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THE WARMIAN PRINCE-BISHOP PAUL LEGENDORF (CA. 1410–1467). BETWEEN THE TEUTONIC ORDER AND POLAND

Słowa kluczowe: Warmia, biskupstwo warmińskie, zakon krzyżacki, wojny Polski z Krzyżakami

Schlüsselwörter: Ermland, Fürstbistum Ermland, Deutsche Orden, Polnisch-teutonische Kriege

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The behaviour of an individual is frequently determined by events over which that individual has limited power, with resulting choices appearing as controversial, especially if assessed after centuries. Paul Legendorf is an example of such an individual – his life and activities were conditioned by the difficult neighbourly relations with the Teutonic State in Prussia and the Polish Crown. The situation of the son of the Chełmno Land, which was governed by the Teutonic Order when Paul Legendorf came to this world at the beginning of the 15th century, became much more complex in the middle of that century after a repudiation of allegiance followed by a declaration of war against the Order stated by Chełmno Land's inhabitants. The position of Paul Legendorf became even more uncomfortable when in the course of the Thirteen Years' War between the Teutonic State and the Polish Crown (1454–1466), more specifically in autumn 1458, he was appointed by the Pope to the position of a Warmian diocese administrator (curiously enough, he ineffectively tried to seize a position at his domestic Chełmno diocese). Ever since he came to Warmia in the summer of 1460 until the end of the Thirteen Years' War in autumn 1466, he was forced to maintain the balance between the conflicted parties.

The life and activities of Paul Legendorf have been discussed by a number of authors in the form of a biography or extended description. His persona was presented by Anton Eichhorn (1858)¹, Kamila Wróblewska (1966)², Adolf Poschmann

¹ A. Eichhorn, *Paul Stange v. Legendorf (1458–1467)*, in: idem, *Geschichte der ermländischen Bischofswahlen*, Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands (ZGAE), 1858, Bd. 1, H. 1, pp. 140–149; idem, *Der im geheimen Archiv des Domcapitels zu Frauenburg in Schiebl. S. No. 1 befindliche Codex*, ZGAE, 1876, Bd. 6, H. 1, pp. 190–200.

² K. Wróblewska, *Późnogotycka brązowa płyta nagrobna biskupa warmińskiego Pawła Legendorfa*, Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie (KMW), 1966, nr 1, pp. 99–126; eadem, *Łukasz Watzzenrode jako fundator dzieł sztuki. (Z zagadnień mecenatu artystycznego na Warmii z przełomu XV i XVI stulecia)*, KMW, 1972, nr 1, pp. 149–157.

(1967)³, Karol Górski (1972)⁴, Tadeusz Oracki (1988)⁵, Roman Marchwiński (1994)⁶, Hans-Jürgen Karp (1996)⁷, Teresa Borawska (1996 and 1997)⁸ as well as Jerzy Sikorski (1998)⁹. The actions of Paul Legendorf during the Thirteen Years' War were most broadly analysed by Victor Röhrich¹⁰ and Marian Biskup¹¹, along with Wilhelm Brüning¹², Antoni Prochaska¹³, Jan Friedberg¹⁴ and Janusz Smołuca¹⁵. Crucial information on the War and the role of Paul Legendorf in its course is delivered by contemporary chronicles¹⁶.

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Paul Legendorf was born probably around 1410 to Janusz, a Chełmno judge, and a daughter of Janusz Kościelecki (her name is not known), Inowrocław

³ [A.] Poschmann, *Paul Stange von Legendorf*, in: *Altpreussische Biographie*, Bd. II: Maltitz-Z, hrsg. von Ch. Krollmann, K. Forstreuter, F. Gause, Marburg/Lahn 1967, p. 491. To this topic is irrelevant an article signaled by author: H. Deppner, *Die kirchenpolitische Verhältnisse Elbings zum Bischof von Ermland in der Zeit der polnischen Fremdherrschaft (1466–1772)*, *Elbinger Jahrbuch*, 1933, H. 11, pp. 121–236.

⁴ K. Górski, *Legendorf Paweł h. Stango (ur. między 1410 a 1420–1467)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny* (PSB), t. XVII, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1972, pp. 1–3.

⁵ T. Oracki, *Legendorf (Stango, Mgowski) Paweł*, in: idem, *Słownik biograficzny Warmii, Prus Książęcych i Ziemi Malborskiej od połowy XV do końca XVIII wieku*, T. 2: L–Ż, Olsztyn 1988, pp. 7–8.

⁶ R. Marchwiński, *Paweł Legendorf (1460–1467)*, in: S. Achremczyk, R. Marchwiński, J. Przeracki, *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, Olsztyn 1994, pp. 7375.

⁷ H.-J. Karp, *Legendorf, Paul Stange von (um 1415–1467)*, in: *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1448 bis 1648. Ein biographischer Lexikon*, hrsg. von E. Gatz, Berlin 1996, p. 412.

⁸ T. Borawska, *Legendorf Paweł*, in: *Słownik biograficzny kapituły warmińskiej*, ed. by: J. Guzowski, Olsztyn 1996, pp. 145–146; eadem, *Legendorf Paweł h. Stango (ok. 1415–1467)*, in: *Słownik biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego* (SBPN), t. III: L–P, ed. by: Z. Nowak, Gdańsk 1997, p. 42.

⁹ J. Sikorski, *Paweł Legendorf (1415–1467, biskup warmiński w latach 1458–1467)*, in: *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, ed. by: S. Achremczyk, Olsztyn 2008, pp. 73–78.

¹⁰ V. Röhrich, *Ermland im dreizehnjährigen Städtekrige*, ZGAE, 1894, Bd. 11, H. 1, pp. 161–260; 1895, Bd. 11, H. 2, pp. 337–489.

¹¹ M. Biskup, *Trzynastoletnia wojna z Zakonem Krzyżackim 1454–1466*, Warszawa 1967.

¹² W. Brüning, *Die Stellung des Bistums Ermland zum deutschen Orden im dreizehnjährigen Städtekrige*, *Altpreussische Monatsschrift*, 1892, Bd. 29, pp. 1–69; 1895, Bd. 32, pp. 1–72.

¹³ A. Prochaska, *Warmia w czasie trzynastoletniej wojny z Zakonem niemieckim*, *Kwartalnik Historyczny* (KH), 1898, R. XII, pp. 778–799.

¹⁴ J. Friedberg, *Zatarg Polski z Rzymem w czasie wojny trzynastoletniej (Przyczynki do historii dyplomacji krzyżackiej)*, KH, 1910, R. XXIV, z. 3/4, pp. 422–467.

¹⁵ J. Smołuca, *Spór o biskupstwo warmińskie w czasie wojny trzynastoletniej na tle stosunków Polski z papieżem w połowin XV wieku*, *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, 2005, [Nr.] 1279, *Prace Historyczne*, Z. 132, pp. 47–55; idem, *Polityka Kurii Rzymskiej za pontyfikatu Piusa II (1458–1464) wobec Czech i krajów sąsiednich. Z dziejów dyplomacji papieskiej w XV wieku*, Kraków 2008.

¹⁶ *Johann Lindaus Geschichte des dreizehnjährigen Krieges*, hrsg. von Th. Hirsch, in: *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum* (SRP), Bd. IV, hrsg. von Th. Hirsch, M. Toeppen, E. Strehlke, Leipzig 1870, pp. 490–675; C. Schütz, *Historia rerum Prussicarum*, Leipzig 1599; *Johannis Plastwici, Decani Warmiensis Chronicon de vitis episcoporum Warmiensium*, in: *Scriptores rerum Warmiensium* (SRW), Bd. I, hrsg. von C. P. Woelky, J. M. Saage, Braunsberg 1866, pp. 10–137; *Christoph Falks Elbingisch-Preussische Chronik. Lobspruch der Stadt Elbing und Fragmente*, hrsg. von M. Toeppen, Leipzig 1879; S. Grunau, *Preussische Chronik*, hrsg. von M. Perlbach, R. Philippi, P. Wagner, Bd. I–III, Leipzig 1876–1896; some fragments in: *Aus Simon Grunau's Preussischer Chronik. Tractat IX, Abschnitt 3*, in: SRW, Bd. II, hrsg. von C.P. Woelky, Braunsberg 1889, pp. 172–219; *Die aeltere Hochmeisterchronik*, bearb. von M. Toeppen, in: SRP, Bd. III, Leipzig 1866, pp. 519–715 (some fragments in: SRW, Bd. I, pp. 357–359); *Die Heilsberger Chronik von Martin Oesterreich*, in: SRW, Bd. II, pp. 317–330; *Jana Długosza Roczniki czyli Kroniki Sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, Księga dwunasta, cz. 1: 1445–1461; cz. 2: 1462–1480, Warszawa 2009.

(Gniewkowo) voivode. The validity of moving the date of birth of the future Warmian Prince-Bishop as far back as around 1410 is justified by the document dated 26 January 1432 connected with Janusz Legendorf, more specifically – his younger son Paul (though his name is not directly provided in the document).

Namely, the Commanders of Tczew and Bałga wrote to the Grand Master Paul von Russdorf that Janusz Legendorf informed them about a severe illness of the Domnowo parish priest. Janusz asked those komturs to contact the Grand Master in relation to his son, who took over the parish in Mątowy Wielkie, and inquire whether von Russdorf would grant his son a different, better parish to support his studies. They both asked the letter addressee to consider whether it would be appropriate to keep the abovementioned parish [in Domnowo], should it become vacant, for Janusz's son considering the expenses for his education, if the addressee is able to provide such a favour¹⁷. The senders of this letter are not accidental if the administrative location of the two parishes is considered: Mątowy Wielkie belonged to the Tczew commandery, while Domnowo to Bałga's commandery. The request of Janusz is therefore a proof of his splendid orientation in the matters of cooperation between the secular and religious authorities in the Teutonic State.

The letter suggests that in 1431 at the latest did Paul become the parish priest in Mątowy Wielkie in the Pomezanian diocese, the function he wanted to resign from at the end of January 1432 through the agency of his father. In fact, the document quoted below does not confirm that Paul took over the parish in Domnowo (is only a proof of such effort)¹⁸. It seems, however, that the more profitable (from the standpoint of Janusz Legendorf and academic plans of his son) parish in Domnowo in the then Warmian diocese became vacant after the death of its previous parish priest (not necessarily the one mentioned in 1432) only in 1437. It is proven beyond any doubt by means of a letter from a Pfundmeister in Gdańsk to the Grand Master Paul von Russdorf dated 8 October 1437. The sender delivered the news about the death of the Domnowo parish priest in the course of a diplomatic

¹⁷ *Codex diplomaticus Warmiensis* (CDW), Bd. 4, hrsg. von V. Röhrich, F. Liedtke, H. Schmauch, Braunsberg 1935, Nr 400, p. 445: „her Hans van Logendorffe hath uns vorgebracht nach dem, als im ist gesagt unde undirrichtet, das der pfarrer van Domnaw vaste sere und gantcz swach unde krang sey, darbei uns bitthende, euern gnaden darvan zu schreiben, nach dem als her van seyynes sones wegen di kirche zcu Monthaw obirgap; und der ist durch euernnt willen abegetreten, dobei euwir gnade im hath vorheisen und gelobet, seyme sone zcu stüre in seyme studio eyn andir bessere kirche zcu vorleigen und geben, wo die im durch euwir gnade muchte gefallen“. See also: *Regesta historico-diplomatica Ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum 1198-1525*, bearb. von E. Joachim, hrsg. von W. Hubatsch, Pars I, Vol. 1, Nr. 5940, Göttingen 1948.

¹⁸ T. Borawska, *Legendorf Paweł*, p. 145; eadem, *Legendorf Paweł h. Stango*, p. 42 she writes that at the end of January 1432 Paul received from the Grand Master the parish in Domnowo. CDW publishers, Bd. 4, p. 696, in the index, however, said that Paul [resigned from resignation] from the parish in Mątowy Wielkie, and [only] was trying to get a parish in Domnowo (1432). The mention of Paul's studies or his preparations for them, came from the beginning of 1432, all the more indicates that in 1432 he had to be about twenty-two years old, and also makes us think about whether Leipzig (from 1441) was the first city of his university studies (or maybe Jodok Hohenstein met Paul during his student itineraries before his studies in Leipzig?).

mission to Denmark alongside the Gdańsk komtur¹⁹. It is obvious that the quoted source cannot refer to Paul Legendorf; most probably, he would have been able to seize the Domnowo parish after that date so as to obtain funds for his studies in Leipzig in 1441.

Taking over his first parish in 1431 at the latest, the young parish priest Paul Legendorf would be about twenty-one. Had he been born around 1415, he would have been sixteen at the point of nomination, which does not seem probable²⁰.

In the years 1441–1442, Legendorf studied in Leipzig, where he gained his baccalaureate (bachelor's degree) in the area of liberal arts. Most probably, he travelled to Rome afterwards, where he studied at the Sapienza University²¹ and possibly gained his master's degree there. Before 1447, he wound up at the papal court in Rome and served three subsequent Popes: Nicholas V (1447–1455), Callixtus III (1455–1458) and Pius II (1458–1464). During the papacy of Callixtus III, Paul mainly dealt with issues of the Church in Spain²², though – as will be seen below – crucial matters of Prussian dioceses were also of great interest to him.

Apparently such close contacts with the papal court accelerated Legendorf's religious career. While staying at the Eternal City, he was given further benefits: first archdeaconry in Pomerania (1448) and the Głogów canon (11 December 1448), then the Grudziądz parish. Efforts to obtain them commenced even before 19 February 1448²³, the act of provision took place on 19 December 1448. Dispensation to join the Pomeranian archdeaconry in the Włocławek diocese with the Grudziądz parish in the Chełmno diocese under Paul's authority was issued on 25 September 1449, with the promotion to the above parish taking place on 3 December 1449²⁴. In turn, on 6 August 1451 Paul received the Warmian canon

¹⁹ *Regesta historico-diplomatica*, Pars I, Vol. 1, Nr. 7380.

²⁰ K. Wróblewska, *Późnogotycka brązowa płyta nagrobna*, p.113, podanalyzing the image of the bishop from his tombstone, she drew attention to the realistically depicted his senile face laced with numerous wrinkles and flaccid muscles, which is difficult to reconcile with the age of a man as if he was just in his fifties K. Górski, *Legendorf Paweł h. Stango*, p. 1 situated birth of Paweł between 1410 and 1420.

It is worth noting that from the year about 1410 – which probably facilitated cooperation and mutual understanding, although it did not rule out conflicts - they were: well-known to Legendorf perhaps from his studies in Lipsk and then later periodically as a public prosecutor general of the Order in Rome Jodok Hohenstein (Hogenstein) as well as Grand Master of the Teutonic Order Ludwik von Erlichshausen, or even Stefan Matthiae (son of Mathias) from Nidzica, secretary and counselor of the Grand Master Konrad von Erlichshausen and his nephew Ludwik, parish priest of Elbląg, Legendar competitor to canon in the Warmian Chapter, eventually also the Warmian canon from 1459, and in the years 1479-1495 bishop of Chełmno.

It should also be noted that Eneaszy Sylwiusz Piccolomini, whose long-standing friendship with Legendorf is so often emphasized in the literature of the subject, was born around 1405 and that is why their generational bond was possible; probably it would not be so strong if Paul was born around 1415.

²¹ T. Borawska, *Życie umysłowe na Warmii w czasach Mikołaja Kopernika*, Toruń 1996, p. 83.

²² Eadem, *Legendorf Paweł h. Stango*, p. 42.

²³ *Regesta historico-diplomatica*, Pars I, Vol. 3, Nr. 28 030.

²⁴ *Repertorium Germanicum. Verzeichnis der in den päpstlichen Registern und Kameralakten vorkommenden Personen, Kirchen und Orte des Deutschen Reiches, seiner Diözesen und Territorien vom Beginn des Schismas bis zur Reformation*, Bd. 6: Nikolaus V. (1447–1455), bearb. von J.F. Abert, W. Deeters, Tübingen 1985, no. 4741.

