

## Chapter 3

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

“Remember, good heroes, how Christ shed his holy blood  
on the cross for us. We are here on account of the Lord on high...  
Whoever dies here will shortly receive eternal life.”<sup>1</sup>

— Berthold of Loccum

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

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

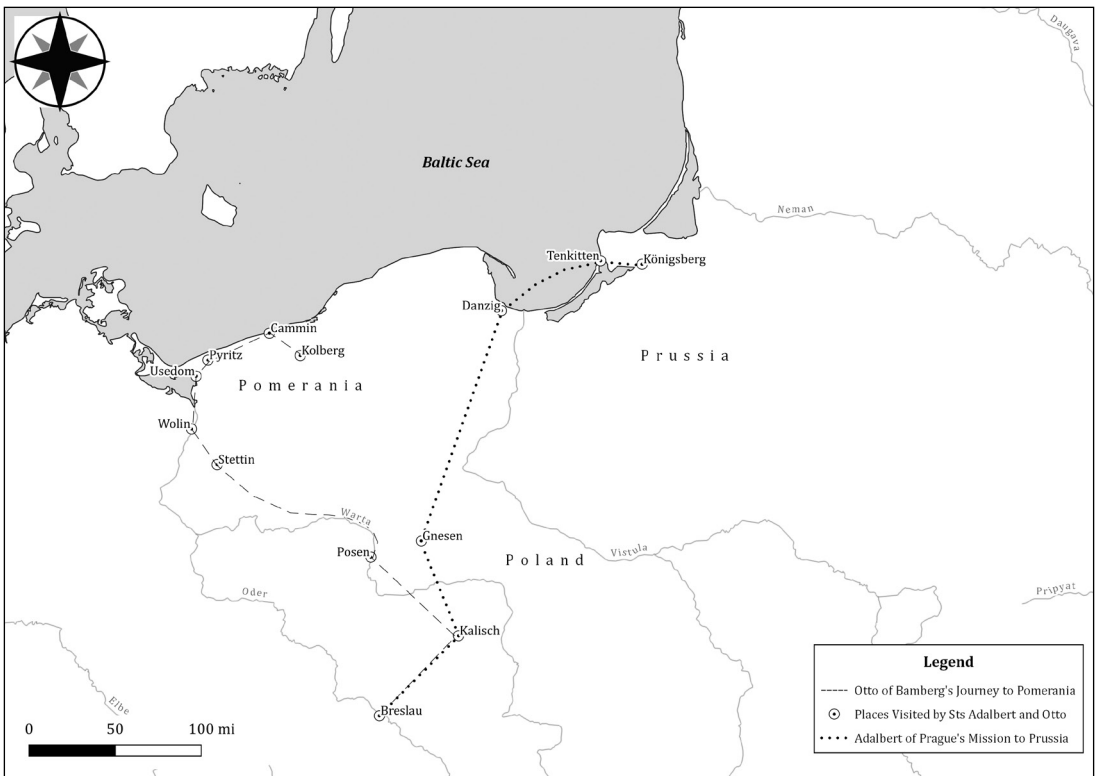
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1 *LR*, 13 (lines 523–554): “gedenket helde gût, / daz Jhêsus Crist sîn reinez blût / vor unz an dem crûze gôz / ... / wir sîn durch got von himele hie, / der sîne vrûnd nie vorlie / in diekeiner slachte nôt.”

2 *SDO*, 25.

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

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



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

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

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

<sup>5</sup> Voigt, GP 1: 266–70. For the shrine to Adalbert, see Steinbrecht, *Lochstedt*, 4; Szczepański, “Sakralizacja,” 129–67.

