# **Rafał Kubicki**

# Sources for the history of mendicant economy in Royal Prussia from the 15th till the beginning of the 16th century

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# Sources for the history of mendicant economy in Royal Prussia from the 15<sup>th</sup> till the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century

The research into the role of mendicant orders in the life of the medieval cities has a very long tradition. It does not mean, however, that all aspects of their activity have been properly investigated by the historical science. The issue of economic basis of functioning of the respective communities and convents, and their stance on monastic ideals still remain important questions. The social and economic reality in which mendicants had to operate resulted in quick verification of postulates of voluntary poverty which were present in the intentions of the founders of new monastic communities<sup>1</sup>. An impulse to new research into these issues can be given only by precise knowledge of the existing accounts of mendicant economy and the potential possibilities which they could offer. At this point we shall look into this problem on the example of the territory of the state of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, giving special attention to the regions which were incorporated into the Polish Kingdom as so-called Royal Prussia after the year 1466, which, for the most part, consisted of the Gdańsk Pomerania area, taken over by the Teutonic Order after the year 1308<sup>2</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> In the abundant literature on the subject the works by L. K. LITTLE, *Religious poverty and the profit economy in medieval Europe*, London, 1978; G. MELVILLE, A. KEHNEL (eds.), *In proposito paupertas. Studien zum Armutsverständnis bei den mittelalterlichen Bettelorden* (Vita regularis, 13), Münster, 2001; V. MÄKINEN, *Property rights in the late medieval discussion on Franciscan poverty* (Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales, 3), Louvain, 2001; R. SICKERT, *Wenn Klosterbrüder zu Jarmarktsbrüdern werden. Studien zur Wahrnehmung der Franziskaner und Dominikaner im 13. Jahrhundert* (Vita regularis, 28), Münster, 2006; N. BÉRIOU, J. CHIFFOLEAU (dir.), *Économie et religion. L'expérience des ordres mendiants* (*XIII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*) (Collection d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales, 21), Lyon, 2009 can also be referenced. For all the works mentioned, a detailed summary of the latest state of the research is given.

<sup>2</sup> Economic bases of mendicant activities in the state of the Teutonic Order until mid-15<sup>th</sup> century have been partially discussed in multiple works devoted to selected monastic communities; see H. EYSENBLÄTTER, *Die Klöster der Augustiner Eremiten im Nordosten Deutschlands*, "Altpreußische Monatschrift", 35, 1898, pp. 357–391; W. ROTH, *Die Dominikaner und Franziskaner im Deutsch-Ordensland Preußen bis zum Jahre 1466*, Oldenburg i. Gr., 1918; G. A. DONNER, *St. Erich in Danzig*, "Mitteilungen des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins", 29, 1930, 3, pp. 39–47; E. J. GUTTZEIT, *Das Kloster Patollen (zur heiligen Dreifaltigkeit) innerhalb der Geschichte des Rittergutes Gross Waldeck, Kreis Pr. Eylau*, [in:] E. BAHR (ed.), *Studien zur Geschichte des Preussenlandes. Festschrift für Erich Keyser zu seinem 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern*, Marburg, 1963, pp. 195–215; A. KUNZELMANN, *Geschichte der deutschen Augustiner-Eremiten*, vol. 3: *Die bayerische Provinz bis zum Ende des Mittelalters*, Würzburg, 1972; vol. 5: *Die Sächsisch-Thüringische Provinz und die Sächsische Reformkongregation bis zum Untergang der Beiden*, Würzburg, 1974; Z. KRATOCHWIL, *Augustianie w Chojni*-



peculiarity of the situation of mendicant orders in this area was that the function of authority there was in the hands of a church corporation, the Teutonic Order, which was formally subordinate to the pope's authority. Another element determined the distinctness of the Prussian convents as compared to the mendicant friaries in Western Europe : the appearance of mendicant communities in this region coincided with the process of building of the structures of a new state, intensive settlement activity, that is, mainly setting up of towns which were to be the places of functioning of mendicant orders. The situation was slightly different in Gdańsk Pomerania, where the first Dominican and Franciscan convents appeared on the initiative of the local princes in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, so before the seizing of this region by the Teutonic Order.