(in spite of a Papal provision dated 14 June 1447, he has to wait with assuming the Frombork canon until the death of Jan Vochs, canon priest), the Gniezno canon (1457) and deanery at the Głogów Chapter (5 October 1457). In 1458, he became the pronotary apostolic (one of seven high clerical officials of the Roman Curia, preparing papal bulls and responsible for them). Finally, on 20 September 1458, the Pope appointed Paul to the position of a Warmian bishopric administrator for one year, prolonging the arrangement for three more years on 1 September 1459. Between 1459 and 1461, the Frombork Chapter selected him to be a Warmian Prince-Bishop by way of canonical election (it happened most probably soon after 15 May 1461, so after preparing the testament and the death of the earlier Chapter elect Arnold Venrade that soon followed)²⁵. The Pope approved the Chapter “elec-

Pauls candidacy for the rectory of Grudziądz was presented by the great master Konrad von Erlichshausen to the Bishop of Chełmno Jan Marienau. Interestingly, in the commission given to Paul for the parish in Grudziądz on December 19, 1448, he wrote: „nova prov [isio] de par [ochiali] eccl [esia] in Gramdemz Culm [ensis] dioc [esis] (4 m [arcarum] arg [entarium]), ad quam vac [ant] p [ost] o [bitumen] Nicolai Stange de Legendorff presentatus fuit p [er] Conradum de Erlicheshausen mag [istrum] gener [alem] hosp [italis] b [eatae] Mari [a] e Theotonicorum Johanni ep [iscopo] Culm [ensi] 19. dec [embris] 1448 ... From 15 October 1434, there is a reference to the still living and certainly with Paul related to Mikołaj Legendorf (like himself, h. Stango): *Regesta historico-diplomatica*, Pars I, Vol. 1, No. 6884. For how long has the Grudziądz parish been vacant? (that is when the death of Mikołaj Legendorf), it is not known.

The above source informations were provided to me by MA Radosław Krajniak (Institute of History and Archivistics of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń), for whom I would like to thank you for this kindness.

G[erhard] Matern, *Die kirchlichen Verhältnisse in Ermland während des späten Mittelalter*, Paderborn 1953, p. 175, stated that the parish in Grudziądz Legendorf received from Konrad von Erlichshausen in 1456 (!). Konrad was a great master of the Order in 1441-1449, and his nephew Ludwig held this office in the years 1450-1467. The complicated error of the author mentioned here was W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, pp. 4 and 8, which inconsistently stated that in the letter from 1456 to Hohenstein (p. 4, footnote 2 - here archival reference) Ludwik dictated to the writer - probably in anger, agitated by reports of a hostile relationship Legendorf to the Order - that he himself gave him a parish in Grudziądz („er selbst sei von diesem mit der Pfarrei zu Graudenz ausgestattet worden“), while in his diary letter to Hohenstein from 1456 (p. 8, footnote 1 - here the lack signatures, but the description shows that the author is referring to the same letter) told Ludwik's words that Paul's owes him the Warmian canon (which is only partially true, because Legendorf received the commission for this canon in 1447 thanks to the support of Konrad, it actually took over in 1451 during Ludwik's reign), and another great master provided him with a parish in Grudziądz („ein anderer Hochmeister habe ihn mit der Pfarre zu Graudenz ausgestattet“). These doubts are resolved by W. Kętrzyński, *O ludności polskiej w Prusiech niegdyś Krzyżackich*, Lviv 1882, p. 595; new edition: an introduction by G. Białuński, Olsztyn 2009, p. 477, quoting the following words of the great master Ludwik from the letter to Hohenstein: our predecessor gave him a parish in Grudziądz („unser vorfar hat em die pfarre feu Grudencz gegeben“).

²⁵ J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 77, wrote that in 1464 King Cassimir Jagiellon called Legendorf „«elected master of Warmia», although in reality he was not an elect”. And yet A. Eichhorn, *Geschichte der ermländischen Bischofswahlen*, pp. 148–149, footnote 4, reported that on 17 July 1461 Legendorf described himself: „Wir Paulus erwelter und bestetigter des Bischthums zum Brunsberge”. This author referred to the source preserved to date from the Archdiocese of Warmia in Olsztyn (hereinafter: AAWO), the Archives of the Chapter (AK), Dok. Kap. C 20: Copiaisheris Pauli Episcopi Varmiensis electi super certis debitis). Apparently the previous elect chapter of the cantor Arnold Venrade, having prepared a testament on 15 May 1461 (see A. Eichhorn, *Geschichte der ermländischen Bischofswahlen*, p. 140, footnote 2; T. Borawska, *Venrade Arnold Coster*, in: *A biographical dictionary of the Warmian Chapter*, p. 265), he died shortly thereafter (moreover, acknowledging papal nomination as a bishop's administrator for Paweł, he cooperated with him perfectly and he also put in his will all his property – see: K. Górski, *Studies and sketches from the history of the Teutonic Order*, Olsztyn 1986, p. 164). Only then could the canons „choose” Legendorf for the bishop, although only formally approving the facts, and Pope Pius II probably at the turn of June and July 1461, he confirmed this election. The new chancellor of the chapter, Bartho-

tions” before 17 July 1461. However, Paul was anointed later, on 21 September 1466 in the church of Saint John the Baptist (today: Saint John the Baptist and John the Evangelist) in Toruń. He performed the function of the Warmian ordinary until his death on 23 July 1467 (he probably died in Braniewo – or nearby – and was buried in St. Catherine’s church).

The seeds of the problem the nominee had to face in his further life may have been seen already in the subsequent parishes he took over. The issue lies in loyalty towards the monarch and authority in general. A particularly complex political situation of neighbouring Teutonic Prussia and Poland in the first half of the 15th-century very often made individuals, families or even entire social groups face double loyalty, causing unavoidable inner conflict of many.

First benefits, probably around the turn of twenties and thirties as well as in the second half of the 1430s, Legendorf owed to the Grand Master Paul von Rusdorf. 1447–1448 nominations were granted by the Pope thanks to the support of Grand Master Konrad von Erlichshausen, but the Gniezno canon required a pledge of allegiance towards the Polish king. Paul took over the administration of the Warmian diocese after the approval of both the Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen (nephew of his predecessor) and the Polish king, Casimir Jagiellon.

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Let us take a closer look at the attitude of Paul Legendorf towards the Teutonic Order and the Polish Crown on the basis of sources (including his letters and related correspondence) as well as reviews, first concerning his stay in Rome (until spring 1460), then as the Warmian diocese administrator and its bishop (from arriving to Warmia in the summer of 1460 until summer 1467)²⁶. The events of the Thirteen Years’ War (presented with great expertise in earlier erudite reviews of German and Polish scholars) shall be recalled here as supplementary, measured only if they are crucial to present the complex conditions of Prince-Bishop Paul’s activity.

lomaeus Liebenwald, was registered at this office for the first time on September 30, 1461 in Litter [a] e concordi [a] e inter Paulum electum et detentores castri Seeburgensis 1461 (AAWO, AK, Dok. Kap. I 38). Also in this agreement, Legendorf was defined as in July 1461 he signed his letters: „Pauwel erwelter und bestetigter bischove der selbigen kirchen [Armelandt]” (Paulus erwelter und bestetigter bischoff zcum Brunsberge). H.-J. Karp, op. cit., p. 412 states that the cathedral chapter made the canonical election of Legendorf to the bishop between 1459 and 1461, and before 17 July 1461, the papal supposition of this fact took place.

Director of the Archive of the Archdiocese of Warmia in Olsztyn, priest prof. dr. hab. Andrzej Kopiczko, I would like to thank for his kindness during the archival inquiry and for kindly expressing his consent to the publication of the above-mentioned document and the great master’s lecture for Bishop Paweł in this article.

²⁶ It is worth noting here, for comparison, an interesting study regarding the attitude of another Bishop of Warmia, Fabian von Lossainen to the Order: K. Forstreuter, *Fabian von Lossainen und der Deutsche Orden*, in: idem, *Beiträge zur preussischen Geschichte im. 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Hamburg 1960, pp. 42–55.

I

The father of the future Warmian Prince-Bishop, namely Janusz Legendorf, a descendant of the Stango family which arrived to Prussia in the 13th century from Thuringia (the name “Legendorf” is derived from the German name of the Mgowo village located on the Chełmno Land)²⁷, a subject of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, declared his allegiance towards king Władysław Jogajlla in 1410 during the “great war” of the Kingdom of Poland with the Order (1409–1411). However, he was then captured by the Teutonic Knights and regained his freedom in return for a Teutonic supporter captured by the Poles. After the war, he was released from a court sentence so he operated as a diplomat (and a translator) in the service of the Order later on. For over a quarter century, Janusz was the *iudex terrestris* of the Chełmno Land. He advocated maintaining peace with Poland. In autumn 1432, he was appointed by the Grand Master Paul von Rusdorf (alongside Jan Bażyński) to be the member of a Secret Council (gathering in Toruń), which, in agreement with the cities, would advise the highest authority in the Order²⁸.

Jan and Paul were the sons of Janusz. Jan was the member of the anti-Teutonic Lizard Union (established in 1397) and a co-founder of the Prussian Confederation (established in 1440) presenting a similar attitude; he was a strong opponent of the Teutonic Order. He died in 1456 while defending the castle in Radzyń Chełmiński. Already with the example of Paul Legendorf’s father and brother it is possible to notice the complex situation of the inhabitants of the Chełmno Land, who had to make burdensome attempts to balance the delicate and highly relevant issue of loyalty towards the Order as well as the Polish Kingdom.

Paul left the Chełmno Land to settle in the Eternal City after his studies, at the beginning of 1440s at the latest. While in Rome, he probably searched for connections with people from Prussia. One of them was the Gdańsk-born prosecutor of the Teutonic Order, Jodok Hohenstein, probably his peer, with whom Legendorf grew very close even though their acquaintance suffered through a lot. Paul realised his dependence on the Teutonic Order since in a letter to the prosecutor Hohenstein written in the spring of 1452 he acknowledges the Grand Master as his sovereign and the Order as the benefactor of his family²⁹. Hohenstein engaged in

²⁷ K. Górski, *Legendorf Paweł h. Stango*, p. 2. Por. E. Gigilewicz, *Herby biskupów warmińskich*, Lublin 2001, p. 89; in Germany, the Stango family did not belong to the proper knights, but to the knights’ services. Her coat of arms depicted: „In a silver field a natural shield [trunk of a tree] in a slant, with three three-leaf branches and three knots on both sides ([Tomasz] Treter: emblem in a blue field)” – ibidem.

²⁸ T. Borawska, *Legendorf (Logendorf) Janusz (Hannus) h. Stango*, SBPN, t. 3, pp. 41–42.

²⁹ V. Röhrich, op. cit., s. 398; G. Sommerfeldt, *Die von Legendorff im 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert*, Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins (ZWG), 1904, H. 46, p. 116. Legendorf wrote: „Alle die meinen haben wohlthaten und güter empfangen von meinem herrn und dem orden; darum bin ich pflichtig zu thun, was meinem herrn gefällt“.

a very close acquaintance with Legendorf; their relationship was friendly, or even intimate, as the prosecutor claimed in a letter to the Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen, dated June 1452, that Legendorf is like a brother to him³⁰.

However, a clash that the Order's officials did not foresee and did not expect at all soon took place. Namely, in 1447, the Grand Master Konrad von Erlichshausen made a successful effort via the hands of this vice prosecutor in Rome, Lurentius Blumenau, to obtain an indult from the Pope Nicolas V, granting him the right to appoint officials for two Warmian canons. Legendorf, as the Warmian canon priest, ignoring his recent declarations of loyalty and gratitude towards the Grand Master and the Order, strongly supported the stance of the Warmian Chapter in this delicate political and church-related matter. We learn about it from, for instance, the letter from Lurentius Blumenau written in Dillingen on 23 July 1452 and sent to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order³¹. Blumenau bitterly asserts that even though Legendorf is aware of the fact that he owes the Grudziądz parish function to the Order and his family profited from the relationship with the Teutonic Knights. He firmly stood on the side of its opponents in the dispute over the above papal indult. What's more, using his considerable influence at the Curia as a papal *scriptor et familiaris*, he led to the cancellation of that privilege by the same Nicholas V who granted the indult to the Grand Master. It is striking that the papal bull was dated 7 April 1453, which revokes the indult issued six years before was countersigned by Legendorf himself. Was it a demonstration of solidarity with Warmian confreres or something more? It seems that Legendorf rightly assumed that the Grand Master took his pride and possessiveness too far. He should have remembered that – apart from the first Warmian Prince-Bishop, Anzelm, a Teutonic clergyman – none of the subsequent Prince-Bishops or Frombork canon priests was a member of the Order (it seems likely that the submissiveness and unlimited support of the Warmian ordinary, Francis Kuhschmalz, stimulated the Grand Master's audacity). Surely, the Grand Master Konrad von Erlichshausen did not expect such a robust and uncompromised reaction of Paul Legendorf, all in all – his subject.

In truth, it was but an incident, though it definitely affected further relations of Legendorf with the Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen and other Order representatives. Soon, this change of attitude towards the Order solidified, possibly as a result of insight gained by Legendorf during his stay in Prussia. Legendorf could then observe the damage and baseness caused by the dominance of the Order in the Chełmno Land and the entirety of Prussia. Adding to it the contact and discussions with family members as well as Prussian Confederation agitators, his

³⁰ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 398.

³¹ W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 4, footnote 3 and p. 5.

sympathy towards the Order diminished significantly. After his return to Rome, the previously close contact with the prosecutor Hohenstein grew more distant, leading to each of them going their separate way³².

In this context, the letter dated 26 August 1454, sent from Rome by Legendorf to the governor Jan Bażyński is very expressive. Paul declared his position as a sworn enemy of the Teutonic Order (acknowledging the Polish king as his monarch), a significant agent in Prussian matters and a devout protector of the future of his motherland (meaning Prussia, especially the Chełmno Land). Jan Lutek of Brzezie, a deputy of the Polish king, destroyed the plans of the Order's prosecutor Hohenstein (which was openly confirmed by the papal secretary Legendorf) and did not allow the application of legal measures against the Prussian Confederation, namely Church censures concerning its members³³.

The growing distance between Hohenstein and Legendorf is mentioned by the Order's prosecutor himself in his letters from Rome to Andreas Sandberg, the chaplain of the Grand Master, dated 28 April 1455 and 16 July 1456³⁴. The prosecutor wrote that Legendorf tried to downplay his importance and influence in the Curia and rejected the accusations of partisan animosity to the Teutonic Knights, ensuring them about his affection for the Order. The evolution of Legendorf's political views worried the Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen. In the letter to Hohenstein dated 1456 (no place or exact date), related to the fact that persons coming back from Rome report that the canon priest Legendorf is a vicious enemy of the Grand Master and the Order, not only accusing the Order of lies and deceit, but also cooperating with Poles against the Order with all his might³⁵. Further in his letter, Ludwig von Erlichshausen reminded that Legendorf is supposed to be grateful to the Order as his ancestors and relatives benefited from the relationship

³² V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 400.

³³ G. Sommerfeldt, *Drei Handfesten aus ehemals Lehdorffschen Gebiet, 1373, 1446, 1473, und einige die ältere Vergangenheit dieser Geschlechts betreffende anderweitige Urkunden, 1424, 1454, 1471, 1484*, Mitteilungen der Literarischen Gesellschaft Masovia (MLG Masovia), 1907, H. 12, pp. 147–148; W. Kętrzyński, op. cit., p. 594 (ed. 1882); s. 476 (ed. 2009); W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 5; M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 234; original letter: State Archives in Toruń, Files of the city of Toruń, Kat. I, no. 1546. Legendorf defines the candidate of the Polish side for the Warmia bishopric, vicekancler Jan Lutek from Brzezia: „dominus Lutko, utriusque iuris doctor, serenissimi domini nostri et Poloniae regis orator“, mentioning his counteractions in the curia regarding the candidacies of Arnold Venrade and Eneas Sylwiusza Piccolomini to the capital of Lidzbark. In the version presented by W. Kętrzyński, this letter contains several erroneous lessons, the most serious of which concerns the fragment: „quibus Albanis de mense presenti sex milia ducatorum ipisipotentibus sanctissimus dominus noster in subsidium donavit“ (with Kętrzyński: „serenissimus dominus noster“, which suggests person of the Polish king, while Legendorf writes indisputably about the Pope).

³⁴ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 400; W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 6.

³⁵ W. Kętrzyński, op. cit., p. 594 (ed. 1882), pp. 476–477 (ed. 2009): „wir frauomen und uns wirt von velen, die von Rome komen, gesagt, wie Paulus von Logendorf, thumherr czur Frauenburg uns und unsern orden swerer fynd sey, wie her obir unsern orden tichte und offenbar mache mancherley logen und trugen, damit her uns allir werld unmeer machen mochte, sunderlich das her vor die Polan und widder sey nach all seyem vormogen“.

with the Order, along with the fact that the previous Grand Master granted him the Grudziądz parish. On the contrary, Legendorf beat his secretary and advisor, Stefan of Neidenburg, in the efforts to seize the Warmian canon³⁶. The Grand Master called for Hohenstein to follow the advice of the cardinal – the protector of the Order – and, after presenting a letter of credence to the Pope expressed his humble request to silence Legendorf³⁷.

