

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

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 Arsyński, "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 gratiam 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

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; Arsyński, “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 visibility and metaphor expressed in written records documenting these interactions. The resulting landscape is what she describes as "time materialized."¹⁸ In the

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, *Selbstverständnis*, 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, *Architektur*, 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 peregrinationis*) of Aimery IX of Narbonne and Rulolf 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” (*virī 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, "Wallfahrtsstätte," 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.

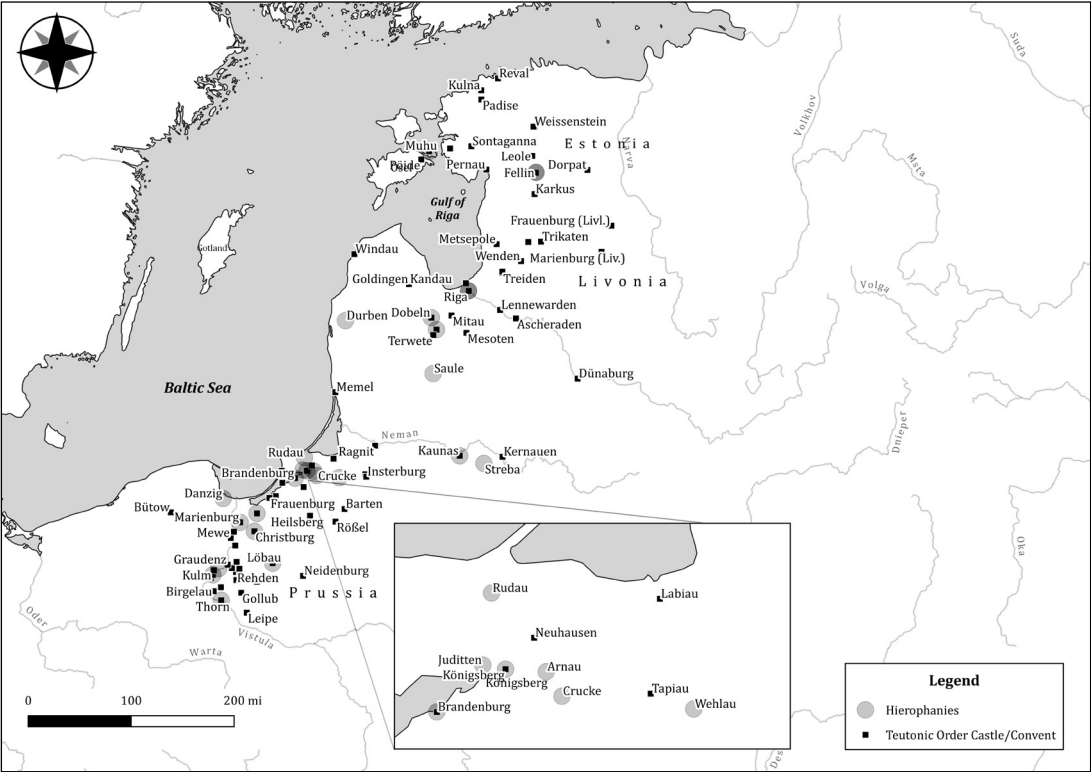
32 Voigt, *Geschichte Marienburgs* 143–4; Voigt, *GP* 5: 86–7; Helm and Ziesemer, *Literatur*, 16; Paravicini, *PR* 1: 272; S. Kwiatkowski, “Gott,” 15–27, here 15–6; Vennebusch, “Zentrale Facetten,” 264.

