

*Studien zur Geschichte des Preussenlandes, Festschrift für Erich Keyser zu seinem 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern*, hg. von Ernst Bahr, Marburg/Lahn 1963, 517 pages.

This collection of essays by West German historians, presented to Erich Keyser on his seventieth birthday, is intended to promote research into the history of Eastern Pomerania amongst the revisionist school of historians who have their centre at the Historical Commission for Western and Eastern Prussia.

During the inter-war period Keyser was one of the leading German historians and organizers of intellectual life in the Free City of Gdańsk. He expressed his nationalistic attitude and his dislike of Poland and the state of affairs after 1920 in several publications devoted to the history of Gdańsk and Gdańsk Pomerania. After 1945 he was active in the German Federal Republic where he was one of the founders of the J. G. Herder-Institut in Marburg and its first director. Keyser also played a significant role in the development of demographic urban research as the founder and editor of the series *Deutsches Städtebuch* (published from 1939).

The contributors to this volume are mainly members of the older generation of historians (many of them worked in the earlier Gdańsk, Königsberg and Frombork centres) and Keyser's pupils (e.g. the editor of the volume — E. Bahr). In consequence all the 35 studies included deal with the history of Gdańsk, Gdańsk Pomerania and occasionally the Prussia of the Teutonic Knights or Ducal Prussia, up to the beginning of the twentieth century. The extent and scope of the subject matter of these papers are very varied. Apart from valuable studies there are minor contributions and only semi-scientific works, often popular in character. Thus, the level of the whole is very uneven; in places the nationalistic and "anti-Versailles" tones are very obvious (particularly in works dealing with the most recent period).

By way of introduction Hermann Aubin outlines the general nature of Keyser's scientific work (*Zu den Schriften Erich Keyzers*), clearly emphasizing the scholar's political, anti-Polish role during the pre-war period and after 1945. He also praises Keyser's services to the spread of new research methods into both Pomeranian and European towns (he particularly advocated investigation of the plans). The task of acquainting oneself with the whole of the problems treated in these studies is made easier by the division of the volume into sections according to subject matter. There are seven sections: archaeology (3 articles), political and general history (7), law and government (3), socio-economic and settlement themes (5), population problems (3), urban questions (3) and cultural and church subjects (11). In the discussion of individual sections we shall mainly be dealing with the most valuable items.

In the small section on archaeology the most important is Wolfgang La Baume's short paper (*Hausurnenfunde aus Pommerellen und die Bedeutung der Hausurnen [Speicherurnen] im Kultur des Nordischen Kreises*). This is an attempt to contradict J. Kostrzewski's theses concerning the links between the Pomeranian face urns and Lusatian culture. The author emphasises chiefly the importance of Nordic influence on Gdańsk Pomerania during the early Iron Age.

In the section on political and general history Walter Hubatsch treats the broadest theme (*Schweden, Russland und Preussen-Deutschland als Ostseemächte*). This article is, however, of a popular and synthesizing nature without scientific method and is clearly influenced by the present situation in the Baltic area. Often completely ignoring economic motives, the author sketches

the political expansion of Sweden in the Baltic region from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. He underlines the little interest in maritime politics displayed by the Brandenburg and Prussian Hohenzollerns and the secondary role of the Baltic in the policies of the Wilhelminian Empire and strongly accentuates Germany's role as middleman in this region. The policies of Tsarist Russia are treated very generally with an emphasis on the longer periods when she was little interested in Baltic questions. No mention is made of Poland's part in Baltic affairs. The author does not hide his disapproval of the Treaty of Versailles which, he implies, incorrectly assumed that Germany would have denied the new states (i.e. Poland and Lithuania) access to the sea. He completely refuses to recognise the existence after 1945 of a state of affairs in the Baltic region which could have destroyed the allegedly only "peaceful and intermediary role" of the German element.

Amongst the remaining works in this section, also devoted to Prussian and Pomeranian subjects, the most interesting is H. and G. Mortensen's informative article describing work on the Prussian atlas (*Das historisch-geographische Kartenwerk Ost- und Westpreussen*). This gives more precise data on the German continuation of the pre-war atlas, which was interrupted in 1937 after the publication of the edition containing the first archaeological maps. The authors are preparing an edition of about 30 maps with the scale 1 : 300,000 chiefly devoted to Ducal Prussia. These are to show, for example, the administrative divisions of the Teutonic Knights' Prussia and of Ducal Prussia (at the middle of the sixteenth century, the end of the eighteenth century and during the nineteenth century), the extent of forests and marshes (according to Schrötter) and Ducal Prussia's transport network in about 1720. A map is also planned to illustrate the origins of the dignitaries of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and the population density during the sixteenth century and in 1780 (according to Goldbeck's data for Eastern and Western Prussia).