The fact that Legendorf assured Hohenstein about his favourable attitude towards the Order may have been related to the upcoming appointment for the Chełmno bishopric, Paul's home diocese (in the documents granting him his benefits, "master Paul Stanghe von Legendorf" was referred to as a Chełmno cleric).

The venerable and not Order-oriented ordinary of this diocese, Prince-Bishop Johann Marienau, the longest-serving head of a diocese in the Teutonic State, had decided to resign from his position in 1456, after forty years of service³⁸. He saw Paul Legendorf, with whom he probably discussed the matter, as his successor. Within the Curia, Paul had the opinion of a Polish supporter, hence the firm resistance of Hohenstein towards this candidature³⁹. The Chełmno diocese was of greater importance to the Order than the Warmian one, so he could not support an uncertain option. Prince-Bishop Marienau died in Toruń in March (probably 7 March) 1457, which made it difficult for Legendorf to make an effort regarding his home diocese⁴⁰. The reluctance of the Order in appointing Paul to this position is clearly visible in the letter of an Elbląg komtur to a Pomezanian bishop, enclosed to the letter dated 28 March 1457, addressed to the Grand Master.⁴¹

In April 1463, several Chełmno canon priests in Nowe Miasto Lubawskie selected the Grand Master's secretary Andreas Sandberg to be the new Chełmno bishop, while others in Chełmża voted in favour of the official Bartolomaeus Rogser (Rockser), whose deputy travelled to Rome with a letter of recommendation

³⁶ W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, pp. 4, 8; W. Kętrzyński, op. cit., p. 595 (ed. 1882), p. 477 (ed. 2009): „Alle seyne voreldern und geschlechte haben ir gut und wolfart empfangen von unserm orden, selbist haben wir em czwar leides nicht getan, das wir wissen, denne das wir unsern getruwen secretarium Steffanum haben vormocht seyne thumereye czur Frauenburg czu obirgebein und sie Paulo eynczurenwmen – unser vorfar hat em die pfarre Grudencz gegeben – haben wir en domit so hoch geleydiget adir vorczornet, so ist es uns leit usz herczen“.

³⁷ W. Kętrzyński, op. cit., p. 595 (ed. 1882 r.), p. 477 (ed. 2009 r.): „Fuget euch mit rathe unsers herren protektoris czum heyligen vater und durch macht unserer credencien in unserm grossen briff berurt, vorczelet eyn solchs seiner heilichkeit und bittet deemutiklich, das her dem berurten Paulo eyn solches vorder czu thun vorbiete und en darynne stille. Gott mag uns helfen, wer uns ichts guts thut czu dinste, das wirs em mogen vorgelden“.

³⁸ M. Sumowski, *Jan Marienau biskup chełmiński (1416–1467)*, KMW, 2011, nr 3, p. 501 n. (about the controversy around the date of his death and the place of burial: ibidem, p. 517).

³⁹ W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 7 and footnote 1: about his intervention to the Pope against Legendorf's candidacy, the prosecutor informed the Grand Master in a letter of 16 July 1456.

⁴⁰ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 513.

⁴¹ W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 7, footnote 2 – in the Elbląg commander's letter there was this sentence: „Ist zcubesorgen, das Logendorff sich gar harth in die sache legen wirt und setzen“.

from Casimir Jagiellon. Prosecutor Hohenstein did all he could to transfer this case to cardinal Enea Silvio Piccolomini to consider. At that point, Hohenstein found himself in the company of Paul Legendorf for rather unknown reasons⁴².

The issue of the Chełmno diocese got complicated: Piccolomini did not approve Hohenstein's candidate⁴³, Andreas Sandberg died on 9 September 1457, a new Teutonic candidate that came to Rome, Laurentius Zenkenzine (of Zaskoczyn), was imprisoned by Hohenstein for two months. Finally, in April 1458, the Pope suspended this dispute for six months.

Earlier, on 10 June 1457, the Warmian Prince-Bishop Francis Kuhschmalz, "the uncompromised enemy of the Prussian Confederation and Poland till his last breath", died in Wrocław. Attention had to be focused on appointing his successor as the Roman Curia saw that diocese as more important than the intrigues of the Chełmno bishopric appointment⁴⁴. Nota bene, Bartholomeaus Rogser changed his front in time and, after gaining the support of the Grand Master, on 3 March 1460 was approved as the Chełmno elect to become the diocese ordinary by the new – since 19 August 1458 – Pope Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini)⁴⁵. However, in 1466 – facing the war lost by the Order – Bishop Bartholomeaus had to resign (he died on 7 May 1492)⁴⁶.

From that point, only the Warmian diocese could be of interest to Legendorf. Since summer 1451, he was a Warmian canon priest and the Frombork confreres were probably obliged to support him in return for his utter devotion in the battle for revoking the 1447 papal indult giving the Grand Master the right to appoint heads of two Warmian canons, declared void by the already mentioned 1453 bull.

After the death of Prince-Bishop Kuhschmalz, the problem with appointing a new Warmian ordinary appeared to be even greater than in the case of the Chełmno diocese as a result of the decentralisation of the Frombork Chapter. Already on 12 June 1457, a part of the Chapter in Głogów, with the dean and chronicler Johann Plastwich, selected cardinal Enea Silvio Piccolomini to be the new Warmian Prince-Bishop and sent Bartholomeaus Liebenwald to Rome with the mission of obtaining an approval. At the same time in Gdańsk, three canon priests led by Augustin Tiergart supported the candidature of Jan Lutek of Brzezie⁴⁷,

⁴² Cyt. za: M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 513. Perhaps the change in Paweł's attitude to Hohenstein was already connected with Legendorf's plans regarding his efforts for the Chełmno or Warmian bishopric. Legendorf probably had information that the days of the seriously ill bishop of Warmia, Francis Kuhschmalz, were numbered and the re-approach to Hohenstein was probably a well-considered element of the long-term game, at the rate of one of the above-mentioned episcopal stools.

⁴³ In the end, Jodok Hohenstein was promoted on the 12th of July 1458 to the Osilian bishopric, but he did not take over until 1469; he died on January 17, 1471 in Hapsal (H. Freytag, *Die Geschäftsträger des Deutschen Ordens an der Römischen Kurie von 1309 bis 1525*, ZWG, 1907, H. 49, pp. 210–211).

⁴⁴ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 514.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 560.

⁴⁶ M. Sumowski, op. cit., p. 518.

⁴⁷ B. Janiszewska-Mincer, *Jan Lutkowie (Lutek) z Brzezia (ok. 1405-1471)*, in: PSB, t. X, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1963, p. 443–445. In 1463, he received a commission for the Włocławek bishopric (he took it

the Polish subchancellor, and also sent deputies to the Eternal City, hoping for a consent. In autumn 1457, the remaining six canon priests staying at Koenigsberg appointed cantor Arnold Venrade – candidate of the Order – though this information could not reach the city on the Tiber soon enough as the hypothetical deputies of this candidate would not be allowed to pass through Warmia by the mercenaries of the Polish king.

Pope Callixtus III approved the candidature of Enea Silvio Piccolomini on the basis of the so-called “right of devolution”. The cardinal accepted this function at the end of August 1457⁴⁸. “The new elect at once sent his prosecutor Liebenwald to Prussia with letters to the Polish king and the Grand Master, asking them to allow his deputy to take over the divided Warmian land”⁴⁹. As Arnold Venrade withdrew his candidature and Jan Lutek of Brzeznie did not stand a real chance, only Piccolomini remained on the battlefield. However – in spite of the generosity and entrepreneurship of Liebenwald who tried to represent him in Warmia – the cardinal could not seize the authority in the Warmian diocese. That is why after the death of Callixtus III on 6 August 1458 he accepted the decision of the 19 August conclave to become the successor of St. Peter as Pius II (resigning from the function of the Warmian ordinary, assigned to him by a nominating bull of Callixtus III)⁵⁰.

Under such circumstances, a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for Paul Legendorf to seize the Warmian bishopric presented itself. The new Pope – experiencing the difficulty of gaining support of both sides of the war on Warmia – did not consider canon priest Bartholomeaus Liebenwald, who tried to manage the diocese in his name when he was the Prince-Bishop elect, fit for this function. He decided to support a person who could be accepted by both the Polish king and the Grand Master, as this was the only way to mitigate the conflict. To his mind, the Curia employee Paul Legendorf, whom he knew for a long time and was in a cordial relation with, was such a person. His closeness to prosecutor Hohenstein at that time strengthened the Pope’s opinion⁵¹.

On 20 September 1458, the Pope appointed Legendorf to be the administrator *in spiritualibus et saecularibus* of the Warmian diocese for one year. Hohenstein informed the Grand Master about this decision in a letter dated 24 September 1458.⁵² On 1 September 1459, Pius II prolonged this appointment for further three years, hoping that after such a period (or soon after) Legendorf would be ordained

on March 1, 1466), and in October 1466 (after Jan Gruszczyński was promoted to the archbishopric of Gniezno) he took over the Cracow bishopric and therefore he made the sub-chancellor’s office.

⁴⁸ J. Smółucha, *Spór o biskupstwo warmińskie*, p. 50; M. Biskup, K. Górski, *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk. Zbiór studiów o Polsce drugiej połowy XV wieku*, Warszawa 1987, p. 201.

⁴⁹ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 514.

⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. 515; J. Smółucha, *Spór o biskupstwo warmińskie*, p. 52.

⁵¹ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 556.

⁵² W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 8.

and assume actual authority over the diocese⁵³. For the time being, in September 1458, Legendorf decided to send Liebenwald as a vicar general of the Warmian diocese (his mission lasting until the end of August 1459 was a failure and the determined traveller had no reason to recall it with fondness⁵⁴), while he remained in Rome where the preparations for a congress of Christian rulers was to be organised in order to decide upon an anti-Turkish crusade. This congress began in autumn 1459 in Mantua. It is plausible that Legendorf wanted both sides of the Prussian conflict to grow accustomed to the idea of him being the new administrator of the Warmian bishopric. Perhaps he wanted to attend the congress knowing the significance of this crusade to Pius II. Maybe he wanted to meet with Teutonic and Polish notables during the discussions. Prosecutor Hohenstein, also visiting Mantua, informed the Frankian komtur and the German Grand Master Ulrich von Lentersheim (Lautersheim) about Paul's arrival to the city in a letter dated 17 September 1459. He claimed that Legendorf enjoys the particular benevolence of the Pope⁵⁵.

At the end of September 1459, Legendorf met the Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen in Mantua. The tone of the discussion was probably very tense as previously, on 17 September 1459, during a congress initiated by the representatives of the Joannites, a college of cardinals considered the proposal of the Papacy about joining various military orders with the Teutonic Knights who have completed their mission in Prussia. Prosecutor Hohenstein rejected this project, in the eyes of the Order inspired by the Polish party, especially as in November 1459 the representatives of the Polish king suggested transferring the Order to the Tenedos Island in the Aegean Sea so as to commence the war with the Turks – it was also successfully contested by Hohenstein⁵⁶. The Grand Master saw Legendorf, the friend of the Pope and a powerful man in the Curia, as the initiator of this idea. In response to this sign of distrust, Paul delayed his arrival to Prussia until spring. Only in May 1460, accompanied by Liebenwald and a papal legate – Cretan Archbishop Hieronim Lando who, among other tasks, was given by the Pope the mission of establishing peace in Prussia⁵⁷ – did he leave for Poland.

⁵³ V. Röhrich, op. cit., pp. 306 n.; M. Biskup, op. cit., pp. 556 n.; W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, pp. 1 n. G. Matern, op. cit., pp. 94–95. H.-J. Karp, op. cit., p. 412 he states that the Pope released Legendorf from the obligation to obtain an episcopal consecration for two years initially, and then for a further three years (after all, Paul's consecration took place - as mentioned - on September 21, 1466 in Toruń).

⁵⁴ For details of Liebenwald's exceptionally unsuccessful trip to Prussia, see W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 13; J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 74.

⁵⁵ W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 12, footnote 1 – about Pawel, the prosecutor wrote: „und ist bey seiner heiligkeit fuste mechtigk, alzo das her feel magk und kan durchterben und bewerben“.

⁵⁶ M. Biskup, op. cit., pp. 558 n.; W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 12, footnote 1: quotes Hohenstein's opinion that the Pope can propose a Prussian Order „fugete hen vor Constantinopel yn etzliche ynsulen zu striten widder die turken“. See: M. Biskup, K. Górski, *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk*, p. 202.

⁵⁷ On the legacy of Hieronim Lando to Central Europe in 1459–1464: J. Drabina, *Działalność dyplomatyczna legata apostolskiego Hieronima Lando na Śląsku i w Polsce w latach 1459–1464*, Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis

It is worth mentioning that on 9 August 1459 Paul Legendorf received from Wrocław councillors – as one of four persons then selected – a mandate of a city prosecutor at the Roman Curia (granting the right to participate in Mantua discussions with the delegates of the Czech king, George of Poděbrady), though “never before has he been in the capital of Silesia nor held a parish here. None foreign diplomat was given such a responsibility by the town of Wrocław”⁵⁸. It proves beyond any doubt the position of Paul in the Roman Curia after twelve years of working there as well as the appreciation of his ability to influence the Pope Pius II in the eyes of Wrocław citizens⁵⁹.

II

While going to the Warmian diocese, Legendorf arrived with his entourage to Łęczycza, where he met the king Casimir Jagiellon⁶⁰. Referring to the papal instruction to end the war in Prussia, Legendorf declared his neutral position with respect to the military conflict. “In practice, it would mean that the entire Warmian dominium, with all its castles and cities, would be excluded from the war, hence the approval of this declaration by the king and a promise to entrust to him [Legendorf - J.P.] castles and cities protected by Polish forces”. “The king’s condition was that the castles and fortified cities he gives away cannot get into Teutonic hands”⁶¹. In this way, the Warmian bishopric administrator managed to appease, at least for some time, one of the parties involved in the war devouring Prussia.

First reliable information on the date of his arrival to Prussia is taken from a letter sent to the Grand Master by Rule von Blossdorf, the leader of a garrison in

viensis, 1970, z. 126, pp. 149–170; J. Smołucha, *Polityka Kurii Rzymskiej*, pp. 191–198 (tu tylko o legacji z 1459 r.; o misji z lat 1462–1463 ibidem, pp. 265–278).

⁵⁸ Quotation: J. Drabina, *Kontakty Wrocławia z Rzymem w latach 1409–1517*, Wrocław 1981, p. 141 (in the footnote 25, incorrect information about the fact that he returned to Warmia Legendorf „probably in 1461”). Paweł did not disappoint his principals from the city on the Oder River, because in Rome and in Mantua he supported them in the struggle against the Czech king and in efforts to obtain a pilgrimage (on 24 VI, on the day of St. John the Baptist – patron of Wrocław). The author writes (p. 142) that Bartłomiej Liebenwald was also drawn to the Wrocław diplomatic service. See. also: J. Smołucha, *Polityka Kurii Rzymskiej*, p. 186, footnote 699, p. 198, footnote 750.

⁵⁹ J. Drabina, *Prokuratorzy miasta Wrocławia na papieskim dworze w drugiej połowie XV wieku*, Sobótka, 1977, R. 32, z. 3, pp. 291–292 (already at the beginning of 1459, Legendorf assisted Silesian deputies in establishing contacts and conversations in the Eternal City), p. 294 (here true information about Paul’s departure to Warmia in the summer of 1460, which at that time helped the inhabitants of Wrocław to obtain the privilege of indulgence). Ibidem, p. 291 – incorrect information about Legend’s earlier years: „From his Chelmno family land he set off to Italy in 1447” (as mentioned above, Paul left the Chelmno land at the latest in the early forties of the fifteenth century, going to study to Leipzig, and came to Italy before 1447).

⁶⁰ J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 74; W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 44.

⁶¹ Quotation: J. Sikorski, op. cit., pp. 74, 75. B. Leśnodorski, *Dominium warmińskie (1243–1569)*, Poznań 1949, p. 22: „His [Paweł Legendorf – J. P.] idea became the unification of the bishopric and the preservation of the neutrality itself in the ongoing struggle. All this was intended to provide him with the best location and maximum benefits after the end of the war „; the author also states that Legendorf proved to be „a good shepherd of the diocese and host” (quotation: ibidem).

Święta Siekierka. He reports that Legendorf came to Elbląg on 9 July 1460⁶². From there, he travelled to Orneta (left by Czech mercenaries) where he established his own men. While at the Orneta castle, Legendorf sent letters declaring his neutral position to all Confederation and Teutonic garrisons stationed in Warmian castles and cities. For instance, in a letter to the Teutonic rittmeister Georg von Schlieben, dated 22 July 1460, written in a friendly and pro-peace tone, Legendorf claims that he came to Warmia “with an objective none other than to offer love, friendship and peace to the fighting parties, not to bring harm, but to become a friend and a mediator”⁶³. A prompt response from Schlieben, sent from Iława on 24 July, was official and aloof, but probably facilitated future contact between the two.

