War and Conflict in Premodern Societies

# IDEOLOGY AND HOLY LANDSCAPE IN THE BALTIC CRUSADES

by

GREGORY LEIGHTON

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To the memory of

my grandfather, Benjamin
(June 29, 1933–May 26, 2017)

and of my grandmother, Emma
(November 13, 1933–July 8, 2022)

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Toruń, February 2022.

# INTRODUCTION

> "Pray also for all of the land that lies before the pagans, that God will come to help it with His guidance and power, that faith in God and His love will be extended there, and that the people there stand strongly against their enemies." – *The Statutes of the Teutonic Knights*[1]

HOW DOES A landscape become a sacred one? Why do places take on sacral qualities? In what ways did warfare shape perceptions of landscape in the Middle Ages? How did different groups depict this process? These are the questions that drive this book. A simplistic answer reads as follows: sacred landscapes emerge due to a combination of factors depicting a person's (or group's) experiences within a given geographical region. These experiences manifest themselves in a variety of different ways over a long period of time.

This book unpacks this explanation and seeks to examine the relationship of the crusading movement to the emergence of a sacred landscape in the Baltic Zone (present-day Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Lithuania, and Russia) during the Middle Ages. A region far removed from the "Holy Land" which had captured the imagination of medieval authors for centuries, namely due to its connection to the Bible, culturally and historically, as well as geographically, the Baltic might seem an odd place for a new sacred landscape to emerge.[2] However, the ideas, institutions, and practices of crusading continued here well beyond the Mamluk capture of Acre in 1291.[3] Employing an interdisciplinary approach to the written and visual material for the period, this book explores the multi-faceted nature of the medieval Baltic as a "new holy land" in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It ultimately demonstrates that it is possible to examine not just the emergence of this landscape in the thirteenth century, but how this concept developed and changed over time, and how it was expressed differently in both Livonia and Prussia.

The prayer quoted above reflects in part the answers to the questions addressed in this book. It formed part of the liturgy of the Teutonic Knights, a military monastic order founded in the late twelfth century in the Holy Land modeled on the Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller.[4] The prayer is connected to the crusades led by the Teutonic Order aimed at the armed conversion of the non-Christian peoples inhabiting the regions of Livonia and Prussia (Map 1).[5]

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**1** *SDO*, 132: "Bittet ouch vor alle die lant, die vor der heidenschaft legen, daz in Got mit sîme râte unde craft zu hulfe kome, daz Gotes geloube unde minne dâ inne gebreitet werde, alsô daz sie allen iren vîenden mugen widerstên." Translations by the author unless otherwise noted.

**2** For example, Ní Chléirig, "*Nova peregrinatio*," 63–74; Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, 65–92.

**3** Indeed, by the late fourteenth century, it was not uncommon for crusaders to go to Prussia in addition to Spain and the Holy Land. See Paravicini, PR 3:175, 301, 422.

**4** *SDO*, li–lii; Löffler, "Liturgie," 161–84, at 162; Löffler, "Rolle," 1–20; *TOT*, 297 (no. 296): "in ecclesia vestra iuxta modum Templariorum in clericis et militibus, et ad exemplum Hospitaliorum in pauperibus et infirmis."

**5** All place names used in this book are the historical German names, with present-day names in parentheses, e.g., Marienburg (Pol. Malbork).


Map 1. The Baltic region in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries showing the main centres and castles of the military orders.

Most relevant for this book is that there were neither Christian shrines to protect and defend, nor were there any places associated with Christianity before these expeditions, referred to now as the Baltic crusades. The prayer reflects, then, a key component of the crusading ideology of the Teutonic Order: the propagation of the Christian faith, the holiness of the land conquered, and the sacrality of the land to be conquered. As part of the liturgy, it was an act of communion with God, while communicating the relationship between warfare, conversion, and, ultimately, peace, within the Order's communal identity.[6] This message also found its expression outside of the Order, for it was communicated to its supporters in Western Europe: popes, Holy Roman Emperors, preachers, and crusaders. It thus reached many different audiences, becoming central to the experiences of crusading and religious life in this region.

This book investigates the role of the military orders (especially the Teutonic Order) in the emergence and propagation of a new sacred landscape in both Livonia and Prussia from 1201–1390, a period that saw the origins, development, and spread of the crusading idea to the Baltic region.[7] How did this concept of landscape reflect the Teutonic Order's spiritual identity in the Baltic region? In what ways is it embedded in its ideology? How was it communicated to members in the Order, its supporters, crusaders,

**6** S. Kwiatkowski, *Zakon niemiecki*, 60–71, at 66–8.

**7** The peak of the campaigns in Lithuania, the *Reisen*, occurred roughly around the endpoint of this study. See Paravicini, PR 1.

Figure 1. Tomb of St. Meinhard, Riga Cathedral. Photograph by author.

and to the local Christian population in the Baltic? To answer these questions, this book attempts to focus on a worldview expressed by contemporary sources regarding how crusading transformed places, spaces, and landscapes. As a result, it seeks to dismantle the older, dated interpretations of holy war in the Baltic region that have continued to survive in western scholarship until recent decades. Following a brief overview of the crusading movement in the Baltic and the rise of the Teutonic Order, this introduction outlines the ever expanding historiography of the military orders in the Baltic. It then provides a short overview of the methodological framework of the study and cements the definition of "sacred landscape" used in this book, before concluding with a chapter outline.

The Baltic crusades focused on conversion, as opposed to the crusades to the Holy Land or the Iberian Peninsula.[8] There were no holy sites for recapture, or pilgrimage shrines to defend. In some places, though, the spaces so central to the sacrality of Jerusalem were replicated, thus reflecting on some level the transference of those ideas to the landscape there.[9] To drive conversion, in 1147 Eugenius III granted indulgences to those who "wish to participate in so holy a labor and reward and intend to go against the Slavs and other pagans in the north and to subject them to the Christian religion, with the Lord's help."[10] Known as the Wendish crusade, the campaign was largely unsuccessful and resulted in a fragmented Christian army going home empty-handed. It nonetheless sparked the arrival of the idea of crusading in the Baltic region.[11]

Nearly forty years later, in 1186, Meinhard, abbot of the Augustinian monastery of Segeberg in Holstein, arrived in Livonia with the goal to convert the non-Christian peoples of the Düna Valley (Lat. Daugava) (Figure 1). Shortly after his arrival, he constructed the first church in Livonia at Üxküll (Lat. Ikšķile) (Figure 2).[12]

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**8** Erdmann, *Origin*, 35–7; Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, 130–64; Bird, "Preaching," 316–41, at 321–5; O'Banion, "Iberia," 383–95; Erdeljan, *Chosen Places*, 41.

**9** Eskildsen, "Rotundas," 26–34; Wienberg, "Round Churches," 12–20.

**10** Phillips, *Second Crusade*. For the bull see *PL* 180, col. 1203–4: "Quidam etiam ex vobis *tam sancti laboris et praemii participes fieri cupientes, contra Sclavos caeterosque paganos habitantes versus Aquilonem ire, et eos Christianae religioni subjugare, Domino auxiliante, intendunt.*"

**11** Phillips, *Second Crusade*, 239–43. Also see Dragnea, *Wendish Crusade*, 39–63.

**12** *ACS*, 213–4 (5.30); Loud, ed. and trans., *Arnold*, 226; *HCL*, 2 (1.2); Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 25–6 (1.2). Bombi, "Celestine III," 145–58.

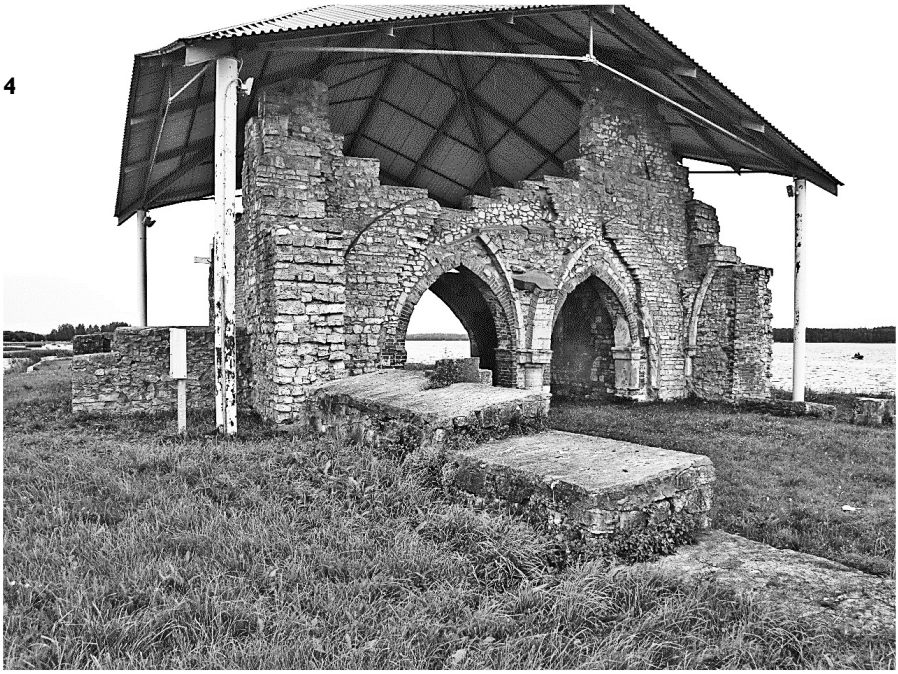

Figure 2. Church of St. Meinhard at Üxküll. Photograph by author.

Following Meinhard's death in 1196, Berthold, a Cistercian from the abbey of Loccum in Lower-Saxony, was appointed as the second bishop of Livonia. According to the Benedictine chronicler Arnold of Lübeck, Pope Celestine III granted Berthold the privilege to preach a crusade in Germany in 1198. Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt suggests that this was perhaps indicative of a lack of crusading activity in the Holy Land.[13] The indulgences and their contents, unfortunately, do not survive.[14] What remains clear in any case is that, by the end of the twelfth century, crusading and its facets (the indulgence and the remission of sins) had been planted firmly on the eastern Baltic shore.

Berthold was killed in July of 1198 during a battle with the Livs, outside the city of present-day Riga. His contemporaries and successors considered him a martyr. As a result, his death, the foundation of Riga (one of the most important centres in the eastern Baltic), and the space of the city all were linked.[15] Berthold's successor, Albert of Riga, oversaw the full-fledged development of crusading and its associated institutions, including the foundation of three religious orders aimed at conversion, the first of which was the Order of the Knights of Christ (or Sword Brothers) founded in 1201.[16] Following the Cistercians, and the regular monks and canons, they were "faithful laymen, under the mantle of the Templars," responsible for defending the newly-conquered lands from

**13** *ACS*, 214 (5.30); *HCL*, 8 (2.1); Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 31–2 (2.1).

**14** Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *Popes*, 68–70.

**15** Selart, "Meinhard," 436–9, for the discussion of Meinhard and Berthold as saints.

**16** *HCL*, 12 (3.1); Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 25 (3.1); *ACS*, 216 (5.30); Benninghoven, *Schwertbrüder*, 39–40; Baranov, "Меченосцы ["Sword Brothers"]," 143–8. For English studies: Murray, "Sword Brothers," 27–37; Selart, *Livonia*, 14–5; Bombi, "Innocent III," 147–53.

the non-Christians.[17] Albert secured considerable power for the Bishopric of Riga when he confirmed this order. The Church of Riga was to administer two thirds of the conquered lands in Livonia, the Sword Brothers the rest. This caused a series of conflicts that lasted long after the arrival of the Teutonic Order, defining the social and economic administration of the northeastern area of the so-called "Order's land" (*Ordensland*).[18]

The Sword Brothers, though subject to the Bishop of Riga, held important castles at Riga, Fellin (Est. Viljandi), Wenden (Lat. Cēsis), Segewold (Lat. Sigulda), Treiden (Lat. Turaida), and Dorpat (Est. Tartu).[19] As the military arm of the Bishop of Livonia, the brothers fought alongside the crusaders (*peregrini*) from Westphalia and Saxony gathered by Bishop Albert on his preaching campaigns in Germany.[20] They gained victories at the siege of Fellin in 1211 and 1224, and participated in the conquest of the island of Ösel (Est. Saaremaa) in 1227. The Sword Brothers suffered a crushing defeat on September 23, 1236, at the Battle of Saule (Lith. Šiauliai) by an army of Lithuanians and Semigallians. In May of 1237, Pope Gregory IX confirmed the incorporation of the Sword Brothers into the Teutonic Knights.[21]

Unlike Livonia, Prussia had prior contact with Christianity. St. Adalbert of Prague in 997, and St. Bruno of Querfurt in 1009 were the first to attempt, unsuccessfully, to Christianize the Prussians. The crusading idea was emerging in this area by the twelfth century. The local dukes of Mazovia (Pol. Mazowsze) framed their encounters with the Prussians during the twelfth century within the context of crusading, such as the campaign of Henry of Sandomierz in 1166.[22] Cistercian involvement also began in the early thirteenth century. In 1206, Innocent III commissioned the prelates of Poland to assist the monks of the Abbey of Lekno (Pol. Łekno) in converting the Prussians to Christianity.[23] In 1215 Christian, a Cistercian monk from the Abbey of Oliva (Pol. Oliwa) took over responsibility and was ordained as the Bishop of Prussia. This same year, at the Fourth Lateran Council, Livonia, "the Land of the Mother" (*terra matris*) was proclaimed as equal to the Holy Land, "the Land of the Son" (*terra filii*).[24] This was perhaps an indication of the perceived success of the Baltic missions on the part of Innocent III.[25] Christian

**17** *LUB* 1: col. 18–20 (no. 14), dated to October 12, 1204, here col. 19: "fidelii laici, qui sub templariorum habitu."

**18** "Teutonic Order's State" (*Deutschordensstaat*) has fallen out of fashion. See Leighton, "Sacred Landscape," 458. Also see Pluskowski, ed., *Terra Sacra I*, 1–20.

**19** Tuulse, *Burgen*, 30–62.

**20** von Transehe-Roseneck, *Livlandfahrer*; Hucker, "Livlandpilgern," 111–30; Gąssowska, "Anteil," 151–2.

**21** May 12. See *TOT*, 231 (no. 244); Benninghoven, *Schwertbrüder*, 327–46; Urban "Baltic Crusades," 145–7; Baranov, "Frühzeit," 315–47.

**22** von Güttner-Sporzyński, *Poland*, 161–86.

**23** *PrUB* 1.1:2–4 (no. 5)

**24** *PrUB* 1.1:7 (no. 9). For the passage on Livonia and the Holy Land: *HCL*, 131–2 (19.7); Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 152 (19.7).

**25** Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *Popes*, 81–3.

founded the Knights of Dobrin in 1228, but it had no more than fifteen knights at its peak and was ultimately incorporated into the Order of the Teutonic Knights in 1235.[26]

The history of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia begins traditionally in 1226, when Conrad, Duke of Mazovia, promised the Kulmerland (Pol. ziemia chełmińska) to the brothers "so that they might set about the task [of defending his borders] favourably for going into and maintaining the land of Prussia, for the honour and glory of the true God."[27] This request was confirmed by Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, in the Golden Bull of Rimini (1226–1235).[28] In 1230 the Order arrived in Prussia. Explicitly tied to the Holy Land and an international military order, its members were unlike their regional predecessors. It quickly garnered considerable influence after its foundation, particularly under the tenure of Herrman of Salza, the fourth Grand Master of the Order (1210–1239), receiving lands in Cyprus, Armenia, Greece, Spain, and Italy, in addition to its houses in the Empire.[29] Between 1211 and 1225, the Order defended the borders of King Andrew II of Hungary in Transylvania against the non-Christian Cumans, though they were expelled for minting their own coins and constructing stone castles.[30] While still active in the Holy Land, the Teutonic Order set about its new task in Prussia with a series of conquests between 1230 and 1239 headed by Hermann Balk, the first Prussian master (*Landmeister*). These resulted in the foundations of the Order's first fortifications and settlements: Thorn (Pol. Toruń), Kulm (Pol. Chełmno), Elbing (Pol. Elbląg), Marienwerder (Pol. Kwidzyn), and Balga (Rus. Veseloe).

A new topography connected to the religious nature of the mission emerged immediately after this first wave of conquests. In 1242, the Order discovered the relics of St. Barbara during its conflict with the Duke of Pomerania, Swantopolk II. Kept in the Order's commandery at Althaus Kulm (Pol. Starogród Chełmiński) until the fifteenth century, it became one of the most significant pilgrimage shrines in the southern Baltic region in the Middle Ages.[31] The bishoprics of Prussia, Kulm, Pomesania, Warmia, and Sambia were established in the following year.[32] Unlike in Livonia, the Teutonic Order controlled the episcopal elections for three of them (Kulm, Pomesania, and Sambia), with members

**26** Nowak, "Milites Christi de Prussia," 340–47. For the incorporation, see *PrUB* 1.1:90 (no. 118); Nowak, "Milites Christi de Prussia," 350; Jasiński, *Kruszchwitz*, 102–4.

**27** *PrUB* 1.1:42 (no. 56): "Condradus dux Mazouie et Cuiauie promisit et obtulit providere sibi et fratribus suis de terra, que vocatur Culmen, et in alia terra inter marchiam suam videlicet in confinia Pruthenorum, ita quidem, ut laborem assumerent et insisterent oportune ad ingrediendum et optinendum terram Pruscie ad honorem et gloriam veri dei."

**28** For the text: *PrUB* 1.1:41–3 (no. 56). Also see Jasiński, *Kruszchwitz*, 131–53.

**29** Forstreuter, *Mittelmeer*, 54–8 (Cyprus), 59–66 (Armenia), 71–86 (Greece), 87–103 (Spain), 110–87 (Italy). For its activities in the Holy Land, see Morton, *Teutonic Knights*.

**30** Zimmermann, *Siebenbürgen*, 170 (no. 19), 172–4 (no. 31); Laszlovszky and Sóos, "Historical Monuments," 319–36.

**31** Rozynkowski, *Omnes Sancti*, 191–5; Błażewicz, "Skarb relikwiarzowy ["The Reliquary Treasure]," 93–111; Błażewicz-Oberda, "Kult świetej Barbary ["The Cult of St. Barbara"]," 11–32; Leighton, "St. Barbara," 1–47.

**32** Radzimiński, *Kościół*, 29–43.

often coming from within the Order's ranks.[33] Thus, the Order was primarily responsible for the foundation of churches and their patronage, and overseeing the pastoral care of the local population. As this book highlights, this reflected a key division in the ways in which sacralization of the landscape was depicted in Livonia and Prussia.

Two uprisings took place during the Order's early history. The First Prussian Uprising of 1242–1249 ended with the Treaty of Christburg (Pol. Dzierzgoń), signed on February 7, 1249. The Order gained total submission of the Prussians to Christian laws, control of the land, and ensured that the Prussians would rebuild a total of 23 churches with the appropriate decorations and furnishings.[34] A second uprising gave way under the leadership of Herkus Monte, following a significant military defeat of the Order at the Battle of Durben (Lat. Durbe) in 1260. Subsequent setbacks occurred at Pokarwis (Rus. Ushakovo) in 1261, and Löbau (Pol. Lubawa) in 1263, sparking a series of raids and the fall of several castles. The crusade in 1266 of Otto III, Margrave of Brandenburg, and Ottokar II, King of Bohemia, secured a ceasefire. The Order systematically conquered the Prussians with the help of seasonal crusaders by 1283. In 1249 and 1260, the Teutonic Knights consolidated their Prussian territories, building stone castles and churches imported settlers to Prussia from Germany to farm the land. Support for the Order was steady, particularly among the kings of Bohemia. In 1255, Ottokar II took one of the most renowned crusades to Prussia, which resulted in the foundation of Königsberg (Rus. Kaliningrad), the primary gathering point for crusaders on campaign against the Lithuanians. By 1300, campaigns in Livonia ended, and regular campaigns against the Livs and Letts dwindled considerably, while in Prussia, subjugated, according to Peter of Dusburg, a priest and chronicler in the Order, in 1283, the Teutonic Order turned its eyes to Lithuania, its new enemy. Crusades against the Lithuanians came to be known as the *Reisen* (Ger. "expeditions"), a complex blend of fourteenth-century chivalry and a continuation of fighting God's war, attracting nobility from England, France, Italy, Bohemia, the Low Countries, and Spain. Werner Paravicini has outlined the complex motivations and rationales for why knights participated in the campaigns.[35] The lure of indulgence was certainly one of them, in addition to a perception of doing God's work.[36]

The year 1304 marks the beginning of these campaigns, when Peter of Dusburg described knights from Germany returning to Prussia again, "inspired by the Lord" (*inspirante Domino*), to fight the Lithuanians.[37] Why these crusaders returned is not so clear.[38] They appear to have been invited by the Teutonic Order, which had gained the privilege of preaching its own crusades in 1245 when Innocent IV issued the bull

**33** Biskup, "Bistümer," 226–35, and "Bischöfe," 41–61. For a recent outline of the Prussian bishoprics in English, see Pluskowski, *Archaeology*, 247.

**34** *PrUB* 1.1:158–66 (no. 220), here 162–3 for the churches that were to be rebuilt in the four Prussian dioceses.

**35** Paravicini, PR 3: 481–542, at 518–42.

**36** Ehlers, *Ablaßpraxis*, 72–6. For the inventories, see *MT*, 62, which refers to indulgence letters (*aplasbriefe*) in Marienburg.

**37** *PDC*, 146 (3.221).

**38** Ehlers, "The Crusades," 23–5.

*De negocio Pruscie*.[39] The transfer of the Order's headquarters to Marienburg (Pol. Malbork), from Venice, in 1309, might also be an explanation. This was undertaken in response to the crisis of the loss of the Holy Land in 1291, and a need to legitimize the Order's existence to Christendom. Regional events in the Baltic, too, reveal the need for creating a more positive image of the Order. In 1308, the knights attacked the city of Danzig (Pol. Gdańsk), which resulted in the annexation of Pomerelia.[40] The Teutonic Order purchased this land from the Margrave of Brandenburg and refused to return it to the King of Poland. This event sparked a protracted war with the Kingdom of Poland that would come to factor into the Order's crusading rhetoric by the end of the century.

Internal reforms within the Order were also necessary.[41] The piety of its members was repeatedly called into question, and for good reason. In 1330, Grand Master Werner of Orseln was assassinated as he left the Chapel of St. Anne at Marienburg, by a knight in the Order, "out of his mind" (*extra mentem suam*) and informed by the persuasions of the Devil.[42] In response, a series of Grand Masters commissioned various edificatory works in German (both translations of the Bible, the lives of the saints, and regional histories). These were aimed at increasing the piety of the brethren and reflecting this piety to the Order's supporters.[43]

While the fourteenth century is surely central to the study of the inner life of the Order and the communication of its ideology, the conversion of Lithuania in 1386 presented one of the most impactful problems to the institution of the Teutonic Knights.[44] And yet, the period leading up to and following it was one of the most popular times for the *Reisen*. Participants in these crusades, such as Jean II le Maingre (Boucicault), Henry Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby (later Henry IV of England), and William IV of Guelders-Jülich were peak examples of the development of chivalric culture. In this way, the importance of ideology and its communication within the Teutonic Order (and outside of it) became one of the most important factors in the history of the Teutonic Order during the fourteenth century.

Those factors (the need for external and internal reform, the communication of the Order's mission to supporters) placed front and centre the concept of the crusade as holy war and linked to the Holy Land. The holy places and the sacred landscape of the eastern Mediterranean shaped the corporate identity and self-image of the military orders, evidenced in liturgies, written histories, external correspondence, and visual culture. Bernard of Clairvaux's *De laude novae militiae* (1129) connected the first military order, the Templars, to the sacral geography of Jerusalem.[45] In this treatise, St. Bernard, refer-

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**39** Ehlers, "The Crusades," 27. This perpetual crusade was proposed by Riley-Smith, "Kreuzzüge," col. 1516.

**40** M. Biskup, "Wendepunkte," 1–18; Millimann, *Memory*, 94–139.

**41** Barber, "Introduction," 1–11.

**42** *CDW* 1, 420–22 (no. 252); Fischer, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Prussia*, 293–94.

**43** Fischer, "Winning Hearts," 6.

**44** Kubon, *Außenpolitik*; Leighton, "Holy War," 30–1.

**45** Sarnowsky, "Identität," 111–2. For Bernard's letter, *PL* 182, cols. 921–40.

ring to the Templar headquarters at the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, emphasizes its sacred history over its physical appearance.[46]

This emphasis also appears in the texts of the Teutonic Order in Prussia.[47] One example is the depiction of the military orders as the warriors who carried the Litter of Solomon (Song of Solomon 3:7). The most elite warriors protect this structure, which Bernard's letter equates with the Holy Sepulchre itself.[48] Peter of Dusburg (1326) cites this exact verse in his *Chronicle of Prussia*, and in 1405, Grand Master Conrad of Jungingen (d. 1407), refers to it in a letter to Pope Boniface IX. The Order, as Conrad argues, was like the Litter of Solomon and, attempting to garner papal support for further crusades, he linked this litter to "us and our predecessors, who fight in good faith the Lord's battles against the resistance of the infidels, and tyranny of the Schismatics."[49] Both cases illustrate the connection of the Holy Land and the holy places to the identity of the military orders, regardless of their physical location on earth.[50]

The chroniclers of the Baltic crusades recreated the battles from the Bible fought to defend the places in the Holy Land. They drew as inspiration the figures of the Old Testament to illustrate the sacrality of the conflict in the grander scheme of life, a tradition well established in biblical interpretation.[51] This was especially true in the case of Moses, David, Joshua, and the Maccabees. These served as the models from which the orders took inspiration and applied them to the theatres of war against God's enemies, including places outside of the Holy Land. The prologue to Peter of Dusburg's chronicle achieves this with the wars of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, where he likens the conquest of Prussia to the campaigns of the Maccabees.[52]

Perhaps one of the defining elements of historiography of the Teutonic Order is the rise of the "research of the East" (*Ostforschung*) movement in early to mid-twentieth century Germany.[53] This group of scholars did comment on depictions of landscape and its relationship to crusading, but in terms far removed from medieval ideas: the conquests of the land to the east of the Elbe reflected the progress of a superior race, ethnicity, and culture.[54] It would be the early works of "outsiders" (i.e., non-Germans) which would serve as an exception to this norm. František Dvorník resists this view in his 1943 article on the "Push to the east" (*Drang nach Osten*), as does Sister Mary Ellen Goenner

**46** Sarnowsky, "Identität," 110–2; *PL* 182, col. 927.

**47** Sarnowsky, "Identität," 109–30, here 111; Czaja, "Bilanz," 11–2; Boesten–Stengel, "Schlosskirche," 91–9; Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 34, 56, 214–8; Fleckenstein, "Rechtfertigung," 9–22.

**48** *PL* 182, col. 927.

**49** CDP 5: 188–9 (no. 137): "…nos et nostra…*prelia domini contra occursus infidelium et Scismaticorum tyranidem…gessimus bona fide*."

**50** See *PDC*, 46 (1.1); 68 (2.8). For crusading ideology in Peter's chronicle, see Trupinda, *Ideologia*, 100–21; S. Kwiatkowski, "Grundlagen," 159–64; Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma Spiritualia*, 17.

**51** Blowers, "Scripture," 630–3; Smith, *Monastic Culture*, 11–6; Undusk, "Sacred History," 45–76.

**52** *PDC*, 33; Elm, "Spiritualität," 7–45, here 13; Nicholson, *Templars*, 15; Morton, *Military Orders*, 16; Bird, "Preaching," 13–33, here 17. Also see Signori, ed., *Dying for the Faith*.

**53** Burleigh, *Germany*, 3–11; Burleigh, "Military Orders," 747.

**54** von Treitschke, *Ordensland*, 7. Also Maschke, *germanische Meer*.

in her book, *Mary Verse of the Teutonic Knights* (1944).[55] German scholarship placed the knights of the Order as predecessors to the German expansion to the east in the 1930s and during the Second World War. Prussia became the "new living space" of Germans who were not going to Livonia.[56] Sven Ekdahl outlined this phenomenon recently in 2014, pointing out the rise of nationalist interpretations of medieval history on the part of German, Polish, Latvian, Estonian, and Lithuanian historians.[57]

These interpretations had a lasting effect on the study of the Baltic crusades, resulting in nationalist tensions and divides.[58] There has, until recently, remained a tendency to describe the missions as a process of "ethnic cleansing," "cruel Germanization," and "state building."[59] Such claims are based on a rather general survey of the primary sources, with no consultation of sources produced by the Teutonic Order except for those available in English (and, interestingly, only those that consult Livonia). These views reflect rather dated historical interpretations of holy war in the Middle Ages, as this book demonstrates.

The link between crusading, Christianization, and landscape is a recent turn in the historiography of the Baltic crusades and the military orders. This turn relies, though, on the extensive scholarship on the religious attitudes toward the conversion of the Baltic. Walther Ziesemer's 1907 work, noting the Scriptural awareness of Nicolaus of Jeroschin's Prussian chronicle, is an early example of this approach.[60] In 1935, Polish historian Karol Górski published an in-depth inquiry into the Teutonic Order's spirituality and inner life.[61] In the 1950s, Paul Johansen was writing on the worldview of Henry of Livonia, in addition to Livonia's relationship to European pilgrimage destinations, such as Santiago de Compostela, providing a glimpse of a more global, less isolated, outlook on the region's history.[62]

Conversely, the idea of a new sacral landscape in the Baltic was not a topic of interest in the now classic works of Anglophone scholars from the 1960s, 70s, and 80s.[63] James A. Brundage's and Indrikis Sterns' commentaries and translations (1961 and 1969, respectively) still laid the groundwork for future studies on holy war and the history of the military orders in the Baltic.[64] Johnathan Riley-Smith's theory of Pluralism, pro-

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**55** Kaljundi and Kļaviņš, "The Chronicler," 446–93; Dvorník, "First Wave," 129–30; Goenner, *Mary-Verse*, 1–10.

**56** Maschke, *germanische Meer*, 15: "Wenn der deutsche Bauer nicht den weiten Weg nach Livland zog, so lag das daran, daß er schon vorher *neuen Lebensraum fand*: in Preußen."

**57** Ekdahl, "Crusades and Colonisation," 12–25.

**58** Ekdahl, "Crusades and Colonisation," 14–5.

**59** Tyerman, *Crusades*, 47. A similar analysis can be seen in Tyerman, "Henry of Livonia," 23–44, here 44, which reflects on Henry of Livonia's chronicle as an exercise in "state building." Precisely which kind of "state" Tyerman means is not clear.

**60** Ziesemer, *Nicolaus von Jeroschin*, 26–30, 80–5; Ziesemer, "Geistiges Leben," 129–39, at 133–4.

**61** Górski, "O zyciu," 63–83. For an overview, see Czaja, "Bilanz," 12.

**62** Johansen, "Biographie," 1–24; Johansen, "Rocamadour," 230–31.

**63** Czaja, "Phänomen," 163–72; Czaja and Nowak, "Attempt," 13–31.

**64** Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*; Sterns, *Statutes*, 197–324.

posed in 1974, broadened the definition of crusade: a holy war with papal approval and a remission for the sins of participants. Scholars continued to apply many frameworks and theories to the crusading phenomenon in regions outside of the Holy Land.[65] William Urban and Jerry Smith's translation of the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* in 1977 was crucial in revealing the relationship of crusading to the Teutonic Order.[66] Urban subsequently produced an impressive body of work on the political and military history of the crusades in Livonia, Prussia, and Lithuania throughout the 1970s and to the present day that remain essential for those first coming into contact with the field, as is Eric Christiansen's *The Northern Crusades* (1980, revised in 1997).[67] Only with the edited collections of Alan V. Murray, which include works on the perceptions of landscape and pagan enemies in Livonia and Prussia, did such concerns emerge.[68] Recent edited collections from Nicholas Copernicus University in Toruń deserve special mention, too.[69] Aleksander Pluskowski's two volume series on the archaeology and environmental history of the crusade movement in Livonia is the first of its kind to address the physical effects of crusading on the landscapes in both regions.[70]

Crusading ideology and its relationship to perceptions of landscape in the Baltic is predominantly the domain of Polish, German, and Scandinavian scholars. Krystyna Zielińska-Melkowska, Rainer Zacharias, and Waldemar Rozynkowski have studied the Teutonic Order as patrons of pilgrimage shrines in Prussia, demonstrating the Order's role (at a regional scale) in transforming the landscape from pre-Christian to Christian.[71] As such, these works address the role of the Teutonic Order in the evangelization of the region. Andris Levāns' work studies the development of the city of Riga as a pilgrimage centre, as does that of Maja Gąssowska.[72] Janusz Trupinda's study of crusade ideology in Peter of Dusburg's chronicle incorporates the imagery of Jerusalem in shaping Peter's description of the conquest of Prussia, and remains a classic work for examining symbolic interpretations of Prussia as a sacral landscape.[73] Tiina Kala and Marek Tamm's consideration of the mental (and geographical) fabric of western Christendom in the thirteenth century reflects similar approaches to the study of crusading in Livonia, as

**65** See Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* 87; Housley, *Contesting*, 3–4; Constable, *Crusaders*, 18–9.

**66** Urban and Smith, eds. and trans., *Rhymed Chronicle*. Also see Lock, *Companion*, 213–24.

**67** Urban, *Baltic Crusade*; Urban, *Prussian Crusade*; Urban, *Livonian Crusade*; Urban, *Samogitian Crusade*. Most recent is Urban's *Last Years*. Also see Christiansen, *Northern Crusades*.

**68** Murray, ed., *Crusade and Conversion*; Murray, ed., *Clash of Cultures*; Murray, ed., *North-Eastern Frontiers*.

**69** Czaja and Radzimiński, eds., *Teutonic Order*.

**70** Pluskowski, ed., *Terra Sacra 2*.

**71** Zielińska-Melkowska, "Pielgrzymowe," 242–51; Zacharias, "Marienburg," 67–91; Zacharias, "Wallfahrtsstätte," 49–60; Zacharias, "Reliquenwallfahrt," 11–36; Rozynkowski, "Święci," 187–93, at 188–91; Rozynkowski, *Omnes Sancti*, 189–228, 241–50.

**72** Levāns, "Riga," 53–81; Gąssowska, "Anteil," 147–66; Gąssowska, "Livländer," 97–113. Also, Pluskowski, "Impact," 457–81, at 457–8.

**73** Trupinda, *Ideloąia*, 117, 138–57.

does Carsten selch Jensen's 2009 publication "How to Convert a Landscape."[74] Forests as expressions of religious "Otherness," reflective of the physical process of landscape sacralization by crusaders in both Livonia and Prussia, has been addressed in the work of Torben K. Nielsen.[75] Kurt Villads Jensen's work on landscape sacralization in the early missions to Pomerania (1124–1125), in addition to his studies on landscape in the *Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, emphasize the concept of crusade (or mission) as a transformative element of how contemporaries described and perceived landscapes as religious spaces.[76]

Any study of how members of specific groups (i.e., the military orders and crusaders) perceived landscapes and places also must incorporate works on how these groups perceived themselves. Therefore, the works of Roman Czaja,[77] Kaspar Elm,[78] Marian Dygo,[79] Manfred Hellmann,[80] and Jürgen Sarnowsky[81] form a large part of the historiographical bedrock of this book. Stefan Kwiatkowski has investigated the relationship between warfare, spirituality, and the cult of relics within the Teutonic Order as a crusading organization.[82] Mary Fischer's work on the literature of the Order serves as a key English source on the Order's literary canon, uses of the Bible, and communication of its self–image.[83] Marcus Wüst's 2013 study on the self-image of the Teutonic Order as an institution defined by holy war reflects the continued interest in this field among German scholars.[84]

A common visual culture was important for expressing the Order's biblical predecessors and was depicted in churches throughout its territory, small and large.[85] As the idea of a new sacral landscape was an element of the Teutonic Order's crusade ideology, a study of it also needs to consult sources on visual culture.[86] Trupinda has connected the expression of the messages of Peter of Dusburg's chronicle in the Chapel of the Virgin Mary at Malbork, the main sacral centre of the Order's headquarters in Prus-

**74** Kala, "Incorporation," 3–20. Kala, "Rural Society," 169–90; Tamm, "New World," 11–35; Idem, "Communicating Crusade," 341–72; Tamm, "Inventing Livonia," 186–209; C. S. Jensen, "How to Convert," 152–3. Also see Nordeide and Brink, eds., *Sacred Sites*.

**75** Nielsen, "Woods and Wilderness," 157–78.

**76** K. Jensen, "Sacralization," 141–50; K. Jensen, "Physical Extermination," 87–100, at 94; K. Jensen, "End of the World," 164.

**77** Czaja, "Bilanz," 7–21.

**78** Elm, "Spiritualität," 447–506.

**79** Dygo, "Deutschordensritter," 165–76

**80** Hellmann, "Anfänge," 7–36.

**81** Sarnowsky, "Identität," 109–30; Idem, *Deutsche Orden*, 86–9.

**82** S. Kwiatkowski, *Zakon niemiecki*, 107–32.

**83** Fischer, *Christian Chivalry*; Fischer, "Maccabees," 59–72; Fischer, "Winning Hearts," 1–16; Fischer, "Biblical Heroes," 261–75.

**84** Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 12.

**85** Seydel, *Wandmalereien*, 13–53.

**86** Arszyński, "Forschungsstand," 120; Frycz, "Architektura," 585–6; Idem, "Architektura zamków krzyżackich," 19–43.

sia.[87] As pointed out by Andrzej Radzimiński, this common visual culture in the churches and chapels of the Order throughout Prussia served to cement the Order's ideological program to the local Christian population and to crusaders.[88] However, the connection between the written culture, visual culture, and the actual perception of the landscape by members of the Order and crusaders within religious terms, has not been incorporated into a book-length study.[89]

Situated against a rich and extensive historiographical background, this book places the concepts of place and landscape front and centre within the self-image of the Teutonic Order, alongside its supporters. It is a far cry from the earlier characterizations of crusading in the northeastern realms of Latin Christendom. Instead, it prioritizes contemporary understandings of violence, war, and landscape in the medieval Christian world. In doing so, it offers a new contribution in its comparative approach, addressing the concepts outlined above and employing digitally-based analyses of this phenomenon using qualitative Geographical Information Systems (GIS). This book's central contribution, therefore, is its view of the way in which the Teutonic Order, secular crusaders, and the local population understood their places in the world (spiritually and geographically).

Phenomenology, i.e., the study of how consciousness and existence are expressed as results of supernatural phenomena, is the main methodology of this book.[90] It is a popular approach among scholars of prehistoric landscapes in Britain, for it allows a glimpse of societies that have left little to no written record.[91] Many studies have demonstrated how landscapes are real, tangible spaces within which human beings navigate, negotiate, and communicate ideas with one another, and how this yields a common understanding of a landscape as a distinct place. "Place" in this context refers to the combination of various factors that reflect peoples' experiences with respect to a certain point in the landscape. These could range from personal beliefs to perceived miraculous events, thus engaging with a process known as "place-making."[92]

With respect to crusading in the Baltic, literate and illiterate societies meet. A large, complex array of material exists that reflects the communication of a new sacral landscape and the holiness of distinct places (e.g., places connected to martyrdom). Such a body of material allows the historian to attempt to understand how different groups experienced those landscapes and places. In this sense, a "landscape" is a space that results from a purposefully-created set of places.[93] The translation of key events from biblical history, the commemoration of events such as martyrdoms, and instances of

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**87** Trupinda, *Ideologja;* Trupinda, "Chronik von Peter," 513–28. Also see Trupinda and Jóźwiak, *Krzyżackie zamki*, 33–9.

**88** Radzymiński, *Kościół*, 203–24; Jakubek-Raczkowska, *Tu ergo.*

**89** Pluskowski, *Archaeology*, 1–42, here 9.

**90** M. Johnson, "Approaches," 269–84; Barrett and Ko, "Phenomenology," 275–94, here 275.

**91** M. Johnson, "Approaches," 272–3.

**92** Ingold, "Temporality," 154–6.

**93** Eliade, *Sacred*, 68–116.

hierophany (e.g., manifestations of the sacred, such as visions of saints) were ways in which contemporaries perceived the landscape of the Baltic as a sacred place. Stefan Kwiatkowski notes that such events served to reflect the spirituality of the Teutonic Order and its mission. [94] These were also communicated to the local population in the Prussian churches.[95] It was not only through language, but through visual culture and the experience of holy war offered to its supporters, that the Order created a mental geography of the region which relied heavily on the sacralization of previously non-Christian space.

The above concepts of place and landscape formed important components of the Teutonic Order's self-image, self-perception, and corporate identity. Just as "self-image" reflects a person or group's worldview, the landscape is an important component to viewing the world: it forms spaces in which people create their worldview.[96] The origins of demarcating sacred points in a landscape with which the believer connects themselves with God and the saints emerged in the fourth century. Julie Ann Smith, R.A. Markus, John Wilkinson, and Ora Limor, among others, have commented on this extensively.[97] The conquest of the Baltic lands by the Teutonic Order and, therefore, their incorporation within Latin Christendom, was perceived and communicated as a product of God's will, and exemplified through various phenomena. These events linked the very existence of the places to divine providence itself.[98] We see this below with the earliest sources produced by the Order concerning Prussia.[99] Moreover, these components were expressed by participants in the crusades to the Baltic, as Chapter 3 discusses.

A phenomenological approach also provides a new interpretation of two key aspects of the Baltic crusades and their relationship to landscape sacralization: pilgrims and pilgrimage. The sources frequently mention pilgrims, and the places they visited, providing geographical information that allows us to display in visual form (i.e., through mapping) the phenomenological qualities expressed in the texts. The descriptions offer the opportunity for insight into the authors' perceptions of holy warfare as an act that could sacralize a formerly pagan place. Chronicles from both regions place an emphasis on processions and commemorating victories, offering insight into the pilgrim experience and the role of emotion in propagating the sacralization of the landscape, for example.[100]

One of this book's main products is therefore a series of maps reflecting how contemporaries viewed the Baltic crusades in the Middle Ages, created with qualitative GIS

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**94** S. Kwiatkowski, "Verlorene Schlachten," 141–59, at 148–50; K. Kwiatkowski, *Wojska*, 49–52.

**95** Wenta, *Ordensgeschichtsschreibung*, 161–8; Jakubek Raczkowska, "Domkapitel und Bischöfe," 167–201.

**96** Borgolte, "Selbstverständnis," 189–210, at 189.

**97** Smith, "Native Land," 1–31, here 1–4; R.A. Markus, "How on Earth," 257–71; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims*, 387–93, here 387; Osborne, "A Tale," 741–9; Limor, "'Holy Journey'," 321–53.

**98** Eliade, *Sacred*, 11; Barrett and Ko, "Phenomenology," 275.

**99** *HvSB*, 153–68, here 159.

**100** *HCL*, 13 (4.3), 48 (11.1); Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 36–7 (4.3), 68 (11.1); *PDC*, 140 (3.36); *KvP*, 379 (lines 6559–6641); *PDC*, 168–70 (3.55); *KvP*, 398–400 (lines 8431–8473); Wigand, 455.

analysis. "Maps," as Julie Ann Smith states, "anchor an event to place."[101] Moreover, Keith Lilley's work demonstrates how religious performances were key to the organization of public space in the Middle Ages.[102] Tim Ingold's idea of the "Taskscape" is particularly demonstrative of how we can read the new map of the effect of crusading in the development of a sacral geography in the Baltic. Ingold's theory argues that, when people interact with a place (e.g., through performing processions or building structures such as towns), they are carrying out a process of social life, merging the understanding of temporality and historicity.[103] With respect to crusaders on all fronts, then, they were engaged in a process that held major significance for medieval life and engaged in various acts ranging from processions, to building churches and castles, to navigating vast terrains, all of which came to embody the new type of pilgrimage expressed in crusading.[104] In the Holy Land and Iberia, the task of crusaders primarily involved defense of holy places, fighting against Islamic conquest, and "reconquering" lands in the name of Christianity. In the Baltic, the task was one of conversion, not just of the inhabitants but, as this book argues, also the landscape.

The process of the crusades resulted in the "construction" of a sacral landscape in the Baltic. This topic has been explored by Barbara Bender, who proposes that landscapes in and of themselves change as subsequent generations of people interact with and create them.[105] Indeed, David Cooper and Ian Gregory consider how people entered landscapes with "predetermined ways of seeing and responding" to specific spaces.[106] For Livonia and Prussia, instances of martyrdom, miracles, and the discovery of relics serve to frame how contemporaries viewed these spaces as sacral ones (or, at least, how they sought to view them) over time.[107] Incorporating the methodology outlined above gives new meanings to the "signs and wonders" (*signa et mirabilia*) that frame the chronicle of Peter of Dusburg (ca. 1326) and the subsequent chronicles documenting the history of Prussia with respect to the Teutonic Order.

As Chapters 3 and 4 show, these activities aided in creating a sacred landscape for a few reasons. On a surface level, the presence of relics necessitated the presence of a sacred space in which to store them. The cathedral of the Virgin Mary in Riga, the church of St Barbara in (Althaus) Kulm, the church of St Nicholas in Elbing, or the cathedral of the Virgin Mary in Königsberg, were among the sacral centres pilgrims would visit to express their piety as connected to their mission.[108] This was virtually universal to Christian pilgrimage.[109] They also necessitated veneration by pilgrims (or the local pop-

**101** Smith, "Native Land," 1.

**102** Lilley, "Cities," 296–313, here 304–7.

**103** Ingold, "Temporality," 157.

**104** Constable, *Crusaders*, 143–4; Ní Chléirigh, "*Nova peregrinatio*," 63.

**105** Bender, "Time," S103–S112, here S103.

**106** Cooper and Gregory, "Mapping," 90–1.

**107** Menache, "Chronicles," 334, 339–40.

**108** Reynolds, *Prehistory*, 135–43.

**109** Howe, "Physical World," 63–80; Dyas, "To Be a Pilgrim," 1–8.

ulation). Recent archaeological work on pilgrimage and pilgrimage landscapes provides a fresh perspective of the practice in the medieval Baltic region.

Physical geography and spatial boundaries have been used to understand the emergence of pilgrimage landscapes in a formerly pagan region, namely Britain, and serve as a suitable model for examination of the medieval Baltic. Martin Locker argued that in navigating their respective journeys, pilgrims create a "repository of memory" for future pilgrims. It is not possible to measure the experience of the pilgrim as they navigate their journey, but in the types of written descriptions of the pilgrimage, we do understand that there is something called "spirit of place."[110] Livonia and Prussia, where crusading, conversion, and evangelization continued for centuries, were what we could call "memory landscapes." As such, their historical origins were formed based on the historical texts documenting the Christianization process. The language of those texts illuminates how the Baltic was constructed and incorporated into Christendom. In mapping the development of pilgrimage in the crusade period in both regions, we have a fresh view of the landscape pilgrims created and experienced.

To demonstrate this complex process, this book has the following structure. It begins with an overview of the available source material for the period of this study. The literary models of pagan and Christian landscapes in the sources form the topic of Chapter 2, highlighting the themes presented in the sources to create a sense of a new sacred landscape in the Baltic region. Events such as martyrdom and hierophany form the subject of Chapter 3, in which the first maps of the sacral landscape are presented. Chapter 4 then considers relics and processions as the means by which these events were remembered and performed. The final chapter discusses the iconography of landscape in the visual culture of Prussia. The result is a comprehensive, multi-faceted study of how one of the final cultural and religious frontiers of medieval Europe became absorbed into Christendom, and how contemporaries from a variety of audiences perceived this phenomenon.

**110** Locker, *Landscapes*, 12; Turner, *Making a Christian Landscape*.

Chapter 1

# LANDSCAPE IMAGERY IN THE TEXTS DOCUMENTING THE BALTIC CRUSADES

> "He left his homeland and crossed the sea,
> and entered a land called Livonia, in which lived pagans who
> were moved to fight against Christian missionaries.
> He was warned that this was an uncultivated land (*terra ruda*),
> without faith,
> inhabited by a wild people."[1]
>
> — Justinus of Lippe, *Lippiflorium*

SO READS A thirteenth-century verse account of Bernard II of Lippe's crusade to Livonia in 1210, emphasizing the perception of the landscape in the eastern Baltic and its relationship to crusading and Christianization. The narrative material documenting the campaigns in the Baltic region is extensive. In this way, historians who study this region are quite lucky. Anglophone scholarship on the region, however, has overly relied on chronicles, particularly those that have been translated. Therefore, the present chapter presents an overview of those texts and how they demonstrate not only a deeper understanding of the crusades in the Baltic, but also the mentality of those who engaged in them and experienced them. By tracing the lineage of specific imagery of the landscape in these source groups, this chapter sets the stage for the deeper analysis of literary themes used to communicate the concept of a new sacred landscape in Livonia and in Prussia. This forms the bedrock to how they reflected contemporary understandings of the way Christianity and crusading transformed the landscape.

Two camps of sources for the Baltic crusades exist: those produced outside of and within the Teutonic Order. Added to this is an extensive body of legal evidence, charters, personal correspondence, formularies, and castle and church inventories. These groups of sources show the importance of concepts of place and landscape, namely in their emphasis on conversion (through missionary work), the role of conversion-oriented crusading as generator of a new sacral landscape, and the uses of the Bible to legitimize this process. Regardless of allegiance (i.e., to peaceful or to armed conversion), the texts emphasize the surrounding landscape as a spiritual space, and therefore a fundamental part of the experience of crusading in the Baltic.

Missionary perspectives dominate the sources in the first camp. They emphasize the need to convert the people above all else, though they also highlight the necessary use of arms to carry out conversion. Arnold of Lübeck's "Chronicle of the Slavs" (ca. 1209) is an

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1 *Lippiflorium*, 64: "Exilii vitam desiderat, esse salubre / Plus putat, a patria cedat ut exul homo. / A pastore suo fas impetrate et mare transit, / Intrat humum: fuit haec continuata mari. / Quae non inproprie Livonia dicitur, in qua / Gens fera Christicolis proelia crebra movet. / Terra rudis neque firma fide, paucis habitur / Indigenis, populus advena munit eam."

early example. It provides the first overview of the crusades against the tribes inhabiting Livonia.[2] Most importantly, it was the first to link the region of Livonia to the patronage of the Virgin Mary. His description of Meinhard's founding of the first church in Livonia at Üxküll states that the church "was given to the patronage of the Virgin Mary, Mother of God."[3] This link between the Virgin Mary and the Baltic region in the Middle Ages would last into the sixteenth century and is key for studying contemporary perceptions of the Baltic as a new sacred geography.[4]

Berthold of Loccum, Livonia's second bishop, also features in Arnold's chronicle. Arnold uses his (short) term and role in preaching the crusade to link Livonia to the Holy Land, framing the Livonian crusade with a journey to the "promised land" (*terra promissionis*).[5] The chronicler also emphasizes themes of fertility, using words relating to planting, irrigating, and cultivation, with seven distinct references to missionary work and Christianization as they relate to fertility and to planting.[6] The result reveals the perception of a landscape linked to the spread of Christianity that emerged in the Baltic region, in addition to the rise of the military orders there.

The "Livonian Chronicle of Henry" (*Heinrici chronicon Livoniae*) is the most comprehensive text documenting the crusades against the tribes inhabiting present-day Latvia and Estonia from 1186 until 1227.[7] It has also been subject to the most voluminous output of scholarship on the Baltic crusades in recent decades. Based on Arnold's chronicle, witness accounts, and his status as an eye witness,[8] Henry offers a detailed and ideo-

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**2** *ACS*, 1; Kaljundi, *Waiting*, 52–104; Loud, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Arnold*, 1–27.

**3** *ACS*, 214: "Anno igitur verbi incarnati 1186 fundata est sedes episcopalis in Livonia a venerabili Meinardo, *intitulata patrocinio beate Dei gentricis Marie*."

**4** Kreem, "Crusading Traditions," 233–50, at 241–4, 249; Maasing, "Infidel Turks," 347–88, at 370–1.

**5** *ACS*, 214: "Nec defuerunt sacerdotes et litterati, suis exhortationibus eos confortantes et *ad terram promissionis* felici perseverantia eos pertingere promittentes." My italics.

**6** *ACS*, 212, calls the first missionaries working in Livonia "those who spread the seeds of the word of God" (*qui verbi Dei semina spargentes*); 213 describes how there were many fellow helpers in this mission, "so that the crop of Christ might grow to a great crop, and the weed of the Devil be suffocated" (*ut seges Christi fructuosa consurgeret et multa messe diaboli zizania suffocaret*); 213 also describes the mission of Meinhard of Livonia as "planting and watering" (*plantans et rigans*), and the blessing of the pope in "spreading the seeds" (*spargens semina*) in Livonia; 214, following on the papal blessing of Meinhard's mission, refers to "cultivators of Christ, and planters of the new church" (*Christi cultores et novelle ecclesie plantatores*). Berthold of Loccum, Meinhard's successor, is described as "seeking to spread the seeds of the word to the pagans" (*Domnus quoque Bertoldus… verbi semina gentilibus spargere studens*); 215 refers to the first armed conflict in Livonia (24 July 1198), in which "the blessed bishop, Berthold, led the army against infidels to the cultivators of Christ laying in ambush" (*…presul beatus exercitum produceret contra infideles Christi cultoribus insidiantes*).

**7** *HCL*, 169 (24.1); Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 187–9 (24.1); Arbusow, "Einleitung," 5–6; Brundage, "Henry of Livonia," 1–22.

**8** Brundage, 215 (29.9): "nichil autem hic aliud superadditum est, *que vidimus oculis nostris fere cuncta*." For his reliance on oral material: "et quod non vidimus propriis oculis, *ab illis intelleximus, qui viderunt et interfuerunt*." My italics; Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 237–8 (29.9).

logically-charged chronicle of the first Livonian crusades.[9] Maccabean and Old Testament imagery abound, placing the missions, and participants, within a broader framework of Christian history.[10] In Livonia, this continued into the sixteenth century.[11] Martyrdom, the dedication of Livonia as the Land of the Virgin Mary, and the continued use of language associated with fertility are all important components to his chronicle. This is especially clear in Henry's narrative of the transfer of the episcopal see in Livonia from Üxküll to Riga.[12] Henry's etymology of the name "Riga" best illustrates this, for he connects the name to the Latin verb *rigare* ("to irrigate"). According to Henry's account, Riga's name came from a lake near the city, but also had a double meaning, for it was irrigated from below and above.[13] From below, Riga was irrigated by the surrounding waters and pastures. But the nourishment from above comes from the fact that sinners can receive the full remission of sins and carry out the crusade from there. Henry finally connects the meaning of the verb to the baptism of pagans: "Riga is watered by the new faith, and thus through the city of Riga, the pagans surrounding it (*gentes in circuitu*) are watered by the font of sacred baptism."[14] This had a profoundly symbolic meaning. Riga represented the physical Christianization of the landscape and the spiritual baptism of the peoples surrounding it. Henry used it in four further instances to cement this concept to his audience.

Martyrdom, a fundamental component in the sacralization of landscapes, receives more attention in Henry's text than Arnold's. As Chapter 3 shows, martyrdom emerged as a key element in the process of how a new sacred landscape was established, reinforced, and propagated to crusaders, members of the military orders, and the local Christian population in both Livonia and Prussia. Cistercian chroniclers who wrote about the Livonian mission in the thirteenth century demonstrate its impact. Albert of Trois-Fontaines (ca. 1240) and Albert of Stade (ca. 1256), both recorded the martyrdom of Berthold of Loccum in July of 1198, demonstrating the spread of the association of the region of Livonia with martyrdom and a holy death. The verse account of Master Justinian of Lippe (fl. 1260), depicted Livonia on a variety of different levels: profane (inhabited by pagans), but also a place for gaining the martyr's palm (*martyrii palma*), and a region for living a life of spiritual exile (*vita exilii*).[15]

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**9** Erdmann, *Origin*, 57–95; Chevedden, "Urban II," 24–5; Tyerman, "Henry of Livonia," 43–4.

**10** Johansen, "Biographie," 11–2, 18–21; Fischer, "Books of the Maccabees," 59–71; Morton, "Defence of the Holy Land," 275–93; Morton, "Walls of Defence," 409–10.

**11** Kreem, "Crusading Traditions," 243–4.

**12** *HCL*, 17 (6.2): "Quem tamen conventum regularium et episcopalem sedem postea Albertus episcopus de Ykescola in Rigam tercio sue consecrationis anno transtulit *et cathedralem episcopalem cum tota Lyvonia beatissime Dei gentricis Marie honore deputavit*," 162 (23.7); 179 (25.2); 184 (25.4); 187 (26.2); 214 (29.7); 215 (29.9). Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 40 (6.2), 178–9 (23.7), 198–9 (25.2), and others.

**13** This is expressed in Joshua 15:19, the Allotment for Judah, in which Caleb gives his daughter, Aksah, the upper and lower springs of Hebron.

**14** *HCL*, 14 (4.5): "Riga nova fide rigata et quia per eam gentes in circuitu sacro baptismatis fonte rigantur." Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 37 (4.5). For similar imagery in the chronicle, see 132 (9.7), 145 (21.5), 220 (30.5); 221 (30.6); *LUB* 1: col. 8 (no. 7).

**15** See Chapter 3. For Master Justinus, see *Lippiflorium*, 68: "Sed tamen infestat gens perfida [the

The next body of narrative sources comes primarily from priests in and affiliates of the Teutonic Order. Centred around the conquest of Prussia, they reflect a distinct form of historiographical writing within the region itself.[16] Drawing on the Order's connection to the Holy Land while describing it as agents of God and the Virgin Mary, the historical writing reflects a crusade ideology centred on the control of the land itself.[17] Peter of Dusburg and Nicolaus of Jeroschin, two of the most important chroniclers for the Order's crusades in Prussia, used this framework in their descriptions of the history of individual places in the *Ordensland*, especially through the practice of place-naming (discussed further in Chapter 5).[18] The chronicles incorporate numerous elements to demonstrate the significance of the idea of a new sacred landscape to the corporate identity of the Teutonic Order.[19] Martyrdom, importing relics, and the origins of pilgrimage shrines are central examples of this phenomenon. They also portray the origins of a traditional pilgrimage component to crusading, especially for Prussia, revealing the sacralization of the landscape over time and how this ideology gave rise to a perception of a sacred landscape by supporters of the Order.

The Teutonic Order sources provide a suitable framework for examining how the landscape of Prussia was perceived as a sacral space. They incorporate the language used to describe the earlier crusades to Livonia, providing a link between the two regions in terms of the ways that crusading and sacralization of the landscape were described and related. As Gustavs Strenga's work on memory and commemoration in the Order's convents in the Empire shows, this was necessary for establishing and cementing the Order's communal identity and mission in the Baltic.[20]

In Prussia, the relationship between historical writing and landscape sacralization reflects political, territorial, and sacral aspects of the Order's ideological program. This continued after the initial conquest of Prussia in the thirteenth century and was essential to the expression of its authority to its subjects and contemporaries as a territorial (and spiritual) overlord.[21] The earliest source produced by the Teutonic Order is the *Narracio de primordinis ordinis Theutonici* (ca. 1244).[22] It establishes the identity of the Teutonic Knights as a crusading institution that combined the rule of the Templars and that of the Hospitallers. They were meant to protect pilgrims, serve the sick, defend the

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Livonians] saepe fideles: / Plebs pia [crusaders] collectis viribus obstat ei. / *Hic multos gladio prostratos sanguine fuso* / *Martyrii palma perpete luce beata*."

**16** Arnold, "Narratio," 17–30; K. Kwiatkowski, "'Eroberung Preußens,'" 131–70; Arnold, "Anfänge," 177–96.

**17** Heß, "Himmelskönigin," 185–6.

**18** Zacharias, "Beobachtungen," 213–8.

**19** For example, see Feistner, Neeicke, and Vollmann-Profe, "Ausbildung," 57–74.

**20** Strenga, "Remembering," 129–74; Strenga, "Common Past," 347–70.

**21** Czaja, "Selbstverständnis," 13; Sarnowsky, *Deutsche Orden*, 42–4; Czaja and Nowak, "Attempt," 13–31, at 14–6.

**22** Arnold, "Narratio," 17–30; Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 51; Arnold, "Anfänge," 177–96.

holy places, and were based in Jerusalem, working in a hospital dedicated to the Virgin Mary.[23] The prologues to the Order's later histories of Prussia copied it almost *verbatim*.[24]

Departing from the *Narracio*, the *Prologue* to the Order's monastic Rule (ca. 1264) reinforces the divine origins of the Teutonic Order, drawing on its biblical predecessors. It begins with Abraham's rescue of Lot as the beginning of the wars between believers and unbelievers.[25] The next four sections draw heavily on biblical allegories, many of which refer to the struggle for the holy places, the fight against God's enemies, and the divine models whose legacy the brothers in the Order continue. The wars fought by Moses, Joshua, and other Judges were "the new wars, chosen by the Lord…which drove out the wicked gentiles from the holy land" (Judges 5:8). Regaining the holy places from the unfaithful through God's help forms the next subsequent theme of this *Prologue*.[26] The sacralization of these places emerges as an early theme, too. The wars fought by the brothers of the Order mirror those knights "called the Maccabees, who through their honour and for the faith fought manfully with the heathen… [and] cleansed the holy city, which their enemies defiled."[27] The impact of this source and, consequently, the dichotomy between faith and paganism, holy places and defiled shrines was extensive. It survives in the narrative histories of the Order produced beyond the scope of this study throughout the fifteenth century and appears in houses of the Order outside of Prussia.[28]

Two letters attributed to Grand Masters of the Teutonic Order, Hermann of Salza (d. 1239) and Hartmann of Heldrungen (d. 1282) present the first application of the crusading idea directly to the Baltic theatre.[29] The sources only survive in sixteenth-century copies, now housed in the Central Archives of the Teutonic Order in Vienna, with a fourteenth-century fragment kept in the Prussian State Library in Berlin.[30] The first, the so-called "Hermann of Salza Letter" offers the transfer of the Order as a crusading institution to the southern Baltic. It recounts the destruction of pre-existing Christian sites and the murder of Christians by the Prussians, setting the framework within which the victories over pagans were sacralizing components to the landscape: "The land was settled with three hundred churches, the priests were taken out of the churches and

**23** *SDO*, 159–60, here 160: "ut domus saepedicta ordinem hospitalis sancti Iohannis Ierosolimitani [in] infirmis et pauperibus haberet, sicut antea habuerat, ordinem vero milicie Templis in clericis, militibus et aliis fratribus de cetero haberet."

**24** Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 51, 53–7.

**25** Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 51, 53–7.

**26** *SDO*, 22: "…mit der Gotes helfe wider gewunnen wart [Acre – GL] von dem handen der ungeloubegen."

**27** *SDO*, 25 (no. 3): "die dâ heizent Machâbei, wie stercliche die durch ir ê unde umme den gelouben strîten mite den heiden, die sie twingen wolden, daz sie Gotes verlougenten, unde mit siner helfe sie sô gar uberwunden unde vertiligeten, daz sie die heiligen stete wider gereinegeten, die sie hêten geunreint." See 2 Maccabees 5:27.

**28** *Vier Orden*, 120–1; *jüngere Hochmeisterchronik*, 132–7. For context, see Mentzel-Reuters, "Kriegsziele," 82–90.

**29** *HvSB*, 153–68. See Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 59.

**30** DOZA Hs. 205, Bl. 108$^{r}$–118$^{v}$, 121$^{r}$–123$^{v}$; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, mgf. 750, Bl. 12$^{r}$–12$^{v}$; Wenta, *Ordensgeschichtsschreibung*, 169–70; Päsler, *Sachliteratur*, 216.

chapels, and the Prussians had totally overridden the Duke's land."[31] Following this, the text describes the early foundations of major cities in Prussia, which functioned as the primary shrines for pilgrimage during the later conquest period. These would become the main sacral centres in the landscape. Like the *Prologue*, the arrival of the brothers in Prussia was a product of God's will, manifested in the help of pilgrims, and their early castles founded in Prussia, which "were built with God's help." The brief letter is also the earliest narration of the discovery of relics in Prussia, and its accounts of the martyrdom of brothers and Christians in the region by the Prussians helped to provide an image of a new sacral landscape in the formerly pagan region.[32] The second letter, edited and translated by William Urban and Jerry Smith, records the final days of the Sword Brothers and the arrival of the Teutonic Order in Livonia.[33]

The *Livländische Reimchronik* (ca. 1290), a Middle High German account of the history of Livonia produced by an anonymous member of the Teutonic Order, is one of the most important texts for the history of the Order in the eastern Baltic.[34] It emphasizes the importance of martyrdom to the mission of the Teutonic Order in the region of Livonia.[35] A shift is also present, which removes the Church in Rome as the herald of God's will. Instead, it is the heroic deeds of the knights in the Order and seasonal crusaders, who are venerated as martyrs (*martyrer*) and heroes (*helten*), while also fighting in the land of the Virgin Mary. Alan V. Murray suggests that the *Reimchronik* was likely read aloud to those crusaders. If we accept this conclusion, the source's performative function to solidify the image of the Order emerges, serving as a tool to propagate the image of a new landscape associated with crusading and holy war.[36] The *Reimchronik* is thus a key text in the link between the ideology of crusading and the communication of it to crusaders.