<sup>6</sup> John Canaparius, 594: “Inde nemora et feralia lustra linquentes [Adalbert and his company]... *campestris loca adierunt*.” Also see Voigt, GP 1: 660.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

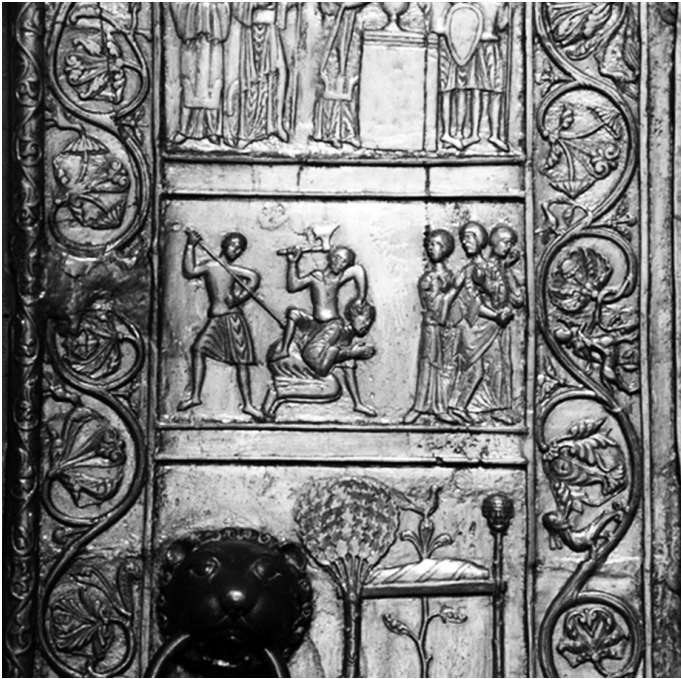


Figure 11. "Martyrdom of St. Adalbert of Prague," Gniezno Doors (ca. 1175). Photograph by author.

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

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

<sup>15</sup> Thietmar, *Chronik*, 388.

<sup>16</sup> Pluskowski, *Archaeology*, 86, 369–70.

<sup>17</sup> Voigt, *GP* 1: 289, proposes this connection.

<sup>18</sup> *PDC*, 190 (3.71).

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>20</sup> Pinkus, "Martyr's Cycle," 43–59.

<sup>21</sup> *ACS*, 215.

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

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

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

**22** Howe, "Physical World," 63–80.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

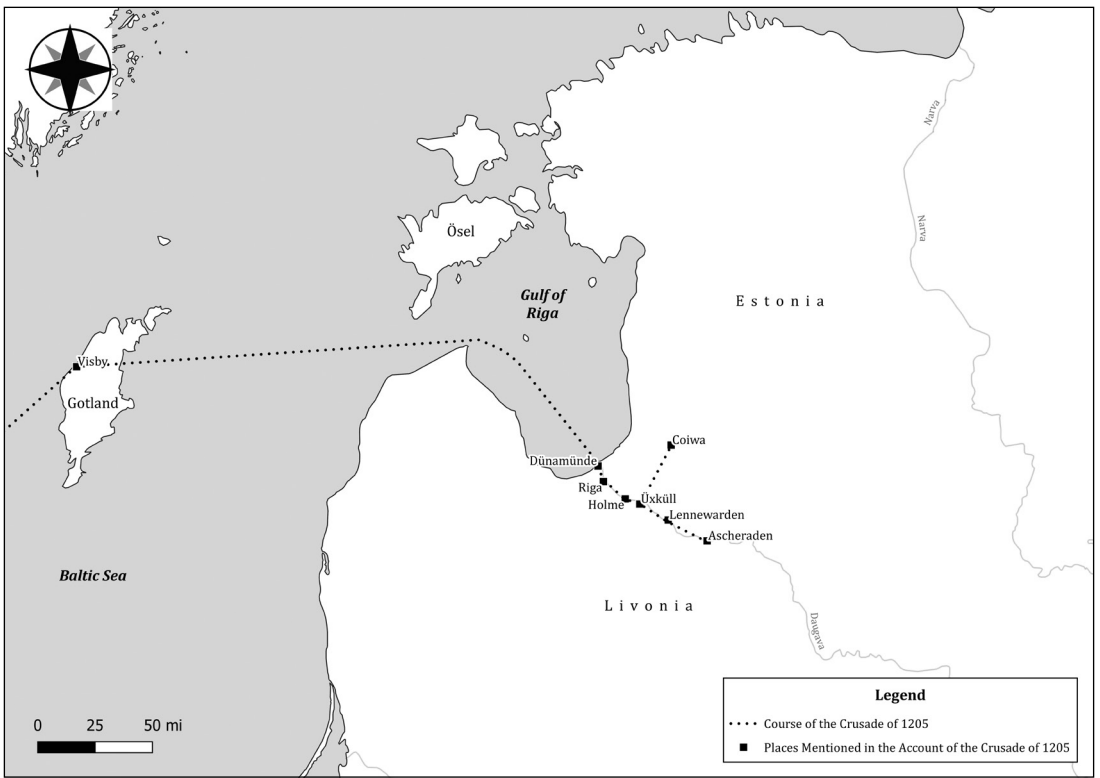
**34** *HCL*, 31 (9.12): “...peregrini de castro Ykescola exeuntes pro colligenda annona...a Lyvonibus... quorum quosdam diis suis immolantes crudeli martirio interfecerunt.” Brundage, ed. and trans., *Chronicle*, 52–3 (9.12).

