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Stanisław Achremczyk

## WARMIA IN THE POLISH KINGDOM

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- Słowa kluczowe:** biskupstwo warmińskie, 1466, polscy biskupi na Warmii, Drugi pokój toruński
- Schlüsselwörter:** Fürstbistum Ermland, 1466, Polnische Bischöfe in Ermland, Zweite Frieden von Thorn
- Keywords:** Prince-Bishopric of Warmia, 1466, Polish bishops in Warmia, Second Peace of Thorn

The Warmian dominium was a part of the Teutonic State for 223 years, the Polish Kingdom ruled it for 306 years, the Prussian State for 153. From 1945, it is again within the borders of Poland. As a ramification of the Thirteen Years' War, it was included in the Polish Kingdom. Prince-Bishop Paul Legendorf was the one who succeeded in joining it to the state. The Teutonic State was in a crisis after losing the Battle of Grunwald, with the mistrust of its inhabitants towards the Order constantly rising. The Prussian Confederation established in 1440 became a representative of the states. The Confederation was to fight fiscalism and Teutonic lawlessness, leading to the overthrowing of their sovereignty. The only Warmian representation signing the Foundation Act of the Prussian Confederation was the delegation of the Old Town of Braniewo. After two months, also other Warmian towns – apart from Biskupiec – joined the Confederation, with the Warmian chapter expressing the will of accession as well. Initially, Bishop Franciszek Kuhschmalz supported the confederates, but eventually chose the Teutonic side. The Order started to intervene in the internal issues of Warmia increasingly often. The Warmians remembered that in 1375 in a dispute with the Order they lost about 6000 “Hufen” of the Galindian forest. Grand Masters enforced administrative and economic regulations such as the rendition of fugitives, harmonising measures and weights as well as coins. Warmia was not politically independent and the bishops paid a high price for trying to achieve it<sup>1</sup>.

The Prussian Estates renounced allegiance towards the Order on 4 February 1454 and began their uprising by attacking Teutonic lands, having a promise of

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<sup>1</sup> V. Röhrich, *Geschichte des Fürstbistums Ermland*, Braunsberg 1925, pp. 258–265; H. Schmauch, *Ermland und der Deutschriten während der Regierung des Bischofs Heinrich IV. Heilsberg (1401–1415)*, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands* (further: ZGAE), 1926, Bd. 22, pp. 465–498; A. Szorc, *Dominium warmińskie 1243–1772*, Olsztyn 1990, p. 80.

support from the Polish king. Warmia also joined the war. The citizens of Braniewo were the first ones to signal an attack. The crowd attacked the bishop's castle, destroyed the mill and manor farm. The information that stopped the Braniewians from attacking Frombork was that the Warmian chapter officially supported the Confederation. The town was left unharmed and the forces left towards Bałga. They conquered the commander's castle without a fight. The inhabitants of Orneta also plundered the castle, while the citizens of Dobre Miasto destroyed Smolajny. A similar situation could be observed in Lidzbark Warmiński, Jeziorany, Barczewo and Bisztynek<sup>2</sup>. Olsztyn was seized by Baltasar of Skajboty with local knights so that the town and the castle would not get into Teutonic hands. Bishop Kuhschmalz, the only Prussian bishop supporting the Order, had to leave Warmia and take refuge in Malbork. Meanwhile, a delegation of the Prussian Confederation rode to meet with king Casimir Jagiellon to acknowledge his authority. Two Warmian canon priests, Jan Plastwich and Hieronim von Birken, as well as Braniewo mayor Jan Kale were members of that delegation. On 6 March 1454 in Cracow, the king issued an Act incorporating Prussian lands. The Estates of Royal Prussia would refer to this document in the future as it determined the rights, privileges and freedoms of the Prussian lands, including Warmia<sup>3</sup>. While incorporating Prussia into the Polish Kingdom, Casimir Jagiellon promised to maintain "all their estates, rights, freedoms and prerogatives"<sup>4</sup>. The Dobre Miasto canon priest and Warmian historian, Jan Leo, in his work entitled *Historia Prus*, written at beginning of 17th century and printed in 1725, includes a detailed list of those privileges<sup>5</sup>. The monarch promised to respect the *ius indigenatus* rule while appointing to offices and appointing starostas (elders) in Prussia. The most crucial matters regarding the area were to be decided upon by an elected Estate Representation. Prussian officials gained the right to elect a king, large towns could mint coins, provinces gained freedom from duty, with Chełmno and Magdeburg laws applicable throughout the entirety of Prussia. Large towns, including Braniewo, received considerable land rights and a promise to maintain privileges gained under the Teutonic Order's reign. In April 1454 during a diet in Toruń, the Prussian Estates confirmed the submission of Prussia to the Crown. A seal of the Warmian chapter may be found under the document, but without that of Bishop Kuhschmalz who was accompanying the Grand Master in Malbork at that time. The war, which was

<sup>2</sup> S. Achremczyk, A. Szorc, *Braniewo*, Olsztyn 1995, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> M. Biskup, *Zjednoczenie Pomorza wschodniego z Polską w połowie XV wieku*, Warszawa 1959, pp. 326–327; *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen im 15. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. von E. Weise, Bd. II. Marburg 1955, no 291–292; M. Biskup, K. Górski, *Czasy Kazimierza Jagiellończyka (1447–1492)*, in: *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, t. I połowa XV w. -1572, ed. by: M. Biskupa, Warszawa 1982, p. 443; M. Biskup, K. Górski, *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk. Zbiór studiów o Polsce drugiej połowy XV wieku*, Warszawa 1987, pp. 187–188.

<sup>4</sup> K. Górski, *Związek Pruski i poddanie się Prus Polsce. Zbiór tekstów źródłowych*, Poznań 1949, pp. 60, 177.

<sup>5</sup> J. Leo, *Dzieje Prus. Z braniewskiego wydania roku 1725 przełożył bp Julian Wojtkowski*, Olsztyn 2008, p. 287.

thought to end soon after a Polish defeat in the battle of Chojnice, lasted for thirteen years. In April 1455, Bishop Kuhschmalz left for Wrocław and there left this earthly vale in 1457. The already mentioned Jan Leo wrote about him in this manner: "In the year of our Lord 1455 around Easter, Franciszek left Malbork castle, where he underwent a siege of eighteen months, to the capital of Silesia, Wrocław, where he lived for some time thanks to the earnings from an estate and where in the same year, 1457, on 10 June, the old man, after suffering through a lot and through various means, exchanged life for death and lies buried in the church of St. John"<sup>6</sup>. His successor was the Bishop of Siena, Cardinal Enea Silvio Piccolomini. However, he did not come to Warmia as he was elected Pope on 19 August 1458 and took the name of Pius II. Pius II designated Paul Legendorf as his successor on 20 September 1458. Legendorf, a Chełmno noble, managed to gain the favour of King Casimir Jagiellon. He came to Poland in the spring of 1460 and met with the king in Łeczyca to declare his neutral position regarding both sides of the conflict<sup>7</sup>. As Legendorf cared for Warmia, he actually tried to maintain this stance. However, as he realised the Order was not going to win the war, he commenced negotiations with the king and the Prussian Confederation. In March 1464 in Elbląg, he signed a perpetual peace treaty between Warmia and the Prussian Estates. The king was represented by Jan Kościelecki, the Inowrocław voivode. The agreement was ratified by the monarch on 5 May 1464<sup>8</sup>. Casimir Jagiellon guaranteed that old privileges, customs and rights of the Prince-Bishop and the Warmian chapter shall be maintained, along with a promise of security<sup>9</sup>. By joining the Polish party Legendorf did not in fact declare war with the Grand Master. Nevertheless, that treaty was a great success of Polish diplomacy. Even in the summer of 1465 during a meeting of the Prussian Estates and the Grand Master, Legendorf tried to establish peace in Prussia. However, when peace was not agreed upon and Polish forces along with the Confederates gained advantage, the Warmian Prince-Bishop declared war with the Order on 11 February 1466. By doing so, Paul Legendorf wanted to be the king's ally while signing a Polish-Teutonic treaty. The Warmian dominion was invaded and severely ravaged by the Teutonic army in return. The Prince-Bishop assisted the king during the Polish-Teutonic negotiations. On 21 September 1466 in the church of St. John in Toruń he was anointed by the archbishop Jan

<sup>6</sup> Ibidem, p. 299.

<sup>7</sup> J. Sikorski, *Pawel Legendorf biskup warmiński w latach 1458–1467*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, ed. by: S. Achremczyk, Olsztyn 2008, pp. 74–75.

<sup>8</sup> *Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen*, Bd. II, no 391–395; M. Biskup, K. Górski, *Czasy Kazimierza Jagiellończyka*, p. 462; A. Szorc, op. cit., p. 81; S. Achremczyk, A. Szorc, op. cit., p. 48; J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 77.

<sup>9</sup> *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens*, no 390; V. Röhrich, *Ermland im dreizehnjährigen Städtekrieg*, ZGAE, 1894, Bd. 11, p. 471; H. Schmauch, *Das staatsrechtliche Verhältnis, Das staatsrechtliche Verhältnis des Ermlandes zu Polen*, *Altpreußische Forschungen*, 1934, Bd. 11, pp. 153–154; M. Biskup, K. Górski, *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk*, p. 210.

Gruszczyński. Casimir Jagiellon called him his *adopted son*<sup>10</sup>. Less than a month later, a peace treaty was signed by the Polish party and the Teutonic Knights. By the power of that treaty, Pomerelia with Gdańsk, Chełmno and Michałów Land with Toruń were returned to the king. Elbląg and Malbork with Żuławy Malborskie were incorporated into his kingdom. The Warmian dominion, so the feudal area of authority of the Prince-Bishop and the Warmian chapter, were also incorporated into the Polish borders. In time, those land were referred to as Royal Prussia. The remaining parts of the Teutonic lands, Teutonic Prussia with its capital in Königsberg, was to become a fief of King Casimir Jagiellon. The treaty discusses Warmia as follows: “From this moment on, the Warmian church and all its Prince-Bishops with their reverend chapters, towns, burghs, small cities and fortresses, namely Lidzbark, Braniewo, Orneta, Jeziorany, Barczewo, Reszel, Bisztynek Olsztyn, Dobre Miasto, Pieniężno, Frombork, Biskupiec and all commanders, nobles, vassals, properties, villages and affiliations shall remain under the reign and protection of us and our successors, kings of Poland, with the Grand Master Ludwig, his successors and the entire Order resigning from this power, reign and protection, with all their rights towards the church, the bishopric and the Warmian chapter held to date transferred on us, king Casimir and our successors, kings of Poland”<sup>11</sup>. The Toruń treaty reconfirms the agreement of 1464. Warmia joined the Polish Kingdom with the same privileges and law it cherished before. The news of signing a treaty in Toruń met with a feeling of great relief in the dominion, in Braniewo even with joy. Joy that mercenaries shall leave the dominion. When the news of the Toruń treaty reached Braniewo, church and Town Hall bells were ringing all afternoon<sup>12</sup>. Prince-Bishop Paul Legendorf came back from Toruń feeling ill and lived for another year. Affected by an illness, he died in Braniewo on 23 July 1467 and was buried there in the church of St. Catherine. The Warmian Prince-Bishop Lucas Watzenrode founded in 1494 a tombstone commemorating his activity.

Immediately after the Treaty of Toruń between the Prussian Estates and the Crown, a dispute about understanding the act of incorporation, the great privileges from Gdańsk, Toruń and Elbląg as well as understanding of the substance of the Treaty, including the treaty concluded with Warmia, began. Casimir Jagiellon wanted to integrate Royal Prussia with the Crown, but this policy could be carried out by appointing to Prussian offices people faithful to him, not necessarily fulfilling the provisions of the Prussian *ius indigenatus* documents. The office of the

<sup>10</sup> J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>11</sup> S. Achremczyk, *Warmia*, Olsztyn 2012, p. 281; A. Szorc, op. cit., p. 81; M. Grzegorz, *Analiza dyplomatyczno-sfragistyczna traktatu toruńskiego z 1466 r.*, Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego Toruńskiego, t. 75, z. 1, Toruń 1970, pp. 192–193; *Władztwo Polski w Prusiech zakonnych i książęcych. Wybór źródeł*, ed. by: A. Vetulani, Wrocław 1953, pp. 56–57.

<sup>12</sup> S. Achremczyk, A. Szorc, Braniewo, p. 49.

Warmian Prince-Bishop was seen not only as the most important Prussian bishopric, but also the most important authority in Royal Prussia. King Casimir wanted the ruler of Warmia to be his devout ally, if not a person from the Crown. When 18 days after the death of Prince-Bishop Paul Legendorf the Warmian chapter selected Mikołaj Tungern, a dean priest spending time in Rome at that time, to be the new Prince-Bishop without consulting the king, a conflict with the Crown broke out. Cracow believed that all appointments for important offices in the country should be approved by the monarch and that included the position of the Warmian Prince-Bishop. The Warmian chapter, supported by Prussian Estates, referred to the Act of Incorporation and the 1122 Concordat of Worms in claiming that it is the only body competent to appoint a Prince-Bishop. In this dispute, a third idea was raised – the decisive vote in this matter should belong to the Pope. Casimir Jagiellon wanted to be the only one deciding upon this nomination and thereby able to introduce his own man into Warmia. A compromise was rejected both by Mikołaj Tungen and the king. As long as the conflict was limited to Royal Prussia, the king could tolerate the attitude of Tungen, but when the Order and the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus were drawn into it, Casimir launched a military intervention forcing Tungen to resign from the bishopric. The war, known in historiography as War of the Priests, lasted for two years (1478-1479). In the summer of 1478, Polish forces invaded Warmia, dispersed the Teutonic army and Prince-Bishop Tungern near Tomaszkowo, conquered Orneta and Pieniężno, burnt Nowe Miasto Braniewo and plundered the dominion<sup>13</sup>. In April 1479, Poland signed a treaty with the Hungarians. Without the support of the Hungarian king, the Warmian Bishop was left alone and had to leave Warmia. The diplomatic intervention of Matthias Corvinus saved him from a total disaster. Prince-Bishop Tungen and the Grand Master came to a diet in Piotrków in July 1479. The Prince-Bishop had to humble himself in front of the king and ask for forgiveness. While accepting his apology, Casimir Jagiellon received an oath of allegiance from him and from the entire Warmia. He also approved Tungen as the Prince-Bishop. Simultaneously, the king issued an important document regulating the legal relations of Warmia and the Crown. It went down in history as the First Treaty of Piotrków. The act confirms the incorporation of Warmia to the Crown and the authority of the Polish king over it. The Prince-Bishop became a sworn royal advisor. The Warmians

<sup>13</sup> A. Prochaska, *Tungena walki z królem Kazimierzem Jagiellończykiem*, Ateneum Kapłańskie, 1914, R. 6, pp. 193–210; H. Zins, *Walka o obsadę biskupstwa warmińskiego na przełomie XV i XVI wieku na tle polityki zjednoczeniowej*, Annales UMCS, Sectio F. vol.12, Lublin 1960, pp. 63 n.; A. Szorc, op. cit., p. 83; idem, *Wybór biskupa warmińskiego przez kapitułę warmińską w teorii i praktyce*, in: *Warmińska Kapituła Katedralna. Dzieje i wybitni przedstawiciele*, ed. by: A. Kopiczko, J. Jeziński, Z. Żywica, Olsztyn 2010, p. 250; H. Schmauch, *Der Kampf zwischen dem ermlandischen Bischof Nicolaus von Tungen und Polen oder der Pfaffenkrieg (1467–1479)*, ZGAE, Bd. 25, 1935, pp. 69–186; J. Sikorski, *Monarchia Polska i Warmia u schyłku XV wieku*, Olsztyn 1979, pp. 54 n.

were to pledge allegiance to the king and gained the right to renounce allegiance to the bishop if he would refuse to acknowledge the king; they also earned the right to appeal to the king in all court matters. The Treaty of Piotrków stated that the chapter was to elect a person benevolent towards the king to be the new Prince-Bishop. It is not specify what the term actually meant<sup>14</sup>. It soon turned out that it was the source of another conflict. The king understood it in terms of the right to appoint his own candidate to the Warmian office, while the chapter saw it as the process of electing a person showing benevolence towards the king prior to the election.

Even though Prince-Bishop Mikołaj Tungen made amends with the king, he remained a defender of the autonomy of Royal Prussia and Warmia. Tied to aristocratic Prussian families and large towns, in 1485 he joined the provincial confederation established to protect Prussian privileges. As he anticipated his life would soon end, he tried to appoint his successor in the person of Lucas Watzenrode, Gniezno and Warmia canon priest, a Prussian *ius indigenatus*. In his last will, he left Watzenrode five thousand Hungarian florins to cover any expenses related to nominating documents in Rome<sup>15</sup>. Sudden death put an end to his plans, but Watzenrode remained the main candidate for the office of a Warmian Prince-Bishop. In just five days after Tungen's death, the chapter elected Lucas Watzenrode. They did not inform the king about their choice, but sent three delegates to Rome to inform Watzenrode about this nomination. When Casimir Jagiellon learnt from the Malbork starost Zbigniew Tęczyński about electing Watzenrode, he assumed they broke the 1479 agreement by not presenting a benevolent person. The king considered his son Frederick as the best candidate<sup>16</sup>. Casimir Jagiellon sent a letter to the Pope asking him to appoint Prince Frederick for the position of the Prince-Bishop of Warmia so as to establish peace in the country. He also requested sending delegates to Braniewo to charge the chapter with breaking the Piotrków Treaty. The explanation of the chapter that there was no person more benevolent towards the king than Watzenrode did not convince the deputies. The argument that choosing Watzenrode was in accordance with the Act of Incorporation, the 1466 treaty and the agreements of the king and the Prince-Bishop was also rejected. The canon priests also claimed that the candidature of the prince does not satisfy formal requirements as he is neither an *ius indigenatus* nor a Warmian canon priest. When the Pope stated that Watzenrode's appointment was legal

<sup>14</sup> S. Achremczyk, op. cit., p. 286; J. Sikorski, op. cit., pp. 64–65; A. Szorc, op. cit., p. 250.

<sup>15</sup> H. Schmauch, *Der Streit um die Wahl des ermlandischen Bischofs Lukas Watzenrode*, *Altpreussische Forschungen*, 1933, Jhg. 10, H. 1, pp. 65–101; J. Sikorski, op. cit., pp. 78–82.

<sup>16</sup> F. Papee, *Kandydatura Fryderyka Jagiellończyka na biskupstwo warmińskie (1484–1492)*, in: *Album uczącej się młodzieży polskiej, poświęcony J.I. Kraszewskiemu z powodu działalności literackiej*, Lwów 1879, pp. 39–79; idem, *Królewicz kardynał Fryderyk Jagiellończyk jako biskup krakowski i arcybiskup gnieźnieński*, Warszawa 1935, pp. 24–31; J. Sikorski, op. cit., pp. 83–87.

and approved this decision, a serious conflict between Warmia and Cracow arose. Warmia was again under a threat of a military intervention by Polish forces. The death of Casimir Jagiellon postponed solving this problem in a brutal manner. His successors bestowed the Warmian Prince-Bishop with graces by making him an advisor for Prussian matters. Watzenrode, thanks to kindness of King Sigismund I, agreed to become the Supreme Judge for the whole of Prussia during the gathering of the Prussian Estates in Malbork. As the Supreme Judge, he was not the king's governor in Prussia, though the Estates called him the head of the state, the highest member of the Prussian Council<sup>17</sup>. In this way, the Prince-Bishops of Warmia gained the title of Prussian Chairmen. When in 1526 the king decided to establish *comitia maiora* for Prussia, the Prince-Bishops retained their Chairman function and, as senators of the highest rank, presided over the council, which became a senatorial chamber of the *comitia maiora*, and forefronted the advisory courts during the *comitias*. Watzenrode, seen by Prussians as the advocate of Prussian autonomy, in fact supported the integration-oriented policy of Poland in the Royal Council. At the end of his life, referring to his own hardships, he expressed his wish that the chapter elects a person from the Crown as his successor – Rafał Leszczyński or Jan Oleśnicki.

The Warmian chapter did not listen to the advice of Prince-Bishop Watzenrode. After his death, they quickly appointed a new official. Canon Fabian von Lusian gained the support of other voters. This appointment was relatively quickly confirmed by the Pope, but Sigismund I, who was not informed about the chapter's decision, rendered it invalid and demanded compliance. The situation was becoming dangerous. In contrast to his father, Sigismund did not intend to enter into a long-running dispute. Facing not only the chapter, but also Prussian Estates and the Holy See, he leaned towards a peaceful settlement. A new arrangement regarding the selection of a Prince-Bishop was determined by means of negotiations. The document is referred to as the Second Treaty of Piotrków, publicly announced on 7 December 1512 during the *comitia* gathering in Piotrków<sup>18</sup>. It was agreed that in the event of a Prince-Bishop's death the chapter informs the king about it, provides a date of electing a new one along with a list of canon priests with a short characteristic of their personality, held offices and morals. If the king is in Ruthenia or the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the information from the chapter along

<sup>17</sup> K. Górski, *Starostowie malborscy w latach 1457–1510*, Toruń 1960, pp. 154–156; J. Sikorski, *Łukasz Watzenrode biskup warmiński w latach 1489–1512*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, p. 103.

<sup>18</sup> T. Pawluk, *Podstawy prawne objęcia biskupstwa warmińskiego przez Stanisława Hozjusza*, *Studia Warmińskie*, T. XVI, 1979, pp. 230–235; H. Schmauch, *Die kirchenpolitische Beziehungen des Fürstbistums Ermland zu Polen*, ZGAE, Bd. 26, 1938, pp. 293, 294–311; A. Szorc, op. cit., pp. 252–254; idem, *Dominium warmińskie*, p. 84; S. Achremczyk, op. cit., pp. 288–289; J. Sikorski, *Fabian Łuzjański biskup warmiński w latach 1512–1523*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 107–111.

with the list of canons should be forwarded to the Archbishop of Gniezno. If he is outside his province, relevant documents are to be delivered to the bishop of Kujawy or Płock. They shall duly inform the king, who will choose four Prussian ius indigenatus candidates he sees benevolent. The chapter is to select one of them to become the Prince-Bishop. Fabian Luzjański, the Warmian bishop, and the chapter agreed with the suggestion that the king may include his son or brother on the list if they are Warmian canons. Once the chapter has selected a bishop, the king is to address the Pope to approve the appointment. Each new Prince-Bishop has to swear an oath of allegiance to the king. The chapter thought the new Piotrków Treaty strengthens its role in choosing the Prince-Bishop. Frombork believed that the chapter chooses the Prince-Bishop from among canon priests and Prussian citizens. The treaty was approved by Pope Leon X in 1513. In practice, the role of the chapter was limited to selecting the first candidate on the list, the one pointed by the king. Therefore, the Polish monarch gained the casting vote with regard to the position of the Prince-Bishop.

The importance of Warmian bishops, both in Royal Prussia and the Commonwealth, rose considerably from the moment they were entrusted with the position of the Chairman of the Prussian lands and since 1569 when they started to regularly sit in the Senate. The Warmian diocese was one of the smallest ones in the Republic area-wise<sup>19</sup>. For comparison, the Vilnius diocese was 231 thousand km<sup>2</sup> large, while the Warmian diocese only 4249 km<sup>2</sup>, Chełmno diocese as much as 6700 km<sup>2</sup>. It was, however, a well-organised diocese, with a fairly dense network of parishes and good level of clergy education. Bishop Andrzej Chryzostom Załuski wrote in a letter to cardinal Barberini the following words: "My diocese is small and for me, living in its centre, it is easy to see the good and evil"<sup>20</sup>. It does not come as a surprise that many priests dreamt of being promoted to Warmia. The Warmian bishop and the Łuck bishop took the sixth place in the Senate, while their confrere bishop of Chełmno held the tenth position. At the same time, both Prussian bishops could also perform the duties of a Vice-chancellor or the Great Chancellor of the Crown. Royal Prussia and the Crown Senate agreed to this arrangement, despite the rule of not assigning more than one state office to one person. The Warmian Prince-Bishop, and since 1617 also the Sambian bishop, due to the position in the Senate and being the Prussian Chairman was responsible for the state policy of the Baltic area. His opinion mattered when issues of the Teutonic Order, and from 1525 Ducal Prussia, were discussed.

<sup>19</sup> W. Muller, *Diecezje w okresie potrydenckim*, in: *Kościół w Polsce*, Kraków 1970, t. 2, pp.73–75.

<sup>20</sup> A. Szorc, *Z działalności kościelnej biskupa Andrzeja Chryzostoma Załuskiego na Warmii 1698–1711*, *Studia Warmińskie*, t. 4, 1967, p. 38.



Lucas Watzenrode managed to obtain the function of a Prussian Chairman for the Warmian Prince-Bishops<sup>21</sup>. It was the most important senatorial position in Royal Prussia. The duties included summoning a *comitia maiora*, presiding over it, at times appointing royal representatives for such meetings. Such a bishop, as a Chairman, could also affect the date of pre- and post-parliamentary *comitias*. During the interregnum period, he would also summon the *comitias* without a royal consent. Prince-Bishops also forefronted the Prussian Sejm representation for the Republic Sejm meetings. If necessary, he would call for a Prussian *consilium* with the participation of deputies, senators and representatives of large cities – most importantly Gdańsk, Toruń and Elbląg. As a result of his senatorial function, he would be appointed to take part in various committees aiming at maintaining internal peace, settle political disputes, make tax-related decisions. Moreover, bishops were selected as heads of Crown Tribunals and Fiscal Tribunals.

The bishopric of Warmia was attractive for the clergy also in terms of salaries. According to Teofil Długosz, a Warmian Prince-Bishop with his annual salary was on the fourth place among all Polish bishops<sup>22</sup>. The income of Warmian bishops stemming from their secular authority was calculated in Hans Schmauch in 16th century<sup>23</sup>. According to him, in 1533 the income amounted to 4079 grzywna units, with 32 231 grzywna units in 1596. Stanislaus Hosius estimated that his income amounts to 15 000 grzywna units. In 17th century, income was estimated using the Polish zloty unit. So, in 1645 the bishop earned 95 734 zlotys, in 1656 as much as 137 814 zlotys, to gain 110 000 zlotys in 1701<sup>24</sup>. A Prussian Commission after the annexation of Warmia estimated that the income of Prince-Bishop Krasicki in 1772 amounted to 229369 zlotys and 23 grosz. After deducting salaries for other officials, Krasicki would gain 206 231 zlotys and 8 grosz, which would give about 68 743 thalers and 18 grosz<sup>25</sup>. Thus, the income of the Bishops of Warmia was significant. It is not surprising that they were among the richest people not only in Royal Prussia, but in the Republic of Poland. It should be borne in mind that, in addition to the income from the dominion, individual bishops also had

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<sup>21</sup> S. Achremczyk, *Reprezentacja stanowa Prus Królewskich w latach 1696–1772*, Olsztyn 1981, pp.76–77; idem, *Życie polityczne Prus Królewskich i Warmii w latach 1660–1703*, Olsztyn 1991, pp. 104–107; idem, *Życie sejmikowe w Prusach Królewskich 1647–1772*, Olsztyn 1999, pp. 84–88; idem, *Biskup warmiński Jan Stefan Wydzga jako prezes ziem pruskich*, *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie* (further: KMW), 1988, nr 3–4, pp. 275–288.

<sup>22</sup> T. Długosz, *Biskupi polscy w XVII i XVIII wieku. Obsada, dyspensy i taksy*, *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne*, 1958, t. 5, z. 2, p. 95

<sup>23</sup> H. Schmauch, *Die Finanzwirtschaft der ermlandischen Bischöfe im 16. Jahrhundert*, *Altpreussische Forschungen*, 1931, Bd. 8, pp. 229–230; B. Kumor, *Historia Kościoła*, cz. 5, Lublin 1984, p. 115; A. Szorc, *Dominium warmińskie*, p. 39; A. Kopiczko, *Ustrój i organizacja diecezji warmińskiej w latach 1525–1772*, Olsztyn 1993, pp. 20–21.

<sup>24</sup> A. Szorc, op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>25</sup> A. Kolberg, *Die Dotation des Bisthums Ermland vor und nach 1772*, ZGAE, Bd. 9, Braunsberg 1888, p. 9; A. Kopiczko, op. cit., p. 21.

profits from their family estates. The wealth of bishops is proven by the constant renovation, decoration and organisation of their Lidzbark residence. A gothic castle with a gothic outer castle erected in the Baroque era gained a baroque palace on the bulwark as well as a palace built by Bishop Adam Stanisław Garbowski around the outer castle<sup>26</sup>.

The Warmian bishopric welcomed great clergymen, with excellent bloodlines and family bonds, political connections, splendid education, seen as supporters of the king. Some were promoted from Warmia to the highest positions in the Church, the Gniezno Archbishopric and the position of the Primate of Poland. Kings sent their most devoted servants to Warmia. The chapter, in accordance with the Piotrków Treaty, chose the first candidate out of four listed by the king. Therefore, its role was limited to the accepting the person pointed by the king. Even the formal requirements such as holding a Warmian canon or being a Prussian *ius indigenatus* were overlooked. The chapter did not want to fall into disgrace so the royal candidate was appointed a canon priest and the *comitia maiora* granted him Prussian citizenship. Only Marcin Kromer did not get the *indigenatus* position, therefore he did not serve as a Chairman of Prussia and did not take parts in *comitias* in Royal Prussia<sup>27</sup>. Bishop Andrzej Chryzostom Załuski gained it during the tenth year of his term. At first, they opposed the idea of granting him that status, while later on the Northern War stood in the way<sup>28</sup>. Without having Prussian citizenship, Załuski participated in the political life of Royal Prussia, even summoned nobles for gatherings, general levys, urged to determine taxes. The principle of *ius indigenatus* was broken by the nomination of Stanislaus Hosius. After Johannes Dantiscus, a citizen of Gdańsk, only two other bishops were Prussian *indigeni* by birth – Jan Karol Konopacki and Adam Stanisław Grabowski. Others were from the Crown and gained the *ius indigenatus* title during *comitias*, sometimes with difficulty. Nevertheless, having the support of the king and the political provincial elites facilitated the process of gaining a citizenship. In return, they had to issue a document stating that they shall respect and defend the laws and privileges of the province.

With the end of 16th century ended the time when burghers could become Warmian Prince-Bishops. Mikołaj Tungen was born in Orneta and may be called a Warmian, Lucas Watzenrode was born in Toruń, Maurycy Ferber by birth was a citizen of Gdańsk. Gdańsk was also the hometown of Johannes Dantiscus and Tiedemann Giese, Cracow of Stanislaus Hosius, and Biecz as the birthplace of

<sup>26</sup> W. Wólkowski, *Zamek biskupów warmińskich w Lidzbarku Warmińskim. Dzieje budowlane i problemy konserwatorskie*, Olsztyn 2016; E. Radtke, *Rezydencja lidzbarska biskupów warmińskich*, Lidzbark Warmiński 2010.

<sup>27</sup> S. Achremczyk, *Indygena bez indygenatu*, in: Marcin Kromer i jego czasy (1512–1589), ed. by: S. Achremczyk, Olsztyn 2013, pp. 55–73.

<sup>28</sup> S. Achremczyk, *Reprezentacja stanowa Prus Królewskich*, pp. 84–85.

