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0521583357 - The Other Prussia: Royal Prussia, Poland and Liberty, 1569-1772

Karin Friedrich

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## The Other Prussia

Royal Prussia, Poland and Liberty, 1569–1772

This book considers the phenomenon of nation-building before the age of modern nationalism. It focuses on Royal (Polish) Prussia – the ‘other’ Prussia – a province of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from 1466 to 1772/93, and its major cities Danzig, Thorn and Elbing.

As an integral part of the Polish state (a constitutional and elective monarchy) the Prussian estates took pride in their separate institutions and extensive legal and economic privileges. Although its urban elites, after the Reformation, were predominantly Protestant and German-speaking, far from identifying with Germany they used history to formulate a republican identity which was deliberately hostile to the competing monarchical-dynastic myth in neighbouring Ducal Prussia, ruled by the Brandenburg-Hohenzollerns from 1618. After 1700, the Polish crown increasingly antagonised the Prussian burghers by its centralising policies and failure to protect the integrity of the Commonwealth’s borders. The decline of Poland and the partitions of 1772–93 guaranteed that it was not the tradition of liberty but the Hohenzollern version of Prussian identity that survived into the modern era.

KARIN FRIEDRICH is Lecturer in History, School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London.

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Für meine Eltern

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## Preface

This book is a study of the construction of early modern identities in one historically and politically distinct province in the Germanic-Slavonic borderlands: Royal or Polish Prussia, which from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century was part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and possessed great strategic and economic importance due to its location on the Baltic Sea. Recent local initiatives in today's Poland to revive a specifically 'Prussian' patriotism in this region, including the voievodships of Pomerania, the region around the Mazurian lakes, and the old Hanseatic cities of Gdańsk, Toruń and Elbląg, have not only attracted tourism, particularly from Germany. They have also thrown down the gauntlet to almost fifty years of denial by communist governments of the fact that Poland's historical borders included a large number of non-Polish inhabitants whose composition bore no resemblance to the country's present, artificially created national, linguistic and religious homogeneity.

The loss of this diversity of cultures, languages and nations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries creates problems for the historian with regard to the recording of place and personal names. In the contemporary sources, within one and the same document, or even on the same page, German, Polish and Latin versions for the same town, territory, country, office or person appear without rules or regularity. Despite the best intentions of creating clarity for the present-day reader, compromises have to be made. To avoid blatant anachronisms, I have rejected the solution of using the present form of place names, which would turn Königsberg, for example, into Kaliningrad. I have decided, therefore, to use the names which were used in the early modern period by the majority of the inhabitants of a given community. Large cities, such as Danzig, Thorn and Elbing, or towns such as Marienburg, Kulm or Graudenz, will keep their German names (although the district of Chelmno (Kulm) will keep the Polish name, as explained below). Their Polish names will be indicated in brackets the first time the city is mentioned in the text. For cities with a majority of Polish-speaking inhabitants, such as the Lithuanian capital Wilno, the cities of Lwów, Bydgoszcz or Poznań, I have used the Polish name, whereas I have Anglicised the capital cities of Cracow and Warsaw. I have also Anglicised and Latinised important provinces and territories such as Mazovia (Mazowsze), Great Poland (Wielkopolska), Small Poland (Małopolska) and Ruthenia (Ruś), whereas 'Ukraine' usually refers only to the palatinates of

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Kiev, Braclaw and the territories lost to the Muscovites in 1667. The names of the territories and districts in the province of Royal Prussia which were administered by office-holders appointed by the crown, such as palatine (*wojewoda*), castellan (*kasztelan*) and starosta, are given in the original Polish form: e.g. the palatinate of Malbork (Marienburg), the starosta of Świecie (Schwetz) or of Puck (Putzig), and the bishoprics of Chełmno (Kulm) and Warmia (Ermland), since the majority of the population in these districts spoke Polish, and most royal officials were exclusively Polonophone, conducting their business in either Polish or Latin. An additional reason is political: I did not want to perpetuate the practice of some historians of Polish Prussia, who do not read or work with Polish sources and impose on the history of Royal Prussia a symbolic Germanisation. In the early modern era, even the Germanophone urban elites of smaller Royal Prussian towns knew and applied Polish, Latin and German versions interchangeably. I shall make an exception for the castellans of Danzig, Thorn and Elbing (not Gdańsk, Toruń and Elbląg), the starostwo of Samogitia (Żmudź), and the palatinate of Pomerania (Pomorze), which even in English usage have acquired Latinised names. To avoid confusion, a multi-lingual gazetteer has been included.

