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THE TORUŃ MEETINGS OF KING WŁADYSŁAW II JAGIEŁŁO WITH THE GRAND MASTER OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER KONRAD VON JUNGINGEN

Mutual relations between Poland and the Teutonic Order played an important role at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries. There were many reasons for numerous arguments. Some attempts were made to solve the conflicts by means of negotiations, without resort to swords. The talks were held at different levels. Both the kings of Poland and the masters of the Teutonic Order were involved in some of them. The meetings usually took place in the borderland between the Polish Kingdom and the State of the Teutonic Order, in Raciążek, in Kujawy, Inowrocław, Włocławek or in Teutonic Toruń. The sources will sometimes differ about the place of a meeting. Queen Jadwiga's negotiations with Konrad von Jungingen conducted in 1397, for example, took place in Włocławek¹ (according to Jan of Posilge), in Raciążek² (according to a Toruń annalist) or in Inowrocław³ (according to Iohannes Długossius). The Włocławek version should, however, be accepted⁴. It must be remembered that each party may have stayed in a different town or village, which resulted in the divergences in the source material.

The chronicle writers sometimes mix up the details and wrongly associate them with particular meetings. This is also the case with Iohannes Długossius, especially when the events described took place year by year. We would like to refer to one of the chronicle writer's mistakes, as this error appears to be important to our future discussion. Iohannes Długossius, while describing Queen Jadwiga's meeting with Grand Master Konrad von Jungingen of 1397, introduced into his account an event which took place the following year⁵. It was only at the unsuccessful Toruń meeting of 1398 that the Queen, angered by the disrespect for

her majesty, warned the Teutonic Knights that the well-deserved punishment for the harm done to the Kingdom of Poland would be imposed on them after her death. The above words were uttered when, according to the former settlements, Queen Jadwiga and King Władysław (Vladislas) II Jagiełło came to Toruń to await the Grand Master but the latter did not turn up and only sent a representative⁶.

We do not know the reason why no information about Vladislas II Jagiełło's meeting with Konrad von Jungingen which took place in 1402 can be found in Iohannes Długossius's account. The possibility that, just like in the case of the meeting of 1398, the event was treated as one of the following meetings called in Toruń in the years 1404 and 1405 cannot be excluded. The meeting, which is known to us only thanks to the Teutonic sources, took place on 24th May, 1402. This fact is confirmed by the royal document referring to the monarch's stay in Raciążek on 25th May, 1402⁷. The castle situated in this village was frequently used by Vladislas II Jagiełło as the place of his negotiations with the Teutonic Knights. The King would also spend the night there before crossing the border during his expeditions to Prussia, especially to nearby Toruń⁸.

Some interesting information about the cost of the meetings borne by the Teutonic Knights may be found in *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch*, in which document the expenses covered from the central castle funds were recorded⁹. On the basis of this very detailed register, some conclusions relating to the course of the meetings and the details may be drawn.

The book says that in 1402, a month before the appointed day, „des koningis von Polan herold” came to Malbork and the cost of his stay amounted to 2 marks¹⁰. A mention of the expenses „gehalden

¹ *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, vol. III, Leipzig-Frankfurt a. M. 1963, p. 213.

² *Ibid.*, p. 218.

³ *Joannis Dlugossi Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae. Liber 10*, Varsaviae 1885, p. 220.

⁴ A. Strzelecka, *O Królowej Jadwidze, Studia i przyczynki*, „Archiwum Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie”, part II, vol. 14, Lvov 1933, fasciculus 2, p. 31.

⁵ Cf.: G. Rutkowska, *Itinerarium Królowej Jadwigi 1384-1399*, [in:] *Dzieło Jadwigi i Jagiełły*, Warsaw 1979, p. 218, ref. 84.

⁶ See ref. 3.

⁷ A. Gąsiorowski, *Itinerarium króla Władysława Jagiełły 1386-1434*, Warsaw 1872, p. 26.

⁸ Cf.: L. Kajzer, *Zamek w Raciążku*, Łódź 1990, p. 42.

