



*TERRA MATRIS: CRUSADING, THE MILITARY ORDERS, AND SACRED LANDSCAPES
IN THE BALTIC, 13TH – 14TH CENTURIES*

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Abstract

Crusading and the military orders have, at their roots, a strong focus on *place*, namely the Holy Land and the shrines associated with the life of Christ on Earth. Both concepts spread to other frontiers in Europe (notably Spain and the Baltic) in a very quick fashion. Therefore, this thesis investigates the ways that this focus on place and landscape changed over time, when crusading and the military orders emerged in the Baltic region, a land with no Christian holy places.

Taking this fact as a point of departure, the following thesis focuses on the crusades to the Baltic Sea Region during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It considers the role of the military orders in the region (primarily the Order of the Teutonic Knights), and how their participation in the conversion-led crusading missions there helped to shape a distinct perception of the Baltic region as a new sacred (i.e. Christian) landscape.

Structured around four chapters, the thesis discusses the emergence of a new sacred landscape thematically. Following an overview of the military orders and the role of sacred landscapes in their ideology, and an overview of the historiographical debates on the Baltic crusades, it addresses the paganism of the landscape in the written sources predating the crusades, in addition to the narrative, legal, and visual evidence of the crusade period (Chapter 1). It then proceeds to a chapter-by-chapter analysis considering specific sacralising elements expressed in the sources, which structure the definition of *sacred landscape* used in this thesis (outlined in the Introduction). Chapter 2 considers the role martyrdom in sacralising the landscape, followed by a discussion of the role played by relics (Chapter 3), ritualization, and sacred space (Chapter 4). By incorporating Geographical Information Systems (GIS) into the analysis of the texts, a new spatial map of the Baltic campaigns emerges from the present study, providing a fresh approach to studying contemporary views of holy war in a region with no holy (i.e. Christian) shrines.

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Table of Contents	ii
List of Images	iv
List of Tables	v
List of Maps	v
Acknowledgements	vi
Abbreviations & Short Titles	viii
Introduction	1
Methodological Approaches of the Study	2
Historiographical Framework of the Present Study	10
Crusading and Holy War in the Baltic	18
Landscape Ideology of the Military Orders in the Baltic Region	22
Source Outline	27
Ecclesiastical Sources	27
Teutonic Order Sources	29
Chapter 1: Literary Themes and Landscape Sacralisation in the Written Evidence for the Baltic Crusades	36
1.1: Paganism of the Landscape in Baltic Crusade Chronicles	37
1.2: Holy War, the Vineyard, and the Baltic as a ‘Crusading Landscape’	49
1.3: Navigating the <i>desertum</i> in the Fourteenth Century	58
1.4: The <i>Vinea Domini</i> and the Art of the Medieval Baltic	63
Summary	77
Chapter 2: Martyrdom, qualitative GIS, and Mapping Landscape Sacralisation during the Baltic Crusades, 13 th – 14 th Century	79
2.1: Pre-Crusade Martyrdom in the Baltic	80
2.2: Martyrdom and Sacred Landscape in Livonia, 12 th – 13 th Centuries	86
2.3: Martyrdom, Hierophany, and Sacred Landscape in Thirteenth-Century Prussia	102
2.4: Martyrdom and Hierophantic Acts on the <i>Reisen</i> : Continuities and Change	118
Summary	129
Chapter 3: Relics, Processions, and Sacred Landscape in the Baltic, 13 th – 14 th Century	131
3.1: Relics in Livonia and Prussia during the Crusades in the 13 th Century	133
3.2: Relic Processions and Mapping a Sacral Landscape in the 13 th -Century Baltic: The Teutonic Order in Prussia	141
3.3: The True Cross, the Cult of Relics, and Visualising a Sacral Landscape in Prussia ..	151

3.4: Relics and Crusading in the 14 th -Century Baltic	160
Summary	168
Chapter 4: The Ritualisation and Iconography of Landscape Sacralisation in the Baltic	170
4.1: Castles as Markers of Prussia’s Sacral Landscape	172
4.2: Castle and Church Building in the Medieval Baltic: Designs and Spatial Significance	179
4.3: Place-naming and Landscape Sacralisation in the Medieval Baltic	189
4.4: The Virgin Chapel at Marienburg and Landscape Iconography in Prussia	197
4.4.1: Lochstedt	209
Summary	213
Conclusion	215
Chapter Summary and Thesis Findings	215
Implications of Research	218
Limitations of Research	221
Future Research Trajectories	223
Appendix I: Relics in the Baltic Region (13 th – 16 th Centuries)	227
Appendix II: GIS Data	238
Bibilography	244
Primary Sources	244
Secondary Sources	248

List of Images

Image 1. Pöide Church seen from the nearby Hillfort.	48
Image 2. Floral Sculpture, Kaarja Church (13th Century).....	65
Image 3. Vineyard Sculpture, Kaarma Church (15th Century?).....	65
Image 4. Sculpted baptismal font, Elbing (13th Century).	67
Image 5. The Golden Gate, Marienburg (1280).....	69
Image 6. The Golden Gate (Wise Virgins)	70
Image 7. Portal to Frauenburg Cathedral (13th Century).	72
Image 8. Fresco of a Stork, Lochstedt (c. 1390).....	73
Image 9. Vineyard sculptures, Lochstedt (late 13th Century?).....	74
Image 10. Martyrdom of St Adalbert of Prague. Gniezno Doors (c. 1075).....	85
Image 11. Karuse Church, burial place of Otto of Lutterberg (13th Century).....	101
Image 12. The Chapel of St Anne, Marienburg.....	156
Image 13. Banner of the City of Elbing from the <i>Banderia Prutenorum</i> (c. 1449).....	163
Image 14. Castle Mound of Kreuzburg.....	181
Image 15. North Wall of the Virgin Chapel at Marienburg.....	199
Image 16. The South Wall of the Virgin Chapel at Marienburg.....	200
Image 17. Unidentified Saint (14th Century), Königsberg Cathedral.....	202
Image 18. Mary Conquering the Devil, Arnau Church (14th Century)	204
Image 19. Statue of the Virgin at Marienburg (c. 1380).....	208
Image 20. Fresco of the Nine Worthies, Lochstedt (c. 1390)	211
Image 21. Abraham Sacrifices Isaac, Lochstedt (c. 1390).....	211
Image 22. The Resurrection of Christ, Lochstedt (c. 1390).....	212
Image 23. St George slays the Dragon, Lochstedt (c. 1390).....	212

List of Tables

Table 1. Pilgrimage of 1205.....	95
Table 2. Pilgrimage of 1211.....	95
Table 3. Martyrdom Language in calls for crusades to Livonia.....	97

List of Maps

Map 1. Mission of St Adalbert of Prague (997) and St Otto of Bamberg (1124).....	82
Map 2. Livonian Pilgrimage of 1205	94
Map 3. Livonian Pilgrimage of 1211	95
Map 4. Hierophanies and Martyrdom in the Chronicle of Prussia, 13th Century.	109
Map 5. Hierophanies along the Pilgrimage Route in Prussia toward Königsberg.....	113
Map 6. Pilgrimages in Prussia after Peter of Dusburg: 1233-1272	114
Map 7. Martyrdom and Hierophanies along the Main Pilgrimage Routes in Livonia and Prussia	117
Map 8. Relic Pilgrimages in Livonia (1203; 1211) and Prussia (1233; 1234; 1246; 1255)..	148
Map 9. Pilgrimage Shrines in Prussia, 14th Century.	168
Map 10. Teutonic Order Castles and the 13th-Century Pilgrimage Route in Prussia.	177
Map 11. Teutonic Order Commanderies by the mid-14th Century.	179

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For Pop-Pop (29 June, 1933 – 26 May, 2017)

Ille, velut pelagi rupes immota, resistit. – Vergil, *Aeneid* 7, line 586.

Abbreviations & Short Titles

- ABGH* *Magistri Adam Bremensis gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. Bernhard Schmeidler, in *SS rer. Germ.* 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1919), pp. 1-283.
- ACS* *Arnoldi chronica Slavorum*, ed. J.M. Lappenberg, in *SS rer. Germ.* 14 (Hannover: Hahn, 1868).
- ÄH* ‘Die ältere Hochmeisterchronik’, ed. Max Töppen, in *SRP* 3, pp. 540-637.
- Bruno ‘Vita secunda auctore Brunone archiepiscopo’, ed. Pertz, in *MGH SS* 4, pp. 596-612.
- CCWMBF* *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier: A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, ed. Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi and Carsten Selch Jensen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).
- CCMBF* *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, ed. Alan V. Murray (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).
- CDP* *Codex diplomaticus Prussicus. Urkunden-Sammlung zur älteren Geschichte Preußens aus dem Königl. Geheim-Archiv zu Königsberg nebst Regesten*, ed. Johannes Voigt, 6 vols. (Königsberg: Bornträger, 1836-1861).
- CDW* *Codex diplomaticus Warmiensis oder Regesten und Urkunden zur Geschichte Ermlandes*, ed. Carl Peter Woelky and Johann Martin Saale, 4 vols. (Mainz: 1860-1935).
- Crusade and Conversion* *Crusade and Conversion on the Medieval Baltic Frontier, 1150-1500*, ed. Murray (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).
- Die Preußenreisen* Werner Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels*, (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989 & 1995). 2 volumes to date.
- DT* *Descriptiones terrarum*, in Marvin L. Colker, ‘America Rediscovered in the Thirteenth Century?’, *Speculum* 54, no. 4 (Oct. 1979): pp. 712-26.
- GÄ* *Das grosse Ämterbuch des Deutschen Ordens. Mit Unterstützung des Vereins für die Herstellung und Ausschmückung der Marienburg*, ed. Walther Ziesemer (Danzig, 1921).

- HCL* *Heinrici chronicon Livoniae*, ed. Leonid Arbusow and Albert Bauer, in *SS rer. Germ.* (Hannover: Hahn, 1955), pp. 1-222.
- History of the Crusades* *History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton et al., 6 vols. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969-1975).
- HvSB* ‘Herrmann von Salzas Bericht über die Eroberung Preussens’, ed. Theodor Hirsch, *SRP* 5, pp. 159-68.
- HWC* *Hermanni de Wartberge chronicon Livoniae*, ed. Ernst Strehlke, in *SRP* 2, ed. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen and Ernst Strehlke, (Leipzig, 1863), pp. 21-116.
- John Canaparius ‘Vita antiquior auctore Iohanne Canaprio’, ed. Pertz, in *MGH SS* 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), pp. 581-95.
- KvP* *Di Kronike von Pruzinlant des Nicolaus v. Jeroschin*, ed. Ernst Strehlke, *SRP* 2 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1861), pp. 291-648.
- LECUB* *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. Friedrich Georg von Bunge et al., 9 vols. (Reval, 1853-1900).
- LR* *Livländische Reimchronik*, ed. Leo Meyer (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1876).
- LW* *Die littauischen Wegeberichte*, in *SRP* 2, pp. 632-731.
- MÄ* *Das Marienburger Ämterbuch*, ed. Walther Zieseemer (Danzig, 1916).
- MGH* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. G.H. Pertz, et al. (Hannover: 1826-present).
- MO* *The Military Orders. Proceedings of the London Centre for the Study of the Crusades and the Religious Military Orders and the Latin East* 6 vols. (London: Routledge, 1994-present).
- PDC* *Petri de Dusburg Chronica terre Prussie*, ed. Klaus Scholz and Dieter Wojtecki (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984).
- PL* *Patrologia cursus completus. Series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-1865).
- PrUB* *Preussisches Urkundenbuch. Politische Abtheilung*, ed. Rudolf Philippi and August Seraphim et al, 6 vols. (Königsberg in Preussen: Hartnungsche Verlagsdruckerei, 1882-present).

- SDO* *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den Ältesten Handschriften*, ed. Max Perlbach (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1890).
- SRP* *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum: Die Geschichtsquellen der Preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft*, ed. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, Ernst Strehlke et al., 6 vols. (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1861-74).
- SS* *MGH Scriptores (in Folio)*, ed. Pertz, et al. (Hannover: Hahn, 1826-present).
- SS Dt. Chron.* *MGH Scriptores. Deutsche Chroniken*, ed. J.M. Lappenberg et al., (Hannover: Hahn, 1861-present).
- SS rer. Germ.* *MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex monumentis Germanie historicis separatim editi*, ed. J.M. Lappenberg et al., (Hannover: Hahn, 1861-present).
- SSSTOP* *Sacred Space in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia*, ed. Jarosław Wenta and Magdalena Kopczyńska (Toruń: Nicholas Copernicus University Press, 2013).
- TNT* *Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toriniu* (Scientific Society in Toruń).
- TOT* *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici ex tabularii regii Berolinensis codice potissimum*, ed. Ernst Strehlke (Berlin: Weidmann, 1869).
- UB Samland* *Urkundenbuch des Bistums Samland*, ed. Carl Peter Woelky and Hans Mendthal, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Dunker and Humboldt, 1891-1905).
- UMK* *Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika* (Nicholas Copernicus University Press).
- Wigand ‘Die Chronik Wigands von Marburg’, ed. Theodor Hirsch, *SRP* 2, pp. 429-662.

Introduction

The Baltic crusades were expeditions aimed at the armed conversion of the pagan peoples in the regions of Livonia and Prussia.¹ Previously assessed in the light of nationalist and colonialist discourses, a chequered historiography emerging from German lands, and an unfortunate abuse of the historical sources to fit ideological agendas, have resulted in a negative perception of the Baltic crusades and the Teutonic Order that relies on modern, as opposed to medieval, views.

Recent studies analysing the spirituality of the crusades, and the self-image and self-understanding of the Order, have aided in the abandonment of this trend. The present thesis intends to contribute to this body of work by filling in some gaps that have recently come to light: namely the concepts of ‘place’, ‘landscape’, and ‘space’, and how these relate to the Teutonic Order spiritual identity in the Baltic region. It highlights that the Order placed considerable significance on itself as the creators (and defender) of a sacral landscape in the Baltic through its holy wars. Therefore, this study investigates the emergence and propagation of that landscape in the key periods of holy war in the region, namely the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In doing so, it provides a view that was expressed by contemporaries concerning how crusading related to place and landscape.

This introduction first outlines the methodological and theoretical framework, providing the thesis’ definition of ‘sacred landscape.’ Followed by the applicability of this definition to the nature of holy war in the Baltic, it discusses the emergence of the military orders in the region, particularly the Teutonic Order. The groundwork of the thesis in the primary sources for the

¹ Present-day Latvia and Estonia (for Livonia or *Livland*); and present-day Poland, Lithuania, and parts of Russia (for Prussia or *Preußen*). All place names used in the present thesis use the historical German names, unless otherwise noted. This is in keeping with most scholarship (in English, German and, in some cases, Polish) which uses the historical German names when discussing Livonia and Prussia. The image on the title page was taken by the Author at Marienburg, summer 2016, in the Great Refectory. It was created c. 1350.

Baltic crusades is then discussed. Current historiographical trends are provided concerning the Teutonic Order in the Baltic, framing the relevance of the present study to the increasing interests amongst historians of the crusades in concepts of place, space, and sacred landscapes. It concludes with a source outline and background to the relevant written material.

Methodological Approaches of the Study

Sacred landscapes are, broadly, the results of a person's (or group's) spiritual interaction and connection to a given geographical region. They are just as much perceived as they are real, and in Medieval Europe the perception of the landscape was framed in sacral terms, just as time was seen as part of 'sacred time', the grander scheme of history that went back all the way to the Old Testament and the Creation.² Just as the concept of 'self-image' reflects a person or group's worldview, landscape and place are important components to viewing the world, for these are the media through which people navigate and create their world.³ This is particularly evident in the Christian tradition, which has had, since the fourth century, a distinct geographical focus emphasising the demarcation of sacred points in a landscape with which one connects with God and the saints.⁴

² See Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. by Williard R. Trask (New York: Harcourt, 1959), pp. 68-116, outlines 'sacred time'.

³ Michael Borgolte, "'Selbstverständnis' und 'Mentalitäten': Bewußtsein, Verhalten und Handeln mittelalterlicher Menschen im Verständnis moderner Historiker", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 79 (1997): pp. 189-210, especially p. 189: "'Selbstverständnis' kann nämlich die Weltorientierung von Individuen wie von Gruppen bezeichnen."

⁴ Julie Ann Smith, 'My Lord's Native Land: Mapping the Christian Holy Land', *Church History* 76, no. 1 (2007): pp. 1-31, here pp. 1-4; See R.A. Markus, 'How on Earth Could Places become Holy?: Origins of the Christian Idea of Holy Places', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2, no. 3 (1994): pp. 257-71; John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 2002), pp. 387-93, here p. 387. This began during the time of St. Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great. Her pilgrimage and discovery to the True Cross led to a boom in the physical demarcation of the landscape in the Holy Land and carried over to the enclosure and enshrinement of sites associated with the Old Testament. For a history of Christian pilgrimage in this period, see John Osborne, 'A tale of two cities: sacred geography in Christian Jerusalem', *Queen's Quarterly*, 103 (1996): pp. 741-49. For the history of pilgrimage at this time, see Ora Limor, "'Holy journey": pilgrimage and Christian sacred landscape', in *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land*, ed. by Ora Limor and Guy G. Stroumsa (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 321-53.

The ways people in the past wrote about place and landscape reflect understandings of those places amongst their audiences, serving as a main field of research in the fields of literary theory, anthropology, archaeology, and history.⁵ The chronicles for the Baltic crusades fit into this framework and serve as a suitable body of evidence for examining more deeply the relationship between landscape (or, the perception of landscape) in the Baltic crusades. We know their intended audiences in many cases, whether that be officials in Rome, pilgrims in the region, or knights in the Teutonic Order. In receiving the message of these texts, the audiences were exposed to distinct ideas that helped to shape a conception of a sacred landscape in the last pagan region of Europe. This landscape was centred on the holy wars that took place there.

A sacred landscape emerges from a variety of interactions between person and place.⁶ The present thesis will focus on how medieval people (e.g. crusaders) and groups (e.g. the Teutonic Order), as western Christians, viewed, navigated, created, and interacted with the religious landscape in the Baltic. The specific language, and acts associated with crusading like martyrdom, hierophany, and miraculous visions in the pagan Baltic landscape are the factors that contemporaries used to create a new sacred landscape in a formerly pagan region. They form the categories that this thesis uses to define '*sacred landscape*': a region emerging from specific acts deemed to be holy or miraculous (such as martyrdom, visions, and hierophanic acts), and described in a specific way (in this case, associations with the Virgin Mary and the literary themes associated with crusading). From a phenomenological perspective, i.e. the view

⁵ For example, see Karen Dang, 'Rome and the Sabine 'Farm': Aestheticism, Topography, and the Landscape of Production', *Phoenix* 64, no. 1/2 (Spring/Summer, 2010): pp. 102-27, especially pp. 103-07; Ana Isabel Quieroz, 'Landscapes of Portugal in Two Hundred Years of Narratives', *Portuguese Studies* 33, no. 1 (2017): pp. 39-55. Also see the introduction above, pp. 24-9. See Christopher Tilley and Kate Cameron-Daum, 'The Anthropology of Landscape: Materiality, Embodiment, Contestation and Emotion', in idem, *The Anthropology of Landscape: The Extraordinary in the Ordinary* (London: UCL Press, 2017), pp. 1-22, here p. 1, for the pervasiveness of the idea of 'landscape' to scholarship in general.

⁶ Matthew Johnson, 'Phenomenological Approaches in Landscape Archaeology', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41 (2012): pp. 269-84, here p. 273.

that people form a connection to place based on applying phenomena to them, the wars in Prussia and Livonia were explanations for the Order's chroniclers, legitimising how those areas came into existence. The lands given to the Order and, therefore, to Christendom were products of God's will, linking the very existence of the places to divine providence itself.⁷ We see this below with the earliest sources produced by the Order concerning Prussia, which introduce the divinely-guided conquest of Prussia with the phrase 'how this land came to us' (*wy das lant...an unsz isth komen*).⁸

This landscape reflected the worldview of those who found themselves engaged in holy war there and applies to members of the Teutonic Order as well as the crusaders who participated in the wars. For the brothers of the Teutonic Order, as a (western) Christian institution and a corporation defined by its engagement in holy war (in the Holy Land or in the Baltic), their worldview was heavily reliant on their spiritual identity, and the landscape in which their biblical predecessors battled, discussed at greater length in the Source Outline below. Likewise, crusaders engaged in the conversion missions in the Baltic often commemorated (were reminded of) their predecessors.⁹ The visual tradition of the Baltic region reflects this. The present study offers a spatial consideration of this process, representing the locations of martyrdom, hierophany, relics, and processions, ultimately providing a map of the effect of crusading in the development of a sacral geography in the Baltic. This forms the structure of

⁷ John C. Barrett and Ilhong Ko, 'A Phenomenology of Landscape: A Crisis in British Landscape Archaeology?', *Journal of Social Archaeology* 9, no. 3 (2009): pp. 275-94, here p. 275: "[Phenomenology is] the investigation of how the world is given to us, and thus the conditions that are necessary for consciousness." The idea was first proposed by Edmund Husserl (d. 1938), and expanded upon by his student, Martin Heidegger (d. 1976).

