ It must be noted that in Brandenburg (Ushakovo) in 1451 in the list they were placed immediately after local Teutonic knights; the list finished with the names of two Teutonic clergymen from the conventual castle and a brother priest from Barten (Barciany).²⁹ The possible membership of chaplains, a sub-deacon, deacon, ringer and alumni in the Teutonic Order seems to be doubtful. In the earlier registers of members of this convent, which have been quite well preserved, there appear only three brother priests.³⁰ Still, the fact of the above-mentioned clergymen being listed along with brother priests suggests that they played a significant role. They occupied a similar position in the inspection files cited above. Secular clergymen could have been closely connected with them despite the fact of not being members of the convent.

The Teutonic commander's accounts clearly confirm the fact of the secular clergy's belonging to the category of remunerated "servants". In the sources of this kind there also appear brother priests, but not as members of the group of *gesinden*. What is more, the money paid to them served mainly to cover current expenses and was not considered a proper salary.³¹ In the case of the secular cler-

1422); 442 (Thorn in 1428); 708, 709 (Danzig in 1437, 1446); *Das Grosse Zinsbuch*, ed. Thielen, 61–62 (Königsberg in 1437); 64 (Ragnit in 1437); 77 (Osterode in 1437); 88 (Strasburg in 1437); 91 (Gollub in 1437); 113 (Mewe in 1437); 131–132 (Danzig in 1438); 94 (Thorn in 1437); Marian Biskup, "Skład konwentu zakonu krzyżackiego w Człuchowie z 1413 roku," *Zapiski Historyczne* 63, no. 1 (1998): 123–128 (Source edition) (Schlochau in 1413); *Visitationen*, I, ed. Biskup and Janosz-Biskupowa, 221 no. 118 (Rehden in 1446); 250–252 no. 121; (Elbing in 1446); 276–277 no. 124 (Strasburg in 1446); 323 no. 134 (Strasburg in 1447); 277–278 no. 125 (Danzig in 1446); *Visitationen im Deutschen Orden im Mittelalter*, part II, 1450–1519, ed. Marian Biskup and Irena Janosz-Biskupowa, with Udo Arnold, *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* 50/II (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 2004), 154–155 no. 176 (Elbing in 1451); chaplains (except the chaplain of the Grand Master) were not included in the list of members of the Marienburg convent, dated in 1448, which also embraced the administrative units subordinated to the capital. However, the list included brother priests: Register of members of Marienburg convent in 1448, see: GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 28323. See also: *Lucas David's Preussische Chronik*, vol. 6, ed. Ernst Hennig (Königsberg: in der Hartungschens Hofbuchdruckerei, 1814), 93–96. This omission was noticed by Długokęcki, "Z dziejów," 18. About the lists see: Sławomir Józwiak "Liczebność konwentów zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w pierwszej połowie XV wieku," *Zapiski Historyczne* 72, no. 1 (2007): 9–19.

²⁸ It was Józwiak who first expressed doubts whether chaplains should be considered members of the Teutonic Order, see: Józwiak, "Liczebność," 19.

²⁹ *Das Grosse Ämterbuch*, ed. Ziesemer, 240. *Visitationen*, II, ed. Biskup and Janosz-Biskupowa, 107–108 no. 170.

³⁰ The commander of Brandenburg to the Grand Master, 4 April 1433, GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 6392; *Das Grosse Zinsbuch*, ed. Thielen, 54–55 (in 1437). *Visitationen*, II, ed. Biskup and Janosz-Biskupowa, 303–304 no. 133 (in 1447); Józwiak, "Liczebność," 10–11.

³¹ The Teutonic commander's accounts of Althaus, 1437/1438, GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 7546, fol. 5v. The Teutonic commander's accounts of Thorn, 1439, GStA PK, XX.

gy, the situation looked different. In the description of the expenses of the Elbing (Elbląg) convent written in the second half of the 14th century, in the chapter *Gesinde* there were recorded alumni singing the morning mass and a ringer. The information about them was repeated in the chapter *Kirche* along with three chaplains, a deacon and a sub-deacon. They received an annual remuneration (*zu lone eyn ior*).³² Clergymen regularly appeared in this manner in the 15th century accounts of Teutonic commanders of Balga (Balga)³³, Königsberg (Kaliningrad)³⁴, Althaus (Starogród)³⁵, Thorn (Toruń)³⁶, Osterode (Ostróda)³⁷ and Elbing (Elbląg)³⁸. Clergymen in the Marienburg (Malbork) convent also received remuneration.³⁹ “Servants” – clergymen appeared even in smaller units of the Teutonic administration.⁴⁰ For example, the accounts of the Vogt in Roggenhausen (Rogóžno) of the

HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 7619, fol. 6r; *Das Ausgabebuch*, ed. Ziesemer, 19; Walther Ziesemer, “Ein Königsberger Rechnungsbuch aus den Jahren 1433–1435,” *Altpreußische Monatsschrift* 53 (1917): 259 (Source edition); Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, 818–820 (Source edition no. 33, Jahresrechnung des Komturs von Althaus-Kulm, Konrad von Erlichshausen (1436–1440, zugleich 1438–1440 Komtur von Thorn), mit den Ausgaben und den Einnahmen). It must be underlined that in the accounts of the commander of Althaus, in the category of *gesinde* along with the chaplain there appeared also *pristerher*: The Teutonic commander’s accounts of Althaus (Starogród), 1437/1438, see above (note 31), fol. 9r, 17r, 17v. However, I am not familiar with such cases.

³² Semrau, “Der Wirtschaftsplan,” 48–49 (Source edition).

³³ Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, 804 (Source edition no. 32).

³⁴ The Teutonic commander’s accounts of Königsberg, 1430, GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensfolianten 166m, fol. 86r; The Teutonic Pfleger’s accounts of Lochstädt, 1467, GStA PK, XX. Hauptabteilung, Ordensbriefarchiv 16112, fol. 8r; Ziesemer, “Ein Königsberger Rechnungsbuch,” 255 (Source edition).

³⁵ The Teutonic commander’s accounts of Althaus, 1437/1438, see above (note 31), fol. 9r, 17r, 17v; Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, 822 (Source edition no. 33).

³⁶ The Teutonic commander’s accounts of Thorn, 1439, see above (note 31), fol. 11v, 25v.

³⁷ Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, 799 (Source edition no. 30, Abrechnung des Hauskomturs von Osterode, Ulrich von Eisenhofen, über Gesindelöhne im Kammeramt Osterode).

³⁸ The Teutonic commander’s accounts of Elbing, 1416–1450, GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensfolianten 200b I, fol. 380r, 380v, 387r and 394r.

³⁹ *Das Ausgabebuch*, ed. Ziesemer, 9, 10, 255, 256, 288, 289, 290 and 317–318; Sławomir Józwiak and Janusz Trupinda, *Organizacja życia na zamku krzyżackim w Malborku w czasach wielkich mistrzów (1309–1457)* (Malbork: Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku, 2011), 506; Długokęcki, “Z dziejów,” 18–19.

⁴⁰ See, for example: The Teutonic Pfleger’s accounts of Lochstädt, 1467, see above (note 31), fol. 9v–11r; *Das Grosse Ämterbuch*, ed. Ziesemer, 22, 33, 42, 142 and 155; Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, 829 (Source edition no. 34, Jahresrechnung des Pflegers von Seehesten, Erwin Hugk vom Heiligenberge (1446–1452), mit Einnahmen und Ausgaben). *Amtsbücher des Deutschen Ordens um 1450: Pflegeamt zu Seehesten und Vogtei zu Leipe*, ed. Cordula A. Franzke and Jürgen Sarnowsky (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2015), 172 and 264.

years 1445–1446 mention a chaplain and a ringer.⁴¹ Their remuneration was recorded in the chapters *gesindelone* and *abelonunge*, which seems to resolve doubts concerning their belonging to the Teutonic Order. Teutonic knights were not paid any salary for their work for the convent. According to the inspection of the convents of Kulmerland from the mid-15th century, chaplain and alumni in Althaus (Starogród) threatened to leave the castle if living conditions will not improve.⁴² They could not do that if they were members of the Order.