⁹ *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch der Jahre 1399-1409*, ed. Joachim, Königsberg 1896 (further cited as *MTB*).

¹⁰ *MTB*, p. 160.

tag mit dem konige von Polan ... zu Thorun" dated 24th May, 1402 can be found in *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch*¹¹. However, it may be assumed that the talks were not held in town but on an island on the Vistula River in the vicinity of the Raciążek castle and the King did not visit Toruń at that time. The mention saying that the Grand Master sailed to the meeting in a boat¹², the remark about the 11 marks „die zwene bischofe und die zwene rittere us der herberge zu losen, die der konig von Polan ken Thorun zu unserm homeyster gesand hatte"¹³, dated 25th May, and the lack of any reference to the costs the Teutonic Knights would undoubtedly have borne if the King had been received in Toruń seem to confirm this supposition.

Grand Master Konrad von Jungingen came to the meeting from Grudziądz and he was accompanied by a retinue of attendants. On the way the Master's careless falconer lost the birds and new ones had to be sent for¹⁴. Thus the dignified Teutonic Knights seem to have entertained themselves with hunting. The possibility that the falcons were the present for the Polish monarch cannot be excluded, either. Such gifts were frequently made by the Grand Master, who knew about the King's passion for hunting¹⁵.

Konrad von Jungingen was presented with game, brought to Toruń by Knight Tomasz (he is referred to as „hauptmann" by the Teutonic sources - it may have been Tomko of Węgleszyn, who later was the commander of the Polish troops fighting against the owner of Drezdenko Ulrik von Osten)¹⁶. The knight and his people were received with great hospitality, as the commander of the castle estimated the expanses at more than 4 marks¹⁷. Konrad von Jungingen presented the King with valuable gifts worth more than 94 marks. Those were four measures of Brussels woolen cloth and 11 sturgeons. The gifts were sent to Raciążek¹⁸.

The Grand Master came to the meeting place in a boat (the meeting took place on the island). Some Order and lay officials, and most probably Duke Świdrygiełło, accompanied him during his short journey¹⁹. They entertained themselves with listening to the

music, the orchestra may have been conducted by Pasternak or Hensel, the trumpeters known to us from numerous mentions. They were paid 6 marks „als sy unserm homeyster obir dy Wysel pffiffen, do her zum konige zoch"²⁰.

Unfortunately, we do not know much about the details of the negotiations. They must have been accompanied by numerous feasts, where delicious dishes must have been served, as the royal cook was given two silver marks by the Grand Master. The King's and the Queen's orchestras played at the feasts (Was Queen Anna of Cilly to the meeting too?²¹). There was also the orchestra of a bishop whose name we do not know. They were paid by the Grand Master seven marks for their artistic performance — the Queen's musicians were given two marks, the bishop's musicians two marks, too, and the King's players were paid three marks²². Were the latter more numerous? Was their performance better? The King's singer, whose songs enriched the performance, was paid one mark.

After the meeting and King Vladislas II Jagiełło's departure the Grand Master, perhaps to alleviate the monarch's bad impression, sent two barrels of wine as another gift for the Polish King. The barrels were already in the cellar but they were not brimful of wine, as some wine had been poured from them before. Therefore, as the scribe says, some newly bought wine was poured in, „item 2 m. vor. 2 vas wyns von Thorun ken Briske zu furen, dy unserm homeyster sandte der konige von Polan, und 1 l scot vor 10 stufe wyns, die selben vas uf zu fullen"²⁴. What a glaring example of the Teutonic Knights' economy!

In Iohannes Dlugossius's „Annales" some information about King Vladislas II Jagiełło's visit to Toruń, dated 1404, may be found. The mention refers to numerous feasts and a knightly tourney held in the King's honour. An instance of throwing slops at the King is also mentioned²⁵. The information about the meeting at Gniewkowo is dated 1405²⁶. We are not going to discuss the subject matter of the negotiations, it must, however, be pointed out that the analyst was wrong when he dated the King's visit to Toruń at 1404. The Teutonic sources do not mention this event, but the King's stay in town the following

¹¹ *MTB*, pp. 163-164.