33 See Paravicini, *PR* 1: 305–9.

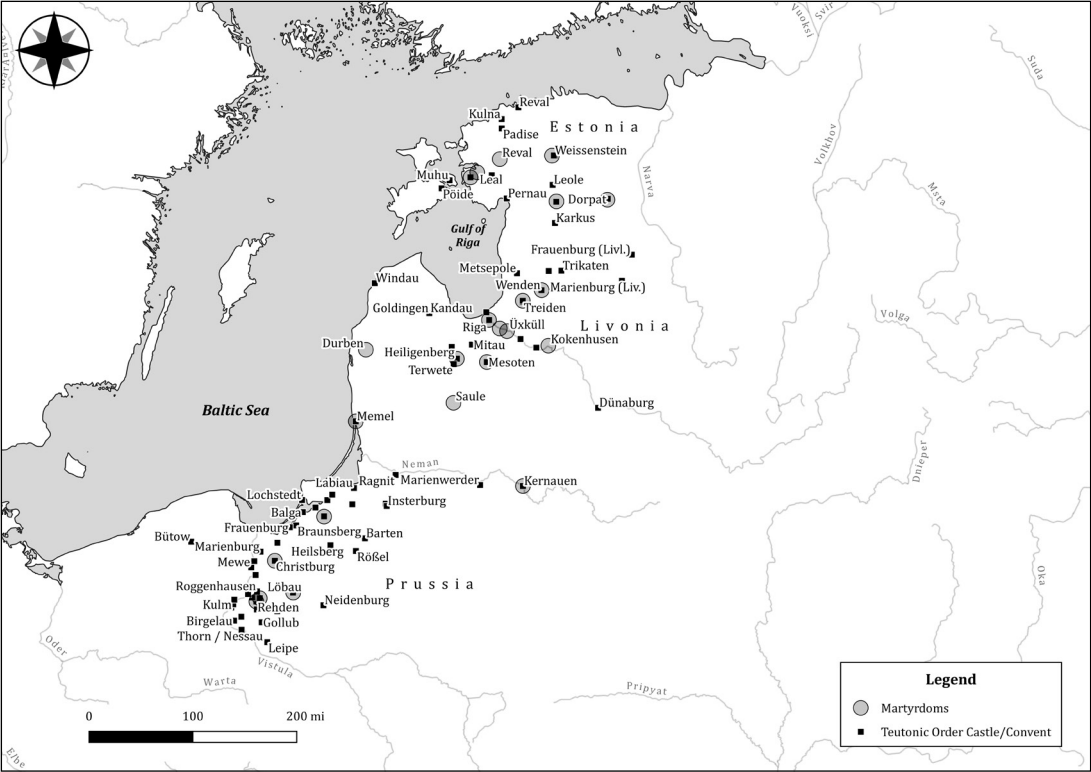
34 For example, see Józwiak and Trupinda, *Krzyżackie zamki*, 33–8.



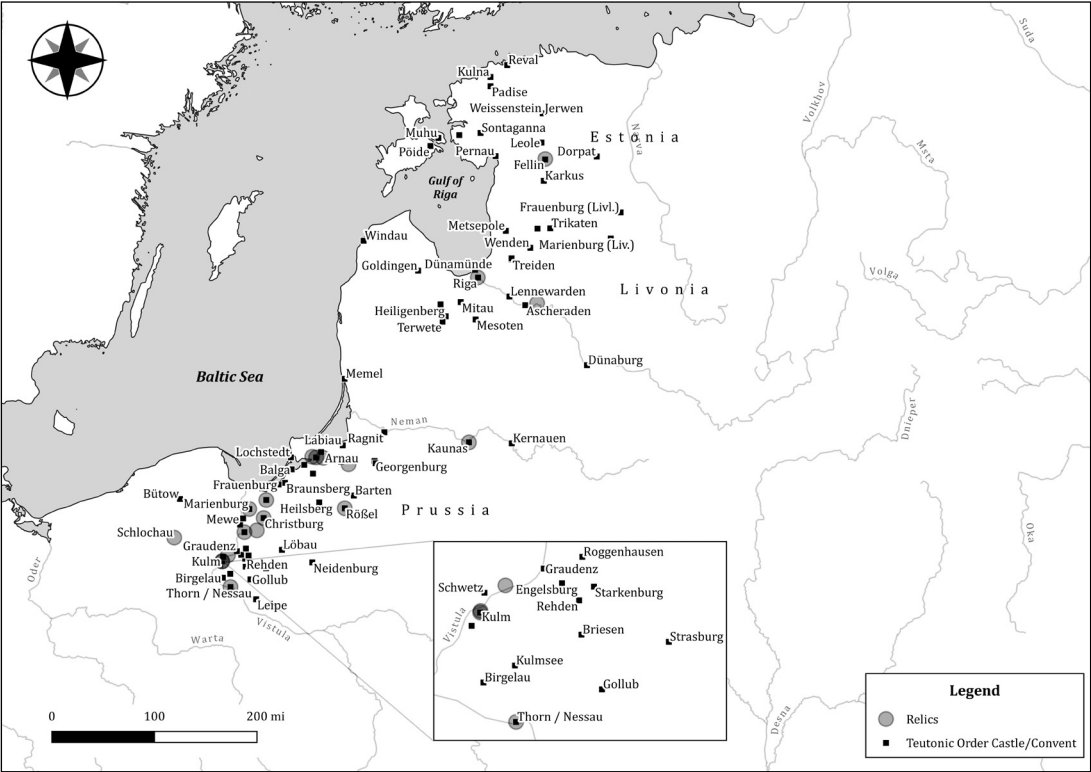
Map 11. Main castles, churches, and commanderies of the military orders in Prussia and Livonia (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries).