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

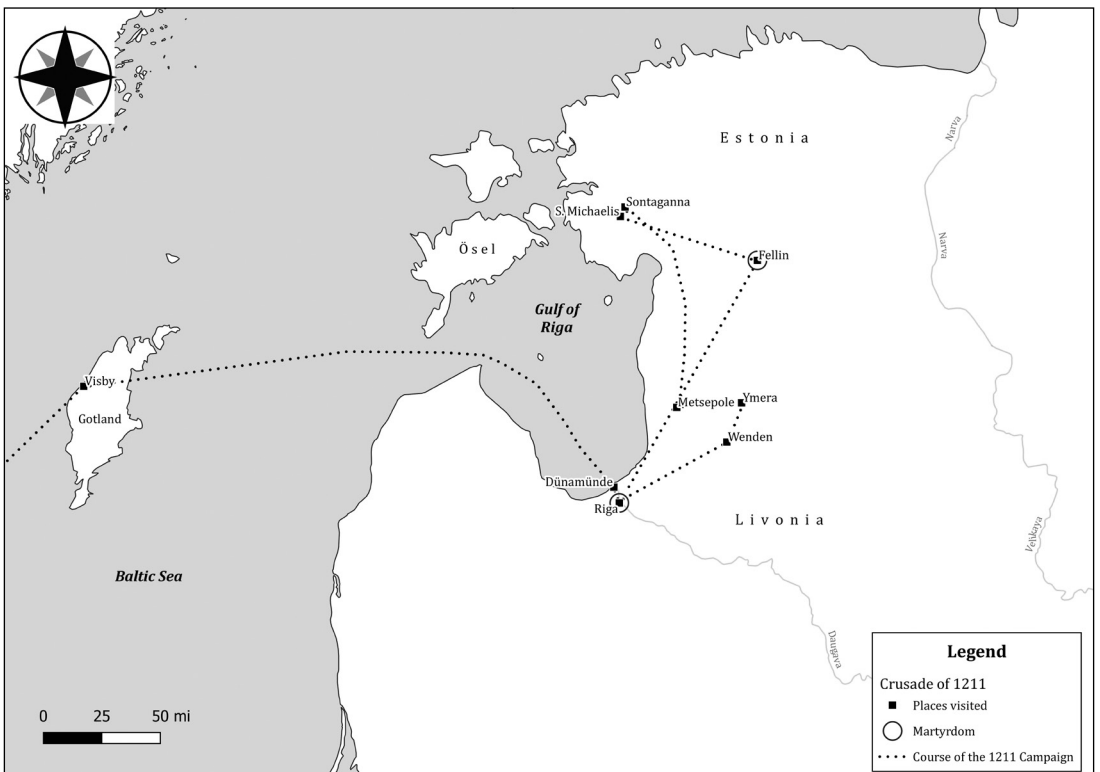
Terminology
<i>ibi celebrem reddituri patris aeterni filium, ubi coelestium potestates aeras infinita multitudo periiit animarum</i>
<i>profecturi et acturi secundum fratrum predictorum hospitalis eiusdem, ita quod et ipsis <b>praemium debeatur aeternum</b></i>
<i>per vos et ipsi <b>pugiles Christi</b>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

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

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



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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**40** See Hucker, “Livlandpilgern,” 114–6.

