

# ARTYKUŁY I MATERIAŁY

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## PRUSSIAN LANDHOLDERS FROM WARMIA IN THE TEUTONIC STATE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE XIII<sup>TH</sup> – FIRST HALF OF THE XIV<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES

**Słowa kluczowe:** zakon krzyżacki, Warmia, służba, posiadacze ziemscy, służba wojskowa, podatki

**Schlüsselwörter:** Deutsches Orden, Ermland, Dienstmann, Grundbesitz, Militärdienst, Steuern

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In the mid of XIII<sup>th</sup> century, Prussians, who settled on the North–East of Europe, were involved in the great political process. Leaders of Teutonic Order, who at that time were expanding their domains in Palestine, were looking for a new place in the European politics. For this purpose they used the support of Roman pope Gregory IX (1227–1241), German and Czech rulers and founded in 1231 their own state on the Prussian lands. To this moment native inhabitants of this territory were politically bounded into a fragile confederation<sup>1</sup> and were unable to resist the invaders. Nevertheless their Great rebellion in 1242–1283 almost obliterated the main results of conquest. Due to this resistance leaders of Order began actively include Prussians in social system of the state. With support of Catholic Church they hired Prussians on military and civil services for grants of lands and created thereby a new social basis for their power. This process had its most impact on Prussian regions because of their severe involvement in the Great rebellion.

In the XIII<sup>th</sup> century Prussia was divided into 11 tribal lands, five of which were largely covered by the rebellion: Sambia, Nattangia, Warmia, Pomezania and

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<sup>1</sup> V.T. Pashuto, *Bor'ba prusskogo naroda za nezavisimost' (do konca XIII veka)*, Istoriya SSSR, vol. 6 (1958), p. 66; M. Biskup, G. Labuda, *Dzieje Zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach*, Gdańsk 1988, p. 54; A.N. Masan, *Gorod v gosudarstve Tevtonskogo ordena v XIII-pervoy polovine XV vv. (po materialam srednevekovoy Prussii)*, (PhD dissertation, Moscow State University, 1989), p. 20; V.I. Kulakov, *Istoriya Prussii do 1283 g., Prussia Antiqua*, T. 1, Moscow 2003, p. 219; W. Długokęcki, *Prusy w starożytności i we wczesnym średniowieczu*, in: *Państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach. Władza i społeczeństwo*, Warszawa 2008, p. 43–44.

Sudowia. In Warmia, situated between rivers Passarge and Frishing<sup>2</sup>, rebels headed by nobleman Glappo. He, with Auttune, a chief from Pogezenia, destroyed castle Braunsberg in 1261 and ruined another castle Brandenburg in 1266<sup>3</sup>. After the death of Heinrich Monte, leader of Nattangia, in 1273, Glappo headed the rebels of this region. In 1273 he besieged castle Conovedit in Sambia, but was betrayed by his retinue Steinow to the hands of Johann Sakse, comtur of Königsberg (1262–1274), and then executed in 1274<sup>4</sup>.

After this victory Order and Church in Warmia tried to minimize chance of new rebellion and turned to grant lands to native inhabitants for their service. The basis of this practice was social-property division in Prussian society to this time. The main result of this division was the appearance of two social groups: noblemen, who had high social and political status and owned large property, and non-noble members of local community, whose role in politics and economics was less bright<sup>5</sup>. At the first time, Order used division on Prussian society and relied on the single noblemen<sup>6</sup>, but then expended its social basis by including in it non-noble inhabitants, who had formed the main part of the local community. For this reason, this addition to the service had the great significance for the power of Order and Church in Warmia. In this context we should research composition and function of these local inhabitants (from noble and non-noble origin) as the key aspects for detection of the condition of Prussian tribes in the Teutonic state.

This problem is little studied in historiography. There was concluded that noblemen owned land property and were free from taxes and all duties, except military service. Other members of community received land property and were obliged to pay taxes, let corvee and military service<sup>7</sup>. Another conclusion in histo-

<sup>2</sup> See map.

<sup>3</sup> *Petri de Dusburg Chronicon terrae Prussiae*, in: T. Hirsch, M. Töppen, E. Strehlke (eds.), *Scriptores rerum prussicarum*, Bd. 1, Leipzig 1861, p. 115, № 130; *Di Kronike von Pruzinlant des Nicholas v. Jeroschin*, in: *ibidem*, p. 454.13129–455.13170; *Die ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, in: *Scriptores rerum prussicarum*, Bd. 3, hrsg. Von T. Hirsch, M. Töppen, E. Strehlke, Leipzig 1866, p. 569, № 73; K. Górski, *Zakon Krzyżacki a powstanie państwa pruskiego*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdansk 1977, p. 48; T.V. Trokal', *Gosudarstvo Tevtonskogo Ordена v Prussii v XIII-nachale XIV veka*, (PhD dissertation, People's Friendship University of Russia, 2004), p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> *Petri de Dusburg Chronicon terrae Prussiae*, p. 99, № 89–90; p. 115, № 130; p. 117–118, № 136; *Die ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, p. 569, № 73.

<sup>5</sup> M. Biskup, G. Labuda, *op. cit.*, p. 76–78; T.V. Trokal', *op. cit.*, p. 248; W. Długocki, *op. cit.*, p. 42–43.

<sup>6</sup> R. Wenskus, *Die gens Candein. Zur Rolle des preußischen Adels bei der Eroberung und Verwaltung Preussens*, *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, Bd. 10, Nr. 1 (1961), p. 84–103; M. Burleigh, *Prussian Society and the German Order Cambridge* 1984, p. 33.

<sup>7</sup> J. Voigt, *Geschichte Preussens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Untergange der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, Bd. 3, Königsberg 1828, p. 414–443; K. Lohmeyer, *Geschichte des Ost- und Westpreussen*, Gotha 1880, p. 163–164; S. Zajączkowski, *Podbój prus i ich kolonizacja przez krzyżaków*, Toruń 1935, p. 28; N.P. Gracianskij, *Nemeckaya agressiya v Pribaltike v XIII–XV vekah*, *Istoriik-marksist*, vol. 6 (1938), p. 99–100; V.T. Pashuto, *Pomezanskaya Pravda kak istoricheskij istochnik*, Moscow 1955, p. 43–46, 49–51; M. Tumler, *Der Deutsche Orden im Werden, Wachsen und Wirken bis 1400 mit einem Abriss der Geschichte des Ordens von 1400 bis zum neuesten Zeit*, Wien 1955, p. 471–472; G. YA. Rier, *Kyonigsberg XIII-nachala XVI vv. – oplot agressii nemeckogo rycarstva v Pribaltike*, (PhD dissertation, Belorussian State

riography was that there was a special group of non-noble members of community, who were free from tithe (Church tax) and corvee<sup>8</sup>. Simultaneously, in all previous papers the condition of the Prussian landholders was revealed in general without definition by tribal lands. Only in the article of R. Wenskus there is a conclusion about active participation of Prussians from Warmia in the foundation of new settlements<sup>9</sup>. Respectively such processes as formation of land property and social division that are necessary to characterize the system of land tenure in Warmia were not completely explored.