On the territory of the state of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, and then in Royal and Teutonic Prussia, the convents of four mendicant congregations operated: Dominicans (Gdańsk, Chełmno, Elbląg, Toruń, Tczew, Nordembork later Gierdawy), Franciscans (Toruń, Chełmno, Nowe on the Vistula, Braniewo, Welawa, Barczewo, Gdańsk), Franciscan Observants (Welawa later Królewiec, Zalewo, Lębork, Lubawa and Tylża), Augustinian Hermits (Reszel, Chojnice, Świętomiejsce, Patollen) and Carmelites (Gdańsk)<sup>3</sup>.

The documentation about the monasteries mentioned has survived to our times in varying condition. A considerable difficulty is the fact that sources taken from monasteries are very dispersed. At present they can be found in the collections of several archives belonging to the state (Gdańsk, Toruń) and church (diocesan archives in Pelplin and Olsztyn) and the former archives of the Teutonic Order, currently kept in Dahlem (Berlin). Most of them are materials collected by the archives from abandoned monasteries in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Gdańsk, Toruń) and following the dissolution of monasteries in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Pelplin), as well as documents produced and stored in city archives in relation to the mendicant friaries which functioned in those localities.

cach (1356–1819), "Rocznik Gdański", 49, 1989, 1, pp. 23–49; T. M. TRAJDOS, U zarania karmelitów w Polsce, Warszawa, 1993; S. CHOJNACKI, Podstawy gospodarcze funkcjonowania klasztorów mendykanckich w państwie krzyżackim w Prusach, "Klio", 1, 2001, pp. 15–39; R. KUBICKI, Dominikanie w Elblągu – materialne podstawy egzystencji konwentu i jego związki z miastem, "Rocznik Elbląski", 19, 2004, pp. 5–30; IDEM, Środowisko dominikanów kontraty pruskiej od XIII do połowy XVI wieku, Gdańsk, 2007, pp. 115–127, 211–213, 216–218; P. OLIŃSKI, Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach pruskich w okresie średniowiecza i na progu czasów nowożytnych (Chełmno, Toruń, Elbląg, Gdańsk, Królewiec, Braniewo) (Rozprawa Habilitacyjna), Toruń, 2008, pp. 507– 545; R. KUBICKI, Podstawy ekonomiczne funkcjonowania mendykantów w państwie krzyżackim i Prusach Królewskich do połowy XVI w., [in:] W. DŁUGOKĘCKI, T. GAŁUSZKA, R. KUBICKI, A. ZAJCHOWSKA (eds.), Inter œconomiam cœlestem et terrenam. Mendykanci a zagadnienia ekonomiczne (Studia i Źródła Dominikańskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Krakowie, 9), Kraków, 2011, pp. 183–237; IDEM, Podstawy gospodarcze utrzymania klasztoru dominikanów w Gdańsku (1227–1835), ibidem, pp. 303–332.

<sup>3</sup> M. BISKUP, Das Verhältnis des Deutschen Ordens zu den anderen Orden in Preußen, [in:] Z. H. NOWAK (ed.), Ritterorden und Kirche im Mittelalter (Ordines Militares – Colloquia Torunensia Historica, 9) Toruń, 1997, pp. 61–79; E. JOACHIM, Vom Kulturzustande im Ordenslande Preussen am Vorabende der Reformation, "Altpreußische Forschungen", 1, 1924, pp. 12–17.

# 57 hm

#### Sources produced by monasteries

For the reconstruction of the economic foundations of individual monasteries, the materials produced by them during everyday activities would be of the greatest value. In the first place, these are accounting books of convents, collections of detailed accounts, settlements and inventories done for inspectors, inventories of incomes, reports of superiors written down at the moment of leaving the post of a prior or a guardian. Unfortunately, no sources of this type from the Middle Ages, concerning the mendicant monasteries which are of interest to us, have been preserved to our times<sup>4</sup>. In this situation, in order to reconstruct the economy of the monasteries, any other written sources need to be referenced.

