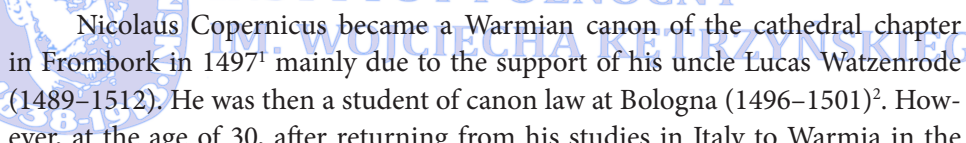

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COPERNICUS AS CHAPTER ADMINISTRATOR OF THE OLSZTYN DISTRICT

Słowa kluczowe: Mikołaj Kopernik, administracja, Warmia, komornictwo olsztyńskie

Schlüsselwörter: Nicolaus Kopernikus, Verwaltung, Ermland, Allensteiner Kämmerei

Keywords: Nicolaus Copernicus, administration, Warmia, Olsztyn district



Nicolaus Copernicus became a Warmian canon of the cathedral chapter in Frombork in 1497¹ mainly due to the support of his uncle Lucas Watzenrode (1489–1512). He was then a student of canon law at Bologna (1496–1501)². However, at the age of 30, after returning from his studies in Italy to Warmia in the middle of 1503, he did not immediately engage in the work of the chapter³. Before that, he was an inseparable companion of his uncle at the castle in Lidzbark Warmiński⁴. On 7 January 1507, the chapter formally exempted him from his obligation of residence in Frombork, and from then he was to take on the role of personal physician to Bishop Watzenrode⁵.

The atmosphere of the bishop's court supported Copernicus' wide-ranging interests. In Lidzbark, Copernicus led a very active life, serving as secretary to the Bishop and accompanying him on diplomatic visits and assemblies of estates. His stay in the castle also provided opportunities to participate in the life of the court and pursue his scientific interests. During this time he translated the letters of the

¹ J. Sikorski, *Mikołaj Kopernik na Warmii. Kalendarium życia i działalności* (Kalendarium), in: *Kopernik na Warmii, Życie i działalność publiczna. Działalność naukowa. Środowisko. Kalendarium* (Kopernik na Warmii), Olsztyn 1973, no 4, p. 429; 20.10.1497 in Bologna, in the presence of a notary Copernicus authorizes Warmian canons Krzysztof Tapiiau and Andrzej Cletz to assume on his behalf the Warmia canonicate after the deceased Jan Zanau.

² K. Górski, *Studenci z Prus w Bolonii w XIV-XV wieku*, Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie (KMW), 1989, no 1, pp. 3–20.

³ H. Schmauch, *Die Rückkehr des Koppernikus aus Italien im Jahre 1503*, Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands (ZGAE), Bd. 25, 1935, pp. 231–232.

⁴ M. Biskup, *Lidzbark Warmiński w życiu Mikołaja Kopernika*, in: *Kopernik na Warmii*, pp. 57–74.

⁵ H. Schmauch, *Nikolaus Copernikus in Frauenburg und Heilsberg*, Unsere ermländische Heimat, Jg. 4, 1958, no. 2; idem, *Neues zur Copernicus-Forschung*, ZGAE, 1938, Bd. 26, pp. 646–647.

Byzantine historian and writer Theophilakt Simocatta (born 580 AD) from Greek into Latin, studied cartography, and probably also made astronomical observations⁶.

On the other hand, as Bishop Watzenrode was rather a hot-tempered man, the cathedral chapter made a postmortem accusation to the king claiming that his reign was 'tyrannical'⁷. In the Lidzbark court, there was also another person close to the Bishop which Copernicus may have competed against for his uncle's affections. This person was most probably Paweł Deusterwald from Dobrze Miasto (ca. 1470–1538)⁸, who held the post of chancellor at the Watzenrode's court and accompanied him on all his trips⁹.

In 1510, Copernicus left Lidzbark and went back to Frombork, where he was appointed, for the first time, as the chapter's chancellor¹⁰. He would act as the chapter's chancellor three more times in his life: from 8 November 1512 until 8 November 1513, from 9 November 1519 until 8 November 1520, as well as from 13 November 1523 until 8 November 1524¹¹. Arriving in Olsztyn in 1516, he knew the city from his previous visits; one of his documented stays there was on 1 January 1511, when, together with Fabian Luzjański, still a canon at the time, he was a visitor attesting before the chapter that he received the remaining money for the needs of the castle's vicars by the deceased Zachariah by the amount of 238 grzywnas (Mark, unit of account = 20 groschen) and 3 wiardunek (which equalled 1/4 of grzywna)¹².

In 1512 Copernicus was appointed as the administrator the chapter's provisioning office as 'magister pistoriae'; he was responsible for bakeries, brewery, mills, and distribution of food among the canons¹³.

⁶ E. Brachvogel, *Die Bibliothek der Burg Heilsberg*, ZGAE, 1929, Bd. 23, p. 274 and n.; *Ordinancia castri Heylsberg*, ed. C. P. Woelky, in: *Scriptores rerum Warmiensiū* (SRW), Bd. 1, Braunsberg 1866, p. 316 and n.; K. Górski, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Środkowisko społeczne i samotność*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1973, pp. 121–122.

⁷ *Akta Stanów Prus Królewskich* (ASPK), vol. 5, part 3 (1511–1512), ed. M. Biskup, Warszawa–Poznań–Toruń 1975, no. 377 (Recess 11 VI–8 VII 1512), par. 9, 10; M. Biskup, „*Articuli iurati*“ biskupa warmińskiego Fabiana Luzjańskiego z 1512 r., *Rocznik Olsztyński* (RO), 1972, vol. 10, pp. 289–312.

⁸ Deusterwald Paweł: T. Oracki, *Słownik biograficzny Warmii, Prus Książęcych i Ziemi Malborskiej od połowy XV do końca XVIII wieku*, vol. 1, Olsztyn 1984, pp. 46–47. In the Bishop Watzenrode's service from March 1496 to 1512. From 1498, Warmia canon, and since 1508 the parish priest of the St. Nicholas' Church in Elbląg.

⁹ K. Górski, *Łukasz Watzenrode – życie i działalność polityczna (1447–1512)*, Wrocław 1973, *Studia Copernicana*, V. 10; D. Jamiolkowska, *Memoriale Łukasza Watzenrodego. Analiza paleograficzna*, in: *Kopernik na Warmii*, pp. 406–408. After the death of Watzenrode, Deusterwald did not remain in Lidzbark and went to take over the Elbląg parish.

¹⁰ J. Sikorski, *Kalendarium*, in: *Kopernik na Warmii*, no. 51, p. 436.

¹¹ J. Sikorski, *Kalendarium*, in: *Kopernik na Warmii*, no 70, 71, p. 440; no 205, p. 457; no 266, p. 472.

¹² M. Biskup, *Regesta Copernicana*, *Studia Copernicana* VII, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1973, no. 64, p. 70–71; Dr Gigalski, *Nicolaus Copernicus und Allenstein. Sein Studium, seine Tätigkeit als Stathalter in Allenstein, sein Entwicklungsgang zum Entdecker de neuen Weltsystems*, Allenstein 1907, p. 15.

¹³ *Mikołaj Kopernik Administrator i ekonomista*, Wydawnictwo Polskiego Towarzystwa Ekonomicznego, Oddział Wojewódzki, Kujawsko-Pomorskie Towarzystwo Kulturalne w Bydgoszczy, Bydgoszcz 1972, p. 10.