After meeting with the Polish king, Legendorf had to make a visit to the Grand Master, who did not trust Legendorf to a large extent. Paul’s efforts to meet Ludwig von Erlichshausen took effect only after a month and a half. On 5 September 1460 in Welawa, the Grand Master granted the Warmian administrator a so-called “safe conduct” (*das Geleit*) and Paul could arrive on 9 October 1460 to Königsberg with his entourage of 40 men at arms⁶⁴. The conversation had a constructive character: the Grand Master acknowledged Paul’s neutral stance as well as promised not to attack castles and cities held by the Warmian administrator. The armistice took effect on 2 February 1462.⁶⁵ The controversies surrounding the issue of Schlieben gaining control over the Olsztyn castle at the end of 1455 (he also took part in the Königsberg discussions) were settled during another meeting of the Grand Master with the Warmian administrator on 19 November 1460 in Bartoszyce⁶⁶. As a result, the Olsztyn castle was returned to the Warmian Chapter at the end of the year.

Legendorf could not return to Orneta after visiting Königsberg as it was temporarily seized by Confederation mercenaries. Therefore, he went to Lidzbark

⁶² W. Brüning, *op. cit.*, Teil II, p. 13, footnote 3, pp. 13–14. This letter was received by the grand master with a letter from Siegfried von Schwarzenberg, sent from Bałga on 15 July 1460. The confirmation of the July arrival of Legendorf to Warmia is his above-mentioned letter, probably the first sent from Orneta (where he stopped shortly after arriving in the diocese) to Georg von Schlieben, dated on 22 July 1460. Also M. Biskup, *op. cit.*, p. 579, writes about the end of July 1460 as Paweł’s arrival in the diocese. Therefore, this information strongly contradicts the message of the chronicler Jan Plastwich about the fact that Legendorf arrived in Warmia already in May 1460; apparently, the date of departure from Italy was related to the appearance of the administrator in the episcopate (Joannis Plastwici Chronicon, p. 100). However, they accepted this suggestion of the chronicler A. Eichhorn, *Geschichte der ermländischen Bischofswahlen*, p. 144; V. Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 413 and J. Sikorski, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

⁶³ Cyt. za: J. Sikorski, *op. cit.*, p. 75. W. Brüning, *op. cit.*, p. 23 quotes Legendorf’s neutrality declaration in the original: „nicht anders, den libe, friutschafft und frede mit beyden teylen zcu halten und nyemand zcu schaden, sunder uns allerzeyt sam eyn gut friundt und mittler ken beyden teylen zcu bewaisen”. V. Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 420, footnote 4: says that in this letter Paul also expressed the hope that God’s help would come for the [general] good of peace: „zum bessern frieden zu kommen mit der hilfe gottes”.

⁶⁴ W. Brüning, *op. cit.*, Teil II, s. 14; J. Sikorski, *op. cit.*, p. 75 he writes that he received Legend’s safe-guard after four months of efforts, so he accepts the message of Johann Plastwich about the arrival of the administrator in Warmia in May 1460.

⁶⁵ V. Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 419; M. Biskup, *op. cit.*, p. 600.

⁶⁶ W. Brüning, *op. cit.*, Teil II, p. 23.

Warمیński where he was accepted by the Catholics as their shepherd. Already in 1461, Legendorf made a connection with the Lidzbark castle garrison, paid it off and could finally move into the capital castle on 30 August the same year. In turn, citizens of Dobre Miasto gave him the town after removing Czech mercenaries, whereas people from Braniewo – having killed the Polish garrison – welcomed Legendorf as their administrator on 15 September. On 30 September 1461 the Jeziorany castle surrendered to the Prince-Bishop's army (in the agreement related to this event, Legendorf is represented by the cantor Bartholomeaus Liebenwald, vicar general of the Warmian diocese)⁶⁷. However, the siege of Frombork by Paul's men was unsuccessful.

The Prussian estates saw Legendorf's activity as a breach of his declaration of neutrality⁶⁸. At the end of October 1461, the governor Ścibor Bażyński invited him to a convention of Prussian Estates, scheduled to commence on 25 November in Elbląg, to hear the bishop's explanation regarding his above activities. What is interesting, Paul demanded a safe passage to travel from Braniewo to Elbląg and back. Simultaneously, Legendorf sent Arnold Klunder (*alias* von Datteln), the Warmian Chapter provost, to the Grand Master in Königsberg in order to prolong the armistice with the Order⁶⁹.

The Prince-Bishop informed the Grand Master at once about his planned departure in a letter from Braniewo dated 28 October 1461. He promised to present to him the decisions of the gathering and ensured that his utmost wish was to have "permanent, perpetual peace" with the Order⁷⁰. In his next letter to the head of the Order, sent on 7 November the same year also from Braniewo, Legendorf declared his wish to prolong the armistice with the Order and constantly "live in friendship"⁷¹ with Ludwig. Another letter, dated 15 December 1461, notifies the Grand Master about the invitation to the convention of Prussian Estates. Rejected to date, it has been accepted after gaining a safe passage from the king. Legendorf

⁶⁷ AAWO, AK, Dok. Kap. L 38: Litter[a]e concordi[a]e inter Paulum electum et detentores castri Seeburgensis 1461 (the original with the footsteps of the four seals, representative of the bishop, cantor Bartłomiej Liebenwald, in this document the following was defined: "Stadholder"); M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 598.

⁶⁸ M. Biskup, G. Labuda, *Dzieje Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach. Gospodarka-Społeczeństwo-Państwo-Ideologia*, Gdańsk (1986), p. 412.

⁶⁹ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 449.

⁷⁰ W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, pp. 42–43: the bishop wanted the most „ein steter, ewiger friede“ z Zakonem; M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 599.

⁷¹ G. Sommerfeldt, *Der Rastenburg-Schuppenbeiler Vergleich vom 16. Oktober 1461*, MLG Masovia, 1908, H. 13, s. 71–72: „mit ewern gnaden in fruntschafft stetis zcu lebin“; M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 599, footnote 145. Published by G. Sommerfeldt in extenso extremely polite, not to say lowly, the Bishop's letter says a lot about his attitude to the superior of the Order. The last words of the letter address are amazing: „Dem hochwirdigen fursten unde heren, hern Ludwick von Erlichshawssen, homeister Deutsches ordens, unserm liben heren“. Then the sender promises not to do anything without the will and knowledge of the great master: „sie is me ewer gnaden willen onde wissen nicht thun können“, asks him for an answer and wishes that God would give him health for long, blessed times: „Des wir ewer gnaden antwert bitten, die got der here gesunth enthalbe zcu langen seligen zceithen“.

expressed his will to attend, hoping the addressee does not suspect him of unfavourable attitude, ending with wishes that the Almighty God keeps Ludwig in health for the rest of his days⁷².

Eventually, Legendorf attended the next convention of the Estates on 19 December 1461 in Elbląg, accompanied by two cathedral canon priests, two councillors and two members of the Stare Miasto Braniewo municipality. Ścibor Bażyński informed him of the king's dissatisfaction in relation to bishop's activity throughout that year. Legendorf replied by saying that the Pope ordered him to maintain peace between the parties and expressed his rightful complaint about mercenaries in the service of the Polish monarch robbing his estates⁷³.

The discussion dragged out. The fifth day of the meeting, 23 December 1461, was to be a turning point. "And when, after a longer exchange of opinions, the king's deputy, Janko z Czarnkowa, asked Legendorf a crucial question of whether he is willing to stand with his subjects alongside the king, Legendorf answered evasively that the Warmians themselves should be asked this question"⁷⁴. The second argument of the Prince-Bishop was the armistice with the Order valid until 2 February 1462.

Legendorf also tried to communicate with Jan Skalski, aiming at getting Frombork, but was unsuccessful. He only managed to establish a truce on 19 December 1461 lasting until 2 March 1462.⁷⁵

The Elbląg discussions with Legendorf convinced the king that Paul is drifting away from Poland and sympathising with the Order. Casimir Jagiellon was not content with such a situation. At the beginning of March 1462, he gave an order ("von befehl des herrn königs") to governor Ścibor Bażyński to invite Legendorf for a meeting in Toruń, where the Polish monarch expected a papal legate⁷⁶.

Initially, Legendorf expressed his concern about accepting the invitation in responding promptly that due to the war in progress "he is poor, the road is un-

⁷² *Acten der Ständetage Preussen unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens* (ASP), hrsg. von M. Toeppen, Bd. V, Leipzig 1886, p. 51: „wir thun zcu wissen, wie wir von den landen uffte und vache zcum tage seyn geheischen, das wir denne bisher alle zzeit ausgeslogen haben unde mit nichte zcihen wolden. So habin sie uns durch ir bete so gros angelanget, und mit geleithe vor alle den uffs heren koniges seyte zcur notdorfft noch unserm willen vorsorget haben, so das wir uns dorin haben gegeben, unde ewerm orden mehe fromlich wen schedlich seyn sal, wen was wir zcu vorn bisher vorswegen habin, is en nw offnbaren unde nicht vorswegen wellen, hoffen ew. gn. uns dorumb nicht in vordocht wirt haben, die got der almechtige lange enthalde in gesuntheit zcu eyne gutten seligen ende“.

⁷³ W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, pp. 44–45; B. Leśnodorski, op. cit., p. 22.

⁷⁴ Quotation: J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 76; W. Brüning, op. cit., p. 46: Legendorf did not want to give the final answer „without advice, knowledge and power of attorney” (ohne rat, willen und vollwort) of the Warmian states; V. Röhrich, op. cit., pp. 448–449: the bishop intended to communicate with the Warmian states and what he would establish with them „to be clearly understood through letters and letters” (durch schriften und briefe klärlich lassen verstehen); M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 600.

⁷⁵ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 600.

⁷⁶ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 456.

safe and he feels he has grown old” (*arm sei und die wege unsicher und zu ziehen gar jährlich*). Although already on 3 March he wrote from Lidzbark to the Grand Master asking for his instructions for this situation, ensuring he does not want to proceed without the council and approval of the addressee. He also expressed his willingness to conclude another truce with the Order since the previous one – as mentioned – was valid until 2 February 1462⁷⁷. However, the armistice was not held any longer by the Grand Master, though his relationship with Prince-Bishop Paul remained friendly in spite of the lawlessness of some Teutonic mercenaries⁷⁸.

What is interesting, in the first half of March 1462 a private meeting of the Grand Master and the Warmian Prince-Bishop took place. Its location is not known, but it was also attended by the Grand Hospitaller and the Elbląg komtur Heinrich Reuss von Plauen. His letter to the Grand Master dated 16 March suggests that during the meeting it was decided that Legendorf should go to Toruń. However, no further information about the travel or Paul's meeting with the Polish king is known⁷⁹.

It does not come as a surprise that once Grand Master's trust was gained, the Prince-Bishop asked for Bisztynek, which he swore to wield “to the benefit of the Order and the Church” and not let anyone else in⁸⁰. Ludwik von Erlichshausen agreed and at the end of January 1462 Bisztynek swore allegiance to Legendorf. On 10 October 1462, the Grand Master also gave the bishop the Reszel castle and town⁸¹. From that point, the Order held only Barczewo and Pieniężno in Warmia, while the Confederation controlled Orneta and Frombork. Therefore, Legendorf decided to finish the quest of regaining Warmian towns. The July 1462 attempt to seize Frombork alongside the Grand Master was once again unsuccessful. Despite the support of Orneta inhabitants, he also failed to take over the town right before Christmas⁸².

Since the autumn of 1462, the papal legate, Cardinal Hieronim Lando, returned to Poland with a mission to avert the scandalous (especially in the face of the Turkish threat) Polish-Teutonic conflict, obviously among other tasks. At the end of January, he went to Königsberg, arrived in Olsztyn on 18 February and Lidzbark on 19 February, to return to Königsberg after a few days. In March, he

⁷⁷ 400; W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 47.

⁷⁸ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 618.

⁷⁹ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 457, footnote 2.

⁸⁰ Ibidem, p. 450: „dem orden wie der kirche zu besten”. The declaration regarding the possible future holding of Bisztynek „for the benefit of the Order and the Church” was submitted by the bishop to the great master in a letter of 28 October 1461, that is before receiving Bisztynek (ibidem, p. 451, footnote 1), and not – according to J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 76 – only when he came into possession of this small town.

⁸¹ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 452; W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, pp. 28–29; M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 644; J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 76.

⁸² M. Biskup, op. cit., pp. 618619, 644.

went to Toruń to meet with the king, then returned to Lidzbark and visited Olsztyn on 15 April, to depart for peace negotiations beginning on 1 May in Brześć Kujawski⁸³. Before 9 April, during the meeting of Prussian Estates representatives with Prince-Bishop Legendorf, the details of the Brześć gathering were established (the Polish delegation was led by the Włocławek Bishop Jan Gruszczyński; the main role in the Teutonic party belonged to the Elbląg parish priest and Grand Master's secretary Stefan of Neidenburg, while the Prussian Estates were forefronted by Gabriel Bażyński and representatives of large towns)⁸⁴.

At the same time, between 19 February and 9 April 1463 in Elbląg, the discussions concerning an armistice took place between the representatives of Legendorf and the Confederates, though unsuccessful due to the resistance of Jan Skalski. The legate broke off the talks in Brześć, which ended his peacekeeping mission⁸⁵ and heralded a near end to the truce. Legendorf expressed it in his letter dated 9 April 1463.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, both sides of the conflict expected the Warmian bishop to clearly state whether he is a friend or an enemy⁸⁷.

In this situation, the Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichhausen decided he must speak with Prince-Bishop Paul and invited him to Bartoszyce to do so. He enclosed a safe passage for the guest and his entourage dated 13 June 1463, Koenigsberg. The document allowed the travel of the bishop and his company, from forty to a hundred horses and as many persons, whatever number seemed necessary, from Lidzbark Warmiński to Bartoszyce and back. It was valid from dawn on Saturday after the day of Saint Witus and Modestus (18 June) till dusk on Saturday after the feast of John the Baptist (25 June)⁸⁸.

⁸³ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. A. Eichhorn, *Geschichte der ermländischen Bischofswahlen*, p. 144 reports that the legate has arrived in Olsztyn on February 13; however, this is an obvious print error, as evidenced by the following excerpt: „traf am 13. Februar in Allenstein und Tags darauf in Heilsberg ein” (miało być: traf am 18. Februar in Allenstein und Tags darauf in Heilsberg ein).

⁸⁴ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 458; M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 639.

⁸⁵ On the mission of legate Hieronim Lando to the German Reich, to Silesia and to Poland from 1462-1463, in great detail: J. Smołucha, *Polityka Kurii Rzymskiej*, pp. 265–278.

⁸⁶ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 458; M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 644.

⁸⁷ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 461.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 465; AAWO, AB, D 1, k. 33 (original, today without the seal of the grand master): Wir bruder Ludwig von Erlichsh[a]wsen homeister deutsch[e]s ordens bekennen unnd thun kunt vor allen unnd itzlichen die desen unsern offenen brieff sehen, horen ader lesen, das[s] wir den erwidrigen in Got[t] vater unnd herren herren Paulum erwelten unnd bestetiget den bischoff zcum Brawnsberge mit vierczig pferden biss uff sechczig, von sechczig biss uff achczig, van achczig biss uff hundert pferde unnd sovill menschlicher personen weniger unnd nichtme wer die sein unnd wie sie mogen g[e]nant werden van Heilsberg biss ken Barthenstein unnd widder van Barthenstein biss ken Heilsberg in sein gewar vor uns unnd alle unsers ordens gebittigern, brudern, anwalden, rothmeistern, hofleewten unnd undersassen unnd idermenniglich geistlich unnd wertlich, die bei unnd neben uns unnd unserm orden sein un[n]d dorczu mit dreien ader vier wagen wagenpferden dovor else vil seine veterlichkeit dorczu bedarff unnd allerley ware unnd notdorfft uff den wagen gesichert unnd geleitet haben unnd geben einunnd denselben allen die mit seiner veterlichkeit komen reiten ader faren werden unser sicher tristlich unnd uffrichtiglichs geleite in crafft unnd macht deses brieffes doselbest mit uns, unsern gebittigern, brudern unnd hofleewten zcu teidingen unndetzliche sachen zcu handeln unnd dieselben sachen werden geandt ader

The meeting began on 24 June, but its course must have been a shock to Legendorf. Namely, referring to the demands of his mercenaries finding it impossible to maintain further neutrality of the Prince-Bishop, the Grand Master demanded that Paul officially declared his support of the Order. In the event of a refusal, he threatened to raid and plunder Warmia. Deeply surprised, Legendorf managed to postpone the issue only for a month. However, during the next meeting in Bartoszyce in the presence of representatives of the Cathedral Chapter and Warmian cities he signed the agreement with the Order “with a heavy heart”, thereby acknowledging their superiority. *Nota bene*, it did not protect the bishopric from being plundered by Teutonic mercenaries, to whom the Grand Master did not pay and, as a result, could not control⁸⁹.