The significant elements from the thirteenth-century sources are all expanded upon in the main chronicle for the history of Prussia: Peter of Dusburg's *Chronicon terrae Prussiae*. A priest in the Order, Peter completed his text around 1326, likely based in Königsberg.[37] He wrote his chronicle about a century after the arrival of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. The text may have been composed as a history to be presented to the Curia.[38] Peter's chronicle provides the essential elements for the creation and propaga-

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**31** *HvSB*: "seine lande bestzeth woren mit iij$^{c}$ kirchen, das pfarn waren ane andre kirchen und capellen, und hatten desselbigen hertzogen lant so gar obirriten."

**32** *HvSB*, 160: "Do dyse burge alle mit Gotes hulffe gebaweth woren." Helm and Ziesemer, *Literatur*, 145–6; Wenta, *Ordensgeschichtsschreibung*, 170; Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 57–9.

**33** Urban and Smith, eds. and trans., *Rhymed Chronicle*, 145–9.

**34** Urban and Smith, vii–xxiv, here xxi. Also see Murray, "Structure," 235; Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 60–1.

**35** *LR*, 11 (lines 437–451), for example, shows an example of the chronicler's use of Marian imagery with respect to Livonia. See below, ch. 2. Also see Kűgler, "Livländische Reimchronik," 85–104. For an alternative reading of the landscape in the chronicle, see Lazda-Cazers, "Landscape as Other," 183–209.

**36** Murray, "Structure," 235–6.

**37** *PDC*, 8; Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 67; Wüst, "Entstehung," 197–211, here 197.

**38** Töppen, *Historiographie*, 2; Wenta, "Deutschordenspriester," 115–25; Wüst, "Entstehung," 202.

tion of a sacred landscape by the Teutonic Order in Prussia. He draws heavily on the Order's historiographic tradition, particularly the *Narracio*, the *Prologue*, and the so-called Hermann of Salza Letter. The goal, stated in his chronicle, is to narrate the "signs and miracles" (*signa et mirabilia*) that God had carried out in Prussia, manifest in the "new wars" (*nova bella*) of the Order. This imagery reflects the construction of a sacred landscape from a phenomenological perspective, placing the history of Prussia within that of the history of salvation.[39]

Nicolaus of Jeroschin, also a priest in the Order, translated Peter's text into Middle High German in 1341 "to make known God's signs and wonders to German people."[40] He alters Peter's original, shifting the focus away from monastic and ecclesiastical components of the Prussian crusade. Nicolaus' vocabulary included loan words from contemporary French chivalric poems, highlighting how he had a specific audience in mind (i.e. knights in the Order and participants on the *Reisen*).[41] The chronicle portrays the conquest of Prussia as a holy endeavour, but focuses more on the Order's actual wars in Prussia as opposed to their theological justifications.[42] It is significant for the present chapter to note that Nicolaus' chronicle continues the goals of Peter's, to show the signs and wonders carried out by God's servants in Prussia, "the new vineyard of the Lord."[43]

Two more chronicles emerged within the Order in the late fourteenth century: Hermann of Wartberge's *Chronicon Lyvoniae* (1378) and Wigand of Marburg's *Chronica nova Prutenica* (ca. 1394). Hermann of Wartberge was, like Peter and Nicolaus, a chaplain in the Order.[44] His text reveals the self-image of the Order in Livonia during the fourteenth century, but also reveals much concerning perceptions of the "lands of the pagans" (*terrae infidelium*).[45] Wigand of Marburg was perhaps a herald in the service of the Order's Grand Masters, Conrad of Wallenrode (1391–1393), and Conrad of Jungingen (1394–1407). He was not a brother in the Order, and his text appears to have been aimed at participants in the *Reisen*, and so it has a more secular character.[46] Originally written in Middle High German, the text was translated into Latin by Conrad Gesselen, a churchman based in Thorn, in 1466.[47] Both chronicles document the later period of crusading led by the Order against the Lithuanians and reflect how the depictions of land-

**39** Trupinda, "Peter von Dusburg," 521.

**40** *KvP*, 305 (lines 162–165): "mug allen dûtschin lûten / dî wundir unde zeichen gotis,/ di nâch gûte sîns gebots / in Prûzinlande sin geschên." See Fischer, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Prussia*, 6, for an English translation; Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 88.

**41** Fischer, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Prussia*, 6; Helm and Ziesemer, *Literatur*, 155–62; Päsler, *Sachliteratur*, 281–83. For a commentary on the source in English, see Fischer, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Prussia*, 5–15; Leighton, "Teutonic Order," 460.

**42** Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 91.

**43** *KvP*, 305 (lines 163–165).

**44** HWC, 87: "frater…Hermannus, capellanus magistri."

**45** Selart, "Chronik," 59–87, at 66–7. For Hermann's depictions of the landscape, see HWC, 33, 75, 84, 101, 104.

**46** Zonenberg, "Wstęp," 23–8.

**47** Wigand, 662. Also see Zonenberg, "Wstęp," 18; Arnold, "Gesselen," 20–2.

scape changed with contemporary perceptions of crusading. The "signs and wonders" that defined the framework of Peter's and Nicolaus' chronicles are virtually absent, as are the themes linking the fertility of the land with Christianization. Both texts demonstrate how concepts typical to earlier narratives, centred on the Virgin Mary, miraculous visions, and martyrdom, changed to reflect contemporary views of crusading. Recent work by Sławomir Zonenberg and Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, however, show the potential for studying Wigand of Marburg's text from the perspective of religious motivations and trends present in the late fourteenth century, and how these applied to Prussia.[48]

In addition to these chronicles, the Teutonic Order produced texts used for edification of the brothers. While the subjects of communal reading (*Tischlesungen*) within the Order have been subject to debate, the focus on the didactic element of the texts as fighting God's war in God's land cannot be denied.[49] Important examples here are the translation of the Books of Hester (Esther), Judith, Hiob (Job), Daniel, Henry of Hesler's Apocalyse, and the Maccabees (attributed to Luder of Braunschweig).[50] The image of the Maccabees as cleansers of the holy places and warriors against idolatry was particularly powerful within the Order's self-image, as highlighted above, and suited nicely to the Prussian and Lithuanian frontier where such holy places did not exist prior to the Order's arrival.[51] The message of the *Apokalypse* by Henry of Hesler (ca. 1290) also suited the ideological framework for the wars against the pagans in Prussia and Lithuania. This is most evident in images of the armies of Christ clashing with Gog and Magog (as outlined in Genesis 19–21), in which the armies of Christ and the saints bear the arms of the Order and a cross.[52]

Charters and letters exchanged between the Teutonic Order and Christian kings, emperors, and popes also offer the opportunity to study the image of the Order and its communication of the crusades in the Baltic to Christendom. One example of this is a charter dated to June 15, 1218, confirming a donation of land by Adolf VI, Count of Berg (d. 1218). When he gave the Order the land of Diderin (Dieren, Netherlands) refers to the Teutonic Order as "poor [soldiers] of Christ," a product of his witnessing their bravery at the Siege of Damietta as part of the Fifth Crusade.[53] This family of sources is

**48** K. Kwiatkowski, "Selbstdarstellung," 127–38; K. Kwiatkowski, "Christ ist erstanden," 101–29.

**49** For example, Helm and Ziesemer, *Literatur*, 28–9; Wenta, *Ordensgeschichtsschreibung*, 154–61; Päsler, *Sachliteratur*, 276; Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma Spiritualia*, 76–82; Mentzel-Reuters, "Deutschordensliteratur," 355–68; Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 145–8.

**50** Helm, ed., *Makkabaerbuch*. The manuscript for the *Makkabaerbuch* can be found in Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, Codex HB XIII 11, fol. 52r–96v. For *Hester*, see fol. 45v–51v; for *Daniel*, see 1r–26r; For *Judith*, see 37r–45v.

**51** Helm, ed., *Makkabaerbuch*, 49–50 (lines 1710–1742).

**52** Helm, ed., *Apokalypse.* For the image of the Order fighting Gog and Magog, see Toruń, Bibliotheka Uniwersytecka w Toruniu, Rps 64/III (formerly Königsberg, Staats– und Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 891b), fol. 153v.

**53** Cologne, Best. 234, U 1: "ego Adolfus comes de monte…pro salute anime mee et omnium progenitor[um] meorum, hospitali sancte marie domus theutonicorum in ierusalem curiam meam in diedirn…eidem hospitali et pauperibus xpisti….Data sunt littera in obsidione damiathy civitate egypti."

particularly valuable for demonstrating the spread of information concerning not only the image of the Teutonic Order in Europe, but the new sacred landscape with which the Baltic region came to be associated. The early charters concerning the conversion of the Livonians and Estonians, for example, possess the same imagery present in other ecclesiastical sources outlined above, especially in their use of language surrounding fertility and harvesting.[54] In fact, the word play on Riga "watering the nations," present in Henry of Livonia's chronicle, can be traced to a letter of Peter of Celle to Archbishop of Lund, Absalon, written in 1178.[55] This language continued throughout the thirteenth century, becoming a formalized way of describing the landscape and setting the stage for a variety of other types of sources (in this case, chronicles).

Charters from Prussia reflect a similar pattern, but with a stronger focus on the Teutonic Order as an agent of God's will. Early donations to the Order in the Kulmerland (Pol. ziemia chełmińska) apply the Order's Marian identity to the Prussian landscape, namely those of local Piast dukes to the Order throughout the 1230s. For example, Conrad of Mazovia's donation to the Order was given "to the blessed Mary and to the brothers of the Teutonic House" (*dedi beate Marie et fratribus de domo Theutonica*).[56] The castle of Nessau (Pol. Stary Nieszawa) was given to the brothers using the same formula. The building of cities and castles in this "barbarous land" is also present in the Prussian charters, namely as a motivation for crusaders to aid the Order in addition to reflecting the Order's conquest (physically and spiritually) of the landscape.[57] Many papal letters issued to the Dominicans and Franciscans encouraging the preaching of the Prussian crusades carry similar imagery, including an emphasis on the holy struggle of the brothers of the Order, their depiction as "athletes of Christ" (*athleta Christi*), and the need to wrest the land from the hands of the pagans.

By the turn of the fourteenth century, letters exchanged between members of the Teutonic Order and rulers in Latin Christendom became a significant tool for communicating the Teutonic Order's brand of crusade ideology. Marcus Wüst has highlighted their importance in re-affirming and expressing the identity of the Teutonic Order to its supporters and patrons.[58] The texts also solidify the exchange and dissemination of a new sacral landscape in the Baltic region to the leaders of Latin Christendom and the Church. A letter documenting an invasion of the Lithuanians into Prussia in 1347 applies the imagery of the Temple to frame the biblical struggle of good against evil, personified by the knights of the Teutonic Order.[59] Here, Kęstutis, the grand duke of Lithuania, is portrayed as a Son of Belial, while the Teutonic Knights and crusaders are "knights of

**54** *LUB* 1: cols. 4–6 (nos. 3–5); col. 8 (no. 6); col. 9 (no. 7).

**55** *LUB* 1: col. 10 (no. 9): "Rigavit, quod ipse plantavit, nec sufficit rigare, nisi adieceritis et nova plantare."

**56** *PrUB* 1.1:55–6 (nos. 74–5)

**57** *PrUB* 1.1:62 (no. 81), 66 (no. 86), 73–4 (no. 99), 76 (no. 102), 92 (no. 121), 93 (no. 123).

**58** Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 274–85. Also see *PrUB* 3.1:13–4 (no. 20); 240–1 (no. 345).

**59** Formerly Königsberg, Staats– und Universitätsbibliothek 101a. Now lost.

Christ" who strengthen the hearts of Christians in the face of sinful people.[60] A letter of the Grand Marshal of the Order, Kuno of Hattenstein, to Pope Urban VI dated to 1380 demonstrates the communication of crusading in the Baltic region in the late fourteenth century. The letter describes how crusaders fight "for the honour of God and his glorious Mother, and for the protection of the Christian faith," highlighting the importance of language and imagery in these letters as agents in communicating holy war.[61] Similar imagery appears in a letter to the German King, Wenceslaus IV, from 1390, which emphasizes the Marian components of the *Reisen* and landscape. The wars were launched "for the love of God and to serve his blessed Mother, Mary," re-affirming the Order's expression of its Marian identity, as well as the reflection of this identity to the European nobility.[62] Clearly, the sources aimed at secular audiences continued to use a specific language that emphasized a distinct concept of "place" with respect to the Baltic, one that pointed to the pagan qualities of the people that inhabited the region, and the need to sacralize it in terms of spiritual conversion and physical warfare.

These texts encouraged the spread of language and ideology associated with crusading in the Baltic region to a wider audience, as opposed to circulation explicitly within the circles of the Teutonic Order. They are relics of the communication of this message, comprising a significant aspect of the Teutonic Order's communication abilities to the western Christian world. In this way, the Teutonic Knights portrayed themselves in their diplomacy much along the lines of other institutions, such as the Hospitallers.[63] Conrad of Jungingen's emphasis on the Order's commitment to spreading the faith was a key part of his foreign policy in the 1390s, reflected in his correspondence with the popes and the rulers of Christendom.[64] His letter to Pope Urban V, for example, concerning permission to continue campaigns against Lithuania in 1403, compares the Order to the *vinea Domini*, its members as part of the Litter of Solomon, "carrying out the wars of the Lord against the tyranny of the infidels and schismatics." Most significant here is the dichotomy between the lands of the Order and "the lands of the pagans and schismatics" (*terrae infidelium et schismaticorum*), a theme expressed in contemporary chronicles of the period.[65] As a response to this communication, the Order was praised by rulers of Christendom as "a shield of the Christian faith" by rulers such as Sigismund of Luxem-

**60** *CDP* 6: 3–4 (no. 3): "…ut cristi milites propugnatores populi cristiani fortificentur cordibus ad resistendum peccatrici genti."

**61** Lucas David, *Preußische Chronik*, 193–6 (footnote 7): "Sanctissime pater Ad. V. S. clemenciam quam vtique in profectu et augmento Christiane religionis vbi hec ipsa perceperit exhilarari non dubito deduco Quod nuperrime de Mense Maij ad honorem dei et gloriosissime Matris eius profectumque ac defensionem religionis Christiane predicte." New edition and translation in preparation by Gregory Leighton.

**62** *CDP* 4: 114–15 (no. 80): "der obirste marschalk und der Gebitiger von liefflande, mit etlichen andern gebitigern, *gote unserm herren zcu lobe, und seyner werden mutter marine zcu dinste eyne löbeliche reise im lande czu littauwen* han gethan."

**63** Sarnowsky, "Perception," 127; Leighton, "Holy War," 25–52.

**64** Kubon, *Außenpolitik*.

**65** *CDP* 5: 186–92. (no. 187).

bourg.[66] When he confirmed the sale of the March of Brandenburg to the Order in the fifteenth century, he elaborated on this motif, highlighting the Order's origins in Prussia and its zeal in expanding Christendom there.[67] Although beyond the scope of this study, these letters reflect not just the crafting of a specific ideology focused on a *nova terra sancta*, but its communication to and reception among groups not directly associated with the Order in a broader geographical and temporal context.

Formularies from Prussia reveal the significance of ritual and liturgy in exploring the ways in which the Teutonic Order, crusaders, and the local Christian population viewed their surrounding landscape in religious terms. This is most evident in the documents issued by the bishops of Sambia to their dioceses requesting prayers for soldiers on the *Reisen*. A total of seven examples, six edited and one in the Registrant of Conrad of Jungingen,[68] reveal the relationship between war against the Lithuanians and the sacralization of the landscape.[69] They decree celebrating masses in churches, prayers for the armies sent to war in the land of Lithuania, and offer indulgences for specific rituals performed, revealing how audiences receiving the Order's ideology engaged with the surrounding landscape in religious terms and sanctified the region. This speaks to a communication of that ideology, particularly in its wars against the Lithuanians, to the local population (and the reception of that ideology). [70] The participation in the liturgy itself involved the commemoration of the Christian past (particularly events central to the life of the Virgin Mary), highlighting the power of *hierophany* within the texts. Parallels also emerge in England. In November of 1391, Thomas of Woodstock, First Earl of Gloucester, was on campaign in Lithuania, referred to as "the foreign and remote parts" (*partes externa et remotas*), and prayers were decreed throughout Gloucester for his success.[71]

Given this book's focus not just on the written elements of the sacralization, but also the rituals associated with this and its manifestation in the visual culture of the *Ordensland*, the inventories of the monasteries of the Teutonic Order in Prussia are the final type of sources studied. These document the consolidation of the Teutonic Order's territory in the southern Baltic at the end of the fourteenth century and into the fif-

**66** Grünhagen, ed., *Husitenkriege*, 32 (no. 46).

**67** *TOT*, 204–5 (no. 213). The letter was issued on September 7, 1429.

**68** GStA PK, XX. HA, OF 3, Bl. 18: "Ersamer liber herre, ader Ersame frauwe, gote unsern herren und syner werden muter zu lobe czu eren und zu dinste, haben wir mit Rate, unser mitgebitiger eyn heer uff die ungloubigen usgesant, hirumbe bitten wir euwir Ersamkeit mit begerlichim fleisse Das Ir got unsern herre, mitsampt euwir samenunge anrufet, und In vor die unsern bittet, dis her sie beschirme und bewaere, und sie mit behaldenem willen und begirten gesege seliclichin wedir zu lande sende, uff das got ire geloubt werde, so gerucht lassen, zu singen In euwern menster, lobelichin drey missyn."

**69** Biskup, ed., *Formularz*, 252–8 (nos. 322–356); Kolberg, "Preußisches Formelbuch," 294 (no. 17); Wattenbach, ed., *Formelbuch*, 307.

**70** See below, Chapter 4.

**71** Kirby, ed., *Register* 2, 430.

teenth.[72] Inventories taken at the exchange of major offices of the Order for each commandery castle (*Komturei*), the documents have a significant potential for studying the social history of the Teutonic Order's territory.[73]

The extensive amounts of relics and objects recorded in these inventories used for carrying out the liturgical rites of the Order are important materials for examining the sacralization of space and landscape. Special attention should be given to the extensive presence of the relics of the True Cross, examples of which can be found in many of the church inventories from the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. Waldemar Rozynkowski and Andrzej Radzimiński have connected relics in chapels and churches of the Order to the religious topography of the *Ordensland*.[74] Moreover, this was not just applied to members of the Teutonic Order, but also the local Christian communities. The inventories for the religious centres of the Order, such as Marienburg, Königsberg, Thorn, and Elbing thus provide a means for contextualizing the material expressed in the narrative histories of the *Ordensland* and the correspondence between this region of the world and Christendom. As Chapters 3 and 4 show, the use of these objects on and off the battlefield reflects a complex reality in which a variety of people active in the Teutonic Order's territories engaged with and shaped their surrounding environment from a religious perspective. This is a fundamental component in the development and understanding of a distinct sacred geography with a long history.[75] In the case of the Baltic, specifically, such actions and objects reveal the ways in which such geographies were created and maintained over time. As demonstrated in the work of Hedwig Röckelein, such processes did happen on the frontiers of the Christian world in the Early Middle Ages, particularly Saxony.[76] They were key in the development of a Christian identity in those formerly pagan regions, even if the specific details of such objects are murky, at best.[77] A very similar phenomenon occurred in Prussia and Livonia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The approach of historians to the rich variety of such written evidence has yielded rich results. Rozynkowski has shown that the inventories are especially useful in studying the inner life of the brethren in the Order, the use of sacred space, and the veneration of relics as central to the religious life within and outside the Order.[78] From the perspective of these objects and their place in the liturgical realm of the *Ordensland*, Anette Löffler has also demonstrated the complex relationship between object and ritual in cementing concepts of religious identity amongst members of the Teutonic Order.[79] This

**72** *GÄ*, x–xi.

**73** Sarnowsky, *Wirtschaftsführung*, 14–21; Sarnowsky, *Überlegungen*, 7–13.

**74** Rozynkowski, *Omnes Sancti*, 206–29 for the functions of relics and 229–40 on the sacral topography of the region; Radzimiński, *Kościol*.

**75** Angenendt, *Grundformen*, 110–2.

**76** Röckelein, *Reliquientranslationen*, 9.

**77** Röckelein, *Reliquientranslationen*, 26–30.

**78** Rozynkowski, "Liturgical Space," 143–52.

**79** Löffler, "Rolle der Liturgie," 1–21.

has been applied to the local population by Cordelia Heß with respect to the local Christian population and veneration of the Virgin Mary.[80] With respect to the sacralization of the landscape and the experience of crusading in this region of Christendom, these resources provide significant new potential for examining landscape sacralization as a complex and multi-faceted process. To use the theory of the Russian art historian, Aleksei Lidov, the inventories and the function of relics represent a new application of the theory of *hierotopy* (the creation of sacred space) to a broader, larger region, namely the landscape itself. Only recently has such an approach been applied to interior spaces on the northeastern frontiers of Europe.[81] In analyzing these sources, the ritual and visual elements of the development of a new sacred landscape are made available to the present study.

**80** Heß, "Himmelskönigin," 189–90.

**81** Curta and Leighton, "Hierotopy," 146–7.

Chapter 2

# LITERARY THEMES AND LANDSCAPE SACRALIZATION IN THE WRITTEN EVIDENCE FOR THE BALTIC CRUSADES

> "This is the tender vineyard chosen by the Lord Zeboath, which you, Christ, sweet Lord, founded and chose to lead. You pruned it and planted its roots. Now it has joyously spread across the world. Afterwards, you carried it into the land of Prussia and to Livonia, where you drove out many heathens and planted it once more." — Nicolaus of Jeroschin.[1]

NICOLAUS OF JEROSCHIN, one of the most important chroniclers in the history of the Teutonic Order, described the nature of the Teutonic Order's Prussian crusades with the above quotation in 1341. Nearly a century elapsed since the beginning of the conquest of the Prussians in the late 1220s by the Order, but the imagery with which Nicolaus framed the expeditions reveals his perception of the Christianization of the region. This chapter focuses on the imagery concerning landscape present in a variety of other sources, highlighting the spread of this imagery and its role in the crusading ideology of the Baltic region.

It first discusses the religious imagery surrounding "landscape" in the chronicles, particularly its association with paganism (i.e., the descriptions of forests and groves as centres of non-Christian worship). It then leads into a consideration of specific themes, namely the *locus amoenus*, the *locus horribilis*, and the propagation of the image of *vinea Domini* as strategies used among the chroniclers to depict the pagan and Christian landscapes that existed alongside one another, in a physical and ideological way, throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[2] The use of biblical citations with respect to the landscape in which the wars took place frame the wars that they describe within the context of place and sacred landscape: the emergence of the construct of the vineyard represents the transformation from pagan to Christian, and from profane to sacred.

The chroniclers of the Baltic crusades created a sense of place in their texts by employing a specific language that emphasized the divide between *sacrum* and *profanum*. This has a long tradition in anthropological studies of landscape, in addition to analyses of the relationship between Christianity and the landscape.[3] The connection of the land to paganism in the Baltic and the subsequent victories of the crusaders gave way to a new, sacralized landscape, which was communicated to a variety of audiences. While the chronicles emphasize the need to convert peoples, the literary themes employed also indicate a distinct concept of the Baltic region as a whole and the need

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**1** Fischer, ed., and trans., *Chronicle of Prussia*, 32. For the original, see *KvP*, 310 (lines 585–600).

**2** Vaitkevičius, *Sacred Places*, 58–60; Vaitkevičius, "Sacred Groves," 81–94; Laime, "*Ķoniņi*," 67–80.

**3** Ko and Barrett, "Phenomenology," 275–94; Johnson, "Approaches," 273; Markus, "How on Earth," 257–71.

to convert the landscape. This is because it possessed neither the physical qualities (in terms of Christian cities) nor the spiritual qualities (in terms of an established sacred tradition in those places) as the Holy Land. Sacred trees, rivers, and fields replaced places connected to the life of Christ. As the crusades proceeded, they became Christian ones, thus offering a parallel to the phenomenon of *interpretatio Christiana*, the process through which non-Christian elements or practices were absorbed into Christianity.[4]

One major problem, however, is that our knowledge of pre-Christian religious practices comes only from the chroniclers. This results in a heavily-biased understanding of those religious rites and their connections to the landscape. Some early sources point to the animistic qualities of pre-Christian religion in the Baltic. The Treaty of Christburg (February 7, 1249), outlines the religious rites of the Prussians and their "priests," describing them as "men who were like priests of the gentiles" (*homines…quasi gentilium sacerdotes*).[5] A further example of this can be seen in how chroniclers created an inverted sense of holy places in the Baltic. Peter of Dusburg's description of the Prussian Rome, "Romowe," was presented as a pagan Rome, reflecting an attempt on the author's part to quantify the pagan landscape in understandable terms to his readers.[6]

Chroniclers used the religion of the inhabitants to shape perceptions of the landscape from an early period. John Canaparius' *Vita sancti Adalberti* (ca. 999) explicitly connects the region of Prussia with idolatry, when Adalbert "turned himself toward the fearful barbarians, and evil idolaters."[7] Prussia was "a dire land" (*adversus diram barbariem*), and Adalbert sought to go against "the gods and idolaters of Prussia" (*Pruzziae dei et idolatra*).[8] The idolatry refers to the figures that were worshipped among the pre-Christian peoples of Prussia and the region east of the Elbe, commented on by Thietmar of Merseburg, Helmold of Bosau, and others.[9] A closer example might be the "Baba" stones in West Prussia, which were tied to pre-Christian cult sites and possibly incorporated into the built environment of the Teutonic Order, one example being the Order's church at Christburg (Pol. Dzierzgoń).[10] In fact, this may be the idol (*ydolo*) referred to in the Treaty of Christburg.[11]

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**4** Weiss, "Mythologie," 81–96; Laime, "*Ķoniņi*," 77–8. For Prussian sacred places, see Vaitkevičius, *Sacred Places*, 58–60. Also see Kahl, *Heidenfrage*, 79. For a more recent analysis, see Rosik, *Slavic Religion*, 10–38.

**5** *PrUB* 1.1: 158–65 (no. 218), here 161: "Promiserunt eciam, quod inter se non habebunt de cetero Tulissones et Ligaschones, *homines videlicet mendacissimos histriones, qui quasi gentilium sacerdotes*."

**6** *PDC*, 102 (3.5): "Fuit autem in medio nacionis hujus perverse, scilicet in Nadrowia, locus quidam dictus Romowe, trahens nomen suum a Roma, in quo habitat quidam, dictus Criwe, quem colebant pro papa." See Pluskowski, *Archaeology*, 67–8; Sarnowsky, "Bild," 224–52, here 229–30.

**7** John Canaparius, 593.

**8** John Canaparius, 593.

**9** See Kahl, *Heidenfrage*, 65.

**10** Szczepański, "'Baba' Stones," 313–65, here 323–5.

**11** *PrUB* 1.1: 161 (no. 218): "Ydolo, quod semel in anno, collectis frugibus, consueverunt confingere et pro deo colere, cui nomen Curche imposuerunt…" Lilienthal, *Erleutertes* 2: 125–26, also referred

Canaparius' description of Adalbert of Prague's arrival in Prussia highlights the negative connotations applied to the landscape, which framed the positive element of the arrival of Christian missionaries. While moving further to the interior of Prussia, he and his company approached "a dark and evil forest" (*nemora et feralia adierunt*). The connection of this strange place is reinforced by the text's description of the Prussians and the land, for Adalbert and his company went "to the lands of those who do not know God" (*Deum nescientibus illabuntur Pruzzorum terris*).[12] Within roughly a century, the connection between paganism in the Baltic and the physicality of the landscape was a clearly developing element of how contemporaries described the region. Describing Adalbert's mission, Adam of Bremen (fl. 1075) noted the religious qualities applied to the landscape in his account of the Prussians, who "consecrated woods and groves in the name of their gods."[13]

This continued into the twelfth century. Herbord's *vita* of St Otto of Bamberg (ca. 1139) notes the "vast and horrible forest" (*nemus horrendum et vastum*) separating Poland from Pomerania crossed by the missionary party.[14] He also describes the strange beasts and animals encountered in the forest, including cranes (*grues*), which served as literary symbols for strange, remote, alien places.[15] The region in which the Pomeranians live is described as the horrible wilderness (*horror solitudinis*) from Deuteronomy 32:10, notable for its dense forests, and "barbarous men [who are] cruel to look at" (*homines barbari crudeli aspectus*).[16] Helmold of Bosau's (ca. 1172) account of the Wendish Crusade points out that the inhabitants of the region (in this case, the Obodrite Slavs east of the Elbe), named many woods or sacred groves (*silvae vel luci*) after their gods, thus connecting the religion of the region directly to the landscape.[17] Clearly, by the end of the twelfth century, there emerged a specific connection between religion and landscape which predated the crusading movement in the Baltic Sea region. The natural features of the landscape, such as forests, are a common theme to denote the non-Christian elements of the landscape with respect to place and the understanding of that landscape as not sacred. As opposed to being devoid of any Christian holiness, these places were scenes of incorrect worship. It was through the missionary work of priests (or, as we will now see, crusaders) that they became understood as holy ones.

The worship of nature as a feature of paganism remained common in the descriptions of Livonian crusades in the thirteenth century. In addition to highlighting the sites at which pagan worship occurred, the biblical citations used by chroniclers are central to how they created a sacred landscape. This focus on the perception of region's geography

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to an oak associated with Curche, though observed that "Where and on which place this oak stood, whether inside the city walls or outside the city walls, is not possible to determine."

**12** John Canaparius, 594.

**13** *ABGH*, 8: "lucos ac nemora consecrantes deorumque nominibus appellantes…" This describes the worshipping practices of the Saxons and the Obodrite Slavs.

**14** "Herbordi vita Ottonis," *SS* 12, 779.

**15** See Jensen, "Physical Extermination," 87–99, at 91–4.

**16** "Herbordi vita Ottonis," 780.

**17** Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica*, 160.

allows us to consider some examples that demonstrate the importance of landscape sacralization as a defining factor of the crusading movement. Henry of Livonia mentions groves (*nemora*; *luci*) and woods (*silvae*) in his accounts of specific campaigns in 1220 and 1227. In one account, the crusader army (referred to as "Germans" (*Theutonici*)), chased a group of Livs through a field "up to their sacred grove, and polluted it with the blood of the pagans (*sanctam silvam…sanguine maculaverunt*)."[18] Henry invoked here the imagery from Jeremiah 9:22, 2 Maccabees 5:12, Acts 23:3, and 1 Samuel 7:11, citations which, as section 2 below demonstrates, were important for relating the landscape in the Baltic to the geography of the Holy Land, as opposed to that focused on the destruction and rebuilding of holy places.[19]

The relationship between pagan religion and physical monuments in the landscape, namely Henry's description of the home of Tharapita, a god of the Oselians, further solidifies this concept and its use by chroniclers of the early crusading movement. Telling us of two priests baptizing some villages near Ymera (Lat. Rubene), Henry states "in the region of Veronia…there was a mountain and most beautiful wood (*pulcherrima silva*), in which the natives said the great god of the Oselians, called Tharapita, was born."[20] Leonid Arbusow, Jr., and Albert Bauer, editors of Henry's text, identify this grove and mountain as the region near present-day Väike Maarja (formerly known as Klein-Marien), in northwestern Estonia, which still retains a hill called Ebavere. In describing one of the last encounters between the crusaders and the Oselians, Henry states that the two armies, as they met for battle, called upon their respective gods. The crusaders, of course, call on Jesus (*Iesum invocant*), but the cry of the Oselians, to their sacred grove (*nemus*), points to a close association of the landscape itself with the paganism that the crusaders sought to remove.[21] This incident was the attack of the hill fort at Muhu, still visible today and in close proximity to the church of St. Katherine, constructed in the thirteenth century, and one of the oldest churches in the region.[22] As we will see by the end of this chapter, the conversion of this landscape to a new sacral one was essential to the literary depictions of the Baltic crusades.

The worship of specific elements of the landscape also applied to Prussia and this appears to have been noted relatively contemporarily to Henry's *Livonian Chronicle*. The *Descriptiones terrarium* (ca. 1260), an anonymous record of the geography of northern Europe most likely connected with a history of the Tatars, records that the Prussians

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**18** *HCL*, 166 (23.9): "Theutonici…occidentes eos per campos usque ad lucum ipsorum, et ipsam sanctam silvam…sanguine maculaverunt." Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 182–6 (23.9). This grove was near the stronghold of Gerwen (present–day Järva, central Estonia).

**19** Barton and Muddiman, eds., *Commentary*, 204, 497, 740, 1056.

**20** *HCL*, 175 (24.4): "…sacerdotes…ad alias villas festinantes in confinio Veronie tres villas baptizaverunt, ubi erat mons et *silva pulcherrima*, in qua dicebant indigene magnum deum Osiliensium natum, qui Tharapita dicuntur." Brundage, ed., *Chronicle*, 193–4 (24.5). Vironia is the present–day region of Virumaa, in northwestern Estonia.

**21** Brundage, ed., *Chronicle*, 218 (30.4): "Gaudet exercitus christianorum, *exclamant*, *Deum exorant*. Clamant et *illi, gaudentes Tarapitha suo. Illi nemus, isti Iesum invocant*."

**22** Tuulse, "Wehrkirchen," 148.

"tended special woods as gods," as does the Treaty of Christburg, mentioned above.[23] Peter of Dusburg, too, described the Prussian religion as centred on nature worship, writing that "they hold as sacred groves, fields, and waters" (*habuerunt lucos, campos et aquas sacras*).[24] In fact, he also notes some key cities that are discussed below which emerged as main sacral centres in the landscape that existed in close proximity to such groves. For example, the city of Elbing, which held one of the most important sacralizing objects in Prussia, a piece of the True Cross, was located near a grove (*nemus*).[25] Peter wrote that this grove, following an attack of the Pogesanians in 1273, marked the spot where so many Christians were killed, that the river near Elbing "appeared to flow red with the colour of blood," thus providing a parallel to the example in Henry of Livonia's chronicle, where pagan blood polluted the pagan grove.[26] The texts documenting the crusades thus offer a different approach to describing the landscape, namely in the direct relation of the wars in ridding the physical remains of paganism, in addition to using a rich variety of biblical symbolism to frame the place in which the events occurred as continuations of the wars of the Old Testament. Some texts are more informative, noting that indeed, there were physical markers in the landscape such as groves and hills, while others, especially Henry of Livonia and Peter of Dusburg, note the relationship of warfare (namely in the killing of pagans or Christians) to these places: the formerly pagan grove served as a scene where the sacred events of the crusade took place. Thus, they became newly sacred.

These depictions of pagan landscape were developed by the chroniclers into a characteristic of the "barbarian peoples" (*populi barbari*) against which the faithful should engage in combat and should be seen in the framework of the creation of a distinct Other.[27] One of the earliest examples coming from a letter of Innocent III dated to October 5, 1199, to the Christians in Saxony and Westphalia. The landscape of Livonia here was a "land of the barbarians" (*terra barbarorum*), further symbolized in their worship of animals, plants, and other things.[28] Before Christianization, such places were "horrible" ones (*loca horrida*), where the "new plantation of the Christian faith" was at constant risk of attack. This imagery would appear in charters concerning the Livonian crusade throughout the thirteenth century, particularly in the context of the Holy Roman

**23** *DT*, 722: "Hii quemadmodum Prutheni speciales siluas pro diis colebant." For context, see Górski, "*Descriptiones*," 254–8.

**24** *PDC*, 102 (3.5).

**25** *PDC*, 288 (3.170). For the sacred grove near Elbing (Elbląg), see Max Töppen, *Geographie*, 187–8, for mention of a grove that was near the castle, perhaps a remnant of this grove spoken of by Peter. For a more modern analysis of sacred groves, see Vaitkevičius, *Sacred Places*, 16–20.

**26** *PDC*, 290 (3. 170): "Tantus ibi sanguis Christianorum fusus fuit, *quod fluvius vicinus amisso coloure naturlai sanguineus apparebat*."

**27** Feistner, "Vom Kampf," 282; Mažeika, "Women Warriors," 253–59; Mažeika, "Granting Power," 153–71.

**28** *LUB* 1: col. 14 (no. 12): "…inter *populos barbaros*, qui honorem Deo debitum animalibus brutis, arboribus frondosis, aquis limpidis, virentibus herbis, et spiritibus immundis impendunt." My italics. One can also see this aspect of nature worship in the text of the Treaty of Christburg (1249), *PrUB* 1.1: 158–65 (no. 218), here 161.

Emperors, where Christianization in Livonia was linked to the expansion of the empire.[29] As shown in Chapters 3 and 4, chroniclers placed miraculous events and martyrdoms at these locations to transform them into *loci amoeni*, developing a physical component to the Baltic's emerging sacral landscape.

The suffering of the Christian peoples in both Livonia and Prussia was also employed to emphasize the sacralization of this landscape to the Latin Christian world. Various letters calling for the preaching of the crusades in Prussia highlighted the suffering and the valour of the Teutonic Order in their fight against the pagans and their role in landscape sacralization. In 1230, the papal bull *Cum misericors*, issued by Gregory IX, described how the brothers "miraculously" (*mirabiliter*) fought in God's name against the Prussians.[30] In 1231, the brothers were described by him as "defending both physically and spiritually the new plantation of the Christian faith."[31] They also show the suffering of the Christian population in the region and the process of landscape sacralization *via* martyrdom, discussed at greater length in Chapter 3. For example, in 1232, Gregory IX took care to note "more than 20,000 Christians cut down by the sword and condemned to a disgraceful death." He also described the brothers as acting on God's behalf, "repaying the attack by the savage barbarians."[32] Innocent IV issued several bulls and letters that highlighted the suffering of crusaders and brothers in the military orders in the region; an early example can be seen in his letter to William of Modena dated February 5, 1245, instructing him to take care for the Order and the Bishop of Curland, Henry of Lützelburg.[33] In 1252, Innocent IV highlighted how "the brothers… aided with the support of other Christians, suffered many labours and innumerable expenses, with much constant bloodshed for a long time" in his call to crusaders to support the Order in Prussia.[34]

This emphasis in the sources did not stop in the early conquest period.[35] In 1260, Alexander IV continued the imagery of the suffering brothers and the necessity of the crusaders helping them "in Livonia and in Prussia."[36] Urban IV, in 1261, highlighted the suffering of the neophytes at the hands of the Prussians and the role of the knights in

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**29** *LUB* 1: cols. 18–20 (no. 14), 32 (no. 24), 69 (no. 64), 71 (no. 67), 72 (no. 68), 77 (no. 72), 167 (no. 129), 216 (no. 167), 239–40 (no. 183), 242 (no. 185).

**30** *PrUB* 1.1: 62 (no. 81).

**31** *PrUB* 1.1: 65–6 (no. 85): "…dil. fil…preceptoris et fratrum hos. Marie Theuton…*assumserunt in patribus Pruscie negotium fidei ex animo prosequendum, plantationem novella fidei Christiane tam spiritualibus quam materialibus defensuri*."

**32** *PrUB*, 1.1: 67 (no. 87): "…cum quibus [the brothers] deus misericorditer operatur, *reprimendo per eos impetum barbare feritatis*."

**33** *LUB* 1: cols. 236–7 (no. 180).

**34** *PrUB* 1.1: 195 (no. 255): "fratres…adiuti subsidiis aliorum Christi fidelium, labores pluorimos et expensas innumeras cum multa effusione propria sanguinis a longis temporibus constantissime pertulerunt."

**35** *PrUB* 1.2: 88–9 (no. 103); 117–20 (nos. 141–2); 130–3 (no. 158); 137–8 (no. 167); 155–6 (no. 201). Also see ch. 2 (2.2.1).

**36** *PrUB* 1.2: 88–9 (no. 103).

extending the borders of Christendom, to encourage more participation in the crusades to Livonia, Prussia, and Curonia.[37] In 1284, the bishop of Pomesania, Albert, remembered the early days of Christianization, "when the Christian faith existed in great instability in the surrounding areas" of Marienwerder.[38] This frequency shows a distinct tradition that came to characterize crusading in the Baltic, namely in the way of describing the history of the missions and their relation to the sacralization of the landscape. The nature of the mission transformed the landscape, in that the suffering and valour of those engaged in warfare in that region was the defining factor that shaped how contemporaries wrote about it. As the chapters below demonstrate, the spaces and structures used by pilgrims (and knights in the Teutonic Order) were spaces in which these early days were commemorated and remembered, thus creating a distinct bond between people and the landscape over time.

Preachers and chroniclers created a perception of the Baltic as a landscape associated with holy war, but since it was on the fringe of Christendom and lacked Christian holy places, they needed to frame the campaigns as a means of legitimizing it as a new sacral landscape. One way of examining this development is through the lens of the literary theory of the *locus amoenus* and *locus horribilis*. Before the emergence of the *locus amoenus* there had to be a *locus horribilis*.[39] Torben K. Nielsen points out that in the chronicles of the Baltic crusades, this concept was an inversion of the traditional method for describing landscapes in the Middle Ages. Where some recognized forests as delightful retreats, Henry instead saw an unknown and hostile landscape. His depictions of forests, which were not just dangerous from a military perspective, but also associated with the paganism against which crusading armies battled, reflects this.[40] This inversion was a product of his status as an eyewitness, and his position in an unknown part of the world, but especially because of the close association of landscape with paganism in the Baltic region.[41] We see the need to create "pleasant places" (*loci amoeni*), namely through converting the hostile landscapes the crusaders encountered in the regions of Prussia and Livonia.[42]

Two ways they accomplished this were by incorporating biblical language to frame events and describing the landscape in terms that focused on its paganism. There is an early allusion to this in a letter from Innocent IV to Erik IV Ploughpenny, King of Denmark, in which the king was granted the same privileges for a crusade to Livonia as those who went to the Holy Land. Specifically, Erik is compared to Moses in Exodus 32:27, rallying the faithful to God against the worship of the golden calf, an event that set apart God's chosen people from idolators. Thus, the imagery of Moses in the desert here is

**37** *PrUB* 1.2: 117–20 (nos. 141–2).

**38** *PrUB* 1.2: 280 (no. 439).

**39** Curtius, *Literature*, 183–202.

**40** Nielsen, "Woods and Wilderness," 170–1.

**41** Nielsen, 170. Also see *HCL*, 215 (29.9). Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 237–8 (29.9).

**42** *LUB* 1: cols. 441–2 (no. 366), for example, which describes "the places, which through Divine help were ripped from the hands of the pagans by the armies of Christians" in 1260.

applied to the Danish king in Livonia. Religious historian John Howe notes that the *locus horribilis* does not appear in Classical literature, but plays a key role in the genesis of medieval literary landscapes.[43] The work of Veronica della Dora considers how the *loca horrida* functions in later medieval pilgrimage accounts to the Holy Land, specifically to Mount Sinai and the hermitages of the Desert Fathers. Their struggle in the wilderness reflects the spiritual nature of their mission, regardless of the harshness presented by the desert landscape.[44] We also see that the chronicles for the Baltic region apply this theme in a distinct way with respect to the crusades there.

The *locus horribilis* is very much a part of what Keith Lilley calls the "imagined geography" of the Baltic in the Middle Ages.[45] The *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*'s account of an expedition in 1289 made by the knights to the castle of Sydobrin, in which they went through swamps and "through many wicked woods," reflects both a practical understanding of the military hazards of the landscape, but also notes the connotations of paganism and serves as an example of the *locus horribilis*. Woods are the place where the pagan enemy lurks.[46] Later examples demonstrate the impact of this theme in the Teutonic Order's historical writing. The chronicles of Hermann of Wartberge and Wigand of Marburg frequently reference "the land of the pagans" (*terra paganorum*). This indeed is a descriptive feature of a specific region where pagans live. However, their importance becomes clearer with respect to the continued sacralization of the landscape and the contrast between *sacrum* and *profanum*, especially when viewed in the context of the earlier texts for the crusading movement.

On the other hand, in giving the landscape pleasant qualities and commemorating the wars as holy causes, chroniclers began the first process in the creation of a sacral landscape.[47] Several events in the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* reflect the continuity that came after the arrival of the crusade movement and developed over the course of centuries with respect to how contemporaries expressed concepts of place and communicated the impact of crusading. The chronicle also shows the role of conversion and of landscape by the military orders, institutions only marginally present in the chronicles from the earlier decades of the thirteenth century. Within the first one hundred lines of the text, the author tells us that there were still lands unknown to Christianity, and it is to these that God would send his apostles (i.e., the brothers of the Teutonic Order). Thus, Christianity, described as God's love (*sîn lob*) appeared in many lands where hitherto it had not been. To quote the author of the chronicle: "I will have more to say on how God's servants were sent to many lands, where no apostle had come before."[48]

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**43** Howe, "Symbolic Landscapes," 212.

**44** della Dora, "Gardens," 271–300, here 279–80.

**45** Lilley, "Cities," 302; Kowzan, "Heavenly Jerusalem," 179–90.

**46** *LR*, 257 (lines 11,233–11,240): "Das ander her [the pagan army – GL], dâ ich von sprach, / lât ûch sagen, waz dem geschach. / Sydobren, daz ich hân genant, / lac in Semegallen lant. / kein der burge stunt ir sin, / dâ wart ez gevûret hin / durch brûch und manchen bôsen walt; / die wege wâren so gestalt."

**47** *HCL*, 201 (28.4); Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 222 (28.4); *PDC*, 46 (1.1).

**48** *LR*, 2 (lines 57–59; 90–94).


Figure 3. a: Pöide Church (taken from the nearby hillfort); b: Exterior of Pöide Church. Photographs by author.

The conversion of these people was a product of divine intervention on the part of God's "messengers" (*sîne boten*), namely the Teutonic Order, and the transformation from profane to sacred was a direct product of their presence.[49] We can use the example of the churches as physical markers of the landscape sacralization process that took place in the thirteenth century, one example being the church of Pöide, on the island of Saaremaa (Figure 3). This makes it visible from high points such as hill forts, which functioned as important religious and economic centres.[50] The prominence of the churches in the landscape is reflected in the photo of the Teutonic Order church of St. Mary at Pöide. The church occupies a powerful vantage point in the landscape. Its tower rises from above the trees (visible in the image), serving as a landmark against the horizon. The photograph was taken from the nearby hillfort, illustrating the competing elements between pagan and Christian geography on the island.[51]

**49** *LR*, 3 (lines 120–124). "nû wil ich manchen ûch bekant, / wie der cristentûm ist komen / zû Nieflant, als ich hân vernomen / von allen wîsen lûten."

**50** *HCL*, 220 (20.5). Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 222–5 (20.5).

**51** The church dates to the 1260s and was fortified throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. See Tuulse, "Wehrkirchen," 151.

Peter of Dusburg described the arrival of the Teutonic Knights in the Kulmerland in 1230 as follows: "they abandoned the sweet comforts of their homeland and entered an alien land…one of horror and vast wilderness."[52] This possessed a dual meaning, for the environment of crusading in this region was often fierce and depended entirely upon favourable weather conditions. Winters had to be cold and hard, and knights had to be prepared to spend days, even weeks, in the frozen marshes.[53] Hermann of Wartberge records that, in 1371, for example, an expedition of the brothers into Lithuania had to be cancelled because of severe winds.[54] The weather was also connected to Divine favour, as evidenced in a 1394 letter from Conrad of Jungingen to Philip II, the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, describing an upcoming *Reise*. The letter also highlights the "vast wildernesses and waters" of the region.[55] The celebration of the liturgy of the churches in the *Ordensland* centred on weather and reflects the quite literal application of the term "wilderness" or "desert" to the region. Prayers were regularly ordered by the Grand Masters of the Order to the Christians of Prussia for fair weather and favourable winds. They were also said for crusaders suffering "in the vineyard of the Lord," highlighting the symbolic communication of the landscape to the local population.[56]

Likewise, the sources for this period show a clear delineation between pagan and Christian landscapes, giving a deeper meaning to the land "of horrors and vast wilderness" that Peter described. He quotes Deuteronomy 32:10, a poem of Moses that refers to God delivering the Israelites in the vast wilderness and desert. Wigand of Marburg mentions on several occasions the campaigns of the Order into the Great Wilderness against the Lithuanians, many beginning with entering "the land of the pagans" (*terra paganorum*). He also refers to the encounters between the Teutonic Order and Lithuania in "the desert" (*desertum*).[57] Again, Hermann describes a campaign of Andreas of Sternberg in 1372, in which he entered "the lands of the infidels with force."[58]

How can these later texts inform the development of a literary tradition concerning landscape in these texts? The concept of infidel lands (*terrae infidelium*) and pagan lands (*terrae paganorum*) emerges in Hermann and Wigand's texts quite regularly, indicating a sense of "pagan" lands separate from the "sacred" (Christianized) lands. Both chroniclers emphasize the wars taking place in the "Great Wilderness," a stretch of virtually uninhabitable land separating the Order's territories in Prussia and Livonia, from Königsberg to Memel (Lit. Klaipeda). In addition to the descriptions of landscape in the later chronicles of the fourteenth century, we have some other examples that help to

**52** *PDC*, 92 (2.10). "Reliquerant enim dulce solum natalis patrie sue et intraverant terram alienam… Exierunt eciam terram fructiferam, pacificam et quietam et intraverunt terram horroris et vaste solitudinis et bello durrisimo plena."

**53** Paravicini, PR 2: 52.

**54** *HWC*, 97 "Presenti anno (1371) estate fratres in Livonia propter aëris intemperiem et inundacionem himbrium nullum facere potuerunt expeditionem."

**55** *CDP* 5: 70 (no. 57).

**56** Biskup, ed., *Formularz*, 194–5 (no. 261). For the reference to the vinea Domini, see 252 (no. 322).

**57** Wigand, 548, 551, 559, 577, 638.

**58** *HWC*, 101.

further illustrate the awareness of a pagan landscape. The *Littauischen Wegeberichte* (ca. 1384–1402), a collection of reports compiled by scouts in the Order's service, refer to roads to be taken on the annual campaigns into Lithuania in the winter (*Winterreise*) and summer (*Sommerreise*).[59] Their contents demonstrate the role of the pagan landscape of the Baltic with respect to navigating the *desertum*.

One example comes from a report of 1388, through Samogitia and to Kaunas, taken in the winter. It mentions, specifically, a "sacred grove called Asywiote (Lit. Užventis)" (*heilgin walde der heist Asswyote*). The report notes that there are sufficient stores of water and grass for horses there, indicating that the areas were not believed to be sacred to those who happened to pass through them. However, that same report refers to an oak grove near Cosleykin (Lit. Kelmė), "through which one must not ride" (*eyne rume damerow, do darff man nicht rumen*).[60] A report listing routes from Ragnit (Rus. Neman) to Poszyli (Lit. Pašilė) also states that in that region, "there lay a sacred wood and a river, there the army should make camp on the first night."[61] Of the nearly one hundred reports, almost each time that a sacred grove comes up, it is in terms of a place to be used for food and water supplies, indicating the role of these places in the *desertum* as well as an awareness of pagan and Christian separations in the landscape.[62] And yet, the chronicles documenting these campaigns are not nearly as rich or as varied as those from the thirteenth century. In what ways can we analyze the literary landscape that came to define the medieval Baltic region in these chronicles?

Torben K. Nielsen points out that important features of the Christian landscape in the Baltic, at least in Henry of Livonia's chronicle, were roadways. In Henry's chronicle, the crusaders stick to the roads while the pagans use secret pathways in the woods, thus representing a sharp split between pagan and Christian, not only in terms of society, but also of landscape.[63] This dichotomy carries over into the Teutonic Order's chronicles from the later part of the thirteenth century.[64] Roads symbolized Christianization, serving as the ways through which the sacred landscape of the Baltic spread out, exemplified in a letter of Pope John XXII to the master of the Livonian branch of the Order, Gerhard

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**59** Päsler, *Sachliteratur*, 327–38.

**60** *LW*, 668 (no. 6): "Eykint, his brother, and Mase, rode from Jenstilte up to a sacred grove [*bys czum heilgin walde*], called Assywiote, a journey of 2 miles… The same group went from Stabuncaln to Cosleykin, a 2 mile journey. There is along this route an oak grove (!), where one must not ride." Hirsch, who edited the *Wegeberichte*, identified the word *damerow* with the Polish word *Dąbrowa* ("oak tree grove").

**61** *LW*, 675: "do lyt eyn heilig wald und eyn vlys, do sal das heer die erste nacht legen."

**62** *LW*, 677, records a route "from the sacred grove of Rumbyn in the land of Medeniken" (*Von deme heyligen walde von Rambyn in das lant czu Medeniken*), in which there are good food and water supplies. See also 687–88: "From Milsowe is 2 miles up to Saüten to the sacred wood. The army should camp here, there is sufficient supplies for an army" (*von Milsowe ij mile bis czü Saüten czü deme heiligenwalde do müs man das heer legen, do ist czü herende genük*).

**63** Nielsen, "Woods and Wilderness," 167–69.

**64** See *LR*, 21 (lines 883–90) and Urban and Smith, eds. and trans., *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, 12. Henry of Livonia's record for the expedition can be found in *HCL*, 148 (22.2); Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 166–8 (22.2).

of Jork, dated to February 23, 1318.[65] They also established a means for another important aspect of landscape sacralization: pilgrimage. This is a crucial focus in the coming chapters, but for the time being it is important to highlight that the literary themes were effectively propagated to participants in the crusades.

The lack of religious themes in the chronicles documenting the *Reisen* reflects a change in the understanding of holy war. By the fourteenth century, crusading in the Baltic changed from more traditional manifestations of holy war to reflections of individual piety and chivalric prowess.[66] Scholars have studied the *Reisen* as reflections of traditional, and new, perceptions of crusade, but one cannot deny the secular characters that they came to possess. This obstacle has done little to hamper the amount of recent work on the perception of the Baltic region by crusaders in terms of its association with paganism, notably the paganism of its inhabitants, by participants on the *Reisen*.[67] As Alan Murray has noted, the shift in describing the Lithuanian enemies as a product of the crusaders' "existing mental horizon," namely calling them "Saracens," one also wonders to what extent the landscape and contemporary descriptions of it experienced a similar shift. In what way did they adapt a concept like crusading, which was so centreed on sacred landscapes, to the pagan region of the Baltic?[68]

Literary representations of the Baltic as a landscape linked with crusading were altered because of this shift in mentality.[69] The exotic nature of *heathenesse* can be seen in the works of Chaucer, the accounts of French noblemen who journeyed to Lithuania, and as demonstrated in the works of Loïc Chollet, who has articulated the transformation in contemporaries' perceptions of Lithuania at the end of the fourteenth century.[70] The association of idolatry with the region remained until the fifteenth, one example being the work of Philippe of Mézières.[71] Communications between the Grand Masters and the leaders of Christendom applied this to both the Lithuanians and the Kingdom of Poland.[72] Treating these accusations as literary symbols allows us to understand how this shift affected contemporary perceptions of the landscape in the late fourteenth-century Baltic. Forests held profoundly symbolic meanings within medieval literature, which would have been familiar to many knights participating on the *Reisen*.[73] For example, King Arthur adorned the walls of Lochstedt castle (Rus. Pawlowo), as did the other Nine Worthies, chivalric heroes who epitomized adventure and piety. The Table of Honour (*Ehrentisch*), a key feature of the later crusades in Lithuania thought to derive from

**65** *LUB* 2: col. 105 (no. 661).

**66** Chollet, "*Voyages*," 55–6.

**67** Chollet, "*Voyages*," 58; Chollet and Mažeika, "Familiar Marvels?" 41–62; Murray, "Heathens," 205–11.

**68** Murray, "Heathens," 218–21.

**69** Pluskowski, *Archaeology*, 162. Also see Paravicini, PR 2: 52.

**70** Chollet, "*Voyages*," 54–5; Chollet, *Sarrasins*, 141–52, for example.

**71** Chollet, "*Voyages*," 55–60.

**72** Particularly in the fifteenth century. See Leighton and Kwiatkowski, "Great War" (forthcoming).

**73** Classen, *Forest*, 9–11.

chivalric legends surrounding Arthur, was a popular element of crusading in the late fourteenth century.[74] The table was set up on campaign, often in the same "wilderness" described in Wigand of Marburg's chronicle. This was the case in his account of a *Reise* in 1391, in which the Grand Master of the Order "decreed that the table of honour be prepared before Old Kaunas."[75] Later, in 1392, the Grand Marshal of the Order, Engelhard Rabe, prepared the table at the castle of Johannisburg (Pol. Pisz).[76] Therefore, the literary elements associated with chivalric culture would be easily applicable by contemporaries to the pagan landscape in Lithuania, specifically those associating forests with adventure but also piety.[77] With respect to crusading in the Baltic, the *desertum* was a unique phenomenon that attracted nobles to the north. It came to be one of the defining features of the experience of crusaders in Prussia, as pointed out in the seminal work of Paravicini.[78]

However, the chronicle evidence remains fragmented for the period of the *Reisen*. More enlightening for our understanding of Prussia and Livonia as sacred landscapes in this period is the correspondence between the Grand Masters of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia, the bishops of Prussia and Livonia, and the rulers of Christendom. By the end of the fourteenth century, the expeditions against the pagans were done as part of the defense of *Christianitas*. Following the conversion of Lithuania in 1386, the Teutonic Order needed to stress the importance of its existence to Christendom and developed a foreign policy in its diplomacy that helped accomplish this. As demonstrated convincingly in the work of Sebastian Kubon, the territorial expansion of the Order at this time was not due to military engagements, but the diplomatic strategy of the Teutonic Order and the expansion of Christianity that was responsible for this.[79]

These letters provide ample evidence of the earlier materials' role in creating distinct ways in which the region was described and communicated, specifically the roles of the Teutonic Order and the Church in its defense. As such, these descriptors in the correspondence reveal a variety of individual and collective agendas.[80] A letter to the Holy Roman Emperor, dated to ca. 1400, highlights the martial prowess of the Order "on this end of holy Christendom," indicating the sense that the landscape in which these wars occurred was indeed incorporated into Christianity at this time. The register of Conrad of Jungingen repeats this message, indicating its importance to the Order's foreign correspondence. Regularly, the themes of defending Christendom, as well as the brothers in

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**74** See Steinbrecht, *Lochstedt*, 14–22. For the Ehrentisch, see Voigt, GP 5, 712–8, at 712; Paravicini, PR 1: 316–34; Paravicini, PR 2; Paravicini, PR 3: 598–604.

**75** Wigand, 645: "Ynsterburgenses…intrant terram *in locum, ubi quondam antiquum Cawen stetit; in quo loco magister mensam honoris prepararari mandavit*." *ÄH*, 620, identifies this knight as Conrad of Richarszdorff. The Grand Master was Conrad of Wallenrode.

**76** *AH*, 649.

**77** Sandidge, "Forest," 537–65.

**78** Paravicini, PR 1: 52–66; PR 2: 94.

**79** Kubon, *Außenpolitik*, 77–8.

**80** Kubon, *Außenpolitik*; Srodecki, "*Schilt*," 147–63; Kubon, "Frontier Identities," 97–120.

the Order shedding their blood for God and the Christian faith, were communicated in these letters.[81] A clearer concept emerges of a spatial aspect of *Christianitas* in the Baltic and the still-pagan regions. Even treaties between the Order and Witold, Grand Duke of Lithuania, were done "for the protection of Christendom."[82] As we will see, there also developed a unique rhetoric concerning holy war in the Baltic, both in Prussia and Livonia, that reflects even more clearly the relationship between holy war and perceptions of landscape among contemporaries.

Given the importance of the pagan elements of the landscape just discussed, we now turn to the sources' descriptions of the conversion of this landscape. To do so, we consider the specific manifestations of this through various lenses. The discussion begins with examining the placement of biblical events and models into the pagan landscape of the Baltic to frame the crusades. Moving from this, I discuss the propagation of the specific literary theme of the "Lord's vineyard" (*vinea Domini*), and "new plantation of the Christian faith" (*nova plantatio christianae fidei*). I conclude by noting the unique role of the Virgin Mary in the texts as direct literary creations of a new sacral landscape. In doing so, we see the ways in which the representation and perception of the new sacral landscape in the Baltic formed over time and through a variety of strategies. Moreover, this discussion demonstrates a clearer picture concerning the mentality of crusading and holy war in this region, in that it addresses these themes in texts aimed at crusaders, in addition to Christendom in general.

The first lines of the chronicle of Henry of Livonia, who attributes the very nature of the crusades in that region to divine providence (*divina providencia*), pertain to the sacralization of the landscape, namely that Henry expresses how divine providence removed idolatry from Livonia.[83] A parallel emerges in the introductory remarks of Peter of Dusburg's chronicle. Peter framed the entire mentality of the wars against the Prussians in biblical terms, namely the "signs and wonders" (*signa et mirabilia*) carried out by the Lord expressed in the Book of Daniel (3:99), which narrates the second dream of Nebuchadnezzar. Peter connects these signs and wonders to the region of Prussia directly. He writes that he sees and hears of such great signs and wonders "miraculously carried out by the brothers of the Teutonic Knights in the land of Prussia through God on high."[84] The entire region becomes the stage through which the landscape transforms

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**81** GStA PK, XX. HA, OF Nr. 3, Bl. 19: "hear now, how our brothers, namely on this end of Christendom, suffered great misery and imprisonment at the hands of the unbelievers, and shed their blood for the honour of God, and for the Christian faith" (*allezeit gar horet, nemlichin an desen enden der heilig(en) Cristenheit uns(er)s ordens brude(rn) geschach von den ungloubige(n) grose not und gefenknisse, und vorissunge eres blutes umbe die ere got(is) und des heilge(n) cristengloubens*).

**82** GStA PK, XX. HA, OF Nr. 3, Bl. 27: "Your grace, we wish to make known to you, how Witold, Grand Duke of Lithuania, has made a truce with us, to defend holy Christendom." (*Euwir grosmechtik(eit) begere(n) wir tzu wissen, wie das Witowt grosforste tzu littowen, mit deme wir yn guten truwen tzu meru(n)ge der heiligen cristenheit hatten gemachet und achbarlich vorschreben eynen ewigen frede*).

**83** *HCL*, 1 (1.1); Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 1 (1.1); *LR*, 1–4 (lines 1–126); *PDC*, 44–6 (1.1) and 66–90 (2.6–2.9). For the link between war and Christianization in Henry's chronicle, see Gerber, "Heinrich," 1–18.

**84** *PDC*, 28 (*Prologue*): "Competunt tamen hec verba auctori huius libri…postquam vidit et audivit

from pagan to Christian. Peter notes shortly after the invocation of Daniel that it was nothing short of miraculous, that so few brothers were able to subdue the people of the land of Prussia to the Christian faith, building many fortifications, cities, and castles.[85] As demonstrated in the work of Grischa Vercamer, the *signa et mirabilia* frame the entire conception of time and world view in Peter's chronicle.[86] In this vein, the imagery also applies to his perception of the landscape and how he represented it.

The concept of history in Peter's chronicle is framed in the context of crusade, and draws heavily upon the *Prologue* to the Order's monastic rule.[87] This relationship becomes more concrete in the prologue to the text, when Peter writes: "Listen in what ways the brothers, like Judas Maccabeus, cleansed the holy places of the land of Prussia, which the pagans had earlier polluted through idolatry, and made sacrifices daily to the praise and honor of God."[88] Peter here adapts the concept of the *loca sancta* from 1 Maccabees 4:36: the rededication of the Temple of Jerusalem by Judas.[89] He saw the wars against the pagans as commemorative, successors to the wars of the Maccabees.[90] Employing the imagery of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, Peter's chronicle sought to legitimize the Order's campaigns and situate them within the crusading tradition. He understood the mission of the Order in Prussia as a replication of the Maccabees cleansing the Temple. Peter extended this beyond the imagery of the acts of biblical warriors repeating themselves in the pagan landscape of Prussia. His use of this imagery and its presence in one of the main historical texts of the Baltic crusades thus highlights the role of crusading in adding a new layer to spiritual geographies on the frontier of Christendom.