Why were secular clergymen employed if the Teutonic Order had its own clergymen? The common objective of the clergy's work in the castle was to keep an eye on the appropriate realization of the holy service⁴³ since it was the convent of the Teutonic Order. In the records concerning the management of the convent there appears a note saying that a Teutonic official should decide how many brother priests and chaplains he needed to meet this objective.⁴⁴ The instruction for the inspection of the convents of the mid-15th century focused mainly on the duties of Teutonic clergymen, assigning to chaplains and alumni an auxiliary function in relation to brother priests.⁴⁵ The post-inspection decree of the Grand Master of 1448 described their role in the same way.⁴⁶ The presence of the clergy could have a complementary character, which is illustrated in the above-mentioned inspection instruction for convents, which makes an interesting division into convents with two brother priests and convents with one brother priest and one chaplain (*seinem capplan*).⁴⁷ It suggests that there might have been shortages of brother priests in some convents.

⁴¹ Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, 800 (Source edition no. 31, Verzeichnis der vom Vogt zu Roggenhausen gezahlten Gesindelöhne).

⁴² *Visitationen*, I, ed. Biskup and Janosz-Biskupowa, 204 no. 115: *bristerbruder [...] clagen uber essen und trincken ser und auch uber ander nottorft nicht allein sy, sunder capelan und schuler und sagen: Wen dy gelosten meß theten, ir woelt keiner da bleiben* (underlined by M.S). Cf. Karol Górski, "O życiu wewnętrznym zakonu krzyżackiego," in *Studia i materiały z dziejów duchowości*, ed. Karol Górski (Warszawa: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1980), 212.

⁴³ See: Rozynkowski, *Studia*, 21–47.

⁴⁴ Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, 726 (Source edition no. 6, Vorschriften über die Führung der Konvente und anderen Ordenshäuser).

⁴⁵ *Visitationen*, I, ed. Biskup and Janosz-Biskupowa, 194–195 no. 114.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 324–327 no. 135. A similar inspection regulation of about 1420 mentioned exclusively brother priests and their duties connected with the worship, see: Sarnowsky, in *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, 715–716 (Source edition no. 4, Visitationsvorschriften (und Konventsordnung) wohl aus der Zeit Michael Kuchmeister; möglicherweise für eine Visitation in Deutschland angelegt und für Preußen ergänzt); *Visitationen*, I, ed. Biskup and Janosz-Biskupowa, 81–84 no. 70.

⁴⁷ *Visitationen*, I, ed. Biskup and Janosz-Biskupowa, 195 no. 114.

In the Teutonic correspondence we shall find letters referring to the problem of the shortage of brother priests in convents. In the first half of the 15th century the demand for brother priests was underlined three times by the commander of Strasburg (Brodnica).⁴⁸ It is possible that the employment of two chaplains chased by the official was the consequence of this necessity. In a letter addressed to the Grand Master, dated in 1422, the commander of Elbing (Elbląg) also mentioned the major demand for brother priests.⁴⁹ It might have been the reason why there were no brother priests in some lists of the members of convents.⁵⁰ A shortage of Teutonic clergymen at that time resulted from the general personnel problems in the whole Prussian branch of the Teutonic Order after the battle of Grunwald (Tannenberg/ Žalgiris) when some brother priests had left the country.⁵¹ In reference to the secular clergy it must be reminded that the function of the majority of the clergymen was complementary. Their involvement in the religious life of the convent was not the reaction to the shortage of brother priests. However, the personnel shortages must have affected their work and the range of their tasks.

In smaller administrative units there might have been no brother priest at all. He was then replaced by a secular chaplain, who was remunerated for his service. In the accounts of the Pfleger of Seehesten (Szeszno) of 1448–1451 there appeared Thomas Samelant referred to as *hewskappelan* (*heuskappelan*).⁵² After 1450 Laurentius Haydorn became the secular chaplain in the Vogt castle in Stuhm

⁴⁸ The Teutonic commander of Strasburg to the Grand Master, 21 March 1413(?), GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 1869; The Teutonic commander of Strasburg to the Grand Master, 22 November 1448, GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 9723; The Teutonic commander of Strasburg to the Grand Master, 24 August 1452, GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 11372.

⁴⁹ The Teutonic commander of Elbing to the Grand Master, 22 December 1422, GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 4006.

⁵⁰ *Das Grosse Zinsbuch*, ed. Thielen, 36–37 (Christburg in 1437); 46–47 (Balgā in 1437); 100 (Rehden in 1438); *Das Grosse Ämterbuch*, ed. Ziesemer, 101–102 (Elbing 1440); 436 (Thorn 1418); 514 (Althaus 1450); 606 (Graudenz 1437); 669–679 (Schlochau 1443); *Visitationen*, I, ed. Biskup and Janosz-Biskupowa, 264 no. 123 (Osterode 1446); cf. Józwiak, “Liczebność,” 18; Józwiak suggested that the absence of brother priests in the census could have resulted from the reason they were made – the inventory of the weapons and horses, which did not apply to the clergy.

⁵¹ Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, “Bezpośrednie następstwa wojny,” in Sławomir Józwiak, Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, Adam Szweda, and Sobiesław Szybkowski, *Wojna Polski i Litwy z zakonem krzyżackim w latach 1409–1411*, (Malbork: Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku, 2010), 721–724.

⁵² Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, 829 (Source edition no. 34); *Amtsbücher*, ed. Franzke and Sarnowsky, 172 and 264; cf. The Teutonic Pfleger’s accounts of Lochstädt, 1467, see above (note 31).

(Sztum).⁵³ He was to combine the work of the chaplain with the notary's duties. However, when he was no longer able to run the Vogt chancery, he was to stay in the castle only in the position of the chaplain.

As I have mentioned, the basic task of secular clergymen in the castle was the participation in the Teutonic prayer of canonical hours, which was celebrated in the castle's chapel. It should be underlined that when the Teutonic commander of Strasburg (Brodnica) pointed out the shortage of brother priests, he referred to the choir (*pristersbrudern grosz gebrach haben in chore*).⁵⁴ The above-mentioned inspection reports include records about the "complete choir" (*koer is vol*), which might be interpreted as the reference to the sufficient number of people taking part in the liturgy of canonical hours.⁵⁵ In the case of Thorn (Toruń), the choir was associated directly with chaplains (*der koer ist vol, sunder eins capelane gebricht*). The fact of chaplains and alumni being associated with the choir prayer is also confirmed by the inventories of chapels. As I have mentioned above, the inventories included surplices, which were mentioned in Rehden (Radzyń) in the years 1411–1412 and attributed to chaplains (*korrackel der cappelan*).⁵⁶ In Danzig (Gdańsk) in 1428 and in Christburg (Dzierżgoń) in 1434 the choir surplices for brother priests, chaplains and alumni were recorded separately.⁵⁷ The sources often mention words which attribute clergymen to services in the choir. In 1441 in Osterode (Ostróda) there appeared *korcappellan* and his companion.⁵⁸

A similar identification may be observed in the case of alumni. In the mid-15th century in Elbing (Elbląg) there were recorded *korjunggen*.⁵⁹ In Labiau (Polessk)

⁵³ Zenon Hubert Nowak, "Sprawa zaopatrzenia 'emerytalnego' w zakonie krzyżackim w pierwszej połowie XV wieku – Die Frage der „Altersversorgung“ im Deutschen Orden in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts," in *Przyczynki źródłowe do historii zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach – Quellenbeiträge zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen*, ed. Zenon Hubert Nowak (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu / Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2011), 157–159 (Source edition no. 10, Laurencien Haidorns des voithes zcum Stüüme schreibers vorscheibungen).