⁸ 'Hermann von Salza's Bericht über die Eroberung Preussens', ed. by Theodor Hirsch, in *SRP* 5, pp. 153-68, here p. 159: 'I brother Herman, a master of the hospital of St Mary of Jerusalem of the German house, wish to make known to all of God's faithful *how the land of Prussia came to us*, as we have heard it from our wise brothers, who were there, and know it well.' (Ich bruder Herman, eyn meyster des hospitals s. Marie zcu Ih[erusa][e]m des Deutschen hauses, *ich thu zcu wissen allen Gotes frunden, wy das lant zcu Preussen an unsz isth komen*, alsz wir haben vernomen von unsern weisen brudern, dy do geweseth sint, und dy das wol wusten.) This translation, and all others from this source, are the author's own. The source has not yet been translated to English and a publication is in preparation by the author.

⁹ See Chapter 2 below.

the present thesis as a whole: Chapter 1 examines the literary models of pagan and Christian landscapes in the sources, proceeding to examining martyrdom and hierophany (Chapter 2), relics and processions (Chapter 3), and concluding with the iconography of landscape in the visual culture of Prussia (Chapter 4). The following methodological approaches frame the reading of the sources produced by the Order documenting the crusades to Baltic region, helping to better understand the relevance of place and landscape to those wars.

‘Maps,’ as Julie Ann Smith states, ‘anchor an event to place’, and the theoretical frameworks employed in this thesis contribute a new ‘map’ of the development of holy war in the Baltic, and how it contributed to the perception of a new sacral landscape.¹⁰ Recent studies have shown how historical texts from the eighteenth century can be used to view ‘constructed’ landscapes.¹¹ The emotions of authors with respect to martyrdom, hierophanic acts (like miraculous visions), and the arrival of relics can be mapped, giving a more direct understanding of the role of *place*.¹² While this approach has a variety of recent applications, none deal with the crusading period, let alone the medieval Baltic.¹³ In other words, geographical places form part of ‘imagined’ landscapes expressed in the written accounts of those who experienced them, in our case the Teutonic Order chroniclers. We can see this in a variety of elements in the text, such as the naming and re-naming of places after important saints to the Order and to crusaders, such as the Virgin Mary and St George. There are also more subtle approaches to consider, such as the mood of the author, and their emotional connection to the place (this could include their reason for travelling there). In both cases, these elements can be represented visually and

¹⁰ Smith, ‘My Lord’s Native Land’, p. 1.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 91.

¹² One specific example is the different reckonings of place names that both authors gave in their writings.

¹³ For example, see David Cooper and Ian N. Gregory, ‘Mapping the English Lake District: A Literary GIS’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 36, no. 1 (January 2011): pp. 89-108.

spatially, providing an insight into the authors' perceptions of the landscape itself as defined and demarcated by the sacral events that they described.

The present thesis uses Geographical Information Systems (GIS) to produce maps in chapters 2 and 3, geographically and spatially displaying the aspects of the texts that outline the process of landscape sacralisation. This has resulted in a database of the necessary factors that, mentioned above, the present thesis uses to define *sacred landscape*. Pilgrim presence, relic presence, relic processions, martyrdom, and hierophany form the dataset used to generate the maps used in this thesis. It also notes 'positive' descriptions of events at given places and incorporated them into the database. These descriptions often come after victories, or after something perceived as miraculous (like a martyrdom, or a vision), thus providing a sacral element to a specific geographical point (listed as geographical coordinates in the database under N [North] and E [East]). The data used is collected in Appendix II below.¹⁴

The discovery of St Barbara's in 1242, at Sartowitz (Sartowice), and the transferral of the relics to Althaus Kulm (Starogard Chełmiński), demonstrates how such events factored into creating the dataset. It also shows how they provide a new interpretation of crusading and landscape sacralisation in the Baltic. Foundational to the development of Prussia as a place of pilgrimage, the discovery of these relics is connected to two specific points in the landscape, the first pagan, and the second Christian. The narrative of the discovery, recorded in various Teutonic Order sources, reinforces the authors' emotional response to the landscape of the Baltic. It demonstrates the importance of this location to the propagated sacral landscape, both physically (St Barbara's relics served as a major pilgrimage shrine throughout the thirteenth century), and ideologically (the narrative was retold into the fifteenth century).¹⁵ This offers a

¹⁴ See below, Appendix II, pp. 235-40.

¹⁵ For the fifteenth-century narrative, see *ÄH*, pp. 547-48. For the importance of St Barbara's shrine, see Maria Starnawski, 'The role of the legend of St Barbara's in the conflict of the Teutonic Order and Świętopełk, the duke

new way to frame the textual descriptions in the chronicles concerning *where* the holy wars in the Baltic occurred. The repetition of these events in both Livonia and Prussia offers a set of maps to reflect the relationship of crusading and pilgrimage to the development of a sacred landscape.

. We can take this and apply the theory of ‘mood landscapes’, that is, the systematic descriptions in which an author uses certain adjectives to describe a place. The concept of phenomenological landscapes, a field that examines how places emerge in human consciousness due to the application of phenomena to them, like the example above. This is a field drawing the attention of archaeologists and historians over the recent years to understand notions of place in the past. Barbara Bender considers the relationship between *time* and *landscape*, demonstrating that landscapes in and of themselves change as subsequent generations of people interact with and create them.¹⁶ With respect to Prussia and Livonia the instances of martyrdom, miracles, and the discovery of relics described in the narrative sources serve to frame how those places were viewed by contemporaries as sacred ones and how they developed over time and to fit changing attitudes to holy war. Incorporating a phenomenological approach to landscape, gives new meanings to the ‘signs and wonders’ (*signa et mirabilia*) that frame the chronicle of Peter of Dusburg (c. 1326) and, indeed, the subsequent chronicles documenting the history of Prussia with respect to the Teutonic Order.

Moodscapes and emotions are tenable from the sources, but there is also a more physical method to consider, namely that of the ‘Taskscape’, proposed by Tim Ingold. This theory proposes that when people interact with a place they are carrying out a process of social life,

of Pomerania’, in *MO* 6.2, ed. by Mike Carr and Jochen G. Schenk (Farnham: Ashgate, 2017), pp. 203-12, especially pp. 203-04, for the veneration of Barbara’s shrine in the later Middle Ages.

¹⁶ Bender, ‘Time and Landscape’, *Current Anthropology* 43 (August-October, 2002): pp. S103-S112, here S103.

merging the understanding of temporality and historicity in doing so.¹⁷ With respect to the crusaders on all fronts, as pilgrims they engaged in a process that held major significance to medieval life whilst also crossing various boundaries as to which societal ‘order’ they fell into.¹⁸ In the Holy Land and Iberia, the ‘task’ of those crusaders involved the defence of holy places and fighting the pagans. In the Baltic, the task was one of conversion. This is a key element for viewing how the concepts of pilgrimage manifested themselves in the medieval Baltic, which I will discuss shortly.

Phenomenology also provides a new interpretation for interpreting a key aspect of the Baltic crusades: 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 sacralise a formerly pagan place. Chronicles from both regions (namely Henry of Livonia and the Order’s texts for Prussia) place an emphasis on processions and commemorating victories and provide insight into the pilgrim experience. Pilgrims are greeted ‘with joy’ (*cum leticia; cum gaudio; gaudentes; decantantes*), which likely refer to processions. More specific elements refer directly to processions (*solemni processione; mit gesange*), namely with relics. These are key elements to the texts documenting the thirteenth and fourteenth-century crusades and form a significant portion of the evidence necessary for understanding how contemporaries sacralised the landscape in the Baltic.¹⁹

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 157.

¹⁸ For the significance of pilgrimage (and crusaders as pilgrims) to medieval society, see Giles Constable, ‘The Place of the Crusader in Medieval Society’, in idem, *Crusaders and Crusading*, pp. 143-44; Léan Ní Chléirigh, ‘*Nova peregrinatio*’, p. 63.

¹⁹ For example, see *HCL*, p. 13 (4.3): “Fratres ibidem [in Üxküll – GL] morantes a tempore primi *episcopi et alii cum gaudio suscipiunt.*” This is from Henry’s record of a campaign in the summer of 1200. Also see p. 48 (11.1): “Rigam veniens [Albert, with pilgrims – GL] *cum gaudio ab omnibus suscipitur.*” There are also various examples in the chronicles for Prussia. See *PDC*, p. 140 (3.36), recording the discovery and translocation of St Barbara’s relics to Kulm: “...reversus has sanctas reliquias versus Colmen duxit, *ubi clerus et populus cum solemni*

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 in Riga, or the Church of St Barbara in Kulm, were the sacral centres where pilgrims would visit to express their piety as connected to their mission, recently discussed by Burnam W Reynolds.²⁰ This was virtually universal to Christian pilgrimage.²¹ They also necessitated veneration by pilgrims (or the local population).

Recent archaeological work on pilgrimage and pilgrimage landscapes provides an avenue to better understand the practice of pilgrimage in the medieval Baltic region from a fresh perspective. Physical geography and spatial boundaries have been used to understand the emergence of pilgrimage landscapes in a formerly pagan region, namely Britain, and serves as a suitable model upon which to examine the medieval Baltic. Martin Locker argued that in navigating their respective journeys, pilgrims create a “repository of memory” for future pilgrims.

It is not scientifically possible to measure the experience of the pilgrim as he (or she) navigates his (or her) journey, but in the types of written descriptions of the pilgrimage, we do understand that there is something called ‘spirit of place.’ This serves as a medium for trying

processione occurrens eas ad ecclesiam portaverunt.” See *KvP*, p. 379 (lines 6559-6641), which is a detailed account of the transferral of the relics to Kulm. Also see *PDC*, pp. 168-70 (3.55), for a ‘celebration’ (*leticia magna in populo*) after a major victory of the brothers over the Pomeranians in c. 1245. See *KvP*, pp. 398-400 (lines 8431-8473) for the same account. Wigand of Marburg also refers to processions in his text. For example, see Wigand, p. 455, which recounts the Christian army “singing praises to God” (*Deo laudes decantantes*) after a victory over the Lithuanians in 1293.

²⁰ Reynolds, *The Prehistory of the Crusades: Missionary War and the Baltic Crusades* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), pp. 135-43, addresses how the crusades in the Baltic resulted in a new type of pilgrim.

²¹ John M. Howe, ‘The Conversion of the Physical World. The Creation of a Christian Landscape’, in *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, ed. James Muldoon (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1997), pp. 63-80; Dyas, ‘To Be a Pilgrim: Tactile Piety, Virtual Pilgrimage and the Experience of Place in Christian Pilgrimage’, *Matter of Faith: An Interdisciplinary Study of Relics and Relic Veneration in the Medieval Period*, ed. by James Robinson, Lloyd de Beer, and Anna Harnden (London: British Museum, 2014), pp. 1-8.

to investigate people and place relationships.²² Livonia and Prussia, where crusading and conversion continued for centuries, were ‘memory landscapes’ based on the historical texts documenting the Christianisation process. The language of the sources gives a key feature to how the Baltic was constructed in the mindset of Christendom. Mapping the development of pilgrimage in the crusade period thus offers a fresh view of the landscape pilgrims created and experienced.

Mapping the chronicles within these parameters shows that, for one, places emerged from the crusading period that were ‘made holy’ in the sense that holy things were stored there and pilgrims visited them on their campaigns. Another factor that GIS can map is a more emotional understanding to the crusade in the north. This contributes to the tradition of work examining the spirituality of the Baltic crusades, which emphasises contemporary understandings of holy war and the contemporary understandings of chroniclers documenting them.²³

Historiographical Framework of the Present Study

Scholarly interest in the Baltic military orders, particularly the Teutonic Order in Prussia, goes back at least to the eighteenth century, when Ludwig von Baczko (d. 1823), published his series on the history of Prussia.²⁴ Johannes Voigt, a historian working at the University of Königsberg, marked the beginning of detailed historical study of the military orders and the crusades on the shores of the Baltic Sea. His *Geschichte Preußens*, a monumental work of nine

²² Martin Locker, *Landscapes of Pilgrimage in Medieval Britain* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2015), p. 12. Also see Sam Turner *Making a Christian Landscape: The countryside in early medieval Cornwall, Devon and Wessex* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2006).

²³ For some examples, see Helmut Bauer, *Peter von Dusburg und die Geschichtsschreibung des Deutschen Ordens im 14. Jahrhundert in Preußen* (Berlin: Ebering, 1935), esp. pp. 14-59; Karl Helm and Walther Zeisemer, *Die Literatur des Deutschen Ritterordens* (Gießen: Wilhelm Schmitz, 1951), pp. 92-3; Kaspar Elm, ‘Die Spiritualität der geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters. Forschungsstand und Forschungsprobleme’, in *Die Spiritualität des Ritterordens*, pp. 7-44; Arno Mentzel-Reuters, ‘Unde dem vride machten wider in dem Lande – Kriegsziele in der Historiographie des Deutschen Ordens’, *Ordines Militares* 18 (2013): pp. 81-104; Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, ‘Christ ist erstanden...and Christians Win! Liturgy and the Sacralization of Armed Fight against Pagans as Determinants of the Identity of the Members of the Teutonic Order in Prussia’, *SSSTOP*, pp. 101-27, esp. pp. 124-26.

²⁴ Ludwig von Baczko, *Geschichte Preussens*, 6 vols. (Königsberg, 1792-1800).

volumes completed between 1827 and 1839, remains useful today in terms of its breadth and valuable footnotes.²⁵ For Livonia, the works of F.G. von Bunge, Leonid Arbusow, and Leonid Arbusow, Jr. laid the foundations for studying the history of the orders in the eastern Baltic region.²⁶

These historians focused on producing source editions, cataloguing and recording archaeological sites associated with the crusades, and analysing the political history of the Baltic crusades. The source editions available in the *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, the various charters and letters for both Livonia and Prussia, and the Teutonic Order's *Rule* demonstrate the invaluable contributions of these historians to the field. They still serve as foundational for examining concepts of place, landscape, and the spirituality of the crusades in the Baltic region, and the Teutonic Order as a whole.²⁷ Max Töppen's *Geschichte der Preussischen Historiographie* (1853), for example, re-visited the spiritual themes present in Peter's chronicle, previously dismissed as dry in its representation of the Order's wars in Prussia, demonstrating the origins of scholarly interests in the Teutonic Order's spiritual identity in the Baltic.²⁸

²⁵ Johannes Voigt, *Geschichte Preußens, von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Untergänge der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, 9 vols. (Königsberg: Bornträger, 1827-1839). See especially vol. 1, pp. 290-94 for the description of pagan religion and landscape in the Baltic region. Also see *Geschichte Preußens* 5, pp. 181-84. For the impact of Voigt's work: Marcus Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter* (Weimar: VDG, 2013), p. 1: "Als Nestor der wissenschaftlichen Forschung zum Deutschen Orden, besonders in Preußen, muss der Historiker Johannes Voigt gelten."

²⁶ Friedrich Georg von Bunge, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder, dessen Stiftung, Verfassung und Auflösung* (Leipzig: Bidder, 1875). This was the first major attempt to study the history of the regional order. Also see Juhan Kreem, 'The Teutonic Order in Livonia: Diverging Historiographic Traditions', in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. by Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky (Budapest: CEU Press, 2001), pp. 467-80.

²⁷ *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichte der Preußischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergänge der Ordensherrschaft*, ed. by Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, Ernst Strehlke, and Walter Hubatsch, 6 vols. (Frankfurt am Mainz: Minerva, 1861-74; revised and reprinted 1965-68). For the legal sources: *PrUB*; *LECUB*; *SDO*.

²⁸ Max Töppen, *Geschichte der Preussischen Historiographie von P. v. Dusburg bis auf K. Schutz* (Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1853), pp. 1-15, especially pp. 8-10 for the spiritual ideology in Peter's chronicle. For the impact of Töppen's revisiting of Peter's text, see Helmut Bauer, *Peter von Dusburg und die Geschichtsschreibung des Deutschen Ordens*, p. 13.

The Swedish historian Sven Ekdahl overviews the twentieth-century research into the Baltic crusades that took place in Germany.²⁹ In the early decades of this period, the view held the indigenous peoples (i.e. the pagans) as inferior to the colonisers (the Germans), evinced most obviously in the emergence of ‘Culture carrier theory’ (*Kulturträgertheorie*).³⁰ German scholarship in this period placed the knights of the Order as predecessors to the German expansion to the east in the 1930s and during World War Two. The works of scholars such as Erich Maschke, for example, aligned with National Socialist interpretations of German expansion toward the East. Prussia became the ‘new living space’ (*neuer Lebensraum*) of medieval Germans who were not going to Livonia.³¹ This would have a long-lasting effect on the study of the Baltic crusades in Germany, Poland, and the Baltic States of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, resulting in nationalist tensions and divides amongst researchers from those areas.³²

The present study situates itself in the field of research on the spirituality of the Baltic crusades, which has experienced a boom in scholarship over the last twenty years or so, especially in English. However, the origins of English-speaking researchers inquiring into the Baltic crusades can be traced to the 1960s and 1970s, two examples being the 1969 PhD thesis of Indrikis Sterns, and the work of Jonathan Riley-Smith.³³ Riley-Smith’s theory, called

²⁹ Ekdahl, ‘Crusades and Colonisation in the Baltic’, in *The North-Eastern Frontiers of Medieval Europe. The Expansion of Latin Christendom in the Baltic Lands*, ed. by Alan V. Murray (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 12-25.

³⁰ For example, Linda Kaljundi and Kaspars Kļaviņš, ‘The Chronicler and the Modern World: Henry of Livonia and the Baltic Crusades in the Enlightenment and National Traditions’, *CCWMBF*, pp. 446-93.

³¹ Erich Maschke, ‘Historische Tendenzen in der Gründungsgeschichte des preußischen Ordensstaates’, *Festreden zur 700-Jahr-Feier Ostpreußens* (Königsberg: Gräfe and Unzer, 1931), pp. 3-24; Idem, *Das germanische Meer. Geschichte des Ostseeraums* (Berlin: Grenze und Ausland, 1935), especially p. 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.”

³² Ekdahl, ‘Crusades and Colonisation on the Baltic’, pp. 14-5, outlines the National Socialist approaches to studying the Teutonic Order.

³³ See Sterns, *The Statutes of the Teutonic Knights: A Study of Religious Chivalry* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1969); Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* 3rd Edn. (London: Houndmills, 2002).

pluralism, focused on the intentions, rather than the destination, of crusaders, and opened up the field to English-speaking scholars.³⁴ Early works explicitly written in English concerning the Baltic crusades were translations, notably those of James Brundage and William Urban.³⁵ General outlines of the Baltic crusades and the Teutonic Order emerged at this time, too.³⁶ Urban's books on the Baltic Crusade (1975), the Prussian Crusade (1980), the Livonian Crusade (1981), and the Samogitian Crusade (1989) offer commentary on the political role of the Order in the Baltic.³⁷ Eric Christiansen's *The Northern Crusades* (1980, revised in 1997) still remains one of the best introductions to the topic in English. These works traditionally focused on the military and political factors of crusading in the north, outlining the role of weapons technology by the crusaders and the process of colonisation.

Beginning in the 1990s, English-speaking researchers began to focus more clearly on the spirituality of the Baltic crusades and the inner life of the Teutonic Order. Mary Fischer's work on the literature and self-image serve as key English works on the topic.³⁸ The volumes of

³⁴ See Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, p. 87; Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), especially pp. 3-4, for Riley-Smith's contribution; Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 18-9 outlines the differences between traditionalism and pluralism.

³⁵ *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by James A. Brundage (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961). Re-printed and revised in 2001. See *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, ed. and trans. by William Urban and Jerry Smith (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977).

³⁶ Edgar N. Johnson, 'The German Crusade on the Baltic', in *The History of the Crusades, vol. 3: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. by Kenneth M. Setton and Harry W. Hazard (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975), pp. 545-85, especially pp. 570-85 for an outline of the conquest of Prussia by the Order.

³⁷ William Urban, *The Baltic Crusade* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1975); Idem, *The Prussian Crusade* (Washington: University Press of America, 1980); *The Livonian Crusade* (Washington: University Press of America, 1981); *The Samogitian Crusade* (Chicago: Lithuanian Research and Studies Centre, 1989). Also see Peter Lock, *The Routledge Companion to the Crusades* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 213-24, for a more recent introduction in English.

