



Tomasz Larczyński. *Ziemia gdańska w okresie panowania zakonu krzyżackiego: Struktura własności i organizacja osadnictwa wiejskiego* [The Danziger Land in the Era of the Teutonic Order's Reign: Ownership Structures and Organization of Rural Settlements]. Oświęcim: Napoleon V, 2017. 385 pp., 14 Maps, 18 Tab. ISBN: 978-83-7889-491-9.

In recent years, studies on settlement issues in (late) medieval Prussia have gained intensity, however, it is important to remember that, even after the period of their prime in the 1960s and 1970s, they had not disappeared entirely from the research interests of both German and Polish scholars.¹ In this type of research, the geographical approach has dominated (and still dominates) the choice of the subject matter, although there have also been some works devoted to specific settlement

¹ Cf. Seweryn Szczepański, *Pomezania Pruska. Dzieje osadnictwa w XIII–XV wieku*, Rozprawy i Materiały Ośrodka Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie 265 (Olsztyn: Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. W. Kętrzyńskiego, 2016); Grischa Vercamer, *Siedlungs-, Sozial- und Verwaltungsgeschichte der Komturei Königsberg in Preußen (13.–16. Jahrhundert)*, Einzelschriften der Historischen Kommission für ost- und westpreußische Landesforschung 29 (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 2010); before that, for example, Grzegorz Białuński, *Kolonizacja „Wielkiej Puszczy” (do 1568 roku) – starostwa piskie, etckie, straduńskie, zelkowskie i węgoborskie (wegorzewskie)*, Rozprawy i Materiały Ośrodka Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie 204 (Olsztyn: Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. W. Kętrzyńskiego, 2002) (Germ. transl.: *Bevölkerung und Siedlung im ordensstaatlichen und herzoglichen Preußen im Gebiet der „Großen Wildnis“ bis 1568*, transl. Michael G. Esch, Sonderschriften des Vereins für Familienforschung in Ost- und Westpreussen e.V. 109 (Hamburg: Verein für Familienforschung in Ost- und Westpreussen e.V., 2009)); id., *Przemiany społeczno-ludnościowe południowo-wschodnich obszarów Prus Krzyżackich i Książęcych (do 1568 roku)*, Rozprawy i Materiały Ośrodka Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie 195 (Olsztyn: Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. W. Kętrzyńskiego, 2001); id., *Osadnictwo regionu Wielkich Jezior Mazurskich od XIV do początków XVIII wieku – starostwo leckie (giżyckie) i ryńskie*, Rozprawy i Materiały Ośrodka Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie 159 (Olsztyn: Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. W. Kętrzyńskiego, 1996) (Germ. transl.: *Siedlungswesen im Bereich der Großen Masurischen Seen vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert – Ämter Lötzen und Rhein*, transl. Christian Myschor, Sonderschriften des Vereins für Familienforschung in Ost- und Westpreussen e.V. 97 (Hamburg: Verein für Familienforschung in Ost- und Westpreussen e.V., 2005)); Wiesław Długokęcki, *Osadnictwo na Żuławach w XIII i początkach XIV w.* (Malbork: Muzeum Zamkowe, 1992); id., *Mierzeja Wiślana od XIII do połowy XV wieku (1454 r.)* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 1995); Grzegorz Maksymilian, *Osady Pomorza Gdańskiego w latach 1309–1454* (Warszawa–Łódź: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1990) (this work received a lot of criticism from scholars).

forms.² Tomasz Larczyński, a historian from Gdańsk, enters this framework with his new book which is based on his dissertation written under the direction of Klemens Bruski and defended at the University of Gdańsk in 2016. The main area of the author's interest is the settlement structure of the region of Danzig/Gdańsk (Germ. Danziger Land, Pol. ziemia gdańska) during the rule of the Teutonic Order in Eastern Pomerania (Germ. Pommerellen) (1308/1309–1454).

It should be pointed out at the start that this is a quite mature piece of work, especially in terms of understanding the main subject matter, that is the various issues connected to the organization of settlements in the analyzed area. However, there are a number of places where it seems that the preparation for printing was rushed.

This review focuses mainly on issues related to the functioning of the Teutonic Order in the Danziger Land, which are addressed in the book, and is critical with regard to some of the opinions that Larczyński puts forward. This deals mainly with the organization of the administration in the examined territory which, like other parts of Eastern Pomerania, was ruled by the Order, as well as in lands directly administered by the Teutonic Knights. These issues, however, represent but a part of the author's considerations. Many other discussions, dealing with land granted to secular landholders or the church (including monasteries), as well as a series of detailed dilemmas concerning the settlement process, would require a separate review to be published elsewhere.