The main methods used to solve given problem are historical-comparative, typological and prosopographical methods. To bring out light on the condition of Prussians in Warmia these methods were used on two groups of sources: acts and chronicles. The chronological framework of our research is 1249–1350, from the Christburg peace treaty<sup>10</sup> to the end of activity of bishop Hermann (1337–1350), who formed significant part of the landholding's system in the region.

There are 203 acts that cover given period and contain data about composition and property of noble and non-noble inhabitants. The structure of these documents includes designations of donor and recipient, preamble, public announcement, statement of facts and order on its merits, prohibition of property's alienation by private persons, prohibition of landholder's murder, information about identification signs, indication of time and place of issue of document, signature.

Indicative is the form of the document issued on March 1, 1345 by Bruno von Luter, vogt (administrator) of Warmian bishop Herman, to Prussians Aulepse and his nephew Nadrowe, Astione and Nakaippe. This document has the following context:

*In the Name of God. Amen. For eternal memory of act let everyone know, who will see this document, that we Bruno von Lutir, vogt of Warmian Church, looking at obedience demonstrated by Aulepse truly and often to our Church and us in cases of need as well as such in [cases] of silence granted him and his nephews namely Nad-*

University, 1956), p. 84; V.T. Pashuto, *Bor'ba prusskogo naroda...*, p. 76–77; T.I. Kirsanova, *Social'no-ehkonomicheskoe polozhenie Tevtonskogo Ordена vtoroj poloviny XIV-pervoj poloviny XV vv.* (PhD dissertation, Moscow Region State University, 1966), p. 132–133; B. Jähning, *Zur Wirtschaftsführung des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen vornehmlich vom 13. bis zum frühen 15. Jahrhundert*, in: *Zur Wirtschaftsentwicklung des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter*, hrsg. von U. Arnold, Marburg 1989, p. 122–123; A.N. Masan, *op. cit.*, p. 43–44, 46, 52; H. Bokman, *Nemeckij orden*, Transl. by V.I. Matuzova, Moscow 1994, p. 101–102; T.V. Trokal', *op. cit.*, p. 154–158; M. Dygo, *Początki i budowa władztwa zakonu krzyżackiego (1226–1309)*, in: *Państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach*, p. 77–78, 102–104.

<sup>8</sup> V.T. Trokal', *op. cit.*, p. 46, 52; W. Długokęcki, *Spółczesność wiejskie*, in: *Państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach*, p. 469–471.

<sup>9</sup> R. Wenskus, *Der Deutsche Orden und die nichtdeutsche Bevölkerung des Preussenlandes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Siedlung*, in: *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung des Mittelalters als Problem der europäischen Geschichte*, hrsg. von W. Schlesinger, Sigmaringen 1975, p. 426–427.

<sup>10</sup> Christburg peace treaty was concluded in 1249 between Prussians from Pomezania, Warmia and Nattangia and leaders of Order. This agreement fixed rights and duties of Prussians in the Teutonic state. See: *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensis*, Bd. 1, hrsg. von C.P. Woelky and J.M. Saage, Mainz 1860, p. 28–41, № 19.

*rawe, Astione and Nakaippe as well as their direct descendents and legitimate heirs by Prussian right freely in eternal possession four huffens measured in field named Kuntite, that none of these men was banished from the specified field. However the following set condition is that mentioned Aulepse, Astione, Nadrowe and Nakaippe and their direct descendents and legitimate heirs are obliged to serve in campaigns and for defense of land with suitable horse and [with] a man armed according to general custom of their land, when and how much they will be ordered. Also they must help to build new and to repair old fortifications. They will give annually for service of lord bishop on the day of Saint bishop Martin one sheffel of rye and one sheffel of wheat, one pound of wax that costed two marks and six denarius of Culm in the sign of possession and freedom without any delay. Moreover we grant mentioned Astione, Nadrowe and Nakaippe and their distinct descendents [right] that if one of them is forcibly murdered, it will be paid 30 marks by the low. In their affair we commit [so] that certificate of present act will be signed and confirmed by hanging of our fogt's seal. The witnesses of their affair are pious and noble men namely brother Johann, our comrade, Ivan Below, Johann Petuno, translator, Merun, Kunko Sudow, our beloved servants, and many others awarded by faith. Given in year 1345 of the Nativity of Christ on the third day after Sunday, when the «My eyes» is sung, in castle Heilsberg<sup>11</sup>.*

Other group of sources includes chronicles that contain information about the engagement of Prussian in military campaigns of Order against Lithuanian state in the first half of the XIV<sup>th</sup> century. This information allows to research military duties of Prussians in the Order's army. Central place among chronicles has Chronicle of Peter of Dusburg that was ended in 1326. In XIV–XV<sup>th</sup> centuries on the basis of this source were written Chronicle of Nicolas von Jeroshin and Senior chronicle of grandmasters. The next one is Chronicle of Wigand of Marburg ended in 1394, which complements information contained in previous sources. Two other

<sup>11</sup> *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 3, Lief. 2, Hrsg. von H. Koeppen, Marburg 1958, p. 598–599, № 711: “In nomine Domini amen. Ad perpetuum rei memoriam noverint universi, ad quos praesens littera pervenerit, quod nos frater Bruno de Lutir Warmiensis ecclesie advocatus, inspicientes fidele obsequium Aulepsen ostensor presencium ecclesie et nobis pluries prestitum tam temporibus necessitatis quam eciam tranquillitatis, contulimus eidem et patruelibus suis videlicet Nadrawen, Astionen et Nakaippen, ac eorum veris heredibus seu successoribus legitimis quattuor mansos mensuratos in campo Kuntiten sit dicto, quod nemo predictos homines depellere debet de predicto campo, jure Pruthenico libere perpetuo possidendos, tali nichilominus interposita condicione, quod prefati Aul[eps], Na[draws], Asty[on] et Nak[aippe] et eorum veri heredes seu successores legitimi cum uno equo competenti et viro armato secundum huius terre consuetudinem generalem, quodocunque aut quocienscunque ipsis fuerit imperatum, ad expeditiones sive ad terre defensionem tenentur deservire, novas eciam municiones construere et antiquas reformare, iuvare tenebuntur. Et dabunt singulis annis de servicio domino episcopo in festo sancti Martini pontificis unum modium tritici et siliginis modium, unum talentum cere duarum marcarum ponderis et sex denarios Culmenses in signum domini et libertatis dilacione qualibet non obsante. Insuper conferimus sepepredictis Na[drawen], Ast[ionen] et Nak[aippen] et eorum heredibus veris, quod, si unus eorum violenter occisus fuerit, XXX<sup>ta</sup> marcarum iudicio persolvatur. In cuius rei testimonium presentem litteram scribi ac nostri appensione sigilli advocacie fecimus communiri. Huius rei testes sunt viri religiosi et honesti videlicet frater Johannes socius noster, Ywanus Below, Jo[hannes] Petuno interpres, Meruno, Cunco Sudow famuli nostri dilecti et alii quamplures fidedigni. Datum anno domini MCCCXLV feria tertia proxima post dominicam, qua cantatur Oculi mei, in castro Heilsberg».

sources are: Chronicle of Warmian bishop that was written by Johann Plastwig in XV<sup>th</sup> century and Heilsberg chronicle that was written by Mathias Osterrech in the second half of the XV<sup>th</sup> century. This chronicles report about activities of Warmian bishops for the formation of the system of land tenure.

