

Chapter I

LANDSCAPE IMAGERY IN THE TEXTS DOCUMENTING THE BALTIC CRUSADES

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

— Justinus of Lippe, *Lippiflorium*

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

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

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

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

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

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

The "Livonian Chronicle of Henry" (*Heinrici chronicon Livoniae*) is the most comprehensive text documenting the crusades against the tribes inhabiting present-day Latvia and Estonia from 1186 until 1227.⁷ It has also been subject to the most voluminous output of scholarship on the Baltic crusades in recent decades. Based on Arnold's chronicle, witness accounts, and his status as an eye witness,⁸ Henry offers a detailed and ideo-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

17 Heß, "Himmelskönigin," 185–6.

18 Zacharias, "Beobachtungen," 213–8.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

36 Murray, "Structure," 235–6.

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

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

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

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

Two more chronicles emerged within the Order in the late fourteenth century: Hermann of Wartberge's *Chronicon Lyvoniae* (1378) and Wigand of Marburg's *Chronica nova Prutenica* (ca. 1394). Hermann of Wartberge was, like Peter and Nicolaus, a chaplain in the Order.⁴⁴ His text reveals the self-image of the Order in Livonia during the fourteenth century, but also reveals much concerning perceptions of the "lands of the pagans" (*terrae infidelium*).⁴⁵ Wigand of Marburg was perhaps a herald in the service of the Order's Grand Masters, Conrad of Wallenrode (1391–1393), and Conrad of Jungingen (1394–1407). He was not a brother in the Order, and his text appears to have been aimed at participants in the *Reisen*, and so it has a more secular character.⁴⁶ Originally written in Middle High German, the text was translated into Latin by Conrad Gesselen, a churchman based in Thorn, in 1466.⁴⁷ Both chronicles document the later period of crusading led by the Order against the Lithuanians and reflect how the depictions of land-

³⁹ Trupinda, "Peter von Dusburg," 521.

⁴⁰ *KvP*, 305 (lines 162–165): "mug allen dűtschin lűten / dű wundir unde zeichen gotis, / dű nűch gűte sűns gebots / in Prűzinlande sin geschűn." See Fischer, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Prussia*, 6, for an English translation; Wűst, *Selbstverstűndnis*, 88.

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

⁴² Wűst, *Selbstverstűndnis*, 91.

⁴³ *KvP*, 305 (lines 163–165).

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

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

⁴⁶ Zonenberg, "Wstűp," 23–8.

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

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

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

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

48 K. Kwiatkowski, “Selbstdarstellung,” 127–38; K. Kwiatkowski, “Christ ist erstanden,” 101–29.

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

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

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

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

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

particularly valuable for demonstrating the spread of information concerning not only the image of the Teutonic Order in Europe, but the new sacred landscape with which the Baltic region came to be associated. The early charters concerning the conversion of the Livonians and Estonians, for example, possess the same imagery present in other ecclesiastical sources outlined above, especially in their use of language surrounding fertility and harvesting.⁵⁴ In fact, the word play on Riga “watering the nations,” present in Henry of Livonia’s chronicle, can be traced to a letter of Peter of Celle to Archbishop of Lund, Absalon, written in 1178.⁵⁵ This language continued throughout the thirteenth century, becoming a formalized way of describing the landscape and setting the stage for a variety of other types of sources (in this case, chronicles).

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

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

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

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

⁵⁶ PrUB 1.1:55–6 (nos. 74–5)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

63 Sarnowsky, “Perception,” 127; Leighton, “Holy War,” 25–52.

64 Kubon, *Außenpolitik*.

65 CDP 5: 186–92. (no. 187).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷⁰ See below, Chapter 4.

⁷¹ Kirby, ed., *Register* 2, 430.

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

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

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

⁷² *GA*, x–xi.

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

⁷⁴ Rozynekowski, *Omnes Sancti*, 206–29 for the functions of relics and 229–40 on the sacral topography of the region; Radziński, *Kościół*.

⁷⁵ Angenendt, *Grundformen*, 110–2.

⁷⁶ Röckelein, *Reliquientranslationen*, 9.

⁷⁷ Röckelein, *Reliquientranslationen*, 26–30.

⁷⁸ Rozynekowski, "Liturgical Space," 143–52.

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

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

80 Heß, "Himmelskönigin," 189–90.

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