Larczyński's book consists of two main sections. The first of these (pp. 9–218) is a "classic" settlement study, and the second (the extensive appendix, pp. 219–385) is a "Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziemi gdańskiej w czasach krzyżackich" / / "Historical and Geographical Dictionary of the Danziger Land in the Teutonic Order's Times."³ The analytical considerations are opened by the "Introduction"

² Michał Targowski, *Na prawie polskim i niemieckim. Kształtowanie się ziemskiej własności szlacheckiej na Pomorzu Gdańskim w XIII-XVI wieku*, Szlachta i ziemiaństwo na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej (Warszawa: DiG, 2014); Jürgen Martens, *Die ländliche Gartensiedlung im mittelalterlichen Preußen*, Einzelschriften der Historischen Kommission für ost- und westpreussische Landesforschung 12 (Lüneburg: Institut Nordostdeutsche Kulturwerk, 1997).

³ Dictionary entries, corresponding to the identified settlement units in the Danziger Land, were compiled on the basis of a form used in the *Historical and Geographic Dictionary of the Polish Lands in the Middle Ages* (pp. 28, 219), cf. Karol Buczek, "Cele i metoda prac nad „Słownikiem historyczno-geograficznym Polski średniowiecznej,” in *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziemi chełmińskiej w średniowieczu*, prep. Krystyna Porębska, in cooperation with Maksymilian Grzegorz, ed. Marian Biskup, *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziem polskich w średniowieczu*, ed. Karol Buczek, vol. I (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1971), v–xiv, here x–xiii; also Krystyna Górka-Gołaska, "Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziem polskich w średniowieczu," in *Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk*

(pp. 9–28). The author presents the aim of the work, which is to examine the ownership structure and organization of rural settlements in the Danziger Land and to analyze the economic and legal situation of rural settlements and their inhabitants, their relationship with the supreme authority (i.e., the Teutonic Order), referred to as “the state”, and, to a lesser extent, relations between landholders (both knighted and not knighted) with the Teutonic Order’s authorities. Next, the author provides a justification for his chosen geographical and chronological framework, and then turns to a brief but clear discussion of the current literature on the subject. He characterizes the source material used in the research (document sources, charter

1953–2003, ed. Stefan K. Kuczyński (Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 2003), 137–150; Franciszek Sikora, “O Karolu Buczku jako twórcy Słownika Historyczno-Geograficznego Ziem Polskich w Średniowieczu z garścią wspomnień o nim”, in *Karol Buczek (1902–1983). Człowiek i uczoney. Materiały z konferencji, Bydgoszcz, 28 X 2002*, ed. Dariusz Karczewski, Jacek Maciejewski, and Zbigniew Zyglewski (Kraków–Bydgoszcz: Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2004), 33–52, here 39–51. Thus, the dictionary coincides in part with one of the recent studies by Maksymilian Grzegorz, who since 2005 has been gradually publishing further notebooks covering individual fragments of Eastern Pomerania, cf. id., *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny okręgu sulmińskiego i urzędu leśnego komturstwa gdańskiego w średniowieczu* (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2016) (perhaps due to the publication process, Larczyński was unable to take this publication into account); other volumes published by M. Grzegorz: id., *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziemi chojnickiej w granicach komturstwa człuchowskiego*, Biblioteka Chojnicka 5 (Chojnice: CTPN, 2005); id., *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny komturstwa gniewskiego i okręgu nowskiego wójtostwa tczewskiego w średniowieczu*, Folia Terrum Gymevensis (Gniew: Powiatowa i Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna im. ks. Fabiana Wierzchowskiego, 2009); id., *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny komturstwa tucholskiego w średniowieczu* (Tuchola: Starostwo Powiatowe, Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2010); id., *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny komturstwa świeckiego w średniowieczu* (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2012); id., *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny prokuratorstwa bytowskiego, komturstwa gdańskiego/malborskiego w średniowieczu* (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2012); id., *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny wójtostwa lęborskiego, komturstwa gdańskiego w średniowieczu* (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2013); id., *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny okręgu puckiego komturstwa gdańskiego w średniowieczu* (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2014); id., *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny okręgu mirachowskiego komturstwa gdańskiego w średniowieczu* (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2014); id., *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny komturstwa człuchowskiego w średniowieczu* (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2016); id., *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny wójtostwa grabińskiego i okręgu rybickiego szkarpańskiego komturstwa malborskiego w średniowieczu* (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2017); id., *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny okręgu sobowidzkiego wójtostwa tczewskiego w średniowieczu* (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2017); id., *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny okręgów kiszewskiego, kościerskiego i skarzewskiego wójtostwa tczewskiego w średniowieczu* (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2018).