For the exploration of Prussian landholders in given sources we use the following markers of ethnical identification: direct indication (*Pruss, Pruthenus*, i.e. the Prussian), onomatology (Prussian names Astiote, Lute, Kirse, etc.), obedience to serve with usual arms of land, i.e. of Warmia (*armis in terra consuetis, mit wapen nach landis gewonheit*).

Acts contain information about 347 Prussians from Warmia: 50 noble and 297 non-noble members of local community. All of them were on the service of Order or Church. Noblemen are designated in source with term “honorable men” (*honestus vir*). However their status is similar to the condition of non-noble inhabitants: they received land property for the service and/or tax and were free from the tithe and corvee. A size of their lands was measured in huffens<sup>12</sup> or hakens<sup>13</sup> and was also similar. For this reason we research two groups in conjunction. Herewith as the main criteria of social division among Warmian landholders, we used their duties for grants as an indispensable and precisely formulated condition of ownership. In contrast, other aspects such as a size of land estate or justice are formulated often not exact or absent.

So by the duties performed for their property, Prussian landholders could be divided into four groups.

The first group includes lieges, who were obliged to pay taxes and hold military service. There are 143 persons (41% of the total number). Among them we could define two subgroups:

1. Lieges, who were obliged to hold military service on horseback and accompanied soldiers, armed accordingly to custom of their land. They were due to pay annually 1–3 pound of wax, 1–2 denarius of Cologne or 6–12 denarius of Culm, one sheffel of wheat and one sheffel of rye for each plow and one sheffel of rye for each haken (90 persons). Some of them (15 persons) were also obliged to build new and to repair old fortifications. Representatives of this subgroup possessed land property of 4–77 huffens<sup>14</sup>;
2. Lieges, who were obliged to hold military service on horseback without any accompanying soldiers (39 persons). 31 of them were also due to build new and to repair old fortifications. There are some exceptions among their duties. In one case Prussian named Peter combined military and civil service

<sup>12</sup> One huffen is 20 hectares. A.L. Rogachevskij, *Cul'mskaya gramota – pamyatnik prava Prussii XIII v.*, Saint-Petersburg 2002, p. 205–207.

<sup>13</sup> One haken is 30 hectares (*ibidem*). To form one system of assessment of land's size in our research we counted all hakens in huffens (1 haken is 1,5 huffens).

<sup>14</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensis*, Bd. 1, p. 106–107, № 60; p. 116, № 67; p. 174–175, № 101; p. 230–231, № 131; p. 235–236, № 135; p. 245–246, № 141; p. 253–256, № 145, 146, etc.

of camerarius (local administrator in rural districts)<sup>15</sup>. In the other case the Prussian landholder Arnold was obliged to hold military service on horseback and armed with a crossbow. He also repaired old and broken crossbows<sup>16</sup>. All representatives of this subgroup paid natural and monetary taxes (37 persons) or only natural charge (two persons). In the first case it was pound of wax, denarius of Cologne or six denarius of Culm (or equivalents of them), one sheffel of wheat and one sheffel of rye for each plow. In the second case there was only one sheffel of wheat and one sheffel of rye for each haken. All lieges of this subgroup had land estates of 1–20 huffens<sup>17</sup>;

3. Lieges obliged to hold military service with spear and shield (seven persons)<sup>18</sup>. Six of them possessed land property of 48 huffen, built new and repaired old fortifications.

There are no exact data about military service of seven persons (Predrus and his brothers, Tessim and his brothers). The documents reported only that they were obliged to hold military service with light armament (*cum armis levibus*). The size of their land property was not exactly defined<sup>19</sup>.

The second group includes lieges, who were obliged only to hold military or civil service without any paying of tax. There are 55 persons (16% of total number). Among them we also could define two subgroups:

1. Lieges, who had to hold military service on horseback and armed accordingly to custom of the land (40 persons). Two more Prussians named Kerso and Johann Sparowe were obliged to serve without horse. Half of lieges (20 persons) had to build new and to repair old fortifications. They had land property of 3–10 huffens<sup>20</sup>. Only in one case lieges Johann and Henko Shofstete had property of 20 huffens and served in military campaigns with their own people<sup>21</sup>;
2. Prussians, who had to hold civil service (six persons). Three of them served as translators (*interpretores*)<sup>22</sup>, two were camerarius<sup>23</sup>, one guarded the forest from illegal use<sup>24</sup>. Their land estates amounted to 2–4 huffens.

<sup>15</sup> *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 1, Hft. 2, hrsg. von A. Seraphim, Königsberg 1909), p. 454, № 730.

<sup>16</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensis*, Bd. 1, p. 162–163, № 93.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 105–106, № 59; p. 149–150, № 84; p. 423–425, № 254; *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 1, Hft. 2, hrsg. von A. Seraphim, p. 456, № 735; *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 4, hrsg. von H. Koepfen, Marburg 1964, p. 285–286, № 318; p. 290, № 329, etc.

<sup>18</sup> *Petri de Dusburg Chronicon terrae Prussiae*, p. 190, № 352–353; *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 1, Hft. 2, p. 188–189, № 262.

<sup>19</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensis*, Bd. 1, p. 149–150, № 84.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, Bd. 2, Mainz 1864), p. 95, № 90; p. 96, № 91 a–b; p. 96, № 92; p. 128–129, № 124; *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 4, hrsg. von H. Koepfen, p. 137, № 150; p. 138, № 151; p. 140, № 155; p. 350, № 379–381; etc.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, Bd. 3, Lief. 2, p. 323, № 462.

<sup>22</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensis*, Bd. 1, p. 271–272, № 156; *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 1, Hft. 2, p. 334–335, № 531.

<sup>23</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensis*, Bd. 2, p. 36–37, № 35.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, Bd. 1, p. 271–272, № 156.

In this group there are no exact data about duties of seven persons. They possessed estates of 1–6 huffens<sup>25</sup>. The size of land property of more one person wasn't exactly reported in the act<sup>26</sup>.

The third group includes Prussians, who were free from military service and had to pay monetary and/or natural taxes. There are 13 persons (4% of total number). Two of them, named Herman<sup>27</sup> and Bukso<sup>28</sup>, hold service of camerarius, and another one Johann Peytune was translator<sup>29</sup>. All of them had to pay 0.5–4 marks and/or 2–14 hens. Their land property amounted to 1–8 huffens<sup>30</sup>. In only one case liege Johann Kristiani possessed 13,5 huffens and meadow and had to pay piece of wax, one sheffel of wheat and one sheffel of rye for each plow and one sheffel of rye for each haken<sup>31</sup>.

The fourth group includes locators (79 persons, 23% of total number), i.e. persons, who received from Order or Church land estates for foundation of new settlement and are obliged to attract inhabitants<sup>32</sup>. In researching cases locators received lands (7–80 huffens) from Church (bishop or Cathedral chapter) for the foundation of villages. From received lands locator had personal property (2–15 huffens), for which he was free from taxes. For other part of land estate he was due to pay monetary and natural charges. Nevertheless, he often was free from such charges and service on 2–16 years. He could build in settlement a mill or a tavern and/or use incomes from it and had the right to fish and hunt for his own needs in the nearby grounds. There was marked out settlement's possession 2–6 huffens for parish church<sup>33</sup>. In some cases locators were also obliged to pay one sheffel of rye and oats for the need of parish priest<sup>34</sup>. However, along with general duties, locators had special responsibilities, by which they divided into two subgroups:

1. Prussians, who were obliged to hold military service on horseback and accompanied soldiers armed accordingly to custom of their land. They also were due to build new and to repair old fortifications and to pay taxes (40 persons). Moreover there was a Prussian landholder Velun, who served as camerarius<sup>35</sup>. In

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, Bd. 2, p. 70, № 67; *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 4, hrsg. von H. Koeppen, p. 35–36, № 34; p. 78–79, № 76–77.