¹² *MTB*, p. 164.

¹³ *MTB*, p. 164.

¹⁴ *MTB*, p. 164.

¹⁵ Many distinguished people were presented with falcons by the Teutonic Knights. King Vladislas II Jagiełło was given falcons in e.g. 1400 - „3 schok bemischer groschen und 1 m. prusch. falcken zu tragen ken Crakow deme konige zu Polan" *MTB*, p. 76.

¹⁶ *MTB*, p. 164.

¹⁷ *MTB*, p. 164.

¹⁸ *MTB*, p. 164.

¹⁹ *MTB*, p. 165. Among the above mentioned expenses connected with the meeting of 1402 the expenses which confirm the Duke's stay in town are mentioned — „item 1m. herzog Switgiral zu Thorun us dem bade zu losen".

²⁰ *MTB*, p. 164.

²¹ Queen Anna would sometimes accompany King Vladislas II Jagiełło during his journeys. In 1412 she took part in the political meeting at Lubowla. Cf.: S. M. K u c z y ń s k i, *Król Jagiełło ok. 1351-1434*, Warsaw 1985, p. 79.

²² *MTB*, p. 164.

²³ *MTB*, p. 164.

²⁴ *MTB*, p. 164.

²⁵ *Jana Długosza Roczniki czyli Kroniki Sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, books 10 and 11, Warsaw 1982, p. 153 (further cited as *Długosz*).

²⁶ *Ibid.*

year, in the first decade of June, was clearly recorded. The documents signed by Vladislas II Jagiełło in Toruń on 10th June, 1405 seem to confirm the above supposition²⁷.

The records of *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch* appear to be decisive in this respect. No information about the King's stay in Toruń in 1404 may be found in the register. The expenses are, however, mentioned in 1405. Konrad von Jungingen is known to have received 35 marks from the Malbork treasury to cover the expenses connected with his journey to Toruń, where he lived during the negotiations; the Grand Commander, who also took part in the expedition, was given 15 marks and Johannes Ryman — 10 marks²⁸. The latter was a parish-priest in Pomezania, the Grand Master's court lawyer (doctor decretorum et jurista ordinis²⁹), who earned a high yearly salary³⁰. He would accompany Konrad and Ulrik von Jungingen during different meetings and negotiations, including Świdrygiełło's talks with Vytautas³¹. The fact that this lawyer was involved in the negotiations is coincidence of the Teutonic Knights' intention to discuss problems connected with current foreign policy, which required a legal opinion and documents.

To create a good impression the Grand Master, the Grand Commander and the Grand Treasurer ordered coats and other garments in black woolen cloth of Arras, called „rasa”³².

The talks were held in Raciążek from 18th to 23rd May and ten different documents were issued at this castle by King Vladislas II Jagiełło³³.

When the Grand Master was setting off on his journey, Konrad von Jungingen's goldsmith was ordered to polish the golden table dishes. The information about the expenses connected with this event is the only mention referring to the cost of the Poles' meeting with the Teutonic Knights in 1404 other than the ration allowance and the new garments made for the officials³⁴. The meeting was not accompanied by any entertainments. Otherwise the expenses involved would have been recorded in the book.

The following meeting of King Vladislas II Jagiełło with the head of the Teutonic Order took place, as has already been pointed out, in the first decade of June, 1405. During this meeting the monarch visited Toruń and watched the knightly tournament. It was then that throwing the slops at the monarch took place (the incident was described by Iohannes Dlugossius).

Numerous mentions referring to the expenses borne by the Teutonic Order and connected with the King and his officials' visit to Toruń can be found in *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch*. Those are both the direct expenses and the expenses resulting from sending a delegation to the meeting.

The Teutonic Knights needed appropriate dress for the meeting. Therefore, like in the preceding year, black woolen cloth of Arras was bought in Gdańsk (it cost 5 marks) and 4 1/2 marks was spent on fustian textiles³⁵ (most probably needed to line the woolen garments). Some quilted garments for the officials - „gebitiger” - were made. After he had come to Toruń the Grand Master of the Wardrobe spent additional 83 marks on 2 measures (bales) of Brussels woolen cloth and 1 measure of white woolen cloth „von Loben” needed „zur gebitiger cleydunge”³⁶.