books, tables, wax tablets, lists, and early modern and modern maps). Finally, he describes the relatively well thought-out structure of his work.

The author's choice of turning points in political history (1308–1454) is highly arbitrary and with no particular relevance to the issue of settlement. However, considering the second aspect of Larczyński's interests, namely, the relations between the Teutonic Order's authority and the inhabitants of the studied area, this choice becomes more acceptable. It should also be noted that the Teutonic Order's rule in the region did not come to an abrupt end right at the beginning of the so-called Thirteen-Year War in 1454 but rather during the war conditions of subsequent years, even if it persisted or reappeared in some areas (e.g., Karthaus; today Kartuzy), but it functioned in a different way than it had before 1454. The very process of the disintegration of the power of the Teutonic Order in the analyzed area requires a separate treatment (for example re-considering the pre-war study of Karol Górski⁴), but this was not the author's goal. In his detailed analysis of the period before 1308, Larczyński makes a lot of references to the time when the region was ruled by Eastern Pomeranian dukes. While a systematic analysis of the settlement structures within the ducal castellany of Gdańsk in the 13th century would have been a welcome addition, its lack should not be seen as a major issue with this book.

Larczyński's understanding of one of the main sources on which his study is based is, however, problematic. "Das große Zinsbuch" is, despite the misleading title given to it by its editor (Peter G. Thielen), not a single source. It is not a collection of rent charters, nor does it have the "state-wide" character that Larczyński claims it does (pp. 21, 68). Rather, it is a codex containing multiple records and inventory lists of various kinds. The source material which it contains, and on which the author bases his arguments, was the result of consecutive visitations to various of the Order's houses in Prussia, which were organized in 1437 and carried out over the course of the year (as the volume's editor himself has pointed out).⁵ Thus it concerns only the properties belonging directly to the corporation of the Teutonic Order, rather than all the properties within the "state." Larczyński himself acknowledges (p. 125) that no data concerning internal relations between settlements belonging to knights, as well as ecclesiastical and municipal landholdings, is to be found in this source. The codex does not describe all the areas of the Prussian Land (*Preußenland*) in a systematic way, but only those properties which

⁴ Cf. Karol Górski, *Pomorze w dobie wojny trzynastoletniej*, Prace Komisji Historycznej PTPN 7,2 (Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1932).

⁵ Cf. Peter G. Thielen, "Einleitung," in *Das Grosse Zinsbuch des Deutschen Ordens (1414–1438)*, ed. Peter G. Thielen (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1958), xv–xli, here xxxi–xxxii.

belonged directly to the Teutonic Order (as *Grundherrschaft*). It also includes data concerning the duties of settler communities and of individuals who inhabited other properties to the Teutonic Order as their superior lord.

Larczyński's book uses two different datings of the visitation of the Order's house in Danzig and its conventual offices which is described in "Das große Zinsbuch," namely 1437 (e.g., pp. 59, 67, 68, 73, 81, 112, 125, 137, 201) and 1438 (e.g., pp. 23, 24, 85, 86, 95, 97, 101, 116, 120). The correct date is 1438, which can be deduced from the course of the visitation.⁶ The documentation is rather detailed, which makes it different from the documentation for other visits. The very fact that there was no single system of rules for creating this sort of documentation suggests that treating them as "state" documents is anachronistic. It is also incorrect to call these registers "treasury registers" (p. 21) because they were not compiled in order to be included in the treasury of the Order's main house in Marienburg (today Malbork), nor into some hypothetical "state treasury" which, after all, did not exist in late medieval Prussia.