The analogies continue throughout Peter's chronicle. For example, chapter seven, book two, concerns "the new war of the brothers of the Teutonic house against the pagans of Prussia" (*de novo bello fratrum domus Theutonice contra gentem Pruthenorum*).[91] It begins by noting how these "new wars, chosen by the Lord" were brought to Prussia by the Teutonic Knights and how they were different from previous military encounters. The wars of the Order were not "new" so much as the concept of the crusade was, with

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tot magna signa et tam mirabilia facta insolita et a seculo inaudita, *que per dictos fratres in terra Prussie Deus excelsus misericorditer operari dignatus est*."

**85** Ibid.

**86** Vercamer, "Zeit," 7–23.

**87** See 1 Maccabees 4: 43: "et mundaverunt [the Maccabees – GL] sancta et tulerunt lapides contaminationis in locum inmudum." Also see *PDC*, 32 (*Prologue*). For the memory of Jerusalem in Peter's chronicle: Lotan, "*Querimonia*," 47–55; Fischer, "Heroes," 250. Manion, "Loss," 65–90, addresses the loss of Jerusalem in a broader context.

**88** *PDC*, 32–3 (Prologue): "Attende, qualiter fratres ut Iudas Machabeus loca sancta terre Prussie, que gentes per ydolatriam polluerunt, mundaverunt, et sacrificatur in eis quotidie Deo sacrificium laudis et honoris."

**89** 1 Maccabees. 4: 36: "Ecce contriti sunt inimic nostri: ascendamus nunc mundare sancta, et renovare." *SDO*, 25 (*Prologue*, 3): "Dei suffulti iuvamine adeo contriverunt, *ut sancta iterato mundaverunt, arcem Syon reciperent et redderent pacem terre*."

**90** Morton, "Defence," 275–93. For their role in the identity of the Teutonic Order, see Helm and Ziesemer, *Literatur*, 95–100; Fischer, "Maccabees," 59–71.

**91** *PDC*, 66–8 (2.7).

Peter noting that it was accomplished through "a new way of fighting, because it was not only by means of materials, but by spiritual weapons, namely prayer, that the enemies were conquered."[92] Peter then proceeds to use the example of Moses in Exodus 17:11 to demonstrate this, which narrates how the Israelites fought Amalech at the battle of Rephidim. When Moses held his hands to the sky in prayer, Israel was victorious. In this way, Peter cements the relationship of the wars against the Prussians and prayer, highlighting how the brothers' early history in the region mimics that of the Old Testament, a foundational element of crusading liturgies of warfare.[93]

This is a superb example of how biblical *topoi* came to play a large role in portraying a new sacred landscape in the Baltic. Following this, Peter recounts the predecessors of the Order in the Old Testament figures, particularly the Maccabees.[94] These new wars of the Order find their roots in its earliest pieces of historical writing, namely the Prologue to its *Rule* (ca. 1264).[95] Peter draws on this early text and applies its biblical imagery to the Baltic landscape. For example, one should note that in Exodus 17, Moses leads the Israelites through the wilderness (*desertum*), and after the victory at Rephidim, he constructs an altar to commemorate the victory, naming it "the Lord is my banner."[96] In the midst of this desert, then, Moses' altar became a sacred point in which God's assistance was present. This would become a key feature of battles in the Baltic region, evidenced in formularies used for preaching to the local Christian population and guest crusaders. One example can be seen in a prayer formula dated to around 1382 and appended to the formulary book of Arnold of Protzan (d. 1342).[97] The text speaks of "the Knights of Christ proceeding against the Lithuanians" (*Cristi Militum ad Reisam procedencium contra Litwanos*), likening them to the Israelites at Rephidim, thus demonstrating the power of this imagery in the Baltic region well after the composition of Peter's chronicle.[98]

Following the example of Moses at Rephidim, Peter outlines the physical and spiritual weapons of the Teutonic Order, the new weapons through which the new wars were fought. After elaborating on the dual meanings of ten weapons, the most significant example concerning the wars of the Order and a new sacred landscape in Prussia can be seen in Peter's statement outlining how the weapons should be used. He lists six reasons for doing so: 1) to carry out war according to God's will; 2) on account of the ambushes of the enemy; 3) on account of open attacks of the enemy; 4) to ensure the Order's properties can be held in peace; 5) to regain lost properties; and 6) to instill fear into the

**92** *PDC*, 66 (2.7): "Nec tantum est novitas in bello, sed eciam in novo genere bellandi, quia non solum materialibus, sed armis spiritualibus vincitur hostis, sicilicet oracione."

**93** Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, 41–2.

**94** *SDO*, 23–5. For Judith, see *PDC*, 68 (2.8): "Sed quia Iudith non in armorum potencia, sed in virtute laudatur, eo quod occidit Holofernem, quis in arcu suo soeravit et gladius eius salvavit eum?" Also see Morton, "Defence of the Holy Land," 275–93, at 283.

**95** *SDO*, 24–5. For context, see Arnold, "Anfänge," 177–96.

**96** Exodus 17:15: "Aedificavitque Moyses altare: et vocavit nomen ejus, Domunis exaltatio mea."

**97** Wattenbach, ed., *Formelbuch*, 307.

**98** Wattenbach, ed., *Formelbuch*, xix–xxii.

enemy upon seeing the brothers.[99] Most significant here is the fifth cause, which would appear as an attempt to legitimize crusading in a land with no shrines: to recover lost properties (*bona*). The scriptural grounding for this in Peter's treatise is the imagery of the Israelites entering the Promised Land: "just as the Israelites armed themselves and entered the Promised Land, which God had given to their fathers, and recovered it from their enemies," so the Order entered Prussia, which had been lost to Christendom on account of collective sin.[100] Here, Matthew 11:12, in which the Kingdom of Heaven is taken by force, is alluded to. This citation reflects Peter placing the conquest of Prussia into Salvation History, when the Church would be under attack by violent men. Therefore, the knights' battles here were placed in such a framework, legitimizing the violence against the attackers of the Church (i.e., the Prussians).[101]

Peter, of course, is not the only example to solidify the importance of transplanting biblical themes directly to the non-Christian landscape, though he was the only chronicler of the Teutonic Order to use them with significant frequency. We must look to earlier sources to study the ways in which contemporary views of the Bible commentary shaped perception of the landscape in Livonia. Henry of Livonia applied biblical language and scenarios to the scenes he witnessed, which in effect led to the creation of a sacralized geography, a place in which the events of the Old Testament were re-created. His chronicle incorporates over 1,000 direct (and indirect) citations of the Bible, more than many chronicles documenting the crusades to the Holy Land.[102] The first line of the text invokes Old Testament imagery of Raab and Babylon, framed in Psalm 86 by their connection to God and Zion. It is this reason that the crusade came to Livonia, namely to purify the people (and the landscape) of idolatry.[103] The first line of Psalm 86, too, states that God "founded his sanctuary in the holy mountains," thus making the point that the new cities of the crusades in Livonia were replications, mentally, of this imagery.[104] This can also apply to the religious functions of cities founded by the crusaders, many of which became sites of pilgrimage, as is analyzed in Chapter 3.[105] The Old Testament played a key role in Henry's chronicle, particularly the Maccabees, Books of Kings, Samuel, and Judges, for legitimizing and sacralizing the conflicts between Christians and non-Christians in Livonia.[106]

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**99** *PDC*, 84–90 (2.9).

**100** *PDC*, 88 (2.9): "Sic filii Israel armis armati in terram promossionis ascenderunt, quam Deus dederat patribus eorum, et occupatam de manibus hostium recuperaverunt. *Ita per virtutum arma regnum celorum, quod per peccata amisimus, vim patimur et violenti rapiunt illud* et possident in eternum."

**101** Barton and Muddiman, eds., *Oxford Bible Commentary*, 860.

**102** Undusk, "Sacred History," 47–9.

**103** For the connection of places mentioned in the Bible to the landscape, see Westrem, "Gog and Magog," 54–75. For the connection to Babylon, see *HCL*, 1–2 (1.1); Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 1 (1.1).

**104** Psalm 86: 1: "Fundamentum eius in montibus sanctuarii."

**105** Levāns, "Riga," 53–81, at 53–8.

**106** Undusk, "Sacred History," 54.

The Battle of Gerwen described above is a clear example of Henry's exegetical skills with respect to linking the sacralization of landscape to the crusade experience. The chronicler invokes a total of five biblical citations with respect to the battle: Jeremiah 9:22, 2 Maccabees 5:12; 1 Maccabees 5:51; Acts 23:3; and 1 Samuel 7:11. Aside from Acts, all of Henry's citations evoke *exampla* of God's chosen people fighting a divine battle. Specifically, the imagery of 1 Samuel 7:11 recounts the battle between the Israelites and the Philistines at Mispah. Following the victory of the Israelites, Samuel founded Ebenezer, to commemorate that God fought on the side of the men of Israel. Indeed, in Henry's example of this battle near Gerwen, he emphasizes that the crusader army celebrated a mass. While they did not erect a monument to commemorate the victory, the example highlights the ways in which Henry used the Bible as a tool for understanding the sacralization of landscape. Frequently, he also favours the mission of Paul and the Apostles in Acts 27:40. Leonid Arbusow, Jr., identifies at least nine allusions to this theme. This reference to the shipwreck of St. Paul on his way to Rome appears frequently in Henry's text, often used to frame the missions of the Bishop of Riga, Albert, to Germany to collect pilgrims for the Livonian crusades, reflecting a division between the Christian and pagan worlds. One particularly unique example is the depiction of a priest killed in Cubbesele (Lat. Krimulda), in which his death occurs at the hands of pagans hiding in the woods. Just as the Romans holding Paul commit themselves to the sea, so do those hiding in the woods commit themselves to kill the parish priest.[107]

Moving on from the chronicles of Peter and Henry, the remaining texts are not so clear in their use of the Bible. The *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, for example, begins with a brief salvation history, noting how it was through God, Christ, and the Virgin that Christianity spread and eventually came to Livonia.[108] This is one of the rare accounts in the text to incorporate the landscape of Livonia within that of Christianity. Marcus Wüst has argued that the speech of Berthold, the second bishop of Livonia (d. 1198), reminding the crusaders before his martyrdom that they are in Livonia because of God's blood, can be read in the context of John 15: 14–16, which considers the role of friendship and service to God through the allegory of Christ as the true vine (*vitis vera*).[109] This appears to be the only biblical connections present in the author's text. Moreover, Berthold's exhortation to an army of crusaders in July of 1198 speaks to the author's perception of Livonia as a sacred landscape. The short speech (only 31 lines) reveals a strong awareness of the concepts of martyrdom, memory, and the Divine presence, as motivating elements for the audience. While Berthold's martyrdom is discussed at greater length in Chapter 3, it is important here that he says in the text, "Remember, good heroes, how

**107** *HCL*, 51 (11.5); Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 70–1 (11.5).

**108** *LR*, 3 (lines 113–123): "Now I have told you / of God's son and his mother / Mary, my lady, / the heavenly queen, / and how the Christian law, / here and there spread out / in many lands. / Now I will tell you, / how Christianity came to Livonia / as I have heard from many wise people." (*Nû hân ich ûch gesaget / von gotes sune und der maget / Marîen, der vrowen mîn, / der himelischen kunigîn, / und wie sîn gotlîcher rât, / hin und her geteilet hât / dem cristentûm in manich lant. / nû wil ich machen ûch bekant, / wie der cristentûm ist komen / zû Nieflant, als ich hân vernomen / von allen wîsen lûten.*).

**109** Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 62–4.

Jesus Christ shed his holy blood for us on the cross…we are here [in Livonia] on account of God on high, who does not abandon his friends in battle."[110] The call to the army to remember Christ's suffering, and the role played by God in their presence, reflects an understanding of the landscape as a space in which holy war takes place, as opposed to the suggestions of Lazda-Cazers that it instead represents repressed sexual desires and threatens the brothers' idea of corporate masculinity.[111] The reference to Livonia as the land of God's mother (*sîner lieben mûter lant*), the preference for female saints within the Order's liturgical calendar, and the praise of women in the chronicle (such as Morta, the wife of Mindaugas of Lithuania) suggests that the author of the *Reimchronik* understood Livonia primarily in religious terms.[112]

There are more direct occurrences and applications of biblical themes to the geography of the Baltic, where chroniclers transplant actual places mentioned in the Bible to the landscape. Hermann of Wartberge, for example, writes of a mountain near the city of Riga called "mons zabuli," the term "zabuli" referring to the Old Testament figure of Zebulun. Zebulun was a son of Jacob and Leah, whose people "shall settle at the shore of the sea and be a haven for ships." In the Gospel of Matthew, the land of Zebulun is by the sea, giving light to people in darkness. Given the sparse biblical imagery in the Order's later chronicles, the connection of the tribe of Zebulun by Hermann to the vicinity of Riga, known as a haven for ships and founded due to its harbour, is a high point in Hermann's text.[113] Henry of Livonia, describing the arrival of Albert of Riga and a group of pilgrims in 1200, frames the event in the context of Judges 4:10, when Barak summoned ten thousand Israelites on Mt. Tabor, one of whom is Zebulun.[114] The people of Riga maintain a tradition surrounding the place into the early modern period, where a chronicler for the Riga cathedral notes the sacred hill (*Heilberc*) outside Riga where the martyrdom of Berthold occurred. Henry of Livonia uses the River Jordan to highlight the struggles of the mission in Estonia during the thirteenth century.[115] A survey of the early books of Henry's chronicle also reveals a pattern of specific citations to frame events, one example being the use of Acts 27:40 to describe the arrival of Meinhard in Livonia, and subsequent arrivals of crusaders. This refers to Paul's mission to Rome, specifically his shipwreck on the way. The "land they did not recognize" (*terram non agnoscebant*) thus represents the pagan landscape of Livonia.[116]

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**110** *LR*, 13 (lines 523–554): "gedenket helde gût, / daz Jhêsus Crist sîn reinez blût / *vor unz an dem crûze gôz* / … / *wir sîn durch got von himele hie*, / *der sîne vrûnd nie vorlie* / *in diekeiner slachte nôt*."

**111** Lazda-Cazers, "Landscape as Other," 198–206.

**112** *LR*, 75 (lines 3257–3263), at line 3263; Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 65. For veneration of female saints, see Rozynkowski, *Omnes Sancti*, 25–46; Arnold, "Maria als Patronin," 29–56; K. Kwiatkowski, *"corporatio militaris,"* 273–5.

**113** See Genesis 49:13; Matthew 4:15–16.

**114** *HCL*, 13 (4.1); Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 36 (4.1). Judges 4:10.

**115** *HCL*, 201 (28.4); Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 222 (28.4).

**116** Acts 27: 40. The citation appears throughout Henry of Livonia's *Chronicle*, see *HCL*, 3 (1.5); 5 (1.10); 8 (2.2); 11 (2.9); 14 (4.4); 19 (7.1); 30 (9.8); 41 (10.11).

The application of biblical themes to various events in the chronicles for both Livonia and Prussia demonstrate that their authors were keenly aware of the place of Livonia and Prussia within the broader framework of salvation history. However, there emerges from the vast corpus of texts for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a distinct theme for both the regions that highlights the conversion of the landscape. This is the concept of "the Lord's new vineyard," which emerges early in the history of the conversion of the Baltic to frame the crusade expeditions there and the landscape in which they take place.[117]

Most of the vineyard terminology can be found in correspondence, especially papal letters. It was applied to the Baltic as early as the 1170s, when Alexander III referred to the "cultivators of the faith" (*fidei cultores*) in Estonia and equated the crusade in Livonia with that of Jerusalem.[118] The theme and its connection to the military orders was present in Livonia from the same period, when Innocent III wrote in 1203 that the Sword Brothers, vested with the habit of the Templars, "resist strongly and courageously the barbarian invasions there in the new plantation of Christianity" (*qui…barbaris infestantibus ibi novella plantationem fidei Christianae resistant viriliter et potenter*).[119] Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the theme was applied in a variety of circumstances, from land donations to the preaching of crusades. In 1218, Honorius III refers to Livonia and Prussia as "the new plantation of the Christian faith" (*novella plantatio fidei Christianae*) in his exhortation to the faithful in Mainz, Cologne, Salzburg, Poland, and Pomerania.[120] He uses this same imagery in a letter to the faithful there, to whom he writes of the barbarian practices of the pagans and put those who went to Prussia, in "the new plantation of the faith," on the same level as those who went to the Holy Land.[121] This was also used to motivate potential crusaders, such as those in Gotland, a major hub for crusaders going to Livonia since the twelfth century.[122] A series of letters sent to the Dominicans and Franciscans, in particular, reveal the enthusiasm of popes for using the theme to inspire increased preaching duties in Germany, Poland, and Bohemia. These were issued by Innocent IV and Alexander IV in 1248, and 1257–1260.[123] Indeed, in the latter group, these exhortations to defend the new plantation of the faith

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**117** *PDC*, 42–4 (1.1). "Sicque institutis et confirmatus et multis privilegis dotatus est venerandus ille militaris ordo fratrum hospitalis sancte Marie domus Theutonicorum Ierosolimitani. *Hec est vinea Domini Sabaoth electa*, quam tu, Iesu Criste, intituisti fuistique dux itineris in conspectus eius. *Plantasti radices eius et implevit terram*." My italics.

**118** *LUB*, 1: col. 5 (no. 5): "…regibus et principibus et aliis Christi fidelibus per regna Danorum, Norwegensium, Guetomorum et Gothorum constitutis…cum feritatem Estonum et aliorum paganorum illarum partium adversus Dei fideles, *et Christianae fidei cultores* gravis insurgere, et immaniter debacchari audimus, et Christiani nominis impugnare virtutem."

**119** *LUB* 1: 19 (no. 14). "Qui sub templariorum habitu, barbaris infestantibus *ibi novella plantationem fidei Christianae resistant viriliter et potenter*."

**120** *PrUB* 1.1: 15 (no. 20)

**121** *PrUB* 1.1: 21 (no. 29).

**122** *LUB* 1: col. 228 (no. 174)

**123** *LUB* 1: col. 228 (no. 174). For the remaining letters, see *LUB* 1: col. 398 (no. 311); *PrUB* 1.2: 17 (no. 23); *LUB* 1: col. 402 (no. 314); *PrUB* 1.2: 22 (no. 28); *PrUB* 1.2: 55 (no. 61); *LUB* 1: col. 431 (no. 341); *LUB* 1: col. 445 (no. 350); *LUB* 1: col. 448 (no. 353).

coincided with the Great Prussian Uprising of 1260–1274. Thus, throughout the thirteenth century, the imagery was used as a motivator for potential crusaders, particularly in how the letters of Alexander IV depicted the suffering of the Teutonic Knights. The employment of such language reflects a concerted effort to muster support for the crusade by appealing to emotions, especially in the correspondence between Alexander IV and the Dominicans. We see this in the use of language associated with suffering, martyrdom, and the irrigation of *novella plantacio* with the blood of brothers in the Order and crusaders, explored in Chapter 3. However, with respect to this chapter, the invocation of such emotional language with respect to the landscapes of Livonia and Prussia as intertwined with Christian suffering serves as a portal through which to view how language aided in their perception as new sacred places, and how this was communicated. In doing so, it also adds to the multilayered experience of holy war on this frontier region in the thirteenth century.

Chroniclers of the crusade to the Baltic use this language from the time of Henry of Livonia, and it was a popular phrase in the foreign policies of Innocent III.[124] Teutonic Order chroniclers writing around the end of the fourteenth century adopted the metaphor of the vine and of fertility, too, indicating a continuity of tradition. It was an appropriate theme to show the conversion process and frame the wars in the Baltic as divinely sanctioned. The chroniclers in the Baltic used the vine as a metaphor for Christianity and conversion, which drove out the pagan religion from the land. It was used by Peter of Dusburg,[125] Henry of Livonia,[126] and remained in use until the early fifteenth century. Hermann of Wartberge, for example, records a meeting with the archbishop of Riga and the master of the Order, Winrich of Kniprode, which refers to Livonia as "the plantation of the Christian faith" (*plantacione christianitatis in Livonia*) in this discussion between bishop and Master.[127] Perhaps most indicative of this rhetorical element in the sources of the Teutonic Order, however, can be seen in the letters of Grand Master, Conrad of Jungingen. For example, in 1403, he uses it in his appeal to Pope Urban VI to continue crusades against the Lithuanians. He describes the Order as fighting "for the expansion of the vineyard of the Lord Sabaoth…waging in good faith the wars of the Lord against the resistance of the infidels and tyranny of the Schismatics."[128] Given the long history of the imagery of the vineyard and the *novella plantatio*, it would seem that it had come full turn in this exchange, demonstrating its resonance to the members of the Teutonic Order, but also to audiences who were not associated with it in Prussia.

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**124** Bolton, "Philip Augustus," 113–34.

**125** *PDC*, 44 (1.1): "Transtulisti eam postea et eiecisti gentes de terra Prussie et Lyvonie et plantasti eam ibi et sic extendit palmites suous usque ad mare et usque ad flumen propagines eius."

**126** *HCL*, 29 (9.7); Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 50–1 (9.7). For other examples, see *HCL*, 46 (10.14), 158 (23.4), 170 (24.1), 176 (24.5), 208 (29.2).

**127** *HWC*, 86–7.

**128** *CDP* 5: 188–9 (no. 137): "Quinvero super erogantes nos et nostra *ad dilatandum vineam domini Sabaoth…prelia domini contra occursus infidelium et Scismaticorum tyranidem gessimus bona fide*." "Schismatics" here refers to the Russians.

The military order chroniclers brought a distinct literary tradition centred on place and landscape to the Baltic region. The themes of the *vinea Domini* and *novella plantatio* serve to describe the conversion-oriented nature of the crusades, whilst also continuing the tradition of placing the Holy Land in the Baltic region. This language emerged in the legal evidence in the twelfth century, but by the fourteenth it was commonplace and shows the continuity of this imagery in developing a sense of "place." In this way, the northeastern frontiers of Christendom become landscapes associated directly with crusading, and therefore, sacralized, through the development and deployment of specific language.

The fourteenth century coincides with the peak of the visual expression of the Order's crusading ideology in the region. Centres at Marienburg, Elbing, Kulm, and Königsberg were all important stops for those visiting Prussia on the relic pilgrimages in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.[129] Given that crusading cemented itself in the Baltic by the end of the fourteenth century, with the conquest of the Prussians and the impending start of the *Reisen*, it could be the emergence of these traditional shrines that ended the necessity to portray the landscape as the earlier sources did. The sacrality of the region, the possibility of martyrdom, and the propagation of its connection to the Virgin could, in other words, have been cemented as well and therefore such elaborations were not needed. This final section discusses the physical expression of the pagan landscape during the Baltic crusades, namely through major works of art in the Teutonic Order's castles and churches in Livonia and Prussia from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It highlights a broader alignment of word and image with respect to the development of a new sacred landscape, particularly in the depictions of vineyard imagery.

Vineyard themes in the art of Prussia can be traced to the thirteenth century in the Order's castles at Elbing, the episcopal castle of Frauenburg, Lochstedt, and, most importantly, the Order's headquarters at Marienburg. The examples of medieval art in Livonia from the crusade period are scant at best, though the recent work of Kersti Markus has shown the important ways that crusading ideology was visually expressed in the eastern Baltic in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[130] One of the only remaining examples are the churches on the island of Ösel (Est. Saaremaa), constructed in the mid-thirteenth century. These churches served as important markers in the landscape, and while it is not certain the extent to which crusaders on subsequent campaigns visited them, the visual evidence within them does speak to a link between text and image in the thirteenth-century Eastern Baltic. Janusz Trupinda has highlighted convincingly the relationship between the written word of the Order chronicles and the visual culture of the Chapel of the Virgin in Marienburg, as has Juliusz Raczkowski in the cathedral of Königsberg, and Monika Jakubek-Raczkowska in the spaces used by the local population.[131]

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**129** Zacharias, "Wallfahrtsstätte," 49; Zacharias, "Reliquienwallfahrt," 11–36.

**130** Arszyński, "Fortified Architecture," 202; Markus, "Christianisierung," 477–8.

**131** Trupinda, "Peter von Dusburg," 513–28; Boesten-Stengel, "Schlosskirche," 81–100; Raczkowski, "Marien-Aussage," 119–36, at 124–5; Jakubek-Raczkowska, Tu ergo.





Figure 4. a: Karja Church, thirteenth century; b, c, d: Leaf and floral sculptures, Karja Church. Photographs by author.

Figure 5. Vine sculptures, Kaarma Church (fifteenth century?). Photographs by author.

Scholars have connected the Livonian churches to those constructed in Westphalia, a region from which many crusaders who journeyed to Livonia originated.[132] In this sense, there might be a link between the recipients of the language of the many papal bulls proclaiming the Baltic crusades and patrons of art in the region. These church interiors preserve some of the best sculptural examples of crusading art in the northeastern Baltic from the thirteenth century, demonstrating a parallel in vineyard imagery in both Livonia and Prussia. At Karja, and Kaarma, the imagery of these floral sculptures is well preserved. (Figure 4, Figure 5). We only know of a few crusaders who patronized and supported the construction of churches in Livonia, perhaps the most famous being Bernard of Lippe. Moreover, a variety of studies concerning the nature and function of medieval churches in Estonia, particularly those of Kaur Alttoa, have analyzed the spatial and artistic nature of these buildings.[133]

In Livonia, there are few remains of other examples to discuss the visual depictions of landscape themes, but the imagery in chronicles as early as Arnold of Lübeck with respect to the vineyard, and the relationship of the vineyard to the spread of Christianity

**132** Kjellin, *Karris*, 23–38; Tuulse, "Wehrkirchen," 137–92. Also see Alttoa, "Zwikelkolonette," 7–41, for the links between the churches to those of Westphalia. For the origins of crusaders to Livonia, see von Transehe-Roseneck, *Livlandfahrer*, 1–20.

**133** Alttoa, "Fortified Churches," 124–38.

Figure 6. Sculpted baptismal font, Church of St. Nicholas, Elbing (ca. 1270). Photograph © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, reproduced with permission.

(via crusading), are an important element in the art of the eastern Baltic from an early period. As recently demonstrated with respect to church architecture of the eastern Baltic, there are still more questions than answers with respect to crusading iconography in the region.[134] However, the clear alignment of the message in the texts with the visual culture of the region reflects a distinct sense of place shaped by the written culture. More solid examples, spanning both the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, can be found in the material of the southern Baltic, thanks to the work of Kersti Markus, which are discussed at greater length below.

The main examples of art in Prussia can be found in the Teutonic Order's churches and castles. They reflect on larger and smaller scales the visuality of the landscape reflected in the examples discussed in this chapter. The examples discussed here, in chronological order, include a baptismal font from Elbing (ca. 1270), the Golden Gate at Marienburg (ca. 1280), the cathedral portal at Frauenburg (ca. 1300), decorations in the churches of Juditten and Arnau (1380–1390), and frescoes at Lochstedt (ca. 1400). Throughout a period of nearly two centuries, the symbolism of the landscape became a significant element in the art of the region, thus speaking to its impact on a variety of different groups, from brothers in the Order, to visiting crusaders and the local Christian population.

At Elbing, a baptismal font from c. 1270 (Figure 6) from the cathedral church of St. Nicholas bears relief carvings of what appears to be a dragon, and some sculpted oak and vine leaves surrounding it. This is a visual expression of the pagan elements of the landscape that came to frame the crusades as a conflict between good and evil.[135]

**134** Harjula *et al*., *Sacred Monuments*, 2–32.

**135** Dygo, "Kultur," 58.

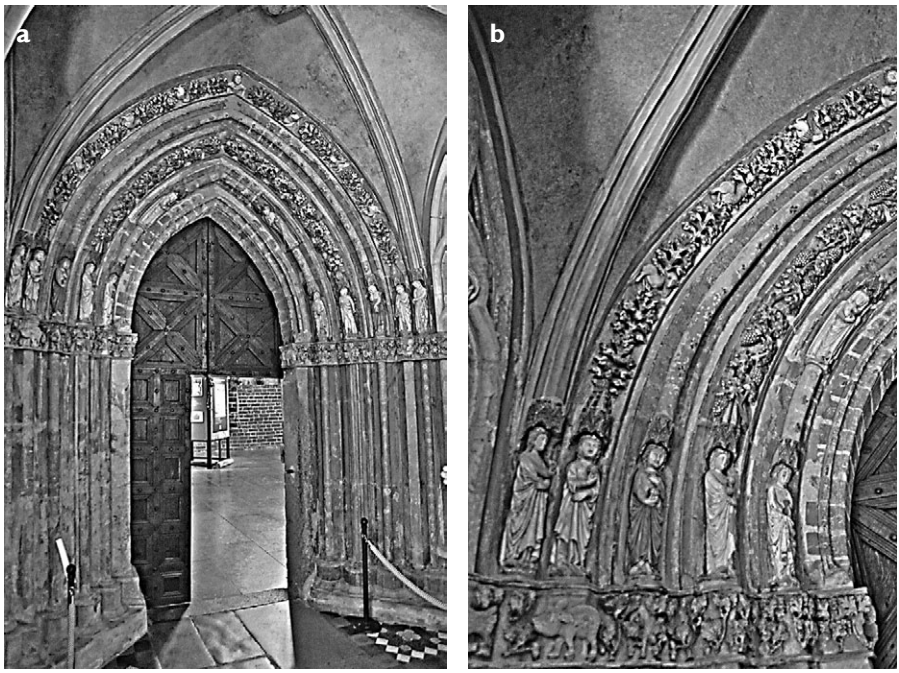


Figure 7. a: Golden Gate, Marienburg (ca. 1280); b: detail of the Golden Gate, showing the Wise Virgins. Photographs by author.

By far, one of the most important examples of the language of the chronicles is the Golden Gate at Marienburg (ca. 1280, Figures 7a and 7b). It is the first example of the Order's art that one would encounter when entering the main chapel at Marienburg. The artwork in the Golden Gate provides a visual connection to how crusading led to a distinct sense of "place," for the entrance into the sacred space of the chapel necessitates a confrontation with a visual program depicting Prussia's pre-Christian landscape. The imagery of the vineyard and the pagan landscape of Prussia visually demonstrate to those using the space the history of the Order's wars in converting the landscape and its people.

The Golden Gate also displays important themes reflecting the Order's understanding of its crusades and how they reflect a sacral geography in Prussia. In the second and fourth archivolts (Figure 7b) are sculpted vines and oak leaves, painted over in gold. The image of the (Christian) vineyard and (pagan) hybrid animals represent the Christianization of Prussia's pagan landscape. Hybrid animals such as strange birds and a centaur figure are also present in the portal, many of which have parallels at other important commanderies of the Order that I will discuss shortly. The use of hybrids and other animals in medieval art had many functions, ranging from spiritual to political, as noted in the work of Kirk Ambrose.[136] In light of the earlier analysis of the "wild" nature of Prussia's landscape represented in the sources, these themes portray contemporary under-

**136** Ambrose, *Marvelous*, 14.

Figure 8. Sculpted friezes at Kulm Cathedral. Photographs by author.

standings of landscape in the Order's artistic program. The beasts and vines highlight the dichotomy between the pagan and newly Christian landscape presented in the texts.

Aleksander Pluskowski considers the Golden Gate's sculpted depictions of monsters and hybrid creatures as didactic tools for those using the chapel, namely brothers in the Teutonic Order. The figures show the ultimate purpose of the Teutonic Order and its wars against the pagans as a symbol of good triumphing over evil, the earthly struggle of the knights (and crusaders) against the pagan Prussians.[137] The hybrids are in the outer archivolts on both sides of the portal, and both sides have what appears to be an equal distribution of hybrid creatures, though on the left side of the portal (Figure 7b), depicting the Wise Virgins, there is a figure representing a lamb. The vine and oak imagery, in

**137** Pluskowski, *Archaeology*, 158.

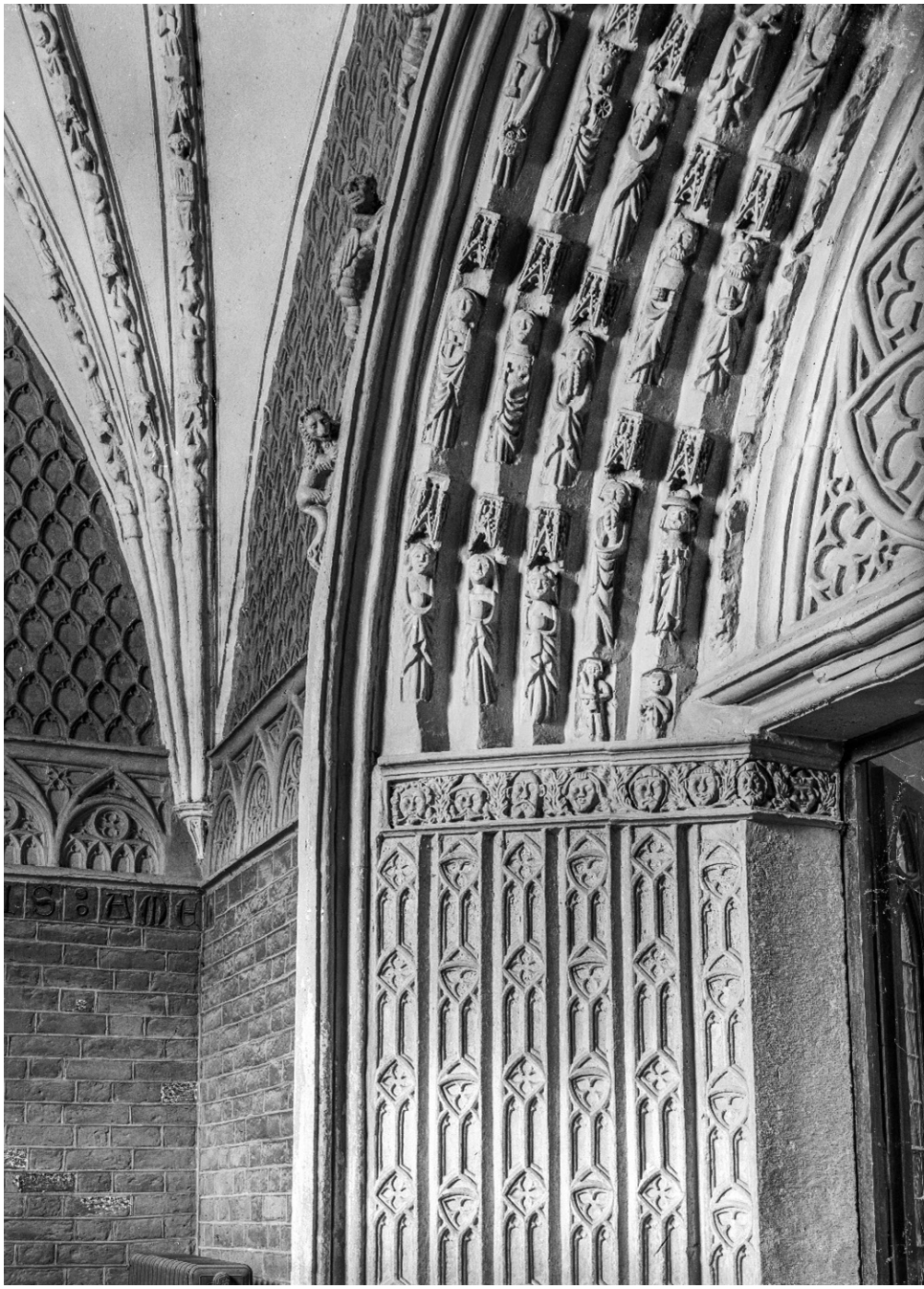

Figure 9. Cathedral portal, Frauenburg (ca. 1290).
Photograph © Bildindex Foto Marburg, reproduced with permission.

which some of these creatures are intertwined, reflects the intermingling elements of the Prussian landscape.

The Virgins show the triumph of the church in their ascension toward Christ, who is at the top of the portal. Given their didactic function, the themes also express the Order's understanding of its history and identity, and its projection of these to its patrons and members. The early conquests not only gained land for the Order to control, but through constructing their convents and expressing these artistic themes to brethren in the Order who used the castle, the imagery of landscape played a role in shaping the Order's perception of itself. This pattern was not unique to Marienburg, showing the importance of these didactic tools and landscape imagery to the Order's art.[138] Other parallels include examples at Frauenburg, Brandenburg, Mewe (Pol. Gniew), Kulm, Elbing, Rehden, and Lochstedt, the last of which I will return to shortly. Unfortunately, few of these artistic works survive *in situ*.[139] We can see examples of the Golden Gate motif at Kulm (Figure 8), in addition to Frauenburg (Figure 9).

The above examples concern art primarily aimed at the members of the Teutonic Order and local Christians who lived in the cities of Thorn, Elbing, and others. However, a group of churches were also used primarily by crusaders on the *Reisen* in the fourteenth century: these were the small churches in the surrounding area of Königsberg, Juditten (Rus. Mendeleyevo) and Arnau (Rus. Rodniki). Throughout the 1340s and into the fifteenth century, these churches were visited on a regular basis by prominent crusaders, who painted their coats of arms on the walls to commemorate their pilgrimages.[140] Moreover, they were constructed on previous sites of non-Christian worship.[141] The visual programs of these churches reflect key themes from the Bible discussed above, reinforcing the sacralization of the landscape through communicating the extensive themes heard in the literary sources for the crusades in Prussia. In Juditten, a fresco on the eastern wall of the church depicts the Flight from Egypt, in addition to a knight of the Order kneeling before the Virgin Mary, reinforcing the imagery of the Order's land as the Land of the Virgin Mary. Here, if we consider the population of the *Speculum humanae Salvationis* as a visual program in Prussia, the imagery is meant to show a link between the wandering of Moses in the desert (*desertum*), in which he also founded the altar at Rephidim. The coat of arms of the Grand Master, too, adorns the walls in a border intertwined with exotic animals and vines, thus serving as a link to the other centres of the Order at Marienburg (discussed above, as well as in Chapter 5).

At Arnau, we can be more certain of the visual program. Scenes from the *Speculum humanae Salvationis* adorn the walls, linking the Old Testament narratives which grounded and placed the Order's holy wars within Salvation History. This was repeated on a larger scale at Königsberg cathedral, the main gathering point for crusaders arriv-

**138** Pospieszny, "Cegiełka," 33.

**139** Sarnowsky, *Deutsche Orden*, 82.

**140** See Paravicini, PR 1: 305–9.

**141** Herrmann, *Architektur*, 128.



Figure 10. a: Stork fresco, Lochstedt; b: Chapel interior, Lochstedt. Photographs © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, reproduced with permission.

ing in Prussia.[142] In the beginning of the chapter, the other elements of the landscape, namely the strange beasts and barbarous men inhabiting it, were used to show the pagan element of the Baltic region before the crusades. One sees the maintenance of this concept in the late fourteenth century, namely in the castle at Lochstedt (Rus. Pawlowo), pictured in Figure 10. The frescoes of the castle were subject to significant investigation by German conservator, Conrad Steinbrecht, in the early twentieth century, before being destroyed by the Red Army in 1945. The castle was built to "curb the wickedness of the Sambians" around 1270, but by the turn of the century, it served as the main office for the Amber Master. Lochstedt was a smaller, localized example of the Teutonic Order's visual culture in Prussia that demonstrates the importance of landscape to the present study.

As a commandery castle, Lochstedt possessed a chapel within which the brethren were able to perform their monastic duties. The chapel portal and interior, photographed by Karl Heinz Clasen in the 1920s, reflect further parallels to the specific imagery analyzed in this chapter concerning the Christianization of landscape.[143] Most notable are the terracotta friezes on the inside, depicting oak and vine leaves, dated to around 1280.[144] These would have covered the entire space of the chapel, serving as a

**142** Seydel, *Wandmalereien*; Paravicini, PR 1: 339.

**143** See Winnig, *Deutsche Ritterorden*, 55–63; Clasen, *Kunst*, 45–56.

**144** Herrmann, *Architektur*, 95, shows virtually identical terracotta plates in Elbing, Marienburg, and Lochstedt; also see 572–3 for the dating of the castle's building periods.

type of border between the upper and lower portions of the walls. It remains unclear what the frescoes beneath white plaster would have been, but it was common for the Order's chapels to be heavily decorated, particularly with frescoes of the apostles and figures from the Old Testament (as was the case in the Chapel of the Virgin at Marienburg). These were examined by Janusz Trupinda as a visualization of Peter of Dusburg's chronicle, namely the role of the Teutonic Order in bringing the "new wars" (*nova bella*) to Prussia and the significance of the "signs and wonders" (*signa et mirabilia*).[145]

The presence of this motif in both regions has a practical explanation. In both Livonia and Prussia, research concentrates on studying parallels between the architectural styles in northern Germany (particularly the Rhineland and Westphalia) and the lands under the Order's (or bishopric's) rule. In Livonia, it was the influence of political forces such as the king of Denmark, and noble families like the lords of Lippe, who brought about this style of building. Particularly in the latter case, these buildings were direct products of pilgrimage to Livonia since at least the thirteenth century. The *Lippiflorium* of Magister Justinian (ca. 1260) records the deeds of Bernard II of Lippe, who became the abbot of Dünamünde in Livonia, noting how he built fortresses and "constructed churches, which he consecrated, and he appointed clergy there, who completed (*peragat*) the holy duties to God."[146] Kersti Markus' recent study concerning the influence of crusading on church architecture in Livonia uses the political situations in northern Germany, Denmark, and Livonia to reconceptualize this unique period of crusade art.[147] She ultimately concludes, convincingly, that even for a brief glimpse in time, the presence of the newest architectural motifs in the frontier region that was Livonia showed that "the centre became the periphery."[148] Her investigations on the locations of St. Olaf churches in Livonia highlight the transformative role that these buildings played in sacralizing landscapes.[149] Churches dedicated to the saint were founded with both political and economic interests in mind, and a desire to reflect piety and convert Livonia's physical landscape.

The importation of architectural techniques and the visual reflection of crusading, in the form of constructing churches, begs the question to what extent the effects of crusading ideology transformed Livonia and Prussia. Moreover, the perception of the conquest in the visual sources places the sculptured elements common in Livonia and Prussia into a broader context of mission and landscape sacralization. As visible structures linked to the conquest of the region, their thematic elements (such as sculpted vines) represent ideological and conceptual elements of the Christianization process

**145** Trupinda, "Peter von Dusburg," 522–6.

**146** Bernard II of Lippe, for example, was renowned as a builder of churches and cities: *Lippiflorium*, 86 (lines 855–858): "Oppida, castra strui quasi propugnacula contra / Idolatras, armis, milite munit ea; / *Construit ecclesias, quas consecrat*; *ordinat illic* / *Clerum, qui peragat munia sacra deo*." Also see Sauer, "Bernhardus," 185–96.

**147** Markus, "Borderland," 365–90.

**148** Markus, 390.

**149** Markus, "Trade," 3–25.

that those commissioning the churches wished to express.[150] The biblical connections of the mission and the importance of landscape present in the sources, alongside the motivating image of the *terra promissionis*, have a stronger connection to concepts of centre and periphery in this light.

Reinforcing this message strengthened understanding of how those wars shaped Prussia as a sacral landscape. This confirms a deeper level of meaning to contemporaries concerning how crusading was not only responsible for converting Prussia, but also played a role in sacralizing its landscape. The continual expeditions and presence in sacral centres such as churches were reinforced by this ideology and gave a distinct sense of the landscape's sacral qualities. The literary themes of the Lord's vineyard in the Prologue to Peter of Dusburg's *Chronicle of Prussia* play a significant role in the Order's early architecture in Prussia, visually reflecting the Order's understanding of the space in which its holy wars played out.[151] The imagery with which Peter (and the other sources for the crusade to the north) described the landscape, a fertile, lush, and pleasant place for conversion, but also a space defined by its connection to paganism, had an impact in the visual arts in the Baltic.

These themes reflect a continued presence of landscape imagery not just in the written culture of the Order, but in the visual culture of Prussia. The presence of this iconography in other centres of the Order, particularly those visited on various occasions by pilgrims or guests on the *Reisen*, points to a deeper meaning within the Order's textual tradition concerning this imagery and, as a result, our understanding of the function of landscape and place in the crusades to the Baltic region. Indeed, the "holy places of Prussia" cleansed by the brothers, as "new Maccabees," had a physical and visual role in the Order's self-understanding, evinced in the art of the Golden Gate. With respect to Peter's quote and the *loca sancta terre Prussie*, Sarnowsky notes this imagery of the holy places was essential to the writing of history within the Teutonic Order.[152] In Prussia, the Teutonic Order imported builders and masons who aided in the formation of its distinct architectural style. While most masons and workers came from Germany, it has been suggested that the international crusaders, such as Ottokar II, had an influence on castle design in the region.[153] Moreover, the presence of a broader body of nobles on the *Reisen* suggests that this continued into the later period of crusading. There are other parallels to specific workshop guilds in Germany, one being Magdeburg, as demonstrated in the motifs present at Marienburg at the Golden Gate.[154]

Little work addresses, however, the specific elements of Peter of Dusburg's chronicle and the communal understanding of the region's history and its reflection in the visual culture of Prussia. This is also true for the extensive themes present throughout the written record for crusading in the Baltic in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,

**150** Markus, "Christianisierung," 478.

**151** *PDC*, 44 (1.1). Also see the work of Pospieszny, "Architektur," 229.

**152** See Sarnowsky, "Identität," 111

**153** Pluskowski, *Archaeology*, 152.

**154** Pluskowski, *Archaeology*, 157.

namely those that indicate how the region was perceived in relation to crusading. The ideological and artistic elements conform with the rest of Europe at the time, where art and architecture performed a didactic role and visually reflected elements of Scripture to its viewers. However, Pluskowski notes that there was a unique component involved in the Order's use of these common elements to express its own ideology with respect to Prussia. The art reflected not just the Order's political and physical control of the landscape, but also the divine favour placed upon its crusades, which created a new sacral geography.[155] The importation of stonemasons from the crusaders' regions influenced a distinct style of architecture in Prussia and Livonia, which explains the parallels from a visual and architectural perspective. Crusaders replicated their spiritual centres in places such as the Rhineland and Westphalia by imitating the popular building styles in Livonia and, to some degree, Prussia. However, its presence in sacral buildings shows that there was a continuity in places of origin with this new frontier and, most importantly, the key elements in the written evidence for the crusades reflecting landscape were emphasized in the visual culture encountered by crusader pilgrims.

The written evidence for the crusades to the Baltic region in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries provides clear evidence of a distinct association of the landscape itself with paganism. It also highlights the applicability of literary themes to examining how contemporaries perceived landscape, namely in the ways that they tended to write about it. From the pre-crusade missions, notably those of St. Adalbert of Prague and St. Otto of Bamberg, the connection of the landscape to the pagan religion was a clear element in the way that contemporaries came into contact with the region. Dark forests, and the barbarous peoples who worshipped their gods in them, were key to framing the pre-crusade missions.

This chapter demonstrates that the crusading movement also brought about a distinct ideology and language with respect to the landscape. The themes of spreading the faith through conversion, namely embodied in the themes of the vineyard, was a distinct element of the crusade texts that came to have a significant impact on the perception of the Baltic region. The paganism of the landscape remained constant, but it was through the mission of the crusaders, and their re-enactment of biblical events within that landscape, that served to cement the sacralization process in the text. As the expeditions progressed into the fourteenth century, reflections of the landscape changed. While the religious imagery of the texts sharply declines in the later fourteenth-century material, there was a peak in the visual culture of the medieval Baltic that parallels the ideological message in the texts. The theme of the vineyard, and the "new plantation of the Christian faith" particularly evident in the Teutonic Order's castles and churches in Prussia, but also in Livonia, was far more than a play on words: it was a visible reality and therefore vital to the experience of crusading in the region.

**155** Plukowski, *Archaeology*, 156–8.

Chapter 3

# MAPPING LANDSCAPE SACRALIZATION DURING THE BALTIC CRUSADES, THIRTEENTH TO FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

> "Remember, good heroes, how Christ shed his holy blood
> on the cross for us. We are here on account of the Lord on high…
> Whoever dies here will shortly receive eternal life."[1]
>
> — Berthold of Loccum

ACCORDING TO THE *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, these were the last words of Berthold of Loccum, the second Bishop of Livonia, before he was killed by the Livonians near the city of Riga on July 24, 1198. Even in the "land of the pagans," the concepts of Christ's death on the cross, and the potential to gain eternal life, sacralized events, and the spaces in which they took place. The quote demonstrates, then, the importance of how martyrdom shaped the sacralization of the landscape in the Baltic region. The power of the imagery also made its way into the monastic rule of the Teutonic Knights, which states that priests were to motivate brothers in times of battle with the reminder of how Christ died on the cross.[2] As we see below, Berthold was commemorated outside of Livonia, too, indicating how the commemoration of martyrdom aided in propagating the imagery of a sacral landscape developing in the Baltic Zone. Such events served to underpin an entire genre of historical writing about the Baltic region.

While the literary themes discussed in Chapter 2 were fundamental to reflecting the understanding of Christian and pagan landscapes in the chronicles for the Baltic crusades, there are more tangible, physical elements that cement the perception of landscape sacralization as a direct result of crusading. This is particularly the case with martyrdom and hierophany (manifestations of the sacred), two elements that are characteristic to the written material produced within and outside the Teutonic Order. These have been recently addressed in the works of Alan V. Murray and Kurt Villads Jensen with respect to crusading and the phenomenon of holy war in the Baltic with fascinating results on the worldviews of contemporary authors.[3] This chapter uses these events to show the importance of martyrdom to the experience of crusading in the Baltic and how contemporaries used it as a means of justifying the expansion of Christianity and transformation of the mental geography of the area.[4] It discusses the early martyrdoms in Prussia before the crusade movement, and then goes on to analyze

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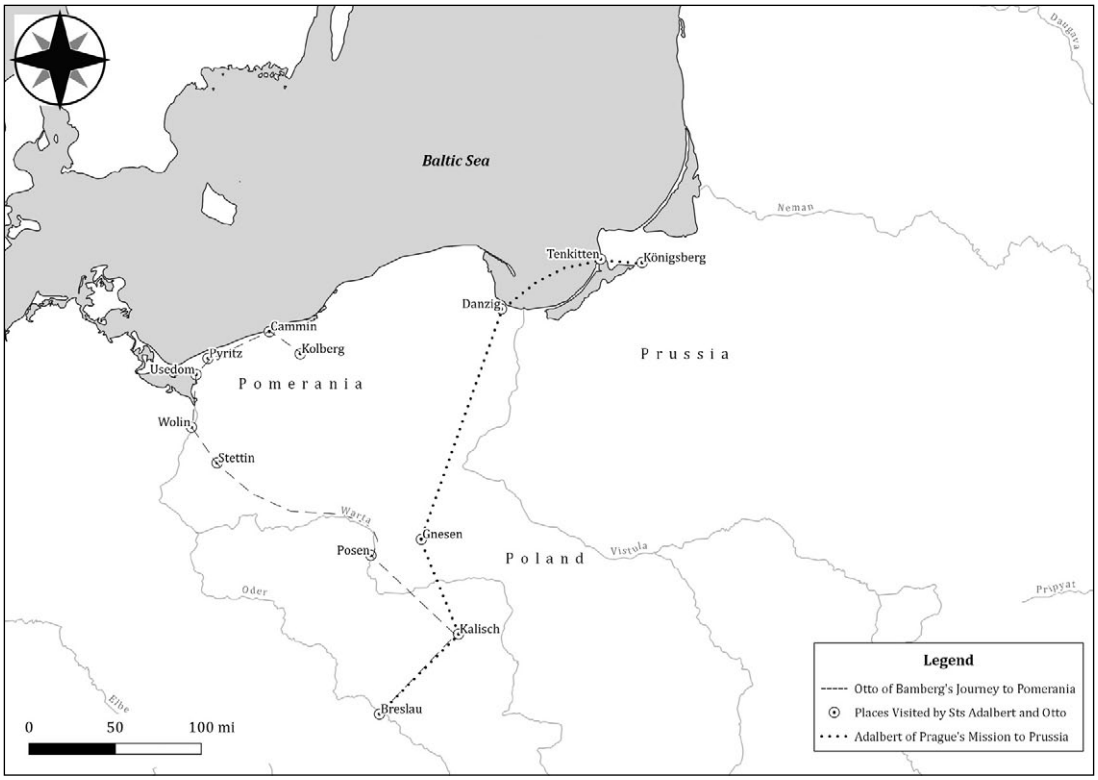
**1** *LR*, 13 (lines 523–554): "gedenket helde gût, / daz Jhêsus Crist sîn reinez blût / *vor unz an dem crûze gôz* / … / *wir sîn durch got von himele hie*, / *der sîne vrûnd nie vorlie* / *in diekeiner slachte nôt*."

**2** *SDO*, 25.

**3** Eliade, *Patterns*, 368; Eliade, *Sacred*, 24–9; Murray, "Sacred Space," 35–7; Jensen, "Martyrs," 89–120, at 95–7.

**4** For example, see Šne, "Emergence," 53–71; Nielsen, "Cultural Landscapes," 121–53.




Map 2. The missions of St. Adalbert of Prague and St. Otto of Bamberg.

martyrdom and hierophany in the thirteenth-century crusades. It concludes with a brief discussion of these elements on *Reisen*. How can these events give a further understanding of the development of a sacred landscape? This chapter uses Qualitative GIS analysis of the Livonian and Prussian chronicles to answer this question. The data reveals, most directly, the difference in the chronicles for Prussia and Livonia. Variances between the authors of the texts, and their stances (i.e., clerical or associated with the military orders) influenced their perception of landscape. Most revealing is the variance in the geographical distribution of events like martyrdom and hierophanies.

As mentioned above, Sts. Adalbert of Prague (April 23, 997) and Bruno of Querfurt (February 14, 1009) were the first martyrs associated with the Baltic. Their deaths and subsequent canonizations were key in the incorporation of the region into the "mental fabric" of Christendom. Scholars have identified the location of Adalbert's martyrdom with various places in the *Ordensland*, the prominent one at Tenkitten (Rus. Beregowoje), near Lochstedt, where a shrine to the saint existed in the fifteenth century.[5] This site would have been the sacred grove in which the saint was killed, according to Adalbert's *vitae*.[6] It was an important pilgrimage shrine and was under the direct patronage

**5** Voigt, GP 1: 266–70. For the shrine to Adalbert, see Steinbrecht, *Lochstedt*, 4; Szczepański, "Sakralizacja," 129–67.

**6** John Canaparius, 594: "Inde nemora et feralia lustra linquentes [Adalbert and his company]… *campestria loca adierunt*." Also see Voigt, GP 1: 660.

of the Teutonic Order and the bishops of Sambia.[7] References in the *Chronicle of Oliva*, documenting the history of the abbey of Oliva in Poland from the late twelfth century, also refer to similar events.[8]

The concept of martyrdom in the pagan grove is central in Adalbert's story, its transmission, and its reception. Both versions of Adalbert's *vita* describe Adalbert's zeal (*zelum*) for martyrdom.[9] This was a key emotion in the context of crusading and was quickly adopted in the Baltic to express the eagerness of participants to fight God's war in this non-Christian landscape.[10] Chronicles of the Teutonic Order and the calls for crusades to Prussia and Livonia from the 1240s to 1260s reveal the importance of zeal, in addition to local chronicles documenting the well-known campaigns of crusaders such as Ottokar II of Bohemia. As we see in the next section of this chapter, this provides valuable insight into the emotions of the authors, but also of audiences. It therefore reflects the enthusiasm of authors to highlight the sacrality of the expeditions in the pagan landscape by emphasizing the zeal of participants, providing insight into the lived experience of crusaders. After the third attempt at evangelizing the Prussians, Adalbert was killed, and his body "thus occupied the earth, stretched out as if on the cross."[11] The example connects Adalbert's death to a specific point in the landscape, which, as we see further in this chapter, came to play an important role in the later crusade period in Prussia. It also ties his death to the crucifixion, a theme that we saw in the introduction was used to motivate crusaders on the Baltic frontier. Adalbert's martyrdom and its sacralization of the landscape was recalled by Siegfried of Regenstein, bishop of Sambia (d. 1318). His dedication of Königsberg Cathedral on January 11, 1302, refers to Adalbert's preaching of the faith and subsequent martyrdom, which "consecrated our diocese in the land of Sambia through shedding his blood."[12] Adalbert's death also factored into the liturgy of Prussia, evidenced by the liturgical calendar produced in the fifteenth century which lists both the death of Adalbert and the dedication of the castle and church in Königsberg as feast days, thus linking his death to the local religious geography and reflecting his veneration by the local Christian population.[13] Adalbert and Bruno's missions are shown in Map 2.

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**7** GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nr. 4306; Biskup, ed., *Formularz*, 220 (no. 284).

**8** *Chronik von Oliva*, 596, recounts a raid on the Cistercian monastery in 1224 by Prussians from Pomesania.

**9** John Canaparius, 595, for example. Also see "Brunonis vita S. Adalberti," *SS* 4, 609.

**10** Dragnea, *Wendish Crusade*, 21–2.

**11** John Canaparius, 595: "sic nobile corpus protenta cruce terram occupat." Also see "Brunonis vita S. Adalberti," 612: "…ipsam vero amicam mortem amplexus, quam semper sequens dilexit, *in modum crucis manus expandit*."

**12** *UB Samland* 2: 108 (no. 200): "…domum dei (the cathedral – GL) nominis erigendo *ad honorem sancti martiris et pontificis Adalberti, cuius suffragiis innitimur, non indigne eius, que apud deum habet, meritis recensitis, nostre enim dyocesis terram Sambiam in predicacione fidei christiane per martirium aspersione preciosi sui sanguinis consecravit*." My italics.

**13** Toruń, Bibliotecka Uniwersytecka, Rps 156/III (formerly Königsberg, Staats– und Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 1139), fol. 3v, 6v. Recently made available online: https://kpbc.umk.pl/dlibra/publication/211928/edition/222862.

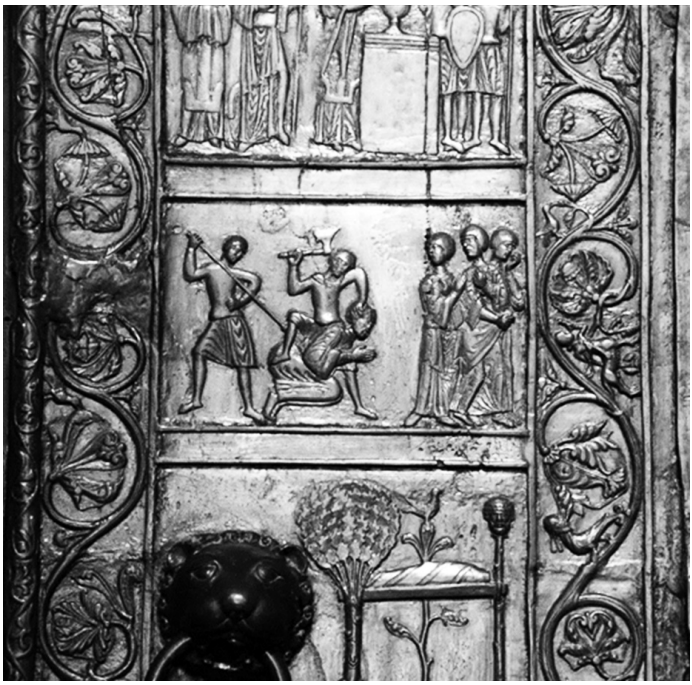

Figure 11. "Martyrdom of St. Adalbert of Prague," Gniezno Doors (ca. 1175). Photograph by author.

The martyrdom of St. Bruno of Querfurt in 1009, by contrast, provides little direct geographical information, though it was clearly important in the incorporation of Lithuania into the mental fabric of western Christianity.[14] Thietmar of Merseburg's chronicle records that the Prussians martyred him "in the frontier of the aforesaid region and Russia as he was preaching" (*in confinio predicate regionis et Rusciae cum predicaret*). The author also highlights his bravery, for Bruno met his death "as calmly as a lamb" (*mitis ut agnus*).[15] Bruno's martyrdom aided in creating what Aleksander Pluskowski calls a heritage landscape in Poland, particularly around the region of Lake Niegocin, one of the locations associated with his martyrdom. Lake Niegocin, located in Warmia-Mazury, is a modern creation with no archaeological links to the saint.[16] It was suggested that the castle of Braunsberg (Pol. Braniewo) was dedicated to St. Bruno, which would indicate medieval origins for the cult of St. Bruno in addition to a connection with the Teutonic Order.[17] However, modern research has instead connected that place with Bruno of Olmütz, who accompanied the 1255 crusade of Ottokar II.[18]

**14** See Baronas, "1009," 1–22, at 9–13; also see Jovaiša, "St. Bruno," 27–40.

**15** Thietmar, *Chronik*, 388.

**16** Pluskowski, *Archaeology*, 86, 369–70.

**17** Voigt, *GP* 1: 289, proposes this connection.

**18** *PDC*, 190 (3.71).

Both examples show us that authors of saints' lives, particularly in the lives of martyrs, expressed their stories in emotional language that created sacral and profane landscapes. They emphasize zeal and willingness for martyrdom, elements common to *vitae* in other regions of the medieval world.[19] Visual depictions of martyr saints reflect this, namely through "image theory," which proposes that the effects of violent sculpture in late Gothic architecture were highly meaningful to medieval viewers. They were not just expressions of gore or violence, but rather reflected how martyrdom in its written and artistic forms elicited a highly emotional response from medieval contemporaries and communicated a variety of messages in a visual manner.[20] This formed a key element of the visual communication of these messages and can also be used to consider how contemporaries understood the separation between *Christianitas* and *barbaricum* in the Baltic. One can consider the image of Adalbert's martyrdom from the Gniezno doors, which depicts his life and the moment he was decapitated with his head placed near what appears to be a large tree, which could symbolize a sacred grove (Figure 11).

The early martyrdoms associated with the Baltic demonstrate that early contacts with the region involved the conversion of the landscape. Just as the texts highlight the worship of the landscape by the Prussians, they likewise emphasize the role of Adalbert's engagement with the landscape and the direct effect of his martyrdom on the sacralization of that landscape. However, the crusade movement brought a different type of martyrdom that had a lasting effect on the representation and projection of a new sacred landscape in the Baltic. This was particularly a result of the relationship to martyrdom while one was engaged in war sanctioned by the Church.

Gaining the martyr's palm proved important in chronicles and papal correspondence with respect to the crusades to Livonia from the early thirteenth century. As early as in the chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck, Berthold of Loccum was regarded as a martyr, with Arnold calling him "blessed" (*beatus*) and lamenting in the account of his death that he hoped Berthold would be "crowned with honour and glory" (*ut speramus, gloria et honore coronatur*).[21] Calls for the crusades to Livonia, addressed to the whole of *Christianitas*, repeatedly reference martyrdom and the suffering brothers in the Teutonic Order. As we see in this section, they even used the imagery of the crown of the martyr (*corona martirii*), as Arnold of Lübeck did.

This image served as a motivator to participate in the crusades there, while also communicating the connection between crusading and the sacralization of the landscape. Unlike the examples above concerning Sts. Adalbert and Bruno, these texts commemorate both known and anonymous crusaders as martyrs and encourage their memorialization. This was, among other things, an effort to encourage more support for the missions and for the Teutonic Order. As a result, the imagery above concerning the landscape in Livonia, namely that of the Lord's new vineyard, becomes a suitable stage on which to gain martyrdom. The perception of martyrdom thus reflects an effort on

**19** See Bartlett, "Rewriting," 598–613; Krueger, "Writing as Devotion," 707–19; Ó Broin, "Ascension Motifs," 97–118, esp. 97–8.