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; Arsyński, "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, hirmbe

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

bitten wir euwir Ersamkeit mit begerlichem 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 Arsyński, “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 Hessler, 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 “Jeruselems.” 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-

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 *GA*, 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).

Marienburg 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 pruu valent iii grote.” He also made an offering to the new cathedral in Königsberg, see 756: “doe ghesent was van mijns heren weghe an den bisscop van Zamenland, *als dat hi mijn here leenen woude dien nieren 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 graüen wtaüert 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 (Starkenberk) 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 gratiam 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, Guilbert 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

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); ÅH, 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 un 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 Rozyńkowski 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; Rozyńkowski, "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 Prusia, 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 castrum 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 Rozyński, *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

¹⁰⁰ PDC, 114–6 (3.15–3.16).

¹⁰¹ SDO, 25: “Machabei qui...arcem Syon recipere et redderent pacem terre.”

¹⁰² GÄ, 211.

¹⁰³ GÄ, 345: “Crutczburg...eine holtzene 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 precedes-

107 Erdmann, "Fahren," 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; Rozykowski, "Marienkult," 57–67; Rozykowski, "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>.

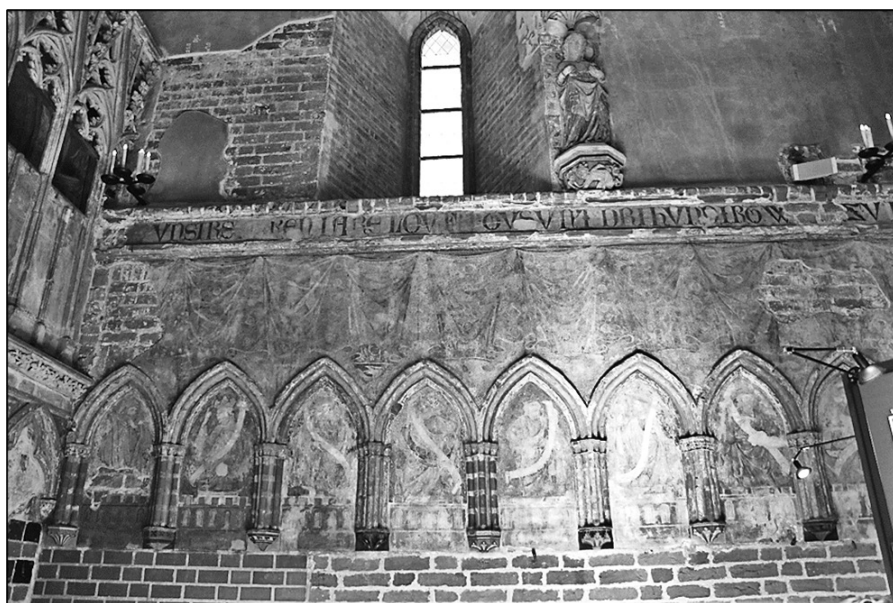


Figure 17. North wall of the Virgin Chapel at Marienburg (ca. 1344). Photograph by author.