Analysing the problem of the sources of income of mendicant monasteries, they are commonly identified with the custom of collecting alms by itinerant collectors. Unfortunately, in the case of the monasteries in question, we do not have too much information on this subject. Actually, the sole relatively precise accounts are related to the dispute over the collection of alms conducted by Dominicans in Gdańsk in the 1420'. Due to the limitations introduced by the city, the monastery tried to intervene with the municipal authorities, in this case the Teutonic Order. In a letter dated 11 January 1422, the prior of the convent, Henryk Munkenbecke, related the whole matter to Grand Master Michael Küchmeister, at the same time asking for his intercession<sup>5</sup>. What is of particular interest, the prior invoked the fact that for more than two hundred years Dominicans had been enjoying the law to collect alms and that in the state of the Teutonic Order, differently to other places, they could not possess land. He wrote:

wir noch vorworke noch guttir noch keynen sichern aneval des czynses haben, noch besitczen mogen in desen lande, also wir thun in anderen landen, so mochte wir allen tag unde in aller stad das almose bethen<sup>6</sup>.

In this situation, the aim was to resolve the dispute. The issue of collecting alms was also the cause of disputes over the coverage of the collection district between the Dominican monastery in Toruń, which was located in the state of the Teutonic Order until 1454, and mendicant monasteries in the Polish Kingdom. The Toruń convent was challenged by Dominicans of Brześć Kujawski and Płock, Franciscans of Dobrzyń, Inowrocław and Nieszawa, Carmelites of Bydgoszcz as well as local parish priests of village churches<sup>7</sup>. All of the facts mentioned indirectly confirm the great significance

<sup>4</sup> An example of such sources are collection inventories of Dominicans in Rewel (Tallin) in present-day Estonia, in 1519. See G. VON WALTHER-WITTENHEIM, *Die Dominikaner in Livland im Mittelalter. Die natio Livoniae* (Dissertationes historicae, 9), Roma, 1938, pp. 140–142.

<sup>5</sup> The prior recalls that he received a letter from the Grand Master on the day following St. Andrew's Day (that is 1 December), which, unfortunately, has not survived.

<sup>6</sup> State Archives in Gdańsk [henceforth: AP Gdańsk], *Gdańsk City Files, Privileges until 1814 and letters until 1525*, 300, D/46,12.

<sup>7</sup> R. KUBICKI, Działalność dominikanów kontraty pruskiej na pograniczu polsko-krzyżackim – okręg klasztorny konwentu w Toruniu w XV w., [in:] K. GRĄŻAWSKI (ed.), Pogranicze polsko-pruskie i krzyżackie (2), Włocławek-Brodnica, 2007, pp. 373–387.

of alms in the economics of the particular monasteries. Remembering about the specific context of the above-mentioned letter written by Dominicans from Gdańsk, the remarks concerning the structure of income of the monastery, which were included in it are also very important. The ban on acquiring and inheriting properties and collecting rents generated by them determined the convent to seek other sources of support. A similar restriction pertaining to inheriting and purchasing properties also applied to Franciscan monasteries and the only Carmelite convent present in this area in the period until 1454. Another piece of evidence of the structure of monastic income was a dispute with the Dominican monastery mentioned above, raised by the parish priest of the main city church, Andreas Slommow, Deeming himself the spiritual superior of the monastery in the city, he demanded a portion of its income from funerals and collection of alms<sup>8</sup>. The problem of division of income from funerals stemmed from an old dispute between the friars and parochial clergy over burials of burghers who had been members of the parish and were buried inside the church or at the monastic cemetery. By decision of the Bishop of Włocławek, Dominicans were granted the right to income from burials in the 1230'9. It was consistent with the practice of awarding special rights to the order, among which there was the privilege of burying worshippers at their cemeteries, exemption from tithes for goods possessed as well as funerary and inheritance fees<sup>10</sup>. Funerals were also a source of income for other mendicant monasteries in these areas, as can be read on tombstones remaining in their churches to this day<sup>11</sup>.

Another source of income for monasteries were contracts signed with craft corporations and religious brotherhoods in which the monasteries were obliged to hold certain services and say prayers for the members of these organisations, in exchange for receiving support each year, expressed in money or material offerings. Documents of this type have survived in varying numbers in most monasteries, both in the form of

<sup>8</sup> T. HIRSCH, Die Ober-Pfarrkirche von St. Marien in Danzig in ihren Denkmälern und in ihren Beziehungen zum kirchlichen Leben Danzigs überhaupt dargestellt, vol. 1: Mit einem Grundriß, einer Seitenansicht und einer Ansicht der inneren Kirche, Danzig, 1843, p. 118.

<sup>9</sup> Preußisches Urkundenbuch, vol. 1: Die Bildung des Ordensstaats, part 2: Politische (allgemeine) Abteilung, Bearb. A. SERAPHIM, Königsberg, 1909 [Neudr. Aalen, 1961], no. 924, p. 581.

<sup>10</sup> W. A. HINNEBUSCH, *The History of the Dominican order*, vol. 1: *Origins and growth to 1500*, New York, 1966, p. 297; A. M. WALZ, *Compendium Historiae Ordo Praedicatorum*, Romae, 1930, p. 251.

<sup>11</sup> B. SCHMIDT, Die Inschriften des Deutschen Ordenslandes Preussen bis zum Jahre 1466 (Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse, 11,3), Halle, 1935, p. 132; K. M. Ko-WALSKI, Gotyckie phyty nagrobne w kościele św. Mikołaja w Gdańsku, [in:] D. A. DEKAŃSKI, A. GOLEMBNIK, M. GRUBKA (eds.), Dominikanie. Gdańsk – Polska – Europa. Materiały z konferencji międzynarodowej pt.: "Gdańskie i europejskie dziedzictwo – zakon Dominikanów w dziejach Gdańska" zorganizowanej przez Klasztor OO. Dominikanów w Gdańsku, Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, z okazji 775-lecia powstania klasztoru św. Mikołaja w Gdańsku (9–10 maja 2002), Gdańsk-Pelplin, 2003, pp. 623–636.

59 hm

original certificates, as well as later transcripts. They usually mention guild organisations operating in the city where the monastery was located<sup>12</sup>.

Apart from documents confirming participation in spiritual goods of monasteries, some craft guilds and religious brotherhoods had their own chapels and altars in monastic churches. For their use and maintenance, in most cases, written contracts were signed with the monastery authorities. A number of this kind of contracts have survived in their original forms or as transcripts, originally stored not only in monastery collections but also in the respective guild organisations in cities<sup>13</sup>. These contracts provided monasteries with certain support in money and natural goods (food in the form of a barrel of herrings, tallow blocks for lighting altars) for maintaining and furnishing churches. Such contracts were also entered into with individuals. The documents mentioned participation in spiritual goods of a monastery, a burial, an undertaking to hold a monthly mass for the donor and their family<sup>14</sup>. An example of such a regulation is the contract signed on 14 September 1472, in which burgher Bartel Ferman donated 20 marks (a Prussian mark corresponded to 180 grams of silver) to the Elblag Dominican monastery for lime needed to redecorate the monastery. In exchange for that, the monastery was to hold choral masses on behalf of his family and to enter them into the cloister calendar (liber mortuorum)<sup>15</sup>.

## Sources produced by cities

It has been mentioned that until the year 1454 mendicants in this area were prohibited from purchasing and possessing properties and from income coming from regular rents. Curiously enough, that did not apply at that time to Augustinian Hermits. This is confirmed by surviving documents about landed property bequests. Information on this subject has survived in a certain number of documents found in former monastery buildings. The situation changed in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when other monasteries also purchased and sold properties in cities and their vicinity, as is evidenced by entries in magistrates' books in the respective cities.