H. Hopfe's article (*Der Regierungsbezirk Westpreussen 1920—1939*) describes the situation of the former West Prussian counties which, after 1920, were included into East Prussia (e.g. the counties of Elbląg, Suż, Sztum and Kwidzyn). The article is in fact based on very slight documentary foundations and deals chiefly with the period up to 1932. In spite of this, it points out the difficulties in the economic position of these territories cut off from their natural association with Polish Gdańsk Pomerania (continually and obstinately described as the *Korridorgebiet*); as the author openly admits these were only enabled to become and remain East Prussian provinces by donations from the Reich (p. 80). Amongst the remaining essays in this section H. Koeppen's work (*Die Verhandlungen um den Abbruch der Burg Rajgród und deren Zerstörung*) is worthy of attention. This is an edition of a very difficult document dating from 1360 from the Archives of the Teutonic Order in Göttingen. This document concerns the negotiations between the Order and Kazimierz Wielki (Casimir the Great) on the destruction of the Mazovian castle in Rajgród. Koeppen has solved many of the problems presented by this damaged text, published earlier in an incomplete form by J. Voigt, and has written detailed notes on its genesis and significance.

The small section on the history of law and government contains only three, though very interesting items. R. Wenskus paper (*Über die Bedeutung des Christburger Vertrages für die Rechts- und Verfassungsgeschichte des Preussenlandes*) raises the problem, much debated recently, of the significance of the 1249 Dzierżgoń Treaty between the Order and Prussia. The author discusses the problem of whether this treaty was observed after 1260 in the regions of Pomerania, not involved in the second Prussian uprising. In his opinion the main provisions of the Treaty were maintained there e.g. the law of inheritance, the acceptance of Polish law and the easier position of free men in Pomesania, etc. The author's theses are highly controversial and will undoubtedly encourage specialists to carry out further research on this problem.

The same is true of W. Rautenberg's article on the sale of Malbork by the mercenary Teutonic Knights in Poland in 1457 (*Der Verkauf der Marienburg 1454—1457*). This article is in fact the shortened version of a larger work. It is based on materials from the Archives of the Teutonic Order and is in places too abridged; a lack of full documentation is also evident. Undoubtedly in a more precise way it demonstrates the various stages by which after 1455 the mercenaries of

the Teutonic Knights took over both the castles pledged to them and the authority of the Order as a territorial power. The author agrees with the tendentious view of E. Weise who accused the mercenaries headed by the Czech Ulrich Czerwonka of accepting bribes to betray Order. His attitude, however, is more moderate, though he does not try to diminish the complicity of the German mercenaries. The question of Poland's contract with the mercenaries concluded in August, 1456, is inaccurately presented on the basis of incomplete sources which ought to be supplemented by material from Gdańsk. The whole of this problem needs to be investigated by Polish historians on a more complete documentary basis.

The last article in this group by H. Freiwald (*Die „westpreussische Alternative“ zur Regimentsnotel des Herzogtums Preussen*) is an interesting discussion of the formation in 1542 of the estates of Ducal Prussia on the model of Royal Prussia. It also investigates the attempt to find a form of administration for Ducal Prussia which would have limited Albrecht's dynastic policies. This article is also the forerunner of a longer work. It is striking for its praise of the union of Ducal Prussian estates and those of the royal part of Prussia with which the former eagerly desired to be "in one privilege" (p. 163) — this is in some way a prognostication of the 17th cent. concepts of the unity of all Prussia under Polish sovereignty advanced by the Ducal Prussia estates.

In the section on social and economic history the most important item is undoubtedly W. W. Kuhn's article reviewing the controversial question of the old Prussian *haken* (*Der Haken in Altpreussen*). With the help of many early documents and later literature the author points out the two uses of this term: firstly the *haken* — the tool of work (he describes it closely though he does not make use of A. Scilinsky's paper *Geschichte der Anwendung landwirtschaftlicher Geräte und Maschinen in der ostpreussischen Landwirtschaft*, "Landwirtschaftl. Jahrbücher", 86, 1938), and secondly the economic unit. This latter at first constituted an arable unit of ownership without fixed dimensions. From the beginning of the fourteenth century the Prussian *haken* appeared as a unit of measurement (*Masshaken*) calculated in morgens. From Kuhn's detailed analysis it emerges that the most important was the so-called small *haken*, comprising twenty morgens (i. e. about eleven hectares) and thus two thirds of a Chelmino *laneus*: this measurement was very frequently used in the Vistula region and in the Balga and Królewiec districts of the Teutonic Order. In some regions there also appeared *haken* of smaller or larger size. The farm of a Prussian peasant generally consisted of two measured *haken*. In the sixteenth century this unit of measurement was replaced by the *laneus*; this probably occurred in the case of the Slavonic *haken* in Gdańsk Pomerania. The value of the article undoubtedly lies in the precise definition of the two kinds of Prussian *haken* and in the detailed demonstration of its disappearance.