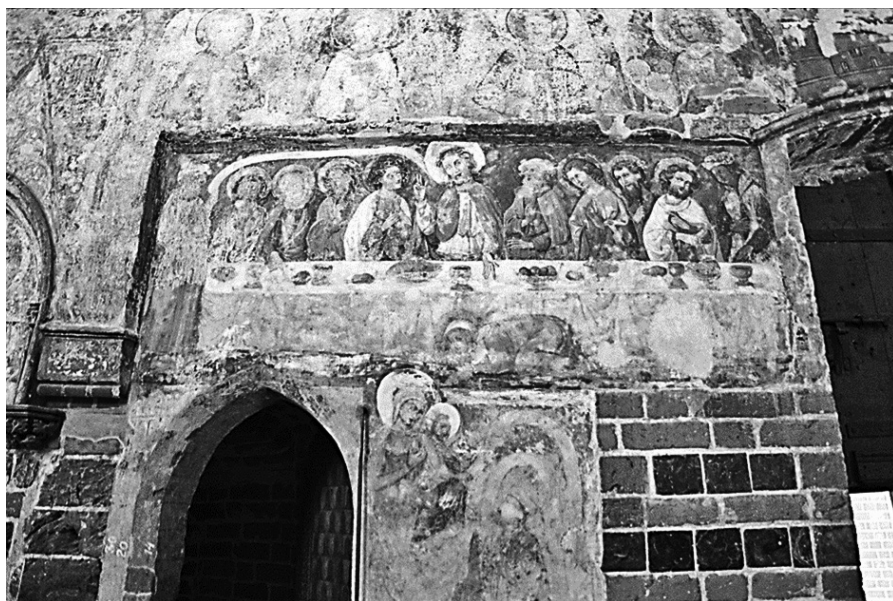


Figure 18. South wall of the Virgin Chapel at Marienburg (ca. 1344). Photograph by author.

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 *exempla*, 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 spirituality 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 Guillebert 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,

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 visibility 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.

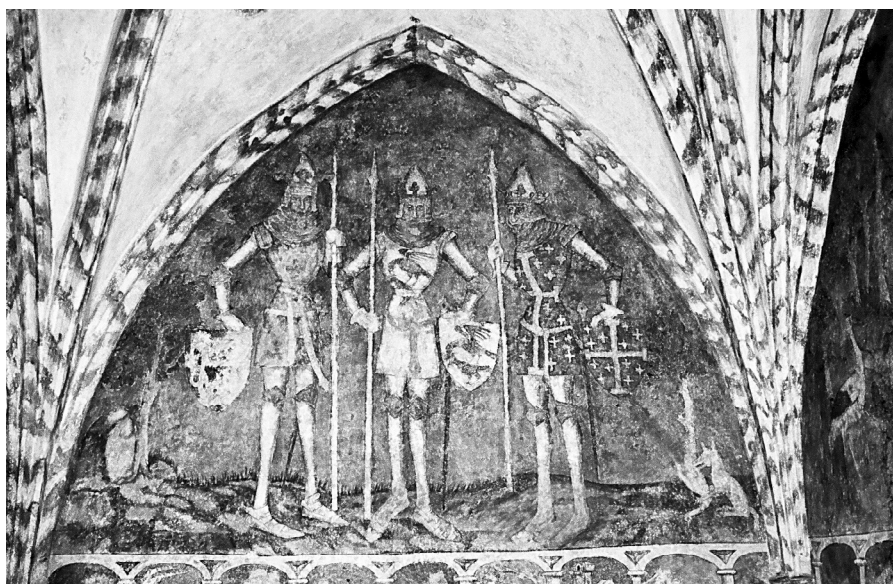


Figure 22. "Nine Worthies," Lochstedt.

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 Bouillon, 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 Łąd (Poland), see Abramowicz and Poklewski, "Łąd," 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 re-affirming 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.