⁵⁴ The Teutonic commander of Strasburg to the Grand Master, 22 November 1448, see above (note 48).

⁵⁵ *Visitationen*, I, ed. Biskup and Janosz-Biskupowa, 201–205 no. 115; See: Rozynkowski, *Studia*, 37–38 and 40.

⁵⁶ *Das Grosse Ämterbuch*, ed. Ziesemer, 565 and 567.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 139, 704. Also the inventory of the chapel in Osterode of 1437, see: *ibid.*, 331; in Balga in 1437 and 1441 there were 21 choir copes and two *priesterherrenkorrockel*, which belonged to brother priests, see: *ibid.*, 167 and 172.

⁵⁸ Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, 799 (Source edition no. 30); see also: *ibid.*, 800 (Source edition no. 31), where there appeared the *korcappelan* of Roggenhausen.

⁵⁹ The Teutonic commander's accounts of Elbing, 1416–1450, see above (note 38), fol. 380v, 387v, 403v and 439r.

in 1513 there were mentioned *korschullern*.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, this group was not always associated with the choir. In Thorn in 1437 there were recorded surplices destined for *ministranten*, who may be identified with alumni.⁶¹ In Seehesten (Sześćno) in 1451 there appeared a person referred to as *kirchin schuler*.⁶² They might have taken part not only in the liturgy of the hours, but also in the holy mass. In the accounts of Elbing of the mid-15th century there were recorded regular charges for *vor eyne messe zusingen*.⁶³ They were recorded on holidays, which means that non-Teutonic clergy was employed to provide a more festive liturgy. Chaplains of the choir and other secular clergymen along with alumni constituted the group of holy servants in the convent. Both during the mass and the liturgy of the hours they supported the Teutonic clergy.⁶⁴

The terms defining chaplains in the castles which appear in the sources are connected with the problem of their internal diversity. In the accounts of Elbing there appears a clergyman referred to as *huwskappllan*.⁶⁵ Probably, the same clergyman in this source was referred to as *cappllan*.⁶⁶ It might have been connected with his complete service in the castle; however, it is possible that he served only in the choir, the evidence of which is his remuneration (see below). It is possible that within the group of choir chaplains there existed certain hierarchy. The accounts of Königsberg (Kaliningrad) mention the senior chaplain (*eldisten*), which might suggest that he was the head of the remaining chaplains.⁶⁷ In Elbing in 1452 there appeared *magister chori*.⁶⁸ Clergymen referred in the sources as *korherr* may be associated with the superiors of the choir; they should be separated from the above-mentioned “choir chaplains”.⁶⁹ Their function is determined in the inventory sources, according to which in the convents in Schlochau (Człuchów) and Memel (Klaipėda) there was *korherr*, who owned the copy of the inventory of

⁶⁰ *Das Grosse Ämterbuch*, ed. Ziesemer, 297.

⁶¹ *Das Grosse Zinsbuch*, ed. Thielen, 94, also 63; 4 *cleyne schuler cappen* (Königsberg 1437); and 78: *item 2 cappen und 2 korrackel und 2 crucze den cleynen schulern* (Osterode 1437).

⁶² *Amtsbücher*, ed. Franzke and Sarnowsky, 180 and 265.

⁶³ The Teutonic commander's accounts of Elbing, 1416–1450, see above (note 38), fol. 370r, 379r, 379v, 379a, 386v, 391r, 393v, 400r, 401v, 409r, 415v, 418v, 430r, 433v and 448v.

⁶⁴ For Marienburg see: Długokęcki, “Z dziejów,” 18.

⁶⁵ The Teutonic commander's accounts of Elbing, 1416–1450, see above (note 38), fol. 394r, 403r, 416r and 419v.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 380r and 387r.

⁶⁷ Ziesemer, “Ein Königsberger Rechnungsbuch,” 255 (Source edition).

⁶⁸ The Pomesanian official to the Chancellor of the Grand Master, 24 October 1452, GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 11526.

⁶⁹ Józwiak and Trupinda, *Organizacja życia*, 506–507; the authors mentioned *chorherren* and *korkappellanen* in Marienburg; however, they did not distinguish those two categories. Długokęcki pointed this out, see: Długokęcki, “Z dziejów,” 17 footnote 27.

the chapel. In both cases the second copy belonged to the commander of the castle.⁷⁰ A similar function, also in reference to the inventory, was recorded in Danzig (Gdańsk).⁷¹ These records suggest that those clergymen played a supervisory role in the chapel. The profiles of the persons who held this function in Marienburg (Malbork) indicate that it was brother priests who became the superiors of the choir.⁷² However, it is conceivable that secular clergymen, in particular in the convents with the limited personnel, took the position.

An important function of secular clergymen in the castles was the position of the commander's chaplain.⁷³ In the second half of the 14th century in Elbing (Elbląg), among "servants" there was a clergyman who held this position and received *oppergelt*⁷⁴ along with the remaining clergymen. A similar "offering" was received by the chaplain of Thorn (Toruń) in 1439; in the list he appeared next to *dieners* of the commander and *knechts* of the commander of the castle.⁷⁵ It is possible that he was associated with the superior of the castle. Simon de Luterberg was also a secular clergyman.⁷⁶ In 1392 the commander of Thorn (Toruń) referred to him as *unser caplan und schryber*.⁷⁷ The term itself does not mean that he was a secular clergyman. However, in the same document there appeared two *prister brudere*. It does not seem probable that in relation with Simon the term "brother" would have been omitted if he had belonged to the Teutonic Order. What is more, the clergyman owned a canonry in the Płock chapter; later he made efforts to take over a canonry in the Włocławek chapter, which excludes the possibility of his being a member of the Teutonic corporation. In reference to the problem

⁷⁰ *Das Grosse Ämterbuch*, ed. Ziesemer, 312, 657, 658, 662, 664 and 668.

⁷¹ Długokęcki, "Z dziejów," 16 footnote 17.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 16–18.

⁷³ Not only administrators of the commandry could have their own chaplains. In 1451 in Brandenburg there were recorded two brother priests, a Teutonic priest of Barten, four choir chaplains and the chaplains of the Teutonic commanders of the castle: Rozynkowski, *Studia*, 34.

⁷⁴ Semrau, "Der Wirtschaftsplan," 53 (Source edition).

⁷⁵ The Teutonic commander's accounts of Thorn, 1439, see above (note 31), fol. 25v.

⁷⁶ See the biograms: Andrzej Radzimiński, *Prałaci i kanonicy kapituły katedralnej płockiej w XIV i I poł. XV w. Studium prozopograficzne*, vol. 2, *Kanonicy* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1993), 142; Marcin Sumowski, *Duchowni diecezjalni w średniowiecznym Toruniu. Studium prozopograficzne* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2012), 243–244; Janusz Tandecki assumed he had been a member of the Teutonic Order, perhaps erroneously interpreting his function in the Teutonic Order as the indicator of his belonging to the Order: Janusz Tandecki, *Struktury administracyjne i społeczne oraz formy życia w wielkich miastach Prus Krzyżackich i Królewskich w średniowieczu i na progu czasów nowożytnych* (Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 2001), 94 footnote 69.