Lucas Watzenrode's death on 29 March 1512 in Toruń¹⁴ coincided with intensified efforts on the part of the Polish king to gain control over the staffing of Warmia bishopric, which resulted in a compromise established between the king and the Frombork Chapter within the Second Treaty of Piotrków Trybunalski on 7 December 1512¹⁵. The king acknowledged the Watzenrode's successor selected by the chapter, Bishop Fabian Luzjański (1512–1523)¹⁶, a colleague of Copernicus from his Bologna studies. Since then, the chapter was to present the king with four candidates for the bishopric of Warmia. Copernicus was actively involved in the negotiations of the Treaty of Piotrków which proved to be especially long-lasting, as it survived 250 years¹⁷.

In 1516, at the November general meeting of the chapter, Copernicus was elected the administrator of the chapter's common goods¹⁸ ('Administrator bonorum communium Venerabilis Capituli Warmiensis'), both of the Olsztyn and Melzak district. He took over responsibilities after the sickly Krzysztof Suchten, having acted in this role only for one year, resigned¹⁹. When Copernicus arrived in Olsztyn in 1516 to assume the position of the chapter administrator, he was already 43 and had vast experience in performing these kind of functions. Copernicus held this post twice: first, for three years, from 8 November 1516²⁰ until 9 November 1519, and then from 8 November 1520 to June 1521²¹. Jerzy Sikorski, a scrupulous researcher of the vicissitudes of Copernicus' life, stated that the years of his stay at the Olsztyn castle can be considered 'the most active, busy and extensive period in his life'²². In private, however, Copernicus was seen as a very

¹⁴ *Memoriale domini Lucae episcopi Warmiensis*, ed. C. P. Woelky, in: SRW, Bd. 2 (*Monumenta Historiae Warmiensis oder Quellenschriften zur Geschichte Ermlands*, Bd. 8), Braunsberg 1889, p. 169.

¹⁵ Cf. H. S. Zins, *Walka Polski o obsadę biskupstwa warmińskiego na przełomie XV i XVI w. na tle polityki zjednoczeniowej*, *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska*, Sectio F, Nauki Filozoficzne i Humanistyczne, Lublin 1960, vol. 12, pp. 49–102; B. Leśnodorski, *Dominium warmińskie (1243–11569)*, Poznań 1949, pp. 59–63; M. Biskup, *Łukasz Watzenrode inicjatorem wybrania przedstawiciela Korony biskupem warmińskim*, KMW, 1970, no. 1 (107), pp. 135–142.

¹⁶ M. Biskup, *Fabian Luzjański*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (PSB), vol. 18, 1973, pp. 162–166; S. Achremczyk, R. Marchwiński, J. Przeracki, *Poczet biskupów warmińskich*, Olsztyn 1994, pp. 87–89.

¹⁷ M. Biskup, *Łukasz Watzenrode inicjatorem wybrania przedstawiciela Korony*, pp. 135–141; H. Schmauch, *Die kirchenpolitischen Beziehungen des Fürstbistums Ermland zu Polen*, ZGAE, 1937, Bd. 26 (2), pp. 306–309.

¹⁸ Cf. A. Kopiczko, *Ustrój i organizacja diecezji warmińskiej w latach 1525–1772*, Olsztyn 1993, p. 107. In 1530, the chapter reorganised the management over the districts and established a separate Melzak administrator.; W. Thimm, *Die Ordnungen der ermländischen Kapitelsburgen Allenstein und Melzak aus dem Jahre 1563*, ZGAE, 1969, Bd. 33, pp. 53–160. In the 1532 statutes, four district administrators are named, including the Tolkmicko administrator (until 1569).

¹⁹ T. Borawska, Suchten Krzysztof (died before 1519), *Słownik Biograficzny Kapituły Warmińskiej* (SBKW), ed. rev. J. Guzowski, Olsztyn 1996, p. 241.

²⁰ *Spicilegium Copernicanum oder Quellenschriften zur Literaturgeschichte des Bisthums Ermland im Zeitalter des Nikolaus Kopernicus* (hereinafter: *Spicilegium Copernicanum*), hrsg. v. F. Hipler, in: *Bibliotheca Warmiensis oder Literaturgeschichte des Bisthums Ermland*, Braunsberg 1873, vol 1, Braunsberg 1873, p. 272. F. Hipler gives the date 11 November 1516; Comp. J. Sikorski, *Kalendarium*, no 107, p. 445: here the date is 8 November 1516–9 November 1519.

²¹ J. Sikorski, *Kalendarium*, no 218, p. 459.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 116.

withdrawn, which fact is also corroborated by the accounts in his numerous biographies²³. He lost his father when he was only ten years old; the responsibility over his upbringing and career was assumed by his uncle, Bishop Watzenrode. It is very probable that, towards the end of the Bishop's life, their relationship was rather flawed. It was not short after his father's death that Copernicus lost his mother, too. What is more, it is probable that already short before his administration in Olsztyn in 1519, his brother Andrzej died after a long illness. He was also a Frombork canon and studied together with Nicolaus in Italy²⁴.

Entrusting Copernicus with the administration of such large resources was a proof of his high esteem among the chapter members as well as the trust his Frombork comrades vested in him. During the first three years of Copernicus' stay in Olsztyn, his work was dominated by economic and settlement matters. The second period coincided with the difficult time of the Polish-Teutonic war of 1519–1521, which required the administrator to make decisions on the defensive measures of the castle and the city.

Copernicus' predecessor left him detailed inventories recording the full economic potential of the Olsztyn and Melzak districts, including with their villages, manors, mills, castles, lakes, forests, as well as a register of any valuable items and weaponry located at the Olsztyn castle. It was a regular custom in the chapter part of the district, being also defined in article 51 '*De resignatione officiorum*' of the chapter statute of 1488 (from the times of Bishop Nicholas Tungen [1467–1489])²⁵, that every year, all the chapter officials resigned from their posts and were to be re-elected for another year or ultimately dismissed. At their dismissal, they had to submit all the accounting books, seals and keys as well as other related items. Thus, the chapter administrators, the Frombork vogt (wójt) and the Tolkmicko governor (starosta) tendered their resignations to the chapter during the general chapter meeting which took place on All Saints' Day (1 November), whereas the Melzak governor (starosta) and a castle steward did it on St. Martin's Day (11 November). The Olsztyn starosta and a castle steward handed in their resignation to the administrator and the visitors on the Feast of the Circumcision (1 January)²⁶.

The gothic Olsztyn castle, which was the administrator's residence, is a typical defensive structure of the Teutonic state. Its residents led a community life, participated in the divine services in the castle chapel, worked and ate together. Co-

²³ K. Górki, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Środowisko społeczne i samotność*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1973.

²⁴ J. Dobrzycki, L. Hajdukiewicz: Mikołaj Kopernik, in: PSB, vol. XIV, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1968–1969, p. 14–16. Andrzej moved out of Warmia in the autumn of 1512 and died probably in Italy on 30 March 1519.

²⁵ In 1488, the chapter statute containing 67 clauses was created. Print: *Spicilegium Copernicanum*, pp. 246–265.