In the case of a different collection of sources, known since the 19th century as the "Danziger Komtureibuch," the author's sensitivity with regard to the source is much greater. He analyzes the stylistics of the Danziger Land registers with great skill (pp. 54, 56–57), and he pays attention to the various stages of the creation of individual entries (p. 21). Larczyński also displays caution in using the register of tithes owed to the bishop of Włocławek (not to the bishopric, as the author claims); this document from ca. 1402–1405 (and lost since 1944–1945) was referred to more strictly as a "Zins- und Zehntbuch"⁷ by its "restorer" Paul Kriedte (pp. 22–23). The author is also aware of the limited time frame (ca. 1375–1438) of the surviving documentation which he uses (p. 24).

The first part of the study consists of six chapters. In the first chapter ("Ziemia gdańska – człowiek i przyroda" / "Danziger Land – Man and Nature," pp. 29–46), the author presents the geographical conditions (taking into account, at least to

⁶ Udo Arnold, Marian Biskup, and Irena Janosz-Biskupowa, "Visitationen im Deutschen Orden im Mittelalter: Einleitung," in *Visitationem im Deutschen Orden im Mittelalter*, vol. I: 1236–1449, ed. Marian Biskup and Irena Janosz-Biskupowa, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 50, Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens 10 (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 2002), xiii–l, here xviii, xxx; cf. also *ibid.*, 124–125 no. 95; *Das Grosse Zinsbuch*, ed. Thielen, 30–136.

⁷ "Das Zinsbuch Bischof Johannes Kropidlos von Włocławek vom Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts," ed. Paul Kriedte, *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 22 (1973): 1–109, here 1; regarding the chronology of this census, which Larczyński quite arbitrarily situates around 1404 (pp. 22, 126, 127, 131), cf. "Das Zinsbuch," 6; Paul Kriedte, *Die Herrschaft der Bischöfe von Włocławek in Pommerellen von den Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1409*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 40 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 15.

a degree, the results of the climatological research of the last two decades for the late Middle Ages). He accepts, among others things, the hypothesis that the first clear cooling of the climate in the region took place ca. 1350 (p. 34) and shows, on the basis of archaeological material, the presence of settlements which predated the presence of the Teutonic Order in Eastern Pomerania. It should be noted that Larczyński emphasizes the large morphological and geo-environmental diversity (especially soil) of the regions that constitute the Danziger Land (pp. 29–33). This – as is shown in his subsequent chapters – had a significant impact on the nature and structure of settlement. While the analysis of geo-environmental conditions in the context of further detailed analysis of settlement forms is perfectly reasonable, it is not fully clear why the author incorporates some rather vague comments on the settlement from before the 13th and 14th century (pp. 39–46), especially since they are based on only fragmentary archaeological research in this part of the work. This forms a deeply diachronic image, which only poorly grasps the dynamism of changes in the settlement of the studied area before the 14th century.

The second chapter (“Ziemia gdańska w podziału administracyjnych i kościelnych (XIII–poł. XV w.)” / “Administrative and Ecclesiastical Organization of the Danziger Land (13th – mid-15th century),” pp. 47–84) is devoted to secular and church administrative structures in the discussed area, both during the Teutonic Order period and the ducal period before. The issue of the functioning of the ducal castellany of Gdańsk (13th century), which the author treats as a cohesive territorial unit,⁸ is beyond the scope of this review, however, it is necessary to take a closer look at the issue of the internal structure of the Danzig commandery (existing at least since 1309). The author is right to emphasize, following earlier scholarship, that the Teutonic Order maintained elements of the previous administrative structure in their new commandery (pp. 52–53). Based on a thorough analysis of the source material, the author shows that, in the 14th century, the areas to the west and south of Danzig were still treated as a separate region referred to, for example, as *territorio Danczk*, *land zcu Danczke*, or *gebiet Danczk*, and that this term did not disappear in the 15th century. At the same time, the term *gebiet Danczk* received its second designation as the entire commandery of Danzig. The Danziger Land (*gebiett Danczk* in a narrower territorial sense) was therefore a direct continuation of the Gdańsk castellany: the Teutonic Order accepted, in this case, existing Pomeranian tradition (pp. 54–57). In the second half of the 14th century,

⁸ Regarding the spatial character of the castellany in the Polish lands in the 13th century, cf. Tomisław Giergiel, “Problematyka badawcza i metody rekonstrukcji krajobrazu historyczno-politycznego – przykład kasztelanii,” in *Nauki pomocnicze historii. Teoria, metody badań, dydaktyka*, ed. Aleksandra Jaworska and Robert Jop (Warszawa: DiG, 2013), 211–237, here 223–229 (here also older literature on the subject).