⁷⁷ *Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Culm*, vol. I, part 1, ed. Carl Peter Woelky (Danzig: Commissionsverlag von Theodor Bertling, 1885), no. 396.

of the identification with the use of terms, there exists a significant list of witnesses in the document of the commander of Tuchel (Tuchola) of 1382. Apart from the clergyman referred to as *brudir* and *pristerhere*, the official mentioned a priest whom he described as *unsir capplan*.⁷⁸ It is doubtful that a member of the Teutonic Order could be the chaplain of the commander of Graudenz (Grudziądz), who in 1451 took over the *vicaria* of the Lizard Union in Rehden (Radzyń Chełmiński).⁷⁹ It does not seem probable that the organization of Prussian nobles and knights should have manned their prebendaries with members of the Teutonic Order.

The conclusion is that Teutonic commanders and other officials sometimes employed their own secular chaplains who worked along with Teutonic clergymen.⁸⁰ A case in point of such co-existence was the Pfleger's castle in Rastenburg (Kętrzyn). In 1424 and 1426 in the documents of the local official there appeared clergymen referred to as his chaplains (*mein Capplan*) with no affiliation to the Teutonic Order provided.⁸¹ Nicolaus Ticzen, who in 1446 held the position of the chaplain of the castle and the Pfleger's chaplain (*uf unserm husse Rastenburg und des pflegers daselben cappelan*), cannot have been a member of the Teutonic Order as he was forced to do two years' service in return for which he was allowed to dine in the castle for the subsequent three years.⁸² This clergyman, and probably also the remaining clergymen mentioned above, should not be identified with the brother priest from Rastenburg (*priestirherre czu Rastenburg*), who appeared in the list of the members of the convent of Marienburg (Malbork) in 1448.⁸³

⁷⁸ *Urkunden der Komturei Tuchel*, ed. Paul Panske (Danzig: L. Sauniers Buch- und Kunsthandlung 1911), no. 84.

⁷⁹ *Acten der Ständetage Preussens unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, vol. 3, ed. Max Toepfen (Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humboldt 1882), no. 98.

⁸⁰ See: *Visitationen*, I, ed. Biskup and Janosz-Biskupowa, 204 no. 115: *der kumpthur helt ein uberigen capelan*. Górski, "O życiu," 211. Naturally, sometimes chaplains of the commanders were also brother priests. See the example of Königsberg, where the list of the members of the convent includes *Johannes pristerbruder des marschalkes cappelan: Das Grosse Ämterbuch*, ed. Ziesemer, 38.

⁸¹ Carl Beckherrn, "Vier noch ungedruckte Urkunden," *Altpreußische Monatsschrift* 21 (1884): 676 (Source edition no. 2, Johann von Beenhusen, Pfleger zu Rastenburg, verleiht 1424 dem Andreas Brunwortz einen Platz bei der Stadt Rastenburg); id., "Vier noch ungedruckte Urkunden," 677 (Source edition no. 3, Johann von Beenhusen, Pfleger zu Rastenburg, verleiht dem Niclaus Lenkener 1426 ein Malzhaus zu Rastenburg); id., "Verzeichniss der die Stadt Rastenburg betreffenden Urkunden," *Altpreußische Monatsschrift* 22 (1885): 519–520 (Source edition nos. 44, 45, 48, 49 and 51).

⁸² Nowak, "Sprawa," 152–153 (Source edition no. 5, Des cappellans zu Rastenburg tischversreibungen).

⁸³ Register of members of Marienburg convent, 1448, see above (note 27); *Lucas David's Preussische Chronik*, 95.

As may be noticed, in the sources chaplains of the commander were consistently and clearly distinguished from brother priests. In 1437 the commander of Brandenburg (Ushakovo) mentioned in the letter the brother priest from Barten (Barciany) and his chaplain, who stayed in the convent.⁸⁴ A parson of Thorn (Toruń) Johann van Ast, who recorded the names of guests staying in his rectory, mentioned both Teutonic clergymen and the commander's chaplain.⁸⁵ Such a distinction was also made by the brother priest Marcus in a letter to the superior of the Osterode (Ostróda) convent. He mentioned himself, describing himself as *euwer prister brudir*, Bartholomeus – referred to as *euwer caplan*, and other clergymen from Osterode.⁸⁶ This distinction in the terminology does not seem to express only the divergence of the functions played by the clergymen. To my mind, it results from the fact that not all chaplains were members of the Teutonic Order.

Chaplains of commanders and other Teutonic officials could have a wide range of functions. The *Pfleger* described Thomas Samelant of Seehesten (Szestno) not only as the “chaplain of the house”, but also his “own chaplain” (*meyn kappelan*). At the beginning of 1451 this clergyman also took part in the inventory of the castle.⁸⁷ Secular clergymen, particularly chaplains of Teutonic officials, were also notaries in the castles. This relationship is reflected in the manner Simon de Luterberg was addressed as a chaplain and notary. Peter, who worked in the castle of Elbing (Elbląg) in 1409, combined both functions, too. He received from the city council the remuneration for preparing a document in which he appeared as a witness along with members of the convent.⁸⁸ What is important, like in the above-mentioned cases, he was not referred to as “brother”, while other Teutonic witnesses bore this title. In Danzig (Gdańsk) the notary of the commander was Gregor Hirsfelt, the evidence of which is the record of 1437, in which he received the right to dine in the castle.⁸⁹ He was also provided the procurement analogous to the one received by the commander's *dieners* (*gleich andern des kump-*

⁸⁴ Józwiak, *Liczebność*, 11 footnote 24.

⁸⁵ Andrzej Radzimiński, “Rachunki plebana kościoła parafialnego Świętych Janów w Starym Mieście Torunia z lat 1445–1446,” *Roczniki Historyczne* 69 (2003): 178 (Source edition).

⁸⁶ Priest Marcus to the commander of Osterode, circa 1453, GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 28580.

⁸⁷ *Amtsbücher*, ed. Franzke and Sarnowsky, 242.

⁸⁸ The Teutonic commander of Elbing settles the case between the New and the Old Town, 23 May 1409, Gdańsk, Archiwum Państwowe, Kolekcja dokumentów elbląskich, 368/II, 27; *Nowa księga rachunkowa Starego Miasta Elbląga 1404–1414*, ed. Markian Pelech (Warszawa–Poznań–Toruń: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1987–1989), no. 774.

⁸⁹ Nowak, “Sprawa,” 146–147 (Source edition no. 1, Tischvorschreibung Gregorii des kumpthurs zu Dantczk schreiber); Christian Probst, *Der Deutsche Orden und sein Medizinalwesen in Preussen: Hospital, Firmare und Arzt*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens

thurs zu Dantczk diener). Moreover, the clergyman was employed to celebrate the holy mass in the castle's chapel and infirmary, for which he was remunerated. Laurentius Haydorn, the notary of the Vogt of Stuhm (Sztum), also combined the functions of the chaplain and the head of the chancery.⁹⁰

As I have already mentioned, within the castle there were also chaplains serving in infirmaries – both those for Teutonic knights and those for servants of the castle. According to the Teutonic norms, brothers staying in infirmaries had the right to listen to the holy mass every day.⁹¹ Chapels of the infirmaries, where priests were sure to be employed, existed in Marienburg (Malbork), Elbing (Elbląg), Königsberg (Kaliningrad). They probably also operated in Balga (Balga), Danzig, Brandenburg (Ushakovo), Osterode (Ostróda) and Graudenz (Grudziądz).⁹² Priests working in the chapels could be secular clergymen. In Balga in 1417 in the category of *gesinde* there was recorded a clergyman referred to as *firrmarie cappelan*.⁹³ Vicars appearing in the sources are likely to have belonged to the groups of secular clergymen, too. In the foundation of the vicariate in the infirmary of the castle of Schlochau (Człuchów) of 1378 there appears a record about the patronage of the Teutonic commander, but nothing is said about the possible belonging of the priest to the Teutonic Order.⁹⁴ Vicars were recorded in the servants' infirmary in Königsberg – also without any references to the Teutonic Order.⁹⁵

The group of the clergymen not belonging to the Teutonic Order, but operating in Teutonic convents, also includes clergymen who were not priests. Originally, Laurentius Haydorn, the notary in Stuhm (Sztum), was not a presbyter if he was obliged to receive the holy orders as he was planned to take over the castle's chapel.⁹⁶ In some convents there also appear sub-deacons and deacons as a separate category of clergymen in the castle. They might have been employed to support

29 (Bad Godesberg: Verlag Wissenschaftliches Archiv, 1969), 116 footnote 143. Józwiak and Trupinda, *Krzyżackie zamki*, 183–184.