²⁶ *Die Statuten des Domkapitels von Frauenburg aus dem Jahre 1532 und ihre Novellierungen* (Statuten), hrsg. und eingeleitet von Werner Thimm, übersetzt von Anneliese Triller, ZGAE, 1972, Bd. 36, H. 97, p. 93; cf. *Die Statuten des ermländischen Domkapitels von B. Nicolaus von Tungen*, *Spicilegium Copernicanum*, hrsg. v. F. Hipler, Braunsberg 1873, par. 59, p. 263 and n.

pernicus, following the example of his predecessors, lived in the north-east wing of the castle, which consisted of the chapel and the administrator's apartment. These were two connected diamond vault chambers with an additional entrance from the gallery. One chamber, with windows facing north-east and north-west and a lavatory, was the residential part; the other was the office chamber²⁷.

In those times, the administrator had to combine the roles of the property supervisor, judge, and military chief. Still, despite the fact that he resided in Olsztyn, he could not neglect the Melzak district. The entrepreneurship and activity of the administrator largely determined the economic condition of the chapter properties and the state of the chapter treasury. The administrator managed the chapter estates, collected rent from the villages, oversaw the repopulation of abandoned farms, and ensured the smooth functioning of the castle in economic and defensive terms.

The preserved ordination documents of 1563 provides a detailed description of all the duties of the castle officials²⁸. The record refers to the administrator as 'Herr', which implied the highest status a chapter official could obtain. In the castle management, the administrator was supported by his subordinate officials: governor, a castle steward, forester and fishery manager. All were obliged to present their accounts to the administrator, who, in turn, was accountable for it before the chapter.

Two senior castle officials highest in rank, the governor (burgrabia) and a steward, accompanied Copernicus during his meals, but only if there were no honourable guests visiting the castle. Otherwise, the steward had his meal in his apartment whereas the burgrabia sat at the table with the other servants²⁹.

The steward of the Olsztyn castle exercised control over the kitchen, bakery, and brewery, as well as over the stocks of grain and pantries. Moreover, he controlled the meal schedule, managed table leftovers, and kept the key to the cellar, where the barrels of beer were stored, always on him until they were tapped. The ordination document of 1563 advised a moderate consumption of beer, especially for the governor; therefore, the earlier provision was deleted according to which the governor obtained one sztof of beer (1 Stof = 1.4 litres) a day, and two sztofs on the days of the court assembly³⁰.

Every four weeks on Saturday, a castle steward had to hand in to the administrator bills detailing all incomes and expenses; once a year, he also prepared

²⁷ Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin-Dahlem (GStAPK), XX.H.A., Etats Ministerium (EM), 31 a2, no. 3, Inventarium Allenstein 1552, vol. 1–10 (vol. 3–3v Stuba Administratoris); print: *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte Allensteins*, 1552 Allenstein, Inventar-Verzeichnis des Allensteiner Schlosses, hrsg. v. H. Bonk, Allenstein 1926, Bd. III, 1. Teil: *Schloss und Domkapitel*, Allenstein 1926, no. 494, pp. 101–112 [p. 104 In stuba Administratoris]; ibidem, no. 499, Allenstein 1564, Inventar des Allensteiner Schlosses, pp. 129–131.

²⁸ *Geschichte der Stadt Allenstein*, hrsg. v. H. Bonk, vol. V, Urkundenbuch III, part I: Spezielle Urkunden, part 1: *Schloss und Domkapitel*, Allenstein 1926, Hausordnung für die Burg Allenstein 1563, no. 498, pp. 115–128.

²⁹ K. Górski, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Środowisko społeczne i samotność*, p. 169.

³⁰ Ibidem, Auch dem Burggraffen ein Stof Bier des tages oder zwene in gericht's tagen, wo er darnach schicken würde'.

a general account clearance document³¹. The steward reported to the administrator the current number of visitors and their servants living in the castle, also recording the time of their arrival and departure. Besides, he was responsible for feeding the horses, four of which, at the expense of the chapter, were kept in the castle at the disposal of the administrator.

In addition to managing the homestead, the steward supervised all the production at the castle, including four mills, sawmill, smithy, chapter manor farm (folwark) Tiefensee/Althof, forests as well as the production of tar and a fish farm (he would have to keep a record of all fish introduced into the castle ponds).

Local craftsmen could only work for the castle if they had special certificates, or special signs granted by the steward that specified the kind of work to be done.

The chapter administrator worked closely with the castle governor, who was responsible for the judicial system as well as criminal cases within the city and the district. However, in criminal cases as well as the so-called 'Halssachen', which involved the risk of a death sentence, the governor only led the investigation, as the sentence itself remained in the hands of the city court. However, the governor had to report to the administrator about each arrest and hand him case files. The administrator also received any incoming appeals. He could confirm the sentence through tacit consent, or decrease the size of the punishment to be administered. According to Karol Górski, court sessions were held in the hall on the first floor, adjacent to the living chamber and the gallery³². In addition to collecting rent and taxes, the administrator oversaw the collection of court fines.

From their very outset, the town and the castle constituted a unified defensive and economic system. Copernicus, like former administrators, had to take care of the good relations with the Olsztyn town council, while, at the same time, carefully monitoring its activities and controlling the staffing of town institutions. The administrator was the final authority for the town (Olsztyn and Melzak/Pieniężno) and district officials (village heads – sołtysi and country heads) alike.

The article 50 '*De creatione et magistratuum officialium*' of the statutes of the Warmian Chapter of 1532 stated that, by the power of his office, a chapter administrator could appoint and remove all the officials of the town council and castles subjected to his jurisdiction, with the exception of the chapter vogt (wójt), the steward, and the governors, whose right of appointment was reserved only for the cathedral chapter itself³³.

³¹ *Geschichte der Stadt Allenstein*, vol. III, part 1: *Schloss und Domkapitel*, Allenstein 1926, no. 498, Hausordnung für die Burg Allenstein 1563, pp. 115–128.

³² K. Górski, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Środowisko społeczne i samotność*, p. 169.

³³ Statuten, p. 93.

In turn, the article 48 of the statutes, '*De iurisdictione singulorum officialium capitularium*' indicates that the chapter administrators who have their headquarters in Olsztyn, Melzak, Frombork, and Tolkmicko, exercise control over these town and the whole district in lay matters on behalf of the chapter; it was also their duty to rectify the poor state of affairs in territories they were in charge of³⁴.

Therefore, during annual visitation by the canons delegated on behalf of the Frombork Chapter to Olsztyn, complaints were brought not only by villagers but also by the city inhabitants³⁵.

It was usual practice of the administrator and the Olsztyn governor to choose a few village heads, who also acted as country councillors (Landschöppen), to assist them in rural matters³⁶. They were elected by the governor within a given district from free people who already had experience in official matters and enjoyed some authority among the village inhabitants. As a rule, country councillors were usually appointed among village heads (Schulzen), or the so-called free men (Freie), who had proved to be successful in their contribution to the community. After swearing-in, they became the most important officials in the service to the governor. Not only did they have to be reliable people with impeccable reputation but they had to have some degree of education as well.

The presence of the country councillors at the Olsztyn castle in the mid-16th century is confirmed by a document from 1560–1561 included in the castle book which concerned Simon Hannow, the Wartembork (Barczewo) governor, and his plan to dam up the pond in Tęgutę (Tengutten) at the beginning of the 1550s (in Appendix)³⁷.