in the Danziger Land, the Order carried out a significant change by subordinating cities which were functioning under German law to the direct authority of the *Waldmeister* (Forest Master) of the Danzig convent (pp. 58–59). Developing the older suggestions of Bernhart Jähnig regarding these administrative transformations, Larczyński suggests that this may have taken place during the tenure of the *Waldmeister* Wilhelm Landerer (i.e., the mid-1360s, p. 71). Between 1433 and 1438 (the author here adopts the date 1437, pp. 57, 59, 68), the villages under Polish law also came under the authority of the *Waldmeister*. In the analysis of the office of the Danzig *Waldmeister*, the author rightly emphasizes that the brother-official resided in the Danzig convent (pp. 69, 70) and not at the court (Germ. Hof) in Sulmeyn (also Germ. Richthof, today Sulmin), as had been suggested in earlier scholarship. It should be emphasized that the areas subordinate to the *Waldmeister* did not form a single, compact unit, but were topographically mixed with the properties of landholders, which the author considers to be an exceptional situation in Prussian Land, at least at the turn of the 14th and 15th century (p. 66). These areas, in turn, were permanently under the authority of the Danzig commander. However, in administrative nomenclature they were referred to as the Sulmeyn district (*gebiet Solmyn*) (pp. 60, 65) after the separation from areas subordinate to the *Waldmeister*. The author's opinion on the economic and administrative duties of the Danzig *Waldmeister*, which were not limited to the management of the forest in the administrative area but also included colonization activities, i.e., the organization of forest thinning (p. 66), is noteworthy. Larczyński also suggests that, at the court in Solmeyn, there were actually as many as two people in office, namely the so-called *Vloder* (Pol. włodarz), who was responsible for the exercise of court jurisdiction over landholders with Polish law, and the administrator of the court itself; however, the preserved written sources do not mention this last official (pp. 62–63). In his considerations concerning the beginnings of the Teutonic Order's administration of Eastern Pomerania, there is no reference made to the studies conducted by Sławomir Józwiak.⁹ When discussing court jurisdiction in the Sulmeyn region, the author should have referred to the older works of Fritz Gause¹⁰ (especially given that the dissertation of Żaneta Bonczkow-

⁹ Sławomir Józwiak, *Centralne i terytorialne organy władzy zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w latach 1228–1410. Rozwój – Przekształcenia – Kompetencje* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2001; 2nd edition: 2012).

¹⁰ Fritz Gause, *Die Landgerichte des Ordenslandes Preußen bis zur Säkularisation. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Landschöffenbücher von Bartenstein und Gilgenburg/Hohenstein* (Königsberg, 1921 (Diss.)) (= part I: "Geschichte der Landgerichte des Ordenslandes Preußen," *Altpreußische Forschungen* 3 no. 1 (1926): 5–69; part II: "Organisation und Kompetenz der

ska has not been published yet¹¹). The analysis of the geographical extent of the Danziger Land presented in the last subchapter (pp. 78–84) could have perhaps been placed into the first chapter, which would have had a positive impact on the logic of the arguments. Contrary to the title of this subsection, the author does not provide a detailed description of the boundaries of the land during the Teutonic Order period, but rather attempts to define what belonged to it in more general terms. At the close of the comments regarding administration, the author presents an old (and essentially outdated) view that “the Teutonic Order’s administration was highly advanced for its time” (p. 21), but he does not demonstrate what this “advanced level” amounted to in the analyzed area. The very division of the Danziger Land into two separate districts, without geographical coherence, in comparison to commanderies in other regions of the Prussian Land, should be treated as a manifestation of the lack of a systematic approach to the governance of Prussian territories by the Teutonic Order. Given such a lack of unified administration, it is difficult to see any “advancement” in the context of the late Middle Ages.