³⁸ Fischer, *Di Himels Rote: Ideas of Christian Chivalry in the Chronicles of the Teutonic Order* (Göppingen, 1991); Eadem, 'The Books of the Maccabees and the Teutonic Order', in *Crusades. The Journal of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, vol. 4*, ed. by Benjamin Z. Kedar and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 59-72; Eadem, 'Winning Hearts and Minds: the role of the written word in the Crusades in north-eastern Europe in the fourteenth century', in *The Book in Germany*, ed. by M.C. Fischer and W.A. Kelly (Edinburgh: Merchiston Publishing, 2010), pp.1-16; Eadem, 'Biblical Heroes and the Use of Literature: The Teutonic Order in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries', in *Crusade and Conversion*, pp. 261-275..

essays on the crusades in the Baltic, edited by Alan Murray, provide access to more detailed and expert analysis exploring topics concerning the crusades and the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia, ranging from the influence of Christianity on the perception of pagan enemies, to re-assessments of crusading as a spiritual act in the fourteenth century.³⁹ Aleksander Pluskowski's *The Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, published in 2013, provided the first study in English of the material culture and archaeological research on medieval Prussia, specifically analyses of the castles, churches, and excavations carried out over time.⁴⁰ The recent publications coming from the Nicholas Copernicus University in Toruń provide access to more specialist avenues of research to researchers not familiar with Polish or German.⁴¹

Scholars have likewise realized the dichotomy of landscape in the missionary accounts and the chronicles of the crusades with respect to pagan and Christian landscapes in the Baltic since the nineteenth century.⁴² With respect to the role of sacred landscape in the conversion of the Baltic, one need only consult the works of Tiina Kala, Torben Nielsen, Marek Tamm and Kurt Villads Jensen. Torben Nielsen examined the role of forests as elements in the text representing Henry's conception of 'Otherness', and reflective of the physical process of landscape sacralisation by crusaders in both Livonia and Prussia.⁴³ Villads Jensen's work on landscape

³⁹ These include *Crusade and Conversion on the Medieval Baltic Frontier* (2001); *Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); and *The North-Eastern Frontiers of Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014). Especially see Vera Matuzova, 'Mental frontiers: Prussians as seen by Peter of Dusburg', *Crusade and Conversion*, pp. 253-59; Axel Ehlers, 'The crusades of the Teutonic Order against Lithuania reconsidered', *Crusade and Conversion*, pp. 21-44, especially pp. 23-5 for interpretations of the *Reisen*.

⁴⁰ Pluskowski, *The Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, pp. 1-42, here p. 9.

⁴¹ This is specifically the 2013 publication, *Sacred Space in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia*, ed. by Jarosław Wenta and Magdalena Kopczyńska (Toruń: UMK, 2013). Abbreviated *SSSTOP*.

⁴² Johannes Voigt, *Die Geschichte Marienburgs, der Stadt und des Haupthauses des deutschen Ritter-Ordens in Preußen* (Königsberg: Bornträger, 1824) pp. 1-21, here pp. 1-3; *Ibid*, *Geschichte Preussens. Von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Untergange der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens 1: Die Zeit des Heidenthums* (Königsberg: Bornträger Verlag, 1827), pp. 576-77; Torben K. Nielsen, 'Henry of Livonia on Woods and Wilderness', *CCWMBF*, p. 159.

⁴³ Nielsen, 'Henry of Livonia on Woods and Wilderness', *CCWMBF*, pp. 157-78. Also see Rasa J. Mažeika, "'Nowhere was the fragility of their sex apparent": women warriors in the Baltic crusade chronicles', in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095-1500*, ed. by Alan V. Murray (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 253-59, for a fascinating study of women on warriors in the medieval Baltic region; eadem,

sacralisation in the early missions to Pomerania (1124-1125), in addition to his studies on landscape in the *Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, illuminate the contributions of these researchers to examining the concept of crusade (or mission) as a transformative element of landscape.⁴⁴ Tiina Kala examined the role of towns and administrative structures in Livonia during the thirteenth century, as does the work of Marek Tamm with respect to the absorption of Livonia into the mental (and geographical) fabric of western Christendom in the thirteenth century.⁴⁵

Recently, Burnam W Reynolds' 2016 book on the 'prehistory' of the Baltic crusades addressed concepts of place and landscape specifically through the lens of pilgrimage.⁴⁶ Concluding that 'pilgrimage' ought to be seen in the light of earlier models, namely the Irish *peregrinatio pro amore Christo*, Reynolds views pilgrimage as an act that sacralises landscape through building structures, like churches, for future crusaders to visit.⁴⁷ This is certainly the case for the missions that predated the crusading movement, such as those of St. Adalbert of Prague (d. 997) and St. Otto of Bamberg (1124-1125), where the goal was explicitly a missionary one. In fact, Adalbert's case is more along the lines of what Reynolds applies to the Baltic crusade pilgrimages, in that he explicitly went for martyrdom. The present thesis offers

'Granting power to enemy gods in the chronicles of the Baltic crusades', in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. by David Abulafia and Nora Berend (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 153-71.

⁴⁴ Kurt Villads Jensen, 'Sacralization of the Landscape: Converting Trees and Measuring Land in the Danish Crusades against the Wends', *Clash of Cultures*, pp. 141-50; *Ibid*, 'Physical extermination of physical sin – remarks on the theology and mission in the Baltic around 1200', *SSSTOP*, pp. 87-100, especially p. 94.

⁴⁵ Kala, 'The Incorporation of the Northern Baltic Lands into the Western Christian World', *Crusade and Conversion*, pp. 3-20. Also see Kala, 'Rural society and religious innovation: acceptance and rejection of Catholicism among the native inhabitants of medieval Livonia', in *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, ed. by Alan V. Murray (Farnham: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 169-90. See Tamm, 'A New World into Old Worlds: The Eastern Baltic Region and the Geography of Medieval Europe', in *Clash of Cultures*, pp. 11-35; *Idem*, 'Communicating Crusade. Livonian mission and the Cistercian network in the thirteenth century', *Alajooline Ajakiri* (The Estonian History Journal), 3 (2009): pp. 341-72; *Idem*, 'Inventing Livonia: the Name and Fame of a Christian Colony on the Medieval Baltic Frontier.' *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 60 (2011): pp. 186-209. Also see Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide and Stefan Brink, *Sacred Sites and Holy Places: Exploring the Sacralisation of Landscape through Time and Space* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

⁴⁶ Reynolds, *Prehistory of the Crusades*, pp. 135-43.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 146.

a more detailed approach, considering the actual re-visiting of sites and shrines, and noting the parallels and two differences in how ‘pilgrimage’ was understood by crusaders in both Livonia and Prussia. It also considers the extent to which a more detailed, specific, and unique concept of Prussia and Livonia as sacred landscapes emerged through war and pilgrimage. These studies are continuing to illuminate the cultural impact of crusading in the Baltic, namely the introduction of holy war to the region and crusade symbolism and ideology. Most recent is the collection of essays published in 2016, *Crusading on the Edge*, which explores the comparative aspects of holy war and landscapes in two frontier regions, but specifically providing fresh research on the role of crusade ideology in the Baltic.⁴⁸

The last fifty years has seen tremendous output in the field of spirituality within the Teutonic Order by Polish and German researchers. This began with the work of the Polish scholar, Karol Górski, who began questioning the problem of spirituality in the Teutonic Order as early as the 1930s.⁴⁹ Ever since, the topic of the Order’s spirituality and the creation of its monastic state in Prussia has been a growing area of research building off that of Górski, notably in the works of Roman Czaja, Kaspar Elm, Marian Dygo, Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, Stefan Kwiatkowski, and Jürgen Sarnowsky, opening up the field to a more international audience.⁵⁰ The 2005

⁴⁸ *Crusading on the Edge: Ideas and Practices of Crusading in Iberia and the Baltic Region, 1100-1500*, ed. by Torben K. Nielsen and Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016). Especially see the contribution of Kurt Villads Jensen, ‘Crusading at the End of the World. The Spread of the Idea of Jerusalem after 1099 to the Baltic Sea Area and to the Iberian Peninsula’, pp. 153-76.

⁴⁹ Roman Czaja, ‘Das Selbstbildverständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden im Mittelalter. Bilanz und Forschungsperspektive’, *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis*, p. 12, outlines Górski’s work and contributions to the field.

⁵⁰ See Karol Górski, ‘Religijność Krzyżaków a klimat kulturalny’ [The spirituality of the Teutonic Order and the Cultural Climate], *Przegląd Historyczny* 75, no. 2 (1985): pp. 249-58, especially pp. 252-54. Also see Roman Czaja, ‘Das Selbstverständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden’, *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis*, pp. 7-21; Kaspar Elm, ‘Die Spiritualität der geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters. Forschungsstand und Forschungsprobleme’, in idem, *Umbilicus mundi. Beiträge zur Geschichte Jerusalems, der Kreuzzüge, des Kapitels vom Hlg. Grab in Jerusalem und der Ritterorden* (Bruges: Sint Kruis, 1998), pp. 447-506; Marian Dygo, ‘Die heiligen Deutschordensritter. Didaktik und Herrschaftsideologie im Deutsche Orden in Preußen um 1300’, *Spiritualität der Ritterorden*, pp. 165-76; Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, ‘Die Selbstdarstellung des Deutschen Ordens in der ‘Chronik’ Wigands von Marburg’, *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis*, pp. 127-38; Stefan Kwiatkowski, ‘*Devotio antiqua*, ihr Niedergang und die geistigen Ursachen der religiösen Krise des Deutschen Ordens im Spätmittelalter’, in *Deutscher Orden 1190-1990*, ed. by Udo Arnold (Lüneburg: Institut Nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk, 1997), pp. 107-30; Jürgen Sarnowsky, ‘Identität und Selbstgefühl der geistlichen Ritterorden’, in

Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia historica conference had, as its theme, that of self-image and self-understanding (*Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis*), a testament to the growing interest in the field.⁵¹ Most recently is the publication of Marcus Wüst, in 2013, which provides an overview of virtually all of the Order's written sources, in addition to the visual representations of its identity in Prussia.⁵² New and ground-breaking work on the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia continues to come from these scholars, evinced in the annual publication of the *Ordines Militares* journal, published at Nicholas Copernicus University in Toruń. This body of research also considers the visual culture produced in the form of seals to letters, and other symbols of the Order to demonstrate its power, namely its castles and churches, thus encompassing a large body of written and visual evidence, which the present thesis will contribute to by examining, specifically, the role of place and landscape in the self-image of knights in the Order, but also of crusaders.

In addition to the focus on the early crusading period that resulted in the conquest of Prussia, the role of the Teutonic Order in the later expeditions to Lithuania, the *Reisen*, has been systematically outlined by Werner Paravicini. His authoritative monographs on the *Preußenreisen* ("Prussian journeys"), the seasonal campaigns of the European nobility to Lithuania, address practically every aspect of holy war in the late medieval Baltic. His analysis of the Order as a patron of holy war and caterer to these pilgrims is fundamental in framing the spiritual nature of the campaigns.⁵³

Ständische und religiöse Identitäten in Mittelalter und frühen Neuzeit, ed. by Stefan Kwiatkowski and Janusz Małek (Toruń: UMK, 1998), pp. 109-130; Idem, *Der Deutsche Orden*, pp. 86-9.

⁵¹ Also see the earlier work of Marian Arsyński, 'Der Deutsche Orden als Bauherr und Kunstmäzen', in *Die Rolle der Ritterorden in der mittelalterlichen Kultur*, ed. by Zenon H. Nowar (Toruń: UMK, 1993), pp. 145-68; and Stefan Kwiatkowski, 'Devotio antiqua', *Deutscher Orden 1190-1990*, pp. 125-36.

⁵² Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, here pp. 207-54.

⁵³ Werner Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels*, 2 vols. (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989 & 1995). A further 3 vols. have been proposed.

The present study thus is situated in a rich historiographical framework, particularly concerning the spirituality of the Baltic crusades and the military orders with respect to sacral landscapes. The military orders understood themselves in their relation to the fight against Christendom's enemies, the spiritual battles they engaged in as monks, their identity as protectors of the holy places, and of Christian pilgrims. While recent work on the concept of pilgrimage in the Baltic crusades has been published by Reynolds, the role of the military orders as agents of pilgrimage is not addressed systematically. It will provide a fresh contribution of the spiritual identity that developed during these crusades through re-considering concepts of pilgrimage and addressing the visual elements of how a sacral landscape was present in the visual culture of the region, namely Prussia.

Crusading and Holy War in the Baltic

The phenomenon of crusading had, if we take its origins to be the movement that departed Europe in 1095 and conquered Jerusalem in July of 1099, a strong connection to holy places and sacred landscapes, specifically the Holy Sepulchre and the broader sacral topography of the Holy Land.⁵⁴ Crusading in the Baltic, conversely, focused on conversion, and not the recapture of sacred sites.⁵⁵ This gave way to a different form of crusading and the role of crusade ideology, addressed in Reynolds' recent publication with an emphasis on how this developed as a sort of pilgrimage. However, this is also the case with the main leaders of the campaign: the military orders, especially the Teutonic Knights, a group that does not receive much attention in Reynolds' book. Conversion defined the ideology of the Teutonic Order in the region, who was also responsible for the development of pilgrimage shrines and recruiting

⁵⁴ See the recent work by Jelena Erdeljan, *Chosen Places: Constructing New Jerusalems in Slavia Orthodoxa* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 41.

⁵⁵ The first campaigns into the Baltic were against the Wends, when a group of princes from Northern Germany were granted authorisation to campaign against the pagans living on their border, thus becoming the northern branch of the army of the Second Crusade. See Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

pilgrims to visit them whilst on crusade.⁵⁶ This aspect of the wars framed the ultimate struggle of the Christian knights against the pagan peoples, and can serve as a substitute for the holiness of the landscape of the Latin East by focusing on the ultimate struggle of good against evil.

Crusading and holy war in the Baltic took the form of seasonal expeditions by warriors referred to in the sources as ‘pilgrims’ or ‘guests’ (*peregrini; pilgerin; gäste*).⁵⁷ These campaigns served to expand the Christian frontier and establish settlements. While this is addressed by Reynolds’ recent publication, the bringing in of ‘pilgrimage-inducing’ elements, like relics, provide the opportunity to view the sacralization of landscape as a deeper, more physical process, and less of an ‘inward journey.’ For example, the relics in both Livonia and in Prussia continued to be venerated by ‘guests’ into the fifteenth century, quite different to the *peregrinatio pro Christo* model discussed in the above section.⁵⁸ The presence of relics and their veneration by brothers in the Teutonic Order, and crusaders, present parallels to more traditional forms of armed pilgrimage, not previous missionary encounters. Castles of the military orders and bishops, in addition to churches, were important religious centres (as well as economic and practical ones) that reflected the landscape sacralisation process. While

⁵⁶ Johannes Voigt, *Geschichte Preußens 5. Die Zeit vom Hochmeister Ludolf König von Weizau 1342 bis zum Tode des Hochmeisters Konrad von Wallenrod 1393* (Königsberg: Bornträger, 1832), pp. 181-85, discusses the ‘glory’ (*Ruhme*) of the Order’s wars (literally, ‘heathen struggle’ or *Heidenkampf*) against the Lithuanians. This is outlined in great detail in the work of Hans-Dietrich Kahl, *Heidenfrage und Slawenfrage im Deutschen Mittelalter. Ausgewählte Studien, 1953-2008* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 881-909, which deals with the Teutonic Order.

⁵⁷ See Astaf von Transehe-Roseneck, ‘Einleitung’, in idem, *Die ritterlichen Livlandfahrer des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Würzburg, 1960); Bernd Ulrich Hucker, ‘Zur Frömmigkeit von Livlandpilgern und Ordensrittern’, in *Die Spiritualität der Ritterorden im Mittelalter*, ed. by Zenon H. Nowak (Toruń: UMK, 1993), pp. 111-130; Maja Gašowska, ‘Der Anteil der Bürger aus den norddeutschen Städten an den Pilgerreisen nach Riga im 13. Jahrhunderts’, in *Wallfahrten in der europäischen Kultur*, ed. by Hartmut Kühne, Daniel Doležal, et al (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2006), pp. 147-166; Reynolds, *Prehistory of the Crusades*, pp. 142-57.

⁵⁸ Reynolds, *Prehistory of the Crusades*, pp. 149-52. For example, see Rainer Zacharias, ‘Die Reliquienwallfahrt zur Hochmeisterresidenz Marienburg’, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Erlands Erlands* 50 (2002): pp. 17-8, for pilgrimage to Marienburg (Malbork). Also see Zacharias, ‘Marienburg: Wallfahrtsort zwischen Spiritualität und Herrschaft’, in *Sztuka w Kręgu Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach i Inflantach [The Art of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia]*, ed. by Agnieszka Bojarska (Toruń: UMK, 1995), pp. 67-91. In fact, there had already been an earlier pilgrimage shrine associated with the region surrounding Marienburg, see Johannes Voigt, *Geschichte Marienburgs*, p. 1.

crusading in the Baltic was defined by war, it became common for pilgrims going toward the frontier to visit these shrines and make donations, or venerate relics, therefore demonstrating that relic veneration was an important component to crusading and holy war in the Baltic as well. By the end of the thirteenth century, then, a network did emerge that could be called a pilgrimage route, since crusaders used it regularly and shrines where they would worship developed commensurately with the spread of the campaigns. We can see the Teutonic Order, in this light, creating a pilgrimage landscape in a region with no sacred sites.

The Baltic region, specifically Lithuania, emerged as a place for knights to continue the crusading tradition after the loss of the Holy Land in 1291. These wars focused on contemporary chivalric models and placed the war against the Lithuanians as acceptable ways of winning honour. The popularity of the expeditions (*Reisen*) is demonstrated in the frequency with which the European nobility took part in them, especially in the mid to later decades of the fourteenth century as opposed to, as Reynolds states, the thirteenth, though the word was used in some Middle High German chronicles.⁵⁹ The *Reisen* instead reflect the development of holy war, from an ideological standpoint, over the course of a century, focussed on chivalric crusading and an emphasis on personal honour and glory.⁶⁰ Military tactics remained virtually

⁵⁹ Voigt, *Geschichte Preußens 5*, pp. 182-83, describes the tenure of Winrich Kniprode (r. 1351-1382): “Preussen hatte im Auslande noch nie in solchem Ruhme gestanden, wie in seiner Zeit, und noch nie waren von Jahr zu Jahr Fürsten, Ritter und Kriegsgäste aus allen Landen in solcher Zahl hieher geströmt, um unter des Ordens Fahnen im Kampfe mit Heiden Ruhm und Verdienste einzuernten.” For Reynolds’ use of *Reise*, see Reynolds, *Prehistory of the Crusades*, p. 24 and p. 60. The word *Reisen* has a more nuanced meaning and connotation, see Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 2, pp. 13-46. For thirteenth-century uses of the word, see *LR*, p. 68 (lines 2961-2966): ‘Der meister / ... / warb umme eine reise dô / zû Littowen ûf die heidenschaft’ p. 122 (lines 5319-5321). Also *HvSB*, p. 162: ‘Noch dem warn etzliche reysen getan uff dy heiden.’

⁶⁰ This has been noted in research since the nineteenth century. For example, see Voigt, *Geschichte Preußens 5*, pp. 181-85, which discusses the glory of the Order in the *Heidenkampf*, especially p. 182: “Fort und fort waren neue Kriegsheere aus Preussen ins heidnische Land eingefallen, niemals ohne Verluste zurückgekehrt und keineswegs immer zu einem Kriege, der auf Sieg und Ruhm in grossen Schlachten oder auch nur auf Menschenschlachten, Rauben und Verheeren ausging.” This continued into the later works of the twentieth century. See Erich Weise, ‘Die Heidenkampf des Deutschen Ordens III’ *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 13 (1964), p. 403: “Man muß sich deshalb von der Vorstellung der „Reisen“ als bloß spielerischer, ritterlicher Übungen freimachen. Im 14. Jahrhundert gab es für den christlichen Ritter keine höhere Bewährung als die im Heidenkämpfe.” Erich Maschke, ‘Burgund und der Preussische Ordensstaat. Ein Beitrag zur Einheit der ritterlichen Kultur Europas im späten Mittelalter’, in *Domus hospitalis Theutonicorum: europäische Verbindungslinien der Deutschordensgeschichte. Gesammelte Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1931-1963*, ed. by

unchanged from the thirteenth-century expeditions, but the motives and expressions of those motives were very different.⁶¹ The *Reisen* are instead fundamental in showing how holy war transformed in the Baltic as a distinct place in which the combat experience common to European chivalry in the fourteenth century blended with specific ways of expressing piety and devotion, namely in that knights would visit shrines and venerate relics whilst on campaign.

The present thesis considers how these pilgrimage activities and campaigns shaped a sense of place and, specifically, a sense of an emerging sacred geography defined by the introduction and development of holy war in the Baltic. The Teutonic Order was indeed fundamental to crusading and holy war in the Baltic from a military perspective, namely because it was at the forefront of the conversion expeditions. However, it also brought in important sacral elements (both ideological and physical), which formed a key component to the experience of warfare in the region. Many of the relics and shrines that served pilgrims by the end of the thirteenth century, discussed below in Chapters 2 and 3, were under the patronage of the Teutonic Order.