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

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

**43** See Strenga, “Common Past,” 349–55.

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

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

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

44 *SDO*, 37–8.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Teutonic Order also commemorated martyrdoms in symbolic and physical ways that served to sacralize the landscape, particularly with respect to the Battle of Saule, the Battle of Durben, and the Battle of Karuse.<sup>57</sup> The Battle of Durben resulted in what Strenga has called a “commemorative space” with no physical monument to the defeat, though still a powerful example of the role played by martyrdom in constructing the history of Livonia within the Teutonic Order.<sup>58</sup> Karuse church

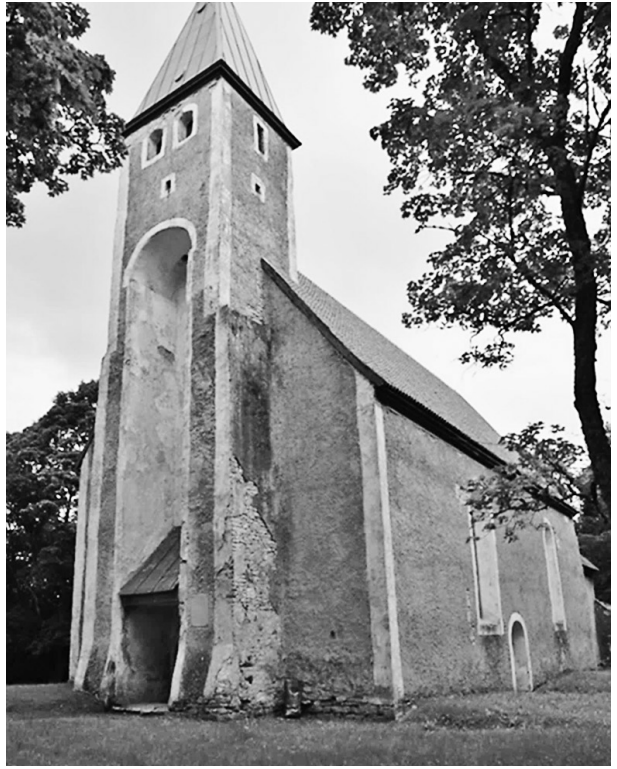


Figure 12. Karuse Church of St. Margaret (thirteenth century), Saaremaa. Burial place of Otto of Lutterberg (d. 1270). Photograph by author.

(Figure 12) was erected to commemorate the death of Otto of Lutterberg, master of the Livonian Branch of the Teutonic Order, at the Battle of Karuse (February 16, 1270). This provides a physical reminder of a profound defeat of the Order, but also a point in the landscape to commemorate the martyrdom of a master of the Order.<sup>59</sup> Recent archaeological excavations suggest that he was buried under the altar, demonstrated by finds of

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

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

**58** Strenga, “Common Past,” 357–8.

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>60</sup> Kivimäe, "Karuse," 48–66.

<sup>61</sup> Mänd, "Grabplatten," 59–92, here 60 (n4).

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

<sup>63</sup> *PrUB* 1.1: 3 (no. 4).

<sup>64</sup> Eliade, *Patterns*, 368; Eliade, *Sacred*, 24–9.