The only source providing a bit more insight into the agreement is the letter from the Prince-Bishop dated 28 August 1463 to the council of Stare Miasto Braniewo, kept previously in the archive of the local town council (without signature)⁹⁰. The agreement obligated Warmia to grant the Order “«military» assistance in all its might” that may be used against Poland⁹¹. It is possible that the bishop promised to let Teutonic garrisons into Warmian towns⁹².

In the second half of 1463, Poland started to succeed in its military efforts (the most impressive endeavours were the seizure of Gniew in August and win-

nicht geandt. Dennach sal unser gelerte crafft unnd macht haben wurde ouch seine herlichkeit erkeine wagenn diener unnd pferdt bynnen der czeit zcurucke ken Heilsberg nach notdurfft unnd vitalie schicken die sullen ouch hiemeth geleitet sein unnd diss unsers geleites in aller mosse wie obenberut ist uff unnd widder volkemlich gebrauchen. Welch geleite sal eyngeden den neesten sonnabend nach Viti un[n]d Modesti am uffgange der sonnen [18 VI 1463] unnd in seiner macht steen unnd weren biss uff den sonnabend nach Johannis Baptiste neestkommen de denselben tag gancz auss bis zcur sonnen undergange [25 VI 1463]. Sulch unser geleite geloben wir obg[e]nanter homeister dem gedachten herrn bischoffe vor uns unnd alle unsers ordens gebittiger, brudern, helffern, beilegern, gesten, hofelewten, dienern un[n]d undersassen geistlich unnd wertlich stete veste unvorseret tristlich unnd ungeferlich zcu halden bey unsern gutten trauwen unnd in crafft deses briefs dem wir zcu sicherheit unnd bekenthnisse unser sigel haben lossen andrucken vor uns unser hofelewte unnd helffer unnd der gegeben ist uff unserm hawse Koenigsberg am montage nach des Heiligen Leichnams tage im vierzehenhundertsten unnd dreyundsechzigsten iare [13 VI 1463].

⁸⁹ V. Röhrich, op. cit., pp. 466–468; W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, pp. 50–51; J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 76.

⁹⁰ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 468, footnote 1.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 469 – explaining the necessity of making a deal, Legendorf wrote: „So ist is itczunt szo ferre kommen, sint sie unser briff unde segil von uns habin, dass wir mit en zcu dirkentnisse gutter leute komen müssen, do hyn ir ouch mit geleite, wie ir wellet, unde mit wie vil pferden, so ir ums die awszdruckt, sullet do hyn zcu komen vorfurget werden“, w dalszej części listu przybliżając sedno porozumienia: „So wisset ihr wohl, wie unsere vereinigung innehält, ihnen hilfe zu thun nach unserm höchsten vermögen. Hierum ihr ein solches nicht wohl könnet ausschlagen, sofern ihr unserer vereinigung genugthun wollet und die nicht brechen; euch hiernach wisset zu richten“. An accurate assessment of the agreement of 25 July 1463 and Legendorf’s expectations towards him was probably formulated by a Warmian cleric, writing: „Der selbige bischoff hilt is eyne weile mit des ordens lewte und of seyn part und meynte also zcu frede bleibyn yn seynem bischthume. Do nomen ym des ordens geste dy ku also gevach, und stunden noch seynen steten und slossern, daz her sich gancz widder zcu konige und lande muste gebyn. Also wart her des ordens vint swertlich“ (*Die aeltere Hochmeisterchronik*, bearb. von M. Toeppen, in: SRP, Bd. III, hrsg. von Th. Hirsch, M. Toeppen, E. Strehlke, Leipzig 1866, p. 705; V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 470, footnote 1).

⁹² M. Biskup, op. cit., pp. 644–645.

ning the Battle of the Vistula Lagoon on 15 September 1463; moreover, at the end of the year, an important ally of the Grand Master and a leader of his mercenaries, Bernard Szumborski, withdrew from the war⁹³). Legendorf saw that the Bartoszyce agreement did not bring any benefits. The Grand Master was not only unable to help him regain Frombork and Orneta, but also – despite the best of intentions – could not protect Warmia from his own mercenaries, who demanded at the beginning of February 1464 that the Prince-Bishop returns the Jeziorany castle and neighbouring lands⁹⁴.

Meanwhile, at the end of 1463, the Polish party took a bolder approach, resulting in an escapade of mercenaries from Nidzica and Pasym to Olsztyn, which was conquered and burnt⁹⁵, as well as burning down Bisztynek. It all strengthened the reluctance of Legendorf and, most importantly, his suffering subjects towards the Order⁹⁶. “For this reason, the bishop contacted the Prussian Estates and signed a separate treaty with them on 4 March 1464. It was valid until 1 April so as to make negotiations possible⁹⁷. On 16 March 1464 in Elbląg, during the meeting of the Prince-Bishop and Chapter members with the Estates and the Inowrocław voivode Jan Kościelecki, a peace agreement was decided upon; to be ratified by the king⁹⁸. The dispute with Jan Skalski was left to be resolved by a special committee or the king. The Royal Prussian Estates did not give way in the issue important for the bishop and it was decided that Polish mercenaries are to stay in Frombork and Orneta until the end of the war. Most importantly – in the view of an inevitable defeat of the Order – Paul and his subjects were to take part in future peace negotiations of Poland with the Teutonic State.

To give the king some time to make a final decision concerning the above peace agreement, the armistice between the Prince-Bishop and Prussian Estates was prolonged on the 25 March until 24 June 1464. During the dietine which commenced on 1 May in Nowe Miasto Korczyn, Casimir Jagiellon ratified the agreement of 16 March. He referred to it as “perpetual peace and union between the Prince-Bishop, Chapter their subjects and [representing the king] Ścibor Bażyński

⁹³ M. Biskup, G. Labuda, *Dzieje Zakonu Krzyżackiego*, p. 414.

⁹⁴ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 653.

⁹⁵ Ibidem, p. 652.

⁹⁶ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 470; M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 653.

⁹⁷ *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens im 15. Jahrhundert*, Zweiter Band (1438-1467), hrsg. von E. Weise, Marburg 1955, p. 254.

⁹⁸ Cyt. za: M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 653. Legendorf on 4 March 1464 concluded a truce, how to say: „With the lands and cities on the side of Lord Kings”, and 16 III „Perpetual peace” from the V. Prussian Union – V. Röhrich, op. cit., page 14; J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 77. An important issue was signaled by K. Górski, Legendorf Paweł h. Stango, remembering that the bishop in progress, 25 VII 1463, Krzyże was obligatory), „promising after 4-6-week termination of the agreement with the Order let Polish and urban crews and openly proclaim themselves a supporter of Poland „(ibidem, p. 2). *Die Staatsverträge*, Zweiter Band, pp. 255–256 (here the 13-point peace agreement of 16 March 1464).

with lords of the council”⁹⁹. “He promised not to sign any treaties with the Order without the bishop’s knowledge; highlighting his right to immediately fill towns and castles, without negotiating a specific date”¹⁰⁰.

It appears that the royal document ratifying the “perpetual peace” with the Warmian Prince-Bishop dated 5 May 1464 was of greater importance for establishing the legal and national position of Warmia¹⁰¹ than the provisions of the Second Peace of Toruń dated 19 October 1466. The act issued by Casimir Jagiellon in Nowe Miasto Korczyn firmly stated the attitude of the king towards Warmia, while the Toruń treaty merely confirmed the agreement concluded two and a half years earlier.

In March 1464 and later on, Legendorf did not plan to make the treaty with the Polish king public and did not plan to openly contradict the Order prior to gaining the promised military support for fear of reprisals on the part of the Grand Master. Despite the political necessity of cooperating with Casimir Jagiellon, the sympathy of the bishop towards the Order was greater than the one towards the Prussian Confederation and Poland, which is proven by Paul’s behaviour and his correspondence with the Grand Master in the subsequent several months¹⁰².

Even on 1 April 1464 Skalski wanted to seize Braniewo with 60 horsemen, but received a refusal from Bartholomeaus Liebenwald, managing the area on behalf of Prince-Bishop Paul. The Warmian cantor “Statthalter” informed promptly the Grand Master about this event in a letter dated April 3 the same year¹⁰³.

Interestingly enough, other Church officials in Prussia wanted to follow the example of Legendorf. Already in May 1464, the Chełmno Land elect Bartholomeaus, referring to the position of Prince-Bishop Paul, wanted to sign a treaty with the Polish Kingdom after gaining the consent of the Grand Master (the fact of Legendorf’s submission to the Polish king was not a secret for too long)¹⁰⁴.

⁹⁹ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 473. AAWO, AK, Dok. Kap. T 1 (certified copy of the royal instrument of ratification), p. 41: „Quam quidem perpetuam pacem et unionem sicut praefertur per supradictos Dominum Electum, Capitulum eorumque subditos et Stiborium de Beisen memoratosque consiliarios Nostros, modo et formis, ut premittitur, firmatam in omnibus suis articulis, punctis, conditionibus, capitulis et clausulis in eadem perpetua pace expressis et contentis Regio Nostro Nomine confirmamus, laudamus, approbamus et ratificamus, ipsamque sub fide Regia in omnibus et per omnia servare volumus, ac per Nostros fideles quoscunqu observari mandamus sub poena indignationis Nostrae Regiae Maiestatis”. Zob.: *Die Staatsverträge*, Zweiter Band, p. 258.

¹⁰⁰ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 654. AAWO, AK, Dok. Kap. T 1, p. 43: „ut ex huiusmodi castris et civitatibus armigeri Nostrī, Nostros hostes officio bellico possent impetere, invadere et armorum peritia peragere”. V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 474 (certified copy of the royal instrument of ratification) (zur Bekämpfung der Feinde).

¹⁰¹ AAWO, AK, Dok. Kap. T 1, p. 42: „perpetuam pacem, unionem et concordiam indissolubilem inmolabiliter observandam cum Reverendissimo in Christo Patre D[omino] Paulo Electo, confirmato Ecclesiae Varmiensis, suis Canonicis et Capitulo Varmiensi et quibuslibet coram vasallis, subditis et communitatibus”.

¹⁰² V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 475.

¹⁰³ W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 56. Bartholomeaus Liebenwald died in Toruń after 1469 and he was buried in the church there. St. John the Baptist: O. Günther, op. cit., p. 241, note 39; T. Borawska, *Liebenwald (Libenwald) Bartłomiej*, in: *Słownik biograficzny kapituły warmińskiej*, p. 150.

¹⁰⁴ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 654. B. Poschmann, *Bistümer und Deutscher Orden in Preussen 1243–1525. Untersuchung zur Verfassungs- und Verwaltungsgeschichte des Ordenslandes*, ZGAE, 1962, Bd. 30, H. 2, pp. 350–351 (Anhang Nr. 8).

The treaty of 16 March 1464 was not fully exercised as non-Warmian Polish garrisons and Jan Skalski still ransacked the diocese and the king did not provide the promised military support to protect the dominium in the summer. Nevertheless, during the meeting of the Prince-Bishop and the Warmian Chapter with the Prussian Estates in Elbląg on 4 November the same year previous provisions had been reaccepted: “the bishop still saw the Order as an enemy and promised to terminate the peace treaty but only when the king assigns 200 armed men for the protection of the bishopric. The dispute with Skalski was to be settled by a commission or the king. Legendorf clearly moved closer to the Polish party, but reserved the option of maintaining relatively peaceful relations with the Order until actual military protection from the king is given”¹⁰⁵. In this treaty, Paul committed himself to serve the king loyally and permanently, without doing anything against him. The Prince-Bishop alongside his Chapter, lands and towns swore not to let the Teutonic Knights or their allies into their towns and castles, refuse to council or actively support, welcome or accommodate, trade with them, but openly support the king, his country and towns as well as not to do anything to harm them in the days to come¹⁰⁶. While offering his protection to the bishopric, Casimir Jagiellon promised “to respect the Warmian elect himself and his church, Chapter and subjects in all their privileges, freedoms, rights, jurisdictions and customs cherished for a long time and preserve them all and each individually keep and protect in this right”¹⁰⁷.

In fact, the arrangements made on 4 November 1464 did not exceed the decisions made in March, which is why the Toruń council – whose representatives did not attend the negotiations of March 1464 – while reaffirming the treaty of 16 March 1464 on the 30 January 1465 did not refer to the arrangements of 4 November 1464 at all¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁵ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 675. *Die Staatsverträge*, Zweiter Band, pp. 258–259. In Elbląg’s talks and in the layout of 16 March 1464, Casimir the Jagiellonian, Paul: „unser herr/herre konig/könig”, and more: „unser gnedigster herre konig” (ASP, Bd. V, pp. 92, 95, 97, 104, 105); B. Leśnodorski, op. cit., p. 24.

¹⁰⁶ ASP, Bd. V, pp. 153–154: „bey treuen und eren und feste bey einander bey dem hern konige zcu bleiben und nicht widder in zu thuende, und der her bischoff mit sein capittel und seinen landen und steten haben gelobet, die creucziger oder ire beyleger in iren stetten und schlossern nicht zu hegen noch zcu hausen oder zcu hofen und sie och nicht zu fordern mit rate adir tate, in ouch keine vitalie zcu schaffen, zczuczufuren oder mit in czu kauffschlagen, sunder die zcu halden sam des hern konings und seiner lande und stete offenbar finde und do nicht gegen zcu komende sonder alle arge list in allen zcukommenden zceiten“. Także: *Johann Lindaus Geschichte*, in: SRP, Bd. IV, p. 609. See: W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 58; V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 477; B. Leśnodorski, op. cit., p. 23.

¹⁰⁷ Quotation: D. Bogdan, *Próba skategoryzowania pojęcia lojalności w aspekcie miejsca Warmii w Prusach i w Koronie w XVI wieku*, in: *Panorama lojalności. Prusy Królewskie i Prusy Książęce w XVI wieku*, ed. by: J. Axer, Warszawa 2001, p. 94; AAWO, AK, Dok. Kap. T 1, p. 42: „Insuper similibus modo et forma permisim promittimus et spondemus ipsum D[ominum] Electum Varmiensem, ecclesiamque ipsius, V[enerabile] Capitulum ac subditio eorundem quoscunque in omnibus ipsorum privilegiis, libertatibus, iuribus, iurisdictione et consuetudinibus quibus ab antiquo freti sunt, conservare, ipsosque et eorum quemlibet in iure suo manutene et defendere“. ASP, Bd. 5, pp. 153–154; B. Leśnodorski, op. cit., p. 23.

¹⁰⁸ AAWO, AK, Dok. Kap. L 28: Lit[t]erae Torunen[ses] super acceptatione concordiae cum D[omi]no Paulo facta (the original without the seal that was once attached to the document). See: *Die Staatsverträge*, Zweiter Band, p. 259; W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 55, footnote 2; V. Röhrich, op. cit., pp. 477–478, footnote 3.

After the fiasco of peace negotiations led by the legate Hieronim Lando, another attempt to suppress the Polish-Teutonic conflict was made between 3 and 21 July 1464 in Toruń during the talks involving the Polish party, Prussian Estates and the Order. Delegates of Lübeck, Rostock, Wismar and Lüneburg as well as Livonian cities led by Lübeck mayor Heinrich Kastorp and the Lübeck Bishop Arnold served as mediators, therefore this mission is often referred to as the Hanseatic mediation¹⁰⁹. Unfortunately, it did not bring peace. It is worth mentioning that Jodok Hohenstein was summoned by Ludwig von Erlichshausen from Rome to lead the Teutonic delegation, including the Elbląg parish priest and Grand Master's secretary Stefan of Neidenburg¹¹⁰.

A significant event for Bishop Paul was undoubtedly the death of his protector and friend, Pius II the Pope, who died at the night of 14 to 15 August 1464, in Ancona (his body was transported to Rome and buried in St. Peter's Basilica)¹¹¹. It seems that upon hearing the sad news Legendorf felt released from the papal demand of neutrality and the clear preference for the Order in contrast to Poland, which Pius II favoured more or less openly throughout his pontificate.

The position of the Order in the second half of 1464 and the beginning of 1465 worsened chiefly due to the reluctance of mercenaries to fight without payment. Therefore, the idea of negotiating with Poland had to be revisited. Governor Ścibor Bażyński arranged with the subjects of the Order arriving with the initiative of commencing discussions that the talks shall begin on 28 April 1465 in Kobbelgrube (today: Stegna) on the Vistula Split. They lasted from 29 April to 1 May "with the participation of delegates of Estates from both parts of Prussia only"¹¹².