<sup>26</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensis*, Bd. 1, p. 499–500, № 310.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 102–104, № 57.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 436–437, № 262.

<sup>29</sup> See below.

<sup>30</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensis*, Bd. 1, p. 502–503, № 312; *ibidem*, Bd. 2, p. 100, № 96; p. 128, № 123; p. 147–148, № 147; *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 1, Hft. 2, p. 456–457, № 735.

<sup>31</sup> *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 4, p. 491–492, № 545.

<sup>32</sup> J. Voigt, *op. cit.*, p. 487–490; S. Zajączkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 38; G. Mortensen, H. Mortensen, *Die Besiedlung des nordöstlichen Ostpreussens bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts. Teil I: Die preussisch-deutsche Siedlung am Westrand der Grossen Wildnis um 1400*, Leipzig 1937, p. 103–105; G. YA. Rier, *op. cit.*, p. 83–84; T.I. Kirsanova, *op. cit.*, p. 142–148; B. Jähning, *op. cit.*, p. 122–123; A.N. Masan, *op. cit.*, p. 64–66; H. Bookman, *op. cit.*, p. 112; T.V. Trokal', *op. cit.*, p. 141.

<sup>33</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensis*, Bd. 1, p. 452–454, № 272; p. 466, № 283; *ibidem*, Bd. 2, p. 59–60, № 53, etc.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, Bd. 1, p. 329–332, № 193–194; p. 337–339, № 196.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, Bd. 2, p. 109–110, № 103.

some cases there was estate from two to eight huffens with condition of military service added to locator's personal propriety. For such estate locator also paid annually 1–two pounds of wax, 1–two denarius of Cologne or 6–1 two denarius of Culm, one sheffel of wheat and one sheffel of rye<sup>36</sup>. In separate cases locators were due to pay sheffel of oats instead sheffel of wheat (Tulnig, Pansdoprote and Moldite)<sup>37</sup> or to pay an additional sheffel of rye for every haken (Dietrich, Heinrich, Kaminis)<sup>38</sup>. Another additional charge was the tax for the income received from the mill (two marks)<sup>39</sup> and the tavern (two pounds of wax)<sup>40</sup>, which were allocated in village. Besides given charges, there was the main tax for the land estate granted for new settlement. This was 0.5–0.8 marks<sup>41</sup> or 0.5 marks and two hens for every huffen<sup>42</sup>. In one case Neonotzodis was due to pay one pound of piper and 15 hens<sup>43</sup>. In another case mentioned above, Kaminis paid 0.5 marks, two hens and one sheffel of rye and oats;

2. Locators, who were free from the service and, mostly, additional charges (38 persons). Their main tax was 0.5–0.8 marks<sup>44</sup> or 0.5–0.8 marks and two hens for every huffen<sup>45</sup>. In one case, Clausio and Susit paid 0.5 marks, two hens and one sheffel of rye and oats<sup>46</sup>. In other cases Ludeko and Santop were obliged to pay for the taverns accordingly pound of wax<sup>47</sup> and 0.5 marks<sup>48</sup>.

Outside the given groups there are persons, whose duties (service and/or tax) were not defined in documents (57 persons, 21% of total number). This is due to several factors. In some cases their condition is reported in acts in the form of *re-gesta* (brief record confirming a grant of land estate). In other cases there is only a mention about liege and his estate for designation of borders of other landholdings. In several acts Prussian lieges are mentioned only as previous landholders<sup>49</sup>.

Researching the given data it's possible to conclude that the main part of Prussian lieges in Warmia consisted of representatives of group 1 and 2, who hold mil-

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, Bd. 1, p. 264–266, № 153; p. 483–484, № 297; *ibidem*, Bd. 2, p. 5–6, № 5; p. 21–22, № 23; p. 49–51, № 46, etc.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, Bd. 1, p. 126, № 120; p. 488–489, № 292.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 343–346, № 200; p. 484–485, № 290.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 452–454, № 272.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 337–339, № 196.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 482–483, № 288; p. 489–490, № 302; Bd. 2, p. 7, № 7; p. 18–19, № 20, etc.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 109–110, № 103; p. 129–130, № 125; p. 136, № 133.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 158–159, № 159.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, Bd. 1, p. 221–223, № 125; p. 258–259, № 149; *ibidem*, Bd. 2, p. 153, № 154, etc.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 20–21, № 22; p. 37–38, № 36; p. 78–79, № 76, etc.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*, Bd. 1, p. 460–461, № 277.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 320–322, № 186; *ibidem*, Bd. 2, p. 63–63, № 57.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, Bd. 1, p. 466, № 283.

<sup>49</sup> *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 1, Hft. 2, p. 558–559, № 886; *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensis*, Bd. 1, p. 158–159, № 90; p. 350–351, № 202, etc.



itary service, built and repaired fortifications and (group 1) paid monetary and/or natural taxes. To the main part also belonged locators (group 4), who were obliged to found new settlements and pay various charges. Some of locators were also due to hold military service for additional grants. Thus, their condition became similar to lieges from group 1. The less part consisted of lieges, who were free from military service and only had to pay taxes (group 3). This proportion is represented in the Table 1.

Table 1. Land possessions of Prussians from groups 1–4

Group	Number	% of total number	Possession	Military service			civil service	building of fortifications	tax
				on horseback with arms	on horseback with soldiers	without horse			
1	143	41%	1–77 huffens	39	90			45	+
2	55	16%	2–20 huffens	40		2	6	20	
3	13	4%	1–8 huffens				3		+
4	79	23%	7–80/2–15 huffens	6	16		1	22	+

The formation of the four groups was largely in 1278–1351. The beginning of this process was caused by the suppression of rebellion headed by Glappo in 1278 after that in Warmia were formed safe conditions for developing of land tenure. Herewith grants of land property for service and/or tax became a tool for restoration of the region, devastated in the time of Great rebellion. So formulated the purpose of land's grant in the act of bishop Heinrich I (1278–1300) issued on June 4, 1287 to noblemen Doybe, Smige, Sange and Conrad: “[...] to restore our land terrible desolated by rebellion of Prussians [...]”<sup>50</sup>. However at the beginning of the XV<sup>th</sup> century many land estates were still unowned that is reported in the Chronicle of Heilsberg: as a Canon, future bishop Heinrich II (1329–1334) often saw how much his diocese was desolated by the rebellion<sup>51</sup>. This situation was later rectified by bishop Eberhard (1301–1326), who actively granted land estates and founded a number of settlements and fortifications<sup>52</sup>. Although these measures were not enough for the full restoration of region, that's why bishop Heinrich II (1329–1334) released from corvee all inhabitants, who had intended to cultivate land in the diocese<sup>53</sup>. The significance of land's grants as the tool of economic policy of Warmian

<sup>50</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Warmienseis*, Bd. 1, p. 111–113, № 64 (*reformationi terre nostre que per apostasiam pruthenorum heu acriter est destructa*).

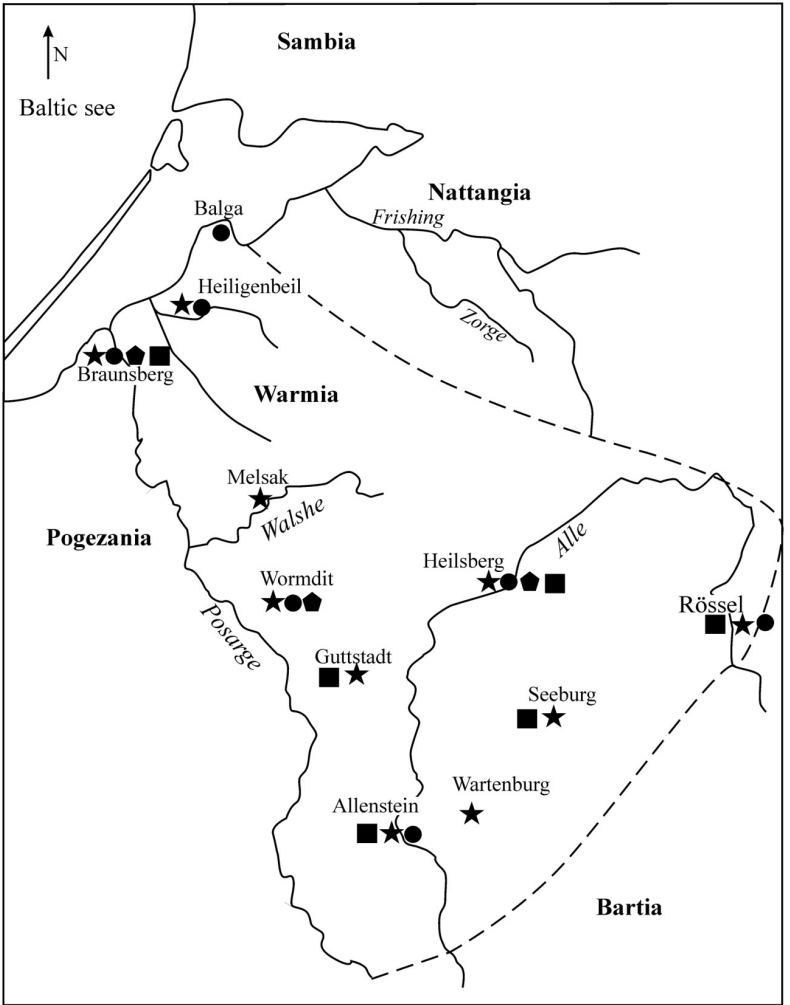
<sup>51</sup> *Die Heilsberger Chronik*, in: *Scriptores rerum Warmiensium*, Bd. 2, hrsg. von C.P. Woelky, Braunsberg 1889, p. 251.

<sup>52</sup> *Petri de Dusburg Chronicon terrae Prussiae*, p. 192–193, № 360; *Johanni Plastwici Chronicon de vitis episcoporum warmienseis*, in: *Scriptores rerum Warmiensium*, Bd. 1, hrsg. von C.P. Woelky, J.M. Saage, Braunsberg 1866, p. 53–54.

<sup>53</sup> *Die Heilsberger Chronik*, p. 251.

bishops in this case is confirmed by localization of new estates: they are concentrated in the districts of centers destroyed in the time of rebellion: Heilsberg and Braunsberg. Other centers, in which area were granted land properties (Guttstadt, Melsak, Wormdit, etc.) were founded after 1278.

Map. The main centers of Prussian landholding in Warmia. The illustration formed on the basis of map in Valentina I. Matuzova (transl.), *Petr from Dusburg. Prussian Chronicle*, Moscow 1997.



— — border of Warmian diocese to 1350  
 centers of landholding: ★ group 1, ● group 2,  
 ◆ group 3, ■ group 4

0 25 KM

Researching features of the given groups allows concluding that formation of groups 1 and 4 was stable throughout all period, while groups 2 and 3 were replenished with new lieges irregularly. These processes are represented in the Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2. Growth in number of groups 1–3 under grandmasters of Order

Grandmaster	Number of new landholders	
	group 1	group 2
Anno von Sangerhausen (1257–1274)	6	
Burchard von Shwanden (1283–1290)		2
Gottfried von Hohenlohe (1297–1303)		2
Werner von Orseln (1324–1331)	1	3
Luther von Braunschweig (1331–1335)	1	
Dietrich von Altenburg (1335–1341)		3
Ludolf Konig (1342–1345)		5
Heinrich Dusemer (1345–1351)		2

Table 3. Growth in number of groups 1–4 under Warmian bishops

Grandmaster	Number of new landholders			
	group 1	group 2	group 3	group 4
Heinrich I (1278–1300)	38		1	
Eberhard (1301–1326)	25	5		12
Jordan (1327–1328)	3		1	
Heinrich II (1329–1334)	2			
Herman (1337–1349)	66	31	11	50

This was due to the fact that the main place in the formation of the system of land tenure was occupied by bishops, who were primarily interested in both income and service of landholders. The rapid increase in the number of groups 1–4 occurred under the bishop Hermann (1337–1349) and was caused by several factors. Firstly, there was expansion of diocese's possessions to the South of the river Alle<sup>54</sup>, that allowed to attract to new districts lieges, who were obliged to hold military service and could to defense their land (groups 1, 2 and the first subgroup of group 4). Indicative is the localization of new land estates concentrated near the fortifications that defended southern borders of diocese before its expansion (Bal-

<sup>54</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensis*, Bd. 2, p. 11–12, № 10; M. Toeppen, *Historisch-comparative Geographie von Preussen*, Gotha 1858, p. 127–128.

ga, Heiligenbeil, Wormdit, Braunsberg, Heilsberg) and after that (Allenstein, Seeburg, Rössel)<sup>55</sup>. It allows us to correct conclusion of previous studies that southern borders of Warmian diocese were formed throughout two periods: in 1251–1254 and in 1370s.<sup>56</sup> For 1337–1349 it is possible to conclude about at least intermediate southern border of bishopric. Secondly, there was Church need in additional income that is brightly reported in the act of bishop Hermann issued on October 16, 1344 to Ekhard from Bibernik:

*And because descendents of named Ekhard requested us be honored to replace them designated service still performed by them to us and our Church for designated four huffens on the tax paid annually, because this tax will be more useful for us and our Church than service in that region, we paying special attention that the benefits of the designated exchange for our Church would be been, decided with permission of our honorable brothers thus replace designated service on tax, that named Ekhard and his legitimate heirs for the previously possessed huffens, for that they were obliged to serve, were due to pay 1,5 marks to us and our Chapter on the day of Saint Martin on account of service<sup>57</sup>.*

In the other case Johann Kristiani was due to pay on account of his service one piece of wax<sup>58</sup>. An additional income might be needed for building and provision of Cathedral church in Frauenberg. The facts that the means for this goal could be gathered through grants of land property are reported in the following documents. In the act issued on October 30, 1343 bishop Hermann passed the village Santope with 60 huffens to craft workshop by Cathedral for its provision<sup>59</sup>. In other act issued on November 9, 1349 bishop Hermann granted liege Merun with 10 huffens for tax of one pound wax that was needed for illumination of Cathedral church<sup>60</sup>. In the act from November 3, 1349, Cathedral Chapter granted Heinrich with 34 huffens for foundation of the village Stegemansdorf. For this grant the locator was obliged to pay 16 marks for needs of the Vicariate of Cathedral church<sup>61</sup>. The data of these documents lets us to assume that the land distribution in groups

<sup>55</sup> See map.

<sup>56</sup> J.M. Saage, *Die Grenzen des ermländischen Bisthumsprenghels seit dem XIII Jahrhundert*, Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Alterthumskunde Ermlands, Bd. 1, 1858, p. 40–92; A. Radziński, *Kościół w państwie Zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach 1243–1525*, Malbork 2006, p. 37.

<sup>57</sup> *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 3, Lief. 2, p. 553, № 671 (*Et quia heredes dicti Ekhardi nobis cum instancia supplicarunt, ut dictum servicium per eos nobis et nostre ecclesie hactenus pro dictis quatuor mansis exhibitum in annualem censum eis permutare dignaremur, cum census dictorum mansorum maiorem inferret utilitatem nobis et nostre ecclesie quam servicium in hac parte, nos vero considerantes ac diligenter respicientes dictam utilitatem nostre ecclesie ex predicta permutatione posse pervenire, de consilio venerabilium fratrum nostrorum dictum sevicium taliter in censum duximus immutandum, videlicet quod dictus Ekhardus et sui heredes legitimi de prehabitis quatuor mansis, de quibus servire tenebatur, unam marcam cum dimidia nobis et mense nostre episcopali in eodem festo Martini ratione sevicii solver tenebatur*).

<sup>58</sup> *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 4, p. 491–492, № 545.

<sup>59</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Warmienseis*, Bd. 2, p. 27–28, № 29.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 143, № 142 (*in signum libertatis solvet nostre Ecclesie cathedrali pro luminaribus ibidem lapidum unum cere*).

<sup>61</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 141, № 140.

3 and 4 (second subgroup) was aimed to receive monetary and natural taxes for the building and provision of Cathedral church. To guarantee these incomes new estates were mostly formed in the interior of diocese<sup>62</sup>.

Thereby, the system of land tenure formed by bishops allowed to increase the size of incomes received in diocese. If bishop Heinrich I at the beginning of his activity collected only one mark<sup>63</sup>, bishop Hermann received in 1346–1350, as it is reported in Heilsberg chronicle, 62 000 marks<sup>64</sup>.

In contrast to bishops, Order was less involved in the formation of the land tenure in Warmia. Its leaders regularly granted land property to native inhabitants for service without paying taxes (group 2) only in 1335–1351.

Military function of groups 1, 2 and 4 was to defend Warmian diocese from invasions of Lithuanian that became regulars in the first half of the XV<sup>th</sup> century. So troops of Lithuanian king Viten (1293–1315) in 1300 devastated lands near future city Guttstadt, but the most terrible was his campaign in 1311, when invaders ruined all settlements in addition to castles: ‘At the same year on the eve of Palm Sunday king Viten considering that all as above must belongs to him by his wish invaded Prussia with 4000 best warriors and such devastated Warmian bishopric that left nothing but castles and fortifications that hasn’t be burned, captured or killed’<sup>65</sup>. Later in 1347 troops of princes Olgerd (1341–1377) and Keystut (1341–1382) devastated the district near city Rössel<sup>66</sup>.

Such regular invasions forced Warmian bishops to preserve in their diocese a number of lieges obliged only to defend lands. It is indirectly confirmed by information of the Chronicle of Peter from Dusburg: Order’s leaders invaded in Lithuania with troops gathered from Sambia and Nattangia as nearby areas<sup>67</sup>. Only in one case in the mentioned Chronicle is reported about liege named Mucko, who in 1324 made two campaigns against Lithuanian<sup>68</sup>. However he didn’t head troops gathered from bishop’s lands, but used forces of 19 mercenaries: ‘At the same year and the same time one man from Warmian diocese named Mucko with 19 mercenaries went against Lithuania, came across 45 Lithuanian riders in a deserted place and cleverly surrounded them killed everybody’<sup>69</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> See map.

<sup>63</sup> *Petri de Dusburg Chronicon terrae Prussiae*, p. 119, № 140.

<sup>64</sup> *Die Heilsberger Chronik*, p. 256.

<sup>65</sup> *Petri de Dusburg Chronicon terrae Prussiae*, p. 176–177, № 310 (*Eodem anno in vigilia Palmarum Vithenus rex Lethowie putans, quod omnia sibi deberent ad votum succedere sicut prius, cum IIII milibus virorum preelectorum intravit terre Prussie, et episcopatum Warmiensem depopulavit adeo, quod nihil extra castra et municiones remansit, quod non esset exustum, captum aut occisit*).

<sup>66</sup> *Die Chronik Wigands von Marburg*, in: *Scriptores rerum prussicarum*, Bd. 2, hrsg. von T. Hirsch, M. Töppen, E.T. Strehle, Leipzig 1863, p. 508–509, № 36.

<sup>67</sup> *Petri de Dusburg Chronicon terrae Prussiae*, p. 185, № 338; p. 189, № 348; p. 189–190, № 351.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 190, № 352–353; *Di Kronike von Pruzinlant*, v. 604.26074–605.26149.

<sup>69</sup> *Petri de Dusburg Chronicon terrae Prussiae*, p. 190, № 352 (*Eodem anno et tempore quidam de episcopatu*

Researching the processes occurred into groups 1–3 let us to conclude about accumulation of land estates in the hands of single persons. They are:

1. Nicolas von Geydau. Grandmaster Luter von Braunschweig changed him on July 6, 1334 land estate of seven huffens in the field Machagin to 20 huffens in the field Groivitin. New estate became hereditary property by the law of Culm. For this grant Nicolas and his heirs were obliged to hold military service on the horseback and armed according to custom. Moreover Prussians were due to pay annually one sheffel of wheat and one sheffel of rye for every plow<sup>70</sup>. On July 26, 1346 Nicolas von Geydau received from grandmaster Heinrich Dusemer two huffens and 11 jugers in the same field and for the same duties as he performed above<sup>71</sup>;
2. Sadluko. Bishop Eberkhard granted him on June 26, 1311 as a hereditary property eight huffens in the field Patarvis as well as in the surrounded forests, meadows, pastures, brambles, swamps and mountains. Sadluko and his heirs received small justice and large justice under the half of judicial cases. For that they were obliged to hold military service with one warrior armed accordingly to custom and to pay annually on the day of Saint Martin one pound of wax costed two marks, one sheffel of wheat and one sheffel of rye for every plow and one sheffel of rye for every haken. In the act especially noted that given estate could be inherited by heirs of both sexes and along all lines of kinship. It also could be given or sold to other persons with the condition that it is still under the control of the bishop. There is also noted that landholders could to settle in their estate a number of peasants to whom they would have the same judicial rights as to other peasants<sup>72</sup>. On November 5, 1340 bishop Hermann granted to Sadluko 2,5 huffens in a place overgrown with bushes (*excrecentia*). For this property Sadluko was free from tax throughout four years, and then he was due to pay 15 scots for the whole estate and two hens for every huffen on the Christmas. He also could settle in his estate a number of new peasants under whom he would have small justice and in the absence of clerics – large justice<sup>73</sup>;
3. Kurtie, Simon (brothers) and Tarpe (their relative). They received on July 27, 1282 from Warmian bishop Heinrich I as a hereditary property 50 huffens in the fields Bogatenis and Kerkus. Herewith Kurtie and Simon received 30 huffens but Tarpe – 20 huffens. They also had small and large justice and could fish for their own needs in the river Drevant. Extraction of metal of any kind

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*Warmiensi dictus Mucko cum XIX latrunculis vadens versus Lethowiam, invenit XLV equites Lethowinos in solitudine, et subtiliter circumveniens eos omnes interfecit).*

<sup>70</sup> *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 2, Lief. 3, Königsberg 1937, p. 570–571, № 847.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibidem*, Bd. 4, p. 50–51, № 50.