The document was written on 22 October 1561 with the knowledge and consent of the Honorable Administrator Mr. Jacob Zimmerman [1559–1565], Frombork canon and current Olsztyn administrator, when "the noble and venerable" Caspar Stossel was the Olsztyn governor (burgrave) and in presence of rural representatives: Peter Pfaff heir from the Bałąg (Ballingen) village, Matz village head of Tomaszkowo (Thomasdorff) and Thewes village head of Unieszewo (Schönfelde), both the country councillors (Landschöppen)³⁸.

³⁴ Ibidem, pp. 89–90.

³⁵ Riksarkivet Stockholm, Extranea: IX Polen, vol. 149, Visitatio Allensteinensis 8 VI 1570, The chapter rector Eggert Kempen, canon Joannes Leomann and Olsztyn administrator Jacobus Czimmermann.

³⁶ *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensiis oder Regesten und Urkunden zur Geschichte Ermlands* (CDW), Bd. 2, ed. C.P.Woelky and J.M.Saage, Mainz 1864., no. 122, p. 127: these offices were known in Warmia already in the Middle Ages. On 4 December 1348 a privilege was granted by Bishop Herman before the land court in Orneta (provinciali Landding iudicio quod dicitur) for the exchange of inherited goods between Baudo Borin and Willico von Tüngen. Witnesses of this act were: Johannes de Baysen „milite Judice" and the five councillors, „discretis viris": enrico Wendepfaffe, Henrico de Arnoldsdorf, Alberto de Calcsteyn, Tilone de Rutenberg, Nicolao de Cussin „Scabinis provincialibus"; cf. H. Zins, *Kapituła fromborska w czasach Mikołaja Kopernika*, KMW, 1959, no. 4(66), p. 419.

³⁷ GStAPK Berlin-Dahlem, XX. H.A., EM 31d, no. 666, vol. 1–3.

³⁸ „Und diese einschreibungk dess Instrumentds ist geschehen mitt wissen, willen undt Zulass dess Achtbarn Wirdigen Herrn Jacobi Zimmermans Thumbherrn zur Frawenburgk, etc. undt zurselbigen Zeitt Landt

The original text of 1550–1561, despite having been written after Nicolaus Copernicus' death, is a valuable account of the course of meetings of the administrator of the Olsztyn district with lower-level country officials at the Olsztyn castle around the mid-16th century. Witnesses of the above mentioned legal actions refer to events and customs recorded in their memory, which makes them a unique testimony also for the first decades of the 16th century.

What is especially worth emphasising, is the crucial role of the country councillors (Landschöppen), known in Warmia since the Middle Ages, in all matters relating to land transactions. There were at least two of them for each bishop and chapter administrative district.

* * *

Copernicus could observe by himself the depreciation of money flowing from rents, that were collected during the period of his administration over the Olsztyn and Melzak districts. After the devastating Polish-Teutonic 15th-century wars and the subsequent abandonment of Warmia villages, it was necessary for the chapter estates to be reconstructed economically so that the rents could, again, generate satisfactory incomes regularly add funds to the treasury of the Frombork Chapter.

The area of the chapter estates was dominated by peasant farms based on ground rent (71.5%). Nobility-owned estates (11.8%) and the so-called free men's property (16.7%) made up only a small part of the ownership structure not only of the chapter estates but also of Warmia as a whole³⁹.

The difficult socio-economic situation of Warmia after the devastation of the Polish-Teutonic War (1519–1521) is captured perfectly by the source material contained in the extremely valuable document written by Copernicus himself, which is known as the "Leases of *Abandoned Farmsteads*" (Lokacje łanów opuszczonych). According to the calculations of Hans Schamuch, in 1479, in the Olsztyn district, every second field (łan) was vacant, and already in ca. 1500 every fourth field⁴⁰ was abandoned. The territory was already intensely populated in the period between the wars (1480–1519). As the document suggests, in 1519, in the Olsztyn district, 76% of rural areas were being cultivated, whereas in the Melzak district this number was even higher (85%)⁴¹.

Probst auff Allenstein, in den tagen, do der Edle unst Ehrenvehste Caspar Stossel Burggraff war, Peter Pfaff von Balingen, Matz Scholtz von Thomasdorff undt Thewes Schultze vom Schonfelde Landschöppen waren. Ahm 22. Octob[ris] A[nn]o 1561³⁹.

³⁹ B. Leśnodorski, *Dominium warmińskie (1243–1569)*, Poznań 1949, p. 86.

⁴⁰ H. Schmauch, *Nicolaus Copernicus und die Wiederbesiedlungsversuche des ermländischen Domkapitel um 1500*, ZGAE, 1942, Bd. 27, p. 479; idem, *Die Wiederbesiedlung des Ermland im XVI Jahrhundert*, ZGAE, 1929, vol. 23 (3), p. 542, annot. 3.

⁴¹ H. Zins, *W kręgu Mikołaja Kopernika*, Lublin 1966, p. 238; idem, *Położenie ludności chłopskiej na Warmii w pierwszej połowie XVI wieku*, Kwartalnik Historyczny, 1955, Yearbook LXII, no. 4–5, p. 74;

From the late 15th century, the Warmian Chapter started a new settlement operation in the abandoned territories, and from 1481, subsequent administrators had to keep a register of the repopulated farmsteads. The documents constituted a great source for studying economic situation in rural areas of the Olsztyn and Melzak districts in the first half of the 16th century. The source – ‘Locationes mansorum desertorum’ – had already been the subject of a thorough analysis, first by Jerzy Sikorski, and then by Marian Biskup⁴². Both researchers, relying on the data presented in the text, found that for all the 37 records of changes of land users, 23 cases involved peasant desertion, 12 were caused by the peasant’s death, and two described peasants receiving an abandoned land (‘pustki’ – vacant land).

Copernicus’ entries were part of the records of the Warmia resettlement plan included in the notebook, started by the administrator Balthasar Stockfisch in 1484, which ends in 1520. Copernicus took part in the operation only at its end because in 1519 only 10% of the vacant land did not have the owner. His notes appeared on 15 pages of the register of abandoned farmsteads, but are now incomplete (former signature from the Frombork Archive, Schbl. II, no. 56). Currently, in the Warmia Archdiocese Archives in Olsztyn, only the first page of the manuscript is preserved (a fragment written in the Melzak district in the years 1517–1519), as the rest can be seen in photocopies. All notes made by Copernicus in 1521 were introduced into the books by Tiedemann Giese, his successor in the office of the administrator⁴³.

It is assumed that in the period from 10 December 1516 to 31 May 1521, Copernicus visited 43 rent-paying villages as the chapter administrator in the Olsztyn and Melzak districts and conducted 72 reestablishments⁴⁴. In the Olsztyn district alone, there were 32 villages for which 59 establishment records were written; however, two of them were removed, which might suggest that the operation was unsuccessful⁴⁵.

In accordance with the Chełm law of the early 15th century, the Warmia peasants could leave their village unrestricted, but with the provision of settlement of all dues towards their landlord, and finding a successor to replace them on their farm. However, the situation changed when the peasants started to look for better living conditions during the time of post-war chaos. From the first half of the 15th

H. Schmauch, *Nicolaus Copernicus und die Wiederbesiedlungs*, pp. 481, 519.

⁴² M. Biskup, *Mikołaja Kopernika „Lokacje łanów opuszczonych”*, Olsztyn 1970; *Mikołaj Kopernik. Lokacje łanów opuszczonych*, ed. M. Biskup, Olsztyn 1983.