Apart from sources generated by monasteries themselves, the entries in magistrates' books mentioned above are of considerable significance to the reconstruction of detailed economic decisions made in relation to particular friars. A great number of decisions regarding property divisions, testament entries, settlements of financial obligations and investments in the rent market can be found in them. Individual friars, as well as entire monasteries usually represented by their priors and guardians appear in this context. Entries referring to friars contain the fact of inheriting by them

<sup>12</sup> An inventory and full documentation of the surviving sources can be found in R. KUBICKI, *Participationem omnium bonorum – forma i znaczenie przyjęcia do udziału w dobrach duchowych zakonu na przykładzie* mendykantów w państwie Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach, "Nasza Przeszłość", 112, 2009, pp. 64–70, 79–80.

<sup>13</sup> For an inventory of this type of documents, see R. KUBICKI, Participationem, pp. 64–70, 79–80.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, pp. 78-84.

<sup>15</sup> AP Gdańsk, Elbląg City Archives, Collection of Elbląg documents, 368/II,75.



60

a portion of family fortune in the form of cash, capitals invested in municipal properties or debt liabilities.

Important sources in the research on the economy of mendicant convents are burgher testaments, which make it possible to determine their social resource base in more detail. All last will documents usually consisted of two distinct parts. The first one comprised bequests for religious purposes ("ad pias causas"), monetary bequests and obligations with a request for prayer for the soul, a formal funeral, or bequests for church redecorations and donations for selected monasteries, including mendicant ones; the second one usually contained instructions regarding the fortune, such as: determining the inheritors, bequests for relatives and compensations for obligations. The largest collection of original documents of this type in Royal and Teutonic Prussia comes from Elblag. Only one mendicant monastery belonging to Dominicans operated in the city and was founded in the year 1239. The documents are now kept in the Gdańsk State Archive, in the section of the former municipal archive of Elblag<sup>16</sup>. Most of them are from the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Among the total number of 150 testaments, 33 documents are dated 1409–1454, 25 are dated 1455–1466, and as many as 87 come from the period between 1466 and 1515. The analysis of the content of the mentioned documents shows that the amount of about 5300 marks was bequeathed for religious purposes and for the poor. On the other hand, the global amounts of cash bequests mentioned in the indicated documents can be estimated to be at least 25 700 marks. A little over 20% of cash bequeathed in testaments was allotted to religious purposes. From this portion, 34% of beguests was given to the St. Nicholaus parochial church in the Old Town of Elblag, 16% for the poor, 13% for financing pilgrimages, 10% for the Dominican monastery and church, and 8% for urban and suburban hospitals. It is interesting that instructions for the local Dominican monastery were present in a total of 67 documents, that is almost a half of all (45%) the documents which have survived to our times<sup>17</sup>. The documents also contain instructions for mendicant monasteries in other cities. However, their situation is much less impressive. In the case of the largest urban centre in the area, Gdańsk, the original documents are preserved to a rather limited extent. In most cases we know their content only from entries in magistrates' books. The content of books from the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century has been examined for this aspect by Beata Możejko<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> AP Gdańsk, *Elbląg City Records*, cat. no. 368. A partial inspection of the collection, though with outdated signatures of the documents is provided in the work by E. VOLCKMANN, *Katalog des Elbinger Stadtarchivs*, Elbing, 1875; R. KUBICKI, *Testamenty elbląskie z XIV – początków XVI w. – charakterystyka wraz z listą testatorów w układzie chronologicznym*, "Rocznik Elbląski", 20, 2006, pp. 199–208. For an analysis of burghers' religiousness based on the testaments see R. KUBICKI, *Formy pobożności w mieście późnośredniowiecznym w świetle zapisów na rzecz kościoła i biednych w testamentach elbląskich (XV–początek XVI w.)*, "Zapiski Historyczne", 76, 2011, 2, pp. 8–27.

<sup>17</sup> R. Kubicki, Formy pobożności, pp. 21–22.

B. Możejko, Gdański mieszczanin w obliczu śmierci. Zapisy testamentowe z II połowy XV w. (na podstawie księgi ławniczej), [in:] B. ŚLIWIŃSKI (ed.), Mieszczanie, wasale, zakonnicy (Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza, 10), 2004, pp. 127–162; EADEM, Rozrachunek z życiem doczesnym. Gdańskie testamenty mieszczańskie z XV i początku XVI wieku, Gdańsk, 2010, pp. 27–47. Important comments to this works were submitted by



She found a total of 147 testament instructions from the period between 1426 and 1521, including as many as 96 from the period between 1455 and 1476, and 45 from the period between 1499 and 1503. In the analysed entries from the years 1466-1503, a total of 28 instructions stipulating religious purposes (churches, monasteries and hospitals) was found<sup>19</sup>. Curiously enough, in their testament instructions, testators not always confined themselves to specifying sums intended for particular ecclesiastical institutions, but sometimes they would also give vital information on the persons being bequeathed, including friars residing in monasteries. For instance, in the last will made in 1492, a burgher from Elblag, Hans Lange, bequeathed 100 marks to his son, a Benedictine, for his studies in the Dominican order. As was marked in the document, soon after Hans' death, the prior was to give the amount to his son<sup>20</sup>. Annotations of this kind point to one more problem with the economy of mendicant monasteries in the late Middle Ages: a potential conflict between the income of the whole monastery and individual donations and private property of friars. The elements of this phenomenon also included cases of friars inheriting property from their relatives in the city. There were attempts to control it to a certain extent, as is shown on the example of Dominicans, who were granted special permits from the general of the order. Such a permit was given, among others, to Martinus of Prussia, who was entitled to inheriting the fortune left by his parents in 1478 for his own needs<sup>21</sup>. There were quite many such instances. This practice was confirmed by the document issued by King Casimir IV Jagiellon on 2 October 1490 who, at the request of the provincial of the Polish province of the order, Albert of Siecień, permitted Dominicans in the Gdańsk, Toruń, Elblag and Tczew convents to inherit shares in bequests from relatives<sup>22</sup>.

We have more accurate estimates of the monastic budget only in the case of Dominicans of Elbląg. However, they were prepared only after the collapse of the foundation, perhaps based on accounts of the monastery existing at that time<sup>23</sup>. Inspections conducted in the years 1568 and 1571 by order of the Bishop of Warmia, covering Elbląg churches and the Dominican monastery, show that the incomes from burials (47%), house rents (18%), beer production (13%) and lease of fishing rights, so-called *kajtel* letters (ger. Keutelbrief) (8%), and cellars (3%) were of primary importance for the local Dominicans. Collections and alms constituted only about 10% of the income.

W. DŁUGOKĘCKI, W sprawie późnośredniowiecznych testamentów gdańskich, "Zapiski Historyczne", 76, 2011, 3, pp. 115–139; P. Łozowski, O pożytkach z kwantyfikacji w badaniach nad średniowiecznymi testamentami, "Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych", 72, 2012, pp. 227–236.

<sup>19</sup> B. Możejko, Rozrachunek z życiem doczesnym, pp. 42–47, 163–172.

<sup>20</sup> AP Gdańsk, Elbląg City Archives, Collection of Elbląg documents, 368/I,140.

<sup>21 &</sup>quot;potest haereditare bona paterna et materna pro uso suo", *Acta Capitulorum Provinciae Poloniae Ordi*nis Praedicatorum, t. 1: (1225–1600), ed. R. F. MADURA, Roma, 1972, p. 593.

<sup>22</sup> Matricularum Regni Poloniae Summaria, ed. T. WIERZBOWSKI, vol. 4: Sigismundi I regis tempora complectens (1507–1548), pars 3: Acta vicecancellariorum 1533–1548, Varsoviae, 1915, Supplementum, no. 1144.

<sup>23</sup> This is indicated by a surviving transcript of their content, listing individual rents from persons, funeral fees and cellar rents.

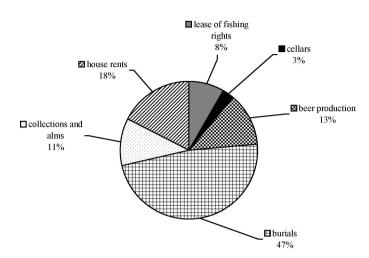


Fig. 1. Income structure of Dominicans cloister in Elbląg (inspections conducted in the years 1568 and 1571). Source: The protocol from the inspection conducted in 1568 by order of Hosius is currently to be found in Archdiocesan Archives in Olsztyn, *Bishop's Archives, documents*, B 1A, vol. 1, pp. 62–161. Here, we are using its nineteenth-century transcript made by H. F. Neumann in Archives in Frombork (formerly Frauenburg), AP Gdańsk, 492/814, pp. 48–49

However, we do not know whether these estimates pertain to the period from before the reformation, which surely effected a dramatic decrease in the number of worshippers and caused the ban on taking collections in the area of the monastic district. The general incomes and expenditures of the monastery in the period between 1560 and 1566 was, with respect to incomes, from about 140 to 213 marks, and on the expenditure side, from about 99 to 240 marks<sup>24</sup>. It needs to be emphasised that although the leading position in the structure of income was still occupied by pastoral activity and religious assistance (58%), income generated by rents (31%) gained a significant share. The figures are more relevant still, if we take into account the fact that the monastery was granted the right to collect them only after 1466, when the Teutonic Order had finally lost formal control of the city.

To sum up, all of the indicated sources provide a certain insight into the structure of income of mendicant monasteries in the area under investigation. The absence of proper account records is definitely a serious limitation, but it does not make research completely impossible. Their proper analysis will only be possible when they are considered comprehensively and related to a broader comparative background. For this purpose, it is necessary to combine accounts from sources found in former monastery buildings with information from urban sources. Only full utilisation of the latter may provide the correct picture of the position and social role of mendicants in cities and the general picture of their functioning in this social and economic reality.

hm

62

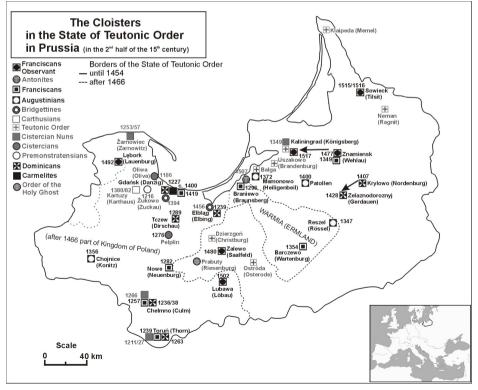
<sup>24</sup> AP Gdańsk, Elbląg City Archives, Collection of Elbląg manuscripts, 492/814, p. 49.



## Annexe

The storage location of archival sources on mendicant monasteries in Royal and Teutonic Prussia

Place of storage	Archival section
State Archives in Gdańsk	Gdańsk City Archives, section Privileges until 1814 and letters until 1525, section 300,D/46: monasteries in Gdańsk (Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites)
	Magistrates' books, section 300,43
	Elbląg City Archives, Collection of Elbląg documents
State Archives in Toruń	Dominican monastery records
	Franciscan monastery records
Diocesan Archives in Pelplin	monastica XIV, Dominican monastery in Toruń
Archdiocesan Archives in Olsztyn	Bishop's Archives, documents, D 1
Archives of the Polish Province of Dominicans in Cracow	Gd 1, loose files of the Gdańsk monastery
Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin Dahlem	XX. HA, Staatsarchiv Königsberg, Ordensfolianten (OF), Ordensbriefarchiv (OBA) Pergament-Urkunden



Map 1. The cloisters in the State of Teutonic Order in Prussia (in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century)



64

Rafał Kubicki Instytut Historii Uniwersytet Gdański Hereditas Monasteriorum vol. 3, 2013, s. 55–65