⁹⁰ Nowak, "Sprawa," 142 and 157–159 (Source edition no. 10).

⁹¹ Górski, "O życiu," 199; Józwiak and Trupinda, *Krzyżackie zamki*, 42.

⁹² Probst, *Der Deutsche Orden*, 140; Józwiak and Trupinda, *Krzyżackie zamki*, 177–184.

⁹³ Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, 804 (Source edition no. 32).

⁹⁴ *Handfesten der Komturei Schlochau*, ed. Paul Panske (Danzig: Kommissions-Verlag von A. W. Kafemann G. M. B. H., 1921), no. 123.

⁹⁵ Vicar Nicolaus Scherf to the Grand Master's chaplain, 21 December 1444, GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 8628; Unknown person to the Grand Master, date unknown, GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 28130; Emil Julius Hugo Steffenhagen, "Urkunden-Funde und Briefe," *Altpreussische Monatsschrift* 8 (1871): 658 (Source edition no. 13, The Grand Marshal to the Samland bishop, 9 November 1441); Probst, *Der Deutsche Orden*, 116 footnote 143; Józwiak and Trupinda, *Krzyżackie zamki*, 193–194; Józwiak, "Dienerzy," 27–29.

⁹⁶ Nowak, "Sprawa," 142 and 157–159 (Source edition no. 10).

the prayers of the canonical hours in the choir.⁹⁷ In the inventories of the chapels of the castle surplices for deacons are frequently mentioned (*dyaconrocke*).⁹⁸ Sometimes the inventories also included albas⁹⁹ worn by them. It is hard to assume that those clergymen were members of the Teutonic Order as brother clerics.¹⁰⁰ They were always mentioned in the category of “servants” and never appeared in the lists of members of the convent. However, the question whether we may treat them as candidates to the role of brother priests still remains open. Alumni, taking part in saying the canonical hours, were allowed to receive the sacrament of lower ordination. They could be pupils of parish school; yet, some of them might have been taught by brother priests serving in the castle.¹⁰¹ Clergymen reading at the table, for example in Marienburg (Malbork), and ringers appearing in the sources may also be considered to have had the lower ordination.¹⁰² Clergymen of lower ordination could combine various functions. In the mid-15th century in Seehesten (Szestno) there appeared Wilhelm referred to as *glockenir und kirchin schuler*.¹⁰³

As has been mentioned above, the activity of secular clergymen in the Teutonic castle was remunerated. The accounts sources specify how much money they were paid. In the castle of the commander of Elbing (Elbląg) in the mid-15th century they were paid 2 scots for singing the mass.¹⁰⁴ According to the earlier list of payments made to Elbing’s *gesinden* of the second half of the 14th century, chaplains received the annual pay of 2.5 marks and 2 scots, deacons – 1.5 mark, while sub-deacons and ringer – 5 firdungs.¹⁰⁵ In 1417 in Balga (Balga) the remuneration was paid twice – on the day of St. Michael (29 September) and Christ-

⁹⁷ Cf. Długokęcki, “Z dziejów,” 19. The scholar assumed the possibility of the sub-deacon in the Marienburg church being identified with the ringer.

⁹⁸ *Das Grosse Ämterbuch*, ed. Ziesemer, 52, 418, 507, 509, 540, 542, 543, 545 and 548.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 507, 509 and 745; Józwiak and Trupinda, *Organizacja*, 512.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Rozynkowski, *Studia*, 33, 44. The scholar treated sub-deacons and deacons as Teutonic brothers.

¹⁰¹ *Kapplans schuler* appeared in Marienburg: *Das Ausgabebuch*, ed. Ziesemer, 189 and 306. He was an alumnus of the chaplain of the Grand Master, responsible for the chapel in the palace of the Grand Master, see: Józwiak and Trupinda, *Organizacja*, 235. About alumni in the Marienburg castle: Józwiak and Trupinda, *Organizacja*, 510–512; see also: Arno Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma spiritualia: Bibliotheken, Bücher und Bildung im Deutschen Orden* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003), 97–98.

¹⁰² *Das Ausgabebuch*, ed. Ziesemer, 9, 289, 290 and 317–318; Józwiak and Trupinda, *Organizacja*, 512. Długokęcki, “Z dziejów,” 19.

¹⁰³ *Amtsbücher*, ed. Franzke and Sarnowsky, 180.

¹⁰⁴ The Teutonic commander’s accounts of Elbing, 1416–1450, see above (note 38), fol. 370r, 379r, 379v, 386v, 391r, 400r, 401v, 409r, 415v, 418v and 448v; cf. 379r: *o,5 mr. 2 schill. vor 7 messen*; 430r and 433v.

¹⁰⁵ Semrau, “Der Wirtschaftsplan,” 48–49 (Source edition).

mas. The salaries were the following: the chaplain of the castle's commander was paid twice the sum of 15 scots; the chaplain of the infirmary was paid half a mark and 1.5 mark; two choir chaplains were paid 1 mark and 2 marks; a deacon was paid 10.5 scots and 3 firdungs; a sub-deacon was paid 9 scots; a ringer was paid 5.5 scots and 21 scots.¹⁰⁶ In the accounts books of the castle of the commander of Königsberg (Kaliningrad) the "senior" choir chaplain received 2 marks; 0.5 marks was paid to the chaplain's servant.¹⁰⁷ In the castle of the commander of Althaus (Starogród) in the years 1436–1438 the chaplain received the remuneration of 0.5 mark, while the ringer and alumni received the pay of 7.5 scots. The remuneration was paid on Ember Days, so the annual pay correspondingly amounted to 2 marks and 30 scots.¹⁰⁸ The analogous remuneration was paid in Elbing in the mid-15th century.¹⁰⁹ The remuneration of 1.5 mark was also paid to the ringer and alumnus in Seehesten (Szestno) for three years of service.¹¹⁰ In 1441 in Osterode (Ostróda) the choir chaplain and his companion received 2 marks each every year. In the accounts of the castle there appears also a clergyman, referred to as a chaplain of the Corpus Christi, and a teacher – both paid 1 mark each; a deacon receiving 1.5 mark; a sub-deacon and a ringer with the salary of 5 firdungs.¹¹¹ Similar payments made to clergymen were recorded in Marienburg (Malbork), where the highest remuneration in the category of *gesinde* was paid to "parsons" of the churches situated within the castle.¹¹² In 1418 the "parson" of the Church of St. Lawrence, the "parson" of the Church of St. Anne, the chaplain and a few other clergymen whose names were provided, received 2.5 marks each. Clergymen reading at the table and ringers were paid 5 firdungs each. The ringer of the Church of St. Bartholomew received 8 scots.¹¹³

¹⁰⁶ Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, 804 (Source edition no. 32).

¹⁰⁷ Walther, "Ein Königsberger Rechnungsbuch," 255 (Source edition); cf. the Teutonic commander's accounts of Königsberg, 1430, see above (note 34), fol. 86r.

¹⁰⁸ The Teutonic commander's accounts of Althaus, 1437/1438, see above (note 31), fol. 9r, 17r and 17v. The *pristerher* appearing along with the chaplain received two marks a year; Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, 822 (Source edition no. 33).