Klemens Wiester (O.T.) and Udo Arnold (Bonn: Wissenschaftliches Archiv, 1970), pp. 15-35; Friedrich Benninghoven, 'Zur Technik spätmittelalterlich Feldzüge im Ostbaltikum', *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 19 (1971): pp. 631-51, here p. 632 for the scholarly views of the expeditions; Hartmut Boockmann, *Zwölf Kapitel*, pp. 151-69, especially pp. 157-60; Werner Paravicini, 'Heraldische Quellen zur Geschichte der Preußenreisen im 14. Jahrhundert', in *Werkstatt des Historikers der mittelalterlichen Ritterorden. Quellenkundliche Probleme und Forschungsmethoden*, ed. by Zenon H. Nowak (Toruń: UMK, 1987), pp. 111-34, for the heraldic sources documenting the deeds of the nobility in Prussia; Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*; Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Later Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1, pp. 303-05 outlines the chivalric tournaments that took place on the campaigns; Idem, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 2, pp. 110-14; Ehlers, 'The Crusade of the Teutonic Knights against Lithuania Reconsidered', *Crusade and Conversion*, pp. 21-44; Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, pp. 129-31; Ehlers, *Ablaßpraxis*, pp. 52-6; Sarnowsky, *Der Deutsche Orden*, pp. 49-51: "Erfolgreich war jedoch die Einbindung vor allem westeuropäischer und deutscher, aber auch italienischer und polnischer Kreuzfahrer. Der für die Feldzüge verwendete Begriff *reysa* ging in die europäische Sprachen ein... gehörte es *zum Ideal eines Ritters*, einmal an einer 'Preußenreisen' telgenommen zu haben."; Paravicini, 'Von der ritterlichen zur höfischen Kultur: Der Deutsche Orden in Preussen,' in *Mittelalterliche Kultur und Literatur im Deutschordensstaat Preussen*, pp. 15-56, especially p. 19: "Das Ideal von Kampf, Kreuzzug und Heidenfahrt, das weltliche Adel teilte, konnte hier [in Prussia] praktiziert werden, was geradezu Lebensgrund"; Idem, *Die Ritterlich-Höfische Kultur*, pp. 17-8; Idem, 'Vom Kreuzzug zum Soldzug: Die Schlacht bei Tannenberg und das Ende der Preußenfahrten des europäischen Adels', in *Conflictus Magnus apud Grunwald 1410. Między Historią a Tradycją. Materiały z Międzynarodowej Konferencji Naukowej 'Grunwald-Tannenberg-Žalgiris' zorganizowanej 20-24 września 2010 r. w Malborku i Krakowie* [Between History and Tradition. Materials from the International Scientific Conference 'Grunwald-Tannenberg-Žalgiris' organized on 20-24 September 2010 in Malbork and Krakow], ed. by Krzysztof Ożóg and Janusz Trupinda (Malbork: Malbork Castle Museum Press, 2013), pp. 119-26, for the end of the movement of the *Preußenreisen*.

⁶¹ Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 2, pp. 52-5.

This demonstrates the need to reconsider the roles played by relics, pilgrimage practices, and other factors in the development of a sacred landscape in the Baltic. These were common features to the crusading movement present since the beginning of the expeditions to the Holy Land. They present a continuity in the Baltic that merits how we attempt to discover how contemporaries viewed that place.

Landscape Ideology of the Military Orders in the Baltic Region

The military orders emerged from the time of the crusades to the Holy Land and combined the vocation of the warrior with that of the monk. In addition to their obligation to defend the holy places of Christendom, another duty was to protect the pilgrims journeying to the Christian shrines there.⁶² Thus, the holy places and the sacred landscape of the eastern Mediterranean played a significant role in their identity and self-understanding, too.

The significance of place and landscape to the military orders finds its roots in Bernard of Clairvaux's 'In Praise of the New Knighthood' (1129).⁶³ The holy places were the object for which the knights physically and spiritually battled. The Templars, for example, had their original headquarters in the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem. Although it is a shell of its former structure, according to Bernard, its glory as a sacred place remains (*impar quidem structura, sed non inferius gloria*).⁶⁴ One specific passage notes the transportability of this concept,

⁶² Alan Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the early Fourteenth Centuries* (London: MacMillan, 1992). Also see Jürgen Sarnowsky, 'Identität und Selbstgefühl der geistlichen Ritterorden', in *Ständische und religiöse Identitäten in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. by Stefan Kwiatkowski and Janusz Małek (Toruń: UMK, 1998), pp. 109-30, here p. 111. Hospitality (*hospitalitas*) was an obligation for the Hospitallers (Knights of St John) and the Teutonic Order. For the relationship between war and monastic culture, see Katherine Allen Smith, *Fighting for the Faith, Killing for the Faith: Old Testament Faith Warriors (1 and 2 Maccabees) in Historical Perspective* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

⁶³ Sarnowsky, 'Identität und Selbstgefühl', pp. 111-12. For Bernard's letter, see 'De laude novae militiae', *PL* 182, cols. 921-940. Also see Josef Fleckenstein, 'Die Rechtfertigung der geistlichen Ritterorden nach der Schrift 'De laude novae militiae' Bernhards von Clairvaux', in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. by Manfred Hellmann and Josef Fleckenstein (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1980), pp. 9-22.

⁶⁴ Sarnowsky, 'Identität und Selbstgefühl', pp. 110-12. Also see 'De laude', col. 927: "Est vero templum Jerosolymis, in quo partier habitant, antiquo, antique et famosissimo illi Salomonis *impar quidem structura, sed non inferius gloria*." Moreover, the discipline in battle of the knight of Christ, and his piety both on and off the battlefield, were the ultimate representation of the holiness of the profession, see 'De laude', col. 927.

namely in comparing the knight of the military order with the warriors who carried the Litter of Solomon (Song of Solomon 3: 7). Most elite warriors carry the litter, which Bernard's letter equates with the Holy Sepulchre itself (*qui veri lectulum Salomonis, sacrum scilicet sepulcrum, vigilanter lideliterque custodiant*).⁶⁵ Peter of Dusburg (1326) cited this Bible verse in his *Chronicle of Prussia*, illustrating the connection of the holy land and the holy places to the identity of the military orders, specifically in places removed from the physical Holy Land.⁶⁶ The present thesis focuses especially on the military order of the Teutonic Knights and their role in the landscape sacralisation in the Baltic Sea region, a land with no sacred sites with which the military orders could identify.

The military orders emerged on the frontier region of the Baltic Sea by the thirteenth century. The first of these were the Livonian Swordbrothers (*fratres milites Christi de Livonia*), followed by the Order of Dobrin in Prussia (*fratres milites Christi de Prussia*).⁶⁷ The Swordbrothers (founded in 1201) were the first military order explicitly founded to fight against the pagans in the Baltic region, referred to in a 1208 charter as 'the new plantation of

⁶⁵ 'De laude', col. 927: "Tales sibi elegit Dominus, et collegit a finibus terre terrae ministros ex fortissimos Israel, qui veri lectulum Salomonis, *sacrum scilicet sepulcrum*, vigilanter lideliterque custodiant, *omnes tenentes gladios, et ad bella doctissimi*."

⁶⁶ See *PDC*, p. 46 (1.1); p. 68 (2.8): '...fortes ex fortissimis Israel, omnes tenentes gladios et ad bella doctissimi, Salomonis lectulum ambiebant.' The reception of Bernard's text in the military orders has been debated. However, it is clear that the text influenced the Teutonic Order's *Rule*. For the role of crusading ideology in Peter's chronicle, see Janusz Trupinda, *Ideologia krucjatowa w kronice Piotra z Dusburga [Crusade ideology in the chronicle of Peter von Dusburg]* (Gdańsk: Officina Ferberiana, 1999). Also see Edith Feistner, 'Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens als Identitätsprogramm: Zum Problem von institutionalisierter Identität und historischer Dynamik', in *Krieg im Visier. Bibelepik und Chronistik im Deutschen Orden als Modell korporativer Identitätsbildung*, ed. by Feistner, Michael Neecke, and Gisela Vollmann-Profe (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2007), p. 33. Also see Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma Spiritualia. Bibliotheken, Bücher und Bildung im Deutschen Ordens* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2003), p. 17, for the influence of Bernard's letter on the Teutonic Order's *Rule*.

⁶⁷ The best-detailed study about the Swordbrothers remains that of Friedrich Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder. Fratres milicie Christi de Livonia* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1965). For the Order of Dobrin, see Zenon H. Nowak, 'Milites Christi de Prussia. Der Orden von Dobrin und seine Stellung in der preußischen Mission', in *Die Geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. by Josef Fleckenstein and Manfred Hellmann (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1980), pp. 339-52, especially pp. 339-48. For accessible scholarship in English, Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, pp. 73-81; Alan V. Murray, 'The Sword Brothers at War: Observations on the Military Activity of the Knighthood of Christ in the Conquest of Livonia and Estonia (1203-1227)', *Ordines Militares* 18 (2013): pp. 27-38; Ēvalds Mugarēvičs, 'The Military Activity of the Order of the Sword Brethren (1202-1236)', in *North-Eastern Frontiers of Medieval Europe*, pp. 117-22; Maria Starnawska, 'Military Orders and the Beginning of the Crusades in Prussia', in *North-Eastern Frontiers*, pp. 123-34.

the Christian faith' (*novella plantatio fidei Christianae*), discussed further in the coming segment.⁶⁸ Demonstrated by a bull of Gregory IX dated to 1228 recognising it as a military corporation meant to protect the missionary efforts of Christian of Oliva, the first Bishop of Prussia, the Order of Dobrin was founded explicitly "on the model of the Swordbrothers in Livonia" (*ad exempla milicie Christi de Livonia*).⁶⁹

The Teutonic Knights came to dominate the crusade movement in this region. Founded in 1190 at the Siege of Acre by German crusaders from Bremen and Lübeck, it was originally a small field hospital set up outside of the walls of that city.⁷⁰ By 1198, Innocent III recognised the Teutonic Knights as a military order, taking a rule that blended both those of its predecessors: the Temple and the Hospital, though it was markedly inferior because it did not

⁶⁸ *LECUB*, 1.1, no. 14 (col. 19), is the earliest mention of the Order, describing it as "those who, under the mantle of the Templars, strongly and manfully withstand the barbarians infesting the new plantation of the Christian faith there [in Livonia – GL]" (*qui sub templariorum habitu, barbaris infestantibus ibi novellam plantationem fidei Christianae resistant viriliter et potenter*).

⁶⁹ *PrUB* 1.1, p. 51 (no. 69): "primus episcopus Prutenorum, considerans militiam ad expugnandam paganos in Pruscie partibus constitutos in illis partibus fore plurimum oportunam, de capituli sui assensu *vestram militiam ad exempla milicie Christi de Livonia* provide ordinarit ibidem, quod ab eodem episcopus factum est super hoc, apostolico dignaremur munimine roborare." My italics.

⁷⁰ The Order's Latin name is *Ordo domus Sanctae Mariae Theutonicum Hierosolymitanorum*. For the foundation, see *SDO*, Prologue, p. 22, which recounts the origins of the brothers "in the year 1190, when the Christians were laying siege to Acre and, with God's help, won it back from the hand of the unbelievers, in this army were good men from Bremen and Lübeck...who established a hospital under the sail of a ship, called a cog." (*Dô iz von der geburt unsers hêrren tûsent und hundert unde nûnzich iâr waren in den cîden, dô Akers was besezen vonden cristenen unde mit der Gotes helfe wider gewonnen wart von den handen der ungeloubegen, zu denselben cîden was in dem here ein teil gûter lûte von Breme unde von Lûbeke...unde begunden dis vorgenanten spitâles under einem segele eines schiffes, daz ein kocke geheizen ist.*) The *Narracio de primordiis ordini Theutonicis*, *SDO*, pp. 159-60, outlines the Order's foundation in Latin.

yet possess the prestige that came with the age of the Temple and Hospital.⁷¹ The Order would remain almost exclusively German.⁷²

The military orders found success as defenders of Christendom, even when there were not any sacred sites to defend. They represented themselves as such, a particularly strong example coming from the Teutonic Order in Prussia, where it had arrived by 1230, and absorbed its predecessors (discussed above) by 1236/1237.⁷³ Peter of Dusburg, a Teutonic Order priest who provides the main source for the history of medieval Prussia, frames the conversion of Prussia within a sacred history, going back to Abraham's rescue of Lot in the Book of Genesis (Genesis 14), and it was 'from this time that the wars of the faithful against the storm of the pagans began.'⁷⁴ Peter states that the Order is imitating (*imitans*) these wars in Prussia, and in doing so, he transfers the sacrality of those conflicts to the pagan landscape. The present study's focus

⁷¹ *TOT*, no. 297 (p. 296): "in ecclesia vestra iuxta modum Templariorum in clericis et militibus, et ad exemplum Hospitaliorum in pauperibus et infirmis." The original name of the Templars was *pauperes commilitones Christi templumque Salomonici*. Marie Luise Bust-Thiele, *Sacrae domus militiae templi Hierosolymitani magistri. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens 1118/19-1314* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), p. 11, outlines some issues with the naming of the Order. For its headquarters at Solomon's Temple, see Forey, *Military Orders*, p. 6. For the foundation of the Templars, see Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights*, p. 2; and for the Hospitallers (*Ordo fratrum hospitalis Sancti Iohannis Hierosolymitani*), eadem, *The Knights Hospitaller* (London: Boydell, 2001), pp. 1-18; Jürgen Sarnowsky, *Die Johanniter: Ein geistlicher Ritterorden im Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Munich: Beck, 2011), pp. 10-19; Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c. 1070-1309* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), pp. 27-37.

⁷² For example, see Klaus Militzer 'The recruitment of brethren for the Teutonic Order in Livonia, 1237-1562', in Malcolm Barber (ed.), *The Military Orders 2: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. by Malcolm Barber (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1994), pp. 270-77.

⁷³ The Order also was present in present-day Transylvania, in the region known as the *Burzenland* (*terra Bursa*), where it was engaged in the fight against the Cumans from the period 1211-1225. It was expelled from the region by King Andrew II of Hungary. Harald Zimmermann, *Der Deutsche Orden in Siebenburgen. Eine diplomatische Untersuchung* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2011); also see Leszek Kajzer and Piotr A. Nowakowski, 'Remarks on the Architecture of the Teutonic Order's Castles in Prussia', in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. by Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001), pp. 449-56. For the absorption of the Knights of Dobrin, see Gerard Labuda, 'Die Urkunden über die Anfänge des Deutschen Ordens im Kulmerland und Preußen in den Jahren 1226-1243', in *Die Geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. by Josef Fleckenstein and Manfred Hellmann (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1980), pp. 299-316.

⁷⁴ *PDC*, pp. 44-8 (1.1), outlines the Biblical predecessors of the Order's wars in Prussia, beginning with the rescue of Lot by Abraham (here p. 44): "Legimus enim in veteribus historiis magnum patriarcham Abraham cum suis vernaculis CCCXVIII pro liberatione fratris Deum timentis decertasse et captivitate innocencium conversa... Ex quo tempore tyrocinia fidelium contra nacionum turbas ceperunt." See also *SDO*, p. 23, which was Peter's source: "Dô hûb sich ritterschaft von den geloubegen wider die ungeloubegen."

is on this aspect of the Order's ideological programme, and it contributes to the understanding of how contemporaries viewed holy war in areas removed from the Holy Land.

The chronicles for the Baltic crusades, for example, 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. This was especially true in the case of Moses, David, and the Maccabees. These served as the primary models from which the brothers in the orders took inspiration and applied them to the theatres of war against God's enemies, including places outside of the Holy Land.⁷⁵ Holy war was not limited to the Holy Land.

A perhaps more practical reason for the religiosity of the texts and their focus on the Teutonic Order as creators of a new sacral landscape is a result of the criticisms of the orders by Europe.⁷⁶ This criticism fluctuated throughout the thirteenth century in varying degrees, dependent on a variety of factors. In the Baltic region, the Swordbrothers and the Teutonic Knights were subject to much criticism for their role in the treatment of new converts, conflicts with the Bishops of Riga, and war with the Kingdom of Poland (beginning in 1308). The Order received criticism for its desecration of holy places, and the slaughtering of Christians.⁷⁷ In the

⁷⁵ Peter of Dusburg applies this to the wars of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, namely in the prologue to his chronicle, where he likened the brothers' wars to those of the Maccabees. See *PDC*, p. 33: "*Attende, qualiter fratres ut Iudas Maccabeus loca sancta terre Prussie...mundaverunt*"; *Ibid*, p. 34: "*Accipe ergo, bone Iesu, sacrificium istud pro universi populo tuo et custodi partem tuam et sanctifica. Et ut David eciam instituunt sacerdotes et augent quotidie cultum Dei.*" For secondary literature on the topic, see Kaspar Elm, 'Die Spiritualität der geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters. Forschungsstand und Forschungsprobleme', in *Die Spiritualität der Ritterorden im Mittelalter*, ed. by Zenon H. Nowak (Toruń: UMK Press, 1993), pp. 7-45, here p. 13; Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights*, p. 15; Nicholas Morton, *The Medieval Military Orders, 1120-1314* (Oxford: Pearson Education Limited, 2014), p. 16; Jessalynn Bird, 'Preaching and crusading memory', in *Remembering the Crusades and Crusading*, ed. by Megan Cassidy-Welch (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 13-33, here p. 17. Also see *Dying for the Faith, Killing for the Faith: Old Testament Faith Warriors (1 and 2 Maccabees) in Historical Perspective*, ed. by Gabriela Signori (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

⁷⁶ Barber, *The New Knighthood*, pp. 39-42, offers some examples of contemporary criticism of the military orders, as does Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights*, pp. 10-14, pp. 25-33, and pp. 41-47.

⁷⁷ Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights*, pp. 10-14. For the Swordbrothers' criticisms, Enn Tarvel, 'Livländische Chroniken des 13. Jahrhunderts als Quelle für die Geschichte des Schwertbrüderordens und Livlands', in *Werkstatt des Historikers der mittelalterlichen Ritterorden. Quellenkundliche Probleme und Forschungsmethoden*, ed. by Nowak (Toruń: UMK, 1987), pp. 175-84, here pp. 178-79; Ekdahl, 'Die Rolle der Ritterorden bei der Christianisierung der Liven und Letten', *Gli Inizi*, pp. 203-43, especially pp. 234-41; Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, pp. 127-28; Ekdahl, 'Crusades and Colonisation in the Baltic', *North-Eastern Frontiers*, pp. 11-12. Also see Maksymilian Grzegorz, 'Entstehen und Entwicklung der

context of the present thesis, it is worth noting that the fourteenth century, the period in which the Teutonic Order experienced its key period of growth and spiritual revival, saw a decline in the popularity and reception of the other orders. The role of Prussia and Livonia as sacred landscapes, tied to the sacral warfare against the pagans there, is one component that allowed for the Order's success in these trying times, further highlighting the relevance of this thesis' investigation. It finds its roots in the foundational text which gave rise to the creation of the military orders, and a brief discussion of the sources used in this thesis demonstrate that it was applied regularly to the landscape in Prussia and Livonia.

Source Outline

The narrative material documenting the campaigns in the Baltic region form two camps: those produced outside of and within the Teutonic Order. Both groups of sources show the importance of place and landscape, namely in the conversion (through missionary work), and the prominence of the Teutonic Order and its wars in creating a new sacral landscape through its crusades. Both groups emphasise the conversion of landscape as a fundamental part of the experience of crusading in the Baltic.

Ecclesiastical Sources

Chronicles produced outside of the military orders portray the view of the early crusades from a missionary perspective, placing emphasis on the need to convert the peoples above all else. Arnold of Lübeck's *Chronica Slavorum* (c. 1209) provides the first overview of the crusades

Ordensverwaltung in Pomerellen nach 1308', in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* 1, ed. by Udo Arnold (Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 1986), pp. 19-46, for an introduction to the Order's war with the Kingdom of Poland, and Radosław Kotecki, 'The Desecration of Holy Places according to Witnesses' Testimonies in the Polish-Teutonic Order Trials of the 14th Century', in *Arguments and Counter-Arguments: The Political Thought of the 14th-15th Centuries during the Polish-Teutonic Order Trials and Disputes*, ed. by Wiesław Sieradzan (Toruń: UMK, 2012), pp. 69-110. Also see Paul Milliman, '*The slippery memory of men*': *The place of Pomerania in the Medieval Kingdom of Poland* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), especially pp. 94-138, for an overview of the topic in English.

against the tribes inhabiting the eastern Baltic region of Livonia.⁷⁸ The chronicle gives an early example of how a spiritual landscape emerged in the Baltic region, in addition to the rise of the military orders there. It provides the first connection of Livonia to the Virgin Mary, frames this region as a ‘promised land’ (*terra promissionis*), and uses important imagery in its description of the landscape discussed below in Chapter 1, such as ‘the Lord’s vineyard’ (*vinea Domini*).⁷⁹ His chronicle emphasises themes of fertility, using words relating to planting, irrigating, and cultivation, with seven distinct references to missionary work in relation to themes of fertility and planting.⁸⁰ These came to be very significant in the way future chroniclers portrayed the wars and the landscape in the region. It also establishes the role of martyrdom in creating this landscape.