The Teutonic envoys travelled from Malbork via Gniew, Grudziądz and Świecie. They sailed in boats at least from Gniew to Świecie³⁷. As the way dragged on, they took a comedian named Kuzdra. He was paid 11 shillings³⁸. On his way to Toruń, and on his way back to Malbork too, Konrad von Jungingen gave alms to the poor. He spent half a mark on the alms³⁹. Let us remember this sum.

According to the custom, the high parties prepared some presents for the Toruń meeting. Grand Master Konrad von Jungingen had two silver gilded cups set with precious stones⁴⁰. It was a very expensive gift worth one hundred marks. King Vladislas II, like the year before, presented his interlocutor with birds and game. The gift was brought to Toruń by a knight whose name we do not know. In return for his services he was given one measure of silk worth 8 marks and 2 marks of silver. His people were received with great hospitality and paid threescore Prague grossi by the hosts⁴¹.

Among other expenses borne by the Teutonic Knights a couple of mentions indirectly referring to a numerous group of attendants who accompanied the King may be found. They are also enumerated by Iohannes Dlugossius, but in connection with the preceding meeting. It must be remembered that these officials were also accompanied by numerous retinues, the musicians included, which stressed their importance. The musical performance which accompanied the meeting was really impressive. Apart from the Teutonic musicians and the players of Lupold von Kokeritz (his presence at the meeting seems to prove the supposition that the knight was perfectly aware

²⁷ Gąsiorowski, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

²⁸ *MTB*, pp. 290, 298.

²⁹ *MTB*, p. 420.

³⁰ He was paid 30 marks yearly. *MTB*, pp. 298-342.

³¹ *MTB*, p. 460.

³² *MTB*, p. 308.

³³ Gąsiorowski, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

³⁴ *MTB*, p. 295.

³⁵ *MTB*, p. 332.

³⁶ *MTB*, p. 354.

³⁷ *MTB*, p. 335.

³⁸ *MTB*, p. 354.

³⁹ *MTB*, p. 355.

⁴⁰ *MTB*, p. 354.

⁴¹ *MTB*, p. 354.

of what he was doing while he was attacking King Vladislas II Jagiełło in the battle of Grunwald on 15th July, 1410! He had simply known the Polish King before⁴²) two other royal orchestras, one of them composed of Russians, Mikołaj, Bishop of Gniezno's musicians and the above mentioned Knight Tomko's players are enumerated⁴³. King Vladislas II Jagiełło, like the Grand Master, had a court comedian in his train. The latter would entertain the guests with anecdotes and funny stories (he is referred to as „thorwerter” by the source and he was paid one mark of silver, i.e. one and a half threescore Prague grossi by the Grand Master⁴⁴). The Polish players did not leave Toruń without their pay, either. They were given over 20 marks⁴⁵.

Iohannes Dlugossius writes, „Requested by the Grand Master and his Teutonic commanders, King Vladislas II came from Raciążek to Toruń. He was accompanied by the best part of his advisers. He was received with great hospitality and stayed in town for three days. Tourneys were organized by the Grand Master in his honour”⁴⁶. The Teutonic sources seem to support the truthfulness of this account. However, the exact cost of the King's visit is not given in the document. The treasurer's scribe made two notes. The first one says that 510 1/2 marks was taken from the mint of Toruń to cover the cost connected with the visit of „des koningis von Polan lute, rittere und knechte”⁴⁷, i.e. the monarch's train. The second mention refers to 150 marks paid by the Grand Master himself to cover the cost connected with the meeting: „vor die koste, die unserm homeyster tat, als her mit dem koninge von Polan zu Thorun eynentag hilt”⁴⁸. A decent-sized village could be bought for 660 marks (excluding other expenses). The town of Toruń must have borne some expenses connected with the visit of the two delegations, too.