E. Bahr's paper aims to show the settlement changes in the Kościerzyna region, but more particularly in the Mirachów subprefecture and the western part of the former county of Tczew during the time of Royal Prussia (*Wüstungen und Neusiedlungen des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts im Gebiet des ehemaligen Deutschordensamts Berent*). Chiefly on the basis of editions of Polish exchequer and church documents (though no use is made of W. Kętrzyński's publication: *Regestr poboru podwoynego . . . 1648 w Malborgu . . . uchwalonego* [*Register of double taxation . . . 1648 in Malbork . . . voted*], "Rocz. Pozn. Tow. Przyj. Nauk", VI, 1871) the author points out the considerable increase in settlement and arable land which occurred between 1466 and 1772, particularly on the property of the nobility and king and on the estate of the Kartuzy monastery. This increase (about 530 *laneus* units) often equalled the original size of cultivated land at the end of the rule of the Teutonic Knights. The success of Polish rule in this region of Pomerania and its efficient administration by prefects and nobility is proved by the expansion; the author will not admit and often ascribes this prosperity to the so-called second German colonization from the end of the sixteenth century. The paper, moreover, makes use of a simplified apparatus and is quite superficial; it completely ignores recent Polish works including geographical studies on agrarian conditions in the Prussian district. This has brought about many errors, particularly in the description of Polish exchequer sources (e. g. the taxation register of 1570 is inaccurately

called a *muster* — p. 220; the author cannot understand the charge of 12 grosh per nobles's *laneus* — p. 231 — this obviously refers to the *laneus* of the so-called peasantless nobility). There is a very obvious lack of maps which would illustrate the changes in particular types of landed property; the photograph from Schrötter's atlas clearly does not fill the gap.

J. Papritz's short article gives an account of a very interesting attempt (made before 1939) to reduce the scale of Schrötter's original maps of Prussia of 1796—1802 from 1 : 50,000 to 1 : 100,000 and to transfer their chief elements (forests, wastelands, roads and settlements) to a present-day map of the same scale with suitable variations in colour and notations (*Eine Karte der Entwicklung der Waldflächen in Westpreussen in ein-einviertel Jahrhunderten*). The colour map of Człuchów region with a scale 1 : 100,000 demonstrates many interesting conclusions on the decrease and increase of forested areas and wastelands (a comparison between roads and settlements has not yet been finished). This method, in some ways similar to the one applied to the maps of the Swedish cadaster of Western Pomerania, is worthy of the attention and interest of geographers and students of Royal Prussia.

In the same section H. Hintzel gives a review of maps of mainly 19th and 20th cent. Eastern Pomerania to be found in the cartographical collection of the Herder-Institut and the State Library in Marburg (*Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Ost- und Westpreussens im Kartenbild*).

In the section on the history of population the most interesting article is that of H. and T. Penners who analyses the inflow of rural and urban population into Gdańsk during the years 1640—1709 (*Die Land-Stadtwanderung im Spiegel der Danziger Bürgerbücher von 1640—1709*). Using material already investigated by H. Ellwart-Penners (*Die Danziger Bürgerschaft nach Herkunft und Beruf 1537—1709*, Marburg 1954), the authors attempt, on the basis of incomplete data from the Gdańsk books, to establish the admission to urban law, the origins and trades of these newcomers. They conclude that there was a large inflow of rural population from the regions near to Gdańsk and of urban population from districts further away. The rural population were both so-called *Arbeitsmänner* i. e. unskilled workers and craftsmen. Some of the rural newcomers from more distant regions even belonged to the merchant class. The authors also established definite employment categories for the rural newcomers (chiefly brewers and sailors). The authors' findings, supported by statistics, throw new light on the nature of the migration into Gdańsk; they are not so reliable when it comes to the causes of the weak inflow of poorer population from the territories of the Crown and from the Chełmno region (p. 303). The authors attempt to explain this on national grounds and point out the language difficulties which the Polish population would encounter in Gdańsk where the language used was German. This interpretation does not take into consideration the fact that the knowledge and teaching of Polish were common phenomena in seventeenth century Gdańsk: the authors, curiously enough, seem unaware of this. One ought to look for an explanation of the smaller inflow from the central territories of the Crown during the second half of the seventeenth century in the demographic decreases in Poland and the Chełmno district (caused by the war with Sweden and Northern War) and in the deterioration in the conditions of serfs who enjoyed practically no freedom of movement. It would also be necessary to consider the possibility of the larger flow of this population to the nearer Polish urban centres. The problem will be explained by a consideration of these factors, and not by the anachronistic "language barrier."