⁴³ *Mikołaj Kopernik. Lokacje łanów opuszczonych*, Introduction, S. XI; cf. J. Sikorski, *Mikołaj Kopernik w Olsztynie*, p. 117, annot. 42.

⁴⁴ In the beginnings of 16th century, the Olsztyn district included 59 villages, while the Melzak district comprised 60 villages.

⁴⁵ J. Sikorski, *Mikołaj Kopernik w Olsztynie*, p. 119.

century onwards, there began in Prussia the practice of allocating peasants to the land. This was done by the introduction of written consents in case a peasant was willing to abandon his village and the need of obtaining the administrator's approval for any changes of land users⁴⁶. Analysing all the records from Copernicus' times, it turns out that in most cases the introduction of new land users was rather the act of passing it from one man to another. Only in two cases new people were appointed. On 10 April 1519 in the village of Dywity (Diwitten), four previously abandoned łans, by then already afforested, were granted to parish priest Augustyn, and two łans were given to the village head Hans with five years of rent-free period (*wolnizna*)⁴⁷. Other records concern the abandonment of land by the peasants (some areas did not have owners even for five years). The registry features 35 cases of land abandonment as a result of user desertion or death. Altogether, Copernicus granted land to new users in 37 cases. As an aid to the newcomers, the chapter provided them with cattle and agricultural tools as well as a three or four years' exemption from rent⁴⁸.

However, not all reestablishment efforts were successful. In the village of Pluski (Plauzig), for instance, Brosien Trokelle took over three łans from a deceased Peter. For a start, he received two horses, a cow, three goats, two pigs, a bushel of rye, and three bushels of oats. He had to pay his first rent the following year. The record first states that '(this) occurred on Monday after the Laetare Sunday [23 March]', and further that 'it was unsuccessful because of the great dishonesty of the man; the [livestock] listed has been returned'⁴⁹. This passage proves that reestablishment was a kind of a legal action that was extended in time, as it is hard to imagine that the act of granting land to the settler could have been simultaneous with discovering his dishonesty.

Copernicus did not exhibit great severity towards the peasants: he provided a fugitive one – Jakub Wayner from the Skajboty (Skaibotten), who was brought back by the village head, with a horse and a quarter of the previous amount of spring sowing grain, granting him an exemption from paying the upcoming rent.⁵⁰

When analysing the data, however, a fundamental question arises: Did Copernicus have to personally participate in trips to each of the villages and make on-site records? If it were the case, only in 1517 he would have made a total of 29 trips, in 1518 – 16, and in 1519 he would have been present in 18 villages.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 19–20.

⁴⁷ *Mikołaj Kopernik. Lokacje łanów opuszczonych*, pp. 37–38.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 33. Changes in ownership resulted from owner's death (8 cases), desertion (17 cases), regular transactions (34), such as voluntary renunciation of land, user impairment, exchange of land, excess of arable land and voluntary resignation, old age, moving to another village, and unknown reasons, as in Nagładach (Nagladen), where the village head Peter sold his property along with his office

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 15.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p.23.

The thesis that Copernicus did not always take part in those tours is supported by the fact that in his entries he never uses the regular formula ‘this happened in my presence’. He only generally emphasizes his active role in this project in the following words on the title pages of each year: ‘the reestablishment of arable land by myself, Nicolaus Copernicus, in the year of Our Lord... [1517]’⁵¹.

It was then a common practice to name all the present persons when legal documents were drawn up. In the case of reestablishment of farmsteads, the document most often mentions the presence of various dignified people (chaplains, foresters, villages heads) and also Copernicus’ henchmen (Hieronim or Wojciech/Albert). It is only once, in the village of Miłkowo (Millenberg) in the Melzak district, that a Melzak governor and a local village head appear as witnesses⁵².

Some of the records from specific villages do name the people present. In such cases the following phrases are used: “this was in the presence of the chaplain and one of the...,” or “in the presence of the village head and the chaplain,” or “in the presence of two servants Wojciech and Hieronim”. In case of Wołowno, in the presence of the servant Wojciech, the local forester, and the village head. On 22 May 1517 Nicholas Copernicus, acting as the administrator, confirms the acquisition of four łans in the village of Wołowno (Windtken, Vindica) by Jan after the deceased uncle Szczepan Kopeć (Czepan Copetz). The new settler was vouched for by his son-in-law, Stentzel. Witnesses to the transaction were the forester Wojciech (Adalbert) and the local village head (sołtys)⁵³. In case of Gryżliny (Grieslienen), in 1517 the record notes the acquisition of three łans by Jan, previously abandoned by a certain Asman: ‘this took place before 30 January 1517 in the presence of the chaplain and my boy Hieronim’. There is no mention of the presence of Copernicus but only of his servant Hieronim who may have accompanied the chaplain on his trip. As a rule, Copernicus’ name does not feature in the records.

In fact, Copernicus could have visited some of the villages on the occasion of his obligatory annual district visitations defined in the chapter statutes *De visitationibus* (art. 55). An annual general meeting of the chapter was held on 1 November, during which two visiting canons were elected. Accompanied by the administrator of the Melzak district, they visited the districts⁵⁴ on St. Martin’s Day (11 November) as well as on the day of the Feast of the Circumcision (1 January). They received complaints

⁵¹ Ibidem, p. 4: „Locatio mansorum per me Nicolaum Copernic anno Domini MDXVII”.

⁵² Ibidem, p. 5 (Jonkowo), 11 (Pluski), 13 (Linowo), 17 (Porbandy), 21 (Wołowno), 25 (Bartąg).

⁵³ Ibidem, p. 21.

⁵⁴ Statuten, p. 97; Riksarkivet Stokholm, Extranea Polen: IX, vol. 147, Visitatio Allensteinensis 8 VI 1570 (visitors: Eggert Kempen dziekan, Joannes Leomann and Olsztyn administrator Jacobus Zimmermanus); In the 18th c. the chapter visitations occurred also in the summer; for example: Print: Acta visitationis Mehlsaccensis cameratus of 20 May 1583, *Monumenta Historiae Warmiense, Bibliotheca Warmiense*, Bd. IV, Braunsberg 1931, pp. 178–194 and n.; ibidem, pp. 276–299, Acta visitationis Allensteinensis anni 1763 diei 28 mensis Julii, the visitation lasted from 28 July to 23 August.

of the inhabitants, analyzed them, and offered solutions on the spot; the matters they were unable to solve were sent to the Frombork Chapter to be decided upon⁵⁵.

We can infer for example from the Jonkowo (Jonkendorf) record a personal involvement of the administrator and his desire to help the new owner: '... Marcin Caseler took over three łans after Joachim, who was hanged for theft, which were not sown last year. I exempted him from paying this year's rent: he will pay the next year and in the forthcoming years. He received a cow, a heifer, an axe and a scythe, as well as a bushel of grain: oats and barley intended for sowing by his predecessor. This happened on Wednesday, 10 December 1516. I also promised [him] two horses. The sołtys vouched [for him] for four years.'⁵⁶ The phrase 'I promised him' suggests that Copernicus made a promise personally⁵⁷.

To ensure the security of transactions, a system of guarantees was used which is recorded for 27 times throughout the documents. Guarantors were usually village heads (11 times), settler's relatives (7 times), and neighbours (9). The guarantees often had defined time frames spanning from 2 to 7 years, yet in 9 cases they were perpetual. It is not known what made the guarantors undertake such a great responsibility for their neighbours or family members. In the case of unauthorised abandonment of the land by the peasant, the guarantor had to take it over along with any liabilities.