The *Heinrici chronicon Livoniae* (“The Livonian Chronicle of Henry”) is the most comprehensive text documenting the crusades against the tribes inhabiting present-day Latvia and Estonia from 1186 until 1227.⁸¹ Citing Arnold’s account, diplomatic sources, reports from

⁷⁸ ACS, p. 1. Composed in the first decade of the thirteenth century, the chronicle covers the period from Henry the Lion’s pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1172 to 1209. For an introduction to German missionary chronicles, see Kaljundi, Linda, *Waiting for the Barbarians: The Imagery, Dynamics and Functions of the Other in Northern German Missionary Chronicles, 11th – early 13th centuries*, (unpublished Master’s thesis, University of Tartu, 2005), pp. 52-104.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 214, for Meinhard’s dedication of Livonia: “Anno igitur verbi incarnati 1186 fundata est sedes episcopalis in Livonia a venerabili Meinardo, *intitulata patrocinio beate Dei genetricis Marie*.” For Berthold’s preaching and use of the Promised Land in relation to Livonia, p. 215: “Nec defuerunt sacerdotes et litterati, suis exhortationibus eos confortantes et *ad terram promissionis* felici perseverantia eos pertingere promittentes.” My italics. For Albert, p. 216: “Multi etiam continentas voventes, et soli Deo militare cupientes, forma quadam Templariorum omnibus reuocantes, Christi milicie se reddiderunt, et professionis sue signum in forma gladii, quo pro Deo certabant, in suis vestibus preferebant.”

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 212, calls the first missionaries working in Livonia ‘those who spread the seeds of the word of God’ (*qui verbi Dei semina spargentes*); p. 213 describes how there were many fellow helpers (*cooperatores*) 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*); p. 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; p. 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*); p. 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*).

⁸¹ HCL, p. 169 (24.1); also see Arbusow, ‘Einleitung’, pp. 5-6; James Brundage, ‘Henry of Livonia: the Writer and His Chronicle’, *CCWMBF*, pp. 1-22.

witnesses, and, most importantly, his own status as an eyewitness, Henry offers a detailed and ideologically driven account of the first Livonian crusades.⁸² He used popular themes present in all crusade chronicles, namely Maccabean and Old Testament imagery, to guide and explain miraculous victories of the crusaders.⁸³ The text also highlights the importance of martyrdom, and the dedication of Livonia as the Land of the Virgin Mary, and provided similar imagery concerning fertility, best illustrated in his etymology of the name Riga.⁸⁴ Another component in the earlier chronicles, martyrdom, receives more attention in Henry's text. The chronicle thus framed the entire history of the Livonian mission in crusading ideology, and we will see how this shaped a distinct form of a sacred landscape in the region. The same is true for the chronicles of Albert of Trois-Fontaines (c. 1240), Albert of Stade (c. 1256), and the verse account of Master Justinian (c. 1260).⁸⁵

Teutonic Order Sources

The next body of historical sources are associated with knights and priests in the Teutonic Order. The chronicles documenting the conquest of Prussia were part of an established tradition of historical writing in the Order (*Ordensgeschichtsschreibung*).⁸⁶ Therefore, the

⁸² Ibid, p. 215 (29.9), confirms his eyewitness status: “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.

⁸³ See Arbusow, ‘Einleitung’, p. 24, pp. 34-5.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 17 (6.2), which records Albert moving the episcopal seat from Üxküll to Riga in 1201, is the first record of Livonia as *terra Marie* in Henry's text: “Quem tamen conventum regularium et episcopalem sedem postea Albertus episcopus de Ykescola in Rigam tercio sue consecrationis anno transtulit *et cathedralem episcopalem cum tota Lyvonia beatissime Dei genetricis Marie honore deputavit.*” Also see p. 162 (23.7); p. 179 (25.2); p. 184 (25.4); p. 187 (26.2); p. 214 (29.7); p. 215 (29.9) for other examples of Marian imagery applied to Livonia. My italics. For the pun on Riga, see p. 14 (4.5): ‘the new faith spreads from Riga, and through that faith, the people of the surrounding area are watered (*rigant*) by the holy baptismal font’ (*Riga nova fide rigata et quia per eam gentes in circuitu sacro baptismatis fonte rigantur*). For similar imagery in the chronicle, see p. 132 (9.7), p. 145 (21.5), p. 220 (30.5); p. 221 (30.6).

⁸⁵ See below, Chapter 2, section 1, for Albert of Trois Fontaines and Albert of Stade. For Master Justinian, see *Das Lippiflorium. Ein westfälisches Heldengedicht aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. by Hermann Althof (Leipzig: Weicher, 1900), p. 68: ‘Sed tamen infestat gens perfida [the Livonians] saepe fideles: / Plebs pia [crusaders] collectis viribus obstat ei. / *Hic multos gladio prostratos sanguine fuso / Martyrii palma perpete luce beat.*’

⁸⁶ For a recent survey, see Udo Arnold, ‘Die Anfänge der Ordensgeschichtsschreibung’, in *Neue Studien zur Literatur im Deutschen Orden*, ed. by Jürgen Wolf (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 2014), pp. 177-96.

historiographical context surrounding the Order's origin and growth as an institution are important to legitimise its conquests and territories in Prussia. This provides a suitable framework for examining how the Order described the sacred landscape of Prussia as a product of the Order's commemoration of its missions, which explained the origins of its territory in Prussia. The concept of memory and commemoration has been the subject of recent investigations by Gustavs Strenga on the Order in Livonia.⁸⁷ The relationship between writing and place reflected political, territorial, and sacral aspects of the Order's ideology.⁸⁸ The result is an apt framework for studying how crusading related to the construction of place and space in the Baltic, key factors in the Orders self-understanding.⁸⁹

The earliest source produced by the Teutonic Order is the *Narracio de primordinis ordinis Theutonici*, dated to around 1244.⁹⁰ It establishes the identity of the Teutonic Knights as a crusading institution meant to protect pilgrims, serve the sick, and defend the holy places.⁹¹ It also shows how holy places played a key role in the formation of the Order's identity. Once the Christians recovered the holy land, the text states, a house for the Order would be built in

⁸⁷ See the work of Gustavs Strenga, 'Remembering the Dead: Collective Memoria in Late Medieval Livonia' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Queen Mary University of London, 2013); Idem, 'Remembering the Common Past: Livonia as a *lieu de mémoire* of the Teutonic Order in the Empire', in *Livland – eine Region am Ende der Welt? Forschungen zum Verhältnis zwischen Zentrum und Peripherie im späten Mittelalter*, ed. by Anti Selart and Matthias Thumserr (Cologne: Böhlau, 2017), pp. 347-70.

⁸⁸ For a general introduction to the Order's territory, see Jürgen Sarnowsky, *Der Deutsche Orden*, pp. 42-4; Roman Czaja and Zenon H. Nowak, 'An Attempt to Characterise the State of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia', in *The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia: The political and ecclesiastical structures, 13th – 16th century*, ed. by Roman Czaja and Andrzej Radzimiński (Toruń: TNT, 2015), pp. 13-31, especially pp. 14-6.

⁸⁹ Marian Kutzner, 'Die Herrschaftspropaganda in der Kunst des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen', in *Echte Wehrhaftigkeit oder martialische Wirkung*, pp. 253-302, here p. 263: "Sie zeigen [the sources – GL] uns ein ungewöhnliches Bild eines hierokratischen Staates."

⁹⁰ The text is the historiographical foundation of the Order. See Udo Arnold, 'Die primordiis ordinis Theutonici narracio', *Preußenland. Mitteilungen der Historischen Kommission für Ost- und Westpreussische Landesforschung und aus den Archiven der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 4, no. 2 (1966): pp. 17-30; Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, p. 51; Arnold, 'Anfänge der Ordensgeschichtsschreibung', pp. 177-96.

⁹¹ The Order took its rule from the order of the Hospital and the Temple. *Narracio de primordiis ordinis Theutonici*, ed. by Max Pehrlbach, in idem, *SDO*, pp. 159-60, here p. 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."

the city of Jerusalem and devoted to the Virgin Mary.⁹² This concept shaped the historical framework of later texts produced in the Order, one example being the use of this text by the chronicler, Peter of Dusburg.⁹³

The *Prologue* to the Order's Rule (produced around 1264) highlights the divine origins of the Teutonic Order, citing Abraham's rescue of Lot as the beginning of the wars between believers and unbelievers.⁹⁴ Landscape, namely winning back land from the heathens, is a key element of these early texts.⁹⁵ The wars fought by the brothers of the Order mirror those "of the Maccabees, who through their honour and for the faith fought manfully with the heathen... [and] cleansed (*gereinegeten*) the holy city, which their enemies defiled (*die si hêten geunreint*)."⁹⁶ The sense of place and fighting for place clearly had a significant role in the Teutonic Order's *Rule*, especially in the account of its origins and the framework in which its wars took place. The Order's chroniclers used this as a source, and thus wrote their histories of the crusades in Prussia within this framework.

Following the *Narracio* and the *Rule*, a letter attributed to Grand Master Hermann of Salza and dated to 1249 presents the first application of this concept directly to Prussia.⁹⁷ The letter

⁹² Ibid, p. 159: "...nuncuparunt ea spe et fiducia, ut terra sancta christiano cultui restituta in civitate sancta Jerusalem domus fieret eiusdem ordinis principalis, mater, caput partier et magistra."

⁹³ Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, p. 51, pp. 53-7.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ *SDO*, p. 22: "...mit der Gotes helfe wider gewonnen wart [Acre – GL] von dem handed der ungeloubegen." The next four sections draw heavily on Biblical allegories, many of which refer to the struggle for holy land, the fight against God's enemies, and the divine models whose legacy the brothers in the Order continue. Abraham's rescue of Lot (Genesis 14) began the conflict against the pagans; 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).

⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 23 (no. 2): "Dô hûb sich ritterschaft von den geloubegen wider die ungeloubegen"; p. 24 (no. 3): "die Gottes rittere waren, die strîten strîte, die Gote wole gevielen, unde die bösen unde die ungeloubigen lûte, die daz heilige lant hâten besezzten, nach lewen sîten bestunden unde vertiligeten sî biz ûf von grunde"; p. 25 (no. 3): "die dâ heizent Machâbei, wie sterliche die durch ir ê unde umme den gelouben strîten mite den heiden, die sie twingen wolden, daz sie Gotes verlougerten, unde mit siner helfe sie sô gar überwunden unde vertiligeten, daz sie die heiligen stete wider gereinegeten, die sie hêten geunreint." See 2 Macc. 5:27.

⁹⁷ 'Hermann von Salza's Bericht über die Eroberung Preussens', ed. by Theodor Hirsch, *SRP* 5, pp. 153-68. See Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, p. 59: "Der Bericht Hermann von Salzas war der erste Blick auf den Deutschen Orden in Preußen und sein Handeln. Weiterführend für die zukünftige Chronistik und das

offers key facets of the Order's identity with respect to landscape and place.⁹⁸ It recounts the destruction of Christian sites and the murder of Christians by the Prussians, setting the framework within which the victories over pagans were sacralising components to the landscape.⁹⁹ Equally as important, it narrates the early foundations of major cities in Prussia, which functioned as the primary shrines for pilgrimage during the later conquest period, thus becoming the main sacral centres in the landscape.

The more substantial narrative histories produced by the Order provide the main sources for the present study. The first is the *Livländische Reimchronik* (c. 1290), a Middle High German account of the history of Livonia produced by an anonymous member of the Teutonic Order.¹⁰⁰ It propagates the dedication of Livonia as a Marian landscape, and highlights the importance of martyrdom to the mission of the Teutonic Order in the region of Livonia.¹⁰¹

The main chronicle for the history of Prussia is that of Peter of Dusburg, the *Chronicon terre Prussie*. Peter, a priest in the Order, completed his text around 1326, likely in Königsberg.¹⁰² Peter wrote his chronicle about a century after the arrival of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, and

Selbstverständnis des Ordens war die Idee der Verteidigung der Christenheit, die hier erstmals für die Tätigkeit des Ordens in Preußen behauptet wurde.”

⁹⁸ For example, the arrival of the brothers in Prussia was a product of God's will, evinced by how the Order received the help of pilgrims, and how their early castles 'were built with God's help' (*mit Gotes hulffe gebaweth woren*). It also narrates the discovery of relics in Prussia, in addition to the martyrdom of brothers, which helped to provide an image of a new sacral landscape in the formerly pagan region. Finally, the role of the Maccabees is also apparent in this early text on a few occasions, highlighting the ideological transplanting of the imagery of holy war to the Prussian frontier. See the Appendix below, pp. 318-19.

⁹⁹ Ibid: "seine lande bestzeth woren mit iij^e kirchen, das pfarne waren ane andre kirchen und capellen, und hatten desselbigen hertzen lant so gar obirriten."

¹⁰⁰ William Urban and Jerry Smith, 'A Historical Overview of the Crusade of Livonia', in *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, trans. Urban and Smith (Chicago: Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, 2001), pp. vii-xxiv, here p. xxi. Also see Alan V. Murray, 'The Structure, Genre and Intended Audience of the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*', in *Crusade and Conversion*, p. 235; Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, pp. 60-1.

¹⁰¹ *LR*, p. 11 (lines 437-451), for example, shows an example of the chroniclers use of Marian imagery with respect to Livonia. See below, Chapter 2. Also see Hartmut Kugler, 'Über die „Livländische Reimchronik“ Text, Gedächtnis und Topographie.' *Jahrbuch der Brüder-Grimm-Gesellschaft* 2 (1992): pp. 85-104, and Rasma Lazda-Cazers, 'Landscape as Other in the *Livländische Reimchronik*.' *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 65 (2009): pp. 183-209.

¹⁰² Scholz and Wojtecki, 'Einleitung', p. 8; Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, p. 67; Idem, 'Zu Entstehung und Rezeption der 'Chronik des Preussenlandes' Peters von Dusburg', *Neue Studien*, pp. 197-211, here p. 197.

the chronicle is gaining a strong reputation for the insight it gives into the identity of the Teutonic Order as an institution.¹⁰³ The chronicle provides the essential elements for the creation of a sacred landscape by the Teutonic Order in Prussia. Peter drew heavily on the Order's historiographic tradition, particularly the *Narracio* and 1249 Letter. We see this in his account of the transference of holy relics to the area, the reflection on the early part of the conquest itself as a sacral war, descriptions of pilgrimage activities such as processions, and the veneration of brethren in the Order and pilgrims as martyrs. The goal, stated in his chronicle, is to narrate the 'signs and miracles' (*signa et mirabilia*) that God had carried out in Prussia. As the present thesis argues, this helped shape the construction of a sacred landscape.

Peter's text was translated into Middle High German by Nicolaus of Jeroschin in 1341.¹⁰⁴ The text alters Peter's original, namely in its shift in focus from ideological and ecclesiastical components of the Prussian crusade to more contemporary, chivalric interests in describing the wars against the pagans. The wars in the chronicle are still framed in a divine light, as in Peter's text, but Nicolaus focuses more on the Order's actual wars in Prussia as opposed to the theoretical concepts expressed in the Latin original.¹⁰⁵ 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*).¹⁰⁶ The text provides some

¹⁰³ Max Töppen, *Geschichte der Preussischen Historiographie*, p. 2; Jarosław Wenta, 'Der Deutschordenspriester Peter von Dusburg und sein Bemühen um die geistige Bildung der Laienbrüder', *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis*, pp. 115-25; Wüst, 'Zu Entstehung und Rezeption der *Chronik des Preussenlandes* Peters von Dusburg', *Neue Studien*, pp. 197-209, here p. 202.

¹⁰⁴ *KvP*, p. 305 (lines 162-65): "mug allen dűtschin lűten / dű wundir unde zeichen gotis,/ di nűch gűte sűns gebots / in Prűzinlande sin geschűn." See Mary Fischer (trans.), *The Chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin: A History of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, 1190-1331* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 6; Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, p. 88.

¹⁰⁵ Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, p. 91: "Im Gegensatz der Analyse der Chronik Peters soll hier aber nicht die theologische Interpretation des Deutschen Ordens, sondern sein Werk in Preußen, somit statt der Theorie die Praxis im Vordergrund stehen."

¹⁰⁶ Fischer, *The Chronicle of Prussia*, p. 6.

continuities in that it is a translation of Peter's chronicle, but also gives new insights toward the shift in the chivalric aspect of crusading and landscape in the fourteenth-century Baltic.

Two final chronicles were produced in the late fourteenth century that the present study also considers. These are Hermann of Wartberge's *Chronicon Lyvoniae* (1378) and Wigand of Marburg's *Chronica nova Prutenica* (c. 1394). Hermann of Wartberge was, like Peter and Nicolaus, a chaplain in the Order.¹⁰⁷ His text reveals insight into the later self-understanding of the Order in Livonia, a region where active campaigns against the pagans did not flourish as much as it did in Prussia.¹⁰⁸ Wigand of Marburg offers a unique perspective on the wars against Lithuania because he was a herald in the service of the Order's Grand Master, Conrad of Wallenrod (1391-1394). Originally a Middle High German chronicle, the majority of the text was translated in the fifteenth century into Latin (*in latinum rude*).¹⁰⁹

These texts document the later period of crusading led by the Order against the Lithuanians, known as the *Reisen*, reflect how the role of landscape changed with contemporary perceptions of crusading. The *signs and wonders* that defined the framework of the earlier histories have a diminished role in these chronicles, demonstrating how concepts typical to the main narratives, centred on the Virgin Mary, miraculous visions, and martyrdom, had changed to reflect contemporary (i.e. chivalric) views of crusading. Recent work by Sławomir Zonenburg and Krzysztof Kwiatkowski 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.¹¹⁰ Contemporaries described crusading in increasingly chivalric and

¹⁰⁷ Hermann, p. 87: "frater...Hermannus, capellanus magistri."

¹⁰⁸ See, for example, Anti Selart, 'Die livländische Chronik des Hermann von Wartberge', in *Geschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Livland*, ed. by Matthias Thumser (Berlin: LIT, 2011), pp. 59-87, especially pp. 66-78, for the ideological value and interpretations of the chronicle with respect to the rest of the Order's historical canon.

¹⁰⁹ Wigand, p. 662: "Anno 1464 translata est *in latinum rude*, ut patet legenti."

¹¹⁰ Sławomir Zonenburg, *Kronika Wiganda z Marburga* ['the Chronicle of Wigand von Marburg'] (Bydgoszcz: WSP, 1994); Kwiatkowski, 'Die Selbstdarstellung in der 'Chronik' Wigands von Marburg', *Selbstbild und*

personal terms. The Teutonic Order sources reflect a more direct aspect of how the Baltic landscape was sacralised through warfare, but also through miraculous events like martyrdom, the bringing in of relics, and the construction of shrines that would later serve as more central examples of a traditional component to armed pilgrimage in the region. This is especially the case for Prussia.

Selbstverständnis, pp. 127-38; Idem, 'Christ ist erstanden... and Christians win! Liturgy and the sacralization of armed fight against pagans as determinants of the identity of the members of the Teutonic Order in Prussia', *SSSTOP*, pp. 101-29.

Chapter 1: Literary Themes and Landscape Sacralisation in the Written Evidence for the Baltic Crusades

The present chapter will focus on the imagery concerning landscape present in the chronicles documenting the Baltic crusades, namely its association with the paganism that crusaders journeying to the Baltic wished to convert. It considers the role of this propagation in the spread of crusading ideology to the frontier region of Christendom from source predating and postdating the crusade period. It analyses how the chronicles apply a distinct imagery to the Baltic landscape, setting the stage for its sacralisation through more specific, concrete acts, which form the broader thematic analyses of this thesis. In doing so, it contributes to the growing research trend in studies on the Baltic crusades by focusing on the literary propagation of this landscape in the main texts from the 13th and 14th centuries.¹

The first section discusses the religious imagery surrounding ‘landscape’ in the chronicles, particularly its association with paganism. It then leads into a consideration of specific themes, namely the *locus amoenus*, the *locus horribilis*, and the *vinea Domini*. It establishes the difference between the pagan and Christian landscapes that existed alongside one another, in a physical and ideological way.² This shows how the chronicles portray the wars in the Baltic as spiritual ones. They frame the wars that they describe within the context of place and sacred landscape: the emergence of the vineyard represents the transformation from pagan to Christian, and from this, profane to sacred. The themes also reinforce the concepts of self-understanding and the understanding of crusading amongst those who wrote the sources as a component to the creation of new sacral geographies, in this case one defined by holy war and

¹ This is particularly noted in the work of Scandinavian historians. See Introduction, pp. 14-5.