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

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

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

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

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

**67** *PrUB* 1.2: 155–6 (no. 201).

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

**69** Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 58.

**70** Arnold, “Heinrich,” 757–8.

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

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

**71** *HvSB*, 158.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

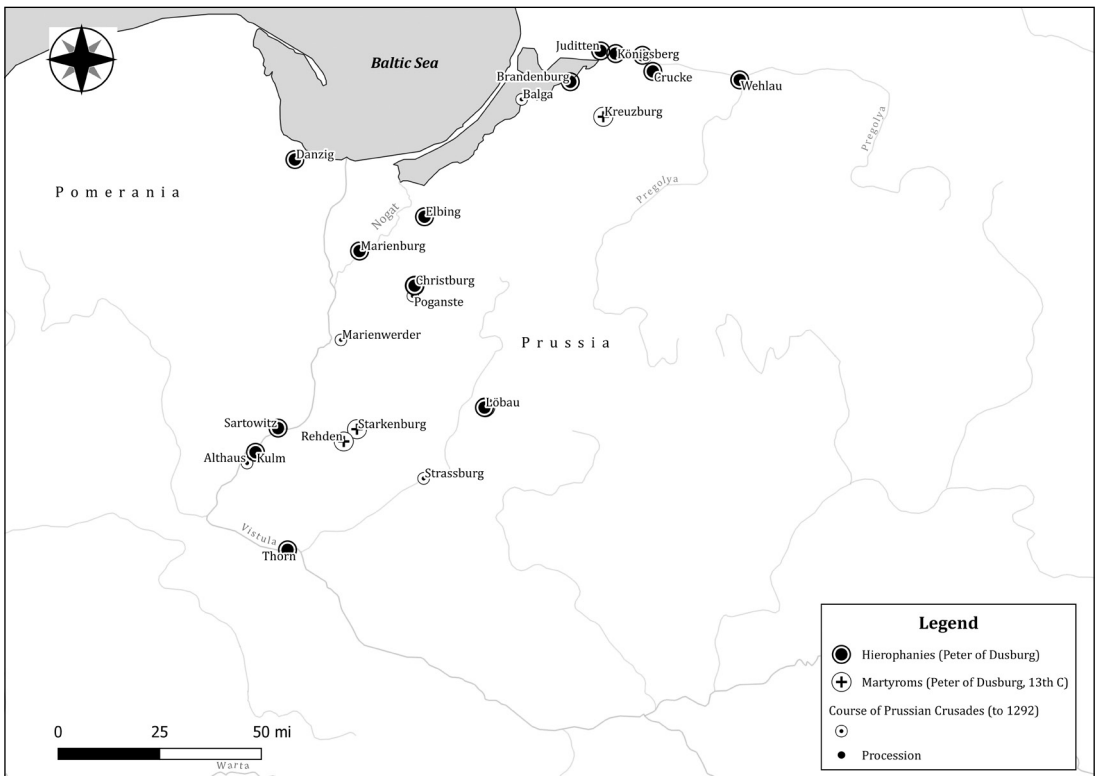
**81** PDC, 212–4 (3.91) outlines the battle.

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

**83** Wigand, 582–3.

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

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



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

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

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

<sup>86</sup> Strehlke, ed., “Kurze Preussische Annalen,” 2; Strehlke, ed., “Annales,” 10; Strehlke, ed., “Annalista Thorunensis,” 61.

<sup>87</sup> Wenta, *Ordensgeschichte*, 161–8.

<sup>88</sup> Tamm, “Depicting Death,” 152–4, citing the commentary of Leonid Arbusow. Also see S. Kwiatkowski, “Verlorene Schlachten,” 148–50.

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

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

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

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

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<sup>89</sup> Murray, "Sacred Space," 35–7.