**20** Pinkus, "Martyr's Cycle," 43–59.

**21** *ACS*, 215.

the part of the authors within and outside the military orders to depict martyrdom as part of the process in which the Baltic was incorporated into *Christianitas*. Therefore, it becomes a crucial part of how landscapes become sacred, reflecting a process with roots in the early days of Christianity.[22]

By constructing a map of martyrdoms in Livonia during the active period of crusading during the thirteenth century, we can study this process and its development over time. Martyrdom and hierophanies played a unique role in depicting the spatial components of the new sacred landscape expressed in the chronicles and charters. This map reflects part of Livonia's "phenomenological landscape." Henry of Livonia, for example, likened martyrdoms to key biblical events, and in doing so transported them to the landscape of Livonia. By employing language from the Bible, he also expressed his perception of the region and its relation to crusading missions.[23] In Prussia, the cities of Thorn, Elbing, Balga, and other centres held considerable economic value for the Teutonic Order, serving as trade and resupply centres for merchants and crusaders.[24] However, these trade routes, when overlapped with the locations of martyrdoms, show a distinct connection between the traditional concepts of "pilgrimage" alongside the sacralization of the mission by the chroniclers. This forms the first layer of the sacral landscape propagated in the written material for crusading in the Baltic.[25]

The first martyrdom connected with the crusades in Livonia was that of Berthold, the second Bishop of Riga. Killed in a skirmish with the Livs, his death occurred on a hill near the spot where the city of Riga, the most important point in the sacral landscape of Livonia, would be founded two years later by Bishop Albert of Riga. Berthold was the first to bring the idea of the crusade to Livonia, securing papal permission to preach the crusade there. His death had a clear effect on the development of Livonia as a region of holy war and sacralization, and this is clear in the relative speed with which he was viewed as a martyr. Henry of Livonia's account of Berthold's death is roughly the same. Unsuccessful in converting the pagans at Holme by words, Berthold turned toward the place where Riga would be built and prepared his army for war. Comparing the Livonians to Proverbs 26, like dogs to their vomit, they resorted back to paganism.[26] Following his death, Berthold's body was taken to the island church at Üxküll, where it was interred next to Meinhard. In 1225, when the Papal Legate, William of Modena, came to visit Livonia, he held a mass at Üxküll, "commemorating the memory" (*memoriam commemorans*) of the first bishops.[27] At least in Henry of Livonia's time, it appears that the

**22** Howe, "Physical World," 63–80.

**23** See Murray, "Sacred Space," 35, for the creation of new sacred sites in the Holy Land connected to the First Crusade. For examples from Henry of Livonia, see *HCL*, 27 (9.3), citing II Maccabees 6.19; 30 (9.12), citing Psalm 62.12; 36 (10.4), citing Romans 8.35, 39; 37 (10.7), citing Psalm 13.3. Also see Kaljundi, "(Re)performing the Past," 295–338.

**24** See Pluskowski, *Archaeology*, 196–246.

**25** See Oliński, "zentrale Funktion," 141–54.

**26** *HCL*, 9 (4.2): "Respondet episcopus causam, quod tamquam canes ad vomitum, sic a fide sepius a paganismum redierint." See Proverbs 26:11.

**27** *HCL*, 212 (29.5): "…seminatoque doctrine sancta semine in Ykescolam processit, *ubi primorum*

martyr was connected specifically to the area around Riga and the church at Üxküll. This church thus emerges as an early sacral centre in the region.

We can assess this in the dissemination of the story of Berthold's death in other sources removed from the Baltic region and draw conclusions about the relationship of martyrdom to the creation of a new sacral landscape. Two chroniclers, the Franciscan Albert of Stade (d. 1264) and the Cistercian Alberic of Trois-Fontaines (d. 1252), who produced "world chronicles" in the mid- thirteenth century, commemorate Berthold, showing the spread of information about events happening on the frontier of Christendom.[28] Alberic states that Berthold "merited martyrdom" (*martyrium promeruit*).[29] The memory of Berthold as a martyr and the place where he died, the "Holy Mountain," (*Santperge*) survived into the sixteenth century. The *Chronicle of the Bishops of Riga*, written in the sixteenth century, records his martyrdom and connects it to a hill outside the city: "Berthold was slain by the Livs and died on the holy mountain before the city of Riga."[30] When his tomb was moved to the Riga cathedral in the fourteenth century, it was located next to the altar of the Holy Cross, indicating that it might have been a sort of local pilgrimage shrine.[31] This location of the tomb was a highly important ecclesiastical space in medieval Christianity and an indicator of the veneration of martyrs on the Baltic crusade by virtue of its proximity to the most holy space in a medieval church. While the recent work of Anti Selart argues against the veneration of Meinhard and Berthold by the fifteenth century, and perhaps earlier, the occupation of such an important space reflects how contemporaries perceived their deaths as vital to the very existence of Christianity in Livonia and thus key to the "new plantation of the Christian faith" that existed there in the early days of the crusade movement.[32]

Other martyrdoms recorded in Henry's chronicle reflect a continued effort to link martyrdom with the spread of Christianity. In 1205, a German knight, Conrad, was exhorted to go into battle against the Semigallians at Üxküll "because it was better to go to battle and die for Christ, than to flee."[33] In the same year, a group of seventeen pilgrims at Üxküll were martyred by the Livonians, as they were out collecting grain. Henry connects their deaths not only to a specific point in the landscape (Üxküll), but also to the pagan religion of the Livonians, since those who were martyred were immolated to the

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*sanctorum episcoporum memoriam commemorans* eciam illos Lyvones in Dei servicio confortavit." Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 233–4 (29.5). Also see Mäesalu, "Kreuzzugsgebiet," 11–30.

**28** See Tamm, "Communicating," 344–5. Albert of Stade was a Benedictine monk who had joined the Franciscans around the time he composed his chronicle.

**29** Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronica," 631–950, here 872, which records that Berthold gained martyrdom after his death: "postmodum interfectus martyrium promeruit." Also see Albert of Stade, "Annales," 271–379, here 353: "Bertoldus Livoniensis episcopus a paganis occiditur ."

**30** "Chronica Episcoporum Rigensium," 174–80, here 174. Also see Selart, "Use and Uselessness," 345–61, here 355.

**31** Bruiningk, "Verehrung," 3–36, and 314; Jähnig, "Sakraltopographie," 157; Strenga, "Remembering the Dead," 180–7; Maikowska, "Geografia sakralna," 95–131; Zühlke, "Zerschlagung," 65–7.

**32** Selart, "Meinhard," 434–40, at 437–9.

**33** *HCL*, 27 (9.2); Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 47–8 (9.2).

Table 1. Martyrdom language in calls for crusades to Livonia and Prussia.

| No. | Date | Reference | Issuer | Recipient |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 12 May, 1237 | *LUB* 1: col. 191 (no. 149) | Gregory IX | Bishops of Riga, Ösel, Dorpat |
| 2 | 23 Sept., 1243 | *LUB* 1L col.s 228–9 (no. 174) | Innocent IV | Dominicans of Wisby |
| 3 | 1 Oct., 1243 | *LUB* 1: col. 231 (no. 176) | Innocent IV | Pilgrims in Livonia |
| 4 | 13 Jan., 1252 | *LUB* 1: col. 292 (no. 233) | Innocent IV | Dominicans in Bohemia |
| 5 | 7 Aug., 1257 | *LUB* 1: cols. 398–9 (no. 311) | Alexander IV | Dominican Priors |
| 6 | 8 Aug., 1257 | *LUB* 1, cols. 401-3 (Nr. 314) | Alexander IV | Franciscans |
| 7 | 16 Oct., 1257 | *PrUB* 1.2: 27-30 (no. 33) | Alexander IV | Teutonic Order |
| 8 | 11 May, 1258 | *PrUB* 1.2: 48 (no. 52) | Alexander IV | Crusaders in Prussia |
| 9 | 15 July, 1258 | *PrUB* 1.2: 55-6 (no. 61) | Alexander IV | Franciscans |
| 10 | 21 Feb., 1260 | *CDW* 1: 76 (no. 39) | Alexander IV | Bishops of Prussia |
| 11 | 13 June, 1260 | *LUB* 1: cols. 447–9 (no. 353) | Alexander IV | Franciscans |
| 12 | 9 Sept., 1260 | *PrUB* 1.2: 101 (no. 111) | Alexander IV | Ottokar II of Bohemia |
| 13 | 11 Jan., 1261 | *CDW* 1: 77 (no. 40) | Alexander IV | Bishop of Ermland |
| 14 | 23 May, 1263 | *PrUB* 1.2: 155–6 (no. 201) | Urban IV | Bishops and abbots of Premonstratensians |
| 15 | 28 Feb, 1266 | *LUB* 1: col. 499 (no. 394) | Henry of Brandenburg | Brandenburg Diocese |

pagan gods.[34] Their connection to the early sacral centres in the landscape, Holme and Üxküll, demonstrates the commemoration of these places in later historical traditions. Two neophytes, Kyrian and Layan, were martyred near Üxküll in 1206 by the Livonians, and were buried there next to the tombs of Meinhard and Berthold.[35]

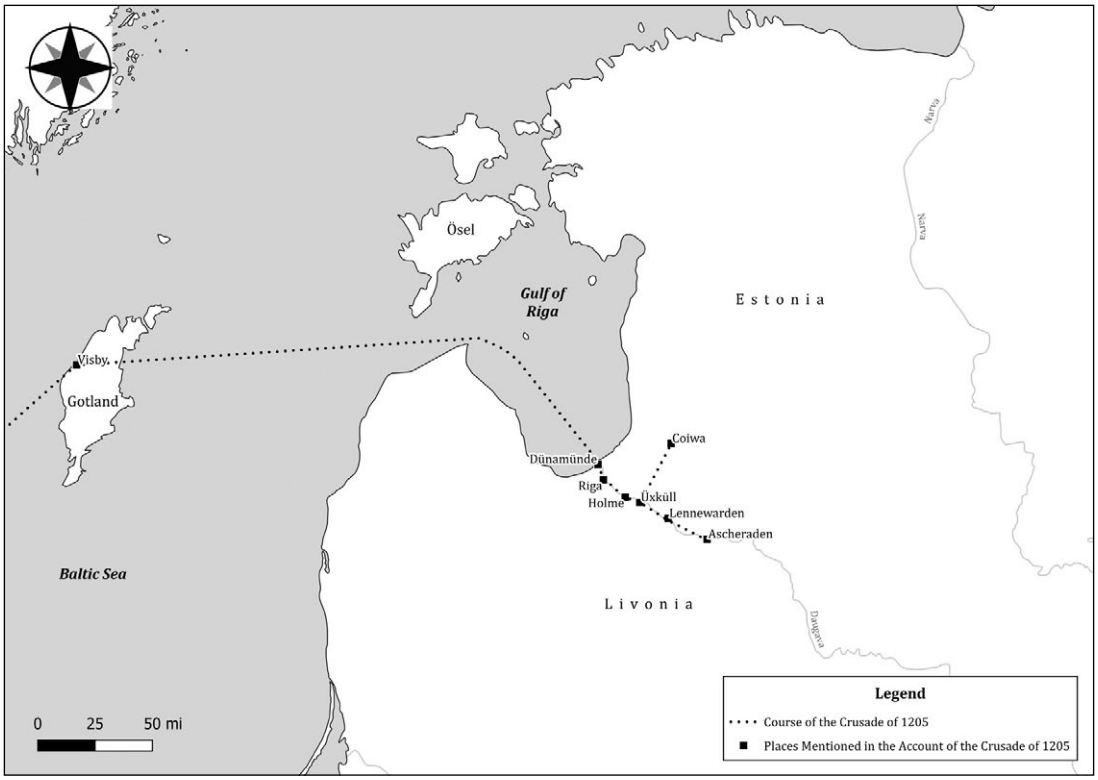
**34** *HCL*, 31 (9.12): "…peregrini de castro Ykescola exeuntes pro colligenda annona…a Lyvonibus… quorum quosdam diis suis immolantes crudeli martirio interfecerunt." Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 52–3 (9.12).

**35** *HCL*, 35–6 (10.4–6), recounts their martyrdom. Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 56–8

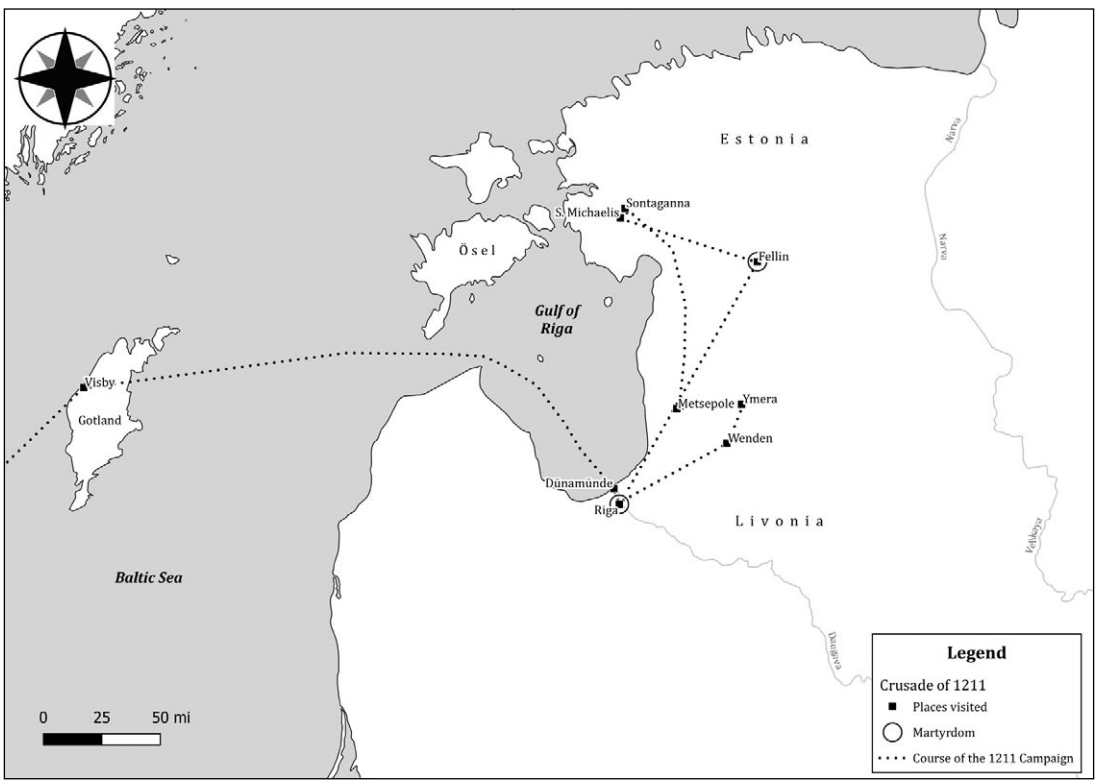
| | Terminology |
|---|---|
| | *ibi celebrem reddituri patris aeterni filium, ubi coelentium potestates aeras infinita multitudo periit animarum* |
| | *profecturi et acturi secundum fratrum predictorum hospitalis eiusdem, ita quod et ipsis* ***praemium debeatur aeternum*** |
| | *per vos et ipsi* ***pugiles Christi*** [Brothers in the Teutonic Order]*...possint leviter conteri contemptores nominis Christi* |
| | *Pro negocio fidei fratres... ... adiuti subsidiis aliorum Christi fidelium...****cum multa effusione*** *proprii* ***sanguinis*** *pertulerunt* |
| | *quod dicti fratres* ***martirii palmam, in desiderio semper habentes*** |
| | *fratres ... ... manibus infidelium crudeliter sunt occisi;* ***sub continua exspectatione martirii patiuntur*** |
| | ***Veros Christi martires illos ex dilectis filiis fratribus ordinis vestri dignissime reputamus,*** *qui non solum in terra sancta, sed etiam in Liuonie ac Pruscie partibus...labores* |
| | *...ita ut per vos ac ipsos Christi pugiles* [the Teutonic Order] *salutaris concordie studio per omnia desudantes possint leviter conteri contemprores nominis christiani ac vobis gloria triumphi* ***proveniat et tandem pamam celestem****...gaudeatis*. |
| | *...dicti fratres et illi precipue, per quos novella Christi plantatio in eisdem Pruscie partibus potenti manu et sine intermissione defenditur...****sub continua expectatione martirii frequentissime patiuntur***. |
| | *...dilecti filii fratres...a longis retro temporibus corpus et animam constanter ac intrepide posuerunt...s****ub continua expectatione martirii frequentissime patiuntur***. |
| | *viros Christianos et catholicos...tamquam zelum Dei habentes...****liberandum proximos de manibus de paganorum****...gloriari* |
| | *...predicti fratres cum omni diligentia sub frequentis experientia martirii prosecuntur*... |
| | *...dicti fratres...sub continua expectatione martirii frequentissime patiuntur*. |
| | *...quod plurimi ex iam dictis fratribus et illi precipue, per quos novella Christi plantacio in eisdem partibus potenti manu et sine intermissione defenditur...****sub continua expectatione martirii frequentissime paciuntur***. |
| | *Proveniat corona civium supernorum* |

Üxküll was not the only early sacral centre in Henry's chronicle. Two other examples from 1206 and 1211 confirm that other points in the landscape were made sacred by the martyrdoms that occurred there. The first is Henry's account of John, a priest in Holme and Gerhard, and Herman, his associates (*socii eius*) near the castle of Holme, when

(10.4–6). For their burial, 36: "Horum corpora in Ykescolensi quiescunt ecclesia atque apposite sunt tumbe episcoporum Meynardi et Bertoldi, quorum primus confessor, *secundus martyr*."




Map 3. Livonian crusade of 1205 (after Henry of Livonia).




Map 4. Crusade of 1211 (after Henry of Livonia).

the priest was captured by the people of Holme and decapitated and dismembered.[36] His companions were likewise killed by the same people, "for the confession of the faith [and], as we predicted, they went to eternal life through the martyr's palm."[37] John's body was not buried in the centres discussed above, but in Riga, which, as stated above, was the main sacral centre for all of Livonia.[38] The final incident occurred at the castle of Fellin, in 1211, and involved one Arnold, a Swordbrother and perhaps Marshal of the Order.[39] Fellin is one of the most significant sieges in Henry's chronicle and, most importantly, it appears to have been the scene of a hierophany in 1217.[40] For this discussion, it is significant because of Arnold's martyrdom. As the siege rages on, Arnold, "who laboured day and night [in the siege], was struck by a stone and passed over into the company of the martyrs."[41]

Martyrdom in the *Chronicle of Henry of Livonia* is thus connected to the earliest stages and centres of the mission: Üxküll, Holme, Riga, and Fellin. Maps 3 and 4 show this distribution. Clearly, the centrality of martyrdom can be tied to the literary themes in Chapter 1: the main chronicles responsible for the dissemination of that literary imagery were also quick to emphasize martyrdom's role in sacralizing the landscape. In the case of specific martyrs, like Berthold of Loccum, there appears to have been a level of commemoration and veneration associated with specific points in the landscape (in this case, his tomb at Üxküll).

Aside from Henry of Livonia and Arnold of Lübeck, the chronicles of the military orders and papal letters encouraging the preaching of the crusades to participants regularly emphasize martyrdom in the thirteenth century. The *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* is a prime example of the commemoration of battles within the Teutonic Order in Livonia. The quote introducing this chapter reflects this, even if it does not describe the death of a member of the Order.[42] The Teutonic Order commemorated its fallen brethren throughout its European bailiwicks, not only in Livonia or Prussia, revealing the communication not just of the sacrality of the death, but the space in which it took place.[43] Churches in the region also read the names of pilgrims who died in particularly grue-

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**36** *HCL*, 37 (10. 7): "Porro Holmenses, quorum pedes veloces ad effundendum sanguinem, *capto Iohanne sacerdote suo, caput eius abscidunt, corpus reliquum membratim dividunt*." Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 58 (10.7).

**37** *HCL*, 37 (10.7): "Gerhardus et Hermannus, pro fidei confessione, *sicut prediximus*, *per martyria palmam ad vitam pervenit eternam*." Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 58 (10.7).

**38** Brundage, ed. and trans.,: "Cuius corpus et ossa…in Riga in ecclesia beate Marie domnus episcopus cum suo capitulo devote sepelevit."

**39** Fenske and Militzer, eds., *Ritterbrüder*, 88–9.

**40** See Hucker, "Livlandpilgern," 114–6.

**41** *HCL*, 84 (14.11): "Estones primam struem lignorum incendere nituntur…Lyvones et Letti missa glacie et nive extingunt. *Arnoldus, frater milicie, ibidem nocte et die laborans, tandem lapide proiectus in martyrum consorcium transmigravit.*" Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 100–2 (14.11).

**42** See Murray, "Structure, Genre, and Intended Audience," 238–42; Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 64–5; Strenga, "Remembering the Dead," 134.

**43** See Strenga, "Common Past," 349–55.

some battles on crusade in the Baltic.[44] The *Necrologia* of Ronnenburg (Latv. Rauna), a collection of entries remembering the deaths of fallen brothers compiled in the fourteenth century, exemplifies this. It commemorates the death of a commander, Bernhard, and seven brothers at Fellin.[45] The *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* offers more instances of the perception of martyrdom as an aide to understanding the sacralization of the landscape, namely battles in which the Teutonic Knights suffered defeats. These are the Battle of Durben (July 13, 1260), in addition to conflicts with the Curonians (1261) and Semigallians (ca. 1263). Particularly in the case of Durben, we have a clear indication in the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* of the magnitude of the Order's defeat, for it refers to brothers who died as martyrs on two occasions.[46] In the fourteenth century, Hermann of Wartberge commemorated the Battle of Saule, too, noting that the master "was martyred" (*fuit martyrum occisus*) along with fifty brothers, many pilgrims, the count of Hasseldorf, Dietrich, and the count of Dannenberg, Henry II.[47]

The importance of martyrdom, its communication, and the sacralization of the landscape were not only limited to the military orders or local churches. By the 1250s and later, the incentive to strive for martyrdom, in addition to assisting the Teutonic Knights in their battles against the pagans, was a regular theme in papal correspondence on Livonia and Prussia. The letters are tabulated here for the reader's convenience (Table 1). The function of these letters, to recruit crusaders to campaign in the Baltic region, as well as their intended audience, show the sacralization of Livonia through the presence of martyrdom. Both activities occurred within a landscape seen as a new region of *Christianitas*. These examples also shed light on the perception of brothers in the Teutonic Order and their role in the fight against non-Christians as a sacred one.

The language also demonstrates the importance of martyrdom as a motivator for crusaders to visit the Baltic region, reflecting a growing image of the Teutonic Order's spirituality as a crusading institution in the Baltic that crusaders should seek to imitate in their own physical and spiritual struggles. We can see this in the terms used to describe the knights. Pilgrims were encouraged to aid the *pugiles Christi*. An echo of this phrase appears in the work of Bernard of Clairvaux: "How blessed are the martyrs who are killed in battle" (*quam beati mortiuntur martyres in praelio*).[48] The *athleta Christi* was a prominent term with reference to martyrdom from early in the history of the military orders.[49] It can be traced as a communicative tool for propagating the Livonian crusade from 1243, when Innocent IV encouraged the crusaders in Livonia to come to the aid of the Teutonic Order in a letter from October 1, and by the 1250s it emerged as

**44** *SDO*, 37–8.

**45** Strelhke, ed., "Necrologia," 147: "Januarii ultimo die frater Bernhardus commendator cum septem fratribus apud Weliniam occisus."

**46** *LR*, 130 (lines 5646–5660). For the subsequent encounters, see Hermann, 42–4.

**47** Hermann, 33. Also see Albert of Stade, "Annales," 363; *LR*, 43 (line 1869); Koppmann, ed., "Necrologium Capituli Hamburgensis," 21–183, here 121: "Obiit Tydericus, pater domini Frederici de Haseldorpe."

**48** *PL* 182, col. 922, refers to "strong athletes" (*fortis athleta*).

**49** Sarnowsky, "Identität," 110–1; Röther, "Embracing Death," 169–92.

a means to garner support for campaigns against the Tatars.[50] The formulaic elements of the texts reveal that this could likely have been imagery projected at crusaders who heard sermons for the Prussian and Livonian crusades, as evidenced in a series of letters in the formulary of Arnold of Protzan (Pol. Zwrócona), a churchman from Breslau (Pol. Wrocław).[51] Regularly, it is the struggle of the brothers of the Teutonic Order and crusaders that is highlighted in the letters. Therefore, this struggle is linked directly to the perception of those regions and the communication of them to potential supporters of the crusades.

Quite surprising, though, is the sharp decline in this imagery after the 1260s in papal correspondence and the preaching of the crusades to Livonia, and thus the decline in language associated with martyrdom in the region. It could be reflective of a general lack of concern for the mission after the defeat of the Teutonic Order at the Battle of Durben, though this would be unlikely, as suggested in the work of Alexander Baranov. Perhaps, as suggested by Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, this instead reflects the shift of the duty of preaching the crusades to the mendicant orders reflected by papal policy in the 1260s.[52] A later example might be reflective of this policy, namely a letter from the priors in Prussia and Poland to Pope Benedict XII written in September of 1335. Here, the brothers of the Teutonic Order "thirsting for the martyr's palm" (*palmam martyrium sitientes*) are eager to defend the lands of Christianity (*terras Christianorum*) against paganism.[53]

The examples above also reveal a unique insight into the motivations of those who participated in the Livonian crusades. With respect to how participants in the expeditions understood holy war and engaged with it, martyrdom has scarcely been examined before. However, it does appear that it was a significant component in preaching crusades to Livonia. Given that every campaign to Livonia began with a sermon, the dissemination of this idea (i.e., the ability to gain martyrdom in Livonia) likely reached a lot of people when the crusade was preached;[54] such sermons would have been quite intense as a means of garnering support.[55] The dedication of Livonia to the Virgin, the most famous example being that of Henry of Livonia's account of the Fourth Lateran Council, and the adaptability of sermons used in the preaching of the crusades, make it very likely that these calls to participate would have also linked her patronage to martyrdom in the Baltic. The speech of Bishop Albert of Riga at the Fourth Lateran Council is a strong example of this link: "Just as you have not ceased in cherishing the land of holy Jerusalem, which is the land of the Son, so also Livonia, which is the land of the Mother, and has been hitherto far from your cares and among the pagans, and is now desolate."[56]

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**50** *LUB* 1: col. 231 (no. 176); col. 415 (no. 328); col. 453 (no. 355); col. 458 (no. 359).

**51** Wattenbach, ed., *Formelbuch*, 322, for example, a series of letters concerning the invasions of Kęstutis of Lithuania in 1348.

**52** Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *Popes*, 241.

**53** *LUB* 2: col. 287 (no. 765).

**54** Hucker, "Livlandpilgern," 113; Maier, *Propaganda*, 3–4; 111–2.

**55** Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* 37–43, at 42.

**56** *HCL*, 131–2 (19.7): "'sicut,' inquit, 'pater sancte, terram sanctam Ierosolimitanam, *que est terra filii*, sanctitatis tue studio fovere non desinis, *sic Lyvoniam, que est terra matris*, consolationum

The popularity of this imagery came to have a profound impact on the sacralization of the Baltic region throughout the crusading period, lasting well into the fourteenth century in the form of place-naming practices, church dedications, and local shrines, discussed in Chapter 5.

The Teutonic Order also commemorated martyrdoms in symbolic and physical ways that served to sacralize the landscape, particularly with respect to the Battle of Saule, the Battle of Durben, and the Battle of Karuse.[57] The Battle of Durben resulted in what Strenga has called a "commemorative space" with no physical monument to the defeat, though still a powerful example of the role played by martyrdom in constructing the history of Livonia within the Teutonic Order.[58] Karuse church (Figure 12) was erected to commemorate the death of Otto of Lutterberg, master of the Livonian Branch of the Teutonic Order, at the Battle of Karuse (February 16, 1270). This provides a physical reminder of a profound defeat of the Order, but also a point in the landscape to commemorate the martyrdom of a master of the Order.[59] Recent archaeological excavations suggest that he was buried under the altar, demonstrated by finds of

Figure 12. Karuse Church of St. Margaret (thirteenth century), Saaremaa. Burial place of Otto of Lutterberg (d. 1270). Photograph by author.

tuarum sollicitudinibus hactenus in gentibus dilatatam eciam hac vice desolatam derelinquere non debes. Diligit enim filius matrem suam, qui, sicut non vult terram suam perdi, sic nec vult *terram matris* utique periclitari." Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 152.

**57** For Saule, see *LUB* 1: cols. 191–3 (no. 149), here col. 191; Albert of Stade, "Annales," 363; *LR*, 44–5 (lines 1906–1958), at 45 (lines 1941–1949) for the death of Volkwin and forty-eight brothers and their martyrdom with many pilgrims (lines 1953–1958); *HWC*, 33. For the Battle of Durben, see *LR*, 128–35 (lines 5583–5871), which states that the army lay on the field of Durben "as martyrs" (*daz er die bitter martir leit / zû Dorben... / dâ was ouch manich pilgerîn, / der dâ leit die selbe nôt / durch got unde starken tôt*); *PDC*, 204–6 (3.84); *KvP*, 424–7 (lines 10,513–10,732); Töppen, ed., "Epitome," 282; *HWC*, 41.

**58** Strenga, "Common Past," 357–8.

**59** For Karuse, see *LR*, 177–83 (lines 7804–7997). *HWC*, 47 (footnote 1) for the debate surrounding Otto's burial in the church.

a limestone tomb bearing an image of a shield-holding warrior.[60] However, Anu Mänd has argued convincingly that it is not possible to determine whether or not it belonged to Otto, citing iconographic irregularities and the lack of thirteenth-century grave slabs in Livonia.[61] In either scenario, the visual culture of the Teutonic Order in Livonia was centred around the commemoration of fallen brethren and the remembrance of key battles. Parallels also emerged in Prussia, thus linking both regions.[62] The possibility of death while doing God's work was an important motivator to participants in both Livonia and Prussia when it comes to "pilgrimage" and sacralization of the landscape and left its mark on the visual culture of both regions.

The desire to achieve martyrdom in Livonia came through the commemoration of significant battles that occurred there, and this helped to shape the perception of the landscape. This is reflected in the calls for crusades to Livonia and Prussia, which use martyrdom as a motivator. This associates those places with achieving heavenly reward. The language used in calling on pilgrims to "extend the borders of Christendom and the glory of the crucified one" shows the spiritual nature of crusading in the North with respect to landscape sacralization and its influence on a distinct perception of landscape. Livonia was not only a land of the pagans, but now a land of martyrs. Pilgrims undertook a shorter journey than they would to the Levant, but they engaged in dangerous battles, commemorated local saints and martyrs, and in doing so, reflected their perception of and devotion to this new Christian landscape in the northeastern Baltic.

The written evidence for Prussia largely mirrors that of Livonia in terms of how martyrdom was conceptualized and expressed in the written material for the thirteenth century. There are also some differences, namely in that martyrdom is connected to a greater number of specific points in the landscape on repeat occasions in Livonia. Legal charters give a somewhat different approach to recruiting crusaders with the prospect of martyrdom, too. We can attribute this to the earlier contacts with missionary work from the tenth century and the development of the cult of St. Adalbert of Prague. For example, in 1206, Innocent III reminded the prelates in Poland to help the Cistercians of Łekno evangelize the Prussians. The text states how the abbot of Łekno referred to the tomb of "St. Adalbert, the blessed martyr" (*beatus martyr Adalbertus*) to inspire missionary work.[63] The material for Prussia presents a more noticeable focus on hierophanies than the material for Livonia. These events permeate medieval chronicles. Historians of religion have noted how these manifestations of the sacred aid in creating a sacred place by separating it from non-sacred space.[64]

Papal letters issued to the preaching orders regularly show the suffering of the Christian population in the region and emphasize martyrdom, a continuation of themes in Livonia. On February 23, 1232, Pope Gregory IX, writing to the Dominicans in Bohemia

**60** Kivimäe, "Karuse," 48–66.

**61** Mänd, "Grabplatten," 59–92, here 60 (n4).

**62** Herrmann, *Architektur*, 128. For memorials of fallen crusaders in Prussia, see Paravicini, PR 1: 120, 335; Paravicini, PR 2: 120–2.

**63** *PrUB* 1.1: 3 (no. 4).

**64** Eliade, *Patterns*, 368; Eliade, *Sacred*, 24–9.

and encouraging the preaching of the crusades in Prussia, took care to note the "more than 20,000 Christians cut down by the sword and condemned to a disgraceful death," as well as the destruction of 10,000 villages, churches, and cloisters in Prussia. In response, the Teutonic Order, acting on God's behalf, repaid "the attack by the savage barbarians." The faithful in Bohemia were expected to emulate this by journeying to Prussia and "liberating the borders from the hand of the pagans."[65] Gregory's successor, Innocent IV, writing to Bohemian crusaders in January of 1252, highlights how "the brothers…aided with the support of other Christians, suffered many labors and innumerable expenses, with much constant bloodshed for a long time."[66] The same imagery was used in a letter by Urban IV to the orders of the Cistercians, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Premonstratensians in 1263, which highlights the deaths of some 500 brothers killed at the hands of the Prussians.[67] The charters reinforce the role played by the Teutonic Order in sacralizing the Prussian landscape through dying as martyrs and fighting the enemies of the faith constantly, in addition to highlighting the need to "free" the conflict zones from "the hands of the pagans."

One notable difference separating the material for Livonia and Prussia is that few contemporary chronicles survive documenting the thirteenth-century expeditions to Prussia. The primary texts were composed in the fourteenth century, when the Order was functioning at its peak in terms of land administration, garnering support for its crusades against the Lithuanians, and its literary output.[68] Therefore, the commemorative nature of the earlier expeditions is often emphasized by chroniclers such as Peter of Dusburg, and Nicolaus of Jeroschin, for they wrote nearly a century after the events they described, and as members of a corporation (i.e., the Teutonic Knights), their descriptions regularly highlight the suffering of their predecessors in Prussia. However, they did use sources contemporary to the conquest period, and one of those sources has survived to the present day, the so-called "Hermann von Salza's Account of the Prussian Conquest."[69] It concludes around the signing of the Treaty of Christburg, which saw the end of the First Prussian Uprising (1242–1249). Therefore, it is impossible that it was written by Hermann of Salza, who died in 1239. It may have been composed by Henry of Hohenlohe (d. 1249), the seventh Grand Master of the Teutonic Order.[70]

Martyrdom contributes an important component to this small letter, for it is one of the earliest motives to appear in it. When describing the early raids of the Prussians in Conrad of Mazovia's lands, the letter records how "the people…hoped that God sent

**65** *PrUB* 1.1: 67 (no. 87).

**66** *PrUB* 1.2: 195 (no. 255): "fratres…adiuti subsidiis aliorum Christi fidelium, labores plurimos et expensas innumeras cum multa effusione propria sanguinis a longis temporibus constantissime pertulerunt."

**67** *PrUB* 1.2: 155–6 (no. 201).

**68** See Helm and Ziesemer, *Literatur*, 14–7; Boockmann, "Geschichtsschreibung," 447–69; Fischer, "Winning Hearts," 1.

**69** Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 58.

**70** Arnold, "Heinrich," 757–8.

many of them to heaven as martyrs."[71] The brothers in the Teutonic Order are portrayed as heroic in their willingness to die in battle, evinced by the repeated reference to the phrase "I will die by your side." Similar references can be found in the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, and there are examples of crusaders (referred to as pilgrims), expressing their wish to die alongside the brothers in the Order.[72] This could be an early reference to two relevant passages in the Book of Maccabees, specifically 1:2, 50–51, in which Matthias reminds his sons to "be zealous for the law, and give your lives for the covenant of your fathers."[73] The second passage occurs in chapter 3: 58–9: "Gird yourselves…that you may fight with these nations (*adversus nationes*) that are assembled against us to destroy us and our sanctuary, for it is better for us to die in battle than to see the evils of our nation and of the holy places."[74] If so, the letter also presents one of the earliest uses of the Bible within the historiographical texts of the Teutonic Order outside of the *Prologue* to its rule.[75]

Building from this letter, in addition to charters and papal bulls, the later chroniclers of the Teutonic Order emphasize martyrdom as crucial in framing the crusades in Prussia. It is also likely that they used sources related to the discovery of St. Barbara's relics. Peter of Dusburg clearly notes an interest in attaining the martyr's palm amongst members in the Order. He explicitly writes how the brothers in Prussia suffered (*paciuntur*) for the heavenly crown (*corona glorie…in celis*) of Jesus Christ.[76] The pilgrims and brothers in the early phase of the conquest thought it a privilege, Peter writes, if they could drink from the cup of suffering (*si biberent calicem salutifere passionis*). A certain pilgrim from Westphalia, named Stenckel of Bernheim, came to Prussia after hearing a sermon (*audierat in quodam sermoni episcopi*) that promised the souls of those who died in Prussia direct access to heaven without any time in purgatory. He thus fought harder in a battle with the pagan Nattangians, hoping to die, which he did.[77]

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**71** *HvSB*, 158.

**72** *HvSB*, 157: "Do dy Polan das sachen, do gaben sy alle dy flucht ane hertzogk Kazamir und ein ritter, der seinen fan furth, Merten von Crewtzwigk, der bleip bey ym. Do sprach der hertzogk zcu den brudern: 'Ich wil bey euch sterben.'"

**73** I Maccabees 2.50–51: "Nunc ergo, o filii, aemulatores estote legis, et date animas vestras pro testamento patrum vestrorum."

**74** I Maccabees 3.58–9: "Et ait Judas: Accingimini, et estote filii potentes, et estote parati in mane, ut pugnetis adversus nationes has quae convenerunt adversus nos disperdere nos, et sancta nostra: quoniam melius est nos mori in bello, quam videre mala gentis nostrae, et sanctorum."

**75** For an overview of using the Bible in the Teutonic Order's Prussian chronicles, see Zacharias, "Quellenvergleich," 211–28, at 221–8.

**76** *PDC*, 92 (2.10) refers to the knights of the early conquest: "poterant dicere cum Petro: *Ecce nos reliquimus omnia et secuti sumus te, Criste; quid ergo erit nobis?* (Matt. 19: 27) Qua corona glorie tue in celis, o bone Iesu, qui es corona sanctorum omnium, coronari merentur a te, qui pro te talia paciuntur?"

**77** *PDC*, 212 (3.91), reads: "quidam miles de Westfalia dictus Stenckel de Bintheym, qui audierat in quodam sermone episcopi, quod anime fidelium interfectorum in Prussia deberent ad celum sine omni purgatorio evolare, hic perurgens dextrarium suum calcaribus applicataque lance more

There are some martyrdom accounts in Peter's text that can be mapped, providing a glimpse into the development of a sacred landscape in Prussia. In 1249 at Crucke, near the area of Kreuzburg, Peter recounts a battle between the brothers and the Sambians. He records how one brother was killed in a particularly cruel fashion, the likes of which could not be found in any of the martyrologies. The brother was tied to a tree, eviscerated by the Prussians, and had his entrails hung about the tree. Given the discussion of groves and pagan points in the landscape in Chapter 2, this example of martyrdom in a place that could be a site of worship indicates a competition between pagan and Christian sacrality in the landscape.[78] This battle was commemorated in texts produced in Prussia throughout the fourteenth century. For example, a short, rhymed chronicle of Prussia, dated to ca. 1338, requests that the souls of those who died at Crucke be blessed by God.[79] The *Chronicle of Oliva's* (ca. 1350) record of this campaign, however, does not hint at martyrdom. Instead, 55 brothers are cut down, with other Christians, by the pagans near Crucke.[80]

Another significant martyrdom occurred in Prussia in January of 1261, at the Battle of Pokarwis (Rus. Ushakovo).[81] According to the many texts in which it is mentioned, a great number of pilgrims and brothers were killed there, reflecting a perception of the event as a martyrdom. Peter of Dusburg's account is the most detailed. One brother, captured by the Prussians, was tied to a horse, cremated, and burned. Peter states that, as this occurred, "his spirit was seen [to leave his body] as a white dove."[82] A similar account appears in the chronicle of Wigand of Marburg, where, in 1375, a group of brothers and crusaders are captured, with one tied to a tree and killed. The chronicler commends their souls to God.[83] Other contemporary Prussian chronicles note the event and commemorate the death of many Christians there. The *Annales Pelplinenses* reports the battle (*der strit zu Pocarwen*), as does the *Epitome gestorum Prussie*, composed shortly after Peter's text or contemporaneously with it.[84] Mentioned above, the rhymed chronicle of Prussia commemorates the battle as a martyrdom (*got helfe irre sêle aller nôt*),[85] indicat-

militari pertransiit hostium cuneos interficiens impios a dextris et a sinistris…Sed in reditu, dum venisset ad medium ipsorum, occisus est."

**78** *PDC*, 184 (3.66): "Volve et revolve omnia scripta martirologii, non occurret tibi tale genus martirii."

**79** Strehlke, ed., "Zwei Fragmente," 3: "Von Cristis geburte tûsent jâr / zwei c und ix und xl gar, / dâ an sante Andreas / abent *der strît zu Krucken was*, / *dô wurden erslagen in der nôt* / *vier und vunfzig brûder tôt* / *und pilgerîm ein michel teil* / *Got gebe allen sêlen heil*!"

**80** *Ältere Chronik von Oliwa*, 601.

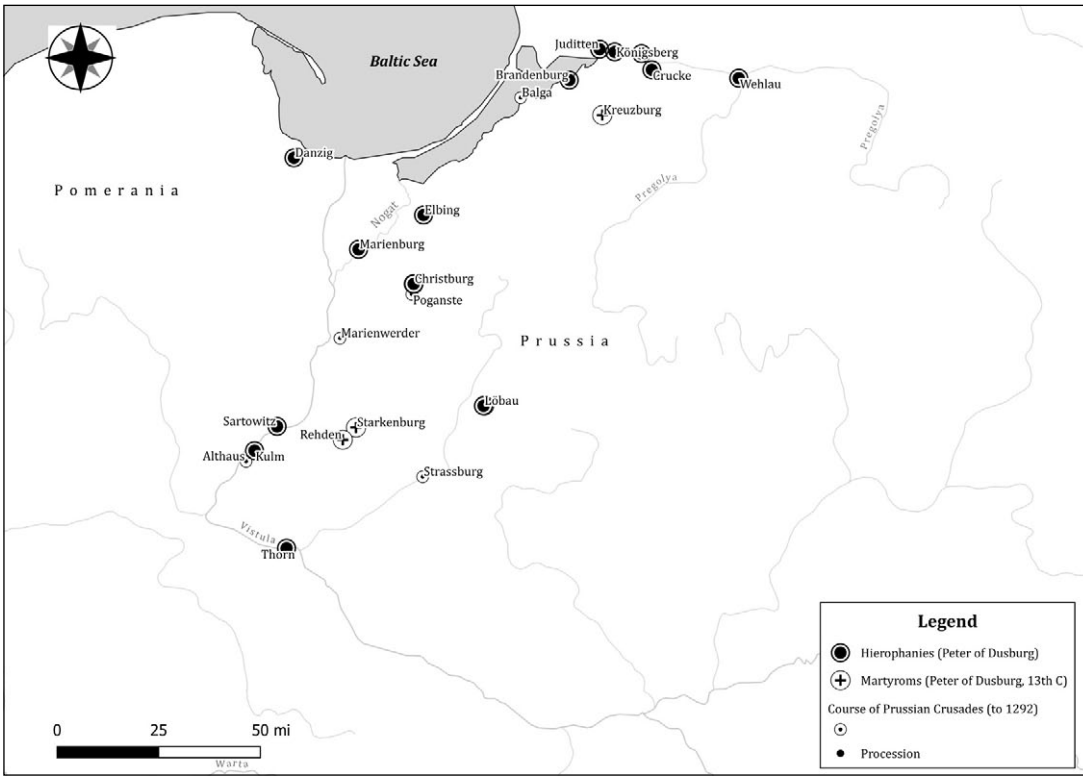
**81** *PDC*, 212–4 (3.91) outlines the battle.

**82** *PDC*, 214: "Nota hic, quod idem Henricus et plures alii sub iramento suo postea affirmabant, *quod, cum idem burgensis in equo cremates emitteret spiritum, viderunt ex ore ipsius colmbam albissimam evolantem*."

**83** Wigand, 582–3.

**84** See Töppen, ed., "Annales Pelplinenses," 270; Töppen, ed., "Epitome gesotrum Prussie," 282. For the authorship and context of the *Epitome*, see Sławomir Zonenberg, "*Epitome*," 86–102.

**85** Strehlke, ed., "Zwei Fragmente," 4.




Map 5. Hierophanies and martyrdoms in the Chronicle of Peter of Dusburg.

ing that it was remembered in Prussian churches.[86] As has been suggested by Jarosław Wenta, this may indicate a "liturgy" for the wars against the Prussians and the Livonians on the part of the Teutonic Order.[87] If we accept this argument, the texts also reveal a liturgical component of martyrdom in Prussia, and its commemoration. Thus, events remembered as martyrdoms and related to the local celebrations reflect how the landscape was experienced by those living within it, and how memory (through observance of the liturgy) shaped contemporary experiences with the southern Baltic region from a spiritual perspective. Marek Tamm has highlighted similar parallels in Henry of Livonia's chronicle, particularly in the ways martyrdoms are depicted in the framework of the Roman Breviary, while Stefan Kwiatkowski has analyzed the commemorative nature of the deaths of brothers in Prussia.[88]

While the commemorative activities surrounding martyrdoms and the construction of such events within the regional history of Prussia might reflect an attempt on the part of the authors to create a new sacral geography, there is also a clear indication of how such events accompanied the spread of Christianity in Prussia. Map 5 shows the locations of the events perceived as martyrdoms and hierophanies in Peter of Dusburg's chronicle.

**86** Strehlke, ed., "Kurze Preussische Annalen," 2; Strehlke, ed., "Annales," 10; Strehlke, ed., "Annalista Thorunensis," 61.

**87** Wenta, *Ordensgeschichtsschreibung*, 161–8.

**88** Tamm, "Depicting Death," 152–4, citing the commentary of Leonid Arbusow. Also see S. Kwiatkowski, "Verlorene Schlachten," 148–50.

When displayed spatially, there emerges a strong correlation to martyrdoms occurring in Lithuania during the latter part of the thirteenth century, right before the Order's wars with Lithuania began. As the campaigns progressed, events perceived as sacred, specifically sacred with respect to the landscape, were not limited to one place and therefore occurred commensurately with the expeditions. This might indicate that, at least according to the chroniclers, any place could be sacred through martyrdom, thus removing the commemorative element of other points in the landscape. However, using qualitative GIS analysis, I have also represented the locations where "pilgrims" (i.e., participants on the campaigns), regularly stopped on their journey to the frontier. With respect to the martyrdoms discussed in this section, there is a clear relationship between these events and the major cities of Prussia where crusaders visited. These places are thus more than stops along the way for re-supplying armies. Through constructing a regional and sacral history in the historical texts, the region became a sacred space through connecting various places to miraculous events.

These events were not as spatially or geographically diverse in Livonia as they were in Prussia, revealing different perceptions of sacral landscape in both regions. Instead, events were repeatedly connected to the main cities founded by the Order. Moreover, Peter's chronicle shows that there was an immediate connection between pilgrims and specific locations founded by the Order. These places formed the initial pilgrim route, and the presence of relics, miracles, and martyrdom at them illuminates the Order's awareness of the need for such a landscape to be created quickly after the conquest, and throughout the long thirteenth century. The instances for Livonia show more irregular occurrences at places removed from the main sacral centre, Riga.

The written evidence allows for the mapping of how the sacrality of the landscape grew with the conquest. By the end of the thirteenth century there were manifestations of the sacred as far afield as Königsberg, on the frontier between the Order and the Lithuanians. That this centre, and the variety of churches, cult sites, and places of martyrdom predating the crusade movement became the key point of spiritual expression in the fourteenth century reinforces the Teutonic Order's understanding of the significance of creating a spiritual landscape wherever it happened to need one. In this way, the sacralization of events creates a sacred landscape, and becomes central to the Order's ideology.

Such a visualization presents a new model of Prussia's sacred landscape based on the presence of miraculous events and martyrdoms in the chronicle of Peter of Dusburg. These events have been recently analyzed with respect to the crusades in the Holy Land by Alan Murray, who analyzes the refortification of sites and the translation of relics as examples of delineating a sacred geography in the region. He also discusses an event pivotal to the crusades, specifically the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, as an example of how contemporaries used events like this to create new sacred points in the landscape.[89] Hierophanies were significant in documenting the history of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, perhaps more so than in Livonia. In the prologue to his text, Peter of Dusburg states that the goal of his chronicle is to describe the signs and miracles (*signa et mirabilia*)

**89** Murray, "Sacred Space," 35–7.

that occurred throughout the Order's conquest of Prussia.[90] The conquest itself was a miracle (*magnum signum*) in Peter's eyes.[91] More than just allowing us to see where these events happened, qualitative GIS allows us to ask questions with respect to how these events aided in the creation of a sacral landscape through generating a mental map of where miraculous events in the landscape occurred.

The "Hermann of Salza Letter" and the chronicles of Peter of Dusburg and Nicolaus of Jeroschin have significantly more examples of hierophanies than those documented in Livonia. As a result, the present section focuses on the Prussian crusades as a case study. At Christburg a group of pilgrims came to refortify the castle in 1248 and, later that year, a miraculous vision of a cross appeared to a brother there, as he worshipped in the castle chapel.[92] Five years earlier, in 1243, a dying Christian outside the walls of Kulm saw a vision of the Virgin Mary appear to him. The tale recounts how a woman visited her dying husband among the slain outside the city, and he told her how the Virgin appeared to him with two maidens (*duabus virginibus*), reassuring him that he would die peacefully and rest in eternal joy.[93] Shortly after the foundation of Königsberg, Peter records a series of visions to the brothers living there. These had a didactic purpose in the chronicle, emphasizing the benefits and rewards of pious behavior, but also served to reiterate the sacralization of landscape.[94]

Althaus Kulm was one of the most important pilgrimage places in Prussia throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It held the relics of St. Barbara, serving as the centre of her cult since 1242. The miraculous vision mentioned above could have served to explain the divine favour on the Order to overcome the rebellion.[95] The Kulm mentioned in this event is not "new Kulm," founded by the prince of Anhalt in 1246 and issued a city charter in 1251, thus reaffirming Althaus Kulm's place in the emerg-

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**90** *PDC*, 28 (1.1): "Competunt tamen hec verba auctori hujus libri…postquam vidit et audivit tot magna signa et tam mirabilia facta insolita et a seculo inaudita, *que per dictos fratres in terra Prussie deus excelsus misericorditer operari dignatus est*."

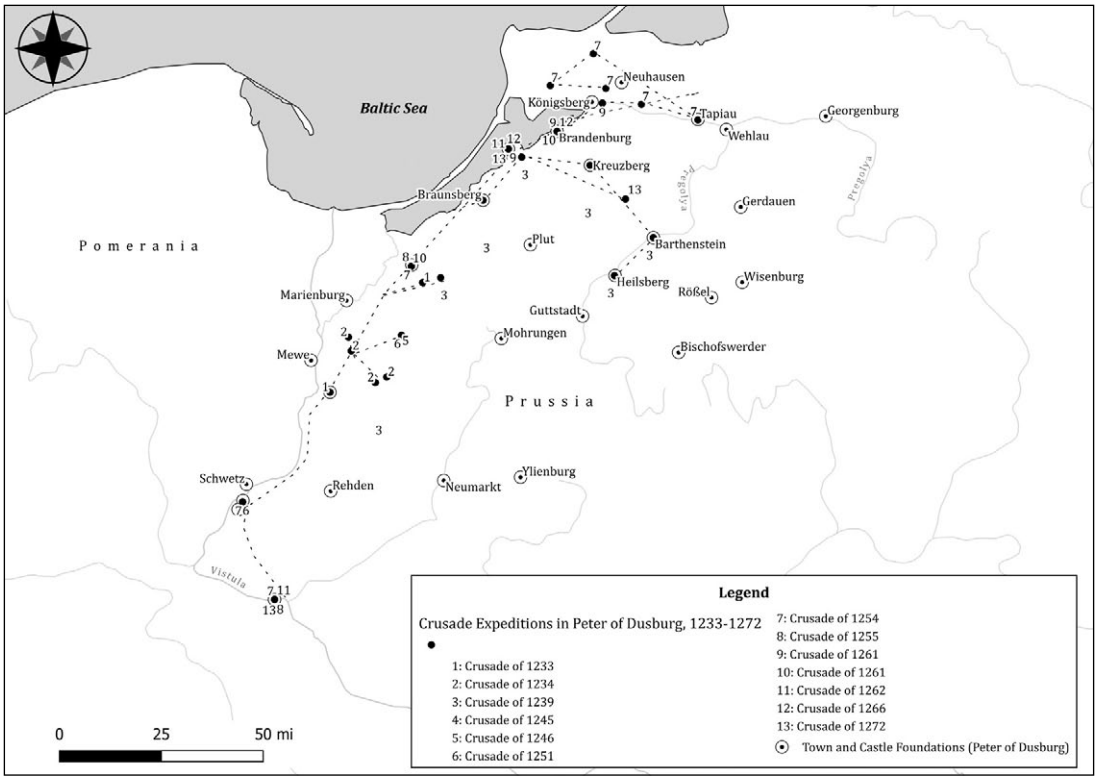
**91** *PDC,* 28 (1.1): "Nec pretereundum est hoc eciam magnum signum…quod infra a die introitus sui in terram Prussie gentes, que terram Colmensem et Lubovie occupaverant, et naciones illas, que terras Pomesanie, Pogesanie, Warmie, Nattangie et Barthe inhabitabant, sibi potenter et Cristiane fidei subdiderunt."

**92** *PDC*, 178–80 (3.63–64): "Convocata iterum multitudine peregrinorum, quo continue de partibus Alemanie per predicacione sancta crucis confluebat, preparatis omnibus, que edifcacionem castrorum fuerunt necessaria, processerunt ad terram Pomesanie. Immutantes locum et non nomen edificaverunt castrum Cristburgk." Later that same year, a brother from Gleißberg living in the castle saw a vision of the wood of Christ's cross: "Inter hos fratres fuit quidam dictus Glisbergk…dum divinum officium in ecclesia ageretur et more solito geniculando se inclinaret ad crucem osculandam, imago crucifixi lignea elevans se extendit brachia sua volens cum circumdando brachiis amplecti."

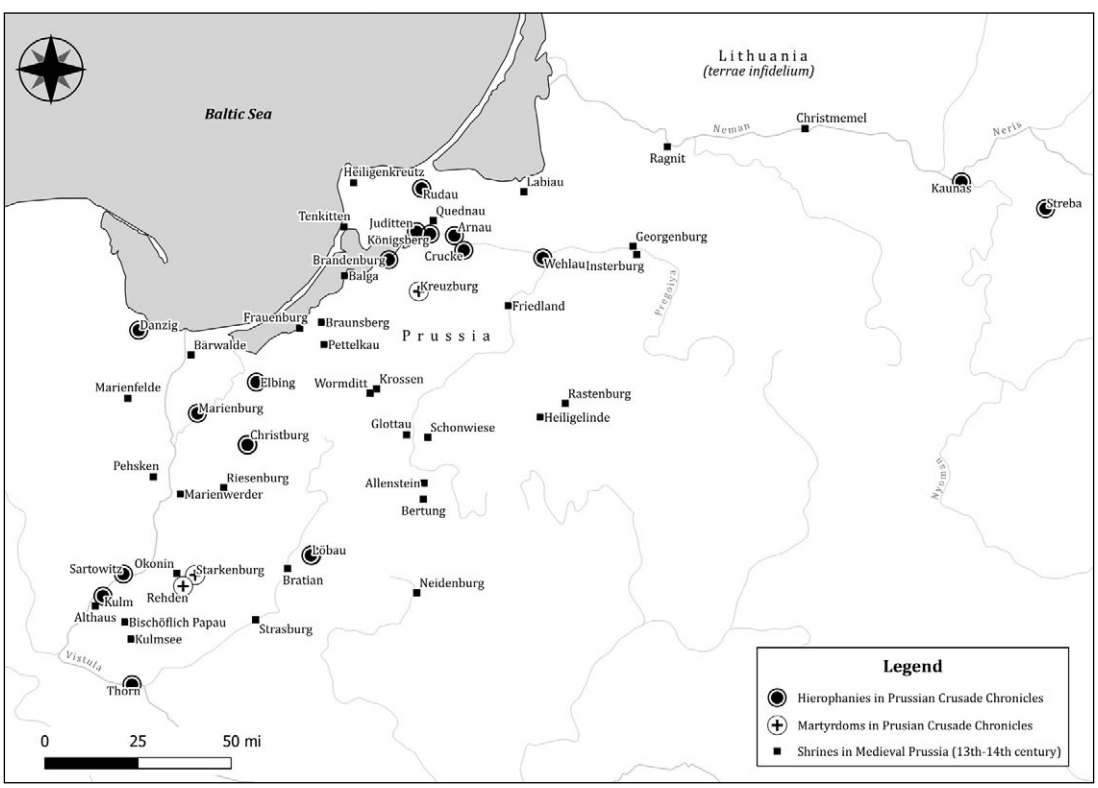
**93** *PDC*, 150 (3.41): "respondit (the man – GL), quod beata virgo Maria eodem die cum turibulo precedentibus duabus virginibus cum candelibus ardentibus…ait: "Tercia die morieris, et gaude, quia anima tua sicut vetere anime occisorum ad eternal gaudia evolabit.""

**94** See Potkowski, "Spirituality," 217–39.

**95** Sarnowsky, *Deutsche Orden*, 39–41 provides a basic outline of the First Uprising. See *PrUB* 1.1: 145 (no. 110).




Map 6. Route of crusades mentioned in the Chronicle of Peter of Dusburg (1233–1272).




Map 7. Hierophanies and martyrdom in the Chronicle of Prussia,
alongside pilgrimage shrines (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries).

ing sacred landscape of Prussia.[96] It was one of only three castles to survive the revolt, showing that the Christianized territory established in the first phase of the conquest was greatly reduced; the other two to remain standing were Thorn and Rehden. Therefore, the hierophany at one of Prussia's oldest Christian centres marks a sacred space from the profane, and the continued use of the site as a main pilgrimage shrine demonstrates the power that the Order's history played in the region. In the context of Peter's chronicle, it also reinforced the sacrality of the landscape around Kulm in the face of harsh rebellion.

The hierophanies have a connection to place that provides a new model for interpreting Peter's chronicle. The topic of Peter's readership has been a significant point of discussion, with various arguments in terms of its purpose, with the most recent assessment arguing that the chronicle had a readership outside of the Order, perhaps in the papal court.[97] The emphasis of these miraculous events, and manifestations of divine favour on the crusade in Prussia, must have painted a picture of this pagan landscape in familiar terms to those who read it. Therefore, the landscape in which they took place had a sacred history, namely in Peter's record of the thirteenth-century conquest. In the coming chapters, we see how the Order's visual culture reflected this.[98]

Map 5, outlining the hierophanies in Peter's text, adds a new layer to viewing Prussia as a place defined by the sacral events discussed in his chronicle. It shows Prussia as a crusading landscape in the thirteenth century: a place defined by key events such as martyrdom and hierophany. The map also reflects a more complex understanding of that landscape when we place the information with relevance to the established pilgrimage route that developed in Prussia (Maps 6 and 7). The main centres used by crusaders, such as Althaus Kulm, Thorn, and Elbing were also the primary places for miraculous events and appearances throughout the thirteenth century in Peter's text. Although their route along the Vistula is very practical for military operations, their role in Peter's chronicle and their relationship to the *signa et mirabilia* likewise establishes them as the main sacral centres in the landscape. It also demonstrates their status as cities connected to the Teutonic Order, the main agents of crusade pilgrimage in Prussia. The brothers were obligated, according to the *Prologue* of their *Rule*, to care for pilgrims: "they…are hosts of guest, pilgrims, and the poor."[99]

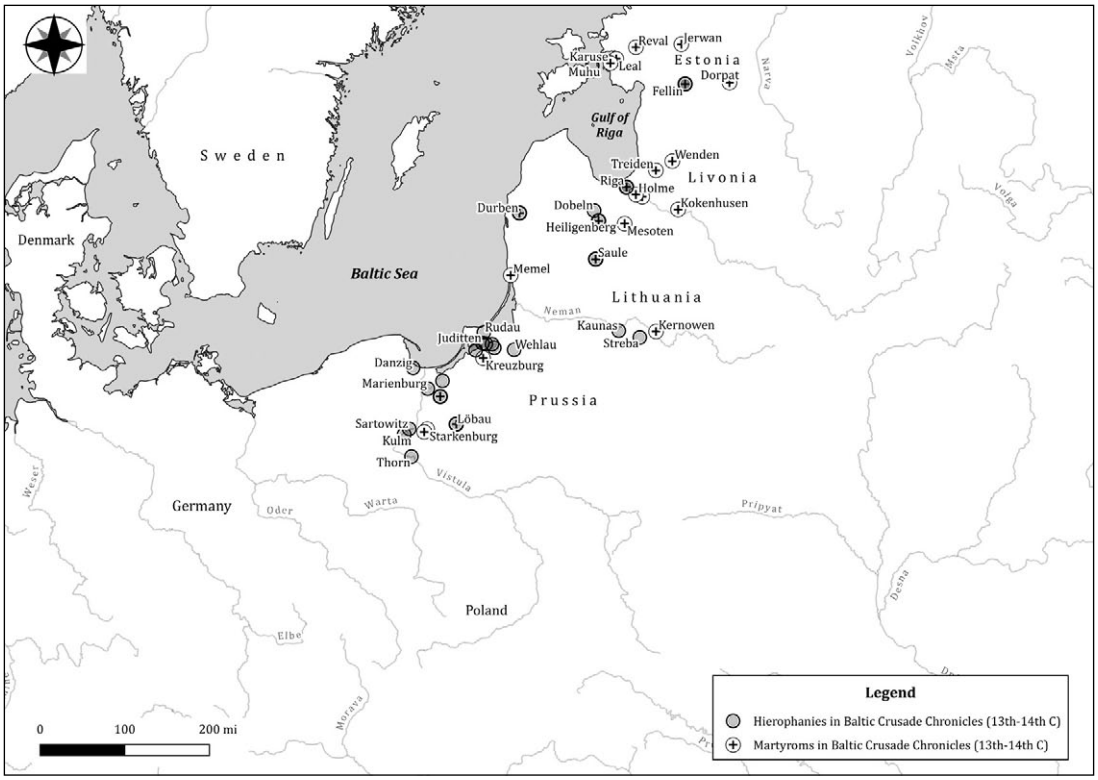
The inclusion of other places, like Christburg, Balga, and Brandenburg, show a broader understanding of a sacral landscape in Prussia on Peter's part. Although his source comes from almost a century after the conquest of Prussia, he used sources that

**96** See *PDC*, 174 (3.59): "civitatem Colmensem de Castro Antiquo transtulit ad clivum montis, in quo nunc sita est"; *KvP*, 402 (lines 8618–8631): "der dâ Ânlant was genant, / mit rittirn vil in Prûzinlant…/ vom Aldinhûse dî stat / der Colm und an den berc gesat, / dâ sî ouch noch huite lit." *PrUB* 1.1: 183–94 (no. 252), issued after the city burned down: "postmodum per incendium civitatis Culmensis amisso."

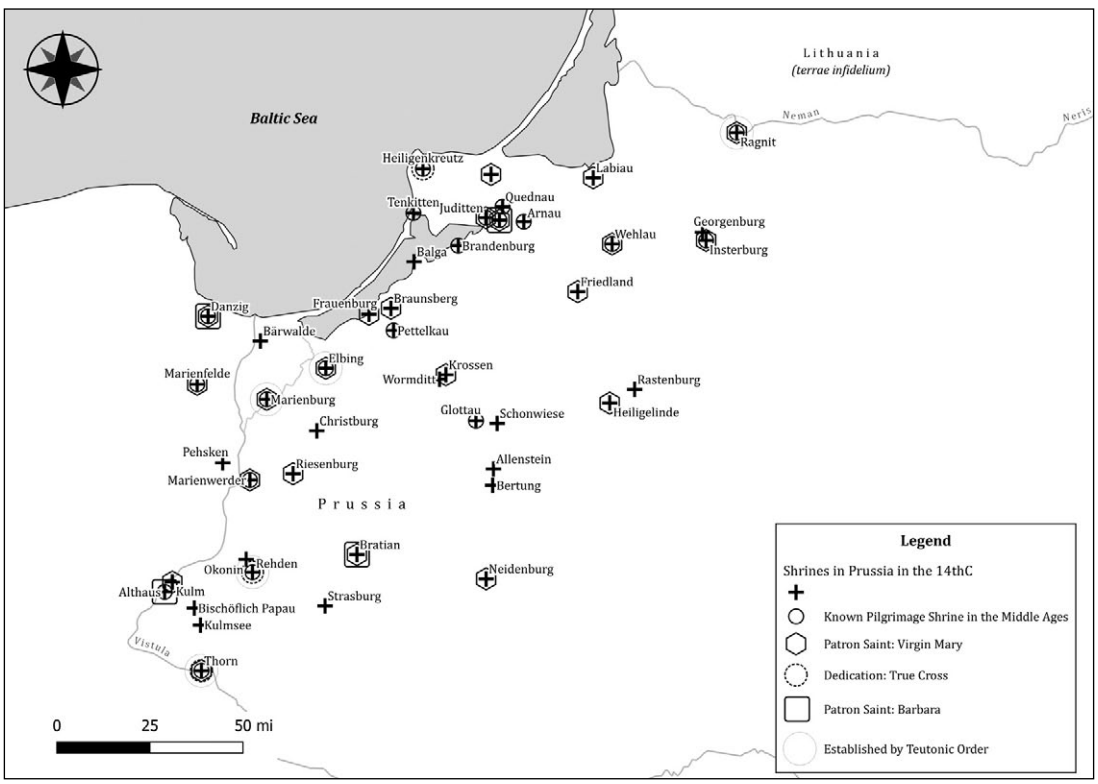
**97** *PDC*, 10; Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 70.