"The deputies of the Prussian Estates led by Gabriel Bażyński first went to Cracow and gained Casimir's authorisation to continue the negotiations, with their results to be accepted by royal representatives. The Grand Master also declared his will to enter the negotiations, which reopened without the participation of royal and Order deputies on 3 August in Kobbelgrube"¹¹³. The discussions did not conclude in any specific arrangement. "The third meeting with the participation of Teutonic deputies was the only matter agreed upon. The Prussian Estates through their deputy, presbyter Hieronym, successfully asked the king to send his representatives. As a result of an ongoing epidemic in Prussia and the resistance of the lords of the Crown, Casimir sent only Jakub of Szadek and Jan Długosz"¹¹⁴.

¹⁰⁹ M. Biskup, K. Górski, *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk*, p. 211.

¹¹⁰ *Johann Lindaus Geschichte*, in: SRP, Bd. IV, p. 669; *Paul Pol's Preussisch Chronik*, bearb. von Max Toepen, in: SRP, Bd. V, Leipzig 1874, pp. 228, 234 i 237 (J. Hohenstein) and pp. 228, 243 (original without seal, which was once attached to the document); *Die Staatsverträge*, Zweiter Band, p. 251; H. Freytag, *Die Geschäftsträger des Deutschen Ordens*, pp. 210–211.

¹¹¹ J. Smolucha, *Polityka Kurii Rzymskiej*, p. 318.

¹¹² Quotation: M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 677.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

The third meeting with the representatives of the Livonian branch of the Order lasted from 30 August to 3 September 1465. “Alongside the representatives of the Crown and Prussian Estates led by governor Ścibor and Gabriel Bażyński, Prince-Bishop Legendorf arrived to mediate with the approval of the king. The Polish-Prussian delegation stayed in Kobbelgrube, while the Teutonic one was accommodated in Sztutowo; the talks took place between the settlements or in Kobbelgrube”¹¹⁵. The leading figure in the Teutonic delegation was the Elbląg parish priest and the secretary of the Grand Master, Stefan of Neidenburg. The Polish and Teutonic parties tried to outbid each other with original or even preposterous ideas: for instance, Prince-Bishop Legendorf suggested that the Order should return Pomerania and fill its castles with locals who would thereby strengthen the Teutonic forces, while Stefan of Neidenburg initially recommended giving the entire country under the protection of the Grand Master to maintain the unity of the “Prussians”, but then opted for a truce lasting from 10 to 40 years. Only the last day of negotiations witnessed specific ideas on the most important issue, namely territorial cessions. The representatives of the Grand Master wanted to present to him the suggestions of the Polish party and resume the discussion within a month; soon Ludwig von Erlichshausen asked to postpone the deadline for another month¹¹⁶. The next meeting never took place.

As for the above Vistula Split peace negotiations, the Grand Master was content with Prince-Bishop Paul as a mediator. Through the hands of his representatives, he sent him “a friendly greeting” (*freundlichen Gruss*) and thanked for the “great effort” (*grossen Fleiss*) put into ending this difficult war. Order representatives also completely trusted Legendorf¹¹⁷.

Bishop Paul was – in spite of closer relations with Poland in spring and autumn 1464 as well as spring and summer 1466 – still favourably inclined towards Ludwig von Erlichshausen. “He did not want or could fight with the «Grand» Master as he did not declare war on him and was not formally his enemy. What is more – he even tried to maintain friendly relations”¹¹⁸. It is confirmed by the Prince-

¹¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 678. *Die Staatsverträge*, Zweiter Band, pp. 252–254. In this context, J. Sikorski surprises, op. cit., p. 77, stating: „At the end of the summer of 1465, Sam Legendorf was secretly arranging with the [grand] master in a secluded place on the Vistula Spit as to the conditions of peace.“ The fact that Kazimierz Jagielloń did not trust Bishop Paweł completely (from what the author and others still write, probably he was right) does not diminish the respect of the monarch and his recognition for the dignity of the bishop of Legendorf and its significant political significance in Prussia of that time, hence the royal invitation for the Warmian hierarchy to mediate in conversations on the Vistula Spit. This is all the more understandable for the neutrality declared by Paweł since the moment of arrival in Warmia, no matter how we would evaluate its real meaning.

¹¹⁶ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 678.

¹¹⁷ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 479.

¹¹⁸ Quotation: J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 77.

Bishop's letter to Ludwig dated 4 December 1456 written in a companionable or even cordial manner, in spite of objective external circumstances¹¹⁹.

Even in his letter dated 3 January 1466 the Prince-Bishop thanked Ludwig for safe passage from last summer for several carts and asked for another one, regarding sixteen to twenty carts or sleighs with hop, linen or other expected goods travelling from Lidzbark to Braniewo or Elbląg and back for the welfare of the bishop and his towns. He promised to repay "as well as possible" and asked the addressee "to kindly do so with particular diligence bearing in mind their extraordinary friendship" (*freundlich mit besonderem fleiss in sonderlicher freundschaft wohl zu thun*), adding that "we are willing to do that is necessary as debtors of Your Grace" (*Das wollen wir gern womit wir sollen, wieder verschulden um ew. gnaden*)¹²⁰. However, when in the same month Paul gained assurance from the Polish king about sending mercenaries for protecting Warmian towns, on 11 February 1466 he finally decided – suddenly and unexpectedly to some – to declare war with the Order¹²¹, blaming it on its reluctance towards establishing peace with the Polish Kingdom. The actual concern of this diocese administrator to end this unprecedented social and economic destruction of Warmia and the entire Prussian region, with the Order being the main culprit, was of great significance as well¹²². At the same time, Legendorf allowed Polish forces to enter Warmian cities. In general, it was nothing more than politics: it was advisable to support the winning party so as to stand beside Casimir Jagiellon while signing the peace treaty¹²³.

On 11 April 1466, when Skalski's units seized Pieniężno, only Barczewo remained in Teutonic hands on Warmia.

At the beginning of July, the Grand Master exercised revenge for the open transition of Legendorf to the Polish side. He organised a destruction-oriented expedition of 600 horsemen and as many infantrymen from Koenigsberg through central Warmia to Elbląg. The action focused on destroying crops and confiscating cattle near Lidzbark, Orneta and Pieniężno, the siege of which was not successful on the Order's part¹²⁴. The devastation was enormous, but royal mercenaries

¹¹⁹ V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 479, footnote 5 (also from an earlier letter from Paweł to Ludwik from around 1 January 1465, there is a peaceful tone of their mutual contacts, and Bartholomew Liebenwald's letters testify of good relations: from 3 April 1464 to the Grand Master and from 3 August 1464 to the commander of the crew of Balga).

¹²⁰ Ibidem, pp. 479–480, footnote 1; J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 77.

¹²¹ *Die Staatsverträge*, Zweiter Band, p. 259; *Jana Długosza Roczniki*, Księga dwunasta, Cz. 2: 1462-1480, p. 137.

¹²² V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 488; this is also admitted by W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 65, citing accounts of Prussians traveling during the war. They felt as if they were overcoming the desert. One of the Warmian bishop who traveled at that time wrote: „We have gone many miles and we have not seen any village, no man and no animal” (*Wir sind dahergezogen manche Meile und haben kein Dorf, keinen Menschen und kein Tier gesehen*).

¹²³ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 684; J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 77.

¹²⁴ *Johann Lindaus Geschichte*, in: SRP, Bd. IV, pp. 630–631; *Jana Długosza Roczniki*, Księga dwunasta, Cz. 2: 1462-1480, p. 145 (here: wrong date of this graveyard: June 1466); M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 685.

did not protect bishop's subjects in spite of his calls for help. They were afraid to confront the Teutonic Knights in an open field and did not trust Warmian burghers. Only when Ludwig retreated to Bartoszyce and then to Koenigsberg, did the Crown mercenaries avenge Warmia by going from Lidzbark to Lower Prussia, also burning maturing crops there.

The long war was finally coming to an end and the desire for peace was widespread. Parties accepted the papal legate Rudolf of Rudesheim as a mediator¹²⁵. Toruń was selected as the place of peacekeeping negotiations. One of the members of the Prussian Estates delegation was, among other persons, the Warmian Prince-Bishop Paul Legendorf. "negotiations began on 23 September «1466» in three tents near the Dybów castle with the legate as a mediator. Polish delegation was led by the Włocławek Bishop Jakub of Siemno. Prussian Estates were represented by Bishop Paul Legendorf, governor Ścibor Bażyński, knights Mikołaj Pniewski and Otto Machwic as well as councillors of three grand towns «Gdańsk, Elbląg and Toruń»"¹²⁶. The Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen forefronted the Teutonic party, though he arrived as late as on the 10 October.

His arrival was delayed and this situation occurred undoubtedly as an indirect result of Prince-Bishop Paul's actions. Namely, just before departing for the peace negotiations in September 1466, Legendorf – assuming that the Teutonic cortege would go via Braniewo (in September or October) – had forbidden its council to allow safe passage through the town. "The «Grand Master» could not forgive him «the bishop – J.P. the humiliation he suffered at the end. The chronicler reports that when, on his way to Toruń where the treaty was to be signed, Ludwig von Erlichshausen wanted to go across the bridge over the Pasłęka river in Braniewo, the gates were closed in front of him. As a result «of numerous requests» only his carts were allowed to go through the town. He himself and his entourage had to cross the river on rented boats. Upon his arrival to Toruń, the king greeted him «honestly and friendly», Paul Legendorf also approached him and stretched out his arm in a welcoming gesture. The Grand Master, however, abruptly backed away, warning him he had just recovered from an illness. The king stepped towards them and joined their hands. In truth, they both must have been aware of the fact they can no longer stand each other"¹²⁷.

¹²⁵ M. Biskup, K. Górski, *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk*, p. 213.

¹²⁶ Quotation: M. Biskup, *op. cit.*, p. 700.

¹²⁷ Quotation: J. Sikorski, *op. cit.*, p. 78. The Teutonic chronicler wrote: „Do der meister Lodewik von Konigesberg sulde czyn ken Thorn, do beful der herre Pavel bischof deme rote zcum Brunsberge, sy sulden der meister mit seynem volke nicht durch dy stat loszen. Mit groszer bete, daz sy czu leczd dy speyse wagen durch dy stadt lizzen geen, sunder der meister mit seynem volcke muste obir dy Passerge swemmen, und daz waz ym eyn groszer hoen. Do her abir ken Thorn quam, do wart her zcu mole erlichyn und fruntlichen von deme konige entphangen. Do quam och dar getreten der bischof Pavel von Logendorf und hoet syne hand mit grusze deme meister vor deme konige, und do entczog der meister syne hant dem bischofe weder, und waz eyn widder eyn hon

The Order wanted to still hold Lower and Upper Prussia, but Ścibor Bażyński and other knights (having their lands there) as well as Legendorf were against such territorial concessions. The final version of the peace treaty was adopted on 17 October. This “perpetual peace treaty” was signed and sworn in on 19 October 1466¹²⁸. It took place in the hall of the Artus Court in Toruń. “The celebration ended with singing Te Deum in the «Dominican church of the Ascencion» of Virgin Mary, a Mass presided over by the legate and a feast prepared by the king in the town hall, with the participation of the Grand Master”¹²⁹.

The two parties of the treaty were the Polish king Casimir Jagiellon with his vassals (Masovia dukes, Prince Eric II of Pomerania, Prince-Bishop Paul Legendorf with the Warmian Chapter and the Moldavian voivode Stefan) and the Teutonic Knights, acting on behalf the Prussian branch of the Order, led by the Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen. The Order returned to the Polish Crown Chełmno and Michałów lands, Pomerelia and Warmia; the Warmian bishop became a member of the Polish Episcopate and, as other diocese administrators, had his place in the royal council¹³⁰.

In a little over a week after arriving to Toruń, on 21 September 1466, the town above on the Vistula River witnessed a ceremony surely very important for Legendorf. Namely, on that day in the church of John the Baptist, the most faithful servant of the monarch, Archbishop Jan Gruszczyński, anointed Paul as a bishop. The Włocławek Bishop Jakub of Siemno and the Poznań Bishop Andrzej of Bnin accompanied the Archbishop. To emphasise the importance of this event, Casimir Jagiellon attended church on that day and later on held a feast in honour of Legendorf, treating him as a *tamquam filio adoptivo*¹³¹.

vor dem konige. Do unternam de konigk den krig der beyden hern und bat gar fruntlichyn den meister of deme companhuszen, her sulde des bischoffes frunt syn, wo heyn der meister lis sich lencken, und do nam der konig des bischofs hant und des meisters hant, und gab sy beyde zcu sampne, und frundete dy II heren mit der munde, got wuste abir erer herzen“ (*Die aeltere Hochmeisterchronik*, in: SRP, Bd. III, p. 706).

The message very similar to the above gives *Christoph Falks Elbingsisch-Preussische Chronik*, pp. 22–23. We learn from this in addition that the grand master was going to Toruń for three hundred horses („Der her meister ist ausgezogen von Konigesberck mit dreihundert ferden resig noch Toren zu dem tage der vorsununge des kriges“), and the king of Poland with the councilors and the bishop of Warmia greeted him in the town hall („Dornoch, wie her [der meister – J. P.] zu im gekommen ist auf das rathaus zu Toren, do ist der konig gestanden mit seinen reten und och der bischof von Helsberck“). The chronicler emphasizes that Ludwik’s initial failure to hand has been derided by Ludwik against the bishop and in the presence of the king, his councilors and those present there („Das war dem bischof ein grosser hon vor dem konige und alle seinen reten, och vor den fremden“) . It seems that he was intending a rematch of the great master for the insult prepared for him by the Braniewians at the behest of the Ordinary of Warmia. At the end of his relationship, the chronicler added with emphasis that on the way back to Królewiec Ludwik did not go - as before - through Braniewo („Der meister ist dornoch ken Brunnesberck geziehen und nicht omme, wie vor, noch Konigesberck“). W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, pp. 62–63; V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 484.

¹²⁸ M. Biskup, op. cit., p. 703; J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 78.

¹²⁹ Quotation: M. Biskup, op. cit., pp. 709–710.

¹³⁰ Ibidem, p. 704; J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 78.

¹³¹ We owe the message about the ordination of Legendorf to the priest of Toruń, Hieronim Waldau: O. Günther, *Die Aufzeichnungen des Thorner Pfarrers Hieronymus Waldau*, ZWG, 1907, H. 49, p. 240 (note 36).

Prince-Bishop Paul did not cherish this honour and desired peace for long as he suddenly died on 23 August 1467, probably in Braniewo or in the vicinity. Obviously, a sudden death of a politician of reasonable age, but not yet an elderly man, always arises conjectures and suspicion. Only some persons writing about Legendorf note the fact and date of his death. Others claim that he might have been poisoned or died as a result of a plague, not really choosing an option but rather reporting them. Actually, only Adolf Poschmann states firmly that “he «Legendorf – J.P.» died near Braniewo – probably from plague and not poison, as it is «sometimes – J.P.» assumed”¹³².

It seems that in this case too much trust is placed in Jan Długosz and the Teutonic chroniclers by relying on their reports unreasonably connecting the autumn of 1466 (Paul’s visit in Toruń) with the summer of 1467 (his death in Braniewo or nearby). After all, as many as nine months separates these two events. If his death was the result of a plague in Toruń, other participants of the peace negotiations should also have fallen as its victims. However, the sources do not mention it. The Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen died in Königsberg, although before Legendorf, on 4 April 1467, from natural causes and not as a victim of the plague.

Jan Długosz was the first to suggest poisoning Prince-Bishop Legendorf: „On Thursday, 26 July «1467; Thursday was actually on 23 July, as explained in footnote 77» Paul Legendorf, the Warmian Prince-Bishop, dies in Braunsberg from poisoning, as the general opinion claims, poisoned during Toruń peace negotiations held in the previous year. Ever since that, he could not regain his health and after he died, his dead body had swollen and broke open: his side and feet. He was buried in the parish church in Braunsberg”¹³³.

The chronicler Simon Grunau wrote about the death of Bishop Paul in such a manner: “However, at the time he «Legendorf – J.P.» was in Toruń, where the treaty was signed, he was poisoned by the Grand Master’s trumpeter, as it is generally believed, arrived to Braniewo, died here and was buried here in a parish church, when it was very hot and [this] disaster happened”¹³⁴.

The Lidzbark chronicle does not join the bishop’s death with his visit in Toruń in autumn 1466, but rather with his subsequent (probably in the early spring 1467) meeting with the Grand Master Ludwig in Bartoszyce: “While in Bartoszyce,

Jana Długosza Roczniki, Księga dwunasta, Cz. 2: 1462–1480, p. 161; K. Górski, Legendorf Pawel h. Stango, p. 2; J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 78.