Personal names are usually given in the Polish or German version, except for ruling princes, where names can easily be Anglicised. Most institutions have been Anglicised, with the exception of the central Sejm (Diet), the szlachta (nobility) and the izba poselska (chamber of envoys), as well as Rzeczpospolita (Republic), the Polish name of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Latin and German expressions, such as *pacta conventa*, *forma mixta*, *Ständestaat*, etc., are explained in the glossary. All translations from Latin, Polish, German and French are my own.

My deepest academic debt is to Professor Andrzej Sulima Kamiński of Georgetown University, Washington DC, who as my supervisor inspired me to pursue this topic in 1989, at a time when great changes started to transform the country whose past so stirred my curiosity. I would like to thank him for his provocative questions and perceptive criticism, his patience, kindness and encouragement when I needed it most. Professor Janusz Małek in Toruń supervised my progress during my archival research in Poland and not only offered me his knowledge, but also his and his family's hospitality. I learned much from the expertise of Professor Jacek Staszewski and the members of his seminar on early modern Polish history at Nicholas Copernicus University in Toruń, where I also benefited from the deep and detailed knowledge of Professor Stanisław Salmonowicz. Many conversations over dinner with two special friends, Dr. Teresa Borawska and Dr. Henryk Rietz, not only helped me to feel at home in Toruń, but taught me much about the culture and religious history of Polish Prussia. I am also grateful to Dr. Jerzy Dygdała, Dr. Krzysztof Mikulski and Dr. Jarosław Poraziński, director of the Toruń archive, whose staff were more than helpful in providing source material quickly and unbureaucratically. I also want to express my thanks for the support I received from the scholars and staff of the libraries and archives I visited during my research,



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particularly the director of the University Library in Toruń, Stefan Czaja, and Małgorzata Kapelińska of the Special Collections Department at the Książnica Miejska, as well as the archive and the library staff of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk, Cracow, and Kórnik, the Czartoryski Library in Cracow, the collection of special prints of the National Library in Warsaw, and the Ossolineum archives in Wrocław.

I thank Professor Edmund Cieślak for providing accommodation in the Historical Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk, and for sharing his great knowledge on Danzig burghers. I am grateful for the perceptive comments made by Professor James Collins and Professor Marc Raeff, who read and examined my doctoral thesis, and to Professor Helli Koenigsberger and Dr Hamish Scott whose valuable criticism and advice helped me to transform the thesis into a book. The German Academic Exchange Council (DAAD) and the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) generously granted me a research fellowship which enabled me to spend ten months in Poland. I owe much to the Günther-Findel Foundation at the Herzog-August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, which made it possible for me to spend three months in the splendid scholarly environment of this library and its treasures. My personal thanks go to Dr Sabine Solf and Dr Gillian Bepler. In 1996, the International Society for Enlightenment Studies allowed me to participate in their greatly valued annual 'East-West seminar', held in Paris-Sèvres that year. I want to thank Professor Jochen Schlobach for the opportunity to present my research. I am also grateful to the British Academy which gave me a grant enabling me to take part in the annual conference of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, where I presented a paper and benefited from new contacts and discussions about my work.

Throughout several years, Georgetown University supported me with fellowships and, in 1991, with a special grant to improve my Polish language abilities, for which I shall always be grateful. For the last four years, the School of Slavonic and East European Studies at the University of London provided a work environment which gave me support and encouragement. Without the patience and understanding of my colleagues and students, I would not have been able to finish this project. I am particularly grateful to Professor Lindsey Hughes, and to Dr Roger Bartlett for enriching conversations on the Baltic region.

