

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-

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; Rozynekowski, *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-

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 Gassowska, “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

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 Jähniß, "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 frontiera 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.

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

34 Rozykowski, *Omnes Sancti*, 87–8; Radziwiński, *Chryścianizacja*, 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 Rozykowski, *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

42 von Repgow, ed., *Sächsische Weltchronik*, 564 (lines 8539–8545): "Darnach an dhem anderen jare / vur her [Albert I of Braunschweig-Lüneburg-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

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 kwam die grosmechtliche herczogynne, Wytowes frouwe, von Littowin in das lant zcu Pruszin...und czoch betefart czu sinte Katharinen zcu Brandenburg, 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 *GA*, 515: "Item boden dem howbte Sente Barbare eyn snûre 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 Livonia] 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” (*loppesange*), 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” (*solemnis 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, *Chryścianizacja*, 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 loppesange, 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 Christianity and paganism. While the pagan Ōselians 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. Svētkaļns). 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 [Heiligenberg – 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 ûfbrach, / 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.

Hawa) 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

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 promissimus 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

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 altar 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

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 Glockmeister¹⁰⁴ 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 jehens *mijn here ghereden was ten Elúinghen*, ii scot pruu valent iii grote,” 756: “doe ghesent was van mijns heren weghe an den bisscop van Zamenland, *als dat hi mijn here leenen woude dien nieuwen doem in te legghen iiiii scot, valent vi grote iiiii 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 wederghегheúen, die hi minen here gheleent *hadde tofferen t sinte Katherinen eenen scilt*, val. xviii grote...It. selúes daghes haren Jakenin Donsard wederghегheúen, *dien minen here gheleent hadde tofferen te s. Jorijs eenen ghulden*, val. xiiii, d. grote x mit...*doe hi reed te Willov [Wehlau] waert jehens 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 cruce, *item 1 holczin tofelen mit heiligetume.*”

106 *MÄ*, 124 (line 20): “Item czu sente Annen sint 6 monstraneien und 1 houbt, *item 1 cruce 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 Guilibert 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 Nothafft’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 Guilibert 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 unszugehen 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.

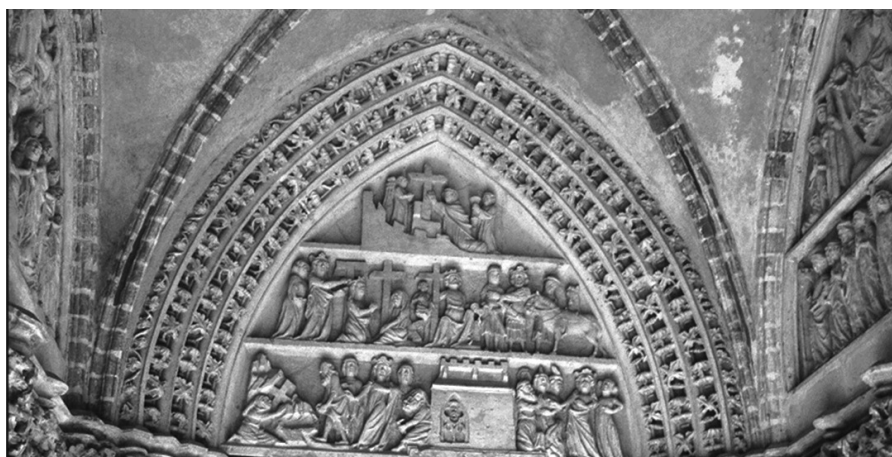


Figure 14. The Chapel of St. Anne (ca. 1344), sculpture of the Legend of the Discovery of the True Cross, Marienburg. Photograph by author.

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

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 penitentia 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 cristinlichen lute / im irwîrde 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

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 iniuncta



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

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 gekreuzigten*).

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: "...marschalis 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 Rozykowski 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

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 castris 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 Rozynekowski'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 Rozynekowski, "Liturgical Space," 143–50, at 149–50. Also see the Appendix.

155 Rozynekowski, "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.