¹⁰⁹ The Teutonic commander's accounts of Elbing, 1416–1450, see above (note 38), fol. 380r, 380v, 387r, 394r, 403r, 403v, 416r, 419v and 439r.

¹¹⁰ *Amtsbücher*, ed. Franzke and Sarnowsky, 180.

¹¹¹ Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, 799 (Source edition no. 30).

¹¹² See: *Das Ausgabebuch*, ed. Ziesemer, 9, 10, 255, 256, 288, 289, 290 and 317–318. The money paid to the clergymen was sometimes recorded collectively. In 1411 the remuneration for chaplains and readers at the table amounted to 16 marks, but in 1417, along with ringers, the clergymen were paid in total 38 marks.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 318.

Chaplains in the castles not belonging to Teutonic commanders, where they could be responsible for the whole liturgical service, received higher remuneration. The choir chaplain in the Vogt castle in Roggenhausen (Rogóżno) was paid 1 mark on each Ember Day, so annually he earned 4 marks.¹¹⁴ A similar situation took place in Schönsee (Kowalewo), where in the mid-15th century the castle no longer belonged to the Teutonic commander.¹¹⁵ The chaplain of the Pfleger's castle in Seehesten (Szeszno) was paid 3 marks. He was also entitled to keep the contributions from the chapel.¹¹⁶

The sums presented above should be considered to have been quite low if they were to constitute the only income. Some clergymen working in the castle, such as Marienburg's "parsons" or vicars in the infirmaries, owned prebendaries within the boundaries of the castle. In the years 1399–1409 in Marienburg (Malbork), Johann Brisker, the vicar of the Church of St. Anne, and Barthololeus, the vicar in the Church of St. Lawrence, received remuneration. Both clergymen were paid annually 12 marks each in two instalments.¹¹⁷ Such prebendaries were not necessarily financed directly from the commander's treasury, which means that their revenue was not always recorded in the accounts book. The sum of 10 marks, paid to the vicar of the infirmary in Schlochau (Człuchów), was financed in 1378 by the parson of Konitz (Chojnice).¹¹⁸ According to the record of 1437, the same amount of money was paid every year to Gregor Hirsfelt, the Danzig (Gdańsk) commander's notary.¹¹⁹ As it has been established by the editor of this source, the money came from the rents of the Old City of Danzig.¹²⁰

Servants of the castle referred to as *gesinden* were also paid some insignificant sums of money called *oppergelt*. In Elbing (Elbląg) in the second half of the 14th century three chaplains were paid 1 scot each. A deacon and sub-deacon received 2 schillings each; a ringer was paid half a scot; 1 scot was paid to two *frumesschul-*

¹¹⁴ Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, 800 (Source edition no. 31). The ringer there received three marks. Cf. the Teutonic Pfleger's accounts of Lochstädt, 1467, see above (note 31).

¹¹⁵ *Amtsbücher*, ed. Franzke and Sarnowsky, 297, 323 and 349; an alumnus was also remunerated in this castle, see: *ibid.*, 324.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 172 and 264; Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, 829 (Source edition no. 34).

¹¹⁷ *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch der Jahre 1399–1409*, ed. Erich Joachim (Königsberg: Verlag von Thomas & Oppermann, 1896), 16, 57, 96, 143–144, 220, 297–298, 341, 380, 420, 476 and 529.

¹¹⁸ *Handfesten*, ed. Panske, no. 123.

¹¹⁹ Nowak, "Sprawa," 147 (Source edition no. 1).

¹²⁰ See: *Księga komturstwa gdańskiego*, ed. Karola Ciesielska and Irena Janosz-Biskupowa (Warszawa–Poznań–Toruń: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1985), 195–196 no. 220.

ern, while the commander's chaplain received 1 firdung.¹²¹ The chaplain in Thorn (Toruń) received the same remuneration in 1439.¹²²

The position of secular clergymen in the castle seems to be illustrated by the order in which they dined in the Elbing convent written in the second half of the 14th century.¹²³ According to this document, on fasting days a sub-deacon and deacon were to receive their meals like members of the Teutonic Order (*als den hern*). They were seated at the end of the conventual table (*am ende des couentz-tisches*), probably along with members of the convent. However, during the supper they sat at the table with the so called *witingtische*. It may be rightful to say that clergymen in this category consisted of future members of the Teutonic Order. In the regulation there appeared also other clergymen from the category of "servants". Notaries and their assistants were to eat their meals like members of the Teutonic Order on all "fasting and non-fasting days" (*alle flieschtage und all vasteltage*). They were seated at the end of the "table for the young" (*am ende der jungen tische*). In the middle of the table a ringer and two *ffrumeschulern* were seated, which may allow us to conclude that those clergymen were permanently present in the Teutonic convents.

Interestingly enough, the regulation does not refer to the category of chaplains, which generates the question whether they resided in the castle. It is not known whether the chaplain of the commander of Thorn lived in the castle. However, the record of 2 marks spent on the maintenance of the chaplain (*czeergelt*) in 1439 probably refers to the same function.¹²⁴ Chaplains doing the complete pastoral ministry and replacing brother priests probably were accommodated in the castle¹²⁵ as it was in the case of the above-mentioned notary of the Vogt of Stuhm (Sztum), who was to take the position of the chaplain.¹²⁶ Gregor Hirsfelt, the commander's notary employed to give the holy service, must have lived in the Danzig (Gdańsk) castle, too. He even had his own servant or alumnus (*junge*).¹²⁷

The situation may have looked different in the case of choir chaplains. Sources used here constitute mainly inspection reports of the Kulmerland convents.¹²⁸

¹²¹ Semrau, "Der Wirtschaftsplan," 53 (Source edition).

¹²² The Teutonic commander's accounts of Thorn, 1439, see above (note 31), fol. 25v.

¹²³ Semrau, "Der Wirtschaftsplan," 50–51 (Source edition).

¹²⁴ The Teutonic commander's accounts of Thorn, 1439, see above (note 31), fol. 11v; see also: The Teutonic commander's accounts of Thorn, 1447–1448, Toruń, Archiwum Państwowe, Katalog II, no. V-2, fol. 16v: *Item dem capellan vor schu und leynen cleider*.

¹²⁵ About the accommodation of secular clergymen in the convents see also: Dorna, *Bracia*, 33 [Dorna, *Die Brüder*, 34].

¹²⁶ Nowak, "Sprawa," 142 and 157–159 (Source edition no. 10).

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 147 (Source edition no. 1).

¹²⁸ Cf. Górski, "O życiu," 209–212.

In Rehden (Radzyń Chełmiński) it was indicated that the chaplain could not help brother priests during the nightly liturgy of the hours.¹²⁹ In Strasburg (Brodnica) it was recorded that the chaplain did not turn up regularly (*keyn cappelan sunder eyn gelegener*).¹³⁰ In Schönsee (Kowalewo Pomorskie) the nightly prayers were said by the brother priest himself, who during the day was helped by the chaplain and alumnus.¹³¹ A similar situation was in Althaus (Starogród), where there were two chaplains and three alumni, but the morning prayers were said by the Teutonic clergyman alone.¹³² As it seems, inspectors assumed that in the night in the chapel only Teutonic clergymen prayed. In the case of Graudenz (Grudziądz) they recorded that they did not know whether brother priests said the morning prayers suggesting that it was only their duty. They did not mention two chaplains and alumni recorded earlier.¹³³ A similar entry appeared during the second inspection. In Rehden and Graudenz it was brother priests who neglected the nightly prayer, whilst brother priests in Althaus fulfilled their duty.¹³⁴ In Roggenhausen (Rogóżno) the chaplain appeared very rarely, and the canonical hours were said by the brother priest with alumni.¹³⁵ Schönsee was an exception – during the inspection the nightly canonical hours were said by a Teutonic clergyman and chaplain – without the presence of an alumnus.¹³⁶

The records mentioned here suggest that alumni and chaplains rarely appeared at nightly prayers. Probably they did not live in the convent, and during the day they went to the castle's chapel to give the liturgy of the hours. They might have lived in the outer ward of the castle. An example of such accommodation could be a small house of vicars in Marienburg (Malbork) founded by the knight Dietrich von Legendorff in 1405.¹³⁷ It was to be inhabited by seven clergymen from the chapel of St. Lawrence and one from the chapel of St. Anne. It must have been situated beyond the walls of the castle. The house appears in the document of

¹²⁹ *Visitationen*, I, ed. Biskup and Janosz-Biskupowa, 198 no. 115; Rozyrkowski, *Studia*, 35.