* * *

In the rush of his numerous activities in Olsztyn, Copernicus still found time for scientific research, conducting astronomical observations. He was engaged in the creation of the experimental astronomical board, measuring 705 × 140cm, located on the south-western wall of the 14th-century castle galleries. It was hand-drawn on the plastered wall by Copernicus himself. Its creation is dated to 1517, to the period preceding the Spring Equinox (11 March) or some days immediately after it. In Copernicus' times, the board was located under the stairs, above the entrance to his chamber, facing the second and third arcades of the gallery⁵⁸.

It is highly probable that while in Olsztyn, Copernicus used an astronomical tool called the astrolabe, employed for the observation of opposition of Saturn, Jupiter and Mars. The best possible observation spot in the castle was the roof of the castle tower, which was flat at that time⁵⁹.

⁵⁵ Statuten, p. 97.

⁵⁶ *Mikołaj Kopernik. Lokacje łanów opuszczonych*, p. 5. In fact, this is about the reestablishment of 10 December 1516.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 17. Similarly in Ługwałd (Hochwalde, Hogenwalt) of 23 April 1519.

⁵⁸ T. Przytkowski, *Astronomiczne zabytki Olsztyna*, RO, 1959, vol. 2, p. 140 and n.; P. Sobotko, *Astronomiczna tablica doświadczalna Mikołaja Kopernika na zamku w Olsztynie. Bibliografia*, KMW, 2014 no. 4 (286), pp. 539–551; J. Szubiakowski, *Astronomiczny aspekt badań słonecznej tablicy obserwacyjnej na olsztyńskim zamku*, in: *Tablica astronomiczna Mikołaja Kopernika na zamku w Olsztynie. Stan badań*, Olsztyn 2013, pp. 61–89.

⁵⁹ L. A. Birkenmajer, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Studiya nad pracami Kopernika oraz materyały biograficzne*, Kra-

In 1518, Copernicus made attempts at mitigating the conflict with the Teutonic Order, especially the border disputes with one of the Order's officials, Philip Greussing. The matter became serious when Greussing's accusations were directed at the the Olsztyn burgrave (Christoph Drauschwitz). In view of this, the burgrave, accompanied by Copernicus, arranged a meeting with the Bishop in Lidzbark⁶⁰.

Raised in a merchant family and being frequently involved in financial matters as the chapter's administrator, Copernicus must have become an expert on monetary affairs of the Prussian district and must have been well aware, too, of the growing problem of depreciation of the coins minted in Królewiec (Königsberg). In 1517, Copernicus developed the first version of his Latin treatise on economy – the *Meditata*. On its basis, a German memorial was created in 1519 that was directed to the estates of Royal Prussia. It was entitled *The Treatise on Coin (Tractatus e monetis)* and was presented to the public in March 1522 at an estate assembly in Grudziądz (Graundenz)⁶¹. The *Meditata* manuscript preserved on 1.5 pages and dated to 15 April 1517 was found before the Second World War in the Gdansk archives by Hans Schmauch (1887–1966), a prominent expert on the history of Warmia⁶². Already in 1519, the peace conditions which the Polish side offered to Albrecht contained a clause prohibiting the minting of coins by the Prince without the consent of the Prussian State Council and the king; also, at that time, Copernicus wrote the first draft of the Treatise at the request of the Prussian State Council⁶³.

Copernicus resigned from the office of the administrator on 9 November 1519 and moved to Frombork, where he continued his engagement in the Polish-Teutonic war⁶⁴. On 23 February 1520, as a result of the Teutonic invasion, Frombork was burned down along with the canons' curiae facilities outside the town

ków 1900, p. 295; This observation he made on 12 December 1518, J. Sikorski, *Kalendarium*, in: *Mikołaj Kopernik na Warmii*, no. 181, p. 50.

⁶⁰ M. Biskup, *Regesta Copernicana*, no 167, Melzak 22 October 1518.

⁶¹ H. Schmauch, *Nicolaus Copernicus und die preussische Münzreform*, Gumbinnen 1940, pp. 27–34; M. Gumiowski, *Poglądy Kopernika w sprawach monetarnych*, in: *Kopernik na Warmii*, pp. 237–287; M. Biskup, *Mikołaj Kopernik na zjeździe stanów Prus Królewskich w Grudziądzu w marcu 1522 roku (do początków działalności dla reformy monetarnej)*, KMW, 1994, no. 4, pp. 383–394; S. Cackowski, *Mikołaj Kopernik jako ekonomista*, Toruń 1970, p. 28.

⁶² Ibidem; F. Bujak, *Traktat Kopernika o monecie*, in: *Mikołaj Kopernik*, Lwów–Warszawa 1924, pp. 41–103 (p. 66). The Copernicus' treatise on the minting of coin was created in stages. The first edition from 1519 was discovered by prof. Birkenmajer and prof. Łęgowski in November 1922 in the city archives in Toruń; the second, larger edition from the manuscripts of Ossol. vol. 199, pp. 263–269 was included in volume V of the *Acta Tomiciana* (p. 167–169). The text of the second edition, translated from Latin into German, was incorporated into the archives of the Grudziądz general assembly (sejmik) of 1522 and dated to 1519. The full version of the treatise is stored in the Królewiec Archives (OF 12.868 fol. 41 and H. V. 22–27). The text exists in two manuscripts: the first was written by Felix Reich in 1526 or 1527, while the second is a manuscript by Frederick Fisher, Duke Albrecht's chancellor who died in 1529, which was probably copied from the Reich's text.

⁶³ M. Biskup, „*Wojna Pruska*” czyli walka Polski z zakonem krzyżackim z lat 1519–1521. *U źródeł sekularyzacji Prus Krzyżackich*, part II, Olsztyn 1991, p. 222.

⁶⁴ J. Sikorski, *Mikołaj Kopernik w Olsztynie*, in: *Kopernik na Warmii*, p. 115.

walls, which forced the canons to leave the town. Copernicus then returned to Olsztyn, where he remained until June 1521⁶⁵.

Until the autumn of 1520, Olsztyn stayed on the margins of the military actions. In mid-October 1520, Albrecht's troops invaded central Warmia and from 19 October to 28 November 1520 they besieged Lidzbark. After losing hope for the support from the German mercenaries, Albrecht attacked Dobre Miasto (Guttstadt) and took it by storm on 15 November; on 16 November, Orneta was besieged and, after eight days, the town capitulated. It was then when Olsztyn, in which most of the canons had hidden, was included in the area of military action⁶⁶. As a result, the chapter administrator Jan Krapitz resigned, and the post of the district administrator was entrusted to Nicholas Copernicus⁶⁷. The canons left Olsztyn, where only Copernicus and Heinrich Snellenberg remained.

In view of the difficult situation, Copernicus asked the Warmian archdeacon, Jan Sculteti, who resided in Elbląg (Elbing), to send arquebuses and food; the latter fulfilled his request, sending two wagons with 17 arquebuses. In his letter, Sculteti mentions his support from Bishop Fabian Luzjański for his attempts to strengthen the Olsztyn defence 'in order not to lose this bulwark (*antemurale*) of the entire diocese'⁶⁸. Copernicus demanded more cannons to be bought in order to strengthen the city's defensive potential. It was backed by Sculteti, who suggested purchasing 20 arquebuses in Elbląg or Gdańsk (Danzig) for the castle, and the same number, or even ten more hackbuts, for the city⁶⁹.

From the spring of 1520, the Olsztyn castle was manned by 100 Polish soldiers under the command of Paweł Dołuski. Following the chapter's request, the officer wrote to the royal commander in Lidzbark (Heilsberg), Jakub Sęcygniewski, to send him some military support, but he was met with refusal.⁷⁰ Also the canons, fearing that the city should be burnt, sent a messenger to the king residing in Bydgoszcz, to hand him a letter in which they assured Sigismund I the Old about their loyalty. However, the letter never reached the intended recipient⁷¹.

The negotiations on 5 April 1521, taking place in Torun (Thorn), concluded with a four-year truce. However, Braniewo (Braunsberg), Orneta (Wormditt) and

⁶⁵ Ibidem; H. Schmauch, *Neue Funde zum Lebenslauf des Copernicus*, ZGAE, Bd. 28, H. 1, 1943, pp. 53–99 (after Schmauch's discovery of the letters written from Olsztyn of 7 Feb., 29. April, 11 Sept. and 22 Dec. 1520).

⁶⁶ M. Biskup, *List kapituly warmińskiej do króla Zygmunta I napisany własnoręcznie przez Mikołaja Kopernika w Olsztynie w 1520 roku*, KMW, 1970, no. 2 (108), pp. 307–315; idem, in: *Kopernik na Warmii*, pp. 161–172; original in Ordensbriefarchiv (OBA) 16 November 1520, formerly signed D 641.

⁶⁷ M. Biskup, *Regesta Copernicana*, no. 212, after 8 Nov. 1520, p. 117; K. Górski, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Środowisko społeczne i samotność*, p. 139.

⁶⁸ M. Biskup, *Regesta Copernicana*, no. 223, Elbląg, end of Feb. 1521, pp. 121–122.

⁶⁹ Ibidem, no. 223.

⁷⁰ Ibidem, no. 213, Olsztyn 16 XI 1520, p. 117.

⁷¹ M. Biskup, *W sprawie zagrożenia Olsztyna przez wojska krzyżackie w początkach 1521 roku*, in: *Kopernik na Warmii*, pp. 173–182; cf. idem, *List kapituly warmińskiej*, pp. 166–167.

Dobre Miasto, together with their districts, remained in the hands of the Order and were to be returned as late as in 1525 on the basis of the Treaty of Kraków⁷². Interestingly, Olsztyn did not share this fate thanks to Copernicus' great engagement in ensuring the proper defensive measures of the castle and the city. After resigning from the office of the chapter administrator in the beginnings of June 1521, Copernicus was granted the title of the Warmian Commissioner, 'Warmiae commissarius' (20 August 1521), acting as the chapter's representative during the period of the Polish-Teutonic truce⁷³.

SOURCE APPENDIX

Copy: Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin-Dahlem, XX. H. A., Etats Ministerium 31d, no. 666, p. 1–3, Allenstein 22 X 1561, document 19 × 30cm, in the German language, conservation status: good, written in black ink.

[vol. 1] Copia eines Instruments belangende Herrn Simon Hannow⁷⁴ von Wartenbergk etc⁷⁵.

Und diese Einschreibung deß Instrumentdts ist geschehen mit Wissen, Willen undt Zulaß deß Achtbarn Wirdigen Herrn Jacobi Zimmermans⁷⁶ Thumbherrn zur Frawenburg etc. und zur selbigen Zeit Land Probst auf Allenstein, in den Tagen, do der Edle unst Ehrenvehste Caspar Stoßel⁷⁷ Burggraf war, Peter Pfaff von Balingen⁷⁸, Matz Scholtz von Thomasdorf⁷⁹ undt Thewes Schultze vom Schonfelde⁸⁰ Landschöppen waren. Am 22. Octob[ris] A[nn]o 1561.

In dem Namen dess Herrn. Amen. Im Jahre nach Christi Geburt 1560 am zehenden dess Monats Decemb[ris] vor dem Achtbarn und Wirdigen Herrn Jacobo Timmerman Thumbherrn zur Frawenburg und Land Probst auf Allenstein etc.

In mein offenbaren Notarien undt d[en] glaubwürdigen hierunden geschriebenen Gezeugen Gegenwertigkeit, seindt persönlich erschienen, der Erbare undt Ehrenvehste Peter Pfaff von Balingen, undt der beschedene Bartusch Schultz zu

⁷² J. Sikorski, *Mikołaj Kopernik w Olsztynie*, in: *Kopernik na Warmii*, p. 145; M. Biskup, G. Labuda, *Dzieje Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach. Gospodarka–Społeczeństwo–Państwo–Ideologia*, Gdańsk 1986, p. 474.

⁷³ W. Thimm, *Nicolaus Copernicus Warmiae commissarius*, ZGAE, 1971, Bd. 35, pp. 171–176.

⁷⁴ Simon Hannow – governor of the Wartenburg district, died 1578.

⁷⁵ Publishing instruction: J. Schultze, *Richlinien für die äussere Textgestaltung bei Herausgabe von Quellen zur neueren deutschen Geschichte*, *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte*, 1962, Jg. 98, pp. 1–11; *Richlinien für die Edition landesgeschichtlicher Quellen*, hrsg. von W. Heinemeyer, Marburg–Köln 1978, pp. 25–36.

⁷⁶ Jakub Zimmermann (Timmermann, Tymmermann) – Frombork canon and the Olsztyn Administrator in the years 1559–1565, died 1582; see: SBKW, pp. 260–261.

⁷⁷ Caspar Stoßel (Stößel) – governor of the Olsztyn district till about 1566.

⁷⁸ Balingen – Bałag, in the Olsztyn district.

⁷⁹ Thomasdorf – Tomaszkowo, in the Olsztyn district.

⁸⁰ Schonfelde/Schönfelde – Unieszewo, in the Olsztyn district.

Tollauken⁸¹ und haben daselbst beide einhellig ein Jeder vor sich, bei Irem guttem Gewissen undt starcken Eide, aus guttem, freien ungezwungenen Willen, offentlich bekandt undt gezeüget, wie Ihnen in rechtter Warheit wisslich sei und noch in frischen, guttem Gedechnüß haben, daß nach deme der Achtbare Wirdige Edler undt Ehrenvehste Löblicher milder Gedechnüß und in Gottseliger verstorbenener Herr Achatius von d[er] Trenck⁸², etwan Dechandt undt Thumbherr zur Frawenburg undt zurselbigen Zeit Landtprobst auff Allenstein, sein wuste Dorf Tollauken mit Gebawersleutten besetzt hatte, auf eine Zeit zu seiner Acht[baren] W[ürdigen] alhier hero gegen Allenstein gekommen ist, der Edle Erbare undt Ehrenvehste Herr Simon Hannow⁸³ auf // [k. 2] die Zeit Burggraf zu Wartenburg, anzeigende, daß er gesinnett were, in sein Gutt Thurgutt⁸⁴ genandt, einen Teich zustewen und derselbe Teich besorgte er sich, wurde biß uf und in genentes seiner Achtbaren Würdigen Gut Tollaucken stewen, welche Stehunge dennoch wieder den Leutichen im selben Dorffe, noch dem Viehe schaden brechte, dan sie wieder an irkeinem Acker, noch Weisewachs, sonder in ein wüste, dicke, gehecke strauchs undt schumppeiche Gebruche, welchen Ort man nicht leichtlich wieder den Menschen, noch Viehe zu Nutz und fromme gebrauchen Kund bedreffen und rechnen wurde. Hierauf genentter Achtbar, Wirdiger Herr Achatius, Ihme dem gedachten Hannow, bald geandtwortd und gesprochen: Lieber Gefatter, weil dem also und nicht grossen Schaden gibdt, bin ich woll zufrieden will euch und euern Erben solche Stehunge in meinem Gutte gerne vorgunnen undt sage sie euch undt euern Erben zu, so lange es euch undt euern Erben gefeldt zugebrauchen, dennoch mitt diesem Bescheide, daß meine Underthane deiselben Leutichen zu Tollauken, in derselben Stehunge, so ferne die in meines Gut undt Grenze belanget mit Secken, freie Fischerei, zu Irem Tische alleine haben mögen. Welche Ihme oft genantter Herr Hannaw in seinem und seiner Erben Namen, weil die Stehunge waret, auch vereischen und zugesagt hat, allein den Abeloß etc., welchen sie Ihme zufrieden lassen sollen, hat er sich furbehalten undt außgeredt. Geschehen seind diese Ding auffm Schlosse Allenstein, in obgenantes Achtbaren Würdigen Heren Landtprobsts Kammer, in Beiwesen der Ersamen und Bescheidenen, als nemlich Simon Scholtzen, Peter Zichslossen, George Nosske undt Matz Zichslossen, alle// [k. 3] semplich vom Kleinen Kleberge⁸⁵, zu Gezeuge, sonderlich gebetten undt beruffen, im Jare undt Tage, wie oben vormelden.

Und ich Thomas Bronisch Bepstlicher Gewalt offenbarer Notarius und geschworner Stadtschreiber zum Allenstein, dieweil ich samt obgeschriebenen

⁸¹ Tollauken/Tollaucken/Tolak, Tolack – Tuławki, in the Barczewo (Wartenburg) district.

⁸² Achatius von d[er] Trenck-Dechant of the Warmia Cathedral Chapters' and the Olsztyn Administrator.

⁸³ Siomn Hannow governor of the Wartenburg district.

⁸⁴ Thurgutt – Tengutten– Tęguty, in the Wartenburg district.

⁸⁵ Klein Kleberg– Klebark Mały, in the Olsztyn district.

Gezeugen bei obengemelten Gezeugnüß undt Bekendtnüß undt allen erzelten Dingen selbst personlich Gegenwertig gewesen bin. Diß alleß also geschehen, gestehen, zeugen undt verlautbaren angehören, habe ich diß offene Instrument darüber begrieffen undt gemach in diese offene Forme gebrache, mit meinem Notariat Zeichen, Tauffnamen undt Zunahmen bezeichnet, mit eigener Hand treulich geschrieben und undterschrieben zum Gezeugnis undt Glauben aller obgeschriebenen Sachen, darzu fleissig erfordert und gebeten.

Danuta Bogdan, *Kopernik jako administrator kapitulny komornictwa olsztyńskiego*

Streszczenie

Do 1530 r. administrator dóbr wspólnych kapituły (Administrator bonorum communium Venerabilis Capituli Warmiensis) musiał łączyć nadzór nad dwoma komornictwami: olsztyńskim i melzackim. Funkcję tę Kopernik pełnił dwukrotnie, najpierw przez trzy lata: od 8 listopada 1516 do 8 listopada 1519 r., a następnie przez rok: od listopada 1520 do czerwca 1521 r. Administrator zarządzał kapitulnymi folwarkami, ściągał czynsze ze wsi, osadzał chłopów na opuszczonych gospodarstwach, a także dbał o funkcjonowanie zamku i jego obronność. Był też najwyższym sędzią i dowódcą obrony swojego okręgu. Administrator współdziałał ze starostą olsztyńskim, a w sprawach dotyczących wsi dobierał sobie kilku sołtysów pełniących jednocześnie w komornictwach funkcję ławników ziemskich (Landschöppen).

W 1517 r. Kopernik opracował pierwszą wersję rozprawy na tematy ekonomiczne; są to spisane po łacinie *Meditata*, na bazie której powstał w 1519 r. w języku niemieckim memoriał skierowany do stanów Prus Królewskich – tzw. Traktat o monetach (*Tractatus e monetis*), ogłoszony w marcu 1522 r.

Gdy w połowie października 1520 r. wojska Albrechta wtargnęły na obszar środkowej Warmii do dymisji podał się administrator kapitulny Jan Krapitz, a funkcję zarządcy komornictwa powierzono Mikołajowi Kopernikowi, który rozpoczął przygotowania do obrony miasta i olsztyńskiego zamku, organizując zakup broni i żywności.

Po złożeniu urzędu administratora kapitulnego w początkach czerwca 1521 r. Kopernik występował z tytułem Komisarza Warmii „*Warmiae commissarius*” (20 VIII 1521), pełniąc tę ważną funkcję reprezentanta części kapitulnej w okresie rozejmu polsko-krzyżackiego.

Danuta Bogdan, *Kopernikus als Kapitelverwalter der Allensteiner Kämmerer*

Zusammenfassung

Vor 1530 r. sollte der Verwalter von Gemeingütern des Kapitels (Administrator bonorum communium Venerabilis Capituli Warmiensis) die Aufsicht über zwei Kämmerereien verbinden: in Alleistein und Mehlsack. Diese Funktion übte Kopernikus zweimal aus, zuerst innerhalb von drei Jahren: vom 8. November 1516 bis zum 8. November 1519, dann ein Jahr lang: vom November 1520 bis zum Juni 1521. Der Administrator verwaltete die Vorwerke des Kapitels, zog die Zinsen ein, siedelte die Bauern auf den verlassenen Bauernhöfen an, kümmerte sich um die Burg und ihre Wehranlagen. Er war außerdem der höchste Richter und Verteidigungskommandant in seinem Kreis. Als Administrator arbeitete er mit dem Allensteiner Landrat zusammen, für die Angelegenheiten des Dorfes wählte er einige Schultheißen, die bei den Kämmerereien gleichzeitig die Funktion von Landschöppen innehatten.

1517 r. schrieb Kopernikus die erste Version seiner Abhandlung zu wirtschaftlichen Themen; es waren in lateinischer Sprache verfassten *Meditata*, auf deren Grundlage 1519 die Denkschrift in deutscher Sprache an die Stände des Königreichs Preußen entstand, das sog. Traktat über die Münzen (*Tractatus e monetis*), das im März 1522 gehalten wurde.

Als Mitte Oktober 1520 das Heer von Herzog Albrecht auf das Gebiet des mittleren Ermlands einmarschierte, trat der Kapitelverwalter Jan Krapitz zurück, und die Funktion des Kämmererwalters wurde Nikolaus Kopernikus anvertraut. Der neue Administrator begann Vorbereitungen auf die Verteidigung der Stadt und der Allensteiner Burg zu treffen, indem er sich für den Einkauf der Nahrungsmittel und Waffen sorgte.

Nach dem Rücktritt vom Amt des Kapitelverwalters Anfang Juni 1521 behielt Kopernikus den Titel des ermländischen Kommissars „Warmiae commissarius“ (20.08.1521) und hatte diese wichtige Funktion des Vertreters des Kapitels auch in der Zeit des Waffenstillstands zwischen Polen und dem Deutschen Orden.

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