**98** Kutzner, "Herrschaftspropaganda," 254; Trupinda, "Peter von Dusburg," 521.

**99** *SDO*, 25: "Sie sint ouch von ubervluziger minne entphêhere der geste *unde der pilgerîne* unde der armen lûte." My italics.




Map 8. Martyrdoms and hierophanies in Livonia and Prussia (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries).




Map 9. Patron saints and churches in Prussia (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries).

were close to the event to influence his own text. This explains the mental framework in which he wrote. In other words, while the *Chronicle of Prussia* was written to legitimize the Order in the face of the contemporary attitudes toward the military orders and crusading in the fourteenth century, the perception of Prussia as a sacral landscape in the text finds its roots in the thirteenth century.

The chroniclers' descriptions of the landscape and the conquest period employ formulaic language, charged depictions of war, and emphasize divine providence in the fight against the pagans and conversion of the landscape. These are qualitative factors, meaning that they are not just geographical locations, but mental qualities applied to landscape. Martyrdoms are, in the texts, the product of divine favour and have broader significance to legitimizing the Order's mission and its territory.[100] Through mapping these various factors, as layers, the perception of the landscape in the chronicles is much more nuanced. The first layer of the crusading landscape is represented via locations of martyrdoms represented in Teutonic Order chronicles for Prussia and Livonia (Map 8). The second layer displays what becomes a standardized pilgrimage route in the region through the presence of relics and saints' shrines (Map 9).

While Livonia and Prussia were distinct in their divisions of power between the Order and the church, the spiritual identity of the Order and the focus on the role of landscape in its ideology were defining elements of the crusades in both regions. Concepts like martyrdom and elements of pilgrimage, for example, played a similar function in shaping the perceptions of place and landscape in the thirteenth century. This applied to both Livonia and Prussia, presenting the case for further examination of parallels in the crusade ideology for both regions. Furthermore, this approach has highlighted the potential for applying theoretical models concerning place, landscape, and how people of the past viewed their world to the medieval Baltic. Future studies utilizing such an approach would only benefit our understanding of the crusades, the military orders, and contemporary understandings of holy war in Prussia and in Livonia. Map 10 (on p. 90) displays these differences and similarities.

Reynolds has situated the concept of pilgrimage in the Baltic and its conversion-oriented nature.[101] His work argues for the development of pilgrimage shrines for future crusaders, and this book builds from here to consider its implications on a broader chronological and thematic scale. Qualitative GIS visually displays the connection between events linked to pilgrimage practices, martyrdom, and miraculous vision, demonstrating a more nuanced version of the pilgrimage landscape.[102] This further illuminates the pilgrimage concept: it involved a deeper connection to martyrdom and hierophanies in the sacralization of landscape and reflects contemporary understanding of pilgrimage to the Baltic.

Chroniclers used physical and spiritual interactions with this landscape in their accounts, particularly through the lens of pilgrimage and martyrdom, which aided in creating an iconographic landscape in their accounts of the history of the Baltic region.

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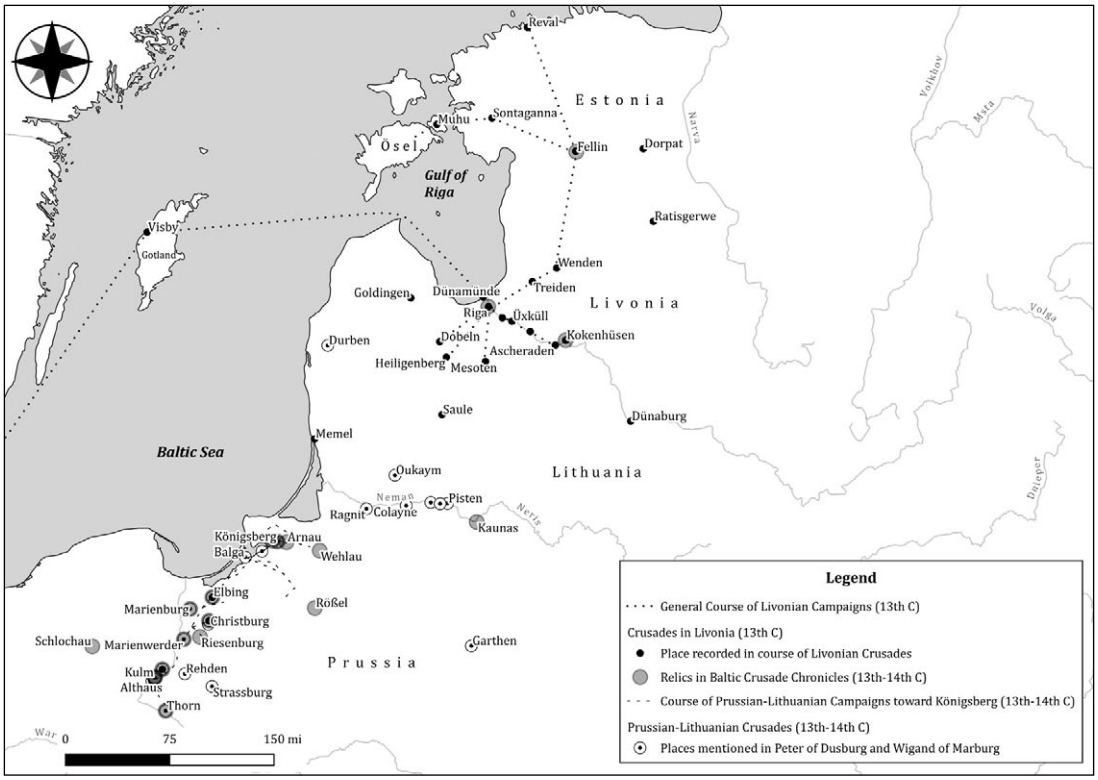
**100** Mentzel–Reuters, *Arma Spiritualia*, 21; Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 89; *PDC*, 28.

**101** Reynolds, *Prehistory*, 154–5.

**102** Chapter 4.




Map 10. Crusade patterns and relics in Livonia and Prussia (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries).

The geographies constructed in Livonia and Prussia are defined by the connection contemporaries make to holy war and to crusading. This is evinced particularly in the later travel/pilgrimage accounts of the region, when those who were visiting shrines continued to memorialize the wars of the Teutonic Order, such as Guillibert of Lannoy and Anna, Princess of Lithuania, discussed in Chapter 4.[103]

Two main implications of this discussion involve the use of Geographical Information Systems to consider how martyrdom and hierophantic events were applied by chroniclers to the landscape, reflected in Maps 8 and 9. It provides not just an analysis of the literary and ideological elements of the texts with respect to the landscape, but a spatial and geographical representation of them. This lends a new perspective to studies on historical landscapes and perceived geographies in the texts documenting the crusades in Prussia. It also provides a new framework for considering the *signa et mirabilia* that serve to frame the entire outlook of Peter of Dusburg's chronicle and, therefore, its place within the ideology of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. The significance of events perceived to be sacred (i.e., martyrdoms) emerges in shaping a sense of place and landscape amongst contemporaries. In Prussia especially, the main cities of the Teutonic Order were, as this discussion shows, tied to key events, namely the martyrdom of crusaders and brothers in the Order during the early conquest period.

To what extent were martyrdom and hierophantic acts factors in the development of a sacral landscape in fourteenth-century Prussia, when the concepts surrounding

**103** *SRP* 3: 238, recounts the pilgrimage of Princess Anna in 1400; also see Chapter 4.

holy war and its manifestation in this region underwent pivotal changes? Like Chapter 2 concerning landscape and paganism, and how the chronicles for the fourteenth-century campaigns in Lithuania reflected this concept, martyrdom and hierophany appear to play a significantly diminished role in comparison to the material on the thirteenth-century expeditions. However, there are some examples to demonstrate that martyrdom and hierophantic acts influenced perceptions of landscape in the fourteenth-century Baltic.

The shift in conceptions of holy war and its relationship to landscape sacralization is blurry, evinced by the apparent lack of hierophanies and martyrdoms present in the sources describing the *Reisen*. Three battles recorded in the Order's chronicles offer examples, but these should be regarded as exceptions. These are the accounts for the Battle of Streba (February 2, 1348), the Siege of Kaunas (April 16–17, 1362), and the Battle of Rudau (February 17–18, 1370), all of which were recorded in the chronicle of Wigand of Marburg, in addition to local letters and reports. These three events were deemed miraculous, or hierophantic, commemorated as such, and thus offer a slight glimpse into the perception of martyrdom in the sources for the *Reisen*.

Wigand of Marburg's account of the Battle of Streba attributes the victory to the Virgin Mary. In one of the surviving Middle High German fragments of the chronicle, it states "it is from Mary that the help in the battle came."[104] An earlier account of the battle from 1350 mentions the Lord and Virgin Mary "fighting before the crusaders."[105] According to this letter, "worthy men, brother Sigfried of Danefeld of the same holy [i.e., Teutonic] Order the Great Marshal, brother Winrich of Kniprode, Great Commander, and brother Luwig of Wulkenburch, Great Trappier, assembled to avenge the crucified one, and with a great army went to the land of Lithuania for seven days, laying waste to it."[106] The language and imagery in these sources describing the victory shows both the continued sacralization of the conflict in some sources for the *Reisen*, as well as the creation of pilgrimage shrines supported by pilgrim-crusaders throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

With respect to these campaigns and their relation to landscape sacralization, there continued to be the practice of constructing sacral buildings to give thanks to God and the Virgin, both of whom were responsible for the Order's victories. This Marian character was at the forefront of the Teutonic Order's legitimization for war in the region during the fourteenth century.[107] To commemorate the victory at Streba, two monasteries were constructed by the Order near Königsberg, which likely functioned as centres for pilgrim-crusaders to visit whilst on the *Reisen*. One of these was at Arnau and the

**104** Wigand, 512: "*ir hulfe allir meist / ist von Marîen komen*."

**105** *CDP* 3: 80–1 (no. 58): "der herre und seine gebenedeite gepererin Jungfrau Marie vor sie fechtende."

**106** *CDP* 3: 81–1 (no. 58): "Sein die wirdigen menner bruder Seifrid von Tannfelt desselben heyligen Ordens Oberster Marschalk, bruder weinrich von Kniprode groskumptur und bruder Ludwig von Wulkenburch oberster Trappier *bewegt worden zu rechen die schmach des gekreuzigeten und mit grossem heer der Christen in das Land Litten*…sieben tage verwüstende."

**107** K. Kwiatkowski, "Wrzorzec krucjaty," [Patterns of the Crusade], 245–6; K. Kwiatkowski, *Wojska* [Army], 50.

other at Löbenicht, an area of Königsberg. It certainly appears that the monastery at Löbenicht received donations from crusaders who came to Prussia on the *Reisen*.[108] In fact, an indulgence for the monastery survives from 1360, issued by Innocent VI, which refers to the monastery as a place where crusaders gathered while in Königsberg before going out on campaign. Those visiting on campaign were granted an indulgence of seven years if they visited on the date of the monastery's consecration, which was tied directly to the victory at the battle.[109] Later, in 1391, Henry Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, stayed in the hospital, though it is unclear whether or not he made an offer to the nuns or heard a mass.[110] In 1408, an offering made by the Grand Master "to the nuns in Königsberg" demonstrates the continued patronage of this centre into the fifteenth century.[111]

The Siege of Kaunas in April of 1362 shows how crusaders in the fourteenth century experienced holy war in the frontier zone of the Great Wilderness. Wigand's account provides a relevant example to this connection as reflected by an associate of the Teutonic Order. The expedition took place in 1362, at the time of Easter (April 18).[112] In Wigand's record of the siege there are various instances of dialogue between Winrich of Kniprode and the Lithuanian prince, Kęstutis, which reflects his perception of the relationship between the wars of the Teutonic Order and the sacralization of the landscape. The dialogue reinforces the divine guidance of the Order and the pilgrims, for they fight with God on their side, as opposed to the Lithuanians, who only have their prince. Religion and belief thus define this episode in the conflict between sacral and profane, as suggested in the works of Krzysztof Kwiatkowski.[113]

After this speech, there are further reinforcing elements to cement the miraculous nature of the battle to the landscape. This is particularly the case for the performance of the liturgy by the army. Wigand frames the events in the light of Christ's passion, for the siege took place on Easter.[114] The most important example of this event as reflective of the spirituality of the *Reisen* campaigns is the account of the divine mass celebrated after the victory over the Lithuanians. Indulgences (*indulgencie ordinis*), chants (*singen*), and a mass officiated by the bishop of Sambia, Bartholomew of Radam, took place.[115] Wigand's commemoration of the event, over thirty years after it occurred, reflects the memorialization of this victory and thus places Kaunas in a context to support the Order's sacred history in Prussia. Specifically, the victory at Kaunas represents not only a physical victory over the Lithuanians, but a triumph of good over evil. Kwiatkowski notes that the Order was in fact a minority in the army at Kaunas, which was mostly

**108** *UB Samland* 3: 268–9 (no. 383). The dedication was on November 17, 1349.

**109** Motzki, ed., *Avignonische Quellen*, 44 (no. 85); Leighton, "St. Barbara," 29–30

**110** Smith, ed., *Expeditions*, 59, 68. Henry also stayed at the Augustinian monastery in Elbing in 1392. See Smith, ed., *Expeditions*, 259.

**111** *MT*, 490: "Her Arnolt… ½ fird. *den juncfrauwen zu Konigsberg*."

**112** Wigand, 531–9, relates the preparations for and the siege of Kaunas.

**113** Kwiatkowski, "*Christ ist erstanden*," 109.

**114** Wigand, 536.

**115** Wigand, 536.

composed of pilgrims and new converts, showing the popularity and religious perception of the wars to warriors outside the Teutonic Order.[116]

We can also further consider Wigand's account of the siege as an aid in understanding the sacralization of the conflict present in the surviving Middle High German fragments of the chronicle. In describing the crusader army at Kaunas, Wigand records an exchange between Winrich of Kniprode and Kęstutis, in which both offer fighting words to one another. Winrich uses the phrase "to shake the earth" (*zur erden wegen*) to describe the siege of Kaunas, perhaps a parallel of 1 Maccabees 9:13, Judas Maccabeus' final battle, where "the earth shook" (*commota est terra*).[117] There is only one other possible connection to the Maccabees in Wigand's text, in his description of the 1329 battle between the Order and Wladyslaw the Elbow High. He likens the glistening water of the Drewentz River in a similar manner to the hills of Beth-Zechariah in 1 Maccabees 6:39, which glimmered (*resplenderunt*) with the shields of the enemy soldiers fighting the Maccabees.[118]

The Battle of Rudau (February 17, 1370) offers a later example of the religious framework of certain battles, and provides a parallel to the erection of commemorative structures to honour fallen crusaders. The battle, which took place between an army composed of the Order, "pilgrim warriors" (*peregrini militi*), and an army of Lithuanians under the leadership of Algirdas and Kęstutis, was a significant victory for the Order. In terms of landscape sacralization, we can take the example of Henning Schindekopf, the marshal of the Order, who died in battle. According to Wigand's account, Henning was killed along with 100 and twenty-six brothers. Their death was commemorated in Wigand's text, though it appears that this was glossed over in the Latin translation, for the translator simply notes that "the history offers a pause (*requiem*) and blessing for the dead Christians."[119] To commemorate the victory, Winrich of Kniprode had a monastery constructed at Heiligenbeil (Rus. Mamnovo) which was visited by crusaders on the *Reisen*, such as Henry Bolingbroke in September of 1392 and made offerings "to the poor [monks' at Heiligenbeil on the first day of September."[120]

There was also a shrine to Henning at the nearby church of Quendau (Rus. Severnaya Gora), which had been known since Ottokar II's conquests in Sambia.[121] This shrine con-

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**116** Kwiatkowski, "*Christ ist erstanden*," 116.

**117** Wigand, 536: "Der meister vortan alsô sprach: / "Und bistû, konig, sô gevier, / als ichdaz sollte glouben dir, / und woltestû nu einen strît / *mit uns machen in diser zit*, / *wir wollen niderlegen* / *den zûn, zur erden wegen* / und daz velt machen alsô slecht, / als er zuvorn was gerecht." Also see I Maccabees 9: 13: "exclamaverunt autem et hii qui errant ex parte Iudae etiam ipsi *et commota est terra a voce exercitum* et commissum est proelium a mane usque ad vesperam."

**118** Wigand, 470 (Fragment 1): "zog er mit eime here grôz…obir daz wazzer Driwanze / als eine sunne glanze." See I Maccabees 6.39.

**119** Wigand, 566: "In quo conflictu xxvi fratres sunt occisi et 100 viri, *signanter Scindecop marschalkus…et optat historia requiem et beatudinem defunctis christianis*."

**120** Wigand, 568. For Henry's visit, see Kyngeston, ed., *Expeditions*, 273: "Item in oblacionibus domini distributis diversis pauperibus apud Holip[i]ll primo die Septembris, xij scot."

**121** *PDC*, 192 (3.71).

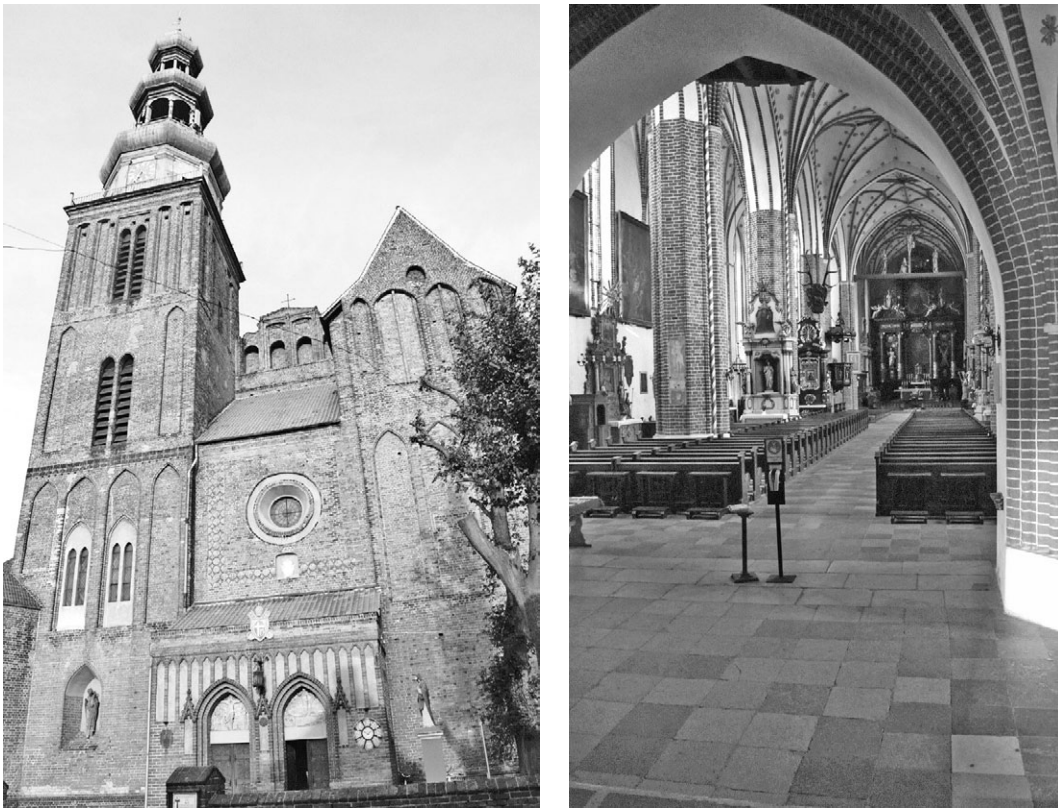

Figure 13. Kulmsee Cathedral, exterior and interior. Photographs by author.

sisted of the fallen marshal's armour, which was placed in Quedenau Church, indicating that Henning was commemorated by the local Christian population. This tradition is preserved in Lucas David's *Preussische Chronik* (ca. 1575).[122] Parish churches in Prussia were visited by guests on the *Reisen* and used by the local population, demonstrated in Christofer Herrmann's work, which examines the intense spiritual lives of the local Christian population in Prussia.[123] We know from later examples the commemoration of members in the Order, often by a candle or lamp in a church. In Kulmsee (Pol. Chełmża), for example, (Figure 13), a lamp appears to have existed since the thirteenth century. Grand Master Michael Küchmeister of Sternberg, in 1419, refers to "a long-existing lamp" founded to commemorate the souls of the brothers of the Order buried there.[124] This included one Grand Master, Conrad of Feuchtwangen (d. 1311), and three Prussian Masters: Helmerich of Rechenberg (d. 1263), Ludwig of Schippen (d. 1299), and Conrad

**122** Lucas David, *Preussische Chronik* 7, 87–9.

**123** Herrmann, *Architektur*, 210–14. Also see 224–5. For the use of churches by guests on the *Reisen*, see Paravicini, PR 1: 305–9.

**124** *UB Culm* 1:411–2 (no. 512): "…from many years before a perpetual lamp was established by our Order in the church of Kulmsee, in the St John's chapel, for the wellbeing and salvation of the soul of many of our brothers, who are buried in the same chapel." (*wy von etzlichen vorgangen czeiten von unserm orden einge ewige bornende lampe zu halden in der kirchen zu Culmens Johannis evangelisten capelle zu troste und zu holffe den selen vil ersamer bruder unders ordens, dy in derselbigen capelle begraben legen*."

Sack (d. 1309).[125] Grand Masters of the Order buried in Marienwerder, or the monument and flame kept for Luder of Braunschweig in Königsberg Cathedral, also received donations from members of the Order and, perhaps, the local population.[126]

Such commemorative acts undertaken by participants on the *Reisen* reveal their understanding of the relationship of their campaigns as elements in sacralizing the landscape through martyrdom, or at least through fighting God's war against the enemies of Christendom. Fallen crusaders were also commemorated by participants on the *Reisen* in places such as Thorn and Königsberg. John II, Count of Namur, died in Prussia in 1335. He may have taken a vow, indicated on his tomb in Spaltheim Monastery, which states that he "died on the Prussian journey."[127] Werner Paravicini notes that William of Holland, in 1344, lit a candle to honour John in Thorn, who was buried in the Franciscan church of St. Mary.[128] Perhaps this commemoration was the product of a vow that William took before departing, but it also speaks to the commemorative elements of the experience in Prussia, thus indicating a developing link to the landscape.

The monuments in Königsberg Cathedral of knights who fought in Lithuania provide insight into the views of contemporaries who took part in the expeditions and how they understood crusading in the fourteenth century. Werner Paravicini and others have analyzed these monuments and provided a wealth of information concerning the identification of the murals.[129] A charter issued by the cathedral chapter of Königsberg in 1333 stipulates that the faithful departed be commemorated every year.[130] William IV of Holland, "who heard a mass in the St. George church" in Königsberg in 1344, would likely have also participated in these commemorations for the dead in Königsberg Cathedral.[131] While the charter does not stipulate visual monuments as commemoration, we know crusaders donated funds to have their monuments placed in the cathedral. William IV also donated money for the construction of the cathedral on his *Reise*.[132]

Some crusaders wished to have their burial in Königsberg, should they die in battle. The expense with which they paid for their monuments (including stained glass windows) reflects their need to express their pious intentions in fighting the wars. William of Ostrevent, in 1386, gave money for a plaque (*tafel*) of his to be hung in the cathedral.[133] He also made an offering to the cloister at Braunsberg, suggesting that this practice was

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**125** Herrmann, *Architektur*, 535–6.

**126** *MT*, 312, 428, 535–6.

**127** See Galliot, *Histoire Générale* 2, 18.

**128** Paravicini, PR 1: 74; Hirsch, ed., "Rechnungen," 744.

**129** Paravicini, PR 2: 120. Also see Jurkowalniec, "Grabmäler," 177–219, at 192.

**130** *UB Samland* 2:215 (no. 283).

**131** Hirsch, ed., "Rechnungen," 745: "II. die hi omme gode gaf bi mins heren beúelen v peen tijt, *doe mijn here te sente Jorion misse hoerde ii ghulden*."

**132** Hirsch, ed., "Rechnungen," 756.

**133** Hirsch, ed., "Rechnungen," 768: "Item tot minster te Coninxberghe daer myns hern tafel in ghehanghen was gegheue iij marck facit vij Dord. gulden vj grote. – Item cost myns hern *tafel op te hanghen en die kerke*…ij marck facit iiij Dordr. gulden xxiiij grote." My italics.

limited to the cathedral of Königsberg.[134] Timothy Guard has considered the concept of dying in Lithuania as a martyr amongst the English nobility, indicating that it was not unpopular for English knights to view the campaigns as requisites for gaining heavenly salvation.[135] Henry Bolingbroke gave alms (*elemosyna*) for a fallen man in Königsberg Cathedral in 1391.[136]

Almsgiving and commemoration of fallen crusaders thus qualifies as a task for those who participated on the *Reisen* and reveals how they experienced crusading there. As argued by the anthropologist Tim Ingold, tasks performed within a landscape are crucial to the creation, perception, and experience of those landscapes over time.[137] It is important to note that this task and its importance depended on the individual, since not all crusaders who died fighting the pagans received burial in Königsberg or had their deeds commemorated there. One example is the "St. Bee's Man," who appears to have died in Lithuania in 1368 on a *Reise* and was transported back to England for burial, where he was buried in the Benedictine Priory.[138] Still, the popularity of Königsberg as a gathering place for pilgrims on the *Reisen* suggests its status as a spiritual destination for those fighting alongside the Teutonic Knights against the pagans in Lithuania. While they certainly engaged in worldly activities such as jousting and feasting, they also took part in devotional activities, such as the adoration of relics and, it appears, the recognition and commemoration of fallen "crusaders."

The Teutonic Order's inventories from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries show that many centres visited by crusaders on the *Reisen* kept relics of martyr saints. For example, at Marienburg, there was the head of St. Agatha (d. 251), in addition to a piece of St. Anthony's jawbone (*kynbacke Anthonny martiris*).[139] Other martyr saint relics include those of St. Euphemia, St. Katherine, St. Barbara, St. Victor, St. Christina, and St. Sebastian.[140] We know that William IV visited the relics of St. Katherine in Brandenburg, to which he made an offering in 1344.[141] Whilst in Marienburg, participants on the *Reisen* likely visited the Chapel of St. Laurence (d. 258), and venerated relics there since at least the 1350s, when Innocent VI granted an indulgence to those who visited to vener-

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**134** Hirsch, ed., "Rechnungen," 776: "Item den Jacopinen *te Bruunsberghe* ghegheuen hoer cloester mede te doen timmeren ij marc facit iij Dodr. ghulden xxiiij gr." My italics.

**135** Guard, *Chivalry*, 144–58; Kirby, ed., *Register* 2, 430 (251b).

**136** Hirsch, ed., "Preussenfahrt," 792: "Elemosynam…*pro quodam Duchmann defuncto apud Conyngb. in oblatione domini*."

**137** Ingold, "Temporality," 152.

**138** See Knüsel et al., "St. Bees Lady," 271–311.

**139** See *MÄ*, 124, and 129. This inventory was taken in 1394.

**140** See *GÄ*, 481 (*1 capud Enfemie cum corona*, recorded in Nessau, 1416); 328 (*1 monstrancie send Katherinen*, kept in Osterode, 1411); 704 (*Barbare gesbytczte bilde mit erem heiligthum*, kept in Danzig, 1428); 434 (*1 silberyn sancti Victoris*, kept in Thorn, 1413); 600 (*1 houpt de sancta Cristina*, kept in Graudenz, 1413); and 308 (*1 silberyn monstrancie cum reliquiis sancti Sebastiani*, kept in Memel, 1420). There is a full table of the relics kept in the Order's Prussian commanderies below.

**141** Hirsch, ed., "Rechnungen," 745: "…die hie minen here gheleent *hadde tofferen t sinte Katherinen eenen scilt, val. xviii grote*."

ate a relic of the True Cross.[142] Indeed, the presence of these structures and objects in the Prussian landscape prove a veneration of martyr saints by those who participated in the *Reisen*, demonstrating the continued connection between crusading and martyrdom in the pagan landscape of Prussia into the fourteenth century.

Banners and standards are main elements of the chronicles documenting the *Reisen* and served a variety of practical and ideological functions. They served as rallying points in battle, but also suggest deeper questions about the ideology of the wars, and the perception of the campaigns "in the Wilderness" relative to landscape sacralization. As discussed by Paravicini, the most popular banners in the sources were those of the Virgin Mary and St. George. The popularity of St. George to crusaders going to Prussia was a product of the chivalric nature of crusading in Prussia: St. George was the ultimate saint for knighthood in the fourteenth century.[143] However, the veneration of George as a martyr can also allow us to gain insight into martyrdom on the *Reisen*. For example, William of Jŭlich-Guelders and the Count of Zutphen took their vow to go to Prussia "in honour of St. George and the Virgin Mary."[144] Königsberg had a St. George church by the fourteenth century, founded by knights from foreign and remote lands, for the purpose of saving their souls, an important link between military saints, crusading, and the creation of sacred space in the southern Baltic during the fourteenth century.[145]

Carrying the banner of the Virgin or St. George in battle was a key task that participants sought to execute whilst in Lithuania fighting alongside the Order. However, it still remained the task of some crusaders who chose to visit those shrines and deserves specific consideration with respect to crusading and the development of sense of "place" in the medieval Baltic, as I will now outline. Wigand of Marburg, author of the authoritative account of the Order's wars against Lithuania, frequently mentions *peregrini* and the spiritual aspects of the campaigns in the wilderness, noting on various occasions the singing of mass, enacting processions, and fighting under the banner of the Virgin. Wigand mentions an army of the brothers "singing grace to God" (*fratres…Deo laudes decantantes*) after defeating a Lithuanian force led by Grand Duke Wytenis (d. 1316); the Latin is not clear as to whether pilgrims were there.[146] Knights coming to Prussia would do this as part of their expeditions, both on departure and upon return. These aspects serve as examples of the Order's self-understanding in the late fourteenth century, in addition to that of the pilgrims, of which the war against the heathen formed a crucial part.[147] Wigand used it to commemorate the Order's grand masters, the struggle

**142** Voigt, *Geschichte Marienburgs*, 536–7. Also see Zacharias, "Reliquienwallfahrt," 11–35.

**143** Paravicini, PR 2: 139–52. Also see Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 22–6, for the popularity of St. George in the Teutonic Order and his function in the Order's ideology.

**144** Nijhoff, *Gedenkwaardigheden* 3:153 (no. 141): "Hertoge van Gelre und greue van Zutphen…*yn die eer Godis ende des heiligen ridders sente Georgijs, in Pruyssen soilen riden*."

**145** *UB Samland* 2: 220–1 (no. 295). This chapel was visited by Henry in 1390. See Smith, ed., *Expeditions*, 116.

**146** Wigand, 454–5, 488, and 536.

**147** See K. Kwiatkowski, "Selbstdarstellung," 127–38.

of Christianity against the heathen, and to appeal to a knightly audience.[148] By this point, there was a strong sense of historical tradition and memory in the Teutonic Order, particularly surrounding how and why they came to Prussia.

Pilgrims did visit sacred shrines while in Lithuania, and along the way, and documentary evidence shows a perception of Lithuania as a place to express piety via war against the heathens. In 1337, for example, Ludwig IV, Holy Roman Emperor, praised the construction of Beyerburg Castle by Henry IV, Duke of Bavaria, as a holy work, done "so that the Catholic faith [in Lithuania] might be extended" (*construendam fore in predicta terra, quam primum eam omnipotens deus fide catholica ampliaverit*). The work was done "to the praise and glory of the almighty and of his most blessed mother, the Virgin."[149] A subsequent charter fragment, on the making of treaties, issued in 1338, makes a specific reference to "the pilgrimage against the Lithuanians" (*via peregrinacionis contra Lythwanos*), reflecting the continuation of crusading language in the region and the growing reputation of the Teutonic Order as a crusading institution.[150]

War and chivalric elements of knighthood certainly applied to those going to Prussia, but the spiritual elements and language in these accounts reflect the pious components of the crusaders' tasks and their relationship to the "land of the heathens." In applying such a model to a few examples, this discussion observes some of the changes and continuities with respect to the landscape sacralization process that took place on the *Reisen*. One example is the connection of the *Great Wilderness* to the Virgin. Knights fought the heathen in a courtly fashion while trekking into the forests of Lithuania "in the Virgin's service." Louis, King of Hungary, in 1356, fought "In Prussia with wonderful deeds, to show his nobility, to serve our Lady, with kings, with high-born nobles, foreign servicemen, knights, and squires from the whole of the Empire."[151] The company of Albert III of Austria, in 1377, was knighted for fighting "for the love of noble Christianity and Mary."[152] Marian imagery continued to play a role in how the wars were described. Though one could argue that this was not unique, given the popularity of the cult of the Virgin at the time, the continuity shows that crusading the Baltic was perceived as a legitimate spiritual enterprise.[153]

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**148** K. Kwiatkowski, "Selbstdarstellung," 129–30.

**149** *TOT*, 201–2 (no. 210): "Nam novissimis istis temporibus illustris princeps patruelis noster dilectus, Heinricus, dux Bawarie, egregias edificorum iuncturas in infidelium Lytwinorum regionibus…utpote castrum capitale tocus terre Lythowie provide construxit cooperante ad hoc venerablilium generalis magistri et suorum fratrum consilio et auxilio…*ad laudem et gloriam omnipotentis dei et beatissime virginis matris sue gloriose*."

**150** *TOT*, 204 (no. 212).

**151** *SRP* 2: 159: "In Preuzzenlant mit wernder tât / *lie sich der edel schauen* / *ze dînest unser vrauen* / mit chunig, mit grâven hôchgeporn / Vreien, dinstman auzerchorn, / mit ritter, chnechten mûtes reich."

**152** *SRP* 2: 165: "Der fürst ân schanden ziter / macht ritter mit sein selbes swert, / *als oft man des an in gert*, / *zo lob der edel christenhait* / *und Maria der vil rainen mait* / *zu wirden und zu êren*."

**153** For a general overview of the rise of the Marian cult in Western Europe, see Le Goff, *The Birth of Europe*, 76–8.

The chroniclers for the Baltic crusades, in both Livonia and in Prussia, reflect a lasting connection to landscape in their placement of miraculous events (*hierophany*), the discovery of relics, and the martyrdom of crusaders. Martyrdom and hierophanic acts were central to landscape sacralization in the Baltic region, not just in the thirteenth century expeditions (which reflected the more "traditional" elements of the crusades), but also in the age of the *Reisen*. Moreover, the use of qualitative GIS has demonstrated some key differences between Livonia and Prussia with respect to how martyrdom and hierophanic acts were represented and perceived by chroniclers. For one, martyrdom in Livonia is less spatially diverse, with most events occurring in the city of Riga (in addition to the early centres at Üxküll and Holme). There are also some instances of martyrdoms at places far removed from Riga, such as Saule, Fellin, and, in the case of the later thirteenth century, Durben and Karuse. In Prussia we see a more systematic and repetitive use of martyrdom to sacralize the landscape, namely in its proximity to main centres of the Teutonic Order, but also in the much richer body of written material documenting the conquest of the region. Martyrdoms at Crucke and Pokarwen were regularly commemorated in the historical texts, and hierophanic acts such as apparitions of the Virgin were connected to crucial cities in the landscape, including Kulm and Thorn.

In the fourteenth century, this process continued, especially in the commemoration of the brethren in the Order who died in battle. This was evident in the battle of Rudau, which resulted in the construction of commemorative spaces to honour the fallen members of the Order and guests who died in Battle. Moreover, hierophanic acts such as the apparition of the Virgin Mary at the Battle of the Streba were regularly documented and propagated in the written material. The physical act of martyrdom was used by chroniclers of the Baltic crusades as a legitimization factor to reinforce the sacralization of the landscape. Moreover, qualitative GIS analysis demonstrated that it was, especially in Prussia, tied to the main cities of the Teutonic Order, thus reflecting a sacral history through connecting the cities to hierophanic events. As we see in the coming chapter, the sacred objects housed in these structures, namely relics, were also vital to the landscape sacralization process.

Chapter 4

# RELICS, PROCESSIONS, AND SACRED LANDSCAPE IN THE BALTIC, THIRTEENTH TO FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

> "In the year of Our Lord 1313, at the time of Easter, brother Carl of Trier, to the praise and glory of God and His Mother and for the expansion of the boundaries of the Christians, gathered an army with all of his might and built the castle of Christmemel on the shore of the Memel River…Having finished the construction of the castle, the clerics followed the people with a solemn procession, carrying relics to the church, and celebrating a solemn mass there." — Peter of Dusburg.[1]

THE HISTORY OF Christmemel Castle (Lit. Skirsnemunė) was relatively short, for it was abandoned in August of 1328. However, the foundation of the castle recounted in Peter of Dusburg's chronicle highlights how relics in the medieval Baltic region served to sacralize space. Relics served as intermediaries between the earthly and spiritual world in the Middle Ages and continue to do so for Christians today.[2] Their presence demarcates a sacral space in the landscape.[3] The crusading movement also placed particular importance on relics, for many returning crusaders brought relics from the Holy Land home with them.[4] Tomasz Borowski and Christofer Gerrard have examined how relics also served to anchor core concepts of identity, self-image, and cohesion amongst the military orders and crusaders.[5] In bringing relics back with them, participants in the crusades reflected the spiritual nature of their mission and brought back a "piece" of the Holy Land to their homelands.[6] This illustrates the connection between crusading as not just an act of war, but also one of pilgrimage, and one that resulted in the creation of sacred points in the landscape of Western Christendom.[7]

As relics were portable and transferrable, they often have a "lineage" of where they were held. This indicates a perception of the places as sacral ones.[8] This aspect of relics reflects the concept of transferable holiness, which has a long tradition in medieval Christianity, and is important in this chapter on the sacralization of the Baltic land-

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**1** *PDC*, 178 (3.315): "Anno domini MCCCXIII in festo pasche frater Karolus magister ad laudem et gloriam dei et matris sue et dilatacionem finium Cristianorum, congregata omni virtute exercitus sui edificavit castrum in litore Memele … Consummato edificio clerici sequente populo cum solempni processione reliquias ad ecclesiam portaverunt, missam ibi solempniter celebrantes."

**2** Angenendt, *Grundformen*, 110–2.

**3** Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 32–3; Murray, "Sacred Space," 14–5.

**4** Cassidy-Welch, "Remembering," 7. For an example, see Hagenmeyer, ed., *Epistulae*, 142–43 (no. 7).

**5** Borowski and Gerrard, "Constructing Identity," 1060–1.

**6** Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 92; Lester, "Remembrance," 73–94. Also see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 94–5.

**7** Nicholson, "St. Euphemia," 108–20.

**8** For example, see Hahn, "Reliquaries," 284–316.

scape during the crusades.[9] To the medieval Baltic, a place with no Christian shrines, crusaders brought relics along with them on their expeditions. In doing so, they sacralized the expeditions as well as the surrounding landscape.[10] There do not appear to be any records of crusaders returning from their expeditions with relics. However, there is considerable evidence to examine connections between the Baltic and other pilgrimage destinations popular in the medieval world, for we know of people from the Baltic visiting the Holy Land, Rocamadour, and Santiago de Compostela.[11] Given that relics were moveable, holy objects, this chapter will demonstrate how relics and their cults gave rise to a new sacral landscape in Livonia and Prussia. The presence of relics and their use in processions, which were essential to the crusading experience in the Baltic, gave rise to a specific understanding of how to sacralize the landscape through engaging in pilgrimage acts and participation in the liturgy. Particularly with respect to the relic of the True Cross, a religious geography emerged that allowed crusaders to express their piety whilst carrying out the war-oriented pilgrimage that defined crusading in Livonia and Prussia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It begins with a chronological overview of relics in the Baltic region, before examining the ways in which they were used by various groups.

The earliest mention of relics connected to crusading in the Baltic comes from Henry of Livonia's account of the year 1203. That summer, Bishop Albert arrived in the city of Riga with pilgrims (*peregrini*) from Germany. Having battled with the Estonians on their way across the sea from the island of Gotland, the party arrived in Riga and the citizens came out to them with relics.[12] It is not possible to determine to which saint they belonged. Henry does state that earlier that year, a "book in the hand of Gregory the Great" (*biblioteca beati Gregorii pape manu scripta*) was given to the Livonian chief and convert, Caupo, after his visit to Rome.[13] This description could be a call on Henry's part to the missions of Augustine of Canterbury amongst the Angles at the end of the sixth century. If so, the Livonian mission (and its pilgrimage component) must be seen within a broader missionary framework, though the veracity of Henry's account with respect to a Bible of Gregory the Great was called into question as early as the nineteenth century.[14] Whether or not it was sent to Livonia, this instance demonstrates a deeper connection of the use of the term *peregrini* to describe crusaders, and highlights the relationship between their experiences in the region and its relationship to the presence of holy objects. It was not necessarily exclusive to those going on unarmed

**9** Caroli, "Bringing Saints," 265–72; Dyas, "To Be a Pilgrim," 2. This was common in other regions of the medieval world, too, like Spain. See Pérez de Urbel, *San Isidoro*, 271–84, at 274–6.

**10** See Leighton, "*Reysa*," 1–25.

**11** *PrUB* 5.2: 374 (no. 161a), a letter granting permission for a churchman from Kulm to visit Jerusalem in 1360. Also see *LUB* 2: 62–3 (no. 637) for Rocamadour; Rozynkowski, *Omnes sancti*, 206, for Santiago de Compostela (in the fifteenth century).

**12** *HCL*, 20 (7.2): "De quorum adventu cives et alii in Riga morantes valde gavisi obviam eis exeunt et cum reliquiis…suscipiunt." Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 42 (7.2).

**13** *HCL*, 21 (7.4). Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 43 (7.4).

**14** Fonnesberg-Schmidt, "Riga and Rome," 220. Also see von Bruiningk, *Messe*, 14–5.

pilgrimage, but rested on a more nuanced understanding of "pilgrimage" on the basis of relics and holy war.[15]

Most likely, these welcoming processions were commonplace, and linked relics to a crucial element of the self-representation of crusaders in a region which they viewed as a sacred landscape or connected to a sacred cause. The annual arrivals of crusaders in Riga is one of the ways that Henry divided his chronicle and reflects his understanding of time, space, and place: Livonia was a land of pilgrimage, and this was connected to the view that it was a land under the patronage of God and the Virgin Mary.[16] The seal of Livonian pilgrims, who had their own banner, and representatives in Riga, had a cross depicted on it, and pilgrimage badges depicting the Virgin Mary were brought home from Livonia.[17] The Teutonic Order in Livonia had the Virgin Mary on its seals, specifically the Commanders of Riga, and hosted pilgrims in the Church of St. George in Riga, administering sacraments to them.[18] Therefore, the arrival of pilgrims, in addition to serving as a sign of support and zeal for the mission, reinforced the conception of this landscape and its holy patrons, particularly the cross and the Virgin Mary. Such events merited the display of the most sacred objects in the new Christian landscape, such as relics.

Given Henry's religious training and his enthusiasm for the mission in Livonia, his text is a rich resource for understanding the relationship between relics and Livonia as a sacral landscape in the thirteenth century.[19] This was already explored by Paul Johansen with respect to Henry's focus on Livonia's Marian heritage.[20] However, another element in the evolution of this region and Henry's understanding of it is the importance of relics. For one, each of the annual campaigns in his chronicle include specific rituals (discussed below) that would have involved using relics. From this early entry of 1203 discussed above, we see that relics and sacral objects were part of the ceremonial aspect of crusading in Livonia. Henry records about twenty pilgrim arrivals in Riga, and the language that he uses is formulaic enough to suggest the adoration of relics each time crusaders were received into the city, therefore becoming significant for the crusading experience in the northern Baltic region from the early thirteenth century onwards.

Charters confirm the presence of relics and relic ceremonies, too. These instances provide further grounds to examine the presence of relics from an early stage in the conquest period, in addition to how they were connected to the sacralization of the land-

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**15** Ní Chléirigh, "*Nova peregrinatio*," 69–72.

**16** Johansen, "Die Chronik als Biographie," 1–24; Gerber, "Heinrich," 5.

**17** For example, *LUB* 1: col. 137 (no. 104), refers to "the seal of the community of the pilgrims" (*sigillum…universitatis peregrinorum*). Also see Rüdebusch, *Heidenfahrten*, 129, 145; Hucker, "Livlandpilgern," 117–9; and Gąssowska, "Anteil," 151.

**18** See von Toll, *Brieflade 4*, 12–4, Table 7; Arnold, "Siegel," 79. For the church of St. George, see *LUB* 3: col. 11 (no. 82): "Magister vero asserebat, eos [pilgrims, merchants, and travelers – GL] liberos esse in omnibus supradictis [rights and privileges for lodging in Riga – GL], unde dicebat, mercatores et advenas et *peregrinos posse in sua ecclesia s. Georgii libere praedicta recipere sacramenta*."

**19** Johansen, "Biographie," 11; *HCL*, xxv–xxvi.

**20** Johansen, "Biographie," 19–20.

scape from the perspective of everyday life. The 1211 charter confirming the foundation of St. Mary's church outside the city walls of Riga highlights how relics delimited sacred places in the landscape.[21] On the feast of St. James (July 25), one day after the martyrdom of Berthold of Loccum in 1198, Bishop Albert led the people in a procession with relics outside the city walls.[22] The party then "consecrated the place" (*consecrantes eundem locum*) to the blessed Virgin Mary.[23] Discussed at greater length below, the procession of the relics demonstrates that, even in the early conquest period in Livonia, there was a clear understanding of sacral and profane space amongst contemporaries, and relics were vital for establishing this separation.[24]

As noted above, the use of relics in the region also brings into question the extent to which crusading in the Baltic was a form of traditional pilgrimage, or just an adaptation of crusade terminology, since texts from both Livonia and Prussia refer to participants as "pilgrims" (*peregrini*). This example from the charter describing the foundation of Riga Cathedral indicates that relics and relic veneration were a part of the experience of crusading in the "barbarous land" (*terra barbara*) of Livonia. The witnesses of the foundation charter include the church officials of the city of Riga, but also pilgrims.[25] That the dedication occurred on the feast of St. James also adds to the importance of pilgrimage in this early phase of the conquest of Livonia, as do the pilgrim badges mentioned above depicting the Virgin Mary and the remission of sins. St. James' shrine at Santiago de Compostela was one of the most prominent shrines in western Europe after Rome. As early as 1312, three pilgrims from Riga journeyed to Rocamadour, a stop on the way of St. James.[26]

What were some popular relics in Livonia, and in what ways can they inform us of the emerging sacral landscape there? Perhaps the most popular was the relic of the True Cross. It was taken on campaigns, as was common in other regions of Europe, one example being the siege of Fellin (discussed above) in 1211. The relic was also the primary sacral object in Riga Cathedral, the main sacred centre to which pilgrims came during the course of the thirteenth-century crusades.[27] It is likely that the relic was in the cathedral since the thirteenth century, and we know that Berthold of Loccum's grave

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**21** Heine, "Hagiologisches," 219–20, discusses the popularity of St. James/Jacob in Livonian churches.

**22** *LUB* 1: col. 29 (no. 21).

**23** *LUB* 1: col. 29 (no. 21).

**24** *LUB* 1: col. 29 (no. 21). The charter specifically records that there was a "solemn procession" (*solemni processio*).

**25** *LUB* 1: col. 29 (no. 21): "Testes sunt: Iohannes praepositus Rigensis…et totus conventus peregrinorum, Iohannes de Branstorp, Hermannus de Molve, Theodoricus Wrot, Walterus quondam dapifer, Philippus advocatus, Iordanus, Albertus et alii quam plures cives et peregrini."

**26** See Favreau-Lilie, "Nord– und Ostsee," 93–130. Three citizens from Riga also made a pilgrimage to Rocamadour in France, in 1312, a site that is also located along the route to Santiago de Compostela. See Paul Johansen, "Rocamadour," 31, citing *LUB* 2: 63–4 (no. 637).

**27** Jähnig, "Sakraltopographie," 157; Gąssowska, "Anteil," 160–1.

was moved near to its altar in the fourteenth century.[28] Cross relics were also popular in other centres, namely the castle of Neuhausen (Est. Vastseliina), where a miraculous fragment of the cross was the object of local pilgrimages. A series of miracles concerning this cross were described in a supplication to Pope Innocent VI in 1354.[29] The presence of the relic "on the frontier with the Russians, enemies of the true faith" (*in fronteria Ruthenorum hostium fidei orthodoxe*) reflects the relationship between these sacral objects and perceptions of landscape.[30]

The Teutonic Order's Prussian territories provide a more nuanced picture on the role of relics. The crusading movement in Prussia was much more protracted than in Livonia. There were indeed parallels, particularly in the thirteenth century, with respect to relics, how contemporaries used them to sacralize the landscape, and the roles they played in the experience of crusading. As such, there is a much clearer picture of the perceptions of crusading as a form of pilgrimage in this region, and the ways in which contemporaries used relics to sacralize the landscape.

As shown in Chapter 3, St. Adalbert of Prague's martyrdom was a key event in the religious history of the southern Baltic. Prior to the arrival of the Teutonic Order, Piast rulers linked his relics with their holy wars against the Prussians during the twelfth century.[31] We might also assume that St. Otto of Bamberg took relics with him on his preaching missions in Pomerania in the twelfth century. Therefore, there was already an existing relationship between relics and specific points in the landscape of the southern Baltic that predates the crusading movement.[32] However, it was most clearly the Teutonic Order who was instrumental in bringing relics into the region and regulating the veneration of them by the population and crusaders alike. With respect to St. Adalbert, it must be remembered that his body was not kept in Prussia, regardless of where he was martyred. Instead, according to the thirteenth-century *Miracula sancti Adalberti*, the body was transported back to Poland by Bolesław I Chrobry. The text also notes that, before returning to Poland, there were a series of miracles that occurred as a result of Adalbert's head and body in Prussia. In one of these, the head of Adalbert, being discovered by a certain Prussian, asked to be brought back to Poland, specifically to Gnesen (Pol. Gniezno) where his shrine stands today.[33] This demonstrates that the body of the saint was viewed as miraculous wherever it happened to rest, something common to relics in the middle ages as elements that sacralized various places. As we see below, a similar event happens in Prussia, in 1242, when the relics of St. Barbara "ask" the Teutonic Knights to bring her to their city of Althaus Kulm, which became a major pilgrimage shrine by the end of the thirteenth century and flourished throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth.

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**28** See von Bruiningk, *Messe*, 27–8; von Bruiningk, "Altäre," 11–3.

**29** Motzke, "Livonica," 129–30 (no. 52).

**30** Motzke, "Livonica," 129–30 (no. 52).

**31** von Güttner-Sporzyński, *Poland*, 77–107.

**32** Jezierski, "St Adalbertus," 209–60.

**33** Pertz, ed., *Miracula*, 614.

The relics brought in by the Teutonic Order were related to crusading in the Holy Land and the lives of the martyrs. This has a direct link to how the brothers' wars in Prussia were framed along the lines of a continuous crusading ideology, as opposed to the regional significance of Adalbert's relics.[34] The most obvious example of this favour directed at "Holy Land relics" is reflected in Frederick II's gift to the Order's Prussian castle at Elbing of "a great piece of the True Cross" (*magna pars sanctae crucis*), discussed in further detail below.[35] The Order used the Cross Relic to link its Prussian wars with the Holy Land. In terms of pilgrimage, those who went to Prussia on crusade and venerated the relic thus took part in this linking of crusade theatres, but also landscapes.

Other relics played a significant role, too, in generating a sacral landscape in Prussia. On Ottokar II's crusade to Prussia in 1254–1255, he brought along the relics of St. Hedwig of Silesia (d. 1243), a local saint who was greatly venerated in Bohemia.[36] Though the passage is unclear, it does state that before he departed for Prussia the pope gave Ottokar two relics: a head and bones of the saint.[37] What is unclear is whether he took them on the entire journey. If he did, this indicates the possibility that there could well have been a developing pilgrimage network to Prussia. This may be the reason why St. Hedwig is also included in the Teutonic Order's monastic calendar later in the fifteenth century.[38] Ottokar's journey is traced in Map 6 (on p. 86 in this volume), but for the time being the importance of relics to sacralizing landscape is the focus. It shows the concept of pilgrimage *to* a land with few Christian sites nevertheless included practices that sacralized the journey and reflected contemporary perceptions of the journey as a holy one.

For crusaders and pilgrims going to Prussia, relics were the physical embodiment of their mission in the wars against pagans. Relics not only served to show God's intercession in daily life, or to provide a connection between man on earth and the saints. In Prussia, they linked a physical spot in the landscape to the divine by their very presence there. As Patrick Geary argues, this only occurred if the communities who adored those relics gave specific religious values to them.[39] Recent work by Maria Starnawska shows the relevance of holy objects to forming community identity.[40] In the case of the Teutonic Order, the possession of relics indeed solidified its identity as a monastic military order, fighting the enemies of the faith in Prussia and in Livonia. The Order kept relics in its castle chapels, where they performed the spiritual duties required of them, solidifying the relationship of relics to the religious values of the Order.[41]

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**34** Rozyknowski, *Omnes Sancti*, 87–8; Radzimiński, *Chrystianiczacja*, 52.

**35** *PDC*, 52 (1.5); *PrUB* 1.1: 76–7 (no. 103).

**36** For example, see Antonín, "Herrscherbild," 13–42.

**37** Seemüller, ed., *Reimchronik*, 127 (lines 9595–9608): "dô der bâbest het erloubt, / daz man sant *Hedwigen houbt*, / *daz heilic und daz reine*, / *mit anderm irm gebeine* / solde phlanzen und erheben."

**38** Rozynkowski, *Omnes Sancti*, 60.

**39** Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 6–7.

**40** Starnawska, "Relics," 31–46.

**41** See below, Chapter 5.

For the crusaders journeying to the Baltic, relics held a similar significance. They were thus not only used by members of exclusive communities, like the Teutonic Order. Many people took their vows to go to Prussia to engage in battle against the Church's enemies and to support the Order, all of which was done "to honour God" (*got zo eren*). The 1265 crusade of Albert I, Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (d. 1279), is an important example.[42] Relics were objects that participants could visit in churches, thus serving to ground those who carried and venerated them within a new holy place. Into the late fourteenth century, the importance of crusaders visiting parish churches as pilgrims was recognized by the papacy and encouraged. Indulgences were given to those who "devoutly visited the chapel churches each year on certain days" (*ecclesias cappellas et loca certis diebus tunc expressis devote visitarent annuatim*), particularly those associated with campaigning against the Lithuanians, such as the Purification and Visitation of the Virgin Mary.[43] We might conclude that crusaders were included in this reference to "devout visitors." There are records of knights and nobles visiting pilgrimage shrines near Königsberg and other centres in the Teutonic Order's Prussian lands. Considering that main churches and parish churches were consecrated in the presence of relics and that those relics were kept in them, one could argue that relic veneration was an important part of the experience of crusaders visiting the Baltic landscape before, during, and after their campaigns.[44] Specific places associated with them became centres for pilgrimage, which appears to have occurred both within the local population of Prussia and amongst the guests who participated on the *Reisen*. In this last instance (i.e., among the local population), the relics functioned as part of the evangelizing aspect of the Order as an institution. While they may not have been visiting the relics as "crusaders," their continued veneration of them reflected the attempt of the Order to gain popular support in its mission. Moreover, donations to the shrines could also be used to collect money for later military efforts.[45]

In addition to transferring relics into the landscape, there is a particular case in which a relic was "discovered" in the pagan landscape, and expressed its wishes to go to a more appropriate "holy" place. This case is the discovery of the relics of St. Barbara at Sartowitz (Pol. Sartowice) in 1242, which came to form a fundamental component to ideology of the Teutonic Order as an institution in Prussia and abroad.[46] The relics were venerated not just by the brethren, but by pilgrims visiting the Althaus Kulm, where they were transferred right after the discovery. The saint's shrine in the town was one of the primary destinations of pilgrimage throughout the thirteenth century and into the

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**42** von Repgow, ed., *Sächsische Weltchronik*, 564 (lines 8539–8545): "Darnach an dhem anderen jare / vur her [Albert I of Braunschweig–Lüneberg–GL] mit herlicher scare / *zo Pruzen gote zo eren*; / sus kund in sin tugent leren. / her quam widher wol gesunt." Also see Voigt, GP 5: 254.

**43** *CDP* 4: 41 (no. 34).

**44** Herrmann, *Architektur*, 147.

**45** Herrmann, *Architektur*, 127. Radzimiński, *Chrystianizacja*; K. Kwiatkowski, "corporatio militaris," 262–4, for communicating stages of military campaigns to the population.

**46** *PDC*, 138–40 (3.36) narrates the discovery of the relics. Also see *KvP*, 375–9 (lines 6277–6670).

fifteenth.[47] Its elevated status lasted well into the fifteenth century, when the inventories of the Order's commandery at Althaus carefully record details of the relic, indicating its status as a major pilgrimage shrine. These included crowns, pearls, and embossed images of silver.[48] The place gained an element of sacrality due to its association with the Teutonic Order, in addition to the presence of Barbara's relics. The thirteenth-century arrival of relics alongside the armed pilgrimage expeditions in Prussia and Livonia was fundamental to developing later perceptions of place and landscape, namely in the continued pilgrimage journeys in the fifteenth century to venerate them and their connection to specific places in the landscape.

Contemporaries in both regions used relics to create a sacred landscape by venerating them mostly in specific places such as Riga (in Livonia) and Elbing (in Prussia). This gave way to a route comprised of centres that were visited (or, likely visited) repeatedly as pilgrims went to the frontier, forming a "pilgrimage landscape." Sites were indeed visited for practical reasons: they were necessary for supplying armies and providing shelter. The late fourteenth-century Austrian poet and herald, Peter Suchenwirt, recorded the festivities provided to guests on the *Reisen* at places like Thorn, Kulm, and Königsberg.[49] However, the examples above demonstrate that the veneration of relics was also an important factor in the pilgrimage experience of crusaders who came to Prussia and Livonia in the thirteenth century.

Relics were fundamental to establishing a new sacral landscape in the Baltic landscape by their very presence in the churches visited by crusaders, their use by members of the military orders, in addition to veneration by the local population. Saints from the early Christian period were used to consecrate churches and there was special reverence for the relics of martyrs, which further cements the importance of martyrdom in sacralizing the landscape (discussed in Chapter 3). From the eleventh century on, the ceremonies for consecrating churches were quite elaborate.[50] Even in the churches on the island of Saaremaa, which are difficult to establish as pilgrimage shrines in the sense that crusaders visited them on campaign, the altars in the church have spaces for the relics to be kept and used for the local congregation.[51] A synodal document from Riga

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**47** See Zacharias, "Reliquienwallfahrt,"11–35; Leighton, "St. Barbara," 5–50. For primary source accounts of the pilgrimage to the relics of St. Barbara, see Strehlke, ed., "Johannes von Posilge," 238: "Item noch Margarethe qwam die grosmechtliche herczogynne, Wytowes frouwe, von Littowin in das lant zcu Pruszin…und czoch betefart czu sinte Katharinen zcu Brandenborg, und zcu Marienwerder, und zcu sinthe Barbaran zcum Aldenhuse." Strehlke, ed., "Voyaiges," 449, describes the visit of Guillibert to the relics of St. Barbara: "…et de la m'en alay a ung chastel et commanderie nomme Aldenhoux, *ou on aoure sainte Barbe*."

**48** *GÄ*, 515: "Item boden dem howbte Sente Barbare eyn snůre vol czeihen von sylbern gebylde von heringen, awgen, herczen, satele, fyssche, schiffe, behne, ingegraben bilde und derglich und etliche gulden mit czweyn obergulten vorspannen… *Item boben Sante Barbaren hinden an der wand henget ouch eyn eyszen vol dergleichen mancherley czeichen von bilde von sylber*." My italics.

**49** *SRP* 2, 160.

**50** Blinns, *Dedications*, 12–4; Dalmais *et al.*, eds., *Church at Prayer*, 208–9, 216–20 *Source missing in bib*; Boyer, *Liturgical Environment*, 35–57, here 39–42.

**51** I am thankful to Fr. Veiko Vihuri, parish priest for Saaremaa, for providing me with this information.

issued in 1428 confirms that relics were in the churches, not just in the cities, but also in the countryside. It states that the relics were not correctly used in "the rustic and rural places in our province of Livonia" (*rustici et incole in provincia nostra Lyovnie*).[52] The statute feared that "[the people of Levonia] might cling to superstitious idolatry and aid from demons, in a greatest offense to God."[53]

How did the use of relics shape perceptions of the landscape in the Baltic? Relics functioned as legitimizing elements in the crusades in the Baltic, namely due to their being sacred objects that allowed for crusaders to develop a more "pilgrimage–like" experience in the region. However, we can learn more about how contemporaries used them to create a new sacred landscape by considering the ways relics were utilized as part of the liturgy, on and off the battlefield.

The Teutonic Order's conquest of Prussia in the thirteenth century offers significantly more information about the liturgical functions of relics and their status as sacral objects in a pagan landscape in comparison to Livonia. Indeed, some of the earliest cities founded by the Order possessed the most important relics in the region and functioned as places of pilgrimage. These cities also were scenes of repeat processions and other sacralizing acts in which crusaders took part. Thorn, followed by Kulm, Elbing, Marienwerder, Rehden, and Balga were the earliest sites for pilgrims, relics, and processions in thirteenth-century Prussia. The "Hermann of Salza Letter" is one of the earliest pieces of historical writing concerning the conquest of Prussia. It confirms that relic processions took place in the conquest period, namely in that it is the first account of the relic procession at Kulm after the Order "discovered" Barbara's relics in the December of 1242. The brothers, returning to Kulm with the relics, were welcomed by the people with a "song of praise" (*lopgesange*), indicating that a procession took place.[54] Peter of Dusburg, who used this letter as a source, states that once the relics had been brought back to Kulm, there was "a solemn procession" (*solennis processio*) with the clergy and people.[55]

Relic processions took place in Livonia, predominantly in the city of Riga. These often took place when Albert of Riga arrived from his recruitment campaigns to Germany for pilgrims. Processions and masses were not limited to the main city of Livonia, though, indicating that there was a practice of engaging in these sacral acts whilst on campaign. In Henry's account of the crusader conquest of Ösel in the winter of 1227, he notes that the army proceeded to the island "having celebrated solemn mass" (*cel-*

**52** *LUB* 7: 470–95 (no. 690).

**53** *LUB* 7: 492: "in gravissimam Dei offensam adeo inherent supersticiose ydolatrie ex demonum subtilitate adjuvante." Also see Radzimiński, *Chrystianizacja*, 59–60.

**54** *HvSB*, 161: "Do besatzten sy das haus und furten s. Barbaren mit grossen eren ken Kolmen. *Do wart sy herlich entpfangen mit heiligtum und lopgesange*, und alle dy do szum Colmen woren." My italics.

**55** *PDC*, 140 (3.36): "Post hec [the discovery of the relics] … reversus has sanctas reliquias versus Colmen duxit, ubi clerus et populus *cum solenni processione* occurrens eas ad ecclesiam portaverunt et ad Castrum Antiquum posuerunt." Also see *KvP*, 379 (lines 6615–6621), mentions the relics being brought back "with songs" (*mit gesange*).