² For example, see Vykintas Vaitkevičius, *Studies into the Balts' Sacred Places*, trans. by Dalia Minkutė (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2004), particularly pp. 58-60; Ibid, ‘The Sacred Groves of the Balts: Lost History and Modern Research’, *Estonian Folklore* 42 (2009): pp. 81-94; Sandis Laime, ‘The Sacred Groves of the Curonian *Ķoniņi*: Past and Present’, *Estonian Folklore* 42 (2009): pp. 67-80.

armed conversion. Important themes in this chapter reveal the establishment of a specific pattern with respect to describing the expansion of Christendom to the Baltic and lay the foundation for exploring this idea at a deeper level in the coming chapters.

1.1: Paganism of the Landscape in Baltic Crusade Chronicles

The chroniclers of the Baltic crusades created a sense of place in their texts, and the main way in which they did this was through describing the landscape there in specific language. The connection of the land to paganism and the subsequent victories of the crusaders gave way to a new, sacralised landscape. The chronicles thus emphasise the need to convert places, but in the literary themes employed, there emerges a distinct concept of the Baltic region. The Baltic possessed neither the physical qualities (in terms of Christian cities) nor the spiritual qualities (in terms of an established sacred tradition to those places) as the Holy Land. Sacred trees, rivers and fields replaced places connected to the life of Christ. As the crusades proceeded, they became Christian ones.³ Chroniclers created an inverted sense of holy places, one example being Peter of Dusburg's description of the Prussian Rome, *Romowe*. Its location has not been identified, and it presumably does not exist.⁴ Instead, Peter's analysis of *Romowe* reflects an attempt on his part to quantify the pagan landscape in understandable terms to his readers.

Chroniclers documenting the conversion history of the Baltic linked the religion of the inhabitants to the identity of the landscape from an early period. This occurs in the sources at

³ See Anzelm Weiss, 'Mythologie und Religiosität der alten Liven', in *Gli inizi del cristianesimo in Livonia-Lettonia*, pp. 81-96; Sandis Laime, 'The Sacred Groves of the Curonian *Ķoniņi*', pp. 77-8. For Prussian sacred places, see Vykintas Vaitkevičius, *The Balts' Sacred Places*, pp. 58-60.

⁴ See Pluskowski, *The Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, pp. 67-8. Also see Jürgen Sarnowsky, 'Das Bild der 'Anderen' in der frühen Chronistik des Deutschordenslandes Preußen', in *Geschichtsvorstellungen: Bilder, Texte und Begriffe aus dem Mittelalter; Festschrift für Hans-Werner Goetz zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Steffen Patzold, Anja Rathmann-Lutz and Volker Scior (Cologne: Böhlau, 2012), pp. 224-52, especially pp. 229-30 on Romow: 'Nahezu typisch ist im selben Zusammenhang der Vergleich der anderen Religionen mit dem Christentum, der das Fremde gewissermaßen der eigene Vorstellungswelt annähert.'

least since the tenth century, the period in which one of the first major missionary attempts to the Baltic began. St Adalbert of Prague, who journeyed to Prussia in 997, became the first martyr associated with the region. St Bruno of Querfurt went to preach to the Prussians shortly after the year 1000, inspired by Adalbert (Bruno in fact wrote a *vita* of the saint). He was martyred by the Prussians in 1009. After this, St Otto of Bamberg took three missionary trips to Pomerania throughout the 1120s.

The texts regularly highlight the pagan nature of the landscape and connect it to the incorrect worship of the Prussians. For example, John Canaparius' *Vita sancti Adalberti* (c. 999), explicitly connects the region of Prussia with idolatry, when Adalbert 'turned himself toward the fearful barbarians, and evil idolaters'.⁵ These barbarians lived in 'a strange land' (*adversus diram barbariem*), and Adalbert sought to go against 'the gods and idols of Prussia' (*Pruzziae dei et idolatra*).⁶ More directly applicable to the landscape is the description in this *vita* of Adalbert's arrival in Prussia, when he and his company, after departing their military escort provided by Boleslaw I of Poland, navigate 'a dark and evil forest' (*nemora et feralia lustra linquentes*).⁷ The connection of this strange place, defined by its pagan inhabitants, is thus present in some of the earliest records documenting the spread of Christianity to the region. This had a clear impact on the work of later chroniclers, such as Adam of Bremen (fl. 1075). Describing Adalbert's mission, Adam noted the physical elements of the pagan landscape in his account of the Prussians, who 'consecrated woods and groves in the name of their gods' and 'frequented them foolishly.'⁸ Within roughly a century, the connection between paganism

⁵ 'Vita antiquior', *SS* 4, p. 593.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 594.

⁸ *ABGH*, p. 8; p. 108. This describes the worshipping practices of the Saxons and the Obodrite Slavs.

in the Baltic and the physicality of the landscape was a clearly developing element of how contemporaries described the region.

The twelfth-century accounts only solidify this development, and we can take two major chroniclers to demonstrate the potency of this imagery. The *vita* of St Otto of Bamberg by Herbord (c. 1139), notes the ‘vast and horrible forest’ (*nemus horrendum et vastum*) separating Poland from Pomerania that the missionaries crossed.⁹ Providing more detail, the text describes the strange beasts and animals encountered in the forest, including cranes (*grues*), which served as literary symbols for strange, remote, alien places, as noted by Kurt Villads Jensen.¹⁰ The region in which the Pomeranians live is described as a solitude (*horror solitudinis*), notable for its dense forests, and ‘barbarous men [who are] cruel to look at’ (*homini barbari crudeli aspectus*).¹¹ Helmold of Bosau (c. 1172), writing of the Wendish Crusade, pointed out that the inhabitants of the region (in this case, the Obodrite Slavs east of the Elbe), named many woods or sacred groves (*silvae vel luci*) after their gods, thus connecting the religion of the region directly to the landscape.¹² Clearly, by the end of the twelfth century, there emerged a specific connection between religion and landscape which predated the crusading movement, and the arrival of the military orders, in the Baltic Sea region.

The natural features of the landscape, such as forests, are a common theme to denote the non-Christian elements of the landscape with respect to place and the understanding of that landscape as not sacred. These features defined the pagan qualities of the Baltic’s religious geography and the perception of that geography, namely the sense of place expressed in the

⁹ ‘Herbordi vita Ottonis’, *SS* 12, p. 779.

¹⁰ See Kurt Villads Jensen, ‘Physical Extermination of Physical Sin – Remarks on the Theology and Mission in the Baltic Region around 1200’, *SSSTOP*, pp. 87-99, especially pp. 91-4.

¹¹ ‘Herbordi vita Ottonis’, p. 780.

¹² Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. by Bernhard Schmeidler, *MGH SS. rer. Germ.* 30 (Hannover: Hahn, 1937), p. 160.

minds of the chroniclers. However, it is clear that the landscape's religious connection was not alien to those describing it. The Treaty of Christburg (7 February 1249), outlines the religious rites of the Prussians and their priests.¹³ As opposed to devoid of any Christian holiness, these places were scenes of incorrect worship.

When the crusades were launched in Livonia by the thirteenth century, the paganism of the landscape came to be a common feature in the descriptions of the wars. Considering this focus of the chroniclers on the paganism of the landscape, we can consider some examples to demonstrate the importance of landscape as a defining factor of the crusade movement in the Baltic. For example, Henry of Livonia mentions groves (*nemora; luci*) and woods (*silvae*) in his accounts of specific campaigns in 1220, and 1227. In one account, the crusader army (*Theutonici*) chased a group of Livs through a field, and 'up to their sacred grove, and polluted it with the blood of the pagans (*sanguine maculaverunt*).'¹⁴

An entry from that same year (1227) confirms a more nuanced relationship between the religion and physical monuments in the landscape, namely Henry's description of the home of Tharapita, a god of the Oselians. Telling us of two priests baptizing some villages near Ymera, Henry states 'in the region of Veronia...where there was a mountain and most beautiful wood (*pulcherrima silva*), in which the natives said the great god of the Oselians, called Tharapita, was born.'¹⁵ Finally, in describing one of the last encounters between the crusaders and the

¹³ *PDC*, p. 102 (3.5): "Fuit autem in medio nacionis hujus perverse, scilicet in Nadrowia, locus quidam dictus Romowe, trahens nomen suum a Roma, in quo habitat quidam, dictus Criwe, quem colebant pro papa." Also see *PrUB* 1.1, pp. 158-65 (no. 218), here p. 161, for the religious rites of the Prussians, and a reference to their priests: 'Promiserunt eciam, quod inter se non habebunt de cetero Tulissones et Ligaschones, *homines videlicet mendacissimos histriones, qui quasi gentilium sacerdotes*.'

¹⁴ *HCL*, p. 166 (23.9): 'Theutonici...occidentes eos per campos usque ad lucum ipsorum, et ipsam sanctam silvam...sanguine maculaverunt.' This grove was near the stronghold of Gerwen (present-day Järva, central Estonia).

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 175 (24.4): '...sacerdotes...ad alias villas festinantes in confinio Veronie tres villas baptizaverunt, ubi erat mons et silva pulcherrima, in qua dicebant indigene magnum deum Osiliensium natum, qui Tharapita dicuntur.' Veronia is the present-day region of Virumaa, in northwestern Estonia. The editors of the text identify this grove and mountain as the region near present-day Väike Maarja (formerly known as *Klein-Marien*), in northwestern Estonia, which still retains a hill called Ebavere.

Oselians, Henry states that the two armies, upon meeting for battle, called upon their respective gods. The crusaders, of course, call on Jesus (*Iesum invocant*), but the cry of the Oselians, to their sacred grove (*nemus*), points to a close association of the landscape itself with the very paganism that the crusaders wished to combat.¹⁶ As we will see by the end of this chapter, the conversion of this landscape to a new sacral one formed a key element to the literary depictions of the Baltic crusades.

The worship of specific elements of the landscape also applied to Prussia, to the south, and this appears to have been noted relatively contemporarily to Henry's *Livonian Chronicle*. An anonymous text, the *Descriptiones terrarium* (c. 1260), records that the Prussians 'tended special woods as gods' (*Prutheni speciales siluas pro diis colebant*).¹⁷ Peter of Dusburg, too, writing in the fourteenth century, described the Prussian religion as centred on nature worship, writing that 'they hold as sacred groves, fields, and waters' (*habuerunt lucos, campos et aquas sacras*).¹⁸ In fact, he also notes that there were some key cities that are discussed below in this thesis as main sacral centres in the landscape as close to these existing groves. For example, the city of Elbing, which held one of the most important sacralising objects in Prussia, a piece of the True Cross, was located near a grove (*nemus*). The pagan Pogesanians hid themselves in it before launching an attack on some citizens, killing them in the grove, in 1273.¹⁹ Peter wrote that this spot marked where so many Christians were killed, that the river near Elbing 'appeared to flow red with the colour of blood', thus providing a sort of inverse to the example provided

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 218 (30.4): 'Gaudet exercitus christianorum, exclamant Deum exorant. Clamant et illi, gaudentes Tarapitha suo. Illi nemus, isti Iesum invocant.' This was the attack of the hill fort at Muhu, still visible today and in close proximity to the church of St Katherine, constructed in the thirteenth century.

¹⁷ *DT*, p. 722: 'Hii quemadmodum Prutheni speciales siluas pro diis colebant.'

¹⁸ *PDC*, p. 102 (3.5).

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 288 (3.170). For the sacred grove near Elbing (Elbląg), see Max Töppen, *Historisch-comparative Geographie von Preussen* (Gotha: Perthes, 1858), pp. 187-8, mentions a grove that was near the castle, perhaps a remnant of this grove spoken of by Peter. For a more modern analysis of sacred groves, see Vykintas Vaitkevičius, *Studies into the Balts' Sacred Places* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2004), pp. 16-20.

in Henry of Livonia's chronicle, where pagan blood polluted the pagan grove.²⁰ Thus, the texts documenting the crusades offer a different approach to describing the landscape, namely in the direct relation of the wars in ridding physical remains of paganism. Some texts are more informative, noting that indeed, there were physical markers in the landscape such as groves and hills, while others, especially Henry of Livonia and Peter of Dusburg, note the relationship of warfare (namely in the killing of pagans or Christians) to these places: the formerly pagan grove served as a scene where the sacred events of the crusade took place. Thus, they became newly sacred.

However, it is important to note that there is a plethora of descriptions of the landscape that simply provide some general information, and many of these come from the later texts of the fourteenth century. We can connect this to the beginning of the crusades against the Lithuanians, discussed in the introduction above. Wigand of Marburg, Peter Suchenwirt, and Hermann of Wartberge regularly state that, once an army of crusaders arrived in Prussia, they would go into 'the land of the pagans' (*terra paganorum; das haiden lant*).²¹ The descriptions shift from a specific focus on the landscape, which is commensurate with the shift in perceptions of crusading that took place during the age of the *Reisen*.

These depictions of threatening worship were developed by the chroniclers into a characteristic of the 'barbarian peoples' (*populi barbari*) against which the Church waged its

²⁰ *PDC*, p. 290 (3. 170): 'Tantus ibi sanguis Christianorum fusus fuit, quod fluvius vicinus amisso colore naturlai sanguineus apparebat.'

²¹ For some examples: *SRP* 2, p. 156, describing the *Reise* of Friedrich of Krebsbach (1328/1329): 'vûr der werde man von Pehem [Bohemia]...gên Preuzzen in der haiden lant.' Wigand, p. 487, noted a great company that came to Prussia in 1330: 'multitudo magna populi venit in Prusiam', in 1344, William IV of Holland (d. 1337), accompanied the Master 'into Lithuania' (*idem magister cum Wilhelmo comite Hollandie intrat Lithwaniam*), see Wigand, p. 500. In 1350, Ulrich, Graf of Cilly, 'rode to Prussia, (to go) against the pagans' (*der edel chërte...in Preuzzen gein der heidenschaft*), *SRP* 2, p. 159.

wars, one example coming from a letter of Innocent III in 1199.²² The landscape was a ‘land of the barbarians’ (*terra barbarorum*). Before Christianisation, such places were ‘horrible’ ones (*loca horrida*). We see below in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 that placing miraculous events and martyrdoms at these locations were important components in the chronicles to create *loci amoeni* and develop a physical component to the Baltic’s emerging sacral landscape.

Another important theme is the emphasis of the suffering of the Christian peoples in both Livonia and Prussia to highlight the sacralisation process. Like the example above describing the memory of the Holy Land as a motivator in drawing crusaders to its aid, memory played an important role in the texts for the Baltic chronicles. We will see the development of this below, in Chapter 2. Various letters calling for the preaching of the crusades in Prussia highlighted the suffering the valour of the Teutonic Order in their fight against the pagans and their role in landscape sacralisation. In 1230, the papal bull *Cum misericors*, issued by Gregory IX, described how the brothers ‘wonderfully’ (*mirabiliter*) fought in God’s name against the Prussians.²³ In 1231, the brothers were described by him as ‘defending both physically and spiritually the new plantation of the Christian faith’ (*plantationem novella fidei Christiane tam spiritualibus quam materialibus defensuri*).²⁴ They also show the suffering of the Christian population in the region and the process of landscape sacralisation *via* martyrdom, discussed at greater length in Chapter 2. For example, in 1232, Gregory IX took care to note ‘more than 20,000 Christians cut down by the sword and condemned to a disgraceful death.’ He also described the brothers as acting on God’s behalf, ‘repaying the attack by the savage

²² *LECUB* 1, 1.12, col. 14: “...inter *populos barbaros*, qui honorem Deo debitum animalibus brutis, arboribus frondosis, aquis limpidis, virentibus herbis, et spiritibus immundis impendunt.” My italics. One can also see this aspect of nature worship in the text of the Treaty of Christburg (1249), *PrUB* 1, pp. 158-65 (no. 218), here p. 161.

²³ *PrUB* 1.1, p. 62 (no. 81): “fratres ibi [in Prussia] existentes deus misericorditer operatur, *conterendo per eos mirabiliter sui nominis inimicos*.”

²⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 65-6 (no. 85): “...dil. fil. . .preceptoris et fratrum hosp. s. Marie Theuton., qui cum ipso [the Bishop of Prussia – GL] *assumerunt in patribus Pruscie negotium fidei ex animo prosequendum, plantationem novella fidei Christiane tam spiritualibus quam materialibus defensuri*.”

barbarians.’²⁵ In 1252, Innocent IV highlighted how ‘the brothers...aided with the support of other Christians, suffered many labours and innumerable expenses, with much constant bloodshed for a long time’ in his call to crusaders to support the Order in Prussia.²⁶

This emphasis in the sources did not stop in the early conquest period. For example, similar imagery was used into the 1280s, when the conquest of the Prussians was complete.²⁷ In 1260, Alexander IV continued the imagery of the suffering brothers and the necessity of the crusaders helping them ‘in Livonia and in Prussia.’²⁸ Urban IV, in 1261, highlighted the suffering of the neophytes at the hand of the Prussians and the role of the knights in extending the borders of Christendom, to encourage more participation in the crusades to Livonia, Prussia and Curonia.²⁹ In 1284, the bishop of Pomesania, Albert, remembered the early days of Christianisation, ‘when the Christian faith existed in great instability in the surrounding areas’ of Marienwerder.³⁰ This frequency shows a distinct tradition that came to characterise crusading and landscape in the Baltic, namely in the way of describing the history of the missions. The sacrality of the mission transformed the landscape, in that the suffering and valour of those engaged in warfare in that region was the defining factor that shaped how contemporaries wrote about it. As the chapters below demonstrate, the spaces and structures used by pilgrims (and knights in the Teutonic Order) were spaces in which these early days were commemorated and remembered, thus creating a distinct bond between people and the landscape over time.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 67 (no. 87): “...cum quibus [the brothers] deus misericorditer operatur, *reprimendo per eos impetum barbaram feritatis.*”

²⁶ Ibid, p. 195 (no. 255): “fratres...adiuti subsidiis aliorum Christi fidelium, labores plurimos et expensas innumeras cum multa effusione propria sanguinis a longis temporibus constantissime pertulerunt.”

²⁷ *PrUB* 1.2, pp. 88-9 (no. 103); pp. 117-20 (nos. 141-42); pp. 130-33 (no. 158); pp. 137-38 (no. 167); pp. 155-56 (no. 201). Also see Chapter 2 below (2.2.1).

²⁸ *PrUB* 1.2, pp. 88-9 (no. 103).

²⁹ Ibid, pp. 117-20 (nos. 141-142).

³⁰ Ibid, p. 280 (no. 439).

Preachers and chroniclers created a perception of the Baltic as a landscape associated with holy war, but since it was on the fringe of Christendom and lacked Christian holy places, they needed to adapt their approach to legitimise the campaigns there to legitimise it as a new sacral landscape. One way of examining this is through the lens of the literary theory of the *locus amoenus* and *locus horribilis*. Before the emergence of the *locus amoenus* there had to be a *locus horribilis*.³¹ Torben K. Nielsen points out that in the chronicles of the Baltic crusades, this concept was an inversion of the traditional method for describing landscapes in the Middle Ages. Where some recognised forests as delightful retreats, Henry instead saw an unknown and hostile landscape. This is particularly true with respect to the forests, which were not just dangerous from a military perspective, making the crusader armies susceptible to ambush, but also associated with the paganism against which crusading armies battled.³² This inversion was a product of his status as an eyewitness, and his position in an unknown part of the world, but especially because of the close association of landscape with paganism in the Baltic region.³³ We see the need to create ‘pleasant places’ (*loci amoeni*), namely through converting the hostile landscapes that the crusaders encountered in the regions of Prussia and Livonia. Two ways that they did this was by incorporating Biblical language to frame events and describing the landscape in terms that focused on its paganism.

Religious historian, John Howe, notes that the *locus horribilis* does not appear in Classical literature but plays a key role in the genesis of medieval literary landscapes.³⁴ The work of Veronica della Dora, too, considers how the *loca horrida* functioned in later medieval pilgrimage accounts to the Holy Land, specifically to Mount Sinai and the hermitages of the

³¹ Ernst Robert Curtius, ‘The Ideal Landscape’, in idem, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. by Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 183-202.

³² Torben Kjersgaard Nielsen, ‘Henry of Livonia on Woods and Wilderness’, in *CCWMBF*, pp. 170-71.

³³ Ibid, p. 170. Also see *HCL*, p. 215 (29.9).

³⁴ Howe, ‘Creating Symbolic Landscapes’, p. 212.