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

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

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

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

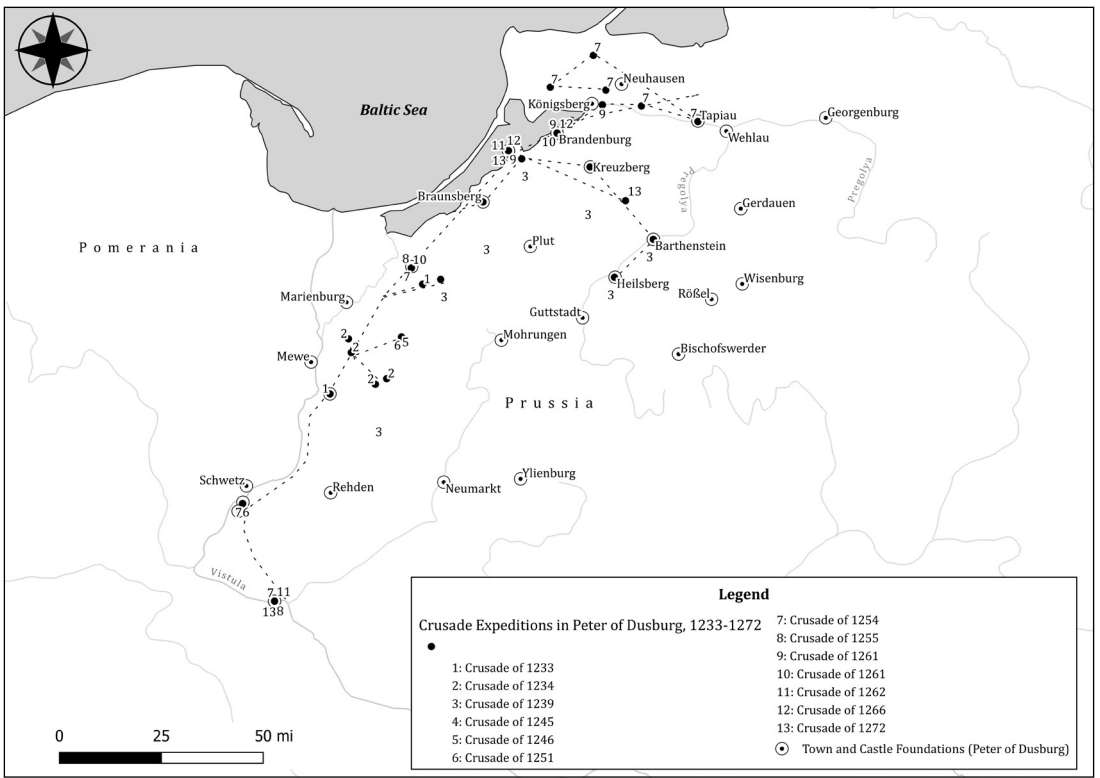
**91** PDC, 28 (1.1): "Nec pretereundum est hoc eciam magnum signum...quod infra a die introitus sui in terram Prussie gentes, que terram Colmensem et Lubovie occupaverant, et naciones illas, que terras Pomesanie, Pogesanie, Warmie, Nattangie et Barthe inhabitabant, sibi potenter et Cristiane fidei subdiderunt."

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

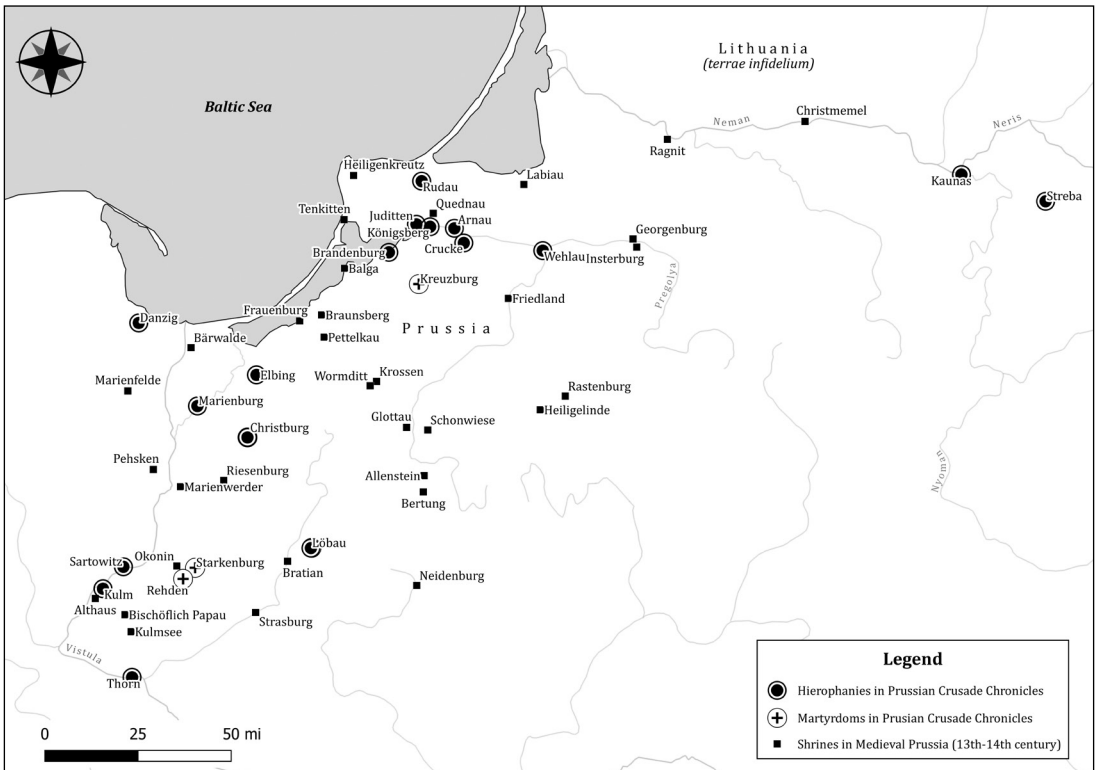
**93** PDC, 150 (3.41): "respondit (the man – GL), quod beata virgo Maria eodem die cum turibulo precedentibus duabus virginibus cum candelibus ardentibus...ait: "Tercia die morieris, et gaude, quia anima tua sicut vetere anime occisorum ad eternal gaudia evolabit:""