## Źródła do dziejów ekonomii mendykantów w Prusach Królewskich w XV i początkach XVI w.

#### Streszczenie

W artykule przedstawiono wyniki kwerendy dotyczącej źródeł do dziejów ekonomii mendykantów na przykładzie klasztorów z terenu państwa zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem obszarów, które po 1466 r. weszły w skład Rzeczypospolitej jako tzw. Prusy Królewskie i które w większości składały się z terenów Pomorza Gdańskiego, opanowanych przez zakon krzyżacki po 1308 r. W państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach, a później w Prusach Królewskich i Krzyżackich działały konwenty czterech zgromadzeń mendykantów: dominikanów, franciszkanów i franciszkanów obserwantów, augustianów-eremitów oraz karmelitów. Dokumentacja dotycząca tych klasztorów zachowała się w bardzo różnym stopniu. Materiały te są rozproszone w zbiorach kilku archiwów państwowych (Gdańsk, Toruń) i kościelnych (archiwa diecezjalne w Pelplinie i Olsztynie) oraz w dawnym archiwum zakonu krzyżackiego, obecnie przechowywanym w Berlinie (Dahlem). W większości przejęte zostały z opuszczonych klasztorów w XVI w. (archiwa w Gdańsku i Toruniu) lub w trakcie kasaty klasztorów w XIX w. (archiwum w Pelplinie). Dopełnieniem ich są akta wytworzone i przechowywane w archiwach miejskich, w związku z funkcjonowaniem w tych ośrodkach klasztorów żebraczych. Źródła te dają pewien wgląd w strukturę dochodów klasztorów mendykanckich z tych terenów. Poważnym utrudnieniem jest natomiast brak rachunków. Dopiero pełne wykorzystanie archiwaliów miejskich może dać właściwy obraz sytuacji ekonomicznej i funkcji społecznej spełnianej przez mendykantów w miastach.

#### Słowa kluczowe

zakony żebracze, mendykanci, dominikanie, franciszkanie, bernardyni, augustianie-eremici, karmelici, gospodarka klasztorów mendykanckich, testamenty, Państwo Zakonu Niemieckiego, Prusy Królewskie, Pomorze Gdańskie, Elblag

Rafał Kubicki Institute of History University of Gdańsk Hereditas Monasteriorum vol. 3, 2013, p. 55–65

### Sources for the history of mendicant economy in Royal Prussia from the 15<sup>th</sup> till the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century

#### Summary

The article presents the results of a preliminary research on the sources for the history of the mendicant economy as exemplified by monasteries from the state of the Order of Teutonic Knights in Prussia, with special emphasis on the territories which after 1466 were incorporated to Poland as the so-called Royal Prussia, and which were composed mainly of the lands of Pomeralia (Gdańsk Pomerania), taken control of by the Order after 1308. The lands of the Order in Prussia, and later the Royal and Teutonic Prussia, hosted convents of four mendicant orders: the Dominicans, the Franciscans and the Franciscan Observants, the Austin Hermits, and the Carmelites. The documentation concerning the monasteries in question has been preserved to a various degree. These sources are currently dispersed in several state (Gdańsk, Toruń) and Church (diocesan archives in Peplin and Olsztyn) archives, as well as the former archive of the Teutonic Order, which is currently kept at Dahlem (Berlin). Most of them have been taken over from the archives of abandoned monasteries in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (the Gdańsk and Toruń archives) and during the 19<sup>th</sup>-century monastery dissolutions (the Peplin archive). The remaining part of the documentation are records produced and kept at municipal archives in towns where mendicant orders were present. All these sources offer an insight into the income structure of mendicant orders from these territories. What makes research difficult, however, is the lack of bookkeping records. Proper estimation of sources can be achieved only when they are studied in a complex way, including both the monastery sources and the municipal records. Only by making use of the entire content which the latter offer might we obtain a reliable picture of the economic situation and the social role played by mendicants in urban centres.

#### Keywords

mendicant orders, friars, Dominicans, Franciscans, Franciscan Observants, Austin Hermits, Carmelites, economy of mendicant convents, testaments, State of the Teutonic Order, Royal Prussia, Gdańsk Pomerania, Elbląg