*ebratis missarum solempniis procedunt*).[56] Henry framed this conquest as the ultimate showdown between Chrsitianity and paganism. While the pagan Öselians called upon their sacred grove (*nemus…invocant*), the Christian army called upon Jesus Christ (*Iseum invocant*), which could indicate a procession or some sort of ritual taking place before battle. It was not uncommon for armies to engage in these practices during the crusades in the Holy Land, perhaps the most famous example being the circling of Jerusalem three times by the crusaders in 1099 to replicate the conquest of Jericho.[57]

While Henry of Livonia's chronicle provides the best glimpse into the role of relics and landscape in the thirteenth-century eastern Baltic, later sources, such as the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, do not include any direct references to these objects. However, there are mentions of processions and the celebration of masses whilst on campaign that highlight a continuity of practices over the course of a century. These examples occur in the text's account of the siege of Heiligenberg (Latv. Svētkalns). The author records a journey of the brothers from Prussia along the coast of Kurland to Goldingen, "where they were joyfully received," similar to the "great joy" recorded at crusader arrivals in Henry's chronicle.[58] Following the arrival of these brothers, there was a journey through Semigallia to Heiligenberg "which lay in enemy lands" (*Heiligenberg…lac in der viende lant*), and after a skirmish with the pagans, the army made camp outside the castle walls. On the following morning, the army of brothers and men of Dorpat and Leal sang mass there, before going into battle and eventually gaining a victory.[59] The reception of warriors in cities like Riga, but also in Order castles like Goldingen and Heiligenberg, indicates that relics could have been present and used in important ceremonies related to the war against the enemy. While there was not a sacral point in the landscape in the traditional sense, the presence of relics and their use were key to how contemporaries sacralized warfare in Livonia, which transferred to their perception and representation of landscape in their chronicles.

Relic processions not only played an important role in both Livonia and Prussia with respect to sacralizing those conflicts and the landscape in which they took place. They also provided a physical manifestation of the perceived holiness of the mission when we consider the procession as central to the crusader's mission and how this relates to the concept of self-image and self-understanding. Through participating in processions (or mass) in the presence of relics, crusaders engaged in a sacred act that allowed for the transformation of the landscape from pagan to sacred. As outlined in the work of Mircea Eliade, acts such as processions were "repetitions" of an original hierophantic act, and thus separated a sacred space from the profane space surrounding it.[60] The engagement

**56** *HCL*, 217 (30.3). Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 239–40 (30.3).

**57** See Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, 413–5. For the conquest of Jericho, see Joshua 6: 1–27.

**58** *LR*, 251 (lines 10876–10934) records the expedition.

**59** *LR*, 252 (lines 11027–11037): "Zûm Heiligenberge man sie liez. / der meister dô die brûdere hiez, / daz sie slûgen ûfir gezelt. / vor die burc ûf daz velt / wart die legerstat genomen. / Dô [Heilgenberg – GL] daz her was allez komen, / sechs tûsent uber al / prûvete man das heres zal. / die nacht sie hatten gût gemach. / *des morgens dô der tac ûf brach, / in dem here man messe sanc*."

**60** Eliade, *Patterns*, 368; Johnson, "Approaches," 273.

in these processions, which could be quite elaborate, also reflect the bodily and personal experiences of participants in the crusades.

Liturgical processions formed a key component of drama and spirituality throughout the medieval world, and they played a similar role in the crusades in Livonia and Prussia.[61] Only recently have they been approached from this angle,[62] but scholars have noted this in other regions of medieval Europe, one example being Italy. Michael Viktor Schwartz has shown convincingly the potential for assessing the relationship of processions to understanding cities (or, rather, the sacred places within cities) as religious centres. Sites within the city, taken from a description of 1278, clearly were the places for theatrical worship and drama during the procession.[63]

The sources for the thirteenth-century expeditions to Livonia and Prussia offer little in the way of describing processions like the one used in Schwartz's article. Save for Henry of Livonia's chronicle, the "Herrmann of Salza Letter," and the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, descriptions of such processions and their reception are scant at best. We therefore have a small body of sources that can be vague, but parallels in language can help to show that processions likely took place whilst on campaign, and played a significant part in the conquest and transformation of the landscape and how contemporaries perceived it. This goes back into the very place of crusading expeditions within the liturgical calendar of the churches in Prussia and in Livonia. Liturgical time on the Baltic crusades centred around Marian feast days, like the Purification (February 2) and Assumption (August 15), giving more importance to the language chroniclers use to describe the arrival of pilgrims and indicating the likelihood of relic processions. For example, the Order's *Rule* states that processions were to be held on these days, since these feasts were held in the highest office of the Dominican Rite, which necessitated processions.[64] The discussion below, which features the relics on the crusading missions in the fourteenth century, traces this in contemporary formulary books issued throughout the Prussian dioceses.

For the present discussion, it is important to note that the development of cities by the end of the thirteenth century and throughout the fourteenth century emphasize the importance of these prolonged campaigns in transforming the landscape from pagan to Christian on a material and psychological level. The significance of the art in the chapel of the Order at Marienburg, discussed in Chapter 5, demonstrates this in two ways. First, it reflects a sacred history connected to the Bible in showing the links between the Old and the New Testament. Secondly, the visual program in the castle also reflects the memory of the early conquests of the Order, thus incorporating the "barbarous land" (*terra barbara*) into the greater spatial realm of Christendom (*Christianitas*).[65] We know from later accounts, namely that of John of Posilge, the bishop of Deutsch Eylau (Pol.

**61** R. Reynolds, "Drama," 128.

**62** Löffler, "Liturgie," 161–84.

**63** Schwartz, "Padua," 39–64, at 44.

**64** *SDO*, 2, 8.

**65** Turpinda, "Chronik," 521.

Iława) and an official of the bishop of Pomerania, that pilgrims would participate in relic processions at Marienburg in the late fourteenth century.[66] These processions and demonstrations would have certainly incorporated the memory of the Order's crusades against the Prussians, thereby solidifying the sacral history of the place through engaging in specific rituals, in this case involving the processions of relics. It should be noted here that Johann's status as an outsider of the Order also reflects how the concept of this incorporation and development of a new spiritual geography was preached to the local population, not just members of the Teutonic Order and crusaders.

While it is clear that relics significantly affected how contemporaries engaged with the landscape and sacralized it within major cities, they also had a function in battle, even though the sources from the thirteenth century do not provide any direct evidence of their use by crusader armies whilst on campaign. We do not know whether or not relics accompanied armies into battle or in the early campaigns, though Paul Johansen suggests that a relic of the True Cross was present at the siege of Fellin in 1217, based on an apparent vision of the cross at the battle.[67] There is a chapel (*ecclesia*) mentioned by Henry in the early 1220s at Fellin, which was likely dedicated to the Cross, since we have a record of the Holy Cross Church at Fellin in a document issued by the Livonian Master, Bernd von der Borch, in 1481, concerning the extension of the city's privileges and its territories.[68]

The processions and rituals associated with these relics were essential for the emergence of Prussia and Livonia as new sacred landscapes in many ways. For one, they reflected the transferral of practices common in western Christendom to the landscape. Given the missionary nature of crusading in the region, these practices served to emphasize the conversion of the pagans. This certainly would have affected the perceptions and transformations of the landscape from profane to sacred. For example, the regular procession of the relics of St. Barbara in Prussia, recorded in virtually all of the Teutonic Order's chronicles, suggests that the successful battle of Sartowitz was also part of that commemorative process. It not only confirmed the sanctity of the shrine at Althaus Kulm, but the entirety of the land of Prussia.[69]

Likewise, the other relic centres in Prussia, such as Elbing, which this chapter discusses at greater length below, witnessed processions when crusaders arrived there. Representing this visually shows a new perspective to the development of how sacred landscapes were created in both regions. Map 6 (on p. 86 in this volume), provides a systematic representation in Prussia of relics' locations and where processions occurred based on the geographic information provided in the sources. Combined with the formulaic element of history-writing in the region common to the Teutonic Order, this allows us to determine that relic processions were key to the crusading experience in

**66** Heß, "Himmelskönigin," 191; von Posilge, *Chronik*, 146: "In desim jare (1386 – GL) uf Walpurgis *wysete man das heyligethum zcu Marienburg*."

**67** Johansen, "Lippstadt," 95–160, at 118, cited in Hucker, "Livlandpilgern," 115.

**68** *HCL*, 189 (26.5). Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 207–8 (26.5). For the reference to the Holy Cross Church, *LG*, 509 (no. 548). Also see Haak and Riina, "Viljandi," 89–90

**69** Strenga, "Common Past," 347–71. Also see *Chronik von Oliwa*, 599.

the Teutonic Order's Prussian territories. The tradition of historical writing within the Teutonic Order in Prussia also suggests that in the case of Livonia, these events are more spatially diverse, offering a unique contrast between the two regions in terms of where key religious events took place.

Mapping the locations of relics and processions in the early crusades to Livonia and Prussia provides a new way to depict a more traditional experience of holy war, particularly one that included traceable elements of pilgrimage. The map of these events reveals a pilgrimage route that had emerged by the end of the thirteenth century in both regions, thus allowing us to re-assess how crusaders spiritually interacted with the landscape and sacralized it in the process of conquering it. Henry's account, for example, confirms the status of Riga as the main religious centre in the eastern Baltic, but also includes other areas, like Fellin.[70] This is namely because of the presence of relics and religious processions there discussed above. Peter of Dusburg's text, using the "Hermann of Salza Letter," traces the emergence of the Kulmerland as the Teutonic Order's sacred landscape in the thirteenth century. This had a significant effect on the development of Prussia as a sacred landscape patronized and protected by the Teutonic Order.[71]

Map 6 also portrays the Teutonic Order's conquest of Prussia in a new light and reflects how the differences in historical writing in both regions resulted in a different perception of spiritual landscape on the part of the chroniclers. The locations of relics and processions in Peter of Dusburg's chronicle regularly occur at cities founded by the Order, whereas in Henry of Livonia's text these appear at locations removed from the main sacral centre of Riga. This aligns with the differences in land administration and settlement in Prussia and Livonia, a topic that has received considerable attention in the works of Roman Czaja, Jürgen Sarnowsky, and Bernhart Jähnig.[72] Adding to this, we can see how the ideological narratives in both regions concerning landscape sacralization reflect these differences spatially. The Order's Prussian cities were embedded in a deep tradition of a sacral history, in contrast to the representation of the wars in Henry of Livonia's chronicle. The map shows the example of some pilgrimages from both Peter of Dusburg's and Henry of Livonia's chronicles where armed pilgrimage involved the presence of relics and/or processions. The examples from Peter's chronicle are circled; those in Henry's text have squares around them. The pivotal events during these campaigns occurred primarily at castles established by the military orders, such as Fellin (in Livonia), and Thorn, Kulm, and Elbing (in Prussia).

In terms of processions and their function in sacralizing the landscape, spatial developments in Prussia should also be considered, since these were the areas in which such events took place. During the relic pilgrimages of the 1230s and later, mapped above, the important relics centres were beginning to transform from wood and earth castles into

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**70** Tuulse, *Burgen*, 30–5; Jähnig, "Sakraltopographie," 157–8; Zühlke, "Zerschlagung," 178.

**71** Starnawska, "The Role," 203–12, at 205–6. The relics were held in Althaus Kulm until the mid-fifteenth century, when they were moved to Marienburg. See *MÄ*, 129 (line 33), an inventory from 1439, which records "eyn bilde Barbare virginis unvorguldeth."

**72** Czaja, "Bilanz," 166–8; Czaja and Nowak, "An Attempt," 36–47; Jähnig, "Räumliche Gliederung," 117–26.

stone and brick ones. This is evident in the terminology for the structures and archaeological evidence, indicating more permanent buildings in which these processions took place. As early as the 1240s there were brick structures in Prussia, specifically the Dominican church in Elbing, built in 1246.[73] Shortly after this was founded the cathedral of Kulmsee, built in stone in 1251.[74] At Thorn, by 1255, the bishop of Sambia donated funds to build a tower or a wall for the castle.[75]

The Holy Spirit Hospital at Elbing, founded in 1242, was granted additional lands in May of 1255, indicating the increased use of the hospital, either by visiting pilgrims, crusaders, merchants, or the growth of the city itself.[76] In the case of the former, perhaps they were also coming to venerate the relic of the True Cross kept in the Order's castle chapel, though this only appears in an indulgence from Gregory IX and the account of Peter of Dusburg.[77] In 1263, again at Thorn, is the first mention of the castle chapel, which held a large piece of the True Cross and "the relics of the aforementioned saints," perhaps a reference to Sts. Elizabeth, Peter, and Paul, who are mentioned in the indulgence document.[78] Anselm, the bishop of Warmia, encouraged the construction of the chapel and offered an indulgence "to all devout visitors" who participated in the effort. Elbing castle was built in stone around 1270, and repeated indulgences encouraged pilgrims to visit its hospital throughout the thirteenth century. This may indicate the hold exerted by the relic of the True Cross from an early period in the history of Prussia.[79]

Given these developments in the spatial environments of Prussia and Livonia, it appears crusaders could have been active participants in venerating relics in places like the Order's castle at Thorn or contributing to its construction. Discussed at greater length below, an indulgence for the chapel was issued in 1263. William of Jülich could have visited the castle in 1262–1263, though Töppen proposed that he went directly to Königsberg by sea. He could have visited it on his journey back.[80] Otto III of Brandenburg and Ottokar II, on their crusade of 1266, stopped at Thorn, and they would likely have

**73** *CDW* 1: 22–3 (no. 14): "Chorum eciam et ecclesiam *de opere latericio absque turri* eisdem concedimus edificari." My italics.

**74** *PrUB* 1.1: 181 (no. 250). Also Herrmann, "Entwicklung," 35–48; Herrmann, *Architektur*, 167; Herrmann, "Deutschordensland," 858–1031, at 871–89.

**75** *CDP* 1: 96 (no. 99), 97 (no. 100). The last letter was a donation of 10 silver marks made by Bishop Henry of Samland for the construction of a tower of Thorn castle: "Quod nos *ad opus turris castri Thorunensis assignamus aut promisimus decem marcas argenti*."

**76** Jähnig, "Entstehen," 31–2 (for the castle chapel), 40–2 for the hospital.

**77** *CDW* 1: 73–4 (no. 36): "Vestre notum facimus caritati, quod fratres nostri hospitali spiritus sancti in Elbinc contulerint molendinum in civitate, et allodium ante civitatem, et xl. mansos in terra kadinensi. Nos vero hanc donacionem confirmamus."

**78** *CDW* 1: 82 (no. 45).

**79** *CDW*, 3–4 (no. 3). For the indulgence, see *PrUB* 1.2: 243 (no. 358). Subsequent indulgences were issued in 1278, 1281, and 1334, see *CDW* 1: 91–2 (no. 53), 104–5 (no. 58), 372 (no. 218). For the context of this indulgence, see Töppen, *Antiquitäten*, 150.

**80** *PDC*, 218–20 (3.98) records the campaign. For the course of the campaign in Prussia, 102 (note 3).

visited the castle and chapel, too.[81] Ottokar also visited Elbing in 1255.[82] We do know that crusaders were encouraged to help build the chapel at Thorn. Indulgences were issued in Warmia and Sambia for building churches and city walls, particularly in the fourteenth century, which would indicate that this was a continued practice throughout the time of the *Reisen*, discussed in Chapter 5.[83]

The relationship between these sacral centres (i.e., the castle chapels), the relics venerated by the brothers, and the participation of the local population in the construction of the spaces suggests that there was not such a division of public and private sacred space within the Order's castles. The local population, or visiting crusaders, were expected to contribute to the construction. What can we say about the first of these spaces, many of which would have been the castle chapels of the Order? The development of specific, structured spaces for the veneration of relics gave rise to a more traceable manifestation of the crusade experience as a pilgrimage. This also coincides with a language centred on movement present in the sources and indicates that the view of Prussia in the thirteenth century as a pilgrimage landscape by contemporaries is not unfounded. In fact, given the increases in the built environment, the language of movement for a land with specific pilgrimage shrines becomes clearer, providing a unique insight into the experiential element of crusading and contemporary perceptions of the Baltic region as defined by holy war. Ottokar II "went forward" (*processurus*) against the Prussians in 1255.[84] A knight of Bohemia, in 1262, offered money to any man who "would go" (*vadat*) to Prussia in his place, for the salvation of his sins.[85] Pilgrimage as movement therefore developed alongside the re-building of settlements in stone, and the establishment of new bases from which to fight the Prussians, and participate in activities associated with pilgrimage, like the veneration of relics.

Through the application of qualitative GIS analysis to the Prussian crusades of the thirteenth century, the pilgrimage landscape in the region and the relationship of the military orders to creating a new sacral landscape in the Baltic is represented visually and spatially. The discussion above shows, most importantly, that relic processions were important for pilgrimage in the Baltic and served to motivate crusaders to journey there. This offers deeper insight into the early perceptions of Livonia and Prussia as sacral landscapes in the thirteenth century. In combination with the physical structures associated with pilgrimage, like castle chapels and hospitals, it also demonstrates that the missions were not simply expeditions meant to grab land. The development of these pilgrimage shrines would not have occurred unless the "pilgrims" were interested in venerating relics whilst on their campaigns. To account for this, the Teutonic Order

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**81** *PDC*, 244–6 (3.125–127), records the crusade "of many pilgrims" (*multorum peregrinorum*)."

**82** *PDC*, 190–2 (3.71).

**83** Biskup, ed., *Formularz*, 126 (no. 190), 128 (no. 192).

**84** *PrUB* 1.1:220 (no. 297): "Boemie rex…potenter contra dictos infideles divina favente clementia *processurus*." On Ottokar's second expedition to Prussia in 1267–1268, he and his army were "those who went forward" (*proficisci*) to Prussia, see *PrUB* 1.2:198 (no. 280).

**85** *PrUB*, 1.2: 135 (no. 162): "Et triginta marca argenti denture inde homini, qui pro anima mea *vadat ad Pruthenos*."

brought relics in and propagated their relationship to the mission. Participants in the early crusades to the Baltic used relics to reflect their piety, to confirm their identity as members or affiliates of the Teutonic Order, and to express their understanding of Prussia (and Livonia) as new religious landscapes. In doing so, they established a foundation for continued pilgrimage practices into the later Middle Ages.

Later sources assist us in understanding the role relics played in the development of Livonia and Prussia as pilgrimage places. They also allow us to consider the development of the crusading experience in the Baltic in the later middle ages, where holy war took on an increasingly personal and chivalric tone. Relics were mentioned in Livonian inventories at Teutonic Order castles throughout the fourteenth century, though their function as elements of armed pilgrimage were different than in Prussia due to the continued crusading expeditions there.[86] In 1398, a piece of the True Cross was sent to Livonia, to be placed on the main altar of Riga Cathedral. This is where Berthold, Livonia's first martyr, lay buried since the end of the fourteenth century. Arnold Stapel, Bishop of Kulm, issued an indulgence for visiting relics held in his dioceses in the early fifteenth century.[87] We also have records of vows to undertake local pilgrimages to shrines associated with relics and other images of the True Cross in Livonia. For example, in 1395, Woldemar von Rosen, in his last will and testament, stipulated that his successors take "a journey to the castle of Kokenusen" (*ene reyse schuldich were sulfander do Kokenhusen*) and make an offering to the alar of the Holy Cross there.[88] While we do not know many of the relics held in Riga Cathedral, there are letters of indulgence for those going to visit the chapel of the Virgin.[89] However, this last example is from the fifteenth century and beyond the scope of the present study.

In the fourteenth century, the veneration of relics was a key element in the engagement with the sacralization of the landscape through crusading, particularly in Prussia, since the war against the Lithuanians was ongoing, whereas this was not the case in Livonia. Relics were significant for the crusading experience from early in the wars against the Lithuanians (which began in 1304). Peter of Dusurg records that the foundation of Christmemel Castle on Easter of 1313 was marked by a "procession of relics" (*processio reliquiarum*) in which both crusaders and members of the Teutonic Order participated.[90] This links the event to the sacralization process in that it took place during a campaign against the Lithuanians, cementing the victory within the context of the Easter Liturgy and the Resurrection. Similar incidents took place within fourteenth-century Prussian chronicles, specifically that of Wigand of Marburg. This has been discussed extensively by Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, whose work on ritualization in the fourteenth-century cam-

**86** For example, see Heine, "Hagiologisches," 306–22, specifically 313–20.

**87** *LUB* 4: 28 (no. 1713). For Berthold's tomb: Selart, "Meinhard," 436–8; Biskup, ed., *Formularz*, 128–9 (no. 193).

**88** *LG*, 166 (no. 144).

**89** *LUB* 9: 416–7 (no. 569).

**90** *PDC*, 424–6 (3.315).

paigns has revealed much concerning the spirituality of warfare and the perception of holy war in late medieval Prussia.[91]

From this perspective, the relics and their roles in the fourteenth century also apply to perceptions of place and landscape. As demonstrated earlier in the chapter, a network of stops developed for crusaders journeying toward Königsberg, both within the Order's territory and in Europe. Moreover, it indicates that these local shrines were surprisingly well-connected. This is supported by finds of pilgrimage badges from Aachen at sites near Elbing, in addition to the visual culture of the southern Baltic (discussed in Chapter 5).[92] Indulgences were issued throughout Warmia and Sambia to churches in Germany and Bohemia, specifically for visiting churches and shrines dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Another important stop was the Order's headquarters at Marienburg, a regular stop where pilgrims would venerate relics such as the True Cross. Particularly distinguished guests would observe masses alongside brothers in the castle, particularly in the later decades of the fourteenth century.[93]

Our primary knowledge concerning relics and pilgrimage activities comes from a larger body of evidence than is available for the initial conquest period, particularly charters and chronicles. For example, the cathedral chapter of Paderborn gave the Teutonic Order a piece of the relics of St. Liborius in 1359 for its wars against the Lithuanians.[94] In this context, we see that the Order propagated a sacred landscape in that they displayed these relics to pilgrims. Inventories of the Order's convents are also valuable in this regard. For example, in an inventory from 1394 taken at Marienburg, the Order had "a wooden table with a relic" (1 *holczin tofelen mit heilgetume*).[95] It was kept in the chapel of St. Bartholomew, in the Middle Castle, the area of the Marienburg castle complex that housed the Order's guests, including participants on the *Reisen*.[96]

Fortunately, the Order's Prussian inventories from the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries mention a wide variety of relics, unlike the sources for Livonia. In the chapel of St. Anne at Marienburg, the Order possessed a piece of the True Cross, St. Anne's head, and a piece of St. Anthony's jawbone.[97] The Order kept these relics in clearly defined spaces, namely the cathedrals, castle chapels, city churches, and local parish churches. Relics were fundamental to the development of pilgrimage in the region, and while we have scant references to how they arrived in the Baltic during this period, it appears crusaders brought them along on their journeys, and participated in relic veneration whilst on the *Reisen*. This practice was not limited to Marienburg, but other important centres like Elbing. William IV of Holland (d. 1345) visited the city in January of 1344 on

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**91** K. Kwiatkowski, "*Christ ist erstanden*," 101–25; K. Kwiatkowski, "Historycznomilitarny," 45–102, at 50–3, 62–3.

**92** Spencer, *Souvenirs*, 258–61.

**93** Heß, "Himmelskönigin," 185–99.

**94** *PrUB* 5.2: 412 (no. 728).

**95** *MÄ*, 122–4.

**96** Pluskowski, *Archaeology*, 182.

**97** *MÄ*, 122–4; 126–31.

his expedition to Lithuania and made offerings in the city.[98] It is not specified if William made an offering to the relic of the True Cross. He did visit the city again in February, and two members of his retinue visited in April, one of whom left a donation "because he was on a *Reise*" (*die wile dat men in die reyse was*). William also donated to the construction of the new cathedral (*niwewn doem*) in Königsberg.[99] As Werner Paravicini has shown, expenses on the *Reisen* involved many things (horses, food, lodging, etc.), in addition to making donations to shrines and altars.[100] Elbing's possession of such an important relic in Prussia makes it likely that it was a regular stop for crusaders, since they venerated relics at other centres.[101] The chapel of the Holy Cross in the castle continued to be one of the most important religious centres in Prussia into the fifteenth century.[102] Moreover, discussed in Chapter 3, there existed a long tradition by this time of indulgences connected to the Holy Spirit Hospital in Elbing. That William IV, who participated in the *Reisen* a total of four times, would not have visited this shrine and received his spiritual reward is not likely.

Smaller centres around Königsberg were places where crusaders made offerings and visited shrines connected to relics. For example, we could use the case of William IV of Holland again, who visited St. Katherine's church at Arnau, the St. George altar in Königsberg, and the monastery of Wehlau.[103] We know from a register taken in 1394 by Glockmeister[104] of Marienburg, Conrad of Czaczchereny, that the Chapel of St. Bartholomew, in the Middle Castle, possessed "a wooden box with relics."[105] In the same inventory, he recorded "one cross with a piece of the holy wood" in the Chapel of St. Anne, also in the Middle Castle.[106] A later inventory mentions processions and the displaying of relics to guests. Engelhard Nothaft, who left his office in March of 1437, notes that in the main church of the castle there were nine lectionaries "when one displays the

**98** Paravicini, PR 1: 56; Paravicini, PR 2: 166.

**99** Hirsch, ed., "Rechnungen," 755: "daer hi jeghens *mijn here ghereden was ten Elúinghen*, ii scot pruus valent iii grote," 756: "doe ghesent was van mijns heren weghen an den bisscop van Zamenland, *als dat hi mijn here leenen woude dien niewen doem in te legghen iiii scot, valent vi grote iiii mit*."

**100** Paravicini, PR 1: 275–85.

**101** Paravicini, PR 1: 305–8.

**102** *GÄ*, 91 (line 37).

**103** Strehlke, ed., Rechnungen, 745: "It selúes daghes Rutghern van Broechusen wederghegheúen, die hi minen here gheleent *hadde tofferen t sinte Katherinen eenen scilt*, val. xviii grote…It. selúes daghes haren Jakenin Donsard wederghegheúen, *dien minen here gheleent hadde tofferen te s. Jorijs* eenen ghulden, val. xiiii, d. grote x mit…*doe hi reed te Willov* [Wehlau] *waert jeghens die heyden*, vii scot."

**104** The office of Glockmeister (literally "master of the (church) bell") refers to the keeper of the chapel of the Virgin at Marienburg who oversaw the ringing of bells for mass. See Potowski, "Spirituality," 220, Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma Spiritualia*, 108.

**105** *MÄ*, 124 (lines 27–9): "Item czu sente Bartholomeus sint 3 monstraneien und 2 crucze, *item 1 holczin tofelen mit heiligetume*."

**106** *MÄ*, 124 (line 20): "Item czu sente Annen sint 6 monstraneien und 1 houbt, *item 1 crucze mit dem heiligen holcze*."

relics."[107] In the Middle Castle there was also a wooden image and relic of St. George.[108] Relics, in this context, were used in processions involving either the local population, or guests visiting Marienburg on pilgrimage, which they continued to do throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, at least until 1412, when Guillibert of Lannoy took his *Reise* to Lithuania.[109]

The Chapel of the Virgin was only for the use of the brothers in the Order, with some exceptions at the turn of the fifteenth century. To consider the dissemination of experiences concerning sacred spaces and relics, we must look to other areas of the complex. The Middle Castle at Marienburg dates from the 1340s, and this second fortification includes the Chapel of St. Anne and the Hospital/Dormitory that housed visitors to the castle, including pilgrims.[110] In it were the chapels of St. Bartholomew and St. Katherine, and we know from the *Marienburger Ämterbuch* that these chapels held relics. Therefore, there were spaces where pilgrims reflected their piety through the adoration of relics and solidified their connection to Prussia as a landscape in doing so. These examples explicitly deal with Marienburg, and a majority of the relics were kept in the Chapel of the Virgin. These texts do list the procedures for displaying relics, and Engelhard Nothaft's inventory (1437) outlines the procedure for the displaying of relics "when foreign priests or monks come."[111]

Although these entries took place after the "end" of the *Reisen* in the early fifteenth century, it is likely that the practices of relic adoration and processions had occurred for some time. Demonstrated above, the thirteenth-century sources for Prussia, while scarce, refer to relic processions and the veneration of relics by crusaders, notably those of St. Barbara and the True Cross. By the fourteenth century this appears to have been common for participants on the *Reise*. William IV of Guelders, for example, stopped at Juditten and Arnau in 1390, shrines surrounding Königsberg.[112] Juditten, the oldest church in Sambia, was first mentioned in 1287 and became a significant Marian pilgrimage shrine by the 1360s.[113] John of Blois visited the shrine on the return from his *Reise* in 1363.[114] William IV of Holland visited numerous shrines in and around Königsberg in 1343–1344, and 1344–1345.[115] Guillibert of Lannoy (ca. 1413) offers an example of the longevity of this process, showing the established pilgrimage route toward the frontier

**107** *MÄ*, 127 (line 38): "*9 lectionum wenn man das heiligethum umbtreith*."

**108** *MÄ*, 127 (lines 29–30).

**109** Zacharias, "Reliquienwallfahrt," 16–9; Parvicini, "Soldzug," 123–4.

**110** Pluskowski, *Archaeology*, 150, 179–82.

**111** *MÄ*, 127 (lines 24–5): "Soe synt ouch in des glogkmeisters sacresteie in der kirchen pfunff *gancze ornat unsczugehen wenne vremde prister komin adir monche…item eyn holtczen crucze, damete man di herren zcu grabe treith und bringhet*."

**112** Paravicini, PR 1: 306.

**113** *PrUB* 1.2: 322–4 (no. 514); Herrmann, *Architektur*, 128, 499–500.

**114** Paravicini, PR 1: 306

**115** He also journeyed to the Holy Land. See Chodyński, "Preparations," 46.

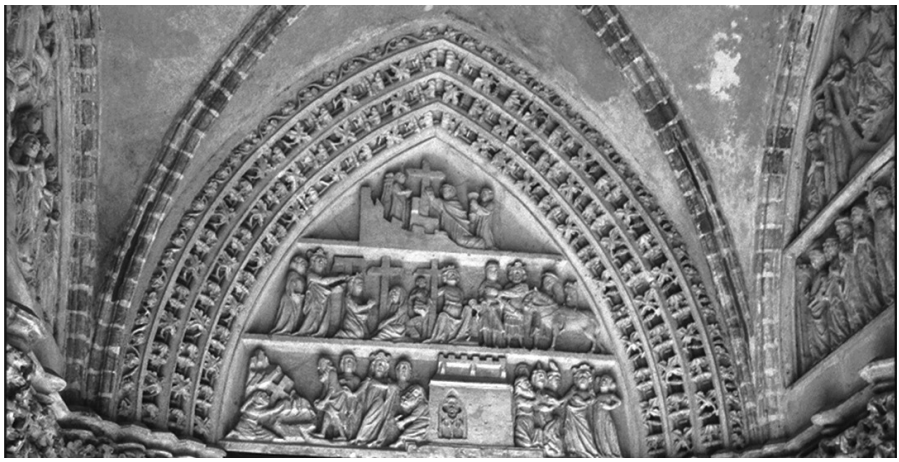

Figure 14. The Chapel of St. Anne (ca. 1344), sculpture of the Legend of the Discovery of the True Cross, Marienburg. Photograph by author.

included a stop at Marienburg, before proceeding to Elbing and then to Brandenburg.[116] There was a sustained development of sacral places in the landscape, namely castle chapels and individual churches, that became central to propagating a sacred geography in Prussia on the part of the Teutonic Order. The locations of these shrines can be seen in Map 9 (on p. 88).

Relics and processions were key to the experience of crusading in the Baltic during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Their presence continued to increase following the early conquest periods in both Livonia and Prussia over time, and eventually they became crucial in the development of pilgrimage shrines. However, one relic above all deserves specific attention in the genesis of a new sacral landscape in the region: that of the True Cross. This relic provided a physical and spiritual link with the Holy Land, and its presence in the Baltic demonstrates the role of the crusading missions in generating a new sacral landscape, namely due to its status in medieval society and its distribution throughout the Baltic in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Therefore, this discussion features the cult of the True Cross during the Baltic crusades and its perception by knights in the Teutonic Order, secular crusaders, and the local Christian population of Prussia.

Crusaders and pilgrims in the Holy Land, Spain, and the Baltic placed profound significance on the True Cross. The theological significance of the cross resonated strongly with crusaders and members of the military orders, both of whom wore it as a symbol of their identity. Churches and parishes throughout Europe were dedicated to the Cross. With respect to church-sanctioned warfare, chroniclers and commentators used Helena's discovery of the relic in the fourth century (and its return to Jerusalem by Emperor Heraclius in the seventh century) to validate the divine nature of the wars

**116** Strehlke, ed., "Voyaiges," 445.

against enemies of the Church.[117] As we see in Figure 14, the imagery of the discovery of the Cross played a role in Prussia, particularly at Marienburg, where it is depicted on the south entrance to the Chapel of St. Anne, the burial place of the Grand Masters of the Teutonic Order.

The True Cross was connected to crusading and the sacred landscape of the Holy Land since the First Crusade. Its rediscovery in 1099 legitimized Christian control of Jerusalem, and thus the reconquest of the holy places.[118] Albert of Aachen's description of the siege of Jerusalem in that year reflects the importance of cross relics to crusader armies and their function in battle, namely in his mention of a siege engine with a cross atop it. No matter the assault on the machine, the cross on the top could not be taken down.[119] The True Cross also sacralized conflict in other theatres of holy war. The account of the Siege of Lisbon, which occurred from July to October of 1147, contains a discourse on its importance. The anonymous chronicler connects it to the sign of the cross worn by crusaders themselves. It protects those fighting for it, regardless of where this fighting took place.[120] Likewise, chroniclers equate its loss at Hattin in 1187 with the Holy Land itself.[121] Giles Constable notes that, though there was a profusion of True Cross relics after the First Crusade throughout Europe, contemporaries held a small piece as the entire Cross itself.[122] The relic thus linked its very being with holy war and the holy land, wherever it might be.

In Prussia and Livonia, the True Cross had a similarly significant effect on the ideology of the crusade missions in the region, though this has rarely been considered outside of German and Polish academic circles.[123] In Prussia, it arrived almost commensurately with the Teutonic Order itself, when Frederick II sent a great part of the relic to Elbing, in 1233.[124] The relic was kept in the Order's castle chapel, dedicated to St. Andrew.[125] That same year, Gregory IX gave an indulgence of ten days' penance to pilgrims "venerating" (*adorans*) this fragment of the cross.[126] Moreover, Peter of Dusburg

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**117** Bird, "Preaching," 21.

**118** For example, Fulcher of Chartres records the discovery of the relic. See Peters, ed., *First Crusade*, 79–80. Also see Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, 450–3 (4.39).

**119** Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, 424–5: "Erat crux in summitate eiusdem machine figuram continens Domini Iesu auro fulgidissima."

**120** David, ed., *De expugnatione*, 155–6; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, for a comparative analysis of holy war in both regions.

**121** Edbury, ed. and trans., *Conquest of Jerusalem*, 1; 36. Also see Nicholson, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 33.

**122** Constable, *Crusaders*, 82.

**123** K. Kwiatkowski, "Funktion," 174. Also see Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 77–8.

**124** *PDC*, 52 (1.5); *KvP*, 316 (lines 1119–1142). He did this, supposedly, as punishment for a rebellion by the Venetians, though this has not been found in any other sources except for Peter's chronicle.

**125** Hauke and Stobbe, *Baugeschichte*, 31.

**126** *PrUB* 1.1: 77 (no.103): "omnibus, qui ad eandem adorandam crucem in sexta feria humiliter accesserint et devote, x dies de iniuncta sibi penetentia relaxamus."

remarked that pilgrims continued to venerate it in his own day.[127] The inhabitants of Elbing and the pilgrims who visited the castle regarded the relic as miraculous, thus elevating the castle to a pilgrimage site and the landscape around it as sacred.[128]

In Livonia, Riga was the main centre for relics and continued to be throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There was a True Cross relic here from the early thirteenth century. Discussed above, in 1211, Bernard of Lippe likely brought a relic of the True Cross with him to Livonia, which made its appearance at the Battle of Fellin in 1217, indicating the martial characteristic of the relic and its use by crusader armies.[129] Shortly afterwards, in 1252, a guild of the Holy Cross was mentioned in Riga and connected to the cathedral, perhaps a connection to the relic held there.[130] Chroniclers therefore presented parallels between venerating the cross in the Baltic with its tradition of veneration in Europe to impart the spirituality of the mission to their readers, but the spaces in which these relics were kept also sacralized the landscape to those who lived in it (and used them as shrines of pilgrimage and devotion). The reason for this is that participants in the crusades and those who worshipped in the sacral spaces in the Baltic were actively engaging with the landscape through venerating the relic and participating in liturgical services.

The cult of the True Cross was essential to the Teutonic Order's perception of itself and reflection of its mission. In the Baltic region it continued to take on a similar role to the one it played in the Holy Land, serving as a symbol of divine protection of the Order and support of its mission. It was the first relic granted to the Order in Prussia: a piece was sent to the Order's then headquarters at Elbing in 1233. Place names (discussed in Chapter 5), reflect the relationship of the relic to sacralizing the landscape.[131] The relic was particularly important for campaigning in a region with no Christian shrines, for its presence immediately gave a connotation of sacrality to the newly-converted landscape in Prussia. We can consider this by looking at some of the places the relic was held, apart from Elbing. The cult of the True Cross was also represented physically throughout the landscape with respect to church dedications and shrines. This was particularly the case in medieval Prussia. The Order possessed fragments of the cross at Strasburg (Pol. Brodnica), Thorn, and Rehden, discussed in further detail shortly.[132] We saw in Chapter 3

**127** *PDC*, 52 (1.5); *KvP*, 316 (lines 1135–1142): "ûf dî burc, dâ noch hûte / dî cristinlîchen lute / im wirde grôz irbîten / durch sâlbindêr genîten, / daz si dâ hân besundir, / von got vil manich wundir / an manchim menschin wirkit schôn / dâselbins durch sîn crûze vrôn."

**128** *PDC*, 52 (1.5): "Idem imperator dicto magistro dedit, qui eam versus Prussie partes misit ad castrum Elbingense, ubi usque ad presentem diem a Cristifidelibus in magna reverencis habetur propter crebra miracula, que per ipsam Dominus operatur." Elbing was "the second most lovely castle in Prussia after Marienburg," according to the sixteenth-century chronicler, Paul Pole. See Paul Pole, *Preussische Chronik*, 194: "Disse hat der konigk inne…die stete Elbingk, *das schlos zcu boden gebrochen, von welchem man sagt, es sei das schonste schlos gewesen in Preussen nach Marienburgk*." My italics.

**129** Johansen, "Lippstadt, " 95–160.

**130** Bruiningk, *Messe*, 323; Hucker, "Livlandpilgern," 118.

**131** Borowski and Gerrard, "Identity," 1061; 1071–3.

**132** Borowski and Gerrard, "Identity," 1085. Also see Zielińska-Melkowska, "Pielgrzymkowe," 247–8.

that Strasburg, Thorn, Elbing, and Rehden were all centres of hierophanies mentioned in Peter of Dusburg's chronicle, and the presence of cross relics at these centres solidifies the literary tradition generated in the Order's texts.

Many chroniclers viewed the sign of the cross (and the relic of the True Cross) as a mystical symbol that transcended earthly struggles. The cross and its presence symbolized God's favour, the suffering of his Son, and Christianity (and crusading) itself. The transferral of the relic to Prussia was a transferral of the Holy Land to the "unholy" land of Prussia, casting Elbing as one of the most important sacral markers in the landscape.[133] Its presence from an early stage in the conquest legitimized the wars, and provided a physical reflection of the wars' role in sacralizing the landscape, for Elbing now gained one of the most important relics of Christendom. It is also clear that the continuation of building altars and dedicating churches to the relic was symbolic of the landscape sacralization process. For example, after the major victory of the Teutonic Order at the Battle of Streba (1348), Winrich of Kniprode established a monastery and a nunnery near Königsberg. Discussed in Chapter 3, the connection of the victory to the Order's Marian patronage and the solidification of Prussia as a Marian landscape is clear. However, an altar of the Holy Cross was also built, indicating that the cult of the relic was associated with wars against the pagans, too.[134]

The True Cross was pivotal in the liturgical services in Prussia both within and outside of the Teutonic Order. Annual chapter meetings were held in Elbing on the Feast of the Holy Cross (September 14) following a decree of Master Eberhard of Seyne in the 1250s. By the end of the thirteenth century, the Order had increased the status of the Feast of the Holy Cross to a *totum duplex* mass in its convents (along with the Feast of St. Katherine).[135] The prayer guidelines likewise specify in some detail the prayers in which the cross is raised, again highlighting the importance of the True Cross to the inner lives of the brethren. When the priest raised the relic, those in the church were expected to chant the *Ecce lignum crucis*.[136]

We can also see the early onset of pilgrimage activities in castles soon after castles were fortified in stone when we examine the presence of relics of the True Cross.[137] Christburg, too, held a relic of the True Cross and Mikołaj Gładysz suggests that it was used in battle against the Prussians in 1249.[138] The charter concerning the Cross relic at Thorn issued in 1263 states that those visiting the castle and helping in its construction would receive an indulgence of 100 days from their penance, to be given each year on the anniversary of the chapel's completion.[139] The penance would be for those going

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**133** Töppen, *Antiquitäten*, 8.

**134** *CDP* 3: 81 (no. 58).

**135** *SDO*, 161.

**136** *SDO*, 123–4.

**137** Zielińska-Melkowska, "Pielgrzymkowe," 247.

**138** See Gładysz, *Forgotten Crusaders*, 248–9, citing Dygo, *Studia*, 336.

**139** *CDW* 1: 82 (no. 45): "Nos…confisi omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis. qui eis ad hoc manum porrexerint adiutricem [the construction of the chapel – GL]. centum dies de iniunctia

Figure 15. Castle Chapel at Thorn. Photograph by author.

"for the reverence of the most victorious and holy cross, of which a good piece, and the relics of other saints are contained in the chapel there" (Figure 15). The renewal of the city rights for Rehden, issued in 1285, refers to "a church of the holy cross in our castle."[140] Therefore, the veneration of the Cross relic by the Order and crusaders in the thirteenth century demonstrates a deeper process in landscape sacralization: there was an obligation to bring more permanent sacred elements into the landscape and to repeatedly venerate them as part of the crusade experience. The Order housed the relic in its most important structures, namely the castle chapels, but the relic likewise continued to be venerated by crusaders and the local population, who received indulgences for helping to construct these buildings.

The Cross continued to be a favoured relic in the fourteenth century. As early as 1302, it was decreed that altars in Sambian churches were to be decorated with crucifixes, perhaps a reference to cross reliquaries. Indeed, it would have been used in the context of local veneration, for the decree appears in an early fourteenth-century synodal statute aimed at regulating worship in the churches of Sambia.[141] A "new church

penitentia misericorditer relaxamus…*ob reverentiam victoriorissime et sancta crucis, cuius bona pars sicut et aliorum predictorum sanctorum reliquie in ibi continentur*."

**140** *PrUB* 1.2: 292–3 (no. 458): "ecclesia sancte crucis in castro nostro."

**141** Krollmann, "merkwürdige," 32–8, at 37 (no. 17): "Preterea altaria decorata et in ipsis ymagines

of the Holy Cross" at Heiligenkreutz (Rus. Krasnotorovka) about forty kilometres to the north of Königsberg appears in a document issued in 1325, reflecting the continuend practice of dedicating local churches to the relic.[142] In addition to the Holy Cross altar built to commemorate the Battle of the Streba in 1348,[143] other examples from the fourteenth century reveal the importance of this relic in the local religious life of Prussia. In 1358 the bishop of Cuenca (Spain) and others issued an indulgence to pilgrims worshipping a fragment of the True Cross in the St. Laurence Chapel at Marienburg. Those who visited the relic would receive a penance of forty days, and the many bishops, including those of Cuenca, Besançon, Rocamadour, Sorrento, and others, who issued this indulgence letter speaks to the international character of the *Reisen*, and thus the extent to which those participating in the wars could gain salvation through venerating the relic of the True Cross.[144] Reports of battles and encounters with the Lithuanians throughout the fourteenth century refer to the conflicts in typical crusading language, but focus especially on the wars waged to "avenge the crucified one."[145] In this context, the reputation of Prussia as a place for gaining salvation through fighting pagans, but also venerating relics and going on pilgrimage, was international, and the symbolism of the cross played a distinct role in reflecting this.

Fragments of the True Cross continued to arrive in the region throughout the fourteenth century. It is also clear that the Teutonic Order was the primary agent in promoting its veneration by crusaders and the local Christian population. Wigand of Marburg writes that in the winter of 1375, "the King of France's chamberlain transported a great part of the blessed cross, which the king had sent to the master."[146] The relic, "appropriately adorned with gold," (*cum auro decenter ornatam*) was placed in the Chapel of St. Lawrence at Marienburg, clearly accompanying the relic mentioned in 1358, and discussed in the paragraph above.[147] There was a significant *Reise* in 1375 with many crusaders, recorded both in Wigand's chronicle and the *ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, many of whom came from Germany. According to Werner Paravicini and Rainer Zacharias, the route of many German crusaders on the *Reisen* would have included a stop at Marienburg, where feasts and public displays of religion were common to the crusade experience.[148]

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et crucifixum habeant." Also see Radzimiński, *Chrystianizacja*, 47, 89.

**142** *UB Samland* 3: 292 (no. 425): "nova ecclesia sanctae crucis."

**143** *CDP* 3: 81 (no. 58); also see Chapter 5.

**144** See Voigt, *Geschichte Marienburgs*, 536–7. The letter was addressed to the bishops of Cuenca (Spain), Sorrento (Italy), Potenza (Italy), Urfa (Turkey), San Sebastian (Spain), York (England), Pistoia (Italy), Rocamadour (France), Belcastro (Italy), Crete, and Besançon (France).

**145** *CDP* 3: 81 (no. 58) states that the army of crusaders at the Streba went out "to avenge the crucified one" (*bewegt worden zu rechen die schmach des gekreuzigeten*).

**146** Wigand, 574–5. "Accidit in eadem hyeme, quod camerarius regis Francie dominus Hoesteyn de Fremellis *asportaret magnam partem crucis benedicte*, in qua redempti sumus, quam rex misit magistro." The chamberlain to the king was one Guy IV de la Tremouille.

**147** Wigand, 575 (note 1036).

**148** Wigand, 574: "…marschalus primam reysam suam statuit et cum…*Multi quoque peregrini*

Later, in 1382, Charles IV of France sent another large piece of the True Cross to the Teutonic Order, this time "a great piece of the holy cross."[149] An inventory taken at Marienburg from 1398 may refer to this last relic as stored in the sacristy, where there was "a relic of the holy cross that one kisses on Fridays."[150] Not just any relics, but some of the most important ones connected to crusading and to holy war in the medieval Christian mentality, dotted the Prussian frontier from the thirteenth and into the fifteenth century. For example, the *Banderia Pruthenorum* (ca. 1448), depicting the flags captured after the Battle of Tannenberg (1410), shows the banners of both the city and burghers of Elbing as representing two crosses above one another, a possible link to the city's status as the relic's home from an early period in the Order's history in Prussia. This banner was carried, according to Długosz, by the Vice-Commander, mercenaries, and the citizens of Elbing at the Battle of Tannenberg, reflecting the various groups that identified with the relic of the True Cross and applied it to the city of Elbing.[151]

Centres along the route to the frontier with the Lithuanians held relics and served to enhance the spiritual lives of the brothers living there, in addition to serving annual crusaders, whom contemporary letters regularly refer to as "devout visitors."[152] In light of the GIS analysis carried out in Chapter 3, the presence of such an important relic at multiple centres in the Order's territory during the thirteenth century provides more weight to the literary themes analyzed in Chapter 2 concerning landscape sacralization. More than using language emphasizing vines and plants to describe the conversion of landscape, the Order ensured that the presence of relics and the demarcation of spaces in a formulaic way established specific sacral centres to help solidify the spirituality of the crusade missions in Prussia. This was not just to brethren in the Order, but to pilgrims visiting this region on crusade. One could compare the diffusion of the relic and creation of new holy sites to the various shrines around the Templar castle of Saphet (Safad) in the Holy Land.[153]

Relics thus played an important role in serving as physical and ritual manifestations of the sacral landscape which emerged as a product of crusading expeditions to Prussia. Using Elbing as a case study, Waldemar Rozynkowski analyzes the items within the chapel as reflective of the intense spiritual lifestyle carried out there, and the function of the chapel as a pilgrimage site. Though the chapel was primarily used for brothers, it is likely that the relics there were displayed to pilgrims, thus marking the area of the

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*intererant et cum 150 galeis intrantes terram paganorum fortiter vocabulo Dirsgungen*." Also see *ÄH*, 597. For the routes of crusaders on the *Reisen*, see Paravicini, PR 1: 207, for a table of the stops of crusaders from 1344 to 1390.

**149** GStA PK XX, HA., OF 1, Bl. 13–15: "Und der konig hat mich dy dornyne krone sonderland losin sehen und *and[er] gros heylgetum und sneyt myt syner hant abe ein gros strucke von dem heyligen c[ru]ce*."

**150** *MÄ*, 124.

**151** Ekdahl, ed., *Banderia*, 206.

**152** This phrase is in the indulgence clause. See *CDW* 1: 82–3 (no. 45).

**153** See Huygens, ed., *De constructione castri Saphet*, at 43–4, for the holy sites around Saphet.

procession as a sacral one as well.[154] The inventories taken by the Order in the late fourteenth and throughout the fifteenth centuries, combined with Rozynkowski's analysis of votive offerings made in the chapel by pilgrims, attest to the devotion and maintenance of the sacral centres within castles.[155] By the end of the fourteenth century there were defined spaces for worship for brothers and pilgrims. These spaces themselves were products of centuries of sustained holy war and annual expeditions (pilgrimages). Over time, then, the spaces (complete with visual manifestations of how the Order and crusaders viewed their cause) physically represented the sacralization of the landscape and communicated this message.

Janusz Trupinda's analysis of the Great Refectory at Marienburg, though it deals with the paintings put there in the twentieth century, highlights how pilgrims and "guests" on the *Reisen* interacted with space inside the Teutonic Order's Prussian castles. The Great Refectory was one of the main rooms of the castle, located in the middle castle. This building was constructed in the early decades of the fourteenth century as the place where the Order would host its guests (and pilgrims).[156] Throughout the period of the *Reisen*, knights would visit and gather in the room and the Order would host festivities there.[157] In doing so, they reinforced their perception of holy war by participating in the Order's festivities, and connected themselves to the place in which they fought.

Practicing religious life in the castles and the veneration of relics reinforced a perception of the "new" holy land of Prussia by the end of the fourteenth century and the status of the Teutonic Order in creating this space. The spaces in which these duties were performed were sacred ones, and their continued use by both brothers in the Order and crusaders indicates the continued perception of a sacred landscape through a variety of lenses, particularly liturgical performance and relic veneration on campaign. While a distinct visual culture was present in many of the Order's commanderies in Prussia, relics and the presence of sacred spaces for both brethren in the Order and pilgrims on the *Reisen* cement the ideological nature of the development of the crusades against the Prussians and, later, Lithuanians. Through its visual culture in these centres, the Order expressed its pious origins and the lineages of its relics, thus reinforcing the message of specific sacral places to its guests. This imparted a sense of a sacral landscape to them through the decorations in its castles, and relic adoration, which necessitated ritual and divine service.

Relics and relic veneration were significant elements of the crusading experience since the early thirteenth century, in both Livonia and Prussia. These phenomena developed commensurately with the course of crusading in both regions. From the foundation of Riga Cathedral in 1211, to the arrival of the True Cross in Elbing in 1233, and the discovery of St. Barbara's relics in 1242, this chapter reveals the profound and lasting effect on the sacral geography in both regions. This was particularly the case with

**154** See Rozynkowski, "Liturgical Space," 143–50, at 149–50. Also see the Appendix.

**155** Rozynkowski, "Liturgical Space," 149–50.

**156** Trupinda, "Gemälde," 278–88.

**157** Paravicini, PR 1: 268.

the processions and other liturgical acts that incorporated these objects throughout the thirteenth century. Moreover, this chapter also points out the relationships of relics to the conquest of the regions from a spatial perspective: in Riga, the cathedral was the main centre for these acts, while in Prussia, we can tie them to a variety of centres such as Thorn, Elbing, and Kulm.

The cult of relics continued to grow into the fourteenth century, where it was represented visually in castles like Marienburg at the chapel of St. Anne (ca. 1344), the burial place of the Grand Masters of the Teutonic Order and a shrine for guests visiting the castle on the *Reisen*. While warfare and armed conversion expeditions were the main lure of crusading in the Baltic throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the arrival and veneration of relics had a clear effect on the sacralization of the landscape. The True Cross continued to sacralize places through its presence in parish churches, like Heiligenkreutz in Sambia, thus demonstrating its appeal to the local population that used the church. Other relics were kept in the Order's chapels and churches, and displayed to important guests and crusaders who journeyed to participate in the *Reisen*. The same happened in centres like Elbing, which was a frequent stop for pilgrims on the route to Königsberg. In the fourteenth century, altars of the True Cross were established to commemorate important victories for the Order, solidifying its role in sacralizing those events and, in turn, the landscape in which they occurred. These instances combined with the emergence of the Order's visual culture in Prussia, thus segueing into the final chapter of this book on the visuality of the Baltic's sacred landscape expressed in the visual culture.

Chapter 5

# SPACE, VISUAL CULTURE, AND LANDSCAPE SACRALIZATION IN THE BALTIC

> "Brother Winrich of Kniprode, the 22nd master of the Order, was elected from divine mercy after the Epiphany…During his time, castles and cities of Prussia were fortified with walls and defences, cloisters were constructed, and others were rebuilt."[1] — Wigand of Marburg.

CASTLES OF THE Teutonic Order (and the churches, towns, and cities that developed around them) were embedded within the tradition of the Order's historical canon concerning their foundations and origins. This allows for the opportunity to view the development of a new sacred landscape over time through the commemoration of pivotal foundation events and their reflection of the ideological elements expressed in the sources.[2] How did the material culture of the Order reinforce the development, propagation, and perception of a new holy land in the Baltic? This chapter examines the history of these buildings and spaces to offer an answer. It discusses the physicality of the sacred landscape expressed in the presence of the castles by the end of the fourteenth century. It then addresses several unique elements surrounding the building of castles and churches in the region. Elements associated with the missions of the Order and the place-naming process are then examined, demonstrating how the replication of place names and their meanings reflect the strong ideological messages in the written material linking to points in the landscape itself. The chapter concludes with an assessment of the iconography of these messages in the castle chapels, local pilgrimage shrines, and cathedrals of Prussia.

The early history of cities was tied directly to hierophanies, which was examined in Chapter 3. The early conquests in Prussia were commemorated in this framework well into the fifteenth century, emphasizing God's role in the foundation of the castles at Kulm, Thorn, Marienwerder, Elbing, and others. The first castles were built "with God's help," and tied directly to "the song of preaching the cross of Christ."[3] Peter of Dusburg connected the existence of the "many fortresses, cities and castles" to the great "signs and

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**1** Wigand, 515: "Frater Wynricus de Knyprode xxiius magister generalis, post predictam Epyphanie electus ex divina Misericordia…castra vero et oppida Pruszie tempore suo sunt fortificata muris et propugnaculis, claustra quedam edificata, aliqua instaurata."

**2** Arszyński, "Burgen im Deutschordensland," 99–110.

**3** *HvSB*, 159: "Do dyse burge alle mit *Gotes hulffe gebaweth woren*"; *PDC*, 108 (3.8): "Cum ergo sonus predicacionis crucis Cristi exiret in omnem terram regni Alemanie et preconizaretur *novum bellum, quod elegit Dominus in terra Prussie*…Cum hiis peregrinis, dum veniret Thorun, frater Hermannus magistrum edificavit castrum et civitatem Culmensem." Ibid, 110 (3.9): "Postquam hec castra *per Dei graciam essent edificata*." *KvP*, 353 (lines 4401–4456); *ÄH*,

miracles" of the Lord seen in Prussia.[4] Wigand of Marburg, quoted above, also emphasized the great additions and restorations of castles and churches undertaken by Winrich of Kniprode, one of the most prolific Grand Masters of the Teutonic Order, overseeing the expansion of the Order's power from the years 1352 to 1382 and praised for increasing the numbers of chants, prayers, and processions in the region during his reign.[5]

This final chapter thus combines the above analyses of language, object, image, and spatial representation, applying them to the castles and churches of the medieval Baltic region as the most visible elements of the process of landscape sacralization. It specifically concentrates on Prussia, due to the stark contrast in visual culture available for Livonia from the Middle Ages.[6] Only a few inventories and descriptions from ca. 1400 survive, one of which is that of the Teutonic Order's castle in Dünamünde and includes a large reliquary, a piece of the True Cross, and a statue of the Virgin.[7] Recent works by Kersti Markus and Anu Mänd have shown the impact of crusading ideology on the visual culture of the Eastern Baltic region in the thirteenth century and on the island churches of Ösel, such as Karja.[8] Mänd, in particular, has illuminated the research possibilities for the visual culture of crusading in Livonia and the Eastern Baltic with a particular focus on Scandinavian saints (Sts. Olaf and Erik), in addition to the Virgin Mary.[9]

Literary themes, martyrdom and hierophanic acts, the arrival of relics, and a more ritualized form of "pilgrimage" all aided in generating a concept of a new sacred landscape in both Livonia and Prussia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These reflect and reinforce the messages communicated within and outside the Teutonic Order, thus incorporating the role of visual culture among groups of secular crusaders who journeyed to the Land of the Virgin Mary, in addition to the local Christian population who used the churches throughout the year. While this is a fast-growing aspect of academic work in the study of crusading in the Middle Ages, the nature of the Teutonic Order's visual program remains untapped in Anglophone research, save for the works of Aleksander Pluskowski. The Teutonic Order used its castles and churches to express its status as a spiritual institution in addition to the political sovereignty it held in Prussia. This was a powerful tool for communicating its self-image and its ideology to members and crusaders who came to Prussia to serve alongside the Order, crucial supporters in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[10]

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**4** *PDC*, 28 (Prologue).

**5** Arnold, "Winrich," http://www.rheinische-geschichte.lvr.de/Persoenlichkeiten/winrich-von-kniprode/DE-2086/lido/57c93641297b52.96689355. For the increase in liturgical celebrations, see Wigand, 616.

**6** Urban, "Livonian War," http://www.lituanus.org/1983_3/83_3_02.html; Herrmann, *Architektur*, 183–4; Arszyński, "Fortified Architecture," 201–2.

**7** *LUB* 4: col. 319–20 (no. 1525): "…im hogen altare sulverne casele vul hilgedomes; item ein sulvernes cruce mit dem hilgen holte; item ein sulvernes juncfrowen hovet, vul hilgedomes; item ein tafele mit hilgedomen."

**8** K. Markus, "Borderland," 333–64; K. Markus, *Visual Culture*; Bome and Markus, "Karja," 47–51.

**9** Mänd, "Visual Representation," 101–44.

**10** Ehlers, "Crusade," 21–2; Ehlers, *Ablaßpraxis*, 51–3. Also see Czaja, "Bilanz," 11–2; Wüst, *Selbst-*

The number of sacral centres erected by the Teutonic Order and bishops in Prussia by the end of the fourteenth century reveals the full development of sustained crusading expeditions. Buildings constructed by the Order and the Church in Prussia alone amount to some 857 castles and churches by the end of the fifteenth century. Of these structures, 120 were castles, and ninety-one of those were commanderies, fortified convents headed by a commander (*Komtur*) and twelve brethren.[11] These structures in particular were meant to mimic the figure of Christ and his apostles, thus the space within was constructed with biblical tradition in mind.[12] In Livonia, the total number of castles is about 150, with approximately sixty of them castles of the Order.[13] This amounts to over 150 structures in both regions that were commanderies, castles employing the function of a monastery. During the time of the Order's sovereignty in Prussia, approximately 670 parish churches were built from the thirteenth to the early sixteenth century, and about 180 were built in Livonia.[14]

Throughout the colonization and settlement phases in both regions respectively, it is natural that fortified, central places emerged in the landscape. The castles and the churches constructed in the Baltic are the most visible legacy of the crusades to that region.[15] To the present day, they serve as important centres for tourism and regional education, highlighting this legacy. In the crusade period, particularly from the end of the thirteenth century, their monumentality and presence in the landscape made them markers: symbols of the Order's dominance in the region and the success of the mission against the pagans. This raises the question to what extent their visibility served to demonstrate the landscape sacralization process brought about in the crusading period by pilgrims in the Baltic.[16] The art and iconographical programs that decorated their interiors (and, in some cases, exteriors) expressed themes from crusading ideology and the transference of it to the northern frontier of Christendom in the Baltic.

Christofer Herrmann demonstrates that the emergence of the castles (and churches) was a product of a variety of physical and social factors. Regional styles were imported but were dictated by aspects of climate and geography.[17] Anthropologist Barbara Bender has described landscape and human interactions with historical landscapes as a combination of visuality and metaphor expressed in written records documenting these interactions. The resulting landscape is what she describes as "time materialized."[18] In the

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*verständnis*, 209–10. Also see Herrmann, "Kloster und Burg," 209–19, here 218. The critiques of the *Reisen* have been considered by Maschke, "Burgund," 15–34, at 20–4. Also see Paravicini, PR 2: 110–1.

**11** Herrmann, *Architektur*, 14; Wüst, *Selbstversändnis*, 207.

**12** *SDO*, 41; Pluskowski, *Archaeology*, 142.

**13** Herrmann, *Architektur*, 184; Tuulse, *Burgen*, 15.

**14** Herrmann, "Entwicklung," 36–8; Herrmann, *Architektur*, 125, calculates 669 parish churches in Kulm, Pomesania, and Ermland.

**15** Torbus, "Marienburg," 173–82.

**16** Herrmann, *Architetkur*, 240.

**17** Herrmann, *Architektur*, 25–39.

**18** For example, Bender, "Time," S103–S112, here S103–4; Potter, "Creation of Person," 322–38; Fitzjohn, "Viewing Places," 36–50.

context of the Teutonic Order's Prussian territories, this discussion treats the castles and churches as the final product of the constructed landscape described in the Order's texts. They embody visualizations of the textual messages concerning over a century and a half of sustained crusading expeditions which, as highlighted in the sources, manifest God's will. The earliest donations to the Teutonic Order in Prussia, such as the Golden Bull of Rimini, express this.[19] These wars were also fought in honour of the Virgin Mary, evidenced in the extensive chronicles and correspondence of the Order, chronicles and donations of secular crusaders, and place-naming practices. As such, the built environment created within this atmosphere reinforces the main themes in the texts analyzed earlier in this book concerning the dissemination and communication of that phenomenon.

People in the past interacted with landscape in an active sense, moving through it and living in it. In the case of the crusades in the Baltic, a distinct sense of a sacred landscape emerged because of the crusades, settlement, and colonization, all of which were tied to the idea of holy war. We saw in earlier chapters that the main "task" of those who took the cross was, as reflected in the chronicles, the conversion of the tribes there and to honour a vow made to participate in holy war.[20] There certainly were motives and tasks that reflected worldly interest as well, as one could argue for the participants in the *Reisen*. The physical structures left behind testify to the spiritual interaction and mobility through the landscape by crusaders in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, and is reflected in the study of the sacred topography of the Order's Prussian towns and cities.

For example, with respect to relics and relic processions discussed in Chapter 4, some castles of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and, to a lesser extent, those in Livonia, served as pilgrimage centres, or at least spaces in which pilgrimage activities took place.[21] A network of these places along a route clearly emerged. Pilgrimage routes and the repetitive visiting of specific places in the landscape give insight into how people interacted with that landscape. Certain points were more sacral (or, more strategically important) than others. In this sense, the castles serve as an enduring reflection of the sacred geography brought by the Order's commitment to its mission, in addition to the tasks of crusaders who came to participate in the expeditions. The sources describe religious processions and, in the later chronicles, festivals taking place at castles. What this demonstrates is a broader understanding amongst contemporaries of the castle as an enclosed sacred place in the landscape amongst contemporaries.

While this chapter primarily considers the art in the castle at Marienburg and Lochstedt, the city of Königsberg was the central place where the Order reflected its ideology and crusaders would have absorbed it.[22] Pilgrims visited Marienburg along the way, usually coming from Danzig. They would then proceed to Elbing, stopping at Frauen-

**19** *PrUB* 1.1:42 (no. 56). Also see Introduction.

**20** *PrUB* 5.1:160–1 (no. 290) describes the "pilgrimage vow" (*votum peregrinacionis*) of Aimery IX of Narbonne and Ruldolf and Albert of Cauchie in December of 1354.