Desert Fathers. Their struggle in the wilderness reflected the spiritual nature of their mission, regardless of the harshness presented by the desert landscape.³⁵ We also see that the chronicles for the Baltic crusades apply this theme in a distinct way with respect to the crusades there. The *locus horribilis* is very much a component to the mental construct of the Baltic in the Middle Ages.³⁶

We can also see this in the later texts documenting the crusades to Prussia produced in the Teutonic Order. The *Rhymed Chronicle*'s account an expedition in 1289 made by the knights to the castle of Sydobrin, in which they went through swamps and "through many wicked woods" (*durch manchen bösen walt*), reflects both a practical understanding of the military hazards of the landscape, but also notes the connotations of paganism. Woods are the place where the pagan enemy lurks.³⁷ The chronicles of Hermann of Wartberge and Wigand of Marburg frequently reference 'the land of the pagans' (*terra paganorum*), which indeed is a descriptive component to a specific region where pagans live. However, in the context of the intense war-like descriptions that the chronicles offer, in combination with the presence of these concepts in the earlier texts documenting the crusading movement, their importance becomes clearer with respect to the continued sacralization of the landscape.

By giving the landscape pleasant qualities, in addition to commemorating the wars as holy causes, chroniclers began the first process in the creation of a sacral landscape.³⁸ The *Rhymed*

³⁵ Veronia della Dora, 'Gardens of Eden and ladders to heaven: Holy mountain geographies in Byzantium', in *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond, 300-1600*, ed. by Keith D. Lilley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 271-300, here pp. 279-80.

³⁶ See Jacek Kowzan, 'Heavenly Jerusalem as a "Locus Amoenus" in Medieval and Early Modern Polish Literature', in *Islands and Cities in Medieval Myth, Literature, and History*, ed. by Andrea Grafetstätter, Sieglinde Hartmann and James Ogier (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011), pp. 179-90, which examines this construct in the broader context of Polish historical literature.

³⁷ *LR*, p. 257 (lines 11,233-11,240): "Das ander her [the pagan army – GL], dâ ich von sprach, / lât ûch sagen, waz dem geschach. / Sydobren, daz ich hân genant, / lac in Semegallen lant. / kein der burge stunt ir sin, / dâ wart ez gevûret hin / durch brûch und manchen bösen walt; / die wege wâren so gestalt."

³⁸ *HCL*, p. 201 (28.4); *PDC*, P. 46 (1.1).

Chronicle demonstrates the continuity that came after the arrival of the crusade movement and developed over the course of centuries with respect to the development of how contemporaries expressed concepts of place in their literary works. It also shows the role of conversion and of landscape in the chronicles produced by members of the military orders, an institution not present in the earlier texts discussed above. Within the first one hundred lines of the text, the author tells us that there were still lands unknown to Christianity, and it was to these that God would send his apostles. Thus, Christianity (God's love; *sîn lob*) appeared in lands where hitherto it had not been.³⁹

The conversion of these people were products of divine intervention on the part of God's apostles, 'his messengers' (*sîne boten*), namely the Teutonic Order.⁴⁰ We can use the example of the churches as physical markers of the landscape sacralization process that took place in the thirteenth century, one example being the church of Pöide, on the island of Saaremaa, pictured below (Image 1). This makes it visible from high points such as hill forts, which functioned as important religious and economic centres.⁴¹ The prominence of the churches in the landscape is reflected in the photo below of the Teutonic Order church of St Mary at Pöide. The church occupies a powerful feature in the landscape. The church's tower rises from above the trees (visible in the image), serving as a landmark against the horizon. The photograph was taken from the nearby hillfort, illustrating the competing elements between pagan and Christian geography on the island.⁴²

³⁹ *LR*, p. 2 (lines 57-59; 76-78).

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 3 (lines 120-124). "nû wil ich manchen ûch bekant, / wie der cristentûm ist komen / zû Nieflant, als ich hân vernomen / von allen wîsen lûten."

⁴¹ *HCL*, p. 220 (20.5).

⁴² The church dates to the 1260s and was fortified throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth century. See Tuulse, 'Die Kirche zu Karja und die Wehrkirchen Saaremaas', p. 151.



Image 1. Põide Church seen from the nearby Hillfort. Photograph courtesy of Author.

1.2: Holy War, the Vineyard, and the Baltic as a ‘Crusading Landscape’

Given the importance of the pagan landscape just discussed, the present section will consider how the literary evidence described the conversion of this landscape. We can view this through the use of specific literary themes. The concept of the *locus amoenus* and the *locus horribilis* were present in both the texts predating the crusade movement, and those produced during it, to create a broad image of the landscape and place that emerged in the medieval Baltic. The present section considers the specific elements that emerged in the texts documenting the Baltic crusades, in other words, themes that came to be unique to them, and thus further the representation and perception of the new sacral landscape in the Baltic. It will do this by examining the literary themes common to the chronicles, particularly those involving the transplant of Biblical events and models to the pagan landscape of the Baltic, and the propagation of specific literary themes surrounding the vineyard. It concludes by noting the unique role of the Virgin Mary in the texts as direct literary creations of a new sacral landscape.

The second book of Peter of Dusburg’s *Chronicle of Prussia* demonstrates to us how Biblical topoi came to play a large role in portraying a new sacred landscape in the Baltic. This passage outlines the new, divinely-sanctioned wars (*nova bella, que elegit Dominus*) brought to Prussia by the Teutonic Knights.¹ The wars were not ‘new’ so much as the crusade was, for the Order saw its Prussian campaigns as successors to Old Testament figures in the form of Abraham, Moses, Joshua, David, Solomon, Judith and, most importantly, the Maccabees.² These new wars of the Order find their roots back to the earliest texts produced in the Order, namely the Prologue to its *Rule*, one of the earliest pieces of the Teutonic Order’s historical

¹ The passage has 9 allusions to the Old Testament and to the Apocrypha.

² *SDO*, pp. 23-5 (*Prologus*), narrates this succession. For Judith, see *PDC*, p. 68 (2.8): “Sed quia Iudith non in armorum potencia, sed in virtute laudatur, eo quod occidit Holofernem, quis in arcu suo soeravit et gladius eius salvavit eum?”. Also see Nicholas Morton, ‘The Defence of the Holy Land and the Memory of the Maccabees,’ *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010): pp. 275-93, especially p. 283.

writing.³ Peter drew on this early body of work to apply this imagery to landscape, particularly in Prussia. He referenced how the brothers, like the Maccabees, ‘cleansed the holy places of Prussia’ (*loca sancta terre Prussie mundaverunt*), and thus rid it of the idolatry (*ydolatRIA*) that was polluting it.⁴ Indeed, the holy wars of the Order re-sacralised the pagan landscape discussed in the above section. The adaption of Biblical models for holy war and the use of specific literary themes were thus the first major component in demonstrating the landscape sacralisation process in the Order’s texts.

Peter here adapts the concept of the *loca sancta* from 1 Maccabees 4, which refers specifically to the Temple of Jerusalem. The Maccabees won back Jerusalem, igniting a long series of wars that ultimately resulted in a Maccabean victory.⁵ He saw the wars against the pagans as commemorative ones, successors to the original wars of the Maccabees, in the same way as he used the imagery of Jerusalem and the Holy Land to legitimise the wars and build on a crusade tradition. He understood the mission of the Order in Prussia as a replication of the Maccabees cleansing the Temple and extended this beyond the imagery of Biblical soldiers to the formerly pagan landscape of Prussia. Peter’s use of this imagery and its presence in one of the main historical texts of the Baltic crusades highlights the role of crusading in adding a new layer to spiritual geographies. The concept of history in Peter’s chronicle is framed in the context of crusade, holy war, and the Biblical predecessors who fought to save the Holy Land.⁶

³ *SDO*, pp. 24-5 (*Prologue*, 3). For the importance of the Order’s historiographical writing (*Ordensgeschichtsschreibung*), see Udo Arnold, ‘Die Anfänge der Ordensgeschichtsschreibung’, in *Neue Studien zur Literatur im Deutschen Orden*, ed. by Bernhart Jähnig and Arnold Mentzel-Reuters (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 2014), pp. 177-96.

⁴ *PDC*, pp. 32-3 (*Prologue*): ‘Attende, qualiter fratres ut Iudas Machabeus loca sancta terre Prussie, que gentes per ydolatriam polluerunt, mundaverunt, et sacrificatur in eis quotidie Deo sacrificium laudis et honoris.’

⁵ *SDO*, p. 25 (*Prologue*, 3): “Dei suffulti iuvamine adeo contriverunt, ut sancta iterato mundaverunt, arcem Syon reciperent et redderent pacem terre.” Also see the MHG: “daz sie die heiligen stete wider gereinegeten, die sie hêten geunreint, unde den vride machen wider in dem lande.”

⁶ See 1 Macc. 4: 43: “et mundaverunt [the Maccabees – GL] sancta et tulerunt lapides contaminationis in locum inmundum.” Also see *PDC*, p. 32. For the memory of Jerusalem in Peter’s chronicle, see Shlomo Lotan, ‘*Querimonia desalacionis terre sancte* - The Fall of Acre and the Holy Land in 1291 as an Emotional Element in the Tradition of the Teutonic Order.’ *Mirabilia*, 15 (2012): pp. 47-55. For the effect of the loss of the Holy Land

Peter, of course, is not the only example to solidify the importance this application of Biblical themes directly to the pagan landscape. Henry of Livonia attributes the very nature of the crusades in that region to divine providence (*divina providencia*).⁷ He applied Biblical language and scenarios to the scenes he witnessed, which in effect led to the creation of a sacralised geography, a place in which the events of the Old Testament were re-created. His chronicle incorporates over 1,000 direct (and indirect) citations of the Bible.⁸ The first line of the text invokes Old Testament imagery of Raab and Babylon, framed in Psalm 86 by their connection to God and Zion. It is this reason that the crusade came to Livonia, namely to purify the people (and the landscape) of idolatry.⁹ The first line of the Psalm, too, states that the God ‘founded his sanctuary in the holy mountains’, thus providing a framework that the new cities of the crusades in Livonia were replications, mentally, of this imagery.¹⁰ Military figures of the Bible played a key role, too, in Henry’s chronicle. He appears to have been particularly fond of the Maccabees, in addition to the Books of Kings and Judges.¹¹

Chroniclers in the military orders used similar methods, too, but there is a marked decline in the use of direct Biblical imagery (aside from Peter of Dusburg). Peter of Dusburg framed the entire mentality of the wars against the Prussians in Biblical terms, namely the ‘signs and wonders’ (*signa et mirabilia*) carried out by the Lord in Prussia. These signs and miracles come from the third Book of Daniel. Peter also framed the warfare undertaken by the brothers in

in a broader context, see Lee Manion, ‘The Loss of the Holy Land and *Sir Isumbras*: Literary Contributions to Fourteenth-Century Crusade Discourse.’ *Speculum*, 85 (2010): pp. 65-90.

⁷ *HCL*, p. 1 (1.1); *LR*, pp. 1-4 (lines 1-126); *PDC*, pp. 44-6 (1.1) and pp. 66-90 (2.6-2.9).

⁸ Jaan Undusk, ‘Sacred History, Profane History: Uses of the Bible in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia’, *CCWMBF*, pp. 47-9.

⁹ For the connection of Biblical places to the landscape, see Scott D. Westrem, ‘Against Gog and Magog’, in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. by Sylvia Tomasch; and Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. 54-75. For the connection to Babylon, see *HCL*, pp. 1-2: “Divina providencia, memor Raab et Babilonis...Livonies ydolatras ab ydolatrie et peccati sompno taliter igne sui amoris excitavit.” See Psalm 87 (Vulgate, 86).

¹⁰ Psalm 86: 1 (Vulgate): “Fundamentum eius in montibus sanctuarii.”

¹¹ Undusk, ‘Sacred History, Profane History’, p. 54.

spiritual terms, namely in describing the ‘weapons’ used in the conversion of the landscape. He used over 55 other citations concerning sacral warfare from the Old and New Testaments in his outline of this concept with respect to the crusades in Prussia.¹²

The *Rhymed Chronicle*, by contrast, begins with a brief salvation history, noting how it was through God, Christ, and the Virgin that Christianity spread and eventually came to Livonia.¹³ This is one of the rare accounts in the text to incorporate the landscape of Livonia with that of Christianity. Marcus Wüst has argued that the speech of Berthold, the second bishop of Livonia (d. 1198), reminding the crusaders before his martyrdom that they are in Livonia on account of God’s blood, can be read in the context of John 15.¹⁴ This appears to be the only Biblical connections present in the author’s text.

In terms of propagating of this imagery, the chronicles gave a notion of the sacrality of place to those who read the texts and to those who heard them, namely brothers in the Teutonic Order and seasonal crusaders from Germany. While this was not the case for, say Henry of Livonia’s chronicle or Peter of Dusburg’s chronicle, since they were composed in Latin, the *Rhymed Chronicle*, Nicolaus of Jeroschin’s chronicle, and smaller vernacular texts produced in the Teutonic Order were geared toward brethren and crusaders in the Baltic.¹⁵ Such texts as Heinrich of Hessler’s *Apokalypse* (c. 1300) serve as an example. In its prologue, it highlights

¹² *PDC*, pp. 68-84 (2.8).

¹³ *LR*, p. 3 (lines 113-123): “Now I have told you / of God’s son and his mother / Mary, my lady, / the heavenly queen, / and how the Christian law, / here and there spread out / in many lands. / Now I will tell to you, / how Christianity came to Livonia / as I have heard from many wise people.” (*Nû hân ich ûch gesaget / von gotes sune und der maget / Marien, der vrowen mîn, / der himelischen kunigîn, / und wie sîn gotlicher rât, / hin und her geteilet hât / dem cristentûm in manich lant. / nû wil ich Machen ûch bekant, / wie der cristentûm ist komen / zû Nieflant, als ich hân vernomen / von allen wîsen lûten.*) For the rest of the Salvation history, see pp. 1-4 (lines 1-126).

¹⁴ See Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, pp. 60-7, especially pp. 62-4.

¹⁵ For the *LR*, see Alan V. Murray, ‘The Structure, Genre and Intended Audience of the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*’, in *Crusade and Conversion*, pp. 248-50. For the use of the chronicles in the ranks of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, see Arno Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma Spiritualia*; Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, p. 66. For Wigand of Marburg and the crusader audience of the text, see Kwatskowski, ‘Die Selbstdarstellung des Deutschen Ordens’, *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis*, p. 128; Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, p. 106.

God's creation of the world, the other planets and, therefore, the region of Prussia in which the brothers fought.¹⁶ The invocation to God, who 'created night and day, the dark and the light, good and evil, and the abyss' certainly applies to the landscape if we consider the themes discussed in this section concerning the association of the landscape with paganism.

The c. 1335 translation of the Book of Maccabees, for example, highlighted the significance of the 'pagan gymnasium in Jerusalem' (*schule nach der heidenen e alda in Jerosoliminis*).¹⁷ Written in Prussia, likely by Luder of Braunschweig, the eighteenth Grand Master of the Order (d. 1335), it served as an edifying text to the brethren and was read to them at mealtimes.¹⁸ Therefore, they were reminded of the pagan gymnasium, and viewed their early history in the context of the Maccabean Wars. The circulation of these manuscripts was not that large; however, the recent discovery of a fragment of Peter's chronicle in a fifteenth-century English book in Ireland shows that the text did circulate to circles removed from the Prussian frontier.¹⁹ Prussia and Livonia were the geographical places in which these spiritual struggles occurred.

The second important theme of this section is the concept of 'the Lord's new vineyard', which emerged early in the history of the conversion of the Baltic as a way to frame the crusade expeditions there and the landscape in which they took place.²⁰ Vineyard imagery had played something of a similar role in the pre-crusade accounts of the Baltic, but it became more

¹⁶ Heinrich of Hesler, *Apokalypse*, p. 2 (lines 57-69).

¹⁷ *Das Buch der Maccabäer in mitteldeutscher Bearbeitung*, ed. by Karl Helm (Tübingen: H. Laupp, 1904), p. 39: "Do machten sie zu lernen me / schule nach der heidenen e / alda in Jerosoliminis." For the dating of the text, see Helm and Ziesemer, *Literatur des Deutschen Ordens*, p. 94.

¹⁸ See Helm and Ziesemer, *Literatur des Deutschen Ritterordens*, pp. 95-9; for a newer study on Luder, see Simon Helms, *Luther von Braunschweig: Der Deutsche Orden in Preußen zwischen Krise und Stabilisierung und das Wirken eines Fürsten in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Marburg: Elwert, 2009), pp. 125-41.

¹⁹ Thomas W. Smith, 'An Unknown Fragment of Peter von Dusburg's *Chronicon terrae Prussiae* in Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 516', in *W Służbie Zabytków [In the service of monuments]*, ed. by Janusz Hochleitner and Karol Polejowski (Malbork: Malbork Castle Museum, 2017), pp. 151-54.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-4 (1.1). "Sicque institutis et confirmatus et multis privilegis dotatus est venerandus ille militaris ordo fratrum hospitalis sancte Marie domus Theutonicorum Ierosolimitani. *Hec est vinea Domini Sabaoth electa, quam tu, Iesu Criste, intituisti fuisse dux itineris in conspectus eius. Plantasti radices eius et implevit terram.*" My italics.

prominent with the crusading period. It thus offers a more specific avenue for looking at how crusading, as a distinct phenomenon, gave way to a new sacral landscape in a place with no holy sites to defend. For one, the vine was an appropriate theme to show the conversion process. The chroniclers in the Baltic used the vine as a metaphor for Christianity and conversion, which drove out the pagan religion from the land.²¹ Throughout the thirteenth century, it was an important motivator in the bulls calling for crusades to Livonia and Prussia. As we see below in the coming section, the vineyard was an important artistic motif in the region as well.

Vineyard terminology was applied to the Baltic as early as the 1170s, when Alexander III referred to the ‘cultivators of the faith’ (*fidei cultores*) in Estonia.²² Chroniclers of the crusade to the Baltic used it from the time of Henry of Livonia.²³ For example, Henry of Livonia records Albert of Riga’s foundation of the Cistercian monastery at Dünamünde in 1205 in this language. He ‘wished to extend the young branches of the vineyard of the Lord among the gentiles’ (*volens...vinee Domini palmites extendere in gentibus*).²⁴ This plantation and its connection to the military orders was present in Livonia from the same period, when Innocent III wrote that the Sword Brothers, vested with the habit of the Templars, combat the pagans who ‘resist strongly and courageously the new plantation of Christianity there,’ (*qui...barbaris infestantibus ibi novella plantationem fidei Christianae resistant viriliter et potenter*).²⁵

²¹ Ibid. “Transtulisti eam postea et eiecisti gentes de terra Prussie et Lyvonie et plantasti eam ibi et sic extendit palmites suos usque ad mare et usque ad flumen propagine eius.”

²² *LECUB*, 1.1, col. 5 (no. 5): “...regibus et principibus et aliis Christi fidelibus per regna Danorum, Norwegensium, Guetomorum et Gothorum constitutis...cum feritatem Estonum et aliorum paganorum illarum partium adversus Dei fideles, et Christianae fidei cultores gravis insurgere, et immaniter debacchari audimus, et Christiani nominis impugnare virtutem.”

²³ Innocent III had a propensity for referring to other places as vineyards of the Lord, England and France being examples. See Brenda Bolton, ‘Philip Augustus and John: Two Sons in Innocent III’s Vineyard?’, in idem *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1995), pp. 113-34.

²⁴ *HCL*, p. 29 (9.7), citing Psalm 79:12: ‘Extendit palmites suos usque ad mare, et usque ad flumen propagine ejus.’

²⁵ *LECUB*, col. 19 (no.14). “Qui sub templariorum habitu, barbaris infestantibus ibi novella plantationem fidei Christianae resistant viriliter et potenter.”

This theme was an important component to creating a sacred landscape through expressing the role of martyrdom as a motivator for crusaders to go to the Baltic, discussed in the coming chapter. Henry of Livonia's account of William of Modena's visit in the 1220s shows the role of church figures in propagating vineyard imagery. William rejoiced and praised Jesus Christ, for he 'discovered the vineyard of the Lord so gloriously planted and the church of the faithful irrigated with the blood of many Christians.'²⁶ The Teutonic Order continued to use this imagery, furthering an established a tradition of writing about crusading in the Baltic. The vineyard in Peter of Dusburg's description of the Order's foundation and arrival in Prussia and Livonia. The Order is the product of the vineyard of the Lord (*vinea Domini Sabaoth electa*), whose roots 'improved the land, and drove out the gentiles of Prussia and Livonia' (*implevit terram...et eiecisti gentes de terra Prussie et Lyovnie*).²⁷ This parallels Psalm 79:9, in which God is praised for 'bringing a vine out of Egypt' that took hold and drove out the nations.²⁸ It also from the same Psalm used by Henry of Livonia discussed above, concerning the foundation of Dünamünde.