In the third section of the study (“Posiadłości Zakonu Krzyżackiego” / “Properties of the Teutonic Order,” pp. 85–123), Larczyński analyzes settlements that existed under the Teutonic Order’s rule (Germ. *Grundherrschaft*). First, he deals with villages operating under the Chełmno law (35 settlements), then with the villages under Polish law (6 settlements), and then he goes on to discuss the *Höfe* (granges) of the Teutonic Order, and finally its taverns and mills (pp. 86–110). It is worth emphasizing that the author draws attention to significant differences in the rents paid by peasants to the Teutonic Order as their *Grundherr* (landlord) (pp. 90–93). However, when addressing the subject of *Gartendörfer* (garden villages) and *Gärtner* (garden owners) living in regular peasant villages (p. 87), the author does not refer to the respective study by Jürgen Martens.¹² Larczyński also gives only a brief discussion of granges belonging to the Order in the Danziger Land. While there were not many of them (only two settlement objects), they were important from the point of view of the considerable size of the Danzig convent. Larczyński does not refer to an important study on this topic by Hartmut Boockmann.¹³ He notices the lack of granges near the Danzig conventual castle,

Landgerichte des Ordenslandes Preußen,” *Altpreußische Monatschrift* 59 (1922): 115–156, 209–246).

¹¹ Cf. Żaneta Bonczkowska, “Sądy ziemskie w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w średniowieczu” (PhD Diss., Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu, 2017).

¹² Martens, *Die ländliche Gartensiedlung*.

¹³ Hartmut Boockmann, “Die Vorwerke des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen,” in *Die Grundherrschaft im späten Mittelalter*, part 1, ed Hans Patze, Vorträge und Forschungen XXVI/1 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1983), 555–579.

but does not attempt to interpret this issue further. His general view that the economic needs of the convent were met by the Danziger Land, including Old Town Danzig (Germ. Altstadt Danzig), which Larczyński treats as a “outer castle grange” (p. 103), should be supported by further source material or at least by more literature. It should be taken into account that convents of the Teutonic Order did not have to pay for the produce from its granges, but they did pay for goods bought in the cities. The author’s observations concerning taverns and their close connection with communication trails are useful and well argued (pp. 106–107). The third section ends with a separate subsection concerning the transformation of the legal system of various settlements (the shift from Polish law to Kulmer law, pp. 110–116), the functioning of meadows (pp. 117–118), fishing (pp. 118–120), and the problem of primary and derivative abandonment of land (Germ. *Wüstungen*) in the 15th century (pp. 120–123). The author’s view on the emergence of abandoned land in areas which were not subject to damage caused by warfare in 1433, namely, as a result of abandonment by villagers who moved to settlements in the eastern section of the Danziger Land which had been destroyed during this war and required renewed management, seems particularly relevant and interesting (pp. 122–123). He also indicates other causes of the settlement crisis in the western regions of the Danziger Land, among them climate change (p. 122).

The next three chapters concern the Teutonic Order to a slightly lesser extent. The fourth chapter (“Posiadłości rycerstwa oraz miast” / “Properties of the Knights and of the Towns,” pp. 125–147) is devoted to villages belonging to landholders (both knighted and not knighted) and the villages owned by the cities. As in section three, here, too, Larczyński provides an analysis of the number, size, nature of settlement, and jurisdiction of these villages. Unfortunately he does not take a separate look at the land owned by Danzig burghers who therefore “disappear” among the much more numerous knights.

In the fifth chapter, (“Posiadłości kościelne” / “Ecclesiastical Properties,” pp. 149–167), Larczyński analyzes land owned by various church authorities, for example villages owned by the bishopric of Włocławek (i.e., the diocese in which the Danziger Land was located), as well as Eastern Pomeranian monasteries (such as the monastery in Oliva (today Oliwa), the nunnery of the Norbertine nuns in Zuckau (Żukowo), the monastery of the Carthusians in Karthaus (Kartuzy), and the nunnery of the Brigittine Order in Danzig). He also counts hospitals (i.e., the Hospital of St. Elisabeth which was under the patronage of the Teutonic Order, and the Holy Spirit Hospital which was under the patronage of the Main City of Danzig (Germ. Rechtstadt Danzig)) as church institutions.

The sixth chapter (“Ogólna charakterystyka osadnictwa w ziemi gdańskiej” / “General Characteristics of Settlement in the Danziger Land,” pp. 169–198)

completes Larczyński's study of settlements by compiling various observations and conclusions obtained in the previous three chapters and makes a series of comprehensive analyses in relation to the studied area. Regarding the dynamics of regional authority of the Teutonic Order in the Danziger Land, Larczyński's conclusions do not go beyond the older findings of Maksymilian Grzegorz, namely, until the war of 1409–1411, a practice of acquiring new property from the knightly sector is easily observable, but after this period it is much more limited; after 1411, the Order is also more prone to divest some of its properties (pp. 173–175). Of particular note are the author's opinions regarding the existence of a semi-permanent settlement in the heavily forested areas of the Danziger Land, based on an extensive fire-fallow cultivation, throughout the entire period of the Order's rule in the region (p. 186) – the documentation for this thesis can be found in dictionary entries in the appendix. The same applies to Karl Kasiske's hypothesis, developed and partially verified, of the so-called "group villages" where the central settlements acted, to some extent, as quasi-urban commercial and service centers. Is it correct, however, to equate these centers with the settlements at the castles (so-called *Lischken*) in Prussian areas (pp. 187–188)? This issue would benefit from a separate, more thorough discussion. Larczyński formulates a hypothesis (which is not entirely new) that the Teutonic Order intentionally prevented the creation of other urban centers within a day's ride from the Danzig towns, and that in this situation a few selected villages equipped with commercial facilities took over the function of a small town (or small towns) for selected village settlements (including Praust (today Pruszcz), pp. 190–191). The last part of chapter six is an analysis of the ethnic relations in rural settlements in Danziger Land (pp. 191–198). The analytical section of the book closes with a brief but thorough "Conclusion" (pp. 199–203) and an index of sources (archival and printed) and of the literature on the subject (pp. 205–218).

A few separate, short remarks should be made with regard to Larczyński's analysis of military issues, primarily the military obligations to the Teutonic Order of the residents of settlements and landholders. The author wrongly identifies (or presupposes the possibility of equating) moderate-armed service in the 14th and 15th century (referred to as *Platendienst*-service) with light-armed military services (pp. 90, 142, 145, 156); in this he is following the, now considered partially obsolete, works by Andrzej Nowakowski and the newer works of Tomasz Rembalski (who did not deal with military issues but only with settlement issues). He does not mention the older publications by Sven Ekdahl,¹⁴ nor the more recent

¹⁴ Sven Ekdahl, "Über die Kriegsdienste der Freien im Kulmerland zu Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Preußenland* 2, no. 1 (1964): 1–14, here 5–6.

writings by Grischa Vercamer¹⁵ and this reviewer.¹⁶ It is impossible to agree with the statement that, at the turn of the 14th and 15th century, the Teutonic Order announced a call for war expeditions “twice a year” (p. 62), because this depended on the specific circumstances; there was no general scheme in place. The author’s use of terms anachronistic to the late Middle Ages relating to military matters (e.g., village headmen (Germ. *Schulzen*) as “artillerymen” on ships and serving in “land forces” (pp. 89–90); and peasants creating contingents for “navy” or “land forces” (p. 73)) is also quite striking.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the editorial level of the book leaves something to be desired, as there are numerous linguistic and typographical errors. The quality of the maps, and thus their legibility, is also lacking (there are even instances of maps which lack any description (p. 31), and some appear unfinished (pp. 17, 197)). The situation is similar in the case of some of the tables (pp. 76, 82, 154). Neither the tables nor the maps are numbered or listed in a separate index, which makes using them much more tedious. It is also unhelpful that the table with information on settlements belonging to landholders in the Danziger Land is divided into four separate sheets located in various places of the text (pp. 30/31, 42/43, 170/171, 224/225). In this however, the publisher, Napoleon V, is partly to blame, as the publishing house did not allow the author to apply many of the corrections suggested by the reviewers of his doctoral thesis (Rafał Kubicki and Krzysztof Mikulski), whose comments, if applied, surely would have increased the level of this publication.

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¹⁵ Grischa Vercamer, *Siedlungs-, Sozial- und Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 320–321; id., “Die Freien im Deutschordensland Preußen als militärischer Rückhalt Ende des 14. – Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts,” in *Tannenberg – Grunwald – Žalgiris 1410. Krieg und Frieden im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Werner Paravicini, Rimvydas Petrauskas, and Grischa Vercamer, Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau. Quellen und Studien 26 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012), 175–189, here 180.

¹⁶ Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, *Zakon niemiecki jako „corporatio militaris”*, part I: *Korporacja i krąg przynależących do niej. Kulturowe i społeczne podstawy działalności militarnej zakonu w Prusach (do początku XV wieku)*, *Dzieje Zakonu Niemieckiego I* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2012), 38, note 82 (on p. 38–39); id., *Wojska zakonu niemieckiego w Prusach 1230–1525 (korporacja, jej pruskie władztwo, zbrojni, kultura wojny i aktywność militarna)* (in cooperation with Maria Molenda), *Dzieje Zakonu Niemieckiego 3* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2016), 182–183.

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