Marcin Kromer. He was the last burgher on the Warmian Prince-Bishop position. In 16th century, only Fabian Luzjański was a nobleman born in Troksy, Warmia. Since the signing of the Treaty in 1512, bishops were chosen by the chapter along the suggestions of the king. The ailing Prince-Bishop Luzjański died on 30 January 1523. His mother looked after him while he was ill; his funeral was modest due to the time of war and Warmia being destroyed by invasions of Teutonic forces<sup>29</sup>. For the first time, the elections of the Prince-Bishop were to be in accordance with the agreement concluded in the year 1512. Sigismund I sent his list of candidates – chapter provost, Paweł Płotowski, was listed as the first, with canon Maurycy Ferber as the second. When it turned out that Płotowski was not a Warmian canon, the chapter chose Ferber. It did not come as a surprise. Citizens of Gdańsk and Ferbers had an advantage in the chapter. Dean Jan Ferber presided over the elections, Maurycy was his uncle from his father's side. Dean's brother was Eberhard, to whom Maurycy was also an uncle<sup>30</sup>. Canon Jan Tymmermann, nephew of the elect and a cousin to Jan and Eberhard, as well as canon Albert Bischof, related to Tymmerman and Maurycy, were also members of the chapter. Next, canons Christopher Suchten and Leonard Niederhoff were also from Gdańsk. Nicolaus Copernicus, though was born in Toruń, was related to Tymmerman and the Ferbers. The king did not question the election of Maurycy. After Ferber's death, Johannes Dantiscus was selected by the chapter as it was the wish of Sigismund I. Dantiscus<sup>31</sup> was already a Chełmno bishop, a Warmian coadjutor and a royal diplomat. He ruled in Warmia in the years 1537-1548. He is remembered as an extraordinary neo-Latin poet, but most importantly as a diplomat seen as the father of modern Polish diplomacy. Before he became the Prince-Bishop, he was a royal secretary chiefly dealing with Prussian matters and served as a royal deputy during comitia maioras. In 1514, he accompanied the king during the expedition to Moscow, witnessing the Orsha victory. A year later, he was a participant of the First Congress of Vienna, performing the function of a secretary to the Polish delegation. After that, he stayed at the court of Maximilian I. He travelled throughout Europe as a royal deputy. As an old man, he settled in Warmia. Dantiscus made his name within the Polish literary history as a poet. He left a vast number of poems, among which secular poetry – elegies, romantic lyrical poems, panegyrics, epigrams – accom-

<sup>29</sup> J. Sikorski, *Fabian Luzjański biskup warmiński w latach 1512-1523*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, p.114.

<sup>30</sup> T. Borawska, *Biogramy Eberharda, Jan, Maurycego Ferberów*, in: J. Wojtkowski, *Słownik biograficzny kapituły warmińskiej*, Olsztyn 1996, pp. 58–60; T. Oracki, *Słownik biograficzny Warmii, Prus Książęcych i ziemi malborskiej od połowy XV wieku do końca XVIII wieku*, t. 1, A-K, Olsztyn 1984, pp. 59–61; H. Zins, *Ród Ferberów i jego rola w dziejach Gdańska w XV i XVI wieku*, Lublin 1951, pp. 17–28, 92–95; A. Eichhorn, *Geschichte der ermländischen Bischofswahlen*, ZGAE, Bd. 1, 1860, pp. 286–323.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 323–344; Z. Nowak, *Jan Dantyszek. Portret renesansowego humanisty*, Wrocław 1982, *passim* (there is a bibliography); T. Borawska, *Jan Dantyszek biskup warmiński w latach 1537-1548*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 123–134.

panies great religious poetry. He is included in the group of the most prominent European humanists. After a year of Tiedemann Giese being the Prince-Bishop, Stanislaus Hosius received his nomination<sup>32</sup>.

After the death of Dantiscus, King Sigismund Augustus wanted to appoint Stanislaus Hosius to the position of the Warmian Prince-Bishop. He saw, however, a huge opposition of the Warmian chapter and the Prussian Estates. Nominating Hosius would be inconsistent with the Act of Incorporation and provisions of the Toruń Treaty, which obliged the king to select native Prussians for official functions in the area. Hosius did not hold Prussian citizenship, though there was a Warmian canon since 1538. The King decided to move the Chełmno bishop Tiedemann Giese to Warmia and put Hosius in his place. The Prussian Estates raised an uproar, but King Sigismund Augustus did not yield. When Giese died on 23 October 1550, king transferred Hosius from Chełmno to the Warmian bishopric. In accordance with the 1512 Piotrków Treaty, the chapter received a list of four Prince-Bishop candidates. The Chełmno bishop and Warmian canon Stanislaus Hosius was listed first. The provided list made the canons resentful as both Hosius and Jan Solfa were not *ius indigenatus*, with the other candidates, Jan Lubodzieski and Jakub Zimmerman, being *indigens* but with lower ordination. The chapter urged the king to submit new candidates. He did not intend to change his mind. As the chapter could face papal excommunication for the behaviour of canon Aleksander Sculteti, it had to succumb to the king's will. Hosius was selected to be the new Prince-Bishop, but the chapter submitted a solemn protest that the process broke chapter regulations<sup>33</sup>. When his appointment was approved by the Pope Julius III, Hosius's ingres to the Frombork cathedral was held on 11 May 1551. He was a bishop for 28 years, but half of that was spent outside Warmia. In 1558, he left for Rome at the command of the Pope and spent five years in Rome, Vienna and Trento. Pope Pius IV made him a cardinal in February 1561. He took part in the Council of Trent as a papal legate. In the years 1569-1579 he returned to Rome. Leaving Warmia in 1569, he entrusted the diocese to his coadjutor Marcin Kromer. Hosius was a great theologian, an authority in this field. He is the author of the *Catholic Cof the Christian Faith*. Poland and Europe saw him as one of the most important figures of Counter-Reformation. Hosius and Marcin Kromer im-

<sup>32</sup> A. Szorc, *Sluga Boży Stanisław Hozjusz*, Olsztyn 2011; idem, *Stanisław Hozjusz biskup warmiński w latach 1551–1579*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 149–168; J.A. Kalinowska, *Stanisław Hozjusz jako humanista 1504–1579*, Olsztyn 2004, pp. 155–168 (there is a bibliography); *Kardynał Stanisław Hozjusz (1504–1579). Osoba, myśl, dzieło, czasy, znaczenie*, ed. by: S. Achremczyk, J. Guzowski, J. Jezierski, Olsztyn 2005; T. Oracki, *op. cit.*, pp.108–110 (there is a bibliography).

<sup>33</sup> A. Szorc, *Sluga Boży Stanisław Hozjusz*, pp. 50–51; idem, *Stanisław Hozjusz biskup warmiński w latach 1551–1579*, pp. 151–155; J. Mycielski, *Kandydatura Hozjusza na biskupstwo warmińskie w roku 1548 i 1549*, Kraków 1881; A. Eichhorn, *Geschichte der ermlandischen Bischofwahlen*, ZGAE, Bd. 1, pp. 350 n.; T. Pawluk, *Postawy prawne objęcia biskupstwa warmińskiego przez Stanisława Hozjusza*, pp. 20 n.

plemented the provisions of the Council of Trent in Warmia. Bishop Hosius also established a seminar and a post-primary school in Braniewo, so two institutions operating to date. He was also a prominent humanist and a poet<sup>34</sup>.

Hosius chose his successor prior to his death. It was then obvious that he would point to Marcin Kromer. Kromer was a royal secretary, he also took over Prussian matters at the chancellery from Hosius. He was also entrusted with diplomatic missions by the monarch. He was therefore to Rome and Vienna. In 1552, Kromer became a Warmian canon, though Warmia and Royal Prussia were not satisfied with this nomination. The chapter and the Prussian Estates were also unhappy. In the act of granting him the Warmian canon they saw a first step towards giving him the office of the Prince-Bishop in the future. Prussian separatists argued that he is not a Prussian *ius indigenatus*. Nevertheless, Prince-Bishop Hosius favoured Kromer. To avoid enraging the Prussian Estates, he did not appoint Kromer as his coadjutor with the right of succession at once. While leaving for Rome, he issued in August 1569 an administrator's nomination for Kromer without consulting it with the chapter<sup>35</sup>. An administrator has the same authority as a Prince-Bishop, but the chapter has the power to control his actions. After a year, Kromer became a coadjutor of Prince-Bishop Hosius. He refused intentionally to accept a bishop's consecration before taking over the bishopric of Warmia. Kromer became a bishop after Hosius died. The Prussian Estates did not grant him the *ius indigenatus* position, they did not want him to be the Chairman and participate in *comitia maiora*. Kromer was opposed by Bartłomiej Plemięcki, a Warmian canon supported by his family, and Michał Działyński, a Chełmno chamberlain. The latter sharply criticised Kromer during the 1572 Warsaw *comitia*. Działyński claimed that Kromer cannot be a coadjutor as a Prussian non-native and that his background is plebeian. Further, not being able to control himself, he said that Kromer is a vagabond that cannot be trusted with managing the smallest bit of Prussian land. The demagogic presentation of Michał Działyński, holding a personal grudge towards Kromer, met with disgust. Even his own brother Jan, the Chełmno voivode, defended Kromer. The Kostka family representatives – Gdańsk castellan Jan, Golub starost Krzysztof, even Warmian canon Piotr – did the same<sup>36</sup>. Kromer did not yield to the accusations as he prepared a memorial concerning the Prussian *ius indigenatus* position. It seemed that the death of Sigismund Augustus

<sup>34</sup> J.A. Kalinowska, *Stanisław Hozjusz jako humanista*, passim.

<sup>35</sup> J. A. Kalinowska, *Wyjazd kardynała Stanisława Hozjusza do Rzymu w 1569 roku*, *Studia Warmińskie*, t. 18, 1981, pp. 192–193; A. Eichhorn, *Der ermlandische Bischof und Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius*, Bd. II, Mainz 1855, pp. 356, 358; S. Achremczyk, *Indygena bez indygenatu*, p. 62; A. Szorc, *Marcin Kromer biskup warmiński w latach 1569–1579*, p. 173; idem, *Artykuły zaprzysiężone Marcina Kromera z 1571 roku*, *Echa Przeszłości*, t. 3, 2002, pp. 49–66.

<sup>36</sup> T. Glemma, *Piotr Kostka. Lata młodości i działalność polityczna 1532–1595*, Toruń 1959, p. 92; S. Bodniak, Z. Skorupska, *Jan Kostka kasztelan gdański*, Gdańsk 1979, p. 78.

would put an end to the accusations against Kromer. He even attended the comitia maiora established in August 1572 in Malbork by Jan Działyński, the Chełmno voivode. However, voivodes Achacy and Fabian Czema, supported by the Gdańsk mayor Jerzy Klefeld as well as mayors of Toruń and Elbląg, did not want Kromer in the room. Jan Działyński and the Kostkas did try to prove that Kromer did not come as a Prussian Chancellor, but a prelate and chapter canon trying to listen to the debate and represent Warmia. The opposition did not want to listen to any arguments. After this failure, Kromer withdrew from the political life of the province. However, he received regular information from the Kostka family members about the course and resolutions of the assemblies<sup>37</sup>. As a Warmian Prince-Bishop, Kromer engaged in managing the dominion without being active in politics. He enjoyed unique renown in Poland and was considered to be an excellent historian. The Sejm paid tribute to him in 1580 for his book on Polish history.