It is clear from Peter of Dusburg's text that he thought it important to make his readers aware that the crusades of the Order were the proper way of planting this vineyard, and spreading the Christian faith. He was aware of the need for the Order's holy wars to be viewed as just, sacred and, indeed, unique. Peter's intended audience is a matter of debate, though the Latin text is indicative that it was not meant to be read in the convents and was also likely a report to the papal curia in Rome concerning the history of Prussia and the Order's wars.²⁹ Later in his

²⁶ Ibid, cols. 15-18 (no.13); *HCL*, p. 208 (29.2): "Congaudebat simul et ipse collaudabat Iesum Christum, eo quod vineam Dei tam gloriose plantatam et ecclesiam fidelium sanguine multorum irragatam...invenit". The account is of papal legate William of Modena's visit to Livonia in 1224. He was papal legate to Livonia from 1226-1251.

²⁷ *PDC*, p. 44 (1.1).

²⁸ Psalm 79: 9 (Vulgate): "vineam de Aegypto transtulisti eiecisti gentes et plantasti eam."

²⁹ Ibid, pp. 17-8. Also see Scholz and Wojtecky's introduction, *PDC*, pp. 10-1. Also see Grisca Vercamer, 'Zeit in Peters von Dusburg *Chronica terre Prussie* (1326). Chronologische Ordnung oder Mittel zum Zweck?' *Zapiski Historyczne* 76, no. 4 (2011): pp. 7-23, here p. 11.

chronicle, Peter makes clear the ‘correct’ nature of the Order’s divine war in Prussia. When describing the raids of the pagan Prussians into the Kulmerland, Peter states that the seed planted by the Bishop Christian of Oliva ‘did not yield fruit, because he did not plant it in good soil.’³⁰ This is due to Christian’s patronage of the Order’s former competitors, the Knights of Dobrin, who were absorbed into the Teutonic Order in c. 1237. Teutonic Order chroniclers writing around the end of the fourteenth century adopted the metaphor of the vine and of fertility, too, indicating a continuity of tradition. Hermann of Wartberge, for example, records a meeting with the archbishop of Riga and the master of the Order, Winrich of Kniprode, which refers to Livonia as ‘the plantation of the Christian faith’ (*plantacione christianitas in Livonia*) in this discussion between bishop and Master.³¹ In section 4 of this chapter, we see how they changed it. Contemporaries viewed holy war as the force that planted this vineyard, and the blood of fallen crusaders as the water that irrigated it. It served to frame the wars in a sacred context and removed the issue of any specific sacred shrines to visit whilst on pilgrimage.³²

There were more direct occurrences and applications of Biblical themes to the geography of the Baltic, where chroniclers gave Biblical names to places. Hermann of Wartberge, for example, wrote of a mountain near the city of Riga called *mons zabuli*, the term “zabuli” referring to the Old Testament figure of Zebulun. Given the sparse Biblical imagery in the Order’s later chronicles, the connection of the tribe of Zebulun by Hermann to the vicinity of Riga, known as a haven for ships and founded due to its harbour, is a high point in Hermann’s

³⁰ *PDC*, p. 54 (2.1). “Fuit quidam episcopus de Prussia Cristianus nomine ordinis Cisterciensis, qui divini verbi semen sepius sparsit inter Pruthenos exhortans eos, ut relicta ydolitra Deum verum colerent Iesum Cristum. Sed quia hoc semen cecidit in terram non bonam, fructum nullum fecit.”

³¹ *HWC*, pp. 86-7. “In quorum presentia dominus archiepiscopus Rigensis impetiit magistrum ac preceptores Livonie super dominio civitatis seriose ac nimis rigide, obedientia, bomagio, iuramento, fidelitatis sibi prestando, decimis ac aliis quibusdam debitis aliisque diversis negociis, incipiens a *planlacione christianitatis in Livonia*, nihil obmittens in causa sua.”

³² See Arno Mentzel-Reuters, ‘Zum Selbstverständnis des Deutschen Ordens’, in *Arma Spiritualia*, pp. 17-42, here p. 20.

text.³³ Henry of Livonia, describing the arrival of Albert of Riga and a group of pilgrims in 1200, framed the event in the context of Judges 4:10, when Barak summoned ten thousand Israelites on Mt Tabor, one of which was Zebulun.³⁴ The people of Riga maintained a tradition surrounding the place into the early modern period, where a chronicler for the Riga cathedral noted the sacred hill (*Heilberc*) outside of Riga where the martyrdom of Berthold occurred. Henry of Livonia used the River Jordan to highlight the struggles of the mission in Estonia during the thirteenth century.³⁵ A survey of the early books of Henry's chronicle also reveals a pattern of specific citations to frame events, one example being the use of Acts 27:40 to describe the arrival of Meinhard in Livonia, and subsequent arrivals of crusaders. This refers to Paul's mission to Rome, specifically his shipwreck on the way. The 'land which they did not recognise' (*terram non agnoscebant*) thus represents the unknown landscape of Livonia.³⁶

The military order chroniclers brought a distinct literary tradition centred on place and landscape to the Baltic region. The theme of the vineyard served to describe the conversion-oriented nature of the crusades, whilst also continuing the tradition of placing the Holy Land in the Baltic region. This language emerged in the legal evidence in the twelfth century, but by the fourteenth it was common place and shows the continuity of this imagery in developing a sense of 'place.' As we see in the coming chapter, the construction of castles and cities reflect the concept of 'place-making' on the part of the crusaders and the Teutonic Order. While these had practical functions, the development of a sacred history in the writings of the Teutonic Order, in which the literary themes discussed above played an important role, aided in

³³ Zebulun was a son of Jacob and Leah, whose people "shall settle at the shore of the sea, and be a haven for ships." In the Gospel of Matthew, the land of Zebulun is by the sea, giving light to people in darkness. See Genesis 49:13. Zebulun is an intriguing character in the Bible. Also see Matthew 4:15-16.

³⁴ *HCL*, p. 13 (4.1); Judges 4:10: 'Barak summoned Zebulun and Naphtali to Kadeush; and ten thousand warriors went up behind him.'

³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 201 (28.4).

³⁶ Acts 27: 40. Also see *HCL*, p. 3 (1.5); p. 5 (1.10); p. 8 (2.2); p. 11 (2.9); p. 14 (4.4); p. 19 (7.1); p. 30 (9.8); p. 41 (10.11), for some examples of the use of this citation.

constructing a sense of place. However, the nature of crusading experienced a significant change by the end of the thirteenth century, which would influence the development of these themes in the Baltic.

1.3: Navigating the *desertum* in the Fourteenth Century

Peter of Dusburg, borrowing imagery from the Book of Deuteronomy, noted how the knights of the Teutonic House ‘abandoned the sweet comforts of their homeland, and entered an alien land... one of horror and vast wilderness.’³⁷ The later fourteenth-century chronicles describe the Baltic landscape as a *locus horribilis*, demonstrating the continuity of this important literary theme. Indeed, they appear more as practical, generally informative descriptions. Hermann of Wartberge records that, in 1371, for example, an expedition of the brothers into Lithuania had to be cancelled because of severe winds.³⁸ Likewise, Wigand of Marburg mentions on a number of occasions the campaigns of the Order into the Great Wilderness against the Lithuanians, each one begins with entering ‘the land of the pagans’ (*terra paganorum*). Again, Hermann describes a campaign of Andreas of Sternberg in 1372, in which he entered ‘the lands of the infidels with force.’³⁹ How can these later texts inform the development of a literary tradition concerning landscape in these texts?

The concept of infidel lands (*terrae infidelium*) and pagan lands (*terrae paganorum*) emerges in Hermann and Wigand’s texts quite regularly, indicating, in a very obvious way, a sense of a separate ‘pagan’ lands from the ‘sacred’ (Christianised) lands. It refers to the region

³⁷ *PDC*, p. 92 (2.10). “Reliquerant enim dulce solum natalis patrie sue et intraverant terram alienam...Exierunt eciam terram fructiferam, pacificam et quietam et intraverunt terram horroris et vaste solitudinis et bello durissimo plena.” The imagery of “land of horrors and vast wilderness” comes from Deuteronomy 32:10, which accounts a song of Moses. Moses states that “The Lord discovered him in a desert land, a place of horror and vast wilderness.” See Deut. 32:10 (Vulgate): “[Dominus] invenit eum in terra deserta, in loco horroris et vastae solitudinis.”

³⁸ *HWC*, p. 97. “Presenti anno (1371) estate fratres in Livonia propter aëris intemperiem et inundacionem himbrium nullum facere potuerunt expeditionem.”

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 101.

where the pagans live. One way of spreading the vine described above, however, was through forging paths in the ‘desert’, or the ‘Great Wilderness.’ The Great Wilderness was a stretch of virtually uninhabitable land separating the Order’s territories in Prussia and Livonia, from Königsberg to Memel (Klaipeda). It could only be crossed by careful planning and preparation.⁴⁰ However, the Great Wilderness was also a place where knights reflected their piety in the defence of Christendom, journeying to assist the Teutonic Order in its wars with the Lithuanians. And yet, the sources documenting these campaigns are not nearly as rich or as varied as those from the thirteenth century. In what ways can we analyse the literary landscape that came to define the medieval Baltic region in these chronicles?

One explanation for this lack of information is in the change in understandings of holy war. By the fourteenth century, contemporary attitudes began to shift, and armed pilgrimage in the Baltic changed from more traditional manifestations of the crusade (in the form of language, for instance) to reflections of individual piety and chivalric prowess. This manifested itself in the *Reisen* (‘journeys’ or ‘expeditions’), seasonal campaigns led by the Teutonic Order which embraced contemporary chivalric values whilst also framing the wars against Lithuania in sacral terms.⁴¹ Scholars have studied the *Reisen* as reflections of traditional, and new, perceptions of crusade, which even lasted until after the conversion of Lithuania in 1386.⁴² However, little work has been carried out on how contemporaries viewed place and landscape with respect to these wars. Considering the amount of recent work on the perception of the Baltic region by crusaders in terms of its association with paganism, notably the paganism of

⁴⁰ Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 2, p. 52.

⁴¹ The *Reisen* as a form of crusade has been a subject of considerable debate. For an overview in English, see Axel Ehlers, ‘The crusades of the Teutonic Order against Lithuania reconsidered’, *Crusade and Conversion*, pp. 21-44, especially pp. 23-5 for interpretations of the *Reisen*.

⁴² Loïc Chollet, ‘Les *Voyages en Prusse* vus de France: la perception de la croisade contre le Lituane dans quelques sources francophones (1384-1414)’, *Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza* [‘Studies in Medieval History’] 19 (2015): pp. 51-80.

its inhabitants, this is somewhat surprising.⁴³ As Alan Murray has noted the shift in describing the Lithuanian enemies as a product of the crusaders' "existing mental horizon", namely calling them 'Saracens', one also wonders to what extent the landscape and contemporary descriptions of it experienced a similar shift. In what way did they adapt a concept like crusading, which was so centred on sacred landscapes, to the pagan region of the Baltic?⁴⁴

Literary representations of the Baltic as a crusading landscape were altered because of this shift in mentality that occurred in the later Middle Ages.⁴⁵ The forest as a symbol held important significance to medieval contemporaries, indeed to the authors with whose romances many knights participating on the *Reisen* would have been familiar.⁴⁶ For example King Arthur adorned the walls of Lochstedt castle (4.4.1), as did the other Nine Worthies, chivalric heroes who epitomised adventure and piety. The Table of Honour (*Ehrentisch*), a key feature of the later crusades in Lithuania thought to derive from chivalric legends surrounding Arthur, was a popular element of crusading in the late fourteenth century.⁴⁷ Therefore, the literary elements associated with chivalric legends, specifically those associating forests with adventure, would be easily applicable by contemporaries to the pagan landscape in Lithuania. With respect to

⁴³ For example, see Chollet, 'Les *Voyages en Prusse*'; Chollet and Rasa Mazeika, 'Familiar Marvels? French and German Crusaders and Chroniclers Confront Baltic Pagan Religions', *Francia* 43 (2016): pp. 41-62; Murray, 'Heathens, Devils and Saracens', *Crusading on the Edge*, pp. 205-11 for descriptions of the pagan peoples in the Baltic according to German chroniclers, and pp. 217-22 for the shift in descriptions of the Lithuanians in the fourteenth and fifteenth century.

⁴⁴ Murray, 'Heathens, Devils and Saracens', pp. 218-21.

⁴⁵ Aleksander Pluskowski, 'A land of red castles: Consolidating the Teutonic Order's state in the fourteenth century', in idem, *The Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, p. 162. Also see Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 2, p. 52.

⁴⁶ Albrecht Classen, *The Forest in Medieval German Literature: Ecocritical Readings from a Historical Perspective* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2015), pp. 9-11.

⁴⁷ See Conrad Steinbrecht, *Die Baukunst des Deutschen Ritterordens in Preussen 3: Schloss Lochstedt und seine Malereien* (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1910), specifically pp. 14-22. For the *Ehrentisch*, see Voigt, *Geschichte Preussens* 5 (1832), pp. 712-18, especially p. 712, proposing an origin in France: 'Man hat durch einige Beispiele von Ehrenfesten in Frankreich den Beweis fren wollen, dass auch dort die Sitte des Ehrentisches nicht unbekannt gewesen sei; allein bei näherer Betrachtung erkennt man leicht, dass zwischen jenen Festen und dem eigentlichen Ehrentische theils in der Art der Feier, theils im Charakter und Zwecke ein merklicher Unterschied Statt findet, so dass jene Feste in Frankreich, wenn man will, höchstens nur für eine halbe Nachahmung des Ehrentisches gelten könnten.' Also see Werner Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1, pp. 316-34.

crusading in the Baltic, the Wilderness (referred to as the *desertum* in the later chronicles) was a unique phenomenon that attracted nobles to come to the north. It came to be one of the defining features of the experience of crusaders in Prussia.⁴⁸ This section will discuss how later chronicles documenting these campaigns described landscape and landscape sacralisation.

Torben K. Nielsen points out that an important component to the Christian landscape in the Baltic, at least in Henry of Livonia's chronicle, was roadways. In Henry's chronicle, the crusaders stick to the roads while the pagans used secret pathways in the woods, thus representing a sharp split between pagan and Christian, not only in terms of society but also of landscape.⁴⁹ This dichotomy carries over into the Teutonic Order's chronicles from the later part of the thirteenth century.⁵⁰ Roads did symbolise civilisation, and thus Christianity, becoming the ways through which the sacred landscape of the Baltic spread out. They also established a means for another important aspect of landscape sacralisation: pilgrimage. This is a crucial component to the coming chapters, but for the time being it is important highlight that the literary themes were effective and propagated to participants.

In addition to the descriptions of landscape in the later chronicles of the fourteenth century, we have some other examples that help to further illustrate the awareness of a pagan landscape at this time. These reports, the *Litthauischen Wegeberichte* (c. 1384-1402), depicted roads to be taken on the annual campaigns into Lithuania in the winter (*Winterreise*) and summer (*Sommerreise*). Their contents demonstrate the role of the pagan landscape of the Baltic with respect to navigating the *desertum*. They highlight the presence of roads, but also of sacred

⁴⁸ Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1, pp. 52-66, outlines the environmental factors, and martial motivations, of participants on the *Reisen*. Also see *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 2, p. 94: "Die *ingens, vasta solitudo* [the Wilderness – GL] war in der Tat eine Erscheinung, deren Erlebnis zu den Eigenheiten der Preußenfahrt gehörte."

⁴⁹ Nielsen, 'Woods and Wilderness', pp. 167-69.

⁵⁰ See *LR*, p. 21 (lines 883-90) and *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, ed. by and trans. by William Urban and Jerry C. Smith (Chicago: Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, 2001), p. 12. Henry of Livonia's record for the expedition can be found in *HCL*, p. 148 (22.2).

groves, which, demonstrated in the first section of this chapter, were a key element in separating the pagan and Christian landscape in the Baltic.

One example comes from a report of 1388, through Samogitia and to Kaunas, taken in the winter. It mentions, specifically, a ‘sacred grove called Asywiote’ (*heilgin walde der heist Asswyote*). The report makes note that there are sufficient stores of water and grass for horses there, indicating that the areas were not believed to be sacred to those who happened to pass through them. However, that same report refers to an oak grove near Cosleykin, ‘through which one must not ride’ (*eyne rume damerow, do darffman nicht rumen*).⁵¹ A later report, describing the way from Ragnit (Neman) to Poszyli in the winter of 1395, mentions explicitly ‘there lay a sacred wood and a river, there the army should make camp on the first night’ (*do lyt eyn heilig wald und eyn vlys, do sal das heer die erste nacht legen*).⁵² Of the nearly one hundred reports, almost each time that a sacred grove comes up, it is in terms of a place to be used for food and water supplies, indicating the role of these places in the *desertum* and indicating that there remained an awareness of pagan and Christian separations in the landscape.⁵³

While the chronicle evidence for the later Baltic crusades, specifically the conceptions of the *desertum*, is scant, and not as direct as the chronicles of Henry of Livonia or Peter of Dusburg, there is enough evidence to suggest that a key component to them was the desacralisation of the pagan landscape. Wigand of Marburg and Hermann of Wartberge,

⁵¹ *LW*, p. 668 (no. 6): ‘Eykint, his brother, and Mase, rode from Jenstilte up to a sacred grove [*bys czum heilgin walde*], called Assywiote, a journey of 2 miles... The same group went from Stabuncaln to Cosleykin, a 2 mile journey. There is along this route an oak grove (!), where one must not ride.’ Hirsch, who edited the *Wegeberichte*, identified the word *damerow* with the Polish word *Dąbrowa* (‘oak tree grove’).

⁵² *Ibid*, p. 675: ‘From Ragnit... There lies there a sacred wood and a river, and here should the army make camp on the first night.’

⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 677, records a route ‘from the sacred grove of Rumbyn in the land of Medeniken’ (*Von deme heyligen walde von Rambyn in das lant czu Medeniken*), in which there are good food and water supplies. See also pp. 687-88): ‘From Milsowe is 2 miles up to Säuten to the sacred forest, the army should camp here, there is sufficient supplies for an army’ (*von Milsowe ij mile bis czü Säuten czü deme heiligenwalde do müs man das heer legen, do ist czü herende geniük*).

regularly describing the ‘lands of the infidels’ in their texts, have a broader context of describing landscape and place during the age of the *Reisen*. Themes were not applied to the landscape such as that of the vineyard, or of the application of Biblical parallels to specific events. Instead, the land’s association to paganism and the perception of the Great Wilderness appears to have been a place for knights and crusaders to engage with the enemy. The final section, however, demonstrates that the themes discussed in sections 1 and 2 above were still very crucial components to these crusades, but from a different body of evidence: visual culture.

1.4: The *Vinea Domini* and the Art of the Medieval Baltic

As the regular campaigns progressed throughout the fourteenth century, a shift occurred in the literary themes reflecting the sacral landscape of the Baltic. The texts were more focused on describing the courtly-chivalric elements of crusading, the personal honour of individual knights, while continuing to acknowledge the landscape’s pagan elements and association with enemies of the faith. One significant aspect that reflects a sacral geography is the service to the Virgin. For example, knights in 1347/8 were in Prussia ‘in the service of the glorious Virgin’ (*in obsequium Virginis gloriose*).⁵⁴ Nonetheless, these depictions offer a sharp break from the earlier accounts of the thirteenth-century crusades.

However, the period in which this decline in a specific literary imagery coincides with the peak of the visual expression of the Order’s crusading ideology in the region. Centres at Marienburg, Elbing, Kulm, and Königsberg were all important stops for those visiting Prussia on the relic pilgrimages in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth century.⁵⁵ Given that

⁵⁴ Wigand, p. 514.

⁵⁵ Rainer Zacharias, ‘Die Marienburg als Wallfahrtsstätte’, in *Burgen kirchlicher Bauherren*, p. 49; Ibid, ‘Die Reliquienwallfahrt zum Hochmeisterresidenz Marienburg’, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands* 50 (2002): pp. 11-36.

crusading cemented itself in the Baltic by the end of the fourteenth century, with the conquest of the Prussians and the impending start of the *Reisen*, it could be the emergence of these traditional shrines that resulted in a lack of necessity to portray the landscape in the way that the earlier sources did. The sacrality of the region, the possibility of martyrdom, and the propagation of its connection to the Virgin could, in other words, have been cemented as well and therefore such elaborations were not needed. The present section will discuss the physical expression of the pagan landscape during the Baltic crusades, namely through looking at major works of art in the Teutonic Order's castles and churches in the Livonia and Prussia from the thirteenth and fourteenth century.

Vineyard themes in the art of Livonia and Prussia can be traced to the thirteenth century, namely in the examples of the churches on the island of Saaremaa (Ösel), and some photographs of art in the Order's castles at Elbing, the bishop's castle of Frauenburg, Lochstedt, and, most importantly, the Order's headquarters at Marienburg. The examples of medieval art in Livonia from the crusade period are scant at best.⁵⁶ The churches on the Saaremaa, constructed in the mid thirteenth century, served as important markers in the landscape. It is not certain the extent to which crusaders on subsequent campaigns visