

ORDINES MILITARES  
COLLOQUIA TORUNENSIA HISTORICA  
Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders

vol. XVI (2011)

DIE RITTERORDEN IN UMBRUCHS-  
UND KRISENZEITEN

The Military Orders in Times  
of Change and Crisis



Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika  
Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu  
Toruń 2011

EDITORIAL BOARD

Roman Czaja, Editor in Chief, Nicolaus Copernicus University Toruń  
Jürgen Sarnowsky, Editor in Chief, University of Hamburg

Jochen Burgtorf, California State University  
Sylvain Gouguenheim, École Normale Supérieure Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Lyon  
Hubert Houben, Università del Salento Lecce  
Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, Assistant Editor, Nicolaus Copernicus University Toruń  
Alan V. Murray, University of Leeds

REVIEWERS:

Wiesław Długokęcki, University of Gdańsk  
Marian Dygo, University of Warsaw  
Sławomir Józwiak, Nicolaus Copernicus University Toruń

ADDRESS OF EDITORIAL OFFICE:

Instytut Historii i Archiwistyki UMK, ul. Gagarina 9  
87-100 Toruń  
e-mail: rc@umk.pl  
juergen.sarnowsky@uni-hamburg.de

Subscriptions orders should be addressed to:  
books@umk.pl

Wydanie publikacji dofinansowany przez  
Ministerstwo Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego

Printed in Poland

© Copyright by Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika  
© Copyright by Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu  
Toruń 2011

ISSN 0867-2008

NICOLAUS COPERNICUS UNIVERSITY PRESS

EDITORIAL OFFICE: ul. Gagarina 5, 87-100 Toruń  
tel. (0) 56 611 42 95, fax (0) 56 611 47 05  
e-mail: wydawnictwo@umk.pl

DISTRIBUTION: ul. Reja 25, 87-100 Toruń  
tel./fax (0) 56 611 42 38  
e-mail: books@umk.pl  
www.wydawnictwoumk.pl

First edition

Print: Nicolaus Copernicus University Press  
ul. Gagarina 5, 87-100 Toruń

## CONTENTS

### I. STUDIES AND ARTICLES

<i>Alan Forey</i> (Kirtlington) A Hospitaller <i>Consilium</i> (1274) and the Explanations Advanced by Military Orders for Problems Confronting them in the Holy Land in the Later Thirteenth Century .....	7
<i>Shlomo Lotan</i> (Jerusalem) Empowering and Struggling in an Era of Uncertainty and Crisis – The Teutonic Military Order in the Latin East, 1250–1291 .....	19
<i>Sylvain Gouguenheim</i> (ENS Lyon) Die Vorschläge zum Zusammenschluss der Ritterorden am Ende des 13. und Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts Eine Konsequenz der Kritik oder eine Chance? .....	29
<i>Klaus Militzer</i> (Köln) Die Übersiedlung Siegfrieds von Feuchtwangen in die Marienburg .....	47
<i>Jochen Burgtorf</i> (Fullerton) Die Templer auf Ruad (1300–1302) .....	63
<i>Magdalena Satora</i> (Toruń) The Role of Cardinals in the Templars' Affair (1307–1308) .....	93
<i>Marek Smoliński</i> (Gdańsk) Die Johanniter und die Eroberung Pommerellens durch den Deutschen Orden .....	105
<i>Jürgen Sarnowsky</i> (Hamburg) Herausforderung und Schwäche: die Johanniter und die Anfänge der äußeren Bedrohung von Rhodos, 1428–1464 .....	125
<i>Stefan Kwiatkowski</i> (Szczecin) Verlorene Schlachten und Gefallene in der geistigen Tradition des Deut- schen Ordens .....	141

<i>Roman Czaja</i> (Toruń)	
Die Krise der Landesherrschaft. Der Deutsche Orden und die Gesellschaft seines Staates in Preußen in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts .....	159
<i>Johannes A. Mol</i> (Leeuwarden / Leiden)	
Crisis in Prussia, crisis in the bailiwicks? The case of Utrecht 1440–1470 .....	173
<i>Karl Borchardt</i> (München)	
Zucker und Mohren: Zur Krise der Johanniter auf Zypern im 15. Jahrhundert .....	191
<i>Grischa Vercamer</i> (Warschau)	
Ein Hochmeister wird zum Herzog: Reaktionen und Schicksal der letzten Ordensbrüdern in Preußen um das Jahr 1525 .....	213
<i>Udo Arnold</i> (Bonn)	
Hochmeisterverlust, Bauernunruhen und Reformation -Krisenbewältigung unter den Deutschmeistern Dietrich von Cleen und Walter von Cronberg .....	241
<i>Matthias Asche, Magnus von Hirschheydt und Mathis Mager</i> (Tübingen)	
Legitimationsdefizite, Bedrohungspotenziale und Bewältigungsstrategien der europäischen Ritterorden in der Krisenzeit der 1520er Jahre – Fallbeispiele und allgemeine Reflexionen .....	259
<i>Juhan Kreem</i> (Tallinn)	
Der Deutsche Orden in Livland unter Hermann von Brüggenei: Bemerkungen zu Regierungspraxis und Religionspolitik .....	303
 II. MISCELLANEOUS AND OTHER MATERIALS	
<i>Jochen Burgtorf</i> (Fullerton)	
Die erste urkundliche Erwähnung eines Großpräzeptors der Templer im Heiligen Land: Edition von Paris, Bibl. nat. de France, nouv. acquis. lat. 21, fol. 5 und 25 bis .....	319
 III. BOOK NOTICES .....	
	323

