INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

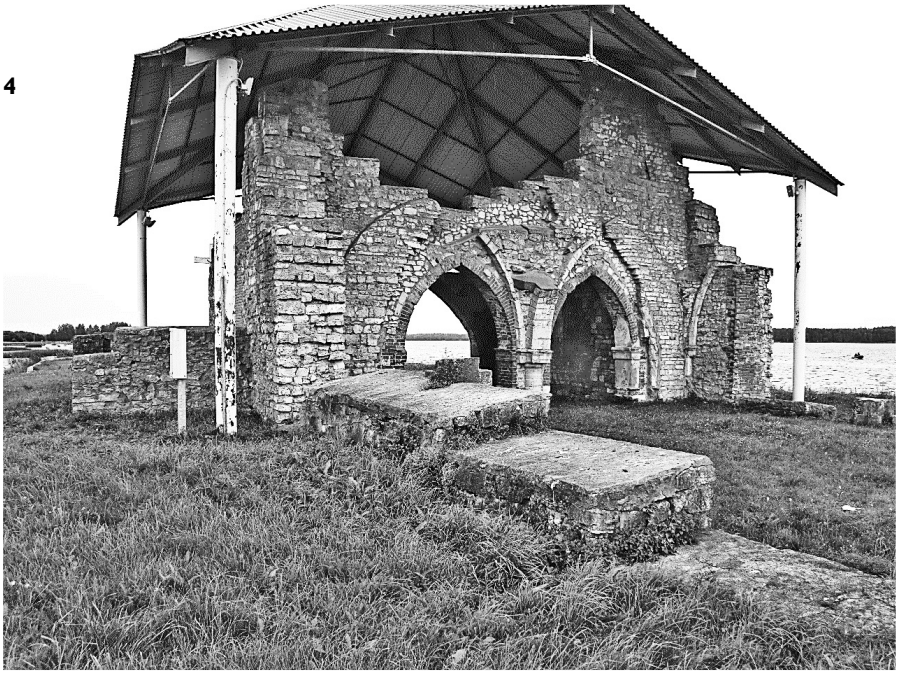

Figure 2. Church of St. Meinhard at Üxküll. Photograph by author.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

19 Tuulse, *Burgen*, 30–62.

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

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

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

23 *PrUB* 1.1:2–4 (no. 5)

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

25 Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *Popes*, 81–3.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

32 Radzimiński, *Kościół*, 29–43.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

37 *PDC*, 146 (3.221).

38 Ehlers, "The Crusades," 23–5.

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

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

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

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

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

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

41 Barber, "Introduction," 1–11.

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

43 Fischer, "Winning Hearts," 6.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

48 *PL* 182, col. 927.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

73 Trupinda, *Ideloqia*, 117, 138–57.

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

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

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

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

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

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

77 Czaja, "Bilanz," 7–21.

78 Elm, "Spiritualität," 447–506.

79 Dygo, "Deutschordensritter," 165–76

80 Hellmann, "Anfänge," 7–36.

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

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

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

84 Wüst, *Selbstverständnis*, 12.

85 Seydel, *Wandmalereien*, 13–53.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

91 M. Johnson, "Approaches," 272–3.

92 Ingold, "Temporality," 154–6.

93 Eliade, *Sacred*, 68–116.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

99 *HvSB*, 153–68, here 159.

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

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

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

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

101 Smith, "Native Land," 1.

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

103 Ingold, "Temporality," 157.

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

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

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

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

108 Reynolds, *Prehistory*, 135–43.

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

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

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

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

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