<sup>72</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensis*, Bd. 1, p. 279–281, № 161.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 502–503, № 312.

and salt was left in the hands of bishop. For this grant these Prussians were due to defend the territory of diocese with three warriors armed accordingly to custom and also send their both horse and foot warriors for the defense of the Teutonic state and building of fortifications. Moreover they paid annually one pound of wax costed two marks, one denarius of Cologne or its equivalent, one sheffel of wheat and one sheffel of rye for a plow and one sheffel of rye for every haken. On August 14, 1287, Kurtie received from bishop Hermann as hereditary property by the low of Culm fields Kerkus and Lagamast. At the same time he was granted by the same bishop with half fields Bogatenis and Spraude, the other half of which belonged to Tarpe. For this property Kurtie and his heirs were due to defend the lands of diocese with two horses and two warriors armed accordingly to custom. They also paid two pounds of wax, two denarius of Cologne or 1two denarius of Culm, but were free from the building of fortification near Braunsberg<sup>74</sup>;

4. Mathias. Son of Sadluko. On October 14, 1346 he received from bishop Hermann one huffen in wasteland opposite village Benern. He became free from common taxes and was only due to pay 10 marks. His other duties were similar to these he performed for his other estate<sup>75</sup>;
5. Johann Below, who received on September 29, 1308 from bishop Eberkhard 50 huffens as hereditary property by the low of Culm in the field Schardiniten, where was previously the landholding of Johann Zeterpfening. Johann Below and his heirs received the small and large justice. For this grant they were due after six years to hold military service with two horses and two warriors armed accordingly to custom. Moreover, the Prussians were obliged to pay annually two pounds of wax, two denarius of Cologne or 1two denarius of Culm, one sheffel of wheat and one sheffel of rye for every plow, and one sheffel of rye for every haken. They also could fish for their own needs in the lake Pissa and in the half of nearest rivers<sup>76</sup>. At the same day bishop Eberkhard granted Johann with additional 25 huffens as hereditary estate in the same field. He and his heirs had small and large justice. They also could fish for their own needs in the rivers Pissa and Birdav. For this grant Prussians were obliged to hold military service on horseback accompanied by a warrior armed accordingly to custom of the land and to pay one pound of wax, one denarius of Cologne or six denarius of Culm, one sheffel of wheat and one sheffel of rye for every plow and one sheffel of rye for every haken<sup>77</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 131–133, № 77.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibidem*, Bd. 2, p. 70, № 67.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibidem*, Bd. 1, p. 253–254, № 145.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 254–256, № 146.

The raising social status of such Prussians appeared also in that they founded new settlements. So Johann Peytune, translator of bishop Hermann, received on April 2, 1342 from Cathedral Chapter eight huffens in the field Suanenfeld as hereditary property by law of the Culm instead his estate in the field Brandotinfeld. The Prussian and his heirs were free from the military service and had small and large justice. They also could fish for their own needs in the lake Cistern. For the grant, they were due to pay one half pound of wax on the feast of Candlemas after four years<sup>78</sup>. On April 26, 1342 bishop Hermann confirmed this grant<sup>79</sup>. On April 1, 1348 he granted to the same Prussian 77 huffens as hereditary estate by the law of Culm with the condition of foundation of the village Schönenvelt on this land. Thus, Johann Peytune became a locator. From the given property in his individual possession were two huffens. Another eight huffens became a property of locator for free as well. Johann also received the half of the tavern's income. He and his heirs had small and large justice over a third of cases. Moreover, they could collect pennies of four solids. They also could fish for their own needs in the lake Zinser. For the other 75 huffens the peasants of village were obliged to pay annually half marks and two hens on the day of Saint Martin and to perform corvee. Locator was also due to build the parish church of Saint Margarita and to grant the parish with four huffens<sup>80</sup>. The same situation applied to Gunte and his relatives, who possessed nine hakens. Bishop Herman added on December 13, 1349 60 huffens to their property for the foundation of the new village by the law of Culm. The personal holding of locator was six huffens. He also received the half of the tavern's income, small and large justice over a third of cases and could fish for his own need in the lake Baugen and in the river Alne. The tax for 54 huffens was 0.5 mark and two hens<sup>81</sup>. In another case, the Prussian named Tunge granted bishop Eberkhard with 35 huffens in the field Kerkus with the condition of founding of a new settlement. From this possession to the personal holding of bishop belonged four huffens. For the other part of grant bishop and his successors were due to pay 16 scots and two hens for every huffen on the day of Saint Martin. Bishop had small and large justice over a third of cases and could fish for his need<sup>82</sup>.

The high social status of given lieges also appeared in that they became a witnesses in the preparation of documents. We have seen such witnesses in the act of March 1, 1345 (Ivan Below and Johann Peytune).

At the same time there was unstable usage of land property in some cases due to a lack of heirs. To solve this problem, Order and Church, in addition to

<sup>78</sup> *Ibidem*, Bd. 2, p. 13–14, № 13; *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 3, Lief. 2, p. 303–305, № 438.

<sup>79</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensis*, Bd. 2, p. 16–17, № 16; *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 3, Lief. 2, p. 313, № 446.

<sup>80</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensis*, Bd. 2, p. 113–114, № 107.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 148–149, № 148.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibidem*, Bd. 1, p. 288–290, № 166; p. 322–323, № 187.



traditional confirming of ownership on the previous granted land estates<sup>83</sup>, took following measures:

1. They spread the inheritance rights not only on the descendents on the male and female lines, but also on other relatives (wives and brothers). So Elizabeth, who was the widow of Conrad Sudow, received from probst<sup>84</sup> Heinrich on October 15, 1317 as hereditary property by the law of Culm six huffens. Herewith she was free from taxes<sup>85</sup>. In another case liege Kurtie received on August 14, 1287 from bishop Heinrich the estate that previously belonged to his brother Tarpe<sup>86</sup>. However the expansion of the number of heirs didn't lead to the fragmentation of land proprietries. We know about only one case throughout given period, when the sons of Johann Below named Hartwicus, Ivan and Godiko divided the lands of their father into three parts of 25 huffens<sup>87</sup>;
2. Order and Church introduced a compensation for the damage to land estates. So probst Heinrich guaranteed on May 14, 1308 to Gedaute, Kulove and Begayne the compensation in the case of mill's building near their land<sup>88</sup>. In another case bishop Hermann reduced on November 9, 1349 tax for Merun Nakie, because his lands were devastated by Lithuanian invasion<sup>89</sup>. In some acts, is also reported about compensation for the recovery of property to bishop<sup>90</sup>;
3. There was also vergeld (penny) for the murder of landholders. It was the sum of 30, 32 or 60 marks that accordingly to the classification of A.N. Masan testified about the status of lieges as respectively mediate and large landholders<sup>91</sup>.