¹³² [A.] Poschmann, op. cit., p. 491: „starb er [Legendorf – J.P.] in der Nähe von Braunsberg – wahrscheinlich an der Pest und nicht durch Gift, wie man vermutete“.

¹³³ *Jana Długosza Roczniki, Księga dwunasta, Cz. 2: 1462–1480, p. 203.* He repeats C. Schütz, op. cit., k. 333a.

¹³⁴ *Aus Simon Grunau’s Preussischer Chronik*, in: SRW, Bd. II, p. 192: „Idah mit der zeit alsz er [Legendorf – J.P.] war zu Thorne, do man fride machte, wart ym vorgeben, von eym trommitter des homeisters, wie er sich denne öffentlich rumete, und er quam Braunsbergk und starb do und wart do yn er pfarre begraben, wen er war seer heis und stangk seer ubel“.

where he «Legendorf – J.P.» met with the Grand Master, a trumpeter of the Grand Master called Weigel Letzeldt, who was his enemy also after his death, gave him the poison, as the rumour claims; poisoned and ill, he came to Braniewo and died soon after; as his body [produced] strong stench in the heat, he was buried in the Braniewo parish church in front of the main altar as they did not want to leave him there nor was it possible to transport him to Frombork]¹³⁵.

Teutonic chronicler wrote, that after Treaty of Toruń: “the king returned to his country, the Grand Master to Sambia and Koenigsberg. The Prince-Bishop went from Toruń to Braniewo sick and poisoned; many suspected it was a plague prowling in Toruń at that time, but others see different causes. [The Grand] Master Ludwig lived almost a year after that and died, soon the Lidzbark Warمیński Prince-Bishop was also deceased. This is how worldly glory and honours perish¹³⁶.”

The report of the chronicler Christoph Falk is similar: “the Lidzbark Warمیński bishop, master Paul Legendorf, also left Toruń to travel to his bishopric in Braniewo and on the way fell ill with the plague prowling in Toruń, causing [his] illness¹³⁷.”

In a modern book found in the Orneta archive, it is written about Prince-Bishop Paul that “master elect «Prince-Bishop Legendorf – J.P.» on his travel arrived to his bishopric, granted «to him» by the Polish king under the condition that he would not participate in the war on «any» side”. Added on the margin are the following words: “a Prussian noble, poisoned by the Grand Master’s [of the Order] trumpeter in Braniewo, others claim that [his death happened] there due to the 1467 plague, buried there¹³⁸.”

¹³⁵ *Die Heilsberger Chronik von Martin Oesterreich*, in: SRW, Bd. II, pp. 317–318: „Im ist zu Bartstein, da er mitt dem hohemeyster ein zusammenkunfft hielt, von des hohemeisters trommetter Weigel Letzeldt genandt, der im feindt war, auch nach seinem tode sich solcher vergebung gerünnett hett, vergeben und krank ken Brunzberg gekommen, und balde gestorben, und weil sein cerper so sehr stanck in der grossen hitz, dasz man nicht wol kundte bey im bleiben, auch wegen des wehrenden kriges man in nicht sicherlich ken Frawenburg führen kundte, so ist er in der Brunzbergischen pfar[r]kirchen fürm hogen altar begraben, Anno domini 1471 umb Mariae Magdalanae“ [it’s a mistake: it’s about 23 VII 1467]; here is also the Latin version of this entry: „Cum ad colloquium cum magistro ordinis Bartsteinum accessisset, a Weigelo Leczelt magistri tibicine, qui ille fuit inimicissimus, veneno propinato in morbum incidit atque ita aeger Brunsbergam delatus subito mortuus est. Et quoniam propter aestivos calores foetor cadaveris ferri non poterat, nec propter bellicam rabiem tutum erat, ut Varmiam deduceretur, ibidem Brunsbergae in parochiali ecclesia ante maius altare tumulatum est, anno domini 1471 circa festum s. Mariae Magdalanae“ [it’s a mistake: it’s about 23 VII 1467].

¹³⁶ *Die aeltere Hochmeisterchronik*, in: SRP, Bd. III, p. 706: „Der konig czog yn seyn lant, der meister ken Same-land und Konigesberg. Der bischoff quam von Thorn ken Bunsberg krank und vorgiffiget, vil leichte von der pestilencien, dy do zcu Thorn regnirte, adder lichte von andern sachen. Der meister Ludwig lebete dornoch kawme I jor und starb, und nicht lange dornoch starb och der bischof von Heilsberg. Also geet hyn der loff und ere der werlde“.

¹³⁷ *Christoph Falks Elbingsch-Preussische Chronik*, pp. 23–24: „Der bischof von Helesberck, her Paul Legendorf, ist och von Toren geczogen noch seinem bischtume ken den Braunesberck und ist auf dem wege krank worden an der peste, den zu Toren regirte die krankheit. Do der bischof man ken Helesberck ist gekommen in der rese, ist her gestorben“. About the great master Ludwig death 4 IV 1467 r. Ibidem, p. 25.

¹³⁸ Archiwum Państwowe w Olsztynie, Magistrat Wormditt, sygn. 260/1, k. 142 (p. 303): „Dominus electus per Poloniae regnum Rege permittente iter suum ad Episcopatum direxit, ista conditione, ne quovis modo se faceret in guerra partialem“. Dopisek na marginesie: „Nobilis Prutenus, dem wardt durch den Trommeter des Hohemeisters mit giffit vergeben Brunsbergae, alii volunt peste mortuum ibidem anno 1467, ibidem sepultus est“.

An 18th century Warmian historian, Jacob Joseph Harwart, presented his state of knowledge on Legendorf's death in such a way: "next, when he «Legendorf – J.P.» was invited by the Grand Master for a meeting in Bartoszyce, by Weigel Leczelt, the «Grand Master's» trumpeter, who was fairly hostile towards him, «after drinking» a poisoned drink, returned to Lidzbark Warmiński, died suddenly, those standing close to him «due to the» heat and stench «of the body was unbearable», he could not be buried further than «taken to» Braniewo; there «he was buried» in front of the main altar in the parish church; he left this earth around the day of St. Mary Magdalene «23 July» 1467, as reported by Kaspar Schütz, Kaspar Hennenberger, Krzysztof Hartknoch and others"¹³⁹.

The Knights, who at some point fully trusted Prince-Bishop Paul (and he seemed to be a devoted ally and friend), might have finally seen him as a traitor. The Grand Master Ludwig surely felt a grudge considering Legendorf's attitude in the final years of the Thirteen Years' War (and the humiliating episode related to forbidding him and his entourage to travel via Braniewo while going for the Toruń negotiations, though very unpleasant for Ludwig – was Legendorf afraid that the Order would seize Braniewo on such an occasion? – was surely not the most crucial)¹⁴⁰. The bishop – despite the necessity to choose the winning Polish party – always showed a friendly attitude towards the Grand Master (apart from the above mischief) and perhaps it was the reason why he promptly agreed to meet in Bartoszyce, where he used to be a frequent guest. Was the hypothetical poisoning the idea of the Grand Master's trumpeter only or was the servant a mere tool and the chroniclers blame him as it is unbecoming to accuse the head of the Order?

It is puzzling that – as Jan Długosz wrote – the body of the deceased bishop has swollen and broke open, with the July heat not having much to do with it (if his death was the result of a plague, such post mortem symptoms would probably not be observed). Today, it is impossible to settle this matter, though in the eyes of numerous contemporaries and the progeny it was the final Teutonic payment for lasting cooperation, the results of which could not and did not satisfy them (half

¹³⁹ J.J. Harwart, *Archivi pars secunda refert seriem episcoporum Varmiensium archipresbyterorum parochorum ecclesiae Heilsbergensis*, [Heilsberg] 1765, p. 35: „Postremo cum a Magistro Ordinis ad colloquium Bartensteinium invitatus comparuisset, a Weigelo Leczelt Tibicinae, qui ipsi fuit inimicissimus veneno propinato Heilsbergam rediens, subito mortuus est, cum autem propter astisos calores foetoremque funeris non poterat demortuus ultra quam Brunbergam deferti, ibidem in Ecclesia Parochiali ante majus altare, terrae mandatus est circa festum S[anct]ae Mariae Magdalenaee Anno 1467, ut referunt Caspar Schütz, Caspar Hennenberger, Christophorus Hartknoch et alii”.

¹⁴⁰ This was well described by the Teutonic chronicler, describing and aptly commenting on the meeting of Ludwik and Paweł in Toruń in October 1466, after a laughter prepared by the grand council of the Old Town on the orders of the bishop: King Kazimierz Jagielloń, in a gesture of agreement, joined the right of both husbands, but only „God he knows [has joined] the hearts of both „ (got wuste abir erer beide herczen): *Die aeltere Hochmeisterchronik*, in: SRP, Bd. III, p. 706.

a century before, a similar speculation surrounding the sudden death of another Warmian Prince-Bishop, Heinrich Vogelsang, was popular among the public).

The Frombork cathedral was then largely destroyed, with “the interior still serving as stables, established there by the Czech Hussites, subordinates of Jan Skalski”¹⁴¹. Therefore, the place and cause of his death put aside, Prince-Bishop Paul could not be buried in Frombork. His earthly remains were thus buried in the church of St. Catherine in Braniewo in front of the main altar¹⁴².

In 1494, the Warmian Prince-Bishop Łukasz Watzenrode founded a spectacular bronze tombstone of considerable size (it is presently located in the Warmian Museum in Lidzbark Warmiński, a branch of the Museum of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn). The writing on the tombstone informs that it is “the tombstone of master Paul Legendorf, Warmian bishop, deceased in devotion to God, prevented by the war from being buried in his Warmian church «namely the Frombork cathedral – J.P.», a notable deed of his successor master Łukasz on the year of our Lord 1494 «was founded»”¹⁴³.

It is worth quoting some interesting remarks made by Kamila Wróblewska on the persona of Prince-Bishop Paul Legendorf based on the view of his tombstone. In general, as the author provides, the appearance of this monument does not surprise the observer, but the “greatest surprise lies in the interpretation of his «Legendorf’s – J.P.» face. It is a clearly individualised image; an ugly and characteristic face; restless, full of expression and life-related authenticity. Irregular features, wrinkled skin muscles, some double chins. It is not the face of an idealised bishop whose tombstone was erected to maintain the tradition, but a representation of a modern way of expressing the memory of a person bordering with the Renaissance ideas”¹⁴⁴. Further, the author states: “the ugliness, realism of Legendorf’s features also, or even more strongly, disappear in the gothic framework of the composition. Irregular features of Legendorf’s face seen only en face make it possible to imagine his profile. His ears decoratively on top, protruding above the cheeks.

¹⁴¹ Quotation: J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 78.

¹⁴² F. Hipler, *Die Grabstätten der ermländischen Bischöfe*, ZGAE, 1875–1877, Bd. 6, pp. 309–310 (This author seems to doubt Jan Długosz’s message about poisoning Legendorf, claiming that he contracted during his stay in Toruń in the autumn of 1466. – ibidem, p. 309); *Zur Geschichte der inneren Ausstattung der St. Katharinen Kirche der Altstadt Braunsberg*, Pastoralblatt für die Diözese Ermland, 1881, Jg. 13, Nr 6, s. 71: Lapidés Sepulcrales in Ecclesia Archipresbyterali Brunsbergensi de Anno 1750 (it is a copy from: AAWO, AB, H 19, k. 467–469) – in part I. „A porta sub campanili incipiendo per medium ambitum prosequendo” pod poz. 39 zapisano: „ad gradus Altaris maioris intra Presbyterium Lapis Sepulcralis cum figura magnitudinis personae p[iae] m[emorialis] Reverendissimi D[omini] Pauli de Legendorf olim Episcopi Varmiensis”.

¹⁴³ K. Wróblewska, *Późnogotycka brązowa płyta nagrobna*, p. 104, footnote. 11; F. Hipler, op. cit., p. 310; A. Boetticher, *Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Ostpreussen*, Bd. 4, Königsberg 1894, p. 56. The Latin inscription is: MONUMENTVM D[OMI]NI PAVLI DE LOGENDORF EPISCOPI WARMIENSIS PIE DEFUNCTI QVI PROHIBENTE VI ARMORVM CVM // PATRIBVS SVIS IN ECCLESIA SVA WARMIEN[SI] MINIME COLLOCARI POTVIT FACTUM IMPENSIS D[OMI]NI LVCE SVCCESORIS SVI ANNO DNI 1494.

¹⁴⁴ Quotation: K. Wróblewska, *Późnogotycka brązowa płyta nagrobna*, p. 107.

His cheeks are also presented in a manner making it possible to image their profile view. The width of his cheeks is not justified by the protruding cheekbones, but may be seen as a way of faithfully presenting the sagging skin with a galaxy of wrinkles¹⁴⁵.

K. Wróblewska hypothesises that the author of Legendorf's tombstone is probably Hans Brandt¹⁴⁶, probably working in Gdańsk around that time, and the casting was prepared possibly by the bronze caster Andreas Grottkau, executing the orders of the Warmian Cathedral Chapter since 1490¹⁴⁷.

III

“The course of the conflict between Poland and the Order «in 1454–1466 – J.P.» pointed to the fact that a war led by Christians may be brutal and ignorant with respect to its costs¹⁴⁸. In the middle of the military conflict lasting thirteen years, Paul Legendorf came to his diocese as an administrator with the papal blessing and a task to resolve the conflict. He started prudently: declaring his neutrality, he met with the leaders of two conflicted parties and convinced them to his will. The task was not easy: both sides trusted neither him nor his papal protector. The administrator could not initially settle in Lidzbark Warmiński and when he left Orneta – where he stayed – to meet the Grand Master, he did not have a way to travel back (Orneta was seized and plundered by the Confederation mercenaries). Garrisons of the Polish king and the Order protected Warmian towns and castles. What was Legendorf supposed to do? He started to gather more and more facilities in the Warmian diocese, officially still standing neutral. After a year, he gained recognition and respect among his Warmian subjects, with his wise long-term policy soon bearing fruit: with both weaponry and diplomacy, he gained almost all towns and castles within his dominium¹⁴⁹. He was forced to skilfully manoeuvre among the conflicted parties (who did not consider the interests of the bishop or the welfare of his diocese). Evident achievements in this matter prove that he must have had the temper of a smart and efficient politician (perhaps over ten years of experience in the Roman Curia granted him such abilities).

Both parties of the conflict were not satisfied with such a behaviour on Legendorf's part: both expected a clear statement. However, they were not without blame themselves: they could not control their mercenaries, who were not duly paid and, above all, not paid on time. The administrator, pressured by both con-

¹⁴⁵ *ibidem*, p. 113.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 115.

¹⁴⁷ Eadem, *Lukasz Watzenrode jako fundator dzieł sztuki*, p. 152.

¹⁴⁸ Quotation: J. Smołucha, *Polityka Kurii Rzymskiej*, p. 227.

¹⁴⁹ V. Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 460.

flicted countries, deferred the moment of finally declaring his allegiance. Eventually, forced by circumstances, he chose the Teutonic side. However, when they started to lose and his Roman protector as well as friend died, he saw it fit to lean towards the winning side, trying not to burn bridges on the road to Koenigsberg. As a responsible diocese administrator, he had to consider the grand devastation the war had brought to his castles, cities and villages. Towards its end, the famished and unpaid Teutonic mercenaries “who pillaged her «Warmia – J.P.» and plundered at will”¹⁵⁰ earlier on destroyed harvest and crops on bishop’s lands, captured horses and cattle; when there was nothing more to steal on the fields and in barns – took interest in beehives. “Szczytno garrison only ventured with impunity as far as Lidzbark, Dobre Miasto i Jeziorany, specialising particularly in emptying and damaging all beehives”¹⁵¹. The scale of atrocities of this long war is clearly visible in the fact that Warmian population dropped from 60 thousand in 1400 to only 30 thousand in 1466, to restore itself after two centuries only as high up as 45 thousand inhabitants¹⁵².

Some researchers raise the issue of changing allies by Prince-Bishop Legendorf, claiming that after the first pledge of allegiance towards the Polish king (July 1460), as a result of the whirlwind of this war, he broke his promises twice: in July 1463 by declaring the Grand Master his sovereign, only to change sides in March 1464¹⁵³. Such a judgment is unfair and does not take into account the circumstances of time and place. “The issue of loyalty is closely tied on those northern regions «of the Republic – J.P.» with the shaped and fluctuating socio-ethnic structure, also in the demographic and state-related aspect. The problem of both separatism and particularism, so often accompanying the loyalty towards the state, cannot be ignored”¹⁵⁴.