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

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



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



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

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

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

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

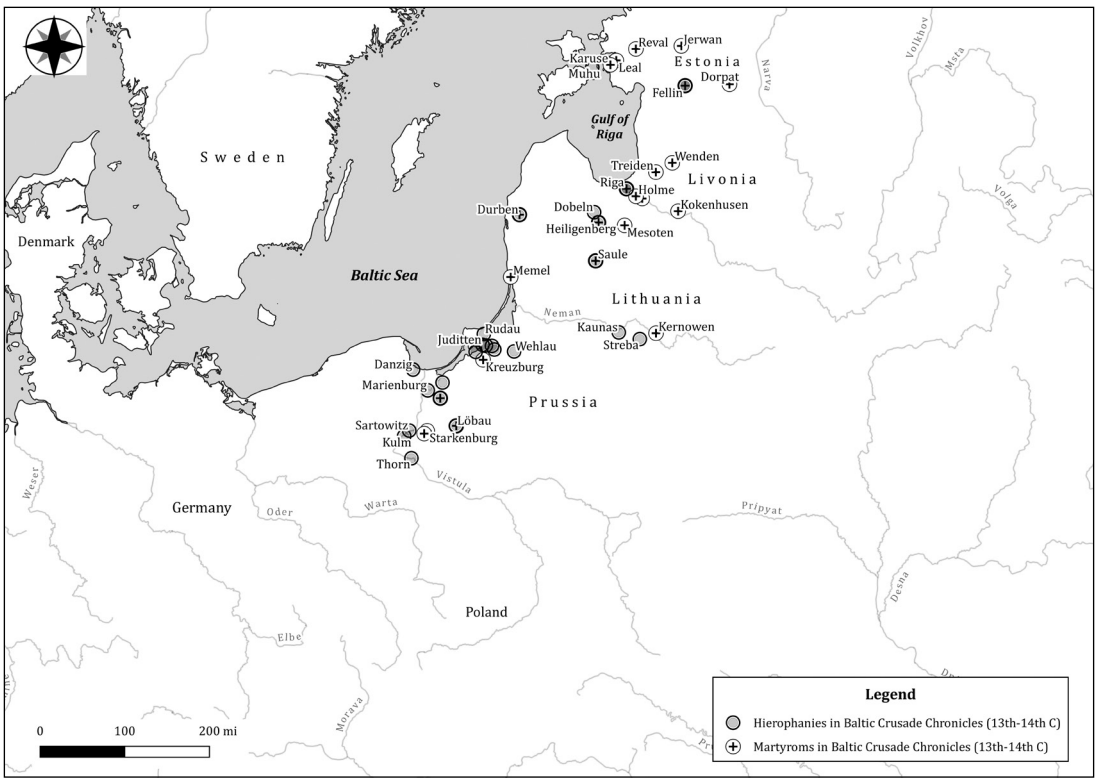
The inclusion of other places, like Christburg, Balga, and Brandenburg, show a broader understanding of a sacral landscape in Prussia on Peter's part. Although his source comes from almost a century after the conquest of Prussia, he used sources that

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

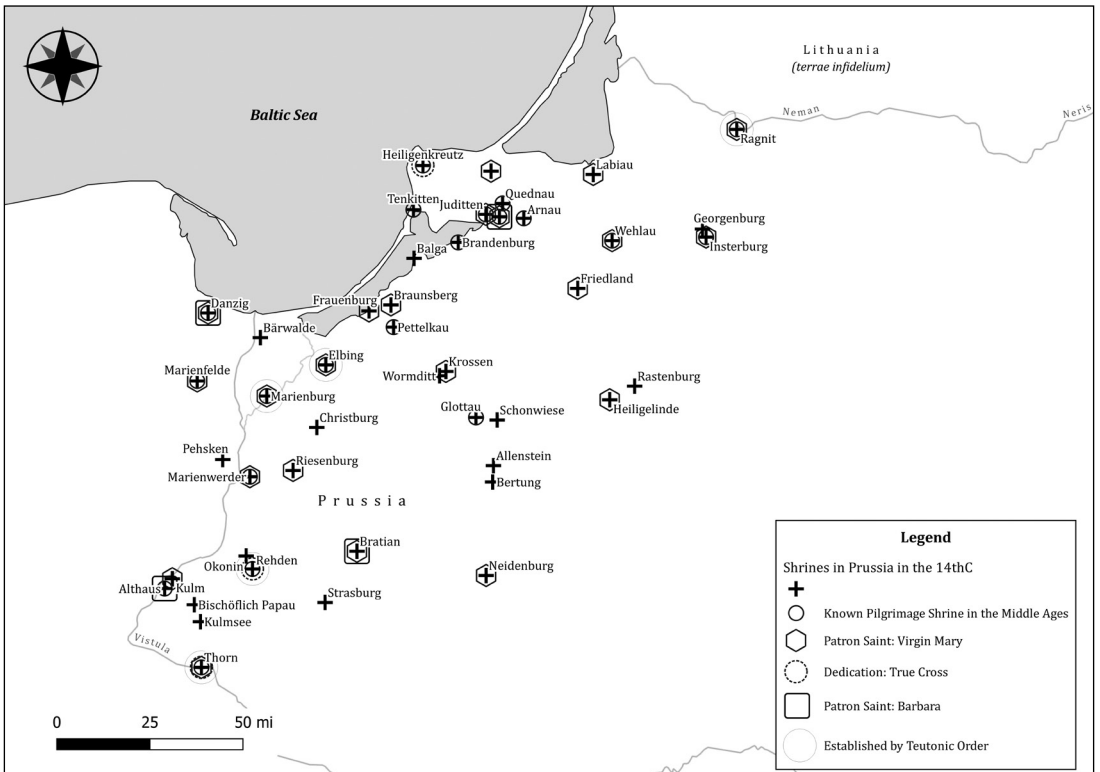
<sup>97</sup> *PDC*, 10; Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 70.

<sup>98</sup> Kutzner, "Herrschaftspropaganda," 254; Trupinda, "Peter von Dusburg," 521.

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



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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**102** Chapter 4.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**114** Wigand, 536.

**115** Wigand, 536.

composed of pilgrims and new converts, showing the popularity and religious perception of the wars to warriors outside the Teutonic Order.<sup>116</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

<sup>122</sup> Lucas David, *Preussische Chronik* 7, 87–9.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**126** *MT*, 312, 428, 535–6.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**137** Ingold, “Temporality,” 152.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**146** Wigand, 454–5, 488, and 536.

**147** See K. Kwiatkowski, “Selbstdarstellung,” 127–38.

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

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

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

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**148** K. Kwiatkowski, “Selbstdarstellung,” 129–30.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