Special thanks go to Professor Michael G. Müller, who sent me the typescript of his book on the second Reformation in Danzig, Thorn and Elbing before it was published. I am also grateful to Professor Robert J. W. Evans, Professor Jörg Hoensch, Professor Udo Arnold, Dr Hans-Jürgen Bömelburg, Dr Almut Bues, Dr Richard Butterwick, Dr Jolanta Choińska-Mika, Dr Jörg Hackmann, Paul Heine-man, Professor Pentti Laasonen, Dr Jerzy Łukowski, Dr Roger Mettam, Dr Andrzej Nieuważny, Dr Barbara Pendzich, Professor Jan Piskorski, Professor Gerald Strauss, Janusz Zathę and Janina Zathęyowa, and the members of the seminar on early modern Europe at the Institute of Historical Research in London.

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My thanks also go to Dr Lyndal Roper and Dr Michael Hunter who gave me the opportunity to present my research on Danzig to their seminar at the Institute. I am grateful to Cambridge University Press for accepting this book in their series on early modern European history, and to William Davies and Jocelyn Pye for their understanding and help in preparing the manuscript for publication.

I wish to thank my family for all the support they have given me during many years of study and research, in particular my parents to whom this book is dedicated. Had it not been for my research in Toruń, I would not have met my husband, Robert, whose knowledgeable comments and help, but above all, whose love and encouragement as well as our shared fascination with Polish-Lithuanian history have never failed to inspire me and keep me going.

Gazetteer

German	Polish	English, Latin (or other)
Allenstein	Olsztyn	
	Braclaw	Bratslav (Ukr.)
Braunsberg	Braniewo	
Breslau	Wroclaw	
Brest	Brześć-Litewski	Brest-Litovsk (Russian)
Bromberg	Bydgoszcz	
Bütow	Bytów	
Christburg	Dzierzgoń, Kiszpork	
Danzig	Gdańsk	
Deutsch-Eylau	Ilawa	
Dirschau	Tczew	
Elbing	Elbląg	
Ermland, Warmia	Warmia	
Frauenburg	Frombork	
Glogau	Głogów	
Graudenz	Grudziądz	
	Hadziacz	Hadiach (Ukr.)
Heilsberg	Lidzbark	
Karthaus	Kartuzy	
Käsemark	Kezmark	
Königsberg	Królewiec	
Konitz, Conitz	Chojnice	
Kulm, Culm	Chelmno	Culm
Kurland	Kurlandia	Curonia, Courland
Labiau	Lubawa	
Lauenburg	Łębork	
Lissa	Leszno	
Livland	Inflanty	Livonia
	Małopolska	Little Poland
Marienburg	Malbork	

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*Gazetteer*

Marienwerder	Kwidzyń	
	Mazowsze	Mazovia
Mewe	Gniew	
Michelau	Michałowó	
Mirchau	Mirachowó	
Mitau	Mitawa	
Neuenburg	Nowe	
Neustadt	Wejherowó	
Oder	Odra	Oder River
Pillau	Piława	
Pommern	Pomorze	Pomerania
Posen	Poznań	
Putzig	Puck	
Schlochau	Człuchów	
Schöneck	Skarszewy	
Schönsee	Kowalewó	
Schwetz	Świecie	
Stargard	Starogard	
Stettin	Szczecin	
Stolp	Słupsk	
Stuhm	Sztum	
Strasburg	Brodnica	
Thorn	Toruń	
Tolkemit	Tolmickó	
Tuchel	Tucholá	
Wehlau	Welawa	
Weichselmünde	Wisłoujście	
Werder	Żuławy	
	Wielkopolska	Great Poland
Wilna	Wilno	Vilnius (Lith.)
	Żmudź	Samogitia