¹³⁰ *Visitationen*, I, ed. Biskup and Janosz-Biskupowa, 199 no. 115; Rozyrkowski, *Studia*, 35.

¹³¹ *Visitationen*, I, ed. Biskup and Janosz-Biskupowa, 200 no. 115; Rozyrkowski, *Studia*, 36.

¹³² *Visitationen*, I, ed. Biskup and Janosz-Biskupowa, 201 no. 115; Rozyrkowski, *Studia*, 36.

¹³³ *Visitationen*, I, ed. Biskup and Janosz-Biskupowa, 201 no. 115; Rozyrkowski, *Studia*, 37.

¹³⁴ *Visitationen*, I, ed. Biskup and Janosz-Biskupowa, 203 and 204 no. 115; Rozyrkowski, *Studia*, 38.

¹³⁵ *Visitationen*, I, ed. Biskup and Janosz-Biskupowa, 204 no. 115; Rozyrkowski, *Studia*, 38.

¹³⁶ *Visitationen*, I, ed. Biskup and Janosz-Biskupowa, 205 no. 115; Rozyrkowski, *Studia*, 38–39.

¹³⁷ The court book from Marienburg, 14th–15th century, Gdańsk, Archiwum Państwowe, Akta Miasta Malborka, 508/1328, fol. 3r; Johannes Voigt, *Geschichte Marienburgs, der Stadt und des Haupthauses des deutschen Ritter-Ordens in Preußen* (Königsberg: Im Verlage der Gebrüder Bornträger, 1824), 545–548 (Source edition no. 13, Der Prister vorschribunge obir das testament, das en her Dietrich von Logendorff hat gegeben); see also: Długokęcki, “Z dziejów,” 20.

1451 issued *in domo presbiterorum ante opidum Marienburg*.¹³⁸ Those clergymen probably did not participate in the prayers in the main church of the castle, but only in the chapels. The exception was Mathias Steuen, the vicar in the Church of St. Lawrence, who was provided maintenance in the Marienburg castle (*gleich den capplan dasselbst an essen und trincken*) in exchange for the service in the liturgy of the hours in the choir of the Church of Blessed Virgin Mary.¹³⁹ What is important is that the register includes concrete canonical hours in which the clergyman was to participate, excluding the morning and nightly prayers (*tercie, messe, sexte, none, vesper and complete*). That is why it may be concluded that the priest lived in the house for vicars in the outer ward of the castle, and visited the castle only during the day, after the morning mass in the Church of St. Lawrence (*wenn her die messe van seyner vicarien wegen zcu Sant Lorentcz hat gehalden so solle und welle her vort in den kor uffs rechte huws geen*).

Within the boundaries of the Marienburg (Malbork) castle there was also another house for clergymen, defined as the Tower of Priests (*pfaffentorn, capplan thorm*).¹⁴⁰ According to the sources, in the building there were rooms for clergymen referred to as “parsons” from the Churches of St. Anne and St. Bartholomew, both situated within the territory of the castle.¹⁴¹ The sources fail to mention the accommodation of the “parson” from the Church of St. Lawrence, who appears in the accounts books of the convent.¹⁴² It may be assumed that he lived in the outer ward of the castle along with other priests from this church. If so, the Tower of Priests served as the house for the clergymen working in the vicinity of the High Castle. What is more, it seems that it was inhabited only by secular clergymen. In the first record concerning this building of 1404 it says about the accommodation for brother priests who paid a visit in the general chapter *bey den capelan off dem thorme*.¹⁴³ As I have mentioned earlier, chaplains did not have to belong to the Teutonic Order. Brother priests probably lived in another building within the territory of the castle.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁸ The record after Sławomir Józwiak and Janusz Trupinda, “Wieża Klesza i jej mieszkańcy w średniowieczu,” in *Wieża*, ed. Hochleitner and Mierzwiński, 11–12; the scholars took into account the possibility that it was not the so called Tower of Priests, but the house of vicars situated beyond the territory of the castle, which seems here very probable.

¹³⁹ *Her Mattis Steuen Tischverschreibung*, 29 May 1449, GStA PK, XX. Hauptabteilung, Ordensfolianten 17, fol. 290–291; Rozynekowski, *Studia*, 32; Józwiak and Trupinda, *Organizacja*, 507.

¹⁴⁰ Józwiak and Trupinda, “Wieża,” 11–12.

¹⁴¹ *Das Ausgabebuch*, ed. Ziesemer, 81, 224 and 287.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 289 and 318.

¹⁴³ After Józwiak and Trupinda, “Wieża,” 11.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Józwiak and Trupinda, *Organizacja*, 514–515.

Houses for clergymen in Marienburg were destined for vicars and superiors of the churches within the castle. They were clergymen who had prebendaries in the territory of the castle and were probably obliged to reside there. It is not clear whether choir chaplains lived there too – maybe with the exception of Steuen, who was also a vicar in the Church of St. Lawrence. The problem of the permanent presence of secular chaplains could be connected with their remuneration. As it has been seen, clergymen who did not have prebendaries in the castle received low incomes, which could be sufficient to cover the needs of alumni, sub-deacons and deacons, or which could serve as the bonus to the altar benefice in the infirmary. For choir chaplains, who were presbyters and did not normally dine in the convent, several marks a year cannot have been enough to cover all the expenses. Owning a prebendary at the altar in the parish church could generate the profit of a dozen of marks a year.¹⁴⁵ This supports the hypothesis that chaplains could treat their activity in the castle as an extra source of income. Jorge Brunwartz, a clergyman referred to as the chaplain of Pflieger of Rastenburg (Kętrzyn) in the years 1424–1426, was at the same time a parish priest in Laggarben (Garbno).¹⁴⁶ Possessing such prebendaries entailed living beyond the territory of the castle, which led to his absence during the nightly prayers.

The service of secular clergymen in the castle did not have to be only the source of extra income. It could also associate a clergyman with the Teutonic Order and facilitate his further career. The evidence of this is a letter of the commander of Gollub (Golub-Dobrzyń) to the City Council of Thorn (Toruń), in which he recommended employing a priest in the Church of St. George, who, as he claimed, had worked for him for a long period of time.¹⁴⁷ Nicolaus Blumenaw, about whom the commander of Elbing (Elbląg) wrote to the Grand Master in 1448, was to have served in the choir for six years.¹⁴⁸ Another clergyman did the choir service in Osterode (Ostróda) for 18 years.¹⁴⁹ Such a long period of service made clergymen closely tied with the Teutonic Order. Such ties could serve clergymen as the means to take over prebendaries, as it happened in the case of the priest recommended to

¹⁴⁵ See: Piotr Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach pruskich w okresie średniowiecza i na progu czasów nowożytnych* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2008), 337–433.

¹⁴⁶ Beckherrn, “Vier noch ungedruckte Urkunden,” 676 (Source edition no. 2); id., “Verzeichniss,” 519 (Source editions nos. 44 and 45).