**21** Gąssowska, "Anteil," 147–8, and Selart, *Livonia*, 259. Also see Zacharias, "Wallfahrtstätte," 49–60.

**22** Paravicini, PR 1: 272–3.

burg, Brandenburg, Braunsberg, and Königsberg. Guillibert of Lannoy, in one of the most detailed accounts of this pilgrimage route, described Königsberg as "a great city, situated on a river, with two sets of walls. It is the property of the grand marshals of the Order. In this town, we saw the weapons and the *Table of Honour* from the time of the *Reisen* to Prussia."[23] Another important stop would have been Ragnit (Rus. Neman), where the Order continued to reflect a visual program associated with campaigns against the Lithuanians and Samogitians well into the fifteenth century. Indeed, there is a reference to a painter named Peter, who was active in Marienburg around 1400. He was paid for works painted in Ragnit Castle.[24]

The place of Königsberg, in this context, has a distinct connection to the holy wars that brought about its foundation in 1255, when Ottokar II paid for the construction of a castle at Tuwangste (a Prussian sacred grove) during his crusade against the Sambians. The tradition that developed around it as the main centre for the *Reisen* held strong into the fifteenth century, and this carried over to the landscape surrounding it. Various pilgrimage shrines within the city and outside its walls, discussed in Chapter 3, reflect this process. This demonstrates that the continued use of the city as a base for expeditions against the Lithuanians affected how contemporaries perceived it as a sacral place in relation to their mission in the region. Pilgrimage shrines and large collections of relics separated Königsberg from the region surrounding it, in economic and spiritual terms.[25]

We can see the function of this in a variety of sources. Grand Master Werner of Orseln established a hospital dedicated to St. George in 1327, which was visited by crusaders throughout the fourteenth century.[26] In a charter confirming the dedication of an altar to St. George in the cathedral at Königsberg by Grand Master Henry Dusemer, dated to March 7, 1336, we have an example of how pilgrims viewed the city as a sacral centre. The text describes the establishing of the altar by what could be pilgrims, the exact description being "illustrious men and famous knights" (*viri consipcui et famosi milites*). Henry Dusemer established the altar because the men were in Prussia "for the unanimous purpose of seeking salvation of their souls" (*querendo animarum suarum saliteum in unum concordantes*). With respect to the city as a sacral place, the charter explicitly states that the knights were gathered in the city with these intentions.[27] Dedicating altars for pilgrims to use and building sites to commemorate the victories of the Order, such as the monastery at Löbenicht in 1348, directly connected the Order's mission

**23** Strehlke, ed., "Voyaiges," 445: "puis vins a Keunichzeberghe, qui est grosse ville assise sur une riviere, et y a deux fermetez et appartient au marechal de Prusse et voit on en celle ville les armes, le lieu et la table d'honneur du temps des reises de Prusse."

**24** Herrmann, "Ragnit," 157–8; *MT*, 342: "Peter moler: item 8 m. Peter moler uf rechenschaft uf die arbeit zu Ragnith."

**25** Zacharias, "Wallfahrtsstätte," 49–60.

**26** Smith, ed., *Expeditions*, 116, may refer to Henry Bolingbroke's visit to this chapel in 1391 on his successful return (*in redditu*) from the campaign.

**27** *UB Samland* 1:220–1 (no. 295). Also see 180 (no. 263). In 1333, a perpetual flame was lit in the hospital, a donation from one Conrad Sutor upon his death.

and the pilgrim's perception of their undertaking to a specific point in the landscape.[28] That this same monastery was also mentioned in a papal indulgence of 1366 reflects the continued link between the area of Königsberg, holy war, and the sacralization of landscapes. In addition to receiving a seven-day indulgence on major feast days, such as All Saints', the Epiphany, and the Ascension, those "many noblemen gathered together in that city for the purpose of making an expedition against the infidels" also received said indulgence for visiting on the day of the monastery's dedication.[29] As suggested in Chapter 3, the inclusion of the day of the monastery's dedication suggests that the commemoration of the Battle of the Streba continued and was communicated to those visiting the monastery. Therefore, the event, its commemoration, and the indulgence all converge within the space of the monastery and serve to reflect the complex process of sacralizing the landscape. We thus see how castles and cities built by the Teutonic Order helped in developing the spiritual landscape in Prussia through a variety of different activities carried out by those visiting and using them.

Though the castle of Königsberg is just one example, it is likely that pilgrims performed similar acts in the Order's other main cities and castles, like Elbing, Marienburg, or Frauenburg. The development of these places as centres associated with the journey to Königsberg gave cause for more traditional manifestations of pilgrimage, evidenced in the development of local shrines within and surrounding the city. By 1400, the sites were well known. Anna, wife of Witold of Lithuania, made a pilgrimage to various places throughout Prussia that held relics such as Brandenburg, Kulm, and Marienwerder, and visited the Grand Master at the castle of Marienburg.[30] I discussed above the register books of the Teutonic Order as evidence for pilgrims (or guests of the Order) utilizing the castles as sacral centres. Chapters 2 and 3 considered hierophanies, martyrdom, and processions as useful for identifying sacral locations in the landscape. Notable examples are Thorn, Kulm, and Riga. The function of these castles as pilgrimage centres later in the fourteenth century offers a means of exploring the physical genesis of sacral sites during the crusades to the Baltic region. This book argues that the history of these places, as recorded in the chronicles of the Teutonic Order, served to add legitimacy to the new sacral landscape in which the Order sought to attract supporters.

With respect to Prussia and Livonia, the concept of the Order's group identity applied to that landscape is the subject of Chapter 1. It was defined by its paganism and association with the heathen, whilst also framed in the concept of crusade ideology in the form of biblical imagery. It was the Promised Land of the Old Testament and, with respect to the crusade movement, it gained association with the Virgin Mary. This first came about in Livonia, but shortly afterward, when the Teutonic Order arrived in Prussia, the landscape there received a similar quality.[31] In terms of the structures built by the crusaders and the Order, the transferral of relics to the region, and the establish-

**28** For a similar example in Marienburg, see Zacharias, "Wallfahrtsstätte," 49–50. For the foundation of the monastery, see *UB Samland* 3:268 (no. 383).

**29** Motzki, ed., *Avignonische Quellen*, 44 (no. 85).

**30** Zacharias, "Wallfahrtstätte," 50.

**31** For example, *HCL*, 92 (15.4); 132 (19.7); 179 (25.2); 180 (25.2); 181 (25.2). *LR*, 11 (lines

ment of pilgrimage routes, the Christianization and sacralization processes manifested themselves in a spiritual manner, but also in a visual one. The physicality and visibility of the castles and pilgrimage churches marked this landscape, functioning as important centres from which "tasks" (i.e., conversion of pagans, raids to frontier areas, etc.) were carried out. The castle also served as a space and marker for another important task established in the chapters above, namely the veneration of relics and more traditional pilgrimage activities.

We can see the cluster of structures erected in the Kulmerland and around the frontier region toward Königsberg as representative of key places in the new sacral landscape, created by the literary themes, martyrdom, relics, and now, castles. The maps (Maps 11–14) illustrate the spatial distribution of sites and their locations by the fourteenth century, when the Order was functioning at its peak in terms of administrative duties and hosting crusaders visiting on the *Reisen*. They also show their place within the sacral history expressed in the chronicles concerning relics, hierophanies, and martyrdoms. Considering the analysis carried out in this book, they represent the relationship between the military orders, crusading, and sacralization of the landscape in the Baltic at the end of the fourteenth century.

While the mid- to late fourteenth century saw a significant period of growth in the spirituality of the Teutonic Order as an institution engaged in the fight against the enemies of the Church, it likewise saw the peak of the Order's visual culture in Prussia, and the highpoint of the annual campaigns against Lithuania.[32] Given the intersection of these factors, the perception of a landscape sacralized by holy war formed a key component of this support by crusaders from Europe. It was in these buildings (and cities) that the Order's guests experienced its visual culture and understood the sacral history of the region in which they were fighting.[33] They did this through participating in masses, offering alms, venerating relics, commemorating fallen crusaders, and hearing sermons. Likewise, the Order itself, as a monastic institution, engaged in a specific use of sacral spaces which, through ritual, solidified the perception of a new sacred landscape in the Baltic. This discussion considers these structures and highlights the role of ritual in asserting the concepts of landscape sacralization expressed in earlier chapters.

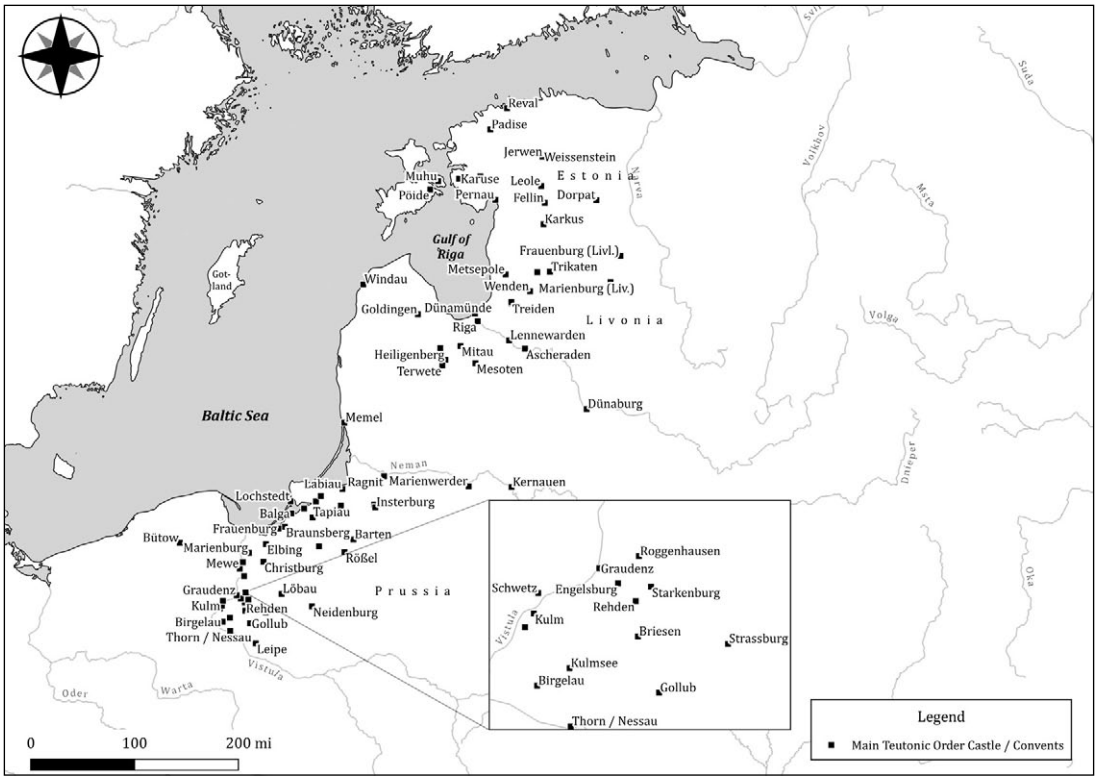
While the *Reisen* were defined by the martial expeditions and feats of valour against the Lithuanians, there were specific places in the landscape where participants gathered and engaged in acts of commemoration, relic veneration, and "pilgrimage" to shrines. These places were castles of the Order in addition to parish churches and pilgrimage shrines.[34] However, all of these had their origins in the thirteenth-century conquest period. The castles were initially not the stone and brick structures that came to define the visual culture of the medieval Baltic, but were instead constructed of wood and

441–451); 186 (lines 8117–8120); 217 (lines 9493–9502); 273 (lines 11944–11950). *HvSB*, 167; *PDC*, 550–2 (Suppl. 18). Wigand, 512–3.

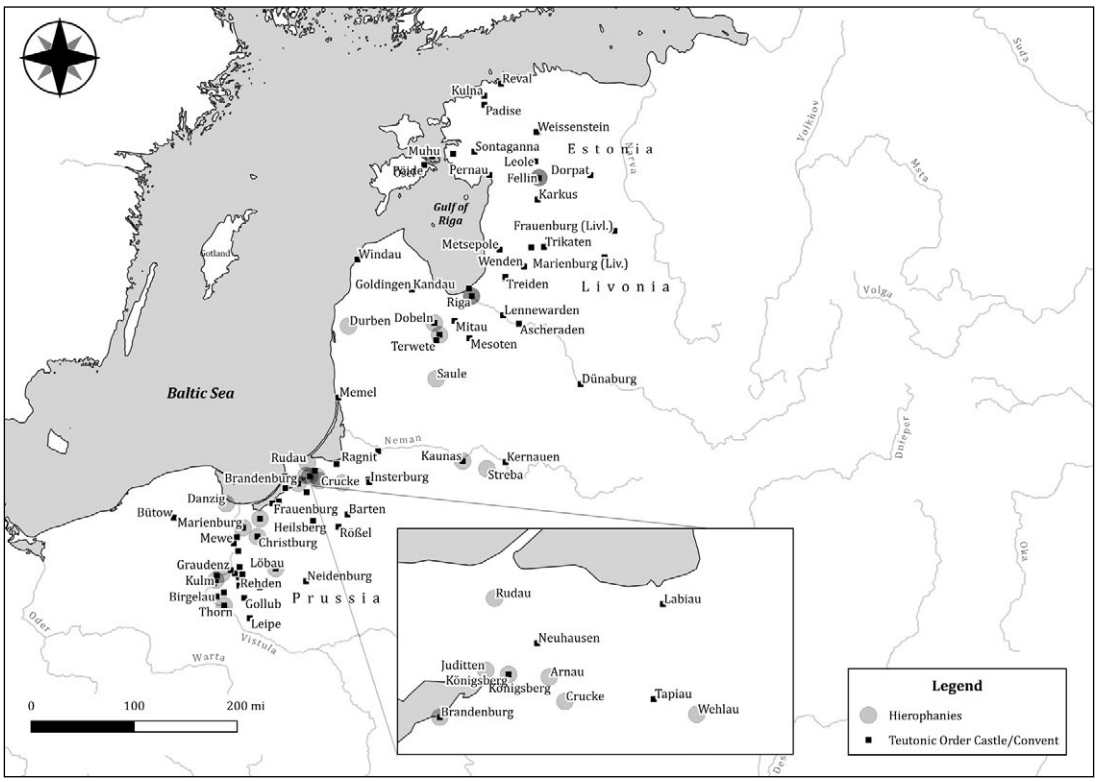
**32** Voigt, *Geschichte Marienburgs* 143–4; Voigt, GP 5: 86–7; Helm and Ziesemer, *Literatur*, 16; Paravicini, PR 1: 272; S. Kwiatkowski, "Gott," 15–27, here 15–6; Vennebusch, "Zentrale Facetten," 264.

**33** See Paravicini, PR 1: 305–9.

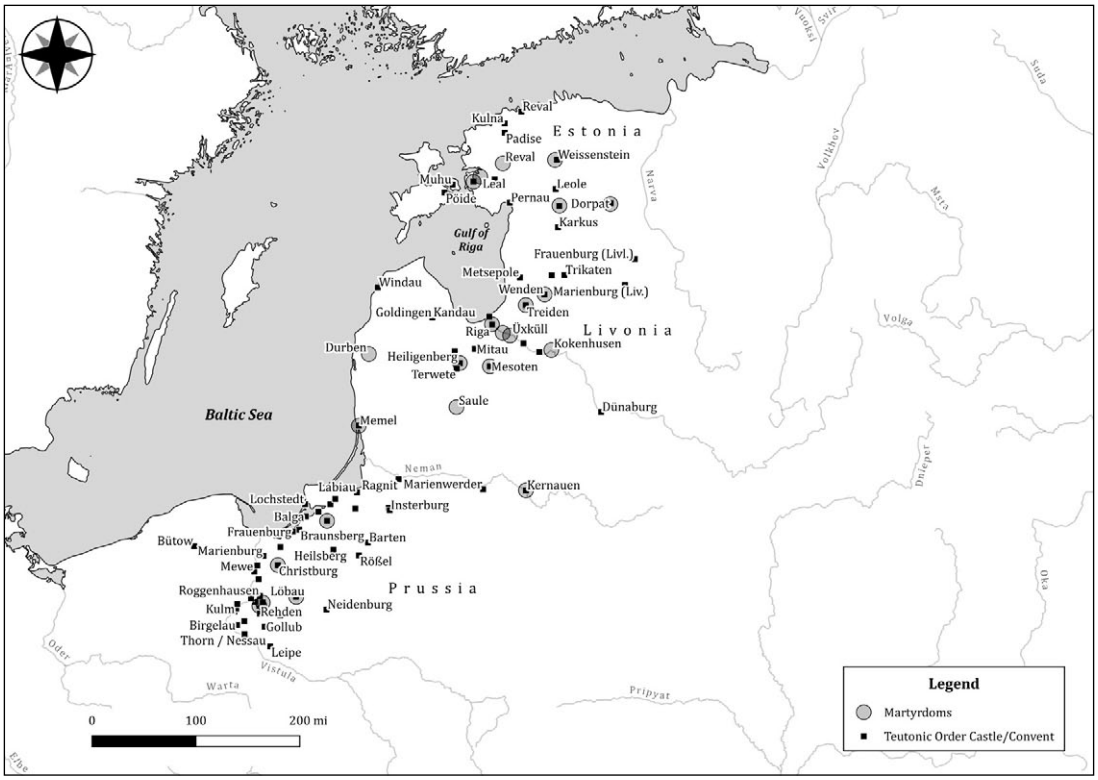
**34** For example, see Jóźwiak and Trupinda, *Krzyżackie zamki*, 33–8.



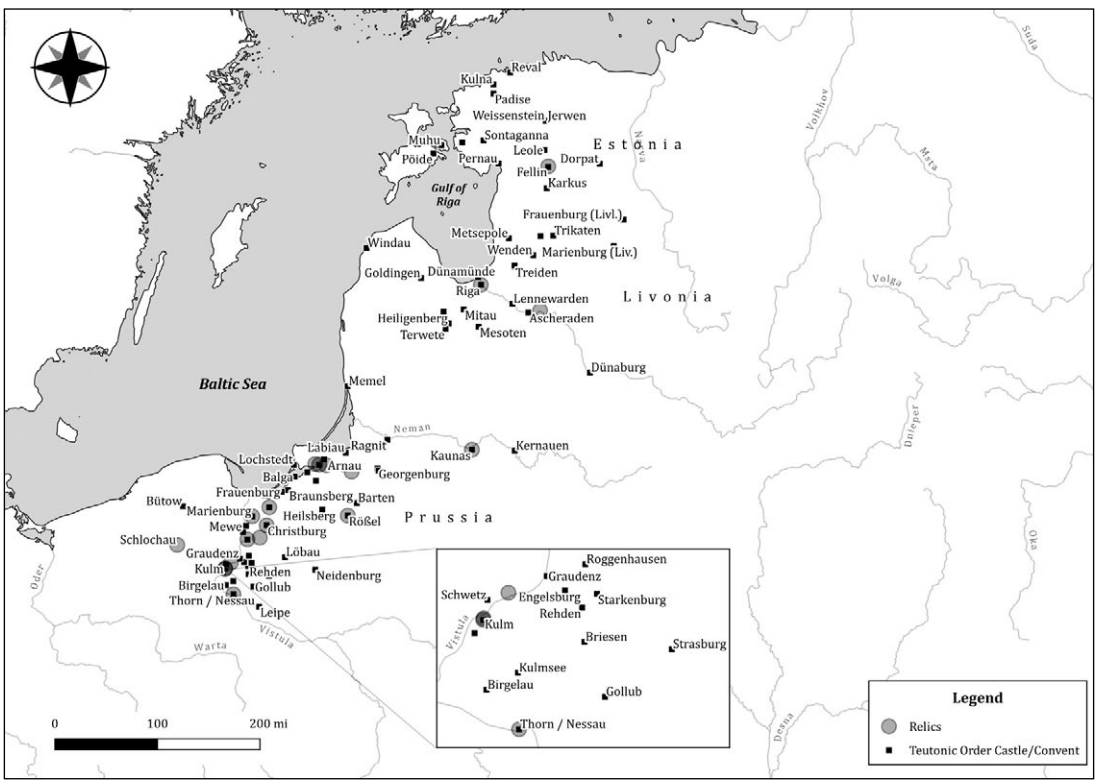

Map 11. Main castles, churches, and commanderies of the military orders in Prussia and Livonia (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries).




Map 12. Hierophanies and Teutonic Order castles or religious houses in the Baltic.




Map 13. Martyrdom and Teutonic Order castles or religious houses.




Map 14. Relics and Teutonic Order castles or religious houses.

Figure 16. Castle mound at Althaus. Photograph by author.

earth.[35] This construction method lasted into the fifteenth century, such as the castles built in the Great Wilderness during the summer campaigns (*Baureisen*).[36] The castle hill at Althaus, pictured here (Figure 16), demonstrates the wood and earth fortification styles from this period.

However, the participants in the crusades engaged in specific rituals to sacralize their experience and demonstrate their status as crusaders. Surviving sermons from the fourteenth century, such as that kept in the formulary book of Arnold of Protzan, clearly outline the liturgical elements of crusading in the Baltic. Regular prayer before battle, in addition to liturgies performed for crusaders throughout the churches of Prussia, demonstrate this concept. Arnold's formulary links the prayers of Moses raising his arms in Exodus 17 to the martial success of crusaders and brothers in the Order.[37] As recently proposed by Gregory Leighton, this imagery cements the link between warfare, religious rituals, and their impact on the understanding of the landscape.[38] Grand Masters of the Order, too, requested abbots and abbesses in Prussia to perform prayers for the armies "sent out to the lands of the unfaithful," and masses in honour of the Virgin Mary.[39] These ceremonies were carried out with the highest

**35** Górski, "Religijność," 249–58; Arszyński, "Wehrbau," 184; Torbus, *Konventsburgen*, 55–8; Herrmann, *Architektur*, 240–1; Hermann, "Kloster und Burg," 212; Baranauskas, "Wooden Castles," 57–106; Pluskowski, *Archaeology*, 97–100.

**36** Kitkauskas and Sliogeris, "Litauische Burgen," 109–15; Herrmann, "Deutschordensburgen," 97–104, specifically 98; Zabiela, "Mottes and Bailey in Lithuania," 307–14. For the *Baureisen*, see Paravicini, PR 2: 84.

**37** Wattenbach, ed., *Formelbuch*, 307.

**38** Leighton, "*Devotis oracionibus*," forthcoming.

**39** GStA PK, XX. HA, OF 3, 18: "…unser mitgebitiger eyn heer uff die ungloubigen usgesant, hirumbe

liturgical celebrations, often on feast days associated with the campaigns themselves (the majority of which were associated with the Virgin Mary). Moreover, they were done for the protection of the armies, the assurance of victory, and "a safe return to the land" (*begirten seliclichin wedir zu lande sende*).[40] As a reflection of their importance, indulgences were issued throughout the fourteenth century to local Christians in Prussia and to visiting crusaders for visiting chapels of the Teutonic Order on Marian feast days, which (as stated above) were linked to the annual *Reisen*.[41]

Moreover, the brothers in the Teutonic Order were obligated, per their *Rule*, to regularly observe the liturgy of the hours in their conventual castles. This played a considerable role in the development of sacral spaces, and the rituals within them were transferred onto the surrounding landscape. Sacred space connotes a specific point in a landscape that is made holy through ritual.[42] In this sense, the Order's commanderies were sacral spaces, for they were required in the *Rule* to possess a church, a refectory, and dormitories, the essential elements for the brethren to carry out their monastic obligations.[43] While the precise dates for the emergence of these buildings is difficult to determine, it is clear that by the end of the thirteenth century there was a use of sacred spaces within the Order's castles.[44] Peter of Dusburg's account of the brothers in Balga, for example, places the origins of conventual life within the Order's castles to around 1250. He likewise connects the name of Engelsberg (Pol. Pokrzywno) to the devout lifestyle practiced by the brothers, which he called "angelic."[45]

It is very unlikely that castles from the 1230s and 1240s had a standardized monastic layout, but the Order began to build castles in stone and brick sometime near the end of the 1250s and throughout the remainder of the century, in addition to churches and cathedrals. Kulmsee Cathedral (1251, see Figures 13 and 13a) and the new castle chapel in Thorn (1263, see Figure 15) are two early examples.[46] The same can be said for Livonia, where both Henry of Livonia and the author of the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* refer to castles having chapels. Their accounts of the assassination

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bitten wir euwir Ersamkeit mit begerlichim fleisse, Das Ir got unsern herre, mitsampt euwir samenunge anrufet…uff das got ire geloubt werde, so gerucht lassen, zu singen In euwern menster, lobelichin drey missyn, die eyne von der heiligen dryvaldikeit, die ander von unser lieben frauwen, die dritte von allen gotes heiligen."

**40** GStA PK, XX. HA, OF 3, 18: "…und In vor die unsern bittet, dis her sie beschirme und bewaere, und sie mit behaldenem willen und begirten gesege seliclichin wedir zu lande sende."

**41** Leighton, "*Reysa*," 9–13.

**42** Murray, "Sacred Space," 15.

**43** *SDO*, 71.

**44** Arszyński, "Klosterbau," 147–64.

**45** *PDC*, 122 (3.22). "Qualis vite puritas quantaque virtus abstinencie et quantus rigor regularis fuerit discipline inter fratres de Balga." For Engelsberg, see 124: "Ad castrum Engelsbergk venerunt quidam religiosi viri, qui dum viderent statum et conversacionem fratrum ibidem, quesiverunt, quod esset nomen castri. Quibus cum diceretur, quo Engelsbergk i.e. mons angelorum vocaretur, responderunt: 'Vere nomen habet a re, quia habitantes in eo angelicam ducunt vitam.'"

**46** Herrmann, *Architektur*, 240. See also above, chapter 3.

of Master Wenno of Rohrbach both refer to the castle as "the monastery" (*monasterium*) or "the house" (*hûs*).[47]

From a spatial point of view, the emergence of the conventual castles is significant for the sacralization of landscape: primarily the spaces that the castles enclosed and protected, and the rituals that occurred within them.[48] The conventual castles are unique in their structure and layout, which emphasizes a four-winged quadrangular structure. Examples of this include the High Castle at Marienburg (constructed ca. 1280), as well as Rehden (ca. 1330), Strasburg (ca. 1350), and Ragnit (ca. 1390).[49] This is noted, for example, in the late thirteenth-century poem, the *Apokalypse*, written by Henry of Hesler, a brother in the Order. The text describes the Heavenly Jerusalem as "a castle on a high hill…with twelve gates," as outlined in Revelation 21, thus framing the quadrangular shape of the Order's castles in the context of the heavenly city itself.[50]

The four wings have specific spatial connotations, noted especially in the literature of Polish researchers. The castle chapels here were the primary space in which rituals regularly took place. These are central to the sacralization of landscape, namely in the iconography present in the structures and their use in key liturgical and religious processions. Janusz Trupinda has considered the visuality of the Heavenly Jerusalem in the chapel of the Virgin Mary at Marienburg (ca. 1344) and connected this to the Old and New Testament frescoes decorating the walls.[51] I will discuss this further later in the chapter. Kazimierz Pospieszny has linked the placement and presentation of relics in the chapel during services with the New Jerusalem in Prussia, namely by tracing the procession paths and examining the spaces in which the relics were stored.[52]

However, Marienburg is not the only example of a quadrangular castle containing cloisters and a chapel. The replication of this design throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Prussia speaks to a conscious replication of various "Jerusalems." In terms of landscape sacralization, the conventual castles, complete with chapels, relics, and other holy objects provide tangible elements for rituals to take place by brothers in the Order, as well as the local Christian population and crusaders. They held churches with altars for saints and their relics, evinced in the register books for each castle throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[53]

The continued use of these spaces over time reflects the key aspects of landscape sacralization via commemoration and memorialization. Many of these castles were the scenes of martyrdoms and hierophanic events in the thirteenth-century conquests, especially in Peter of Dusburg's chronicle. For example, we saw in Chapter 3 how mar-

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**47** *HCL*, 67–8 (13.2–13.3). Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 88–90 (13.2–13.3)For the early phases of castle building in Livonia, see Mugurevics and Willerding, "Archäologie," 241–59.

**48** Woźniak, "Art and Liturgy," 157–65.

**49** Herrmann, *Architektur*, 242–5.

**50** Helm, ed., *Apokalypse*, 305–11 (lines 20,803–21,184).

**51** Trupinda, "Peter von Dusburg," 521. Also see Lotan, "*Querimonia*," 47–55, for the commemoration of the earthly Jerusalem.

**52** See Pospieszny, "liturgischen Raumes," 101–15; Pospieszny, "Reliquienpräsentation," 311–26.

**53** *GÄ*, 564; 502; 132; 232; 743; 6.

tyrdom and hierophanic acts demonstrated a perception of miraculous events happening in these places, namely the martyrdoms and miraculous visions recounted in Peter of Dusburg's chronicle. Rehden was the scene of a hierophanic vision, as were Thorn, Kulm, and Christburg. All of these were commandery castles of the Order by the fourteenth century, possessing a quadrangular structure and a chapel with relics.

The religious rituals that took place regularly in the Order's castles and the veneration of relics reinforced a perception of the "new" holy land of Prussia by the end of the fourteenth century, and one is left to wonder the extent to which the previous hierophanic events or martyrdoms linked to the history of these spaces were communicated to brothers of the Order. They very likely would have been, for there were clear guidelines for commemorating fallen brethren outlined in the *Rule*. Brothers were expected to pray 100 *Pater Nosters* for the souls of their fallen brethren.[54] The houses of deceased brothers were expected to give alms for them, too, indicating that those figures mentioned in Peter of Dusburg's chronicle martyred in the thirteenth century would have been commemorated by the Order from a liturgical perspective.[55] This is also present in the structure of Peter of Dusburg's chronicle, which mentions the day and year of martyrdoms, and sometimes names individual brethren and crusaders. Peter describes the battle of Pocarwen (1261) as a martyrdom, and names a specific crusader from Magdeburg who was killed there. This battle was also commemorated in a series of liturgical texts produced before Peter's time. The placement of this battle in the vicinity of Brandenburg Castle can also link the commemoration of this event to one of the most important convents in the Order's territory.[56] Spatially, this indicates that the spaces in the castles were used to commemorate not just the major feast days of the church, but the specific events that helped to shape the Christianization of Prussia, including sacral war, which transformed the pagan landscape. We know, for example, that the *Epitome gestorum Prussie* commemorated the battle.[57]

Not only the motivations of crusaders in the fourteenth-century Baltic, but also the acts in which they engaged while on their "pilgrimage," are difficult to narrow down. Surely the war against pagans was a strong motivator, evidenced in the letter of Ludwig of Bavaria to Winrich of Kniprode in the Spring of 1355. It refers on various occasions to the "war against the enemies of the crucified" in addition to "Saracens."[58] It is more difficult to trace where they went outside of Königsberg. Crusaders often did visit the major cities of the Order on their route to Königsberg, the main place for gathering before (or after) a campaign into Lithuania. The extent to which they actively engaged with the sacred spaces within the Order's castles is difficult, though there is an account from the

**54** *SDO*, 37.

**55** *SDO*, 37–8.

**56** *PDC*, 212 (3.91).

**57** See above, p. 87.

**58** *PrUB* 5.1:177–9 (no. 318).

*Marienburger Ämterbuch* that mentions "foreign priests or monks" using the Chapel of the Virgin in the 1430s.[59]

Instead, we can view the interaction and sacralization process by these guests in considering the giving of alms and the donations to altars in cities such as Thorn, Elbing, and Königsberg. William IV of Holland (d. 1345) visited Elbing in January of 1344 on his expedition to Lithuania and made offerings in the city.[60] It is not specified whether William made an offering to the relic of the True Cross or not, though it is very likely that he did.[61] We saw in Chapter 2 noblemen on the *Reisen* who commemorated their predecessors in churches. At Thorn, William IV of Holland lit a candle for the memory of John II of Namur, who perished in Prussia in 1335.[62] The commemorative practice of almsgiving was viewed as a sacral act, and an expression of piety, therefore reflecting how crusaders in the fourteenth-century Baltic interacted with space, and sacralized landscape, through processions and commemorative acts. Indeed, they could also commemorate their own deeds, such as William IV of Ostrevent who, in 1389, had a plaque (*tafel*) depicting his coat of arms hung in the cathedral. The various frescoes of crusaders who participated on the *Reisen* that decorated the west end of the church, too, serve to indicate that participants in the *Reisen* participated in commemorative practices in sacral spaces.[63] Henry Bolingbroke gave alms in Elbing, the Chapel of St. Anne in Marienburg, Ragnit, and the small pilgrimage shrine to St. Katherine at Arnau in 1391 and 1392.[64]

Parish churches and pilgrimage shrines surrounding Königsberg demonstrate a broader projection of practices and ritualization that reflects the landscape's transformation from pagan to Christian. It allows us to consider the ways engaging with sacred space allowed for this to occur. At Juditten, a popular shrine to the Virgin Mary since the late thirteenth century, the coats of arms of crusaders again decorated the walls, but so did apocalyptic scenes of the Last Judgement. The small stone church, the oldest one in the diocese of Sambia, was visited by several crusaders throughout the fourteenth century, such as William of Guelders on his *Reise* in 1389. He also visited Elbing, where he was received "with great honour," before visiting the relics of St. Katherine at Bran-

**59** *MÄ*, 127 (lines 24–25): "Soe synt ouch in des glogkmeisters sacresteie in der kirchen pfunff *gancze ornat unsczugehen wenne vremde prister komin adir monche*."

**60** For William IV of Holland, see Paravicini, PR 1: 56; Paravicini, PR 2: 166. For his visit to Elbing, see Strehlke, ed., "Rechnungen," 742–62, here 755: "daer hi jeghens *mijn here ghereden was ten Elúinghen*, ii scot pruus valent iii grote." He also made an offering to the new cathedral in Königsberg, see 756: "doe ghesent was van mijns heren weghen an den bisscop van Zamenland, *als dat hi mijn here leenen woude dien niewen doem in te legghen iiii scot, valent vi grote iiii mit*." He visited Elbing again in February of that year. Two men in his company, Hermann of Esse and Johann of Niedersheim, visited Elbing in April of 1344. Hermann gave a donation at Elbing "because he was on a *Reise*" (*die wile dat men in die reyse was*).

**61** Paravicini, PR 1: 275–85.

**62** See above, chapter 2; *SRP* 2, 744: "It. des selfs daghes aldaer ten minderbroederen minin heer tofferen bi Jan van Consore, *doe men s graúen wtaúert van Namen*."

**63** *SRP* 2, 768. For the frescoes in Königsberg Cathedral: Paravicini, "Denkmäler," 67–168, at 71; Herrmann, "Anfänge," 327–52, at 340–1.

**64** Smith, ed., *Expeditions*, 259 (Elbing); 116 (Marienburg); 105 (Ragnit); 53 (Arnau).

denburg.[65] These shrines were supported through alms, and it appears that the giving of alms and commemoration of fallen crusaders were significant elements of the *Reisen* in terms of experience.[66] However, pilgrimage, commemorative acts and, as a result, interaction with sacred space, were also significant elements. The spaces in which these duties were performed were sacred, and their continued use by both brothers in the Order and foreign "guests" indicates the continued perception of a sacred landscape. While a distinct visual culture was present in many of the Order's commanderies in Prussia, relics and the presence of sacred spaces for brethren in the Order and pilgrims on the *Reisen* cement the ideological nature of the crusades against the Prussians. Through its visual culture in these centres, the Order expressed its pious origins and the origins of its relics, namely in the sense that the relic became linked to the visual program witnessed in the space. This imparted a sense of a sacral landscape through the decorations in castles, and relic adoration, which necessitated ritual.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the early phase of the conquests in Prussia appears to indicate that the sacral space of the chapel in the Order's convents was not such a private space. By the late fourteenth century, this appears to have changed, though there are instances of pilgrims and guests using them. Henry Bolingbroke visited the Chapel of St. Anne in Marienburg in 1390.[67] Later, Princess Anna of Lithuania, the wife of Witold of Lithuania, heard a mass in the Grand Master's private chapel, and visited the Chapel of the Virgin on her pilgrimage in 1400. Given the complex spatial arrangement, this would confirm that, in general, pilgrims were not always present in the services that took place within chapels.[68] However, we do have references in the thirteenth-century chronicles to processions, and accounts of celebrations of victories over the pagans. These played a role in cementing identity for the crusaders who took part in these events (in the sense that victory was perceived to be miraculous), in addition to commemorating past events. The victory or the relic sacralized the place, the commemoration reinforced this quality. The analysis indicates that pilgrims and brothers took part in these acts, and it follows that the spaces in which they conducted processions and relic veneration were shared in some cases.

Equally as important as constructing these spaces are the ways in which places were named. The strongest link between Livonia and Prussia can be found in the presence of a Marienburg (Mary's castle) by the end of the thirteenth century. In Livonia, the first Marienburg is mentioned in a charter of 1225 recording a land dispute between Albert of Riga and the bishop of Semigallia, which mentions a castle of Babath, "named after the Virgin Mary."[69] In the fourteenth century, two more castles called Marienburg and Frauenburg were constructed by the Livonian Order "against the Schismatics," here

**65** *ÄH*, 616. Also see Paravicini, PR 1: 305–9, for the main shrines and crusaders who visited them throughout the fourteenth century.

**66** Paravicini, PR 2: 13–46.

**67** Smith, ed., *Expeditions*, 116.

**68** Pluskowski, *Archaeology*, 156–7; Borowski and Gerrard, "Identity," 1082–3 and 1090–2.

**69** *LUB* 1: cols. 82–4 (no. 76), here col. 83.

referring to the Orthodox Russians.[70] Place-naming could also reflect individual goals and conceptions of crusading. For example, in the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, there are clear references to specific places being named in honour of miraculous events. The foundation of Heiligenberg ("holy mountain") reflects Livonian Master Williken of Endorp's commitment to holy war and the author of the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*'s view of it as such.[71] There was another "holy mountain" near the city of Riga, upon which Berthold of Loccum was martyred in July of 1198, thus connecting the event to a specific point in the landscape (one which would become the main sacral centre of the eastern Baltic region). It survived in local historical memory as "the holy mountain" until the sixteenth century.[72]

However, it is the historical writing of the Teutonic Order in Prussia that offers the most demonstrable link between place-naming activities and the process of sacralization of the landscape. The chronicles record the various instances of naming places after the Order's patron, the Virgin Mary, in addition to other saints venerated in the Order, such as St. George. It appears to have been a common element of the Order's identity in Prussia since its arrival in 1230. The Order replicated not just the names of its patron saints, but physical locations of its history in the Holy Land. The first of these was Thorn, named after Toron des Chevaliers (Leb., Tibnin), ceded to the Order in the early thirteenth century. In fact, in a donation charter of April 1229, the importance of the castle is noted by its proximity to pagans, in this case, Muslims.[73] The castle of Montfort (Starkenberg) was the Order's headquarters in the Holy Land from 1229 to 1271, and also had its Prussian counterpart in the castle of Starkenberg (Pol. Słup), constructed sometime around 1275 by Master Anno of Sangerhausen.[74] Subsequent castles named Starkenberg were constructed in the late fourteenth century, namely at Krasny Bor in the Kaliningrad Oblast, founded in the late fourteenth century.[75] Castles in the pagan landscape thus received names significant to the Order's early history and identity as an institution, representing the process of landscape sacralization through commemorating these early places and, in some ways, recreating the topography of the Order's early history.[76]

Thorn in Prussia was named after this important centre for the Order in the Holy Land, but it soon took on its own identity with respect to Prussia's sacral geography. It was the first castle constructed by the Order, and as such it was remembered both

**70** *HWC*, 70. These were "Frauenburg near Dorpat" (present-day Vastseliina, Estonia) and a castle called Marienburg (present-day Aluksne, Latvia).

**71** *LR*, 228 (lines 9934–9939).

**72** von Bunge, ed., "Chronica," 174; Selart, "Use and Uselessness," 345–61, at 355.

**73** *TOT*, 54 (no. 66).

**74** *PDC*, 270 (3.149): "Sed longe postea iterum magister populum convocavit et tunc edificacionem dicti castri *per Dei graciam consummavit covans ipsum Starkenbergk, quod Latine dicitur fortis mons*." Also see 272 (3.150), which documents the relocation of the castle. For the date of construction, see Herrmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur*, 684.

**75** Herrmann, *Architektur*, 735.

**76** *SDO*, 97, refers to Starkenberg.

in the Order's texts and other chronicles. It was founded in an oak tree, a story re-told in virtually all of the Order's texts from the time of the Hermann of Salza letter, which states that "…the brothers entered the land [of Kulm]…they first built a castle in an oak tree, and God sent pilgrims to help them."[77] The struggle of the early brothers in this oak tree castle became an integral part of the new sacral landscape in Prussia, evinced in its presence in Peter of Dusburg's chronicle, Nicolaus of Jeroschin's translation of Peter's chronicle, the *ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, and other texts.[78]

The memory of the place and the commemoration of the early oak tree lasted into the fifteenth century, and while this goes beyond the scope of the present study, it deserves mention here. For one, the story emerged as a trope to describe the conversion of the Prussians and, indeed, the landscape. It became a crucial part of the Order's identity, not only expressed by its members, but by guests who visited Prussia. For example, Guillibert of Lannoy wrote about the early oak tree in Thorn in his account of his journey of 1412–1413: "and one mile from Thorn, on an island, the brothers of the Teutonic Order made their first fort in an old oak tree, when the entire region was pagan (*miscreant*)."[79] Sigismund of Luxembourg, Holy Roman Emperor, invoked the tree as a symbol of the Teutonic Order's humble origins (and, as a result, miraculous conquests) when he donated the Neumark to the Teutonic Order in 1422. The text refers to "the brothers, who from the beginning, brought the heathen peoples under their rule with knightly and manly prowess," fighting on behalf of God's grace and serving as "a strong shield" of the Christian faith.[80] In these examples, we see how the war against the Prussians sacralized the landscape; it was through the Order's literary and historical writings that this memory survived and was communicated to external supporters. In this way, its history came to be associated with the region of Prussia itself, developing a distinct sense of a sacred landscape in the minds of rulers and travelers in Western Europe.

Other instances of place-naming involve saints directly connected to the missions in Prussia, namely the Virgin Mary, and St. George. These were key patrons of the Order, but also major components of crusading ideology in Prussia, which was known as a Marian landscape as early as the thirteenth century.[81] Marienwerder (*insula sanctae Mariae*) was founded shortly after Thorn in 1234, during the pilgrimage of Burgrave of Magdeburg and many other nobles. There is no connection explicitly to the Virgin Mary in Peter's account of the castle's foundation, but it is likely that a Marian pilgrimage

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**77** *HvSB*, 159: "Dornach furen dy bruder yn das landt…*Czum ersten do baweten sy uff einen eichenen bawm, und Goth sante yn zu hulffe pilgram*." For the function of these trees, see Szczepański, "*Arbor custodie*," 5–19.

**78** *PDC*, 96 (3.1); *KvP*, 345 (lines 3706–3704); Fischer, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Prussia*, 67 (3.1); *ÄH*, 542.

**79** Strehlke. ed., "Voyaiges," 449: "Et…a une lieue de Thore en une islette, ou jadis du temps, *que tout le pais de Prusse estoit miscreant, le signeurs…de l'orde de Prusse firent leur premiere habitation sur ung gross foulleu arbre de quesne*." I thank Dr. Cornel Bontea for his assistance in the translation.

**80** *TOT*, 204–5 (no. 214): "…bruder, die von anfang von einer eychen zu Alden Thorn in kleiner czal ritterlich und mennlich die heidnische undyet hinder sich gedrungen."

**81** Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 2.

shrine existed near the island that pre-dated the Order's arrival.[82] Georgenburg (1259),[83] Marienburg (1280),[84] and Frauenburg (1280s),[85] to name a few examples, were constructed in Prussia and reflect the association of specific points in the landscape with the Order's primary patron saints. This has been examined particularly by Waldemar Rozyńkowkski as a manifestation of the adoption of Christianity and its role in transforming the landscape in Prussia.[86]

This pattern continued into the fourteenth century, where there were Marienburgs and Marienwerders constructed in Lithuania. Like the record for the thirteenth-century conquest of Prussia, place-naming reinforced the Marian tone of the missions and the concept of conquering the landscape in honour of the Virgin Mary. In 1336, the Order had constructed a Marienburg near Velun (Lit. Veliuona).[87] This Marienburg was likely refortified in the 1360s, when Winrich of Kniprode led a group of soldiers and "many pilgrims [who] were in the land" to the same castle on the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul (June 29)."[88] According to the Order's *Rule*, the feast was commemorated with a *duplex* mass, and it is likely that the crusaders would have engaged in this celebration after the event.[89] From this example in particular, we see that the continued tradition of Marian place-naming and performing services whilst on campaign lasted well into the more chivalric-themed campaigns of the fourteenth century. Marian ideology and the construction of specific places named after her was thus a key element of the experience of crusading in Prussia. Other places were re-created, such as Marienwerder. In 1384, the Order (and, presumably, its guests) constructed a castle called Marienwerder near New Kaunas, on a certain island.[90] It was mentioned as well in the *Littauischen Wegeberichte*, on the route from Insterburg, another commandery castle in the Great Wilderness founded in 1336, and an important gathering place for guests on the *Reisen*.[91] The continuity of Marian place-naming practices reflects the continued importance of sacralization of the landscape in the later fourteenth century, as can be seen in a letter from 1395 that refers to crusading "for the honour and glory of the Virgin Mary."[92]

Saints were not the only inspiration for the naming of places, though. For example, Kreuzburg ("cross castle" or "castle of the cross") was founded in 1240, according to

**82** *PDC*, 110 (3.9); Zielińska-Melkowska, "Pielgrzymkowe," 244–5; Rozynkowski, "Święci," 187–93.

**83** *PDC*, 202 (3.83).

**84** *PDC*, 324 (3.208).

**85** For Frauenburg see *CDW* 1: 92–3 (no. 54); Dygo, "Maryjnym," 5–38; Dygo, *Studia*, 347–8.

**86** Rozyńkowski, *Omnes Sanctae*, 229–41.

**87** *HWC*, 92: "Eodem anno frater Wynricus, generalis magister, circa Petri et Pauli struxit contra montem in Velun *castrum dictum Marienborch*." Also Wigand, 490.

**88** Wigand, 558.

**89** *SDO*, 6.

**90** See Wenta, "Holy Islands," 37–54; Wigand, 626: "Magister preceptoque…nove domus in profectum ordinis econtra Cawen in quidam insula et in continenti lateres etc. necessaria duxerunt de Pruszia, *imponentes ei vocabulum Mergenwerder*."

**91** *LW*, 682–3. For Insterburg, see Herrmann, *Architektur*, 155, also 496–7.

**92** *CDP* 6: 98–9 (no. 96).

Peter of Dusburg, "for the praise and glory of Jesus Christ."[93] The relic of the True Cross, discussed in Chapter 4, had been in Prussia for roughly seven years, and its power as a symbol for the Order's wars against the Prussians and the conversion of the landscape is demonstrated in this event described by Peter. In 1263, when the castle was abandoned, Peter reflects on their "many glorious battles and heroic deeds there." Kreuzburg was under the supervision of the commandery at Brandenburg, discussed in Chapter 3 as one of the most important pilgrimage shrines in Prussia, since it possessed the relics of St. Katherine.[94] Other places were called Kreuzburg as well. In Livonia, Hermann of Wartberge mentions a castle of this name in his chronicle, built in 1375.[95] Christburg in Prussia, founded in the 1240s, received its name because the former pagan castle was captured on the night of Christ's nativity (December 24).[96] It was later moved to a new location by an army of "many pilgrims," who moved the castle "to the praise and glory of Jesus Christ."[97] Christmemel Castle, discussed above as one of the earliest examples of the importance of relics on the fourteenth-century *Reisen*, also demonstrates the continued importance of place-naming. Built on the banks of the Neman River, Peter's description of its foundation replicates the foundation process of Christburg on the frontier with the Lithuanians, stating that the castle was founded "on the shore of the infidels" (*litus infidelium*).[98] This is a rare example in the fourteenth-century chronicles of relic processions taking place at the foundation of castles. Finally, one can take the example of specific local saints in the development of placenames, namely that of Barbarka, on the outskirts of the city of Thorn. The placename is mentioned already in 1340, but local tradition holds that an apparition of the saint to a local hermit resulted in its name. This was confirmed by constructing a small chapel on the spot, which became a site of pilgrimage in the fifteenth century, due to a series of reports of visions and miracles associated with St. Barbara.[99]

Peter of Dusburg's account of the foundation of Balga further cements the power of the naming process and perceptions of the landscape. We learn of the castle's construction in the year 1239 by the Margrave of Meißen, Henry III (d. 1288). Henry had come to Prussia on crusade and constructed two wooden castles on the Frisches Haff, called

**93** *PDC*, 128 (3.27).

**94** *PDC*, 236 (3.118). For Kreuzburg and Brandenburg, see Töppen, *Geographie*, 208.

**95** *HWC*, 107; Tuulse, *Burgen*, 104

**96** *PDC*, 174 (3.58).

**97** *PDC*, 180 (3.63): "Immutantes locum et non nomen edificaverunt [the pilgrims] castrum Cristburgk in eo loco…*ad laudem et gloriam Iesu Cristi*."

**98** *PDC*, 424–6 (3.315): "Anno Domini MCCXIII…frater Karolus magister *ad laudem et gloriam Dei et matris sue*…edificavit castrm Cristmemelam in litore Memele supra Raganitam…Tanta fuit ibidem multitudino navium, quod factus fuit pons super Memelam de ipsis, quem quilibet sine periculo poterat *pertransire usque ad litus infidelium*…*Consummato edificio clerici sequente populo cum solempni processione reliquias ad ecclesiam portaverunt missam ibi sollempniter celebrantes*." The castle was abandoned in the late fourteenth century, see *PDC*, 540 (Suppl. 3).

**99** Rozyńkowski, *Omnes Sanctae*, 230. An indulgence from 1459, issued by Vincentius, bishop of Pomesania, survives in Toruń, Archiwum Państwowe w Toruniu, Kat. I, Nr. 2139. I am thankful to Dr. Marcin Sumowski (Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń) for pointing me to this resource.

"pilgrim" and "Vredeland." Peter of Dusburg provides the Latin translation of the names: "in Latin this is called Pilgrim and Pacifying the Land."[100] In fact, the concept of "pacifying the land" goes back to the *Prologue* to the Order's *Rule*, where the knights in the Order are likened to the Maccabees who "recovered the ark and brought it back to Syon, pacifying the land."[101] The castle of Vredeland was mentioned as late as the 1380s, in an inventory for the convent of Brandenburg.[102]

The naming of these places solidified the connection of the Order's wars to the landscape, especially its perception and communication. In the case of Kreuzburg and Christmemel, as discussed above, the physical sacralization of the landscape through importing relics and performance of the liturgy was added to this process. While we do not know of any relics present at Kreuzburg during the conquest period, the later inventories confirm that a relic fragment was kept in the chapel.[103] The development and continuation of this practice is a solid avenue for viewing the role of the Teutonic Order in the landscape sacralization process, especially in terms of how it came to generate a distinct landscape as a product of its wars. While the Marian patronage of the Order has been the subject of a significant amount of work since the nineteenth century, we can see how the idea of a "Marian landscape" was very much a physical reality by the end of the fourteenth century.[104] In combination with the literary themes surrounding descriptions of Livonia and Prussia as strongly associated with paganism, the renaming and re-siting of key places in the Order's history show the conversion of the landscape in a physical way. This also shows the importance of Marian symbolism not just to the Teutonic Order's self-image and inner life, but that of crusaders who took the cross on the journey to Livonia and Prussia.

These examples all reflect not only the self-image of the Order and how it viewed its mission, but also of the crusaders who went to Livonia and Prussia, and how they viewed landscape. Self-image is a product of viewing the world and how a person (or, in our case, a group) interacts with the world around them, and how they view themselves within that world.[105] In the Middle Ages, in western Europe, the world was viewed within the context of the sacral history of the Bible, which was used to frame events and place them within a broader point in time. Crusading was part of a long tradition of holy war and was framed eschatologically in the contemporary sources, the wars viewed and reflected as holy causes and continuations of the wars of the Old Testament.[106] Moreover, objects like banners, but also crusaders' names, symbolically reflected the worldview of the author describing the event. The same is true for specific aspects of war, such as the celebration of mass whilst on campaign, thus bringing to question aspects of time in the

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**100** *PDC*, 114–6 (3.15–3.16).

**101** *SDO*, 25: "Machabei qui…arcem Syon reciperent et *redderent pacem terre*."

**102** *GÄ*, 211.

**103** *GÄ* , 345: "Crutczburg…*eine holtczene tofel*."

**104** Voigt, *Geschichte Marienburgs*, 43–64; Voigt, *GP* 2: 1–67.

**105** Borgolte, "Selbstverständnis," 195–9; Sarnowsky, "Identität," 108–30; Czaja, "Bilanz," 6–10.

**106** Erdmann, *Origin*, at 35–57.

sacralization of landscape (namely, recreating past events and reenacting sacred time).[107] The symbolism behind the objects, the acts and, as this section shows, the names of places, reveals a great deal about self-image, self-understanding, and views of landscape.

The construction of these places reflects the Order's inner understanding of its identity as a Marian institution, but also the view of crusaders as journeying to a land that they associated with the Virgin Mary. In re-siting and building places with replica names, the sources demonstrate a concept of landscape sacralization as a product of memory and memorialization of past events in the Order's history, in this case the earliest cities associated with the Order's patron saints, and important relics in the region.[108] Even Wigand of Marburg's chronicle, so focused on chivalric elements of the *Reisen*, commemorates fallen brethren and crusaders throughout his text, highlighting the importance of remembrance of earlier deeds to the audience, who likely heard his text while fighting alongside the Order in Prussia.[109] Naming various castles after the Virgin Mary, St. George, the True Cross, or Christ himself solidified the sacralizing process of the wars in that, while there was no inherently holy shrine there before, one existed after the building and foundation of a castle or city.

The iconography of landscape themes expressed in the castle of Marienburg was discussed in Chapter 2. This discussion returns to that building, considering the space in which this iconography was communicated and absorbed. The Chapel of the Virgin at Marienburg is the best example of church architecture and visual iconography from medieval Prussia. The present building was completed around 1344,[110] but the construction of the High Castle, which would have included a chapel, dates from the later thirteenth century.[111] The artwork remaining in its interior has provided historians with significant material for analysis into the ideological program of the Teutonic Order in Prussia.[112] The images of the chapel (Figures 17 and 18) demonstrate the progress of recent renovation works and the richness of the decorations from the fourteenth century.[113] These decorations included frescoes depicting scenes from the Old and New Testament, in addition to multiple depictions of the Virgin Mary. Figure 17, for example, shows frescoes of the patriarchs and Old Testament figures, with an apostle above them.

Like the sculptures on the portal of the Golden Gate, the frescoes reflect the Order's didactic program. The frescoes on the north wall show the Order's historical predeces-

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**107** Erdmann, "Fahnen," 1–48; Chevedden, "Urban II," 7–53; Gaposchkin, "Liturgical Memory," 34–48.

**108** Vercamer, "Zeit," 517–33; Nowak, "Neustadtgründungen," 129–42.

**109** Vercamer, "Zeit," 523–34. This is also present in the chronicle of Wigand of Marburg. See K. Kwiatkowski, "Selbstdarstellung," 127–38. For instances of commemoration in Wigand's chronicle, see Wigand, 482; 487; 502; 513; 537–8; 549; 557; 567; 616; 645; 649.

**110** Torbus, *Konventsburgen*, 266–7.

**111** Torbus, *Konventsburgen*, 177–8.

**112** Torbus, *Konventsburgen*, 156; Rozynkowski, "Marienkult," 57–67; Rozynkowski, "Liturgical Space," 143–52.

**113** The recent "Conservation and building works in the complex of the Holy Virgin Church in the Castle Museum in Malbork" project completed in 2014 significantly restored the interior. See http://www.funduszeeog.zamek.malbork.pl/index.php?lang=en.

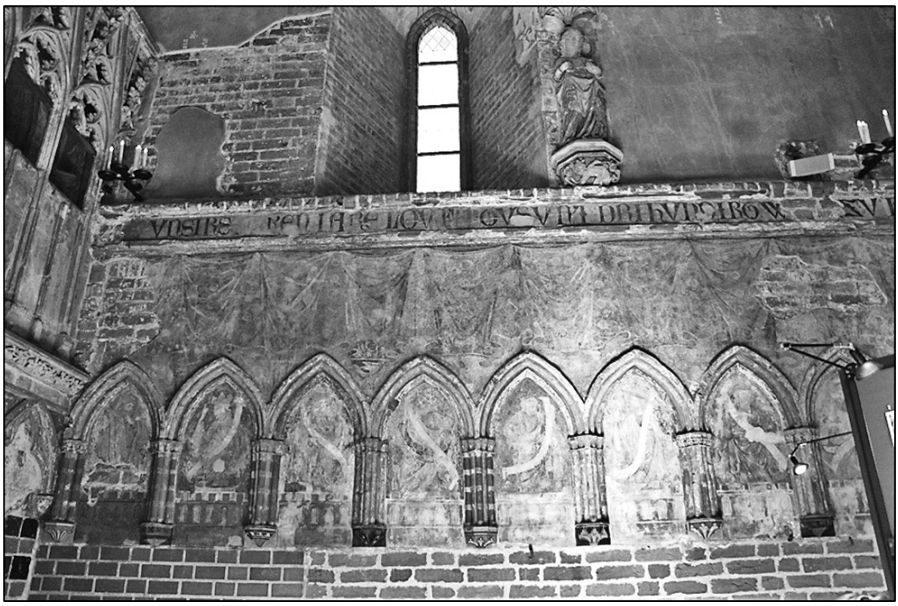

Figure 17. North wall of the Virgin Chapel at Marienburg (ca. 1344). Photograph by author.

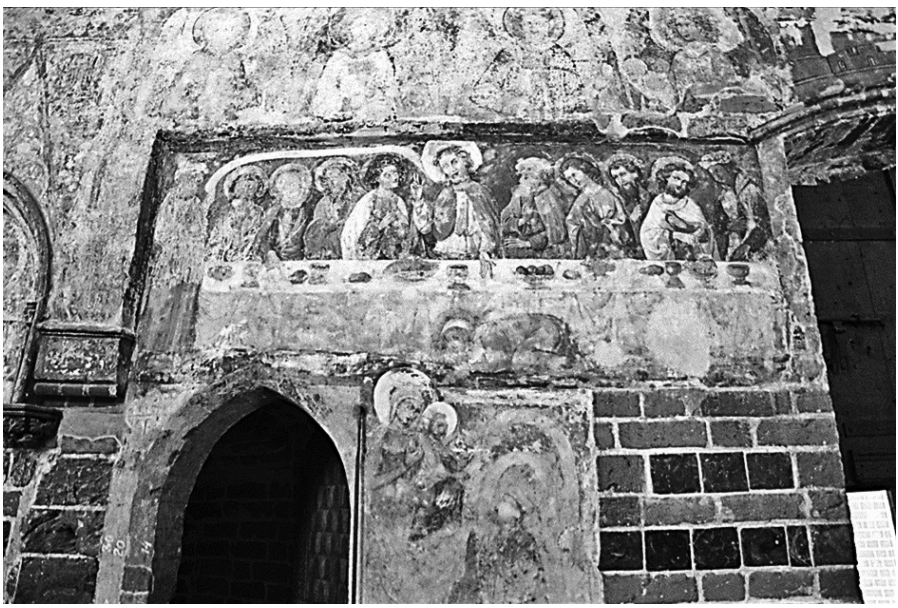

Figure 18. South wall of the Virgin Chapel at Marienburg (ca. 1344). Photograph by author.

sors from the Old Testament, possibly a reference to the warriors and prophets who lived in and gave rise to the sacred landscape in the Holy Land. The New Testament imagery of Christ at the Last Supper (see Figure 18) is on the south wall. It also reflects more specific, crusading ideology, such as the scene of the *lactatio sancti Bernardi*. Janusz Trupinda notes that the frescoes are difficult to identify, and that there appear to be no representations of Teutonic Knights in the chapel. This makes for difficulty comparing specific Old Testament figures as representative of the Order's creation of a sacred landscape, namely through a lack of depictions of the Order's members fighting in combat. However, the Old Testament warrior figures played a key role in the formation of identity and understanding of mission amongst the brothers, evinced in chronicles such as Peter of Dusburg's, so the figures were likely part of the *ecclesia militans* cycle of frescoes. We can determine this likelihood based on the frescoes of Königsberg Cathedral, which included Samson, Joshua, and David, as well as images of the Virgin Mary.[114] Parallels also existed at the pilgrimage church at Juditten, where there are figures of knights of the Teutonic Order placed directly into scenes from the Bible, such as the Flight into Egypt.

These image programs depicted the successful conversion of the Prussians by means of the Order's wars and the Order's relationship to the Church Militant (i.e., the members of the Christian communities who fight on earth against sin) and the Church Triumphant (i.e., those who have achieved places in heaven).[115] The progression of the frescoes in the Chapel of the Virgin move from west to east, with two levels of separated frescoes that survive in fragments. Old Testament figures of the prophets and kings of Israel, draped in green curtains, form the bottom half of this cycle. The New Testament frescoes, aside from that depicting the Last Supper, include figures such as Apostles, or saints, which are above the Old Testament cycle on columns. A similar program was present in Kulm Cathedral, pictured in Figure 19.[116]

Janusz Trupinda and others have considered the dichotomy between the Old and New Testament imagery in the chapel as reflective of two concepts: the historical predecessors of the Order (Old Testament) and the links of this past to its mission in Prussia (New Testament).[117] This placed the castle chapel within the framework of the Apocalyptic tradition. The frescoes on the wall portrayed an ideological framework of the mission of the Teutonic Order, showing the divine predecessors that ultimately led to the conquest of Prussia. The concepts just mentioned of the Church Militant (*ecclesia militans*) and Church Triumphant (*ecclesia triumphans*) have a visual grounding in the image program of the churches.[118] The earthly struggle against the enemies of the faith and the heavenly kingdom found a suitable place in the Order's program, where the war against the pagans in Prussia or Lithuania was framed as a war against Christianity's

**114** Raczkowski, "Marien–Aussage," 127–33; Raczkowska, *Tu ergo*.

**115** Dygo, "Kultur," 58.

**116** Paravicini, PR 1: 335–44.

**117** Pluskowski, *Archaeology*, 158; Trupinda, "Peter von Dusburg," 522–4; Kliś, "City as hell," 225–41.

**118** See Dygo, "Kultur," 63; Pospieszny, "Reliquienpräsentation," 311–26.

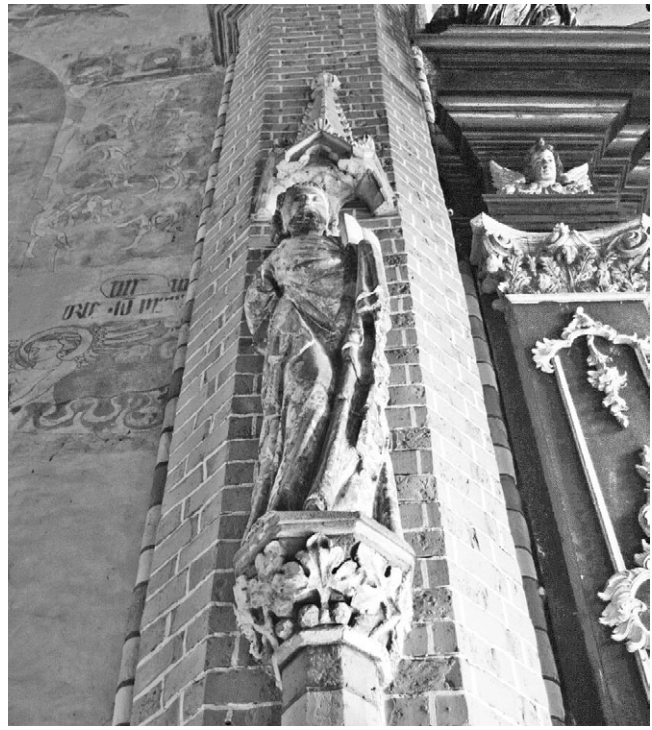

Figure 19. Statue of Apostle (fourteenth century), Kulm Cathedral. Photograph by author.

enemies on earth.[119] The Order's wars and its predecessors from the Bible reminded the brothers of their status as holy warriors and their history; however, this was not in Jerusalem, but in Prussia. This phenomenon was also expressed in communal spaces in the Marienburg castle itself, such as the Great Refectory. This room, in the middle castle, was the place where the Order would host its most distinguished guests and dignitaries. However, it was also decorated with a variety of Old Testament imagery, particularly sculptures depicting the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise (Genesis 3). As has been suggested in the work of Bogna Jakubowska, there was also a connection (iconographically) to the world of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia and the Garden of Eden.[120]

New Testament imagery represented the Heavenly Jerusalem in Prussia. Wigand of Marburg, whose chronicle is noted for its focus on the chivalric aspects of crusading in the Baltic, stated that "through many wars the Order won land from the pagans…[and] many crusaders, princes, and other noblemen traded their earthly life for eternal life."[121] Although the audience of Wigand's text is not known, due to the fact that the original version of the text does not survive, it has been proposed by Krzysztof Kwiatkowski and Sławomir Zonenberg that the text appealed to the Order's guests who came to partici-

**119** S. Kwiatkowski, "Gott," 20–1.

**120** Jakubowska, "Motywy," 20–3.

**121** Wigand, 453: "per varia bella ordo obtinuerit terram a paganis…eciam multi cruciferorum et alii principes et nobiles eis succurrentes pro temporali vita eternam mercati sunt."