Two great personalities of the Polish Kingdom – Stanislaus Hosius and Marcin Kromer – broke the principle of *ius indigenatus* while becoming Prince-Bishops. They were also the last bishops from the middle class. All of their successors were of the nobility. Two of them were from the royal family – Andrzej Batory was a nephew of King Stephen Batory, while Jan Albert Vasa was the son of Sigismund III Vasa. In the 17th century, the bishopric of Warmia became an excellent stepping stone towards the Archbishopric of Gniezno. Bishop Piotr Tylicki<sup>38</sup>, enjoying a reputation of excellent preacher and lawyer, he was appointed in 1603 to the bishopric of Kujawy, while in January 1607 he became the bishop of Cracow. Jan Albert Vasa<sup>39</sup> at just nine years of age was unanimously chosen by the chapter to be the Prince-Bishop. On his behalf, canon Michał Działyński administered the diocese – these were very difficult times of the Polish-Swedish war that affected the Warmian dominion. Thanks to his father Sigismund III Vasa and his brother Władysław IV, Jan Albert Vasa was promoted from Warmia to the Cracow bishopric and Pope Urban VIII raised him to the position of a cardinal. In 1634, he left Cracow and travelled to Italy. Infected with smallpox in Padua, he left this world in December 1634. Until his very end, he was accompanied by a Jesuit priest, Andrzej Klinger.

After Vasa's decease, Mikołaj Szyszkowski took the Warmian bishopric. Initially there were no indications that the Secretary of the Great Royal Chancellery

<sup>37</sup> G. Lengnich, *Geschichte der preußische Lande königlich-polnische Antheils*, Danzig 1724, Bd. 3, p. 2; S. Bodniak, Z. Skorupska, op.cit., p. 280.

<sup>38</sup> A. Eichhorn, *Geschichte der ermländische Bischofswahlen*, Bd 1, pp. 373–383; Z. Zdrójkowski, *Zarys dziejów prawa chełmińskiego*, Toruń 1983, pp. 50, 51, 54, 55, 56; T. Oracki, *Słownik biograficzny Warmii, Prus Książęcych i ziemi malborskiej*, t. 2, L-Ż, Olsztyn 1988, pp. 192–193; D. Bogdan, *Piotr Tylicki biskup warmiński w latach 1600-1604*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 193–202.

<sup>39</sup> J. Bartoszewicz, *Królewicze biskupi. Żywoty czterech kapłanów*, Warszawa 1851, pp. 139–181; A. Eichhorn, op. cit., Bd, 1, pp. 486–493; D. Bogdan, *Jan Albert Waza biskup warmiński w latach 1621–1633*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 223–228.

Szyszkowski would handle Warmia. King Władysław IV promised Warmia to the Przemyśl bishop, Henryk Firlej. The support of a number of great personalities, such as the Papal Nuncio Visconti, Gniezno Archbishop Jan Wężyk or the chancellor of the Chełmno bishop Jakub Zadzik, changed the mind of Władysław IV, who presented a list of candidates with Mikołaj Szyszkowski on the first position. The chapter voted unanimously in March 1633 to the benefit of the royal candidate. Szyszkowski engaged in rebuilding Warmia after the war and achieved a splendid effect. He even hosted Władysław IV on the Warmian soil in 1636. On his way to Königsberg, the king stopped in Braniewo. The Prince-Bishop attended to the Frombork cathedral, approved the foundation of Święta Lipka and built a baroque pilgrimage church in Stoczek Klasztorny in the years 1639-1641 as a sign of gratitude for ending the Swedish war. He was a widely respected Prince-Bishop. His successor, Jan Karol Konopacki, died a few months after the election. He did not even manage to come to Warmia.

After the sudden death of Konopacki, persons from magnate Polish families were promoted to Warmia. They introduced Warmia into grand politics. It so happened that Warmia became the point prior to the highest ecclesiastical positions of Poland, such as the Archbishopric of Gniezno and the Primacy, so leading senatorial chairs. Waclaw Leszczyński, Jan Stefan Wydźga, Michał Radziejowski, Teodor Potocki and Ignacy Krasicki became Primate and Archbishops of Gniezno. Assuming that Wydźga and Andrzej Chryzostom Załuski were Great Chancellors of the Crown, while Radziejowski became a cardinal, it appears that the Warmian bishopric was a great stepping stone towards promotion. All of them came from great and politically influential families. Waclaw Leszczyński<sup>40</sup>, the son of the Brzesko-Kujawski voivode Andrzej Leszczyński and Zofia Opalińska, came from Greater Poland. His brother, Przeclaw, became the Dorpat voivode, while Jan – the Great Chancellor of the Crown. They all received splendid education. Waclaw studied in France and Poland, he was one of the supporters of the French camp. He fluently spoke several languages, including French and German, which was an asset for the nomination for the Warmian Prince-Bishop. He was elected the Prince-Bishop in 1644 and served on this position for 14 years. It was a restless period in the history of Poland – Cossak uprising led by Bohdan Chmielnicki, war with Moscow and the Swedish Deluge. The Prince-Bishop as a senator took part in the political life of the country *ex officio*. As the Prussian chairman and diocese administrator, he had to attend to particular interests of Royal Prussia and the Warmian dominion. The first political event which Leszczyński had to handle was

<sup>40</sup> M. Forycki, *Stanisław Leszczyński*, Poznań 2006, pp. 17–32. A. Eichhorn, *op. cit.*, pp. 512–528; S. Achremczyk, *Waclaw Leszczyński biskup warmiński w latach 1644–1658*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 251–260; T. Oracki, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12.

the interregnum period after the death of Władysław IV. During the interregnum, he participated in comitias, Prussian gatherings and the elections. In the rivalry between two brothers, John Casimir and Charles Ferdinand, he supported the first one. Leszczyński played an important role in withdrawing Prince Charles Ferdinand from the fight for the throne<sup>41</sup>. Leszczyński did not stand indifferent with respect to the Chmielnicki uprising. Not only did he try to enact taxes, but also provided a regiment of horsemen at the expense of Warmia. John Casimir would frequently mention this generosity. In 1655, the Prince-Bishop faced an even more threatening situation. The Republic found itself at war with Sweden. At the king's command, the Prince-Bishop tried to convince the Prussian Estates to enact taxes and wanted to enter into coalition with Frederick William, the Elector of Brandenburg, hoping that his armies would defend Prussia and Warmia from the Swedes. Unfortunately, the elector failed to meet his commitments. By becoming an ally of the Swedes he was permitted to take the Warmian dominion. Leszczyński found refuge in Königsberg. When the situation became favourable for Poland in 1657, the Elector abandoned the Swedes in return for sovereignty in Prussia. In the year 1657 in Königsberg, Brandenburg-Polish negotiations begun. The Polish side was represented by Prince-Bishop Waclaw Leszczyński and Grand Treasurer of Lithuania Wincenty Korwin Gosiewski, while the mediator was the Habsburg diplomat Franz Lisola<sup>42</sup>. The negotiations ended with signing the Treaty of Wehlau, confirmed later on in Bydgoszcz. The Brandenburg occupation of Warmia ended. Elector's forces remained only in Frombork and Braniewo, but had to leave them as the new Prince-Bishop Jan Stefan Wydźga was persistent about it. In 1658, still during the Polish-Swedish war, Leszczyński was nominated to the position of the Gniezno Archbishop. His reputation suffered greatly as he was blamed for surrendering the Duchy of Prussia to the Brandenburg Elector in hereditary possession.

Leszczyński left Warmia in April 1659. A celebratory ingres to the Gniezno cathedral took place in October 1662. Kiev bishop and Warmian chapter provost Tomasz Ujejski<sup>43</sup> and Warmian suffragan Bishop Wojciech Pilchowicz, who closely cooperated with Leszczyński, represented Warmia during that event. As a Primate, he faced complex Polish affairs. On one hand, the Polish-Swedish war was com-

<sup>41</sup> Z. Wójcik, *Jan Kazimierz Waza*, Wrocław 1997, pp. 61–62.

<sup>42</sup> Ibidem, pp. 147–148; idem, *Dyplomacja polska w okresie wojen drugiej połowy XVII wieku (1648–1699)*, in: *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, t. II 1572–1795, ed. by: Z. Wójcik, Warszawa 1988, pp. 209–210; A. Kamiński, *Stany Prus Książęcych wobec rządów brandenburskich w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, Olsztyn 1995, pp. 68–69; F. Hirsch, *Otto von Schwerin*, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1893, Bd. 71, pp. 221–223; B. Kalicki, *Bogusław Radziwiłł. Koniusz litewski*, Kraków 1878, pp. 48–49, 172–174; D. Makilla, *Między Welawą a Królewcem 1657-1701. Geneza królestwa w Prusach. Studium historyczno-prawne*, Toruń 1998, p. 37; S. Augusiewicz, *Działania militarne w Prusach Książęcych w latach 1656-1657*, Olsztyn 1999, pp. 20, 58, 148.

<sup>43</sup> I. Makarczyk, *Tomasz Ujejski (1612–1689), biskup kijowski, prepozyt warmiński, jezuita*, Olsztyn 2005, pp. 164–185.



ing to an end thanks to the peace agreement on Oliwa dated 3 May 1660 and the successful campaign of Stefan Czarniecki and Jerzy Lubomirski threw out Moscow forces from Poland. Peace, though still temporary, prevailed on the eastern edges of the country. Leszczyński supported reform plans proposed by the king and, when the Grand Marshal of the Crown Jerzy Lubomirski contradicted John Casimir, he tried to prevent civil war. His mediation brought peace only for a while. Despite the efforts, Lubomirski was not willing to talk with the king. Leszczyński, ailing and having difficulty moving, did not witness the civil war and the defeat of the royal army. He also did not see Jerzy Lubomirski humbling himself in front of the king. The Primate died in 1 April 1666<sup>44</sup>.

Leszczyński's successor as the Warmian Prince-Bishop was the Bishop of Łuck Jan Stefan Wydźga. Wydźga owed his career to King Jan Casimir – he was his preacher, secretary and legal secretary of the Crown – and John III Sobieski. He was believed to be an excellent preacher. His speeches during the dieties met with enthusiasm of some due to his erudite manner of speaking, others were irritated by his instructions and general interest in politics<sup>45</sup>. As a Warmian Prince-Bishop, he released Frombork and Braniewo from Brandenburgian armies. In 1663, he was present as the Commissioner of the Republic during the tribute of the residents of the Duchy of Prussia paid to the Elector of Brandenburg. He reminded that although the Duchy by the power of the Wehlau-Bromber Treaties is not a part of the Commonwealth, but it can become one with Poland after the death of the Hohenzollern dynasty<sup>46</sup>. Despite health issues, Prince-Bishop Wydźga was an active participant in the political life of the Polish Kingdom. He took part in Sejms, but was not as eager to join comitia maioras of Royal Prussia, though he completed his Chairman duties dully and well<sup>47</sup>. He was seen during two elections, that of Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki, to whom he was related, and John III Sobieski. Wydźga was not a political opponent of Wiśniowiecki, but surely a supporter of John III Sobieski. He used his position to defend the Warmian dominion from excessive taxation or bearing the expenses of feeding military forces. John III

<sup>44</sup> S. Achremczyk, *Między Wisłą a Niemnem*, Olsztyn 2008, pp. 91–92.

<sup>45</sup> S. Ochmann-Staniszevska, Z. Staniszevski, *Sejm Rzeczypospolitej za panowania Jana Kazimierza Wazy. Prawo-doktryna-praktyka*, Wrocław 2000, t. I, pp. 177, 190, 274, 281, 284, 361.

<sup>46</sup> S. Achremczyk, *Suwerenność zagrożona. Warmia a Prusy Książęce w drugiej Polowie XVII wieku*, in: *Między Barokiem a Oświeceniem. Apogeum sarmatyzmu. Kultura polska drugiej połowy XVII wieku*, ed. by: Achremczyk, K. Stasiewicz, Olsztyn 1997, pp. 58–65.

<sup>47</sup> Idem, *Biskup warmiński Jan Stefan Wydźga jako prezes Ziem Pruskich*, KMW, 1988, nr 3–4, pp. 275–288; idem, *Codzienność biskupa warmińskiego Jana Stefana Wydźgi w świetle jego korespondencji*, KMW, 2015, nr 2, pp. 281–304; I. Lewandowska, *Biskup warmiński Jan Stefan Wydźga jako mąż stanu i kanclerz Rzeczypospolitej*, *Rocznik Elbląski*, t. 16, 1999, pp. 29–46; A. Szorc, *Familiarność między biskupem a kanonikiem na przykładzie korespondencji Jana Stefana Wydźgi z Zachariaszem Janem Szolcem*, in: *Między Barokiem a Oświeceniem. Sarmacki konterfekt*, ed. by: S. Achremczyk, Olsztyn 2002, pp. 95–99; S. Achremczyk, *Jan Stefan Wydźga biskup warmiński w latach 1659-1679*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 261–274.

Sobieski, recognising his talent and influence, appointed him to the position of a Vice-Chancellor of the Crown in 1676 and in the year 1677 promoted him to the function of a Grand Chancellor of the Crown. He held the Chancellor's office for a short time as he was made the Archbishop of Gniezno after the death of Primate Andrzej Olszowski. After nearly twenty years in Warmia, Wydźga left the dominion to move to Gniezno. He was therefore the second Prince-Bishop of Warmia to become the Primate of Poland.

After Wydźga, the Warmian bishopric was overtaken by an extremely ambitious Michał Radziejowski. John III Sobieski also promoted him to Vice-Chancellor of the Crown, while in the year 1686 Pope Innocent XI appointed Radziejowski to the function of a cardinal. He was the second Prince-Bishop of Warmia, after Stanislaus Hosius, to be promoted to a very prestigious Church function. In 1687, he was in fact raised even higher as he was nominated by the king to be the Archbishop of Gniezno and a Primate of Poland. In May 1688, the royal nomination was confirmed by the Holy See. Radziejowski was among the propagators of close relations with France. It does not come as a surprise that after the death of John III Sobieski he supported the French candidate to the Polish throne. His candidate, Prince Conti, was not elected king. Although Radziejowski made amends with the one whose candidature he tried to downplay, meaning Augustus II, he soon became his political opponent. The years of his Primacy witnessed the Northern War, a civil war in Poland as well as the invasion of Swedish and Russian armies on Poland. Regarding politics, he saw himself as the defeated party<sup>48</sup>. Historians did not dispute about his political talent. Józef Feldman<sup>49</sup> did not spare him his sharp criticism, while Jacek Staszewski<sup>50</sup> considered him to be the most important politician at the dawn of the Saxon reign in Poland.

In the 18th century, two more Prince-Bishops of Warmia became Primate – Teodor Potocki and Ignacy Krasicki. At a time when Radziejowski was the Polish Primate, Teodor Potocki was appointed to be the Bishop of Chełmno. Throughout the Northern War, Potocki favoured Stanisław Leszczyński. After the war, Augustus II transferred him to the Warmian bishopric and, wanting to gain favour of

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<sup>48</sup> R. Kawecki, *Kardynał Michał Stefan Radziejowski (1645–1705)*, Opole 2005; S. Achremczyk, *Michał Stefan Radziejowski biskup warmiński w latach 1679–1688*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 275–286; T. Oracki, op. cit., pp. 101–103.

<sup>49</sup> J. Feldman, *Polska w dobie wielkiej wojny północnej 1704–1709*, Kraków 1925, passim; K. Jarochoowski, *Koniec Radziejowskiego*, in: *Nowe opowiadania i studia historyczne*, Warszawa 1882, pp. 95–153; Idem, *Dzieje panowania Augusta II od śmierci Jana III do chwili wstąpienia Karola XII na ziemię polską*, Poznań 1856 passim; idem, *Dzieje panowania Augusta II od wstąpienia Karola XII na ziemię polską aż do elekcji Stanisława Leszczyńskiego (1702–1704)*, Poznań 1874, passim; J. Korytkowski, *Arcybiskupi gnieźnieńscy, prymasowie i metropolici polscy od roku 1000 aż do roku 1821*, T. IV, Poznań 1891, pp. 293–371.

<sup>50</sup> J. Staszewski, *O miejsce w Europie. Stosunki Polski i Saksonii z Francją na przełomie XVII i XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1974, passim.

the influential Potocki family, he made Theodor the Gniezno Archbishop and the Primate. Potocki<sup>51</sup> proved to be an excellent shepherd and administrator. During his time there, Warmia tried to mitigate post-war devastation. The bishop himself provided funds for the reconstruction of Warmian churches, building new baroque temples and improving their decors. He turned out to be a patron of people of science and culture. He was the one who discovered the painting talent of Maciej Jan Meyer and financed his stay in Italy. Meyer made his name as the creator of figural and panoramic decorations. He was also the first artist in Poland to introduce a monumental system of frescoes for decorating churches<sup>52</sup>. As a Primate, Potocki continued his work in Greater Poland. Though he was given the Archbishopric by August II, he was not a supporter of the Wettins. After the death of Augustus II, being the interrex, he supported the candidature of a Piast, namely Stanisław Leszczyński. Although he seemed to realise that neither Moscow nor the Court in Vienna favoured Leszczyński, he firmly supported king Stanisław. Potocki, just as Radziejowski, counted on the help of France. While the nobility mostly opted for the Piast during the elections, their will to defend him as king against Moscow and Saxon armies was not exceptional. Yet, the Primate showed great fierceness in convincing the nobility to defend Leszczyński. Counting on the military assistance of France and Sweden, he took refuge in Gdańsk alongside the king. When hope of defending the city perished and the French aid turned out to be minuscule, he persuaded Leszczyński to leave Gdańsk. Leszczyński obeyed the Primate and escaped to the Duchy of Prussia wearing a peasant's disguise. Potocki was taken prisoner by the Russian forces.<sup>53</sup> He regained his freedom in 1735, when he acknowledged the election of Augustus III. After the abdication of Leszczyński, he did not cease to make plans for reforming the country. Potocki did not manage to execute them as he died in October 1783.

Sources considering the Warmian Prince-Bishop who was promoted to the position of the Gniezno Archbishop but was forbidden by the invaders to call himself the Primate of Poland – Ignacy Krasicki – are abundant<sup>54</sup>. Krasicki went down in history as a writer, author of the first Polish novel and the author of poems, epigrams, fables, parables. His presence prolonged the connection of Poland with Warmia, though the latter finally wound up under the Prussian capture.

<sup>51</sup> S. Achremczyk, *Teodor Potocki biskup warmiński w latach 1712–1723*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 309–322; J. Korytkowski, *Arcybiskupi gnieźnieńscy, prymasowie i metropolici polscy*, pp. 431–543; T. Oracki, op. cit., pp. 89–91.

<sup>52</sup> J. Paszenda, *Święta Lipka*, Kraków 2008, pp. 112–121.

<sup>53</sup> E. Cieślak, *Stanisław Leszczyński*, Wrocław 1994, pp. 117–181; idem, *W obronie króla Stanisława Leszczyńskiego*, Gdańsk 1986, passim; J. Staszewski, *August III*, Wrocław 1989, pp. 137, 139, 141–154.

<sup>54</sup> Z. Goliński, *Kalendarz życia i twórczości Ignacego Krasickiego*, Poznań 2011, t. 1, p. 2; idem, *Krasicki*, Warszawa 2002; *Ignacy Krasicki na Warmii 1766–1772. Przekazy źródłowe*, cz. 1–2, ed. by: A. Szorc, Olsztyn 2002; S. Achremczyk, *Ignacy Krasicki nie tylko poeta*, Olsztyn 2001; idem, *Ignacy Krasicki biskup warmiński w latach 1766–1795*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 353–376.

Three other great Warmian Prince-Bishops of the 18th century – Andrzej Chryzostom Załuski<sup>55</sup>, Krzysztof Szembek<sup>56</sup> and Adam Stanisław Grabowski<sup>57</sup> – are also worth mentioning. The first one was also the Grand Chancellor of the Crown and his reign coincided with the time of the Northern War. He is known as the author of the four-volume work entitled *Epistolarum historico-familiarum*. The Załuski's collection became the seed of the famous Załuski Library, founded in 1747 by his nephews. Szembek completed the construction of a lot of churches as well as a baroque palace on the bulwarks of the Lidzbark castle. In politics, his success regarded strengthening the Polish rule in Courland. In turn, Grabowski is the great figure of the reign of Augustus III – a politician, a patron of culture and science, a reformer. He was eager to fund the solutions regulating lower sections of the Vistula River so it did not threaten the fertile Żuławy area.

Consequently, Warmian Prince-Bishops ensured a special place for Warmia within the Polish Kingdom. The Warmian dominion and the diocese were also recognised thanks to the activity of their canons. Prince-Bishop Jan Stefan Wydźga in his letter to the canon priest Zachariasz Szolc mentions that “the Nuncio places the Cracow bishopric above the Warmian one, but Warmian canons as much greater than those in Cracow”<sup>58</sup>. No wonder that the efforts to obtain a Warmian canon were seen as activities exceeding the borders of Warmia. The rivals in seizing the canons were magnate factions from Royal Prussia, Royal Court, Crown and Lithuanian; the chapter also competed with Warmian Prince-Bishops<sup>59</sup>. Historiography did not pay attention to the political importance of the chapter, rarely highlighting the participation of the canons in the political life of the Polish Kingdom and Royal Prussia. Canons always accompanied the Prince-Bishop when he left for comitia maioras of the Royal Prussia. At times they informed him about the decisions of the provincial assemblies. The Prince-Bishops of Warmia even asked chapter delegates to accompany them on diets to jointly defend the interest of the dominion<sup>60</sup>. Nowadays, in spite of having an almost complete list of War-

<sup>55</sup> S. Achremczyk, *Biskup warmiński Andrzej Chryzostom Załuski jako mąż stanu*, KMW, 1994, nr 2/3, pp. 203–219; idem, *Podróże biskupa Andrzeja Chryzostoma Załuskiego do Królewca*, KMW, 1992, nr 3/4, pp. 267–273; *Załuski Andrzej Chryzostom: Testament kanclerza wielkiego koronnego i biskupa warmińskiego*, ed. by: S. Achremczyk, KMW, 1984, nr 4, pp. 375–397; S. Achremczyk, *Między Wisłą a Niemnem*, pp. 96–108; idem, *Andrzej Chryzostom Załuski biskup warmiński w latach 1698–1711*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 295–308.

<sup>56</sup> S. Achremczyk, *Krzysztof Andrzej Jan Szembek biskup warmiński w latach 1723–1740*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, pp. 323–334; H. Żochowski, *Die Seelsorge im Ermland unter Bischof Christoph Andreas Johann Szembek 1724–1740*, ZGAE, Bd. 11, 1993.

<sup>57</sup> J. Dygdała, *Adam Stanisław Grabowski (1698–1766). Biskup, polityk, mecenas*, Olsztyn 1994.

<sup>58</sup> Archiwum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej w Olsztynie, AK, Aa 1, k. 70v J.S. Wydźga do Z. Szolca, Heilsberg 13 XII 1668.

<sup>59</sup> S. Achremczyk, *Kapituła warmińska w życiu politycznym Rzeczypospolitej XVII i XVIII wieku*, in: *Warmińska Kapituła Katedralna. Dzieje i wybitni przedstawiciele*, ed. A. Kopiczko, J. Jezierski, Z. Żywica, Olsztyn 2010, pp. 290 n.

<sup>60</sup> S. Achremczyk, *Codziennosc biskupa warmińskiego Jana Stefana Wydźgi w swietle jego korespondencji*, KMW, 2015, nr 2, pp. 281–304; I. Makarczyk, *Tomasz Ujejski (1612–1689)*, pp. 186 n.

mian canons, the analysis of their social and territorial composition has not been commenced. An attempt to analyse the members of the chapter was undertaken by Rev. Andrzej Kopiczko<sup>61</sup>, this issue also drew the attention of Irena Makarczyk<sup>62</sup>. The first found out that the chapter featured 305 canons in the years 1525–1821. Territorial origin was determined for 221 canons, 65 of whom were from Royal Prussia and Warmia. The study of Irena Makarczyk shows that from the beginning of the chapter to the end of the 17th century there were 480 canons in total. Over 30% of them came from the Prussian lands<sup>63</sup>. Quite a lot, exactly 80 of them, were foreigners. Among them were 10 Italians, 5 Swedes, 6 were Czech and Moravian, 23 came from Silesia, one was Transylvanian, about 20 from imperial principalities and about 60 of the Crown. Such data reflects the international composition the Warmian chapter. However, it should be borne in mind that in the first period of the existence of the chapter all canons came from outside Prussian lands. According to my calculations, the chapter featured 201 persons in the 17th and 18th centuries. Thanks to papal nominations, 17 Italians served in chapter. As a result of the royal protectorate, also five Swedes and six Frenchmen became canons. Even in the 16th century burghers could become canons. In the days of Copernicus, key positions belonged to Gdańsk citizens. There were also several nobles among the canons – Paweł Płotowski, Jan and Rafał Konopacki, and Wojciech Kijewski<sup>64</sup>. Already in the 17th century the chapter was polonised and nobility outnumbered non-noble canons. The nominations broke the principle of *ius indigenatus*, though the chapter protested if the candidate to a canon did not hold Prussian citizenship. The chapter yielded to the pressure of magnates and Royal Prussia senators to grant canon functions to their relatives, friends, and acquaintances. The introduction of people from outside of Warmia and even Royal Prussia into the chapter was its purposeful policy to have contacts and influence at the Royal Court, courts of nobility and gentry, during the *comitias*. Indeed, the chapter focused on the protection of the dominion against taxes, military forces and confederations.

Many members of the chapter turned out to be extraordinary figures. The college of canons was a group of educated people, the intellectual elite of the Prussian lands. Almost all of them completed university studies, many held doctorates regarding both legal systems, theology, philosophy. Not all of those educated people, sometimes cherishing intimate contacts with Europe, left some creative

<sup>61</sup> A. Kopiczko, *Duchowieństwo katolickie diecezji warmińskiej w latach 1525–1821*, Olsztyn 2000, pp. 18–22, 40–41; T. Borawska, *Życie umysłowe na Warmii w czasach Mikołaja Kopernika*, Toruń 1996, pp. 92–101; E.M. Wermter, *Preussen, Polen, Deutsche Und Litauer im ermlandischen Domkapitel*, ZGAE, 1969, Bd. 33, pp. 320–324.

<sup>62</sup> I. Makarczyk, *Szwedzi w kapitule warmińskiej w XVII wieku*, in: *Między Barokiem a Oświeceniem. Staropolski regionalizm*, ed. S. Achremczyk, Olsztyn 2008, pp. 274–275; eadem, *Tomasz Ujejski (1612-1689)*, pp. 124–133.

<sup>63</sup> I. Makarczyk, *Szwedzi w kapitule warmińskiej*, p. 274.

<sup>64</sup> *Protokoły posiedzeń warmińskiej kapituły katedralnej z czasów Mikołaja Kopernika*, ed. by: A. Szorc, I. Makarczyk, Olsztyn 2015, pp. XXXVIII–XLIV.

output as legacy. The chapter and Warmia have celebrated the genius of Nicolaus Copernicus for centuries. Though referred to as the dignified old man already during this lifetime, Copernicus was lauded for his medical knowledge. Entrusting to him important positions within the chapter proved his management skills. Copernicus is remembered as a superb astronomer and mathematician, creator of the heliocentric theory. His achievements in this regard overshadowed his deeds concerning monetary reform. His treatise on minting coins introduced the notion of bad money driving out good coins. Copernicus noticed that the coin affects the integration of the Polish Kingdom; he knew also the concept of a rich country. It is also known that Copernicus had some achievements in cartography. His map of the Vistula Lagoon was used by Kasper Hennenberger while developing his map of the Prussian<sup>65</sup> lands. In turn, Eustachy Knobelsdorf shall be remembered as a poet<sup>66</sup>. This thoroughly educated canon became famous for his poems describing the town. He dedicated the poem *Lutetia Parisorum descriptio* to Johannes Dantiscus<sup>67</sup>. Knobelsdorf also wrote other works, such as political poems. This Warmian canon also received praise from contemporary writers. Members of the Treter family – Tomasz, Maciej Kazimierz, Szymon Aleksy – praised Warmia. Tomasz gained special recognition as a Latin poet, engraver and translator. He was the son of Jacob, a bookbinder from Poznań. Before becoming a Warmian canon, Tomasz Treter closely cooperated with the Prince-Bishop and cardinal Stanislaus Hosius and Prince-Bishop Andrzej Batory. For many years, he was a secretary at the Royal Court for Stefan Batory and Sigismund III. His epigrams are well-known. His Latin-to-Polish translation of *Perygrynacja do Ziemi Świętej* by Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł was frequently re-released, but his opus magnum is the emblematic biography of Stanislaus Hosius with 100 copperplates depicting scenes from the life of Hosius. Canon Joachim Pastorius was a historian, a poet, an educator and a physician. He earned fame thanks to his works on the Cossack<sup>68</sup> wars. Canon Johann Preuck established in Warmia the well-known scholarship fund for those of his countrymen who would like to study in Rome. Warmian chapter provost and the bishop of Kiev Tomasz Ujejski was deeply engaged in Polish politics.

<sup>65</sup> K. Górski, *Mikołaj Kopernik – środowisko społeczne i samotność*, Toruń 2012; A. Szorc, *Mikołaj Kopernik, kanonik warmiński*, Olsztyn 2013; S. Achremczyk, *Warmia*, pp. 211–213.

<sup>66</sup> M. Czupajło, *Eustachy Knobelsdorf (1519–1571) kanonik kapituły fromborskiej i pierwszy poeta warmiński*, in: *Warmińska Kapituła Katedralna*, pp. 309–320; F. Buchholz, *Die Lehr- Und Wanderjahre des ermländischen Domkustos Eustachius von Knobelsdorf: ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des jüngeren Humanismus und der Reformation*, ZGAE, Bd. 22, Braunsberg 1926, pp. 61–134, 177–255.

<sup>67</sup> M. Czupajło, op. cit., pp. 317–318; E. Knobelsdorf, *Opisanie Paryża*, translated by: J. Mrukówna, Łódź 1994; J. Starnawski, *Eustachy Knobelsdorf zapomniany poeta polsko-laciński i jego poemat o Paryżu (1543)*, *Meander*, 1983, z. 3, pp. 111–119.

<sup>68</sup> T. Oracki, op. cit., pp. 71–72; K. Kubik, *Joachim Pastorius gdański pedagog XVII wieku*, Gdańsk 1970.

Many of the canons proved to be excellent administrators. Provost Paul Górnicki<sup>69</sup>, originating from the Duchy of Oświęcim, the brother of Łukasz – the author of *Dworzanin polski* – was such an administrator. Many canons were experienced lawyers, theologians, philosophers, mathematicians. Their achievements did not gain recognition, their printed works lie forgotten on library shelves and should be read again with a different approach. Numerous works are still in the form of a manuscript.

Prince-Bishops alongside the chapter ruled Warmia; together they changed its economic and cultural image. Their relatives, friends and courtiers settled in Warmia with them. The dominion was subject to colonisation, but it was not a planned and purposeful process. The Polish language was becoming widespread not only in Lidzbark Warmiński or Frombork. After the last Polish-Teutonic war, Warmia opened up to Polish settlers from Masovia, Podlasie, Chełmno land. In terms of nationality, the dominion became German-Polish. Southern Warmia was populated by Poles and the north by Germans; it remained so until 1945. Residents of Warmia were mostly plebeians. The population of Warmia was rural in 75%, the remaining 25% were the townspeople. Nobility in Warmia was scarce. Tied to the court of Prince-Bishops, it quickly yielded to colonisation. Importance outside Warmia was gained by just a few families such as Stanisławski, Grzymała<sup>70</sup>, Hattyński or Kalnass, Gąsiorowski.

An important role in marking the place of Warmia within the Polish Kingdom was played by the Jesuits. They enjoyed the care and protection of both Prince-Bishops and canons of Warmia, with their merits in the field of education being measurable. Brought to Warmia in 1564, Jesuits were entrusted by Prince-Bishop Stanislaus Hosius with the task of organising a seminary for secondary theological education. Jesuits settled in Braniewo, where there were numerous followers of Lutheranism. The establishment of the seminary was approved by the diocesan synod in Lidzbark Warmiński in 1565. The first foundation act regarding the seminar is dated 21 August 1565. The opening ceremony took place on 25 November 1567<sup>71</sup>. Before the seminar was opened in 1565, teaching in a post-primary school was already in progress and the Papal Alumnat was established in 1578. Both institutions functioned to the year 1780. The Jesuits were to train the clergy of Warmia. Young people from across the Polish Kingdom came to study in Braniewo. Sons of the great noble families were among the students – Leszczyński, Radziwiłł, Sapieha, Lubomirski, Działyński, Zebrzydowski, Mielecki, Krasiński, Czapski. They sat at

<sup>69</sup> D. Bogdan, *Prepozyt kapituły fromborskiej Paweł Górnicki jako współrządcą Warmii w latach 1606–1619*, in: *Warmińska Kapituła Katedralna*, pp. 321–333.

<sup>70</sup> J. Jasiński, *Grzymałowie. Z dziejów szlacheckiego rodu na Warmii*, Dąbrówno 2015.

<sup>71</sup> A. Kopiczko, *Seminarium Duchowne w Braniewie w latach 1565–1780*, in: *Cor Diocesis. 450 lat Warmińskiego Seminarium Duchownego Hosianum (1565–2015)*, ed. A. Kopiczko, P. Rapczyński, Olsztyn 2015, pp. 65–94.

the same bench as sons of townspeople and peasants<sup>72</sup>. Braniewo school graduates played an important part in politics, culture and economy of the Polish Kingdom<sup>73</sup>. Unfortunately, the efforts to transform the school in an academy were futile. With three schools run by the Jesuits, Braniewo became a well-known centre for not only education, but also science and culture. In 1631, the Jesuits founded a second post-primary school in Warmia located in Reszel. Therefore, an area as small as Warmia had two post-primary schools. Those two facilities did not compete for students, but complemented each other. Most of the students of those schools as well as the Papal Alumnat chose life in the clergy after graduation. They commenced pastoral work in Warmia, but also in Royal Prussia, Livonia, missionary Jesuit institutions in Ducal Prussia, Grand Duchy of Lithuania as well as in Lesser and Greater Poland. The grandeur of education in Braniewo was ensured by Jesuit teachers and rectors of the college. There were many German natives among the rectors, but there was no shortage of Czechs, Italians and Netherlanders. The Rector was appointed by the General of the Order. The Rector, in fact, headed a five-year-long post-primary school, the Papal Alumnat, a seminar, managed the library, a printing house, supervised the monastic school and dormitory for the poor students. His term lasted for three years. In the 18th century, some rectors served for six or even twelve years. The Jesuits were in constant motion; every three years they moved to a different college. Rectors of the Braniewo College taught in Jesuit post-primary schools in Płock, Lublin, Reszel, Pińsk, Kowno, Orsha, Grodno, Pułtusk, Łomża, Nieśwież and at the Academy of Vilnius. It is possible to notice a very strong link of the Braniewo College and Vilnius. Braniewo Jesuits were also rectors in Dorpat, Riga and Daugavpils<sup>74</sup>. They shaped clerics not only in the Braniewo seminar. Regens of the Braniewo seminar worked mainly in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Livonia.<sup>75</sup>

Warmia also attracted artists thanks to numerous commissions of bishops and canons wanting to beautify the Warmian churches. It is enough to examine the history of the Frombork cathedral, its artistic interior, as well as the fate of the temple in Święta Lipka, Krosno, Chwałęcín or Chruścielcu to determine how many painters, sculptors, wood carvers, carpenters, goldsmiths from outside Warmia worked for the church officials of the region. In turn, artistic workshops developed in Warmia helped to decorate churches in the Grand Duchy of Lithu-

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<sup>72</sup> G. Luhr, *Die Schuler des Braunsberger Gymnasiums von 1694 bis 1776*, Monumenta Historiae Warmiensis, Bd. 12, Braunsberg 1934; A. Triller, *Das Jesuitenkolleg 1565–1772*, ZGAE, 1966, Bd. 30, pp. 497–516; S. Achremczyk, *Uczniowie kolegium jezuickiego w Braniewie w latach 1694–1776*, KMW, 1982, nr 4, pp. 299–323.

<sup>73</sup> Idem, *Wkład braniewskiego Hosianum w kształcenie elit Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej*, in: *Cor Dioecesis*, pp. 121–143.

<sup>74</sup> J. Żyśk, *Życie i działalność rektorów kolegium braniewskiego*, in: *Cor dioecesis*, pp. 98 n.

<sup>75</sup> S. Skienziul, *Regensi Seminarium Duchownego w Braniewie w okresie jezuickim*, in: *Cor Dioecesis*, pp. 107–120.



ania. Therefore, the artistic influences in Warmia and Poland interpenetrated each other.

It may be said that the position of Warmia in the Polish Kingdom depended on the stance of its Prince-Bishops and canons. With the importance of individual Prince-Bishops in the country recognition of Warmia grew within the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

#### **Stanisław Achremczyk, *Warmia w Rzeczypospolitej***

##### Streszczenie

Warmia rządzona przez biskupów i kapitułę przez 306 lat znajdowała się w granicach Królestwa Polskiego. Biskup warmiński Paweł Legendorf był pierwszym biskupem, który został poddany wraz ze swymi mieszkańcami króla polskiego a ostatnim polskim biskupem był Ignacy Krasicki. Mocą pokoju toruńskiego z 1466 roku dominium warmińskie wraz z Pomorzem Gdańskim, ziemią chełmińską i powiślańską stało się częścią Królestwa Polskiego. Stosunek Warmii do Królestwa regulowały dwa traktaty z roku 1479 i 1512 dotyczące wyboru biskupów. Traktaty wprowadziły gwarantowały kapitulę prawo wyboru biskupa ale w rzeczywistości wola króla decydowała kto biskupem zostanie. Biskup warmiński od 1569 roku zasiadał w senacie państwa i to na wysokiej szóstej pozycji, brał udział w sejmach polskich a od roku 1508 był też prezesem ziem pruskich czyli najważniejszą osobą w Prusach Królewskich. Warmińskie biskupstwo uważano za jedno z ważniejszych biskupstw polskich. Biskupi warmińscy sięgali po najwyższe godności w Rzeczypospolitej – zostawali podkanclerzami koronnymi i kanclerzami wielkimi koronnymi, kardynałami i arcybiskupami gnieźnieńskimi. Do historii jako literaci i uczeni przeszli: Stanisław Hozjusz, Marcin Kromer, Jan Dantyszek a zwłaszcza Ignacy Krasicki. Obecność biskupów z koronnych rodów magnackich umacniała związki Warmii z resztą ziem polskich. Wraz z osiedleniem się jezuitów w Braniewie i utworzeniem gimnazjum, Alumnatu Papieskiego i seminarium duchownego Warmia zaczęła oddziaływać na pozostałe ziemie polskie a nawet nadbałtyckie. Natomiast Reszel wyrastał na ważny ośrodek rzemieślniczy oraz szkolny bowiem w tym mieście jezuita powołał do życia drugie na Warmii gimnazjum. Obecności Polacy na Warmii świadczą barokowe świątynie w Stoczku Klasztornym, Krośnie, Chwałęcinie, Chruścielu a przede wszystkim w Świętej Lipce leżącej poza granicami dominium ale z dominium ściśle związanej. Wpływy polskie szły przez nadania dóbr ziemskich szlacheckim rodom przybyłym na Warmię wraz z biskupami. Spolonizowała się kapituła warmińska. Mieszkańcami Warmii byli Niemcy i Polacy i tak pozostało do 1945 roku.

#### **Stanisław Achremczyk, *Ermland in der Republik Polen (Rzeczpospolita)***

##### Zusammenfassung

Das ermländische Dominium, das durch die Bischöfe und das Kapitel verwaltet wurde, befand sich 306 Jahre lang innerhalb der Grenzen des Königreichs Polen. Der Bischof Ermlands, Paweł Legendorf, war der erste Bischof, der zusammen mit seinen Landsleuten zum Untertan des polnischen Königs wurde; der letzte polnische Bischof war Ignacy Krasicki. Kraft des Thorner Friedens von 1466 wurde das ermländische Dominium zusammen mit Pommerellen, Kulmer- und Weichselland zum Teil des Königreichs Polen. Das Verhältnis des Ermlands zur polnischen Krone regelten zwei Abkommen, von 1479 und 1512, die die Wahl der Bischöfe betrafen. Der Bischof Ermlands gehörte seit 1569 dem staatlichen Senat an, er bekleidete sogar eine hohe – sechste – Position, nahm an polnischen Sejmen teil, seit 1508 war er als Vorsitzender der preußischen Gebiete zu der wichtigsten Person in Königlich Preußen. Das Bistum Ermland gehörte zu den wichtigsten Bistümern in Polen, nicht nur wegen der hohen politischen Position des Bischofs im Staat, sondern auch wegen der finanziellen Einkommen. Die Bischöfe Ermlands bekleideten die höchsten Ämter in der Republik Polen, sie wurden zu Vizekanzlern und Kanzlern, Kardinälen und den Erzbischöfen von Gnesen (Gnesen). Als sich in Braunsberg die Jesuiten niederließen und das Gymnasium, das Päpstliche Alumnat und das Priesterseminar gründeten, begann Ermland auf andere polnische Gebiete sowie auf die baltischen Länder Einfluss zu nehmen. Von der Präsenz Polens im Ermland zeugen barocke Kirchen in Stoczek Klasztorny (Springborn), Krosno (Krossen), Chwałęcín (Stegmannsdorf), Chruściel (Tiedmannsdorf), aber vor allem in Święta Lipka (Heilige Linde), das zwar außerhalb der Grenzen des Dominiums lag, aber mit ihm eng verbunden war. Die polnischen Einflüsse manifestierten sich auch darin,

dass es hier die Ländereien an die adeligen Geschlechter verliehen wurden, die nach Ermland zusammen mit den Bischöfen angekommen waren. Das ermländische Kapitel ließ sich polonisieren. Ermland wurde von den Deutschen und Polen bewohnt, dieser Stand blieb bis 1945 erhalten.

Übersetzt von Alina Kuzborska

prof. dr hab. Stanisław Achremczyk  
Ośrodek Badań Naukowych  
im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie  
The Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre  
in Olsztyn  
stanislaw.achremczyk@obn.olsztyn.pl

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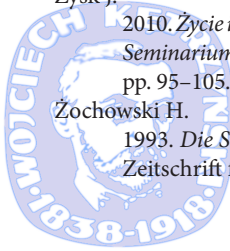
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