From the end of the 14th century in, among other places, the Chełmno Land, so the area of Legendorf’s birth, a crucial role “was played by a middle class of knights with undoubtedly a Slavic background and customs as well as staying in contact with the people of the Polish Crown. This middle class of knights largely contributed – alongside big Prussian towns – to the creation of the Prussian Confederation in 1440 and overthrowing the power of the Order in the years 1454-1466 while surrendering to the Jagiellon Poland. It also bore the greatest sacrifice throughout the Thirteen Years’ War, losing its political and social position for al-

¹⁵⁰ Quotation: J. Sikorski, op. cit., p. 77.

¹⁵¹ Ibidem; V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 475. Unpaid mercenaries were sometimes desperate for lack of everything, as evidenced by the letter from Barczewo Nickl Taubenheuer to the great master on 27 January 1465, in which he says that instead of beer, „almost six days have to quench the water and [continue] they will have to drink it again „ (wohl sechs tage nach einander haben müssen wasser saufen und werden’s müssen trincken).

¹⁵² W. Brüning, op. cit., Teil II, p. 66.

¹⁵³ Ibidem, p. 54; V. Röhrich, op. cit., p. 474.

¹⁵⁴ Quotation: M. Biskup, *Prusy Królewskie w II połowie XV i w XVI stuleciu*, in: *Panorama lojalności*, p. 7.

most 50 years”¹⁵⁵. The Legendorf family was also a member of this social group. The older brother of the future Warmian ordinary, Janusz, gave his life in the war while fighting for the Confederation; their father Janusz – an advocate of peace with Poland – collaborated with the Order as a diplomat in its service and an official; Paul – exploiting the support of the Order for nearly 25 years – for the last several years of his life assumed a position towards the Order and the Polish Crown dependent on external circumstances and own political speculations. He was not the only one.

For comparison, stepping back to the first decade of 14th century when the “great war” of the Order with the Polish Kingdom broke off (1409-1411), the Warmian Bishop Heinrich Vogelsang and the Chełmno bishop Arnold Stapil (both subjects of the Order, the second even its member) paid tribute to the Polish king Władysław Jogaila. As has already been mentioned, Janusz Legendorf (Paul’s father) and Ścibor Bażyński (later on members of the Secret Council of the Grand Master) did a similar manoeuvre.

In turn, on 10 June 1454, after the outbreak of the Thirteen Years’ War, the three Prussian bishops (all were members of the Teutonic Order) paid tribute to Casimir Jagiellon; only Franciscus Kuhschmalz, the Prince-Bishop of Warmia and a fierce enemy of Poland and the Confederation, did not do it. As soon as in September 1454 one of those three tributaries, the Chełmno bishop Johann Marienau, “ensured the Ostróda komtur about his faithfulness towards the Grand Master”¹⁵⁶. Also, the author of an interesting paper on this last Teutonic clergyman “on the throne of a bishop of the Chełmno diocese” wrote in the summary that Bishop Jan “seemed to be a loyal subject of the Order, to which he belonged”¹⁵⁷.

It appears that Prince-Bishop Paul Legendorf was a precursor of a way of thinking accompanying the action of subsequent administrators of the Warmian dominium, especially in the 16th century – “understanding the paramount importance of loyalty towards the state, expressed in the tax resolutions of the Warmian sejmik to the benefit of the Crown, the Warmian ordinaries on a daily basis put the loyalty towards their little Warmian state above that towards the entire Prussia”¹⁵⁸. And yet, the situation of Bishop Paul in the mid-15th century was much more complex as the two neighbouring countries waging a ruthless war demanded his loyalty, from time to time testing it while not always being loyal towards Warmia and its shepherd.

Tombstone writings in a poetical form present the period of Legendorf hold-

¹⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 8.

¹⁵⁶ Quotation: M. Sumowski, *op. cit.*, p. 513.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 518.

¹⁵⁸ Quotation: D. Bogdan, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

ing the Prince-Bishop's position in the following manner: "The time of harsh war has crushed me the unbiased «neutral»/«The conflicted» party knows nothing of loyalty, on both sides «only» fierce viciousness"¹⁵⁹ and: "Pope «Pius«II» trusted Paul like you trust a friend/«and granted» him the Warmian mitre «of a bishop»/ who, however, surrendered himself and his cathedral to the Poles./ The «Grand» Master of the Order could not bear it/and deceitfully poisoned Paul by the hands of his servant"¹⁶⁰.

* * *

The life of the Warmian Prince-Bishop Paul Legendorf, especially its decline, witnessed times difficult to fit into the legal categories of the 15th century. In 1440s in Prussia, an unheard and unprecedented event in the history of the Middle Ages took place: subjects rioted against their legal authority, broke their allegiance and acknowledged a monarch from a different country as their sovereign. It may be undoubtedly seen as a rebellion. This is exactly how this unusual and complex legal-political situation in the Baltic Sea basin was perceived by leading political factors of Europe. For this reason, the Prussian Confederation was fiercely contradicted by the papacy and the Empire, which tried to combat this organisation by any means necessary. It was probably feared that, after the recently suppressed socio-religious movement of the Czech Hussites, another anti-state incident – this time in Prussia – may not be the last one.

In such a situation, Bishop Legendorf, who came to Warmia as a papal envoy and the executor of the idea of neutrality in the Polish-Teutonic conflict favoured by the Holy See, did not face an easy task. Wanting to protect his dominion and the dominion of the Frombork Chapter and his war-troubled subjects at all costs, he probably tried to apply the principle of lesser evil, especially when his papal protector died. It was certain the Paul Legendorf was a wise and prudent administrator of the Warmian diocese, who never put himself above the interests and wellbeing of the bishopric.

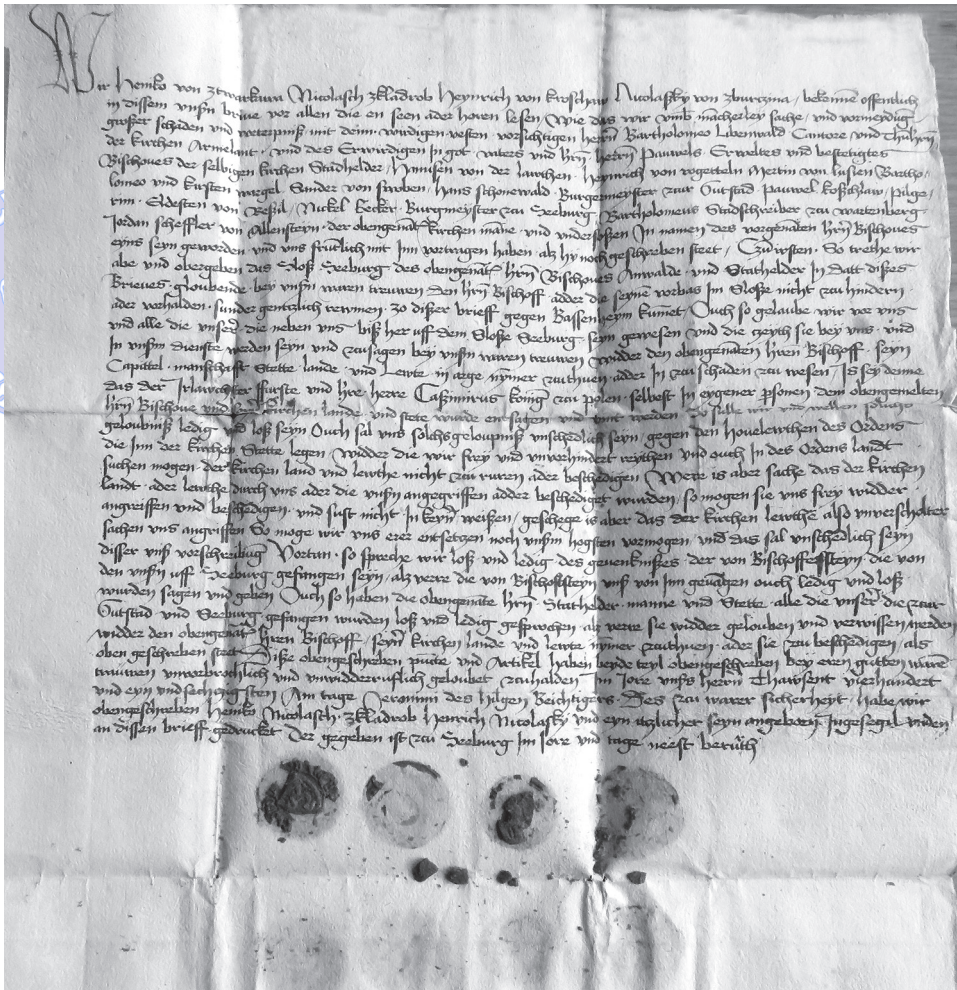
Paul Legendorf is surely a European personality; his long involvement in the European politics and with politicians in the Roman Curia are worth remembering. He was also a fervent politician as a Warmian Prince-Bishop and – as it appears – his undeniable talent in this area was not highly appreciated – to their own detriment – by both sides of the conflict, which mercilessly devastated the entire

¹⁵⁹ *Die älteren Elogia episcoporum Varmiensium*, in: SRW, Bd. II, p. 499: „Tempora me belli neutrum pressere superbi,/Neutrobisque fides, saevus utrinque furor”.

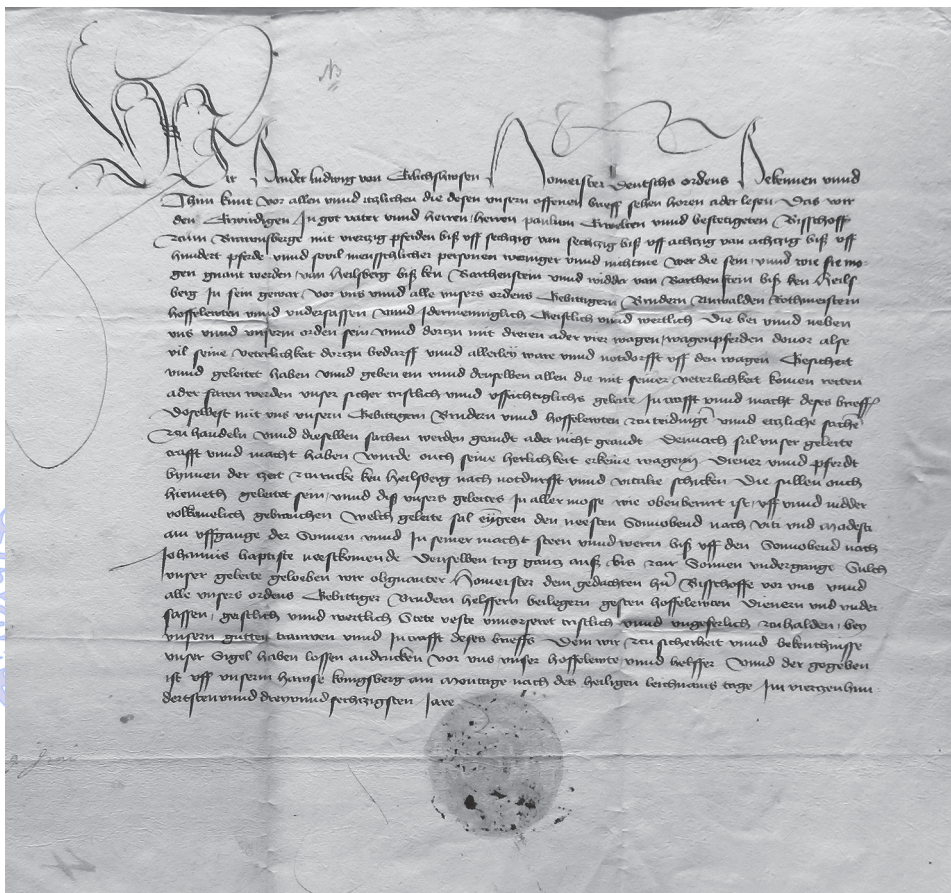
¹⁶⁰ *Die jüngeren Elogia episcoporum Varmiensium*, ibidem, p. 582: „Papa Pius Paulo fido imponit amico/Varmiacam mitram, qui se cathedramque Polonis/subdit. Non potuit factum hoc tolerare Magister/Ordinis, et Paulo dat servi fraude venerum”. Here, also written about Bishop Paul: „He died poisoned in Bartoszyce in 1467. Buried in Braniewo „ (Obiit Bartensteinii veneno 1467. Sepultus Brunsbergae).

region, especially Warmia.

Therefore, it is my belief that historical figures from the far past cannot be judged historically – their motivation has to be understood first, which will surely be facilitated by the research of future historians.



Il. 1. Original agreement signed by the cantor and vicar general of the Warmian diocese, Bartholomaeus Liebenwald, and two commanders of Teutonic mercenaries besieging Jeziorany castle, referring to the issue of its surrender to Prince-Bishop Paul Legendorf, dated 30 September 1461 (Archiwum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej w Olsztynie, Archiwum Kapituły, Dok. Kap. L 38)



Il. 2. Original safe passage issued by the Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen for Bishop Paul Legendorf to travel from Lidzbark Warmiński to Bartoszyce and back, dated 13 June 1463 (Archiwum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej in Olsztyn, Archiwum Biskupie, D 1, k. 33)

Jerzy Przeracki, *Biskup warmiński Paweł Legendorf (ok. 1410–1467). Między zakonem krzyżackim a Polską*

Streszczenie

Życie i działalność Pawła Legendorfa (ok. 1410–1467) były uwarunkowane poprzez trudne sąsiedztwo państwa zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach i Korony Polskiej. Sytuacja syna ziemi chełmińskiej, należącej do Krzyżaków na początku XV w., kiedy Paweł przyszedł na świat, skomplikowała się w połowie tego stulecia, po wypowiedzeniu przez ludność tej ziemi posłuszeństwa, a następnie wojny Zakonowi, co było niewątpliwie rebelią. Położenie Legendorfa stało się szczególnie trudne, kiedy podczas owej trzynastoletniej wojny zakonu krzyżackiego z Polską (1454–1466) został mianowany jesienią 1458 r. przez papieża Piusa II administratorem diecezji warmińskiej.

Autor przedstawia stosunek Legendorfa do zakonu krzyżackiego i do Korony Polskiej na podstawie licznych źródeł i opracowań, konkludując, iż biskup Paweł miał niewątpliwie temperament zręcznego i skutecznego

polityka (może to efekt kilkunastoletniej praktyki w kurii rzymskiej). Sytuacja Legendorfa w połowie XV w. była trudna, ponieważ obie walczące strony oczekiwały jego lojalności, co jakiś czas testując ją, podczas gdy same nie zawsze były lojalne wobec Warmii i jej pasterza.

Na podstawie dokumentu z 26 stycznia 1432 r. autor uzasadnia także potrzebę cofnięcia daty urodzenia Pawła Legendorfa do ok. 1410 r.

Jerzy Przeracki, Der ermländische Bischof Paul Legendorf (ca. 1410–1467). Zwischen dem Ordensstaat und Polen

Zusammenfassung

Das Leben und die Tätigkeit von Paul Legendorf (ca. 1410–1467) waren durch eine schwierige Nachbarschaft des Ordensstaates Preußen und des Königreichs Polen bedingt. Die Situation im Kulmer Land, das dem Ordensstaat Anfang des 15. Jh., als Paul geboren wurde, angehörte, gestaltete sich Mitte des Jahrhunderts noch schwieriger, weil die Bevölkerung dieses Landes dem Ordensstaat zuerst Gehorsam versagte, dann den Krieg erklärte. Die Lage von Legendorf wurde besonders schwierig, als er während des dreizehnjährigen Krieges des Deutschen Ordens mit Polen (1454–1466) im Herbst 1458 durch den Papst Pius II. zum Verwalter der Ermländischen Diözese ernannt wurde.

Der Autor präsentiert das Verhältnis Legendorfs zum Deutschen Orden und zum Königreich Polen anhand zahlreicher Quellen und Abhandlungen, um einen Schluss zu ziehen, dass der Bischof Paul ein talentierter, geschickter und erfolgreicher Politiker war, was zweifelsohne aus seiner langjähriger Praxis in der Römischen Kurie resultierte. Die Situation Legendorfs war Mitte des 15. Jh. noch aus dem Grund schwierig, weil zwei gegeneinander kämpfende Seiten seine Loyalität erwarteten, indem sie sie immer wieder auf die Probe stellten, wenn auch sie selbst dem Ermland und seinem Seelsorger gegenüber nicht immer loyal waren.

Aufgrund der Urkunde vom 26. Januar 1432 rechtfertigt der Autor die Notwendigkeit, das Geburtsdatum von Paul Legendorf um das Jahr 1410 zurückzusetzen.

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