¹⁴⁷ The commander of Gollub to the City Council of Thorn, *Am Montag nach Iudica* (year unknown), Toruń, Archiwum Państwowe, Katalog I, no. 854.

¹⁴⁸ The commander of Elbing to the Grand Master, 1 August 1448, GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 9616.

¹⁴⁹ The commander of Osterode to the Grand Master, (undated), GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 29014.

Thorn's town councillors, or benefices remaining under the patronage of the Teutonic Order. A case in point is above-mentioned Nicolas Blumenaw, recommended for the position of the superior of the parish church in *Herrendorff*.

The service in the castle could also be the first step to seek the membership in the Teutonic Order. The commander of Osterode recommended Osterode's chaplain, after many years of service, to be promoted to the position of brother priest. The chaplain of the commander of Nessau (Nieszawa) was promoted in a similar way in the first quarter of the 15th century. The commander thanked the Grand Master for admitting the chaplain to the Teutonic Order.¹⁵⁰ The parish priest of the Church of St. Catherine wrote to the Grand Master about a clergyman serving in the choir in Danzig (Gdańsk). In his letter of 1445 he responded to the question of the Grand Master concerning the clergyman's life, which might have been connected with his efforts to become a member of the Teutonic Order.¹⁵¹ He also asked about him other brother priests. The parson hoped that he would be useful for the Teutonic Order. The commander of Thorn wrote a very good opinion about a servant of the choir on behalf of the whole convent in 1453.¹⁵²

The issues touched upon above are best recapitulated in the letter of the commander of Althaus (Starogród) to the Grand Master.¹⁵³ The official mentioned about a brother priest being moved from the convent of Althaus to Mewe (Gniew). Consequently, he asked to admit Nicolaus, who for 11 years had served as a chaplain in the Althaus castle (*der unser Kaplan ist gewest*), to the Teutonic Order. Probably, he saw in him the successor of the above-mentioned brother priest. If the Grand Master should not agree to the clergyman joining the Teutonic Order, the commander asked to grant him the parish church in Schonenfeld (Kijewo), the parish priest of which had recently died. On the other hand, if Nicolaus was to become a member of the Teutonic Order, the commander asked the parish church in Schonenfeld to be taken over by Sander, who had served for a long time as a chaplain in the castle of Wenzlau (Unisław). The Teutonic commander's letter illustrates very well two career paths of secular chaplains serving in Teutonic conventual chapels. On the one hand, this long-time service could lead to the membership in the Teutonic Order; on the other hand, it made it easier to take over a parish benefice.

¹⁵⁰ Kwiatkowski, *Zakon*, 303 footnote 105.

¹⁵¹ Parson of the Church of St. Catherine to the Grand Master, 9 August 1445, GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 8857.

¹⁵² The commander of Thorn to the Grand Master, 12 July 1453, GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 12185.

¹⁵³ The commander of Althaus to the Grand Master, (undated), GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv 28378. I would like to thank Prof. Sławomir Józwiak for sharing the source with me.

There existed a group of secular clergymen who were allowed to dine at the table in the castle. Some of them, such as Mathias Steuen in Marienburg (Malbork), were obliged to do some services in return. Others received this privilege in the way of remuneration for the service to the benefit of the Teutonic Order. Those clergymen did not live in the castle and owned their prebendaries in the vicinity. Nicolaus, the former parish priests in Lichtenau (Lichnowy), in 1450 received the privilege to use the “Master’s table” (*herrentisch*) in the castle of Königsberg (Kalinograd).¹⁵⁴ He was a vicar in the parish church of the Old City of Königsberg. He was to have his meals in the castle until he was strong enough to do it. Later, food was brought to him. It is possible that some clergymen who enjoyed this kind of privilege supported the choir prayers, appearing also as chaplains. Augustin, a vicar in Brandenburg (Ushakovo), defeated by the Teutonic knights in 1423, might have been such a clergyman.¹⁵⁵ He was mentioned as one of those clergymen who had their meals in the castle (*der czu tische gynk ufs hews*). He probably had his prebendary in the city. He was beaten up near the castle’s chapel, where maybe he participated in the liturgy of the hours.

Some secular clergymen, not connected directly with the castle, could seek accommodation in the castle in their old age. In 1378 Conrad, the parish priest of Konitz (Chojnice), donated three marks a year to support the infirmary of the castle in Schlochau (Człuchów) and another three marks for the needs of the convent.¹⁵⁶ In return for this financial support brother priests were to pray for his soul. Moreover, after his death, his property was to be inherited by the Teutonic Order. If in his old age he wished to move to the infirmary, he should get his own small house with a servant and the costs of his maintenance should be fully covered. The parish priest was undoubtedly a secular clergyman.¹⁵⁷ Otherwise, he would not have had to seek maintenance in the castle and transferred all his property to the Teutonic Order. The religious links with the Teutonic Order and its patron-

¹⁵⁴ Nowak, “Sprawa,” 159–160 (Source edition no. 11, Zapis wielkiego mistrza Ludwika von Erlichshausen dla proboszcza Mikołaja w Lichnowych na korzystanie ze stołu pańskiego na zamku królewieckim /Tischverschreibung von Hochmeister Ludwig von Erlichshausen für Pfarrer Nikolaus in Lichtenau am Herrentisch auf der Königsberger Burg).

¹⁵⁵ *Die Berichte der Generalprokuratoren des Deutschen Ordens an der Kurie*, vol. 3, *Johann Tiergart (1419–1428)*, ed. Hans Koeppen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 357–359 no. 170; Józwiak and Trupinda, *Krzyżackie zamki*, 304–305.

¹⁵⁶ *Handfesten*, ed. Panske, no. 123.

¹⁵⁷ The clergyman appeared in another two documents: *ibid.*, nos. 112 and 142. He did not appear there as a brother priest. Klemens Bruski had a different viewpoint about the priest’s belonging to the Order, see: Klemens Bruski, “Chojnice w średniowieczu (do roku 1466),” in *Dzieje Chojnic*, ed. Kazimierz Ostrowski (Chojnice: Urząd Miejski w Chojnicach, 2010), 71.

age must have affected the clergyman's decisions since he was the founder of the above-mentioned vicariate in the infirmary of the castle in Schlochau.

Brother priests of the Teutonic Order cannot have been the only clergymen acting with conventual castles. In 1437 and 1439 there were recorded in Marienburg (Malbork) chasubles for "foreign clergymen" (*ornat uszugeben wenne vremde prister komen adir monche*).¹⁵⁸ Non-Teutonic clergy actively participated in the religious life of the convent. Secular clergymen stayed in the castles not only as "guests". In the first half of the 15th century they were commonly employed as remunerated servants in the castles. Those clergymen, treated as *gesinden*, played some auxiliary functions. However, in the case of the shortage of brother priests in the castle after the battle of Grunwald (Tannenberg/ Žalgiris), their presence could be increasingly significant for the religious life of the convent. It is possible that the presence of such clergy also helped to create new personnel – either future members of the Teutonic Order or secular clergymen serving the Order. In the face of the shortages of personnel we may assume that the vast majority of parish prebendaries, which remained under the patronage of the Teutonic Order, were manned with secular clergymen.¹⁵⁹ This remark may constitute a contribution to further studies on the clergy associated with the Teutonic Order. It also allows us to pose the question about the actual significance of the belonging of the Prussian clergy to the Teutonic Order, particularly in the context of the relation between this territorial ruler and the Prussian society. To what an extent it was the membership in the Teutonic Order that determined the place of clergyman in the social ladder, and to what a degree it was conditioned by their function of the "servant"?

(*transl. by Agnieszka Chabros*)

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¹⁵⁹ See also: Dorna, *Bracia*, 33 [Dorna, *Die Brüder*, 34].

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