Glossary

castellan ( <i>kasztelan</i> )	In origin the commander of a royal castle. In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, castellans sat in the senate. Royal Prussian castellans sat in the <i>Landesrat</i> , or senate of the Prussian Diet, and, from 1569, also in the senate of the Sejm.
chamber of envoys ( <i>izba poselska</i> ) Commonwealth ( <i>Rzeczpospolita</i> )	The lower house of the Sejm, composed of envoys from local dietines ( <i>sejmiki</i> ). The Polish-Lithuanian state ( <i>res publica</i> ), composed of the kingdom of Poland and the grand duchy of Lithuania, the vassal duchies of Courland, Prussia and the condominium of Livonia, ruled jointly by Poland and Lithuania.
confederation ( <i>konfederacja</i> )	A league of nobles formed to achieve a specific political goal, such as opposition to royal policy; confederations used majority voting.
crown ( <i>korona</i> )	The kingdom of Poland, as opposed to the grand duchy of Lithuania.
<i>ekonomia</i>	A royal domain whose proceeds went to the upkeep of the royal household. The rich <i>ekonomia</i> of Malbork, for example, was situated in Royal Prussia.
<i>forma mixta</i>	Mixed form of government, composed of the three Aristotelian elements: monarchy, aristocracy and <i>politeia</i> .
hetman	Commander of the armed forces. Poland and Lithuania each had a grand hetman and a field hetman.
<i>ius indigenatus</i>	Rights and immunities connected with citizenship, bestowed by birth. Members of the noble or burgher estate, usually (and controversially) those who owned land.
<i>liberum veto</i>	The right of individual envoys to refuse consent to legislation of the Sejm or <i>sejmiki</i> , invoking the principle of unanimity.
<i>pacta conventa</i>	Conditions which a newly elected king had to promise

*Glossary*

	to honour. If the king broke his oath, his citizens could refuse obedience.
palatinate ( <i>województwo</i> )	An administrative unit headed by the palatine ( <i>wojewoda</i> ), who ranked above the castellan in the senate, but below the bishops, and responsible for the defence of his province. A palatinate was usually subdivided into districts ( <i>powiaty</i> ) and lands ( <i>ziemie</i> ).
<i>rokosz</i>	The right claimed by the <i>szlachta</i> to rebel in defence of the constitution.
Sarmatism	The myth that the nobility of Poland-Lithuania were descended from the ancient warrior tribe of the Sarmatians.
Sejm	Parliament or Diet (from 1569 including senators and envoys from Lithuania and Royal Prussia), comprising the king, the senate and the chamber of envoys.
<i>sejmik</i>	Provincial diet or dietine of the local <i>szlachta</i> in the palatinates and districts. After 1569, Poles called the Royal Prussian diet ( <i>Landesrat</i> ) the 'Prussian <i>sejmik</i> ', or ' <i>sejmik generalny</i> ' (general dietine).
senate	The upper chamber of the Sejm and the royal council, composed of bishops, palatines, castellans and government ministers.
<i>Ständestaat</i>	A state with representative parliamentary bodies and political estates with a participatory political culture and constitutional government.
starosta	An official appointed by the king, with wide judicial and administrative powers, who presided over the local <i>gród</i> court (court of the first instance). There were also non-judicial starostas, who held a lifelong lease on a royal landed estate ( <i>starostwo</i> ).
<i>szlachta</i>	The nobility. Its privileges were legally defined and guaranteed in the <i>pacta conventa</i> and other constitutions. Despite the doctrine of legal equality and the right of all nobles to elect their king, there were enormous differences in wealth and political power within the noble estate.
tribunals	The supreme courts of the <i>szlachta</i> of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

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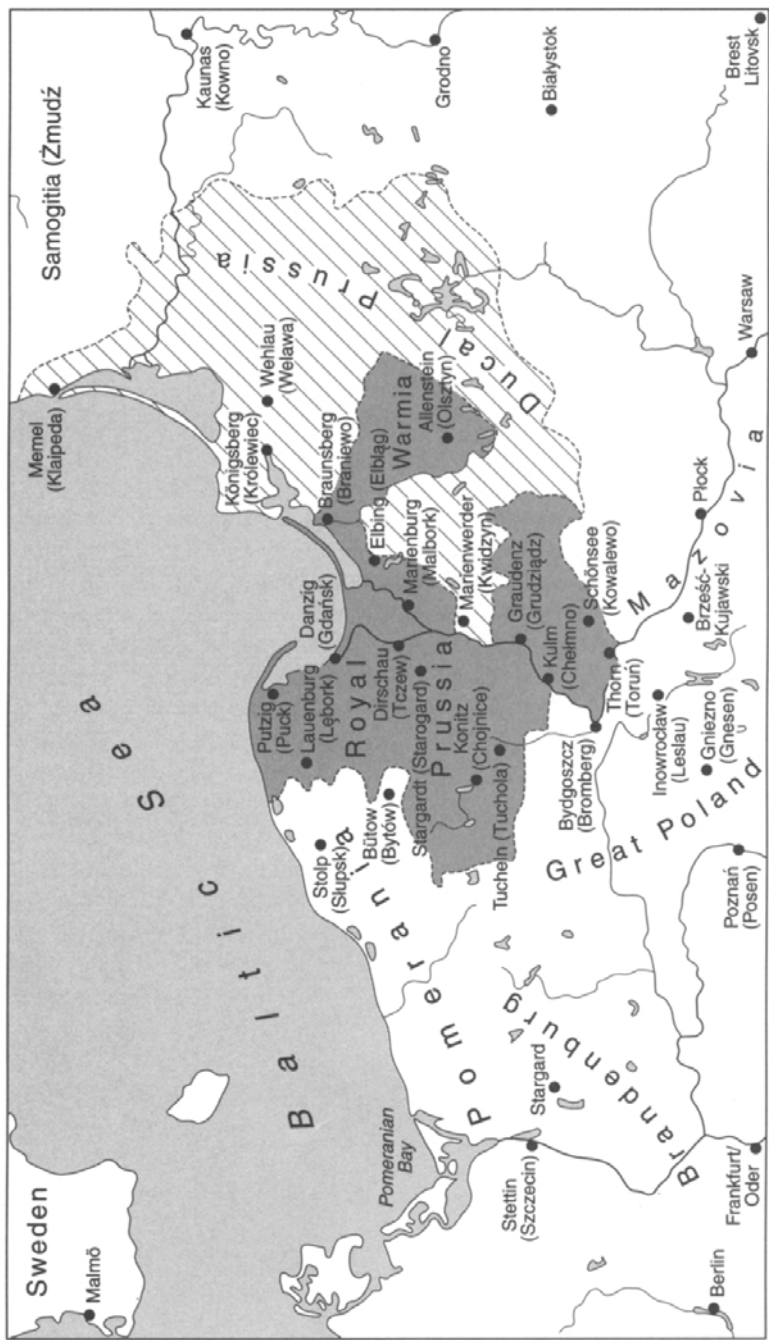
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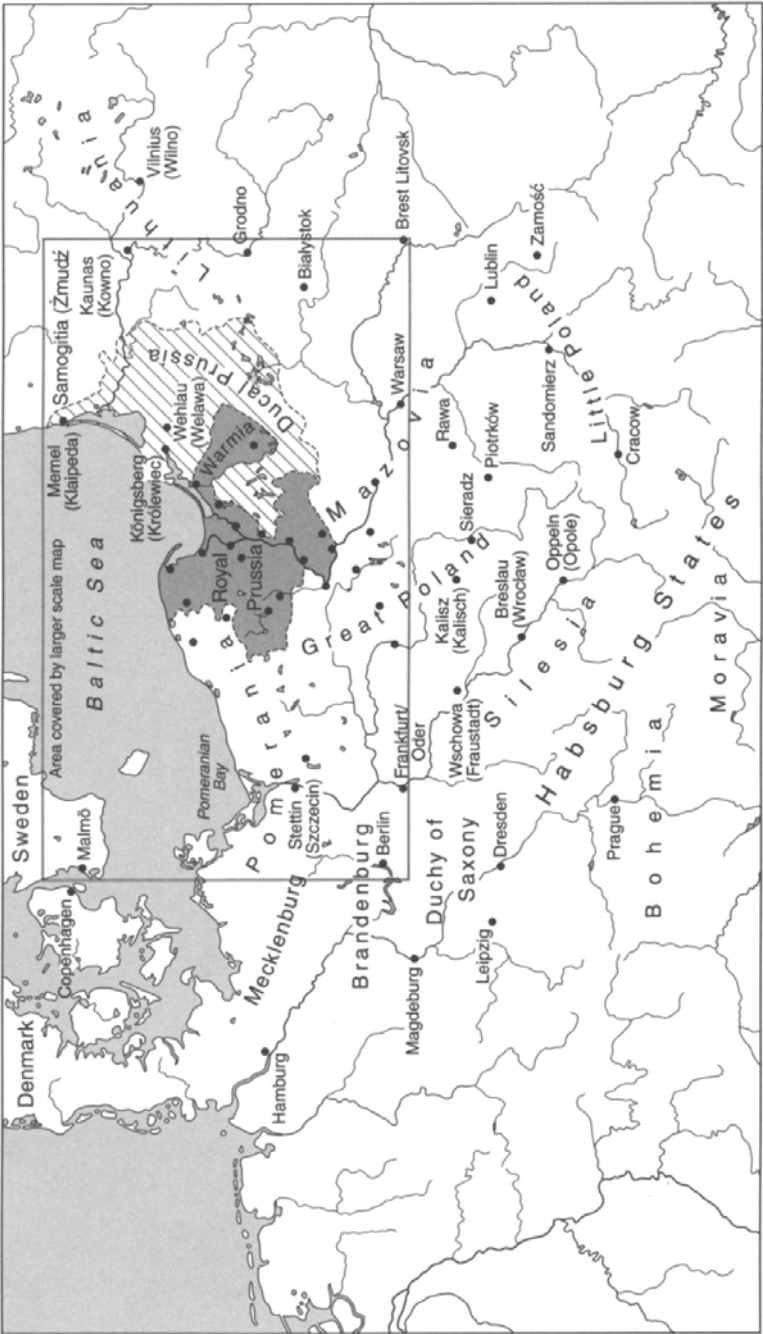
## Abbreviations

<i>ADB</i>	<i>Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie</i>
ADWO	Archiwum Diecezji Warmińskiej w Olsztynie
APGd	Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku
<i>APH</i>	<i>Acta Poloniae Historica</i>
APO	Archiwum Państwowe w Olsztynie
APT	Archiwum Państwowe w Toruniu
<i>AUNC</i>	<i>Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici</i>
Bibl. Czart.	Biblioteka im. ks. Czartoryskich
Bibl. PAN Gd.	Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Gdańsku
Bibl. PAN Kór.	Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Kórniku
<i>BGW</i>	<i>Beiträge zur Geschichte Westpreußens</i>
BUWr	Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego
EM	Etatsministerium
FUB	Freie Universität Berlin
GSta	Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin Dahlem
GTN	Gdańskie Towarzystwo Naukowe
HA	Hauptabteilung [Main Section] (GSta)
KM	Książnica Miejska w Toruniu
MS	manuscript
OBN	Ośrodek Badań Naukowych (imienia Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie)
PAN	Polska Akademia Nauk
PAU	Polska Akademia Umiejętności
PIW	Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy
<i>PSB</i>	<i>Polski Słownik Biograficzny</i>
PTPN	Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk
PWN	Polskie Wydawnictwo Naukowe
Rkps	Rękopis (manuscript)
<i>RTNT</i>	<i>Roczniki Towarzystwa Nauk w Toruniu</i>
TNT	Towarzystwo Nauk w Toruniu
TPNL	Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk w Lublinie
UMK	Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika
UTB	Universitäts-Taschenbuch (Verlag)



Map 1





Map 2