M. Aschkewitz's paper contains an analysis of the denominational and language fluctuation in the Gdańsk Pomerania and Vistula regions and in the Chełmno district at the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries; it is concerned with the problem of the so-called bilingual people mentioned in Prussian statistics, particularly amongst the Catholic population of larger towns (*Zur Frage der Umvolkung in Westpreussen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*). This analysis is based solely on Prussian data whose accuracy is doubtful (particularly the data from 1910 on language and nationality problems). The author's conclusions on the decrease in bilingual population at the end of the nineteenth century and the increase of "German Catho-

lics" in 1910 ought perhaps to be accepted with reservation when we remember the atmosphere in which the latter census was made and the Germanization policy carried out by the Prussian authorities. The author is mistaken when he states that the events of the years 1843—48 and 1863 had no repercussions amongst the Polish population of so-called West Prussia; according to Aschkewitz this favoured its "adjustment" (read "Germanization") to German culture and nationality (p. 325). Recent Polish research (in particular works by S. Myśliborski, S. Gierszewski and A. Bukowski) presented clear proof of the considerable influence which the January uprising (1863—64) exerted on the formation of patriotic ideas amongst the Polish population of Gdańsk Pomerania and the Chełmno district.

In the very small and weak section on the history of towns, the only solid work is C. Wühnsch's article, based on archive material. This paper throws light on building organization in Königsberg during the second half of the eighteenth century, while describing the construction of the new town-hall in the Old Town. It also publishes interesting photographs of the plans for this project (*Das Königsberger städtische Bauwesen bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts und der Neubau des Altstädtischen Rathauses in den Jahren von 1754—1767*).

In the final section (cultural, ideological and church history) we find two quite valuable articles written by K. Forstreuter and Hans Schmauch respectively. The first of these continues research begun earlier and analyses the problem of the introduction of German into the chancelleries of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia (*Latein und Deutsch im Deutschen Orden*). The author tries to establish both the reason for this phenomenon and its chronology. He correctly points to the increase in acquaintance with German script amongst the bourgeoisie and knights of the Reich and its spread throughout the chancelleries of German bailiwicks. From there it came to Prussia where it soon predominated in the Chancellery of the Grand Masters (as a central German language) and subsequently in the middle of the fourteenth century in the districts of the Order (considerably earlier than in urban chancelleries).

H. Schmauch's article (*Um Nicolaus Copernicus*) raises two problems connected with Mikołaj Kopernik: the forms of his name (obviously for the benefit of German science) and the question of his holy orders. The author favours the Latinised version which Kopernik used as a writer i. e. Copernicus; however the astronomer customarily signed himself "Copernic" (or "Copernik") and this was also the form used in documents (the form "Kopernikus" was adopted in German jubilee publications of 1943 at the recommendation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Third Reich!). In his discussion of the second controversial question, Schmauch agrees with view of E. Rosen who denied the fact that Kopernik entered holy orders. Like F. Hippler he supports only Kopernik's acceptance of the lower orders indispensable for the acquisition of a Warmia Canonry. Using adequate source materials the author makes telling criticism of some of Rosen's too hasty conclusions and in an appendix prints the documents of 1497 and 1519 which were previously published in either Italian edition or in the faulty version G. Horn-d'Arturo's of L. Sighinolfi which is not readily available. Schmauch also reconstructs the list of the Warmian Canons during the first half of the sixteenth century, completing and correcting H. Zins's conclusions. He claims that most of the canons did not hold holy orders and correctly emphasizes (p. 422) the significance of the comment made by Mauritz Ferber, Bishop of Warmia in 1531 that he had *solum unum valentem presbyterum* (i. e. empowered to fulfil the duties of priest in the cathedral). The author maintains that the sole canon in holy orders at that time could only have been Tiedemann Giese, keeper of the chapter house, co-adjutor of Bishop Ferber from 1532, Bishop of Chełmno from 1538 and subsequently from 1549 — Bishop of Warmia. There seems to be much truth in these assertions and W. Hejnosz (*Kilka uwag o studiach krakowskich i święceniach kapłańskich Mikołaja Kopernika* [*Some Comments on Cracovian Studies and the Holy Orders of Mikołaj Kopernik*], "Zapiski Historyczne," vol. XXIX, No. 2, p. 141—149) does not seem to be justified in his lack of appreciation of their significance.