Another problem was the size's reduction of lands in diocese. In the second half of the XIII<sup>th</sup> century bishop and Cathedral Chapter granted land plots in the field (as it was in the cases of Astiote and Lute<sup>92</sup>, Tarpe<sup>93</sup>, Tulne<sup>94</sup>), but in the first half of the XIV<sup>th</sup> century they often allocated land estate in the woodlands, brambles and wastelands, as it was in the cases of Sadluko and Mathias<sup>95</sup>. To solve this problem Order and bishops granted new land properties in account to estates of lieges, who didn't left heirs. So for this reason on January 13, 1289 landmaster of Prussia Meinhard von Querfurt (1288–1299) granted Jacob, who served as translator to

<sup>83</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 316–317, № 183; p. 499–500, № 310; *ibidem*, Bd. 2, p. 87, № 83; etc.

<sup>84</sup> Probst was a rector of Cathedral church and a member of Cathedral chapter.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibidem*, Bd. 1, p. 314–315, № 182.

<sup>86</sup> See above.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 256, № 146.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 245–246, № 141.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibidem*, Bd. 2, p. 142–143, № 141.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 48–49, № 45; *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 3, Lief. 2, p. 603–604, № 715.

<sup>91</sup> T.V. Trokal', *op. cit.*, p. 46–47.

<sup>92</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensis*, Bd. 1, p. 230–231, № 131.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 109–110, № 62.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 158–159, № 90.

<sup>95</sup> See above.

Order in the castle Balga, and his brother Heinrich the estate of lieges Quessige and Sassange<sup>96</sup>. Another option was the grant of the right to sell a property to other person. So this right had liege named Jomen, who received six huffens near the lake Kurtoin<sup>97</sup>. The lack of lands forced to expand the diocese's territory on the South. Herewith new lieges were granted with land estates in accompanied districts on the special conditions. They had the rights to fish and to hunt for their own needs in the nearby grounds and were also free from taxes and service on 5–10 years. They are:

1. Glande, Tulekoite, Sausange, Makrute and Goltz. Brothers. They received on May 23, 1348 from Cathedral Chapter 10 huffens in the woodland Grandelauke as the hereditary propriety by the Prussian law. For the grant of four huffens they were due after five years to hold military service on horseback armed accordingly to custom, build new and repair old fortifications. For another six huffens, they were obliged to pay annually on the day of Saint Martin one pound of wax, six denarius of Culm, one sheffel of wheat and one sheffel of rye for every plow. The Prussians and their heirs could also fish for their own needs in the nearest lakes. It would be been the vergeld of 30 marks for their murder<sup>98</sup>;
2. Darot, Heinrich, Nicolas and Johann, who received on December 29, 1348 from the Cathedral Chapter as hereditary propriety by the Prussian law five huffens near the lake Wulping. For this estate they were obliged after eight years to hold military service on horseback armed by custom, build new and repair old fortifications. They could fish for their own needs in the lake Wulping and also hunt in nearby grounds. It would be been the vergeld of 30 marks for their murder<sup>99</sup>.

Such special conditions of landholding are similar to options of locators (group 4). In both cases, there was a support for the new owners for the usage of their property as the previously uncultivated lands.

In general, the Prussian landholders from Warmia received land property from Order or Church and were divided into four groups by their duties. The main part of them was formed by lieges obliged to hold military service, build fortifications and/or pay monetary and natural taxes (groups 1, 2) and by locators (group 4). This condition was caused by needs of bishops (as the main creators of the landholding system in Warmia) both in military service and in charges. For the same reason, the growth in the number of the given groups was regular in 1278–1350, however not proportional. The extensive growth of all groups occurred under bishop Herman, that was caused by the need to defense new landholdings of the diocese

<sup>96</sup> *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 1, Hft. 2, p. 334–335, № 531.

<sup>97</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensis*, Bd. 2, p. 120, № 113.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 119, № 112.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 128–129, № 124; *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 4, p. 349–350, № 378–381.

and by the need of additional income gathered from landholders. Participation of Order in the formation of given system was regular only in 1335–1351 and applied only to the Prussian lieges, who were obliged to hold military service and were free from taxes (group 2). The main military function of lieges from group 1, 2 and 4 (subgroup 1) was the defense of Warmia from Lithuanian invasions. Among lieges, there were processes of estate's accumulation, the non-stable usage of land propriety and grants of less useful parcels due to the reduction of free lands in diocese. Order and bishops corrected non-stable land's usage by such measures as spreading of the inheritance rights, compensation for the damage to land estates, pennies for the murder of lieges. The problem of land's lack was solved by them due to the expansion of diocese's borders on the South. These measures testified that Order and Church regulated the forming system of landholding, which allowed successful inclusion of native inhabitants of Warmia in the Teutonic state.

**Sergey Denisov, *Pruscy właściciele ziemscy z Warmii w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w drugiej połowie XIII w. i pierwszej połowie XIV w.***

Streszczenie

Potęga Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach opierała się głównie na włączaniu lokalnej ludności do jego systemu społecznego i gospodarczego w XIII i XIV wieku. Proces ten jaskrawo uwidocznił się w przypadku Prusów zamieszkujących Warmię, którzy zostali włączeni do służby Zakonowi i Kościołowi za nadania własności ziemi. Byli oni zobowiązani do służby wojskowej, budowy fortyfikacji i/lub płacenia podatków pieniężnych i naturalnych. Niektórzy z nich zakładali osady. Wśród właścicieli ziemskich występowały procesy kumulacji gruntów w rękach pojedynczych osób, niestabilne użytkowanie własności i przydzielanie działek mniej użytecznych, co było korygowane przez Zakon i Kościół za pomocą specjalnych środków: rozszerzania praw do dziedziczenia, odszkodowań dla własności ziemskiej, grzywny za zabójstwo właściciela ziemskiego (lennika) itp.

Translated by Aleksander Pluskowski

**Sergey Denisov, *Preußische Gutsbesitzer aus Ermland im Deutschordensstaat von der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts bis zur ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts.***

Zusammenfassung

Die Macht des Deutschen Ordens in Preussenland war auf die Einbeziehung des Einheimischen in sociale und wirtschaftliche System in XIII-XIV Jahrhunderts basiert. Dieser Prozess zeigte sich im Fall des Preussen aus Ermland, die in der Dienst an den Orden für Grundbesitzungen kamen. Sie erfüllten Militärdienst, bauten Verteidigungsanlage und/oder zahlten Geld- und Naturalsteuern. Einige von Ihnen wurden die Gründer der Dörfer. Unten der Grundbitzer gibt es folgende Prozesse: die Ansammlung der Land von einzelnen Personen, instabile Verwendung der Besitzungen, die Allokation ungenutzte Hufen. Diese Prozesse wurden von Orden und Kirche mit folgenden Massregeln angepasst: Erweiterung Erbrecht, Schadenersatz für Grundbesitz, Geldstrafe an den Mord an Besitzer, usw.

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