envoys and Sigismund of Luxembourg in Udine in 1413 concerning Benedict's mission (pp. 169–178), three maps (pp. 179–181), photocopies of some sources connected with the conduct of the 'sub-arbitrator' (pp. 182–185), a summary in German (pp. 187–194), a bibliography of sources and literature (pp. 195–210), a list of abbreviations, maps and illustrations (pp. 211–212), and name (pp. 213–226) and geographical indexes (pp. 227–241).

The monograph cannot be given unambiguous assent. The work may present a correct description of Benedict Makrai's mission, but in some parts of his book the author forgets that the event took place in a specific political (which actually deserves the least criticism), geographical and social context. It was not even necessary to research the sources to fill this gap. In most cases it would have been sufficient to make use of the available literature on the subject. Moreover, Sieradzan seems not to have edited his book very carefully before submitting it for printing.

*Sobiesław Szybkowski (Gdańsk)*

**Marek Smoliński, *Joannicy w polityce książąt polskich i pomorskich od połowy XII do pierwszego ćwierćwiecza XIV wieku [Knights of St. John in the policy of Polish and Pomeranian dukes from the mid-12<sup>th</sup> c. to the first quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> c.]*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Gdańsk 2008, 379 pp., ISBN 978-83-7326-519-6.**

Research into the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem has not aroused much interest in Poland until quite recently. In the last two decades the situation has changed considerably partly thanks to the author of the monograph discussed here. Along with Heś, Lange, Starnawska, Stelmach, Wybranowski and Wiegand, Marek Smoliński is one of the leading researchers dealing with the history of the military Hospitaller Order of St John in East-Central Europe. The habilitation thesis presented here constitutes a monograph devoted to the role of the members of the Order in the ruling activities of the monarchs from the House of Piast and the Pomeranian dukes in various duchies from the moment the Order appeared until the first decades of the 14<sup>th</sup> c., the period of the reconstruction of the Kingdom of Poland. The study is divided into two parts: the first of which presents the complex issues around the bringing of the Order to Polish duchies. It includes the creation of the hospital in Zagość in the Duchy of Sandomierz (and the foundation of the one in Stargard nad Iną), the issue of the arrival of the Order in Sławno in Pomerania in the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> c. (not proved), and the political context of the foundations of houses for the Order by Polish dukes in Greater Poland, Western Pomerania, Gdańsk Pomerania and the Silesian duchies starting from the 1180s. Smoliński de-

finishes the system of factors determining the appearance of the Order in East-Central Europe, including Poland, around the mid-12<sup>th</sup> c., and showed the changes in the form of management of the hospitals within the constantly changing structures of the Order in East-Central Europe in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> c. The second part presents the issues referring to the contribution of the Polish and Pomeranian Knights of St. John to the policies of Czech priors and German preceptors in the 13<sup>th</sup> c., including a valuable analysis of the Knights' attitude (and participation) in the infighting among the Piast dukes and similar political conflicts in the House of Griffins. Equally important are prosopographical speculations devoted to members of the Order of St. John taking part in the formation of the policies of various East-Central European rulers as courtiers, advisors and secretaries in the 13<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> c. It shows the considerable scope observed in southern and western Europe and beyond which consisted in their involvement in local policy through individual actions of their members. The work constitutes a valuable research contribution to the extensive literature devoted to the history of the Order of St. John.

*Krzysztof Kwiatkowski (Toruń)*

Adam Szweda, *Organizacja i technika dyplomacji polskiej w stosunkach z zakonem krzyżackim w Prusach w latach 1386–1454* [*The organization and technique of the Polish diplomacy in relations with the Teutonic Order in Prussia in the years 1386–1454*], Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 2009, 465 pp., ISBN 978-83-231-2379-8.

The work discussed here is the habilitation thesis of the author. It starts with the beginning of the reign of King Władysław II Jagiełło (Jogaila), when the Teutonic problem became of prime importance in Polish politics. It finishes with the outbreak of the Thirteen Years' War, the effect of which was a new phase in Polish-Teutonic relations when the Grand Master became a vassal of the Polish king. The book consists of three chapters clearly divided thematically (pp. 26–310), preceded by an introduction (*Wstęp*, pp. 11–25) discussing the subject and scope of the work (pp. 11–19), the condition of the research (*Stan badań*, pp. 19–21) and an extensive overview of the sources (*Bazę źródłową*, pp. 21–25). They are based mainly on official records (documents, correspondence, accounts), but also on narrative sources including *Rocznik franciszkanów toruńskich*, the chronicle of Johann von Redden (von Posilge), and the work of Jan Długosz. At the end of the book there is a conclusion (pp. 311–314), appendices including a catalogue of formal Polish-Teutonic assemblies and Polish diplomatic missions to the heads of the Teu-