The remaining items in this section raise smaller but, nevertheless, controversial problems.

One of these — A. Triller's article (*Häresien in Altpreußen um 1390?*) again submits a theory on the liveliness of heretical movements in the Teutonic Knights' Prussia at the end of the fourteenth century. The author discusses the role of the Beguines and Beghards and the appraisal of the life of Dorota of Małtow, an anchoress and mystic, by a section of the clergy. The writer strongly emphasizes the parts played by the controversial "Albanian heretic Leander" of Kwidzyn, Dorota's oponent and her confessor Jan of Kwidzyn. This whole matter requires further research though it is difficult because of the limitations of the source material. P. G. Thielen's short article raises the problem of the clocks which were already present in the Teutonic Knights' castles at the end of the fourteenth century (*Die Rolle der Uhr im geistlichen und administrativen Alltagsleben der Deutschordenskonvente in Preussen*). H. Westpfahl analyses a prayer-book from the collection of the Teutonic Order's convent in Elbląg, probably written by Jan of Kwidzyn at the beginning of the fourteenth century (*Das Elbinger Beichtbüchlein*). The short paper by H. Weiss deals indirectly with Ducal Prussia and treats the life of Szymon Wanradt, the author of a *Low German Catechism from Rewel*, translated and published in Esthonian in 1535. Subsequently Wanradt attended the court of Duke Albrecht, and was in Wilno from 1561 to 1562 as a Lutheran pastor (*Magister Simon Wanradt*, p. 485—491). Duke Albrecht's services to the sphere of music and song (the Duke was himself author of several songs of religious and secular nature) are sketched briefly by J. Müller-Blattau (*Herzog Albrecht von Preussen und die Musik*). A. Poschmann discusses the first followers in England of the philosophy of the Prussian Kant at the end of eighteenth century (*Die ersten Kantianer in England*).

The curiosity of the whole collection is, however, the article by H. Neumeyer, who attempts to show the complex process of the Polonization of Royal Prussia in the sixteenth century as the sole work of the Catholic clergy during the counter-reformation period (*Zur polnischen Kirchenpolitik in Westpreussen*). This article is basically a pitiful attempt to restore the anachronistic view of J. Kaufmann who tried to reduce the whole of the internal changes in Royal Prussia to a German-Polish conflict in the spirit of nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The author is often clearly at a loss: he cannot for example explain the attitude of the Bishops of Chelmno some of whom were defenders of Prussian freedoms (i. e. according to the author "the German qualities of Prussia"); he is not able to claim that they were Germans. We cannot take seriously certain statements e. g. that bishop Piotr Kostka, a well-known Pole, was not of "*reindeutscher (!) Herkunft*" (p. 442) and that like the other bishop of Chelmno it is not possible to describe him "*im strengen Sinne als Deutsche*," though he knew German (sic). Again it proves the impossibility of regarding the struggle for the legal and governmental distinction of Royal Prussia on a purely national (or rather nationalistic) plain. We need a fuller analysis of the ethnically complex Polish-German community and a demonstration of the socio-economic interests of the individual groups. In addition the author is not familiar with any Polish work (including T. Glemma's works on Piotr Kostka); he bases his findings mainly upon Lengnich and a few documents from the Gdańsk Archives. Both the standard of methodology and the conclusions lead us to question this paper as a "scientific study."

The volume is concluded by a summary of E. Keyser's works from 1918 to 1962 compiled by E. and J. Bahr. This is not arranged chronologically but is presented in six parts according to subject matter and headed by problems concerning Gdańsk.

The value of the collection under review — setting aside its revisionist character — is not on the whole very high. Apart from several interesting works on the history of the Prussia of the Teutonic Knights (particularly by R. Wenskus, W. Kuhn and K. Forstreuter), of Ducal Prussia (H. Freiwald) and of Royal Prussia and Gdańsk (H. Schmauch and H. and T. Penners), the majority of the works are seldom erudite. They are rather minor or second-rate contributions and recapitulations of earlier conclusions. The level of methodology and the documentary basis of certain papers raise fundamental doubts and clear objections and in many places lead to a sense of disenchantment.

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