Figure 20. "Mary Conquers the Devil," Arnau (late fourteenth century). Photograph © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, reproduced with permission.

pate in the *Reisen*.[122] Considering the strong interest in knightly exercise and warfare that dominates Wigand's chronicle, his status as a herald in the Order's service, and commemorative nature expressed in the text surrounding the death of knights in the Order and pilgrims, this is not an unfounded claim.[123] The understanding of exchanging the earthly life for the heavenly one, though, reflects the efficacy of the imagery experienced by guests who would have visited the Order's castle chapels and, indeed, parish churches, like Arnau. The church offered scenes of Old Testament warriors such as David, as well as the New Testament imagery of Mary conquering the devil. The latter image is pictured in Figure 20.

The message of the conquest of Christianity over paganism reinforced contemporary understandings of the war in Prussia as a sacral one within the mind of the Order's

**122** K. Kwiatkowski, "Selbstdarstellung," 130; Zonenberg, "Wstęp," 38.

**123** K. Kwiatkowski, "Selbstdarstellung," 128, 130; Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 105–9, at 106. For the significance of the herald in the Middle Ages, see Paravicini, *Ritterlich-Höfische Kultur*, 16, 80–1. Also see Ibid, 80–1.

Figure 21. Statue of the Virgin at Marienburg (ca. 1380). Photograph by author.

members, and its supporters. As such, the image programs also highlight and reinforce the transformation of the landscape from non-Christian to Christian. It is also important to note the role played by place and landscape in the Old Testament narratives that inspired the Order. The Promised Land in which they fought was a model for the Order to transfer to Prussia. The presence of these figures and their role in the Order's program demonstrate this transference, for the chapel served as the main spiritual space for knights in the Order. The imagery in the chapel, therefore, reflecting the spiritual Jerusalem and the triumph of the Christian faith over paganism, framed the conflict in which crusaders were engaged and shaped their view of the landscape in which they fought.

The spatial arrangement can also be interpreted as an analogy for the landscape sacralization process. The Old Testament and New Testament fresco cycles move toward the eastern end, providing a visual narrative of the Order's predecessors in the Holy Land and its wars in Prussia. The holy wars of the Old Testament and the place in which they occurred were key factors in the motivation of crusaders, pilgrims, and members of

the Order.[124] The historical predecessors and their link to the Holy Land are in the western end of the church, but it is movement eastward, to the new holy land of Prussia, that guides the viewer as they move through the chapel. This reflects the conversion of the landscape and the introduction of the New Jerusalem to Prussia. Brothers participating in the liturgy, therefore, would be reminded of this.

The use of the frescoes in this light has contemporary parallels in Europe. Preachers such as Humbert of Romans (d. 1277) encouraged their audiences to learn from the works of art and use them as *exampla*, things to mimic and models to follow whilst on crusade. He exhorted those in his audience to gather inside palaces and other spaces where noblemen meet, places where "the great deeds of the ancient warriors are painted upon the walls."[125] The visual expression of these factors solidified the connection between sacrality and history, warfare, and landscapes in the Middle Ages. Similar parallels were present in Prussia, such as the frescoes in Königsberg Cathedral. This demonstrates the applicability of this imagery for crusaders, guests in Prussia who were not members of the Teutonic Order.

These themes have a stronger relevance when we consider the high level of significance of Prussia to the Teutonic Order's spiritual, and political, identity. Given the status of the Baltic as a Marian landscape, the connection between Marienburg itself and the understanding of the land of Prussia as Mary's land is quite clear. Marian Dygo noted in the late 1980s that the dedication of Prussia to the Virgin was not just an ideological tool to legitimize the Order's spiritualty to its members and to participants on the *Reisen*, but an expression of political suzerainty in Prussia.[126] Dygo connects the monumental statue of the Virgin and Christ (ca. 1330–1340, in mosaic ca. 1380) to the popular ways in which political rulers represented themselves throughout Europe in the fourteenth century.[127] The statue was recently restored in 2014 (Figure 21). It was a symbol for pilgrims coming to visit the chapel in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, reinforcing Prussia's status as the land of the Order and, therefore, the land of Mary.[128] Guillibert of Lannoy, mentioned above, described the castle of Marienburg as the place where the power, authority, and the treasure of the Teutonic Order rested.[129] Indeed, the monumental statue of the Virgin that adorned the castle's monastic chapel would merit such a description.

Guillebert of Lannoy's account of Marienburg reflects the Order as an institution of power and its creation of a sacral geography in Prussia, since it is the headquarters of "the lords of the white mantle of Our Lady."[130] Even into the later history of the Order,

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**124** *SDO*, 23, cites the Old Testament figures of Abraham, Moses, Joshua, and the Maccabees as the predecessors of the Order. Also see Röther, "Embracing Death," 169–92.

**125** Humbert of Romans, "Liber,": http://www.jggj.dk/saracenos.htm#cap16, sermon number 16: *de exemplis antiquorum que inducunt ad bella contra saracenos*.

**126** Dygo, "Maryjnym," 5–38; Dygo, "Political Role," 63–81.

**127** Dygo, "Political role," 64–5.

**128** Pluskowski, *Archaeology*, 159.

**129** Strehlke, ed., "Voyaiges," 444.

**130** Strehlke, ed., "Voyaiges," 444.

written and visual sources continued to highlight Prussia's Marian connections. The study of the Order's seals throughout the late medieval period reflects this continued association of Prussia with the Order and with Mary, as evidenced in the works of Jürgen Sarnowsky, Udo Arnold, and Dmitry Bayduzh.[131] Mary standing with Christ in her arms was the preferred seal for a variety of offices in Prussia. The statue at Marienburg is a powerful depiction of the image on the Order's seals. However, here it also reflects the triumph of the Order over the Prussian tribes, and Mary as the ultimate suzerain of Prussia. As a result, this reinforces the perception of Prussia as a land of the Virgin Mary (*terra Mariae*).[132] While this monumental statue expressed the Order's earthly power, the visuality of the statue projected the conversion and sacralization of the landscape to pilgrims visiting the *Ordensland*.[133] The relationship between the written and the visual in the Order's territory thus adds to our understanding of the place of landscape in its ideological program. While the spaces of the castles were primarily used by the brothers in the Order, it shows a continuity of a distinct landscape-based image that the brethren encountered when they used the chapel. This demonstrates that the Order's literary genesis of a sacral landscape in Prussia had a real, physical component, and reinforced the image of this landscape into the mentality of the brothers, in addition to crusaders and the local Christian population.

Marienburg was not the only centre where the Teutonic Order employed art to communicate its internal image to its audience. The visual culture of the Order could be used to communicate its territorial power (*Herrschaft*), in addition to its spiritual authority and piety.[134] This could occur on the smallest of levels in terms of castle size, structure, and significance. Lochstedt was a Commandery castle built by the Order in 1270 to provide a base for raids against the Sambians.[135] The castle was located near a shrine associated with the mission of St. Adalbert of Prague at Tenkitten, constructed in 1422 by Ludwig of Lanse, who served as Marshal of the Order from 1422–1424.[136] The chapel and castle were destroyed after 1945. Lochstedt is notable for the art that decorated its interior. This presents an important avenue for viewing the spiritual development within the Order at the later end of the fourteenth century and how it manifested itself on a smaller scale than the Order's visual program expressed at Marienburg.[137] There was a diffusion of religious imagery concerning place and landscape throughout Prussia, not just at main centres like Marienburg, Elbing, or Königsberg. The interior of the castle had scenes of knights, saints, and members of the Order dating from the late fourteenth century (ca. 1390). They are contemporary, based on artistic style and similari-

**131** Sarnowsky, "Münzen," 188–92; Arnold, "Siegel," 67–85; Arnold, "Christologisch-mariologische Programm," 66–80; Bayduzh, "Печать," 65–75.

**132** Arnold, "Christologisch-mariologische Programm," 78–9.

**133** Pospieszny, "Marienburg," 71–2.

**134** Kutzner, "Herrschaftspropaganda," 253–302; Zacharias, "Reliquienwallfahrt," 11–36.

**135** *PDC*, 232 (3.112). Also see Pluskowski, *Archaeology*, 154.

**136** See Steinbrecht, *Lochstedt*, 3–4; Herrmann, *Architektur*, 124.

**137** Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 220–3.

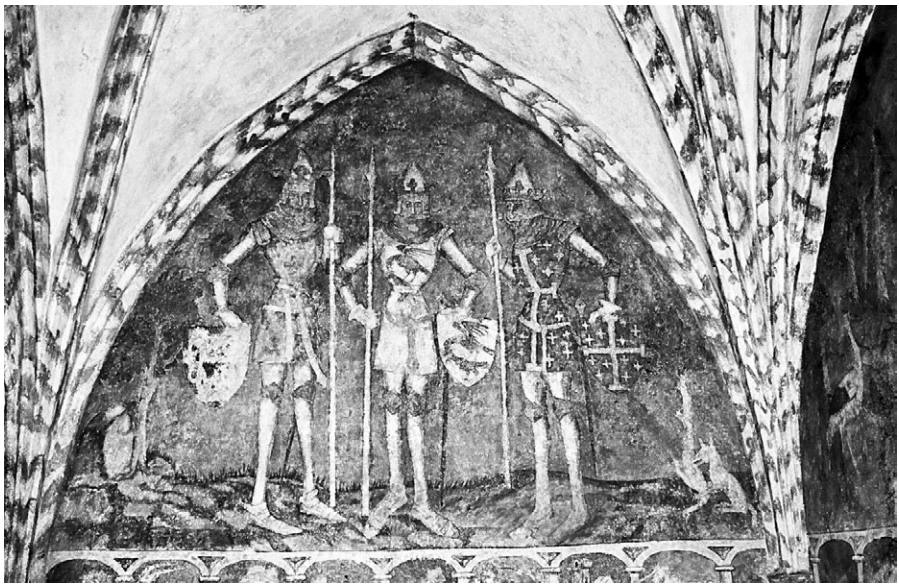

Figure 22. "Nine Worthies," Lochstedt.
Photograph © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, reproduced with permission.

ties, to the frescoes in the pilgrimage church of Juditten, the important Marian shrine near Königsberg.[138] The frescoes at Lochstedt were didactic and depicted stories popular with fourteenth-century chivalric audiences, in addition to imagery from the Old and New Testament.

In the personal room of the castle's commander were worldly models, namely the Nine Worthies, with Charlemagne, King Arthur, and Godfrey of Boullion, pictured in Figure 22. The Nine Worthies included important figures in crusading history and ideology, namely Godfrey of Bouillon and Judas Maccabeus, but also Alexander the Great, King David, and Julius Caesar. Biblical scenes included Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac and the Giving of the Ten Commandments on Mt. Zion (Figure 23), the Crucifixion of Christ, images of St. Christopher, St. George (Figure 24), and St. Michael the Archangel.[139] The visual program at Lochstedt was like that of Marienburg and other shrines in the region, pointing to a wide dissemination of visual material that can be used to reinforce the view of Prussia as a sacral landscape. The private room (*Wohnstube*) in Lochstedt had some parallels of the landscape imagery present at Marienburg and other centres of the Order, noted in Steinbrecht's images. For example, the pointed archways of the room were decorated in green oak leaves, and two scenes presented the imagery of wilderness and an alien landscape that we could apply to the representation of Prussia in

**138** Steinbrecht, *Lochstedt*, 24; Paravicini, PR 1: 305; Herrmann, *Architektur*, 500. One could also make the comparison to the diffusion of religious imagery at the Abbey of Ląd (Poland), see Abramowicz and Poklewski, "Ląd," 293–300.

**139** Steinbrecht, *Lochstedt*, 21.

Figure 23. "Moses Receives the Ten Commandments," Lochstedt.
Photograph © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, reproduced with permission.

the Order's chronicles. Such imagery reinforced the spiritual ideology of the Order in a smaller, localized centre that was not frequented by guests on the *Reisen*.

Images 22–24 demonstrate that landscape, here the imagined landscape expressed in the chronicles, was a theme reflected on a smaller scale within the Order's Prussian territory. Moreover, it also shows a continued use of religious imagery in these smaller places, highlighting that the dissemination of the iconography analyzed above on landscape and the New Testament aspects of the Order's mission were propagated throughout Prussia. The visual culture of the Order played a strong ideological role in reaffirming the sacral nature of the wars that allowed the Order to exist there. A powerful example of this is an image in which Christ emerges from his tomb carrying the banner of the Order, thus reflecting the mission of the Order in Prussia itself and the conversion of the landscape.

The castles and churches of the Teutonic Order in Prussia physically reflected the sacralization of the landscape. As visible structures in the landscape, they were the most physical elements of the long process of Christianization and the propagation of the Teutonic Order's ideology as an institution engaged in physical combat against the enemies of the Church, which came to define its rationale by the end of the fourteenth century. The present chapter has examined this to a deeper extent, considering the spatial significance of the buildings as places in which the Order and its guests sacralized the landscape through rituals. Demonstrated in Chapters 3 and 4, the role of relics and processions by the crusaders in the Baltic sacralized the landscape, but through considering

Figure 24. "St. George Slays the Dragon," Lochstedt.
Photograph © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, reproduced with permission.

the spaces in which these events occurred, the visual culture experienced by those who used the spaces solidified the ideological program of the Order.

In addition to the presence of these structures in the landscape, the role of place-naming reflects a deliberate creative process of a new sacred geography. Through re-siting locations associated with its original mission in the Holy Land, the Order built on this to generate a unique, individual history of its Prussian castles and the new sacred landscape that they dotted. This is specifically true with the castle of Thorn, and the various castles founded by the Order named after the Virgin Mary and Christ. These processes reflected the self-understanding and identity of the Order and, equally as important, the crusaders who journeyed to the Baltic to fight in the Land of the Virgin Mary. Finally, the ideology of the visual elements in one of the Baltic's most important sacral centres, the Chapel of the Virgin at Marienburg, was present in solidifying the spiritual understanding of the Order's physical struggles in the region, framing their history and mission in highly religious terms. The castles and churches of the Order in Prussia, in this light, align with the written evidence concerning the sacralization of the landscape via crusading and armed pilgrimage.

# CONCLUSION

> "So is the cause of my order, to aspire to be the standard bearer of the glory of the Holy Cross to the land of Prussia, to drive out the pagans, as the vine being brought out of Egypt." Conrad of Jungingen, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order.[1]

WRITING TO THE Papal curia in 1395, Conrad of Jungingen sought to have the local anchorite, Dorothea of Montau (d. 1394), recognized as a saint. In one of seven letters concerning Dorothea's canonization, the quotation reflects the continued significance of Prussia and the Baltic region as a new sacred landscape within the written communication of the Teutonic Order.[2] Recalling some of the earliest themes in the Teutonic Order's historical writing (namely the imagery of the vine coming out of Egypt), we see the continuation of the Order's mission with the sacralization of the landscape at the turn of the fifteenth century.

The quote here thus reflects the role of this imagery within the Teutonic Order's collective memory. Although referring to Prussia and the Order's territories there, similar examples survive from Livonia, particularly in the context of the Teutonic Order's correspondence with Rome in 1392, and a letter written to Pope Urban VI in 1381 from the cathedral chapter of Ösel.[3] By the end of the fourteenth century, then, the area had become engrained in the mentality of medieval Europe as a new sacred landscape tied to crusading, situated within an existing framework of historical and literary devices associated with missionary work. However, these frameworks were recast within the context of the crusading movement in this region and reflect its incorporation within the sacred geography of Christianity. Far from language alone, pilgrimage networks and the popularity of crusading in the Baltic by the end of the fourteenth century demonstrate the effect of this concept on transforming the region in the Middle Ages. Castles and churches of the Teutonic Order and the bishoprics of Riga, Ösel, and Warmia, reflected a common view among different groups involved in the creation of this new landscape. Moreover, the combination of the written and visual culture, alongside the employment of Geographical Information Systems (GIS), cements the distinct role played by conceptions of place and landscape in shaping how contemporaries perceived the Baltic region.

The thematic organization of this study traces concepts of place and landscape over five chapters, gradually moving from the written communication of the landscape to its geographical analysis and concluding with a consideration of the visual depictions of this message. Chapter 1 provided a broad survey of the main sources describing the crusades into Livonia and Prussia during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, noting some common themes used to describe the region of the Baltic. Chapter 2 discussed the paganism of the landscape expressed in those sources. Considering the earlier mis-

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**1** *CDP* 5: 78 (no. 64): "…hac de causa ordinem meum signiferum cuius est expertere gloriam Sancte crucis ad terram Prusie exteris nacionibus plenum quasi ad vineam de egipto translatum."

**2** *CDP* 5: 74–6 (no. 62), 76–8 (no. 63), 80 (no. 65), 81–2 (no. 66), 82–4 (no. 67), 84–6 (no. 88).

**3** *LUB* 3: 375–77, here 377 (no. 1170); 644 (no. 1306).

sionary expeditions to Prussia, the crusade chronicles use distinct imagery with respect to landscape that both continued and changed an established tradition. The view of an enemy, pagan belief, served to legitimize the conversion of the landscape, since the Baltic campaigns themselves highlighted the need to convert the pagan peoples living in the region. Chroniclers in both Livonia and Prussia frequently commemorated events tied to the Holy Land crusades and applied them to the wars in the Baltic, placing them in a broader historical concept centred on the liberation of Jerusalem, which could be placed in the pagan landscapes of Livonia and Prussia. The placement of key events of crusading history, such as the loss of the Holy Land in Livonia and in Prussia reflects a historical consciousness, particularly expressed in the Teutonic Order's texts, centred on the sacred landscape in the Holy Land as vital to the verbal expression of crusading ideology in the Baltic. The themes and imagery present in the sources reinforce the concepts of group identity amongst crusaders and members of the Teutonic Order, and how they shaped a distinct concept of a new sacred geography. This revealed the establishment of a specific pattern with respect to describing the expansion of Christendom to the Baltic, laying the foundation for exploring this idea at a spatial level with qualitative GIS.[4]

Chapter 3 focused on martyrdom, hierophanic acts, and how these were used in transforming the landscapes in Livonia and Prussia. Employing the methodology from the concept of the "taskscape," and employing Geographical Information Systems to spatially consider the data, it traces the development of the sacred landscape in the region. The emotional accounts of martyrdom of brothers in the Teutonic Order in Prussia, or pilgrims in Livonia, demonstrates how those qualitative factors apply to landscape by representing them geographically. Letters addressed to potential crusaders, in addition to the commemorative practices surrounding martyrdom in both Livonia and Prussia, reflect this concept. The chapter provided a spatial representation of martyrdom in Livonia and Prussia, highlighting key differences surrounding the rise of "sacral cities" (e.g., the centrality of Riga in Livonia, versus the importance of Thorn, Kulm, Elbing, and Königsberg in Prussia) in both regions. In any case, specific events were pivotal in the communication of the crusades in the written material in each region, specifically with respect to martyrdom.

However, words alone were not the only means with which contemporaries constructed a new sacred landscape in the Baltic region. Objects, rituals, and images were key in communicating this process. As a result, Chapter 4 focused on the objects and rituals that served to reinforce this process, specifically relics and processions. Through analyzing the history of relics in the region it provides a specific representation of pilgrimage routes that emerged by the end of the thirteenth century. This is particularly evident in the case of Prussia, where the cities founded by the Order were repeat locations of martyrdom and hierophanies and housed important relics such as those of St. Barbara at Althaus Kulm, or the relic of the True Cross in Elbing. A distinct relationship between these qualitative components to the texts and specific places in the landscapes of Livonia and Prussia emerges. Set against the backdrop of traditional approaches to the Baltic crusades, this chapter reflects the suitability of new methodological approaches

**4** This is particularly noted in the work of Scandinavian historians. See Introduction.

to examining the spiritual dimensions of those expeditions and how contemporaries engaged with and commemorated them.

Chapter 5 demonstrated how the visual culture of the Teutonic Order's Prussian castles and churches reflects the final process of landscape sacralization defined in this book. Through considering the examples of the Order's visual program expressed in Marienburg, Königsberg, and Lochstedt, the themes concerning landscape and landscape ideology discussed in Chapter 1 were expressed visually. Given that some of these centres, particularly Marienburg and Königsberg, were used by pilgrims and knights in the Order, housed relics, and in some cases were connected to the early martyrdoms and miraculous events in the conquest of the region, the sacralization of landscape in the Baltic comes full circle. The consideration of these themes also demonstrates the new possibilities for scholarship on the visual culture of crusading in the Baltic region. There has been little attempt to analyze the role of landscape in the Order's visual culture, though the concept of landscape sacralization played a key role in the Teutonic Order's historical texts, in addition to the missionary texts produced outside the Order.

The end results and overall contributions of this study can be summarized as follows. The broadest contribution that it makes is to the role of place and landscape within the spirituality of the Teutonic Order and the self-image shared amongst crusaders and brothers in the Order.[5] The propagation in the sources and visual evidence of a new sacral landscape in the Baltic region all can be connected to understandings of place and landscape in the Baltic zone in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The findings presented in this book thus have a broad-reaching spectrum of applications, particularly from a chronological perspective, in terms of how these ideas and concepts developed over the course of a century.[6] In the context of recent academic research, this book demonstrates the growing need to re-assess previous summaries of the Baltic crusades as "religiously- glossed ethnic cleansing." It proposes that the religious imagery of the texts, the visual culture of the regions, and the spatial analysis of this material demonstrates quite the opposite.[7] Often, the new sacral centres created in the Baltic were re-used or incorporated existing pagan settlements, and connected to pivotal events in the region's history, such as martyrdoms, miracles, or the presence of relics. They were not simply obliterated and abandoned, suggesting a more complex, multi-faceted view of the missions and how they shaped contemporary worldviews.[8]

Furthermore, in consulting Livonia and Prussia together, this book demonstrates the key differences in how power structures and land organization differed not only in the economic and political sense, but in how the Baltic lands of the Teutonic Order were perceived with respect to Christianization. Previous work tends to focus on one region or the other. Control of the land was different in Livonia than in Prussia due to the

**5** See Introduction above.

**6** Kahl, *Heidenfrage*, 409–30, here 410–4.

**7** Tyerman, *Crusades*, 47: "The Baltic crusades acted as one more element in a cruel process of Christianization and Germanization, *providing a religious gloss to ethnic cleansing and territorial aggrandizement*."

**8** Zielińska-Melkowska, "Pielgrzymkowe," 242–52.

pre-established division of power between the Order and the Bishops of Riga.[9] Parallels between both regions with respect to the Teutonic Order as a spiritual institution and how it viewed itself as the creator of a sacral landscape still emerge in spite of differences in land administration, particularly with the adoption of the literary themes concerning the vineyard in both areas. While Livonia and Prussia differed in their divisions of power between the Order and church authorities, such as the archbishops of Riga and the bishops of Warmia, the focus on the role of landscape was a defining element of the crusades in both regions. Concepts like martyrdom and elements of pilgrimage, for example, played a similar function in shaping the perceptions of place and landscape in the thirteenth century. The case for further examining parallels in the crusade ideology for both regions can surely be made, particularly with respect to the fifteenth century, where a larger body of written material survives for both regions.

To be sure, the later period considered in this book is perhaps one of the most contradictory manifestations of how contemporary understandings of crusade linked religion and the sacralization of landscapes in the Middle Ages. These wars, the *Reisen*, project the complex and often contradictory nature of holy war at the end of the fourteenth century, and this tends to result in greater interest in their worldly, as opposed to religious, aspects.[10] In analyzing the concept of landscape and taskscapes, fundamental to Chapters 2 and 3, this book proposes a new way of interpreting these expeditions by also linking them with the Order's visual expression of its ideology, which reached its peak at this time. The discussion of the themes and the analysis of the Order's visual culture in the fourteenth century is a topic receiving increased scholarly attention, though the smaller pilgrimage churches have only been addressed in a handful of publications in the last two decades.[11] The iconographical themes provide a continuity to the language analyzed in Chapter 1, which aids in re-assessing the spiritual nature of the later *Reisen* in Lithuania. This connection makes re-considering such evidence particularly useful, since it reflects the Order's ideological program outside of its castles, providing an opportunity to consider the views of pilgrims and crusaders who journeyed to the "Land of the Mother." If the Marian links with the area were an ideological trope, it was a highly effective one, embedded not just in the written ideology of the Order, but also used by crusaders to legitimize the spiritual component of their mission.

Pilgrimage and its nature as seen in the crusades in Livonia and Prussia highlights the implications of the above study. The language of pilgrimage and the use of terms such as *peregrini* are key aspects of crusade ideology, sometimes used to discredit the pilgrimage component of crusading in the Baltic (a land with no shrines sacred to Christianity).[12] Recent scholarship by Burnam Reynolds situates the concept of pilgrimage in the Baltic and its conversion-oriented nature.[13] His work argues for the develop-

**9** See Jähnig, *Verfassung*, 12–32; Murray, "Sword Brothers," 27–38.

**10** Paravicini, PR 3: 525–42.

**11** Paravicini, PR 1: 305–9; Paravicini, "Denkmäler," 75–7; Pluskowski, *Archaeology*, 162–3, 275; Herrmann, *Architektur*; Herrmann, "Wehrhaftigkeit," 91–100.

**12** Urban, *Baltic Crusade*.

**13** Reynolds, *Prehistory*, 154–5.

ment of pilgrimage shrines for future crusaders, and this book builds on this to consider its implications on a broader chronological and thematic scale. Qualitative GIS analysis visually displays the connection between events linked to pilgrimage practices, martyrdom, and miraculous vision, to demonstrate there is a more nuanced version of the pilgrimage landscape.[14] These results lead to the consideration of how this approach to the sources contributes to the growing applications of digital and spatial analyses in the study of the Middle Ages. Keith Lilley has successfully demonstrated the application of these concepts to mental perceptions of city and landscape in medieval Europe. Cities and towns were reflective of medieval perceptions of faith, incorporating highly symbolic layouts and reflecting concepts of religious iconography, especially that of Jerusalem.[15] Lilley's work likewise emphasizes that these concepts are applicable to the crusade movement in the Baltic, a diverse frontier region defined by its holy wars. Geographical Information Systems is valuable for its analysis of landscape and the ideology of the Teutonic Order, and how its visual culture portrays the ideology expressed in its texts concerning landscape. The present book provides not just an analysis of the literary and ideological elements expressed in the texts, but a spatial and geographical representation of them. This lends a new perspective to studies on historical landscapes that utilize qualitative GIS to better understand past societies' connections to landscape. The chroniclers for the Baltic crusades, in both Livonia and in Prussia, reflect a lasting connection to landscape in their placement of miraculous events (*hierophany*), the discovery of relics, and the martyrdom of crusaders.

To conclude, the role of a new sacral landscape in the Baltic played a key role in the ideology of the Teutonic Order not only in Prussia, but also in Livonia, ranging from ideological to spatial and to material expressions. It was through the lens of holy war that all three elements manifest themselves in the written and visual material of the region. Contemporaries viewed holy war as essential to their spiritual mission, in the form of armed pilgrimage and crusading, and created new sacred landscapes within which they could enact these two important components of medieval life. The Teutonic Order was a primary catalyst in this process, for it led the wars on both fronts and provided, ideologically, a connection to the Holy Land in Prussia and Livonia. Engaged in a war against enemies of the church, the Order used this imagery to its advantage in garnering support and maintaining its spiritual identity. Crusaders and participants in these wars likewise used it to shape their construct of "place" while on their seasonal campaigns. Landscape sacralization was a key factor in defining, propagating, and portraying the crusades in the Baltic region during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, reflected in the introductory quotation to this book: "Also pray for all of the land, which formerly lay in paganism, that God shall help it with his might and power."

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**14** See above, Chapter 3.

**15** Lilley, *City and Cosmos*, 78–130; Lilley, "Cities of God?" 296–313, at 298–300 for "iconographical geographies."

# CONCORDANCE OF PLACENAMES

| German | Polish | Russian | Lithuanian | Latvian | Estonian |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Althaus | Starogród | — | — | — | — |
| Arnau | — | Rodniki | Arnava | — | — |
| Ascheraden | — | — | — | Aizkraukle | — |
| Asywiote | — | — | Užventis | — | — |
| Balga | — | Vesyeloe | — | — | — |
| Birgelau | Bierzgłowo | — | — | — | — |
| Brabath | — | — | — | — | — |
| Brandenburg | — | Ushakovo | — | — | — |
| Braunsberg | Braniewo | — | — | — | — |
| Breslau | Wrocław | — | — | — | — |
| Colayne | — | — | Kolainiai? | — | — |
| Cosleykin | — | — | Kelmė? | — | — |
| Christburg | Dzierzgoń | — | — | — | — |
| Christmemel | — | — | Skirsnemunė | — | — |
| Danzig | Gdańsk | — | — | — | — |
| Deutsch Eylau | Iława | — | — | — | — |
| Dorpat | — | — | — | — | Tartu |
| Dünamünde | — | — | — | Daugavgrīva | — |
| Durben | — | — | Durbė | Durbe | — |
| Elbing | Elbląg | — | — | — | — |
| Engelsburg | Pokrszywno | — | — | — | — |
| Fellin | — | — | — | — | Viljandi |
| Fischhausen | — | Primorsk | — | — | — |
| Frauenburg | Frombork | — | — | — | — |
| Frauenburg | — | — | — | — | Vastseliina |
| Garten | Grodno | Hrodna | Gardinas | — | — |
| Georgenburg | — | Mayovka | Jurburkas | — | — |
| Gerdauen | Gierdawy | Zheleznodorozhny | Girdava | — | — |
| Gnesen | Gniezno | — | — | — | — |
| Goldingen | — | — | — | Kuldīga | — |
| Gollub | Gollub–Dobrzyń | — | — | — | — |
| Graudenz | Grudziądz | — | — | — | — |
| Heiligenbeil | Świętomiejsce | Mamnowo | Šventapilė | — | — |
| Heiligenberg | — | — | — | Svētkalns | — |

| German | Polish | Russian | Lithuanian | Latvian | Estonian |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Heiligenkreutz | — | Krasnotorovka | Vyskupininkai | — | — |
| Heilsberg | Lidzbark Warmiński | — | — | — | — |
| Holme | — | — | — | Mārtiņsala | — |
| Insterburg | Wystruć | Chernyakhovsk | Įsrutis | — | — |
| Johannisburg | Pisz | — | — | — | — |
| Juditten | — | Mendelejewo | — | — | — |
| Junigeda | — | — | Veliuona | — | — |
| Karmel | — | — | — | — | Kaarma |
| Karris | — | — | — | — | Karja |
| Karuse | — | — | — | — | Karuse |
| Kaunas | — | — | Kaunas | — | — |
| Kokenhusen | — | — | — | Koknese | — |
| Königsberg | — | Kaliningrad | — | — | — |
| Kreuzburg | — | Slavskoye | — | — | — |
| Kreuzburg | — | — | — | Krustpils | — |
| Kulm | Chełmno | — | — | — | — |
| Kulmsee | Chełmża | — | — | — | — |
| Łekno | Łekno | — | — | — | — |
| Labiau | — | Polessk | — | — | — |
| Löbenicht | — | — | — | — | — |
| Lochstedt | — | Pawlowo | — | — | — |
| Marienburg | Malbork | — | — | — | — |
| Marienburg | — | — | Veliuona | — | — |
| Marienburg | — | — | — | Aluksne | — |
| Marienwerder | Kwidzyn | — | — | — | — |
| Marienwerder | — | — | Kaunas? | — | — |
| Medenau | — | Logvino | Medeneva | — | — |
| Memel | — | — | Klaipėda | — | — |
| Metsepole | — | — | — | — | Häädemeeste |
| Mewe | Gniew | — | — | — | — |
| Moon | — | — | — | — | Muhu |
| Nessau | Nieszawa | — | — | — | — |
| Neuhausen | — | Gurjewsk | — | — | — |
| Oliva | Oliwa | — | — | — | — |
| Ösel | — | — | — | — | Saaremaa |

| German | Polish | Russian | Lithuanian | Latvian | Estonian |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Osterode | Ostróda | — | — | — | — |
| Oukaym | — | — | Aukaimis | — | — |
| Pisten | — | — | Pieštvė | — | — |
| Pobethen | — | Romanowo | Pobėtai | — | — |
| Poszyli | — | — | Poszyli | — | — |
| Pöide | — | — | — | — | Pöide |
| Quedenau | — | Sewernaja Gora | — | — | — |
| Ragnit | — | Neman | — | — | — |
| Rehden | Radzyń Chełmiński | — | — | — | — |
| Reval | — | — | — | — | Tallinn |
| Riesenburg | Prabuty | — | — | — | — |
| Riesenkirch | Prabuty | — | — | — | — |
| Riga | — | — | — | Riga | — |
| Rößel | Reszel | — | — | — | — |
| Rudau | — | Melnikowo | Rudava | — | — |
| Saule | — | — | Jauniūnai? | — | — |
| Schlochau | Człuchów | — | — | — | — |
| Schönsee | Kowolewo Pomorskie | — | — | — | — |
| Sontagana | — | — | — | — | Soontagana |
| Starkenberg | — | Krasny Bór | — | — | — |
| Starkenberg | Słup | — | — | — | — |
| Strasburg | Brodnica | — | — | — | — |
| Streba | — | — | Streba | — | — |
| Tannenberg | Grunwald | — | Žalgiris | — | — |
| Tapiau | Tapiewo | Gwardeisk | Tepliuva | — | — |
| Tenkitten | — | Beregovoe? | — | — | — |
| Thorn | Toruń | — | — | — | — |
| Treiden | — | — | — | Turaida | — |
| Üxküll | — | — | — | Ikšķile | — |
| Velun | — | — | — | Veliuona | — |
| Wehlau | — | Znamensk | — | — | — |
| Wenden | — | — | — | Cēsis | — |
| Ymera | — | — | — | Rubene | — |

Appendix

# RELICS IN THE BALTIC REGION (THIRTEENTH TO SIXTEENTH CENTURIES)

THE TABLE ON the following pages lists the relics mentioned in the sources for the Baltic crusades from the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries. Its main focus concerns the places listed in this book, and the role played by commanderies of the Teutonic Order as sacral centres. As such, it is not comprehensive, as many indulgences aimed at the local population indicate the importance of relics to local religious life. It provides the date, location, and individual relics listed in the chronicles and the registers taken by the Order. These registers were first taken in the mid- to late fourteenth century.[1] However, as this appendix shows, relics and crusading in the Baltic go hand in hand: while most entries in this table are only mentioned after the end of the scope of this study, the early accounts of relics demonstrate their importance to the missions from the initial conquest period. During the high point of the *Reisen*, there were quite a large variety of relics kept throughout the Order's territory. Given that crusaders travelled to Prussia along a standard route of centres discussed in Chapter 4, the appendix shows the likelihood that crusaders and members of the Order venerated a rich variety of relics whilst on campaign. Though the scope of this appendix goes well beyond that of this book, later inventories were included for two reasons. The first is that it was primarily at the end of the fourteenth century when these inventories began to be compiled. The second is to attempt to demonstrate the impact of these sacral objects on the surrounding landscape over time.

1 See *GÄ*, x–xi.

| Place | Date | Relics | Ref. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Riga** | 1203 | *Reliquiae* | *HCL*, 20 (7.2) |
| **Riga** | 1211 | *Reliquiae* | *LUB* 1: 29 (no. 21) |
| **Elbing** | 1233 | *magna pars sancte crucis…misit ad castrum Elbingum* | *PDC*, 52 (1.5) |
| **Althaus** | 1242 | *caput beate Barbare virginis et martiris* | *PDC*, 138–40 (3.36) |
| **Thorn** | 1263 | *sancta crucis sicut et aliorum predictorum reliquie* | *CDW* 1: 82 (no. 45) |
| **Marienwerder** | 1270 | *imagines sanctorum* | *PDC*, 270 (3.148) |
| **Rehden** | 1285 | *nova ecclesia sanctae crucis* | *PrUB* 1.2: 292–3 (no. 458) |
| **Königsberg** | 1306 | *Reliquias sancti Ruperti* | *PDC*, 4.101 |
| **Christmemel** | 1313 | *processio reliquiarum* | *PDC*, 426 (3.315) |
| **Heiligenkreutz** | 1325 | *nova ecclesia sanctae crucis* | *UB Samland* 3: 292 (no. 425) |
| **Frombork** | 1355? | *Brachium sancti Adalberti* | *SRP* 2, 420. |
| **Marienburg** | 1358 | *lignum sancte crucis* | *Gesch. Marien.*, 537 |
| **Brandenburg** | 1375 | *ymagine cum reliquiis…sancte Katharine* | Wigand, 598 |
| **Brathean** | 1379 | *das heilige crucze* | *GÄ*, 361 |
| | 1379 | *1 monstrancia* | |
| | 1386 | *2 monstrancien* | |
| **Juditten** | 1389 | *unser liben frawen* | *ÄH*, 615 |
| **Brandenburg** | 1389 | *sinte Katherinen* | *ÄH*, 616 |
| **Marienburg** | 1394 | *30 stocke an monstrancien* | *MÄ*, 124 |
| | | *sente Agathen houbt* | |
| | | *das heilige crucze* | |
| | | *gy grose silbrynne obirgulde taufel* | |
| | | *6 monstrancien und 1 houbt* | |
| | | *1 crucze mit dem heiligen holcze* | |
| | | *3 monstrancien und 2 crucze* | |
| | | *1 holczin tofelen mit heiligetume* | |
| **Graudenz** | Aug. 11, 1398 | *1 silberyn tafelchin mit heilgethum* | *GÄ*, 597 |
| **Marienburg** | Nov. 1, 1398 | *1 crucz* | *MÄ*, 125 |
| **Gerdauen** | Nov. 1, 1402 | *eyne tofel mit heilgethum* | *GÄ*, 67 |
| **Christburg** | Mar. 30, 1410 | *3 houbte heylithum* | *GÄ*, 132 |
| | | *eyne sakke ouch heylithum* | |

| Place | Date | Relics | Ref. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Thorn** | June 16, 1410 | *Lignum sancte Crucis* | *UB Culm* 1: 371 (no. 468) |
| **Rehden** | June 27, 1411 | *ewangelarium mit heiligethum* | *GÄ*, 564 |
| | | *2 cleyne solberynne crucze* | |
| | | *3 solberynne monstrancien und 1 kopperyn* | |
| | | *1 strusey mit heiligethum* | |
| | | *1 holczen hewpt mit heiligethum* | |
| | | *1 holczen touffel mit heiligethum* | |
| **Osterode** | Oct. 18, 1411 | *eyne monstrancie von send Segemunt* | *GÄ*, 328 |
| | | *eyn ewangelienbuch mit heiligethum* | |
| | | *eyne monstrancie send Helenen* | |
| | | *send Mertinsbilde* | |
| | | *1 monstrancie send Katherinen* | |
| | | *1 cleyne monstrancie* | |
| | | *1 heupt sind Huperti* | |
| | | *2 crucze ** | |
| | | *1 hewpt von den 11 000 juncfrouwen* | |
| **Rehden** | Oct. 28, 1411 | *2 taffel mit heilgethun* | *GÄ*, 564–5 |
| | | *1 hulczen houpt mit heilgethun und andir heilgethum unvorworcht* | |
| **Schönsee** | 1411 | *2 cleyne silberynne crucze* | *GÄ*, 414 |
| | | *1 cleyn copperin crucze* | |
| | | *2 houbt heilgethums* | |
| | | *1 corporalentafel mit heiligthum* | |
| | | *1 silberin bilde Katherine* | |
| **Balga** | Nov. 11, 1412 | *1 sulbern toffel mit heyligthum* | *GÄ*, 160 |
| | | *2 grose monstranczien* | |
| | | *1 gros sulberen crucze* | |
| | | *1 butel mit heyligethum* | |
| **Ragnit** | Nov. 25, 1412 | *1 monstrancie mit eyner cleynen buchsen* | *GÄ*, 268 |
| | | *5 monstrancien silberyn cleyn und gros* | |
| **Althaus** | 1412 | *1 solberinne crucze* | *GÄ*, 503 |
| | | *6 solberinne monstranczien* | |
| | | *1 ewangeliumbuch mit heilgethum* | |

| Place | Date | Relics | Ref. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Thorn** | May 13, 1413 | *1 silberyn sancti Victoris* | *GÄ*, 434 |
| | | *eyne silberyn tofel* | |
| | | *2 silberyn crucze* | |
| | | *4 silberyn monstrancien* | |
| **Graudenz** | May 14, 1413 | *2 crucze mit heyligethum* | *GÄ*, 598 |
| | | *1 houpt de sancta Cristina* | *GÄ*, 600 |
| | | *1 silberyn obirgolt hopt* | |
| | | *2 pectoralia eyn gros und eyn cleyns mit heiligethum* | |
| | | *1 obirgolte touffel mit heiligethum* | |
| | | *1 brillenbuchse mit heyligthum* | |
| | | *3 monstrancien mit heyligthum* | |
| | | *1 cleyne monstrancie de sancto Huperto* | |
| | | *1 hopt von den 11 000 jungfrauwen* | |
| **Gollub** | Nov. 23, 1413 | *2 sulberynne crucze* | *GÄ*, 402 |
| | | *1 silberynne monstrancia* | |
| | | *1 kopperynne* [monstrancia] | |
| | | *1 silberynne sante Katherinenbilde* | |
| | | *1 veschen mit heiligethum* | |
| | | *2 houpt heiligethum, 1 Otilie, das ander Mobilie* | *GÄ*, 403 |
| **Neumark** | June 27, 1413 | *1 vorgult crucze* | *GÄ*, 770 |
| | | *eyner lade heyligethum* | |
| **Roggenhausen** | Jan. 9, 1414 | *2 crucze von koppir* | *GÄ*, 540 |
| | | *eyn cleyn crucze* | |
| **Engelsberg** | May 22, 1414 | *2 silberynne obirgolte crucze in der kirche* | *GÄ*, 589 |
| | | *2 monstrancien, dy eyne mit heiligethum* | |
| | | *1 copperynne monstrancie mit heiligethum* | |
| **Birgelau** | June 19, 1415 | *2 kopperyn crucze* | *GÄ*, 489 |
| | | *eyn kopperyn arm* | |
| | | *2 cleyne kopperyn monstrancien* | |
| | | *1 cleyn silberyn cruczchin* | |
| **Roggenhausen** | 1415 | *3 cleyn crucze* | *GÄ*, 542 |

| Place | Date | Relics | Ref. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Mewe** | June 7, 1416 | *1 crucze mit heiligethum* | *GÄ*, 743 |
| | | *eyne lange monstranczie zcu dem sacramento mit heilgethum* | |
| | | *Sente Huperten bilde silberyn vorguld* | |
| | | *eyn driekechte monstrancie* | |
| | | *1 cleyne monstrancie mit corporalen heiligethum* | |
| | | *1 cleyne monstrancie mit dorinne 2 toffeln mit heiligethum* | |
| | | *1 ledechin mit heiligethum* | |
| **Danzig** | Nov 12., 1416 | *eyn grose monstrancia mit dry bilden* | *GÄ*, 693 |
| | | *1 grose monsrtancie mit eyner bilden und heiligethum* | *GÄ*, 694 |
| | | *eyn gros silberyn crucze* | |
| | | *2 silberyn touffelen mit heiligethum* | |
| | | *eyn silberyn pectorale mit heiligethum* | |
| **Nessau** | Nov. 18, 1416 | *1 crucze* | *GÄ*, 481 |
| | | *1 capud Enfemie cum corona* | |
| | | *1 monstrancie* | |
| | | *1 touffel mit reliquien* | |
| **Schönsee** | Nov. 24, 1416 | *eyne touffel mit heiligethum* | *GÄ*, 416 |
| **Memel** | Sept. 2, 1416 | *1 monstrancia cum reliquiis* | *GÄ*, 307 |
| | | *3 cleine kasten ane heiligethum* | |
| **Christburg** | Sept. 26, 1416 | *1 silberynne schibe mit heiligethum* | *GÄ*, 133 |
| | | *eyn buch mit heiligethum* | |
| | | *Sente Huwpertus bilde silberyn* | |
| | | *Sente Katherynen bilde silberyn* | |
| **Engelsberg** | May 29, 1417 | *2 monstrancien* | *GÄ*, 543 |
| | | *eyn crucze* | |
| | | *1 borstynynne touffel* | |
| **Christburg** | Sept. 1, 1418 | *eyne silberynne scheibe mit heiligethum* | *GÄ*, 134 |
| | | *1 buch mit heiligethum* | |
| | | *Sente Hupertus silberyn* | |
| | | *Sente Catherinen bilde sibleryn* | |
| **Ragnit** | Jan. 20, 1419 | *1 toffil mit heilgethum* | *GÄ*, 276 |
| | | *1 benete palle czum heiligen crucze* | |

| Place | Date | Relics | Ref. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Tannenberg** | Nov. 22, 1419 | *1 cleine monstrancia* | *GÄ*, 360 |
| | | *2 silberyn cruczchin* | |
| | | *eyn toffelin mit heiligethum* | |
| **Memel** | Oct. 9, 1420 | *1 silberyn monstrancie cum reliquiis sancti Sebastiani* | *GÄ*, 308 |
| | | *1 silberyn heupr sancte Margarete* | |
| **Danzig** | Oct. 13, 1420 | *item [1] unser liben frawen bilde* | *GÄ*, 698 |
| **Königsberg** | Jan. 10, 1422 | *1 silber toffil mit heilgethum* | *GÄ*, 20 |
| | | *3 hewpte mit reliquien* | |
| | | *1 silberynne tofil mit heilgethum* | |
| | | *1 holczyn heupt mit heilgethum* | |
| **Thorn** | Jan. 21, 1422 | *1 vyregkechte toffil silberyn mit heiligethum* | *GÄ*, 438 |
| | | *1 silberynne lange toffil mit mancherley heilgetum* | |
| **Christburg** | Mar. 10, 1422 | *1 scheibe mit heilgethum* | *GÄ*, 136 |
| | | *1 buch mit heilgethum* | |
| | | *1 grose monstrancia mit heilgetum* | |
| **Königsberg** | Mar. 15, 1422 | *1 tafel mit heilgethum* | *GÄ*, 21 |
| | | *3 hewpte mit reliquien* | |
| **Mewe** | Mar. 17, 1422 | *2 holczene toffiln mit heilgethum* | *GÄ*, 745 |
| **Königsberg** | Oct. 25, 1425 | *eyn hulczin heupt mit heilgethum* | *GÄ*, 28 |
| **Schwetz** | July 3, 1427 | *eyne silberynne thoffel obergoldet mit heilgthum* | *GÄ*, 623 |
| | | *eyn grosze monstrancia* | |
| | | eyn grôs *silberyn crucze mit edlem gesteyne* | |
| | | *eyen cleyn monstrancia silberyn* | |
| | | *zinthe Katherin holczin bilde mit eynem silberynnem rade obergoldet* | |
| | | *2 cleyne beynyne bochschin mit heilgthum* | |
| | | *2 ledechin mit leder oberczogin mit heilgthum* | |
| | | *3 houbte heilgthum* | |
| **Danzig** | Nov. 21, 1428 | *eyn vorspan mit heiligthum* | *GÄ*, 704 |
| | | *Senthe Elyzabet und Barbara gesnytczte bilde mit erem heiligthum* | |

| Place | Date | Relics | Ref. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Strasburg** | Nov. 30, 1428 | *eyn silberin crucze ane fus* | *GÄ*, 388 |
| | | *1 silberin Upertus* | |
| | | *2 copperin toufeln mit heiligtum* | |
| | | *eyn monstrancia mit heilgthum* | |
| **Lochstedt** | Dec. 28, 1429 | *2 crucze* | *GÄ*, 46 |
| | | *2 monstrancen* | |
| **Königsberg** | 1431 | *1 grose toffel mit heiligethum* | *GÄ*, 29 |
| | | *czwei swarcze strawsseyer inne mit heilgethum* | |
| | | *czwei ladechen mit heiligethum* | |
| | | *1 ewangelarium mit heilgethum* | |
| | | *das grose heilge crewze* | |
| **Graudenz** | Jan. 14, 1434 | *1 new silbryn crewcz* | *GÄ*, 604 |
| | | *3 buchsen mit heiligethum* | |
| | | *2 brillen mit heilgethum* | *GÄ*, 605 |
| **Christburg** | April 6, 1434 | *1 silbrin scheibelechte tafil mit heiligthum* | *GÄ*, 139 |
| | | *1 crewcze silberin monstrancz* | *GÄ*, 140 |
| | | *3 kopperin mit heiligthum* | |
| **Königsberg** | April 6, 1434 | *1 gros tept sente Ruprechts heilgethum* | *GÄ*, 32 |
| | | *1 grose taffel mit heilgethum* | |
| | | *1 ewangelarium mit heilgethum* | |
| | | *das grosse heilige crewcze* | |
| | | *4 cleyne monstranczen mit heiligethum* | |
| | | *2 ledechen mit heiligethum* | |
| **Althaus** | June 22, 1434 | *1 silberin crewcz mit dem heiligen holcze* | *GÄ*, 507 |
| | | *1 buch mit silber beleit ful heiligthum* | |
| | | *1 burnsteyn Barbara mit eyner silberin crone* | |
| **Königsberg** | Oct. 17, 1436 | *sinte Ruprechts hilgethum* | *GÄ*, 34 |
| | | *1 grosse touffel mit hilgethum* | |
| | | *1 ewangelarium mit hilgethum* | |
| | | *das grosse heilige crewcz* | |
| | | *4 cleinen monstrancien mit heiligthum* | |

| Place | Date | Relics | Ref. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Marienburg** | Mar. 26, 1437 | *das bilde unser liben frawen* | *MÄ*, 126 |
| | | *grossen crucze doe ouch heilgethum inne ist* | |
| | | *eyn gros silbereyn crucze, doe das grosse heilge holtcz inne ist und sust ander heilgethum* | *MÄ*, 129 |
| | | *eyn cleyn crucze gantcz goldyn, doe ouch vom heilgen holtcz inne ist und ander heilgethum* | |
| | | *eyn bilde Katherin virginis* | |
| | | *eyn bilde Barbare virginis* | |
| | | *eyn kynbacke Anthonny martiris* | |
| | | *eyn stucke von sancte Elyzabeth arm* | |
| | | *eyn houpt Eufemie virginis* | |
| | | *eyne Veronica mit silber beleget und besaczt mit kostelechem edelem gesteyne* | |
| | | *eyn holtczen Jorgenbilde mit heilgethum* | *MÄ*, 130 |
| | | *eyn holtczen towffel mit heilgethum* | |
| **Brathean** | Dec. 21, 1437 | *1 silbern crucze* | *GÄ*, 370 |
| | | *1 silberne Katherina* | |
| | | *1 silberne Barbara* | |
| | | *2 silbern scheiben mit heiligthum* | |
| | | *1 samptbutel mit heiligthum* | *GÄ*, 371 |
| | | *1 blechen ledichen mit heiligthum* | |
| | | *1 hulczen tofel mit heiligthum* | |
| **Osterode** | 1437 | *eyn palle zcu dem heiligen crucze* | *GÄ*, 331 |
| | | *1 houpt heiligethum* | |
| | | *1 virkant glas mit eynem silbern reyfen dorunder ist heiligethum* | |
| | | *1 obirgolt kesteleyn dorinne ist sinte Katherinen und ander heiligetum* | |
| **Tapiau** | 1437 | *1 toffel mit heiligthum* | *GÄ*, 59 |
| | | *3 houpte mit heiligthum* | |
| **Gerdauen** | 1437 | *1 toffel mit reliquien* | *GÄ*, 68 |
| **Balga** | 1437 | *2 brillen mit reliquien ane silber* | *GÄ*, 167 |
| | | *2 buthel mit reliquien* | |
| | | *1 kopperyn ledichen mit reliquien* | |

| Place | Date | Relics | Ref. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Brandenburg** | 1437 | *1 gros gulden crucze* | *GÄ*, 232 |
| | | *sente Katherynenbilde* | |
| | | *1 grosze monstranze* | |
| | | *1 silbern toffel mit heiligthum* | |
| | | *5 holczin toffelchin mit heiligthum* | |
| | | *1 silbern houbt Huperti* | |
| | | *1 silbern monstrancia mit heiligthum* | |
| | | *3 laden mit heilgthum* | |
| **Königsberg** | 1437 | *sinte Ruprechts heiligthum* | *GÄ*, 38 |
| | | *1 grosze toffell mit heilgthum* | *GÄ*, 39 |
| | | *1 ewangelarium mit heiligthum* | |
| | | *das grose heilige crucze* | |
| | | *4 cleyne monstranczen mit heiligthum* | |
| | | *1 gros tept sente Ruprechts heiligethum* | *GÄ*, 40 |
| | | *1 grose tofel mit heiligtum* | |
| | | *1 ewangelarium mit heiligethum* | |
| | | *1 gros heilige crucze* | |
| | | *4 cleyne monstrancien mit heiligethum* | |
| **Strasburg** | 1437 | *1 ledichen mit heiligthum* | *GÄ*, 391 |
| | | *3 schedel mit heiligthum* | |
| **Thorn** | 1437 | *1 gros silberyn crucze* | *GÄ*, 450 |
| **Schlochau** | 1437 | *1 brille, do ist heiligthum inne* | *GÄ*, 666 |
| | | *1 holczin toufel mit heiligthum* | |
| | | *1 kleyn ledechin mit heyligthum* | |
| | | *1 gancz hewpt sancte Patroplien der juncfrawen* | |
| **Brathean** | Oct. 18, 1439 | *1 sulbern bilde unser frawen* | *GÄ*, 372 |
| | | *1 holczynne towfell mit heilgethum* | |
| | | *1 toffel von holcze darin ist gemolt eyn creucze mit und 1 Maria* | |
| **Elbing** | May 8, 1440 | *3 silberne toffeln gros und cleyn mit heiligthum* | *GÄ*, 93 |
| | | *1 holczin tofelchen mit heilgethum* | |
| | | *sente Margerethen houbt* | |
| **Balga** | July 4, 1441 | *2 brillen mit reliquien ane solber* | *GÄ*, 171 |
| | | *1 cleyne copperynne monstrancze* | *GÄ*, 172 |
| | | *2 beutel mit reliquien* | |
| | | *1 copperin ledechin mit reliquien* | |

| Place | Date | Relics | Ref. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Roggenhausen** | Nov. 13, 1442 | *4 crewcze* | *GÄ*, 552 |
| | | *3 monstranczen* | |
| | | *1 silbern buchse* | |
| **Danzig** | 1446 | *5 monstrancien* | *GÄ*, 712 |
| | | *eyn Barbarenbilde silberyn* | |
| **Danzig** | Jan. 25, 1447 | *1 gros monstrancie, do steet sant Elizabeth inne* | *GÄ*, 715 |
| | | *2 silberin unsir liben frawen bilde* | |
| **Brandenburg** | 1447 | *1 gros guldin krewcze* | *GÄ*, 237 |
| | | *sant Katherinenbilde* | |
| | | *1 grosse monstrancze* | |
| | | *1 silberynne monstrancie mit heiligthum* | |
| | | *1 silberyn houpt Huperti* | |
| | | *1 silberynne monstrancie mit heiligthum* | |
| | | *5 holczene toffeln mit heyligethum* | |
| | | *3 laden mit heiligetum* | |
| **Juditten** | 1475 | *3 oscularia in deme einen ist de ligno vite*<br>*Ein römisch anthz mit anderm heilgethüme*<br>*1 toffel mit heiligethume* | GStA, XX. HA, OBA Nr. 16589[2] |
| **Neidenburg** | 1507 | *1 silbern monnstrancz* | *GÄ*, 358 |
| **Osterode** | 1507 | *1 silbern vorgult finger sanct Martini* | *GÄ*, 343 |
| **Pr. Mark** | 1507 | *1 silbern taffeln und ein brust salvatoris mit reliquien* | *GÄ*, 146 |
| | | *1 silbern ewangelienbuch mit reliquien* | |
| | | *1 ubergult taffeln mit reliquien* | |
| | | *1 silbern bilt sancte Katherinen ubergult* | |
| | | *1 bilde sancti Huperti mit reliquien* | |
| **Soldau** | 1507 | *1 monstrantz kuppern ubergult* | *GÄ*, 351 |
| **Pr. Holland** | 1508 | *1 brillenvas mit heilgthum* | *GÄ*, 109 |
| **Pr. Holland** | June 7, 1518 | *1 silbern brillen mit heilthum* | *GÄ*, 111 |
| **Lochstedt** | 16th century | *2 holtzen buchsen mit heiligthum* | *GÄ*, 52 |
| | | *1 samat bewtel mit heilgthum* | |
| | | *1 gros silbern pacifical mit vil heiligtumb* | |
| | | *2 holtzen tafeln mit vil heiligtumb* | |

**2** An inventory of Juditten Church, dated 1475.

# ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

*ABGH* *Magistri Adam Bremensis gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. Bernhard Schmeidler, in *SS rer. Germ.* 4, 1–283. Hannover: Hahn, 1919.

*ACS* *Arnoldi chronica Slavorum*, ed. J.M. Lappenberg, in *SS rer. Germ.* 14. Hannover: Hahn, 1868.

*ÄH* "Die ältere Hochmeisterchronik," ed. Max Töppen, in *SRP* 3, 540–637.

Bruno "Vita secunda auctore Brunone archiepiscopo," ed. Pertz, in *MGH SS* 4, 596–612. Hannover: Hahn, 1841.

*CCWMBF* *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier: A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, ed. Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi and Carsten Selch Jensen. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

*Clash of Cultures* *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, ed. Alan V. Murray. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.

*CDP* *Codex diplomaticus Prussicus. Urkunden-Sammlung zur älteren Geschichte Preußens aus dem Königl. Geheim-Archiv zu Königsberg nebst Regesten*, ed. Johannes Voigt, 6 vols. Königsberg: Bornträger, 1836–1861.

*CDW* *Codex diplomaticus Warmiensis oder Regesten und Urkunden zur Geschichte Ermlandes*, ed. Carl Peter Woelky and Johann Martin Saage, 4 vols. Braunsberg & Leipzig: Eduard Peter, 1860–1935.

*Crusade and Conversion* *Crusade and Conversion on the Medieval Baltic Frontier, 1150–1500*, ed. Alan V. Murray. London: Routledge, 2017.

DOZA *Deutschordens Zentralarchiv*, Vienna.

*DT* *Descriptiones terrarum*, in Marvin L. Colker, "America Rediscovered in the Thirteenth Century?" *Speculum* 54, Nr. 4 (Oct. 1979): 712–26.

*GÄ* *Das grosse Ämterbuch des Deutschen Ordens. Mit Ünterstutzung des Vereins für die Herstellung und Ausschmückung der Marienburg*, ed. Walther Ziesemer, Danzig: Kaffemann, 1921.

GNM *Germanisches Nationalmuseum*, Nuremberg

GP Johannes Voigt, *Geschichte Preußens, von den ältesten Zeit bis zum Untergange der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, 9 vols. Königsberg: Bornträger, 1827–1839.

GStA PK *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, Berlin

GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA *XX Hauptabtheilung, Ordensbriefarchiv*

GStA PK, XX. HA, OF *XX Hauptabtheilung, Ordensfolianten*

HAStK, Best. *Historische Staatsarchiv Köln, Bestandbezeichnung*, Cologne.

*HCL* *Heinrici chronicon Livoniae*, ed. Leonid Arbusow and Albert Bauer. Hannover: Hahn, 1955.

*History of the Crusades* *History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton et al., 6 vols. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969–1975.

*HvSB* "Herrmann von Salzas Bericht über die Eroberung Preussens," ed. Theodor Hirsch, *SRP* 5, 159–68.

*HWC* *Hermanni de Wartberge chronicon Livoniae*, ed. Ernst Strehlke, in *SRP* 2, ed. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen and Ernst Strehlke, 21–116. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1863.

John Canaparius "Vita antiquior auctore Iohanne Canaprio," ed. Pertz, in *MGH SS* 4, 581–95. Hannover: Hahn, 1841.

*KvP* *Di Kronike von Pruzinlant des Nicolaus v. Jeroschin,* ed. Ernst Strehlke, *SRP* 1, 291–648. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1861.

*LUB* *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. Friedrich Georg von Bunge et al., 9 vols. Reval: Kluge, 1853–1900.

*LR* *Livländische Reimchronik*, ed. Leo Meyer. Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1876.

*LW* *Die littauischen Wegeberichte*, in *SRP* 2, 632–731.

*MÄ* *Das Marienburger Ämterbuch*, ed. Walther Ziesemer. Danzig: Kaffeamann, 1916.

*MGH* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. G.H. Pertz, et al. Hannover: 1826–present.

*MO* *The Military Orders: Proceedings of the London Centre for the Study of the Crusades and the Religious Military Orders and the Latin East* 6 vols. London: Routledge, 1994–present.

*PDC* *Petri de Dusburg Chronica terre Prussie*, ed. Klaus Scholz and Dieter Wojtecki. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984.

*PL* *Patrologia cursus completus. Series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. Paris: Migne, 1844–1865.

PR Werner Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels*, (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989 & 1995; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019). 3 volumes to date.

*PrUB* *Preussisches Urkundenbuch. Politische Abtheilung*, ed. Rudolf Philippi and August Seraphim et al, 6 vols. Königsberg: Hartnungsche Verlagsdruckerei, 1882–present.

*SDO* *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den Ältesten Handschriften*, ed. Max Perlbach. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1890.

*SRP* *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum: Die Geschichtsquellen der Preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft*, ed. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, Ernst Strehlke et al., 6 vols. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1861–1968.

*SS* *MGH Scriptores (in Folio)*, ed. Pertz, et al. Hannover: Hahn, 1826–present.

*SS Dt. Chron.* *MGH Scriptores. Deutsche Chroniken*, ed. J.M. Lappenberg et al. Hannover: Hahn, 1861–present.

*SS rer. Germ.* *MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex monumentis Germanie historicis separatim editi*, ed. J.M. Lappenberg et al. Hannover: Hahn, 1861–present.

*Sacred Space* *Sacred Space in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia*, ed. Jarosław Wenta and Magdalena Kopczyńska. Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 2013.

*TOT* *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici ex tabularii regii Berolinensis codice potissimum*, ed. Ernst Strehlke. Berlin: Weidmann, 1869.

*UB Samland* *Urkundenbuch des Bistums Samland*, eds. Carl Peter Woelky and Hans Mendthal, 3 vols. Leipzig: Dunker and Humboldt, 1891–1905.

Wigand "Die Chronik Wigands von Marburg," ed. Theodor Hirsch, *SRP* 2, 429–662.

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# INDEX

The general index presented here lists people, places, and key terms. In addition to a person's occupation (e.g., "herald," "Grand Master," or "Grand Marshal"), subheadings indicate their relevance to themes addressed in the book. Anonymous texts, such as the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, are grouped within the index of people. Places connected to pilgrimage shrines, hierophanies, or battles also have subheadings. Key terms were selected along the lines of highlighting significant topics addressed in the book. Page numbers in italics refer to illustrations (maps and figures). Page numbers directly next to a term imply general references to it in the book.