According to Iohannes Dlugossius, during King Vladislas II Jagiełło's stay in town a tourney was held. It brought fame to Dobiesław of Oleśnica⁴⁹. We do not want to question the knight's skill and his tournament victories, it must, however, be remembered that Dobiesław of Oleśnica was the favourite protagonist of Iohannes Dlugossius's accounts of the Great War.

It is Dobiesław of Oleśnica that fights the Grand Master in the battle of Grunwald and resists a group of Teutonic Knights who wanted to destroy Polish cannons aimed at the walls of the Malbork castle⁵⁰. He is the second knight to enter the town of Malbork through a hole in its defensive walls⁵¹. After the gate of the Radzyń castle had been bursted open, Dobiesław of Oleśnica protected another knight with his shield and was wounded by a bullet shot from a hand-gun⁵². Iohannes Dlugossius's interest in Dobiesław's (also referred to as „of Sienno”) adventures may have resulted from the fact that the latter was the uncle of future Cardinal Zbigniew and the only representative of the Oleśnicki family who was militarily involved in the Great War. Therefore, the possibility that the accounts of Dobiesław's achievements were exaggerated cannot be excluded. The chronicle writer may have wanted to stress the fame of his master and protector's family.

Let us come back to the Toruń events now. Iohannes Dlugossius wrote, „Moreover, during those three days while Polish King Vladislas II Jagiełło was visiting the streets of Toruń accompanied by the Grand Master, a cook poured slops on the King”⁵³.

The King came to Toruń invited by the Teutonic Order. It was not his first visit to town. There were many things to see in Toruń at that time. Iohannes Dlugossius praised the city, „... Toruń, with its buildings covered with shiny tiles, is so perfect that no other city can compare favourably with it as far as the beauty of its location and its impressive appearance are concerned”⁵⁴. The Grand Master had many things to show. The King's passage through the streets of Toruń which ended with this unpleasant incident was one of the points of the monarch's visit. Konrad von Jungingen reacted instantly. The chronicle writer wrote, „The cook was captured on the order of the Grand Master and sentenced to be drowned. She was saved thanks to the King's goodness”⁵⁵. Was the Grand Master really outraged by this woman's deed? Iohannes Dlugossius had some doubts when he wrote, „We do not know whether she did it on purpose or by accident. However, many people thought that the cook had poured the slops on purpose and on the order of the Teutonic Knights and that the incident was meant to disgrace the King, as in the great crowd of people who preceded and accompanied the King and the Grand Master it was only on King Vladislas that the slops had been poured”⁵⁶. Similar doubts are raised by contemporary historians. It is true that medieval townspeople often threw rub-

⁴² See: A. N o w a k o w s k i, *O pewnym grunwaldzkim epizodzie*, [in:] *Arma et ollae. Studia dedykowane Profesorowi Andrzejowi Nadolskiemu w rocznicę urodzin i 45 rocznicę pracy naukowej. Sesja naukowa, Łódź 7-8 1992*, Łódź 1992, pp. 137-146.

⁴³ *MTB*, pp. 354-355.

⁴⁴ *MTB*, p. 354.

⁴⁵ *MTB*, p. 355.

⁴⁶ Translation of *Annales* according to J. Mrukówna [in:] *Polska Jana Długosza*, ed. H. Samsonowicz, Warsaw 1984, p. 189.

⁴⁷ *MTB*, p. 355.

⁴⁸ *MTB*, p. 355.

⁴⁹ *Polska Jana Długosza...*, p. 189.

⁵⁰ *Długosz*, p. 155.

⁵¹ *Długosz*, p. 153.

⁵² *Długosz*, p. 173.

⁵³ *Polska Jana Długosza*, p. 189.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

⁵⁶ *MTB*, pp. 189-190.

bish in the streets and poured slops out of the window. It is, however, hardly possible that the inhabitants of Toruń did it while the King's train was passing. The passage must have been noisy and it may have been accompanied by music and singing. No woman could go on washing or cooking and resist rushing to the window or door to see the unusual spectacle — the King's and the Grand Master's trains, the beautifully dressed courtiers, the King's and the Order's outstanding knights, the visitors invited from outside of Prussia. Therefore throwing the slops by accident is out of the question!

The above supposition is confirmed by a mention found in *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch*. The mention has not been referred to by historians yet. It has only been discussed by the author of the present article⁵⁷. The note, found among the Grand Master's expenses dated 3rd February 1406, reads, „item 2m. vor eyne witwe us der herberge zu losen zu Thorun, noch von dem tage, als unser homeyster mit dem koning zu Thorun selben was”⁵⁸. As the record was made the following year, it was carefully explained that it referred to the expense borne just in 1405. According to us, the above record seems to confirm Iohannes Dlugossius's opinion. The chronicle writer was right when he considered the incident a deliberate affront to King Vladislas II Jagiełło. One is struck by the coincidence of Iohannes Dlugossius's account with the mention from *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch*: Toruń, the year 1405, the cook (according to the chronicle writer) and the widow (according to the book), the King's meeting with the Grand Master. The scrupulosity of the Teutonic Knights' bureaucracy makes the scribe explain the reason why the Grand Master bears the cost which, according to the principles of the Order's book-keeping system, he should not pay in 1406.

Therefore it appears that during the Polish monarch's stay in Toruń a woman (*nota bene* not a local townswoman!) deserved to be paid from the Order's funds. Moreover, it was not alms or relief that she was given (such cases are clearly stressed in the book). She was paid two marks. It was much more than the usual alms for the poor. It must be remembered that during his four days' journey to Toruń and back to Malbork the Grand Master spent four times less money on the alms. Accordingly, it appears that the slops incident was carefully planned and prepared. It was meant to disgrace the King in the presence of the people of Toruń, the Teutonic Knights and the guests.

To sum up our discussion on King Vladislas II Jagiełło's meeting with Grand Master Konrad von Jungingen, it should be pointed out that *Das Marien-*

burger Tresslerbuch helps to remove all doubts raised by contemporary historians regarding one of the terms of the treaty signed by Poland with the Teutonic Knights in 1404. According to the Teutonic sources — the Posilge chronicle and the annalist of Toruń — apart from 40 thousand threescore Prague grosi for the district of Dobrzyń, Poland was to pay additional 2400 threescore grosi for Złotoria⁵⁹. Neither Iohannes Dlugossius nor other Polish sources mention the second payment.

However, the Teutonic Knights had accurate information. In *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch*, among the expenses connected with the Toruń meeting of 1405, a mention has been found referring to half a mark spent when „das golt und silbir, das von des landes wegen ... Slotterye quam”⁶⁰ were taken to the mint. The payment of 13 scoti was made for weighing (probably to control?) 1743 marks of silver (i.e. 2400 marks of coins), 4 scoti was paid for the little barrels in which the metal was put and for putting the metal in them, a quarter of a mark was paid for loading the gold and silver on the ship and 2 quarters of a mark was given to the boatmen for transporting the metal from Toruń to Malbork⁶¹.

Thus, the due payment was made to the Teutonic Knights. Poland met her obligations. There existed genuine reasons for the Order's hospitality, for organizing the tourneys and other games. Therefore the question may be asked: What brought about the unpleasant incident? Did the Teutonic Knights wanted to convince the ruler that the inhabitants of Toruń were ill-disposed towards King Vladislas II Jagiełło and attached to their Teutonic rulers? This possibility cannot be excluded. However, this attachment for the Teutonic Knights was not so strong, as on February 6th 1454 the people of Toruń attacked, seized and took to pieces the Teutonic castle. Only few fragments of its former walls and buildings can be seen in Toruń today.

Translated by Zuzanna Poklewska-Parra

⁵⁷ Cf.: H. Leśniewski, A. Nowakowski, *Sekrety Krzyżaków*, ed. CIA-Books-SVARO, Poznań 1992, pp. 127-128.

⁵⁸ *MTB*, p. 383.

⁵⁹ *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, vol. III, pp. 216, 223.

⁶⁰ *MTB*, p. 354.

⁶¹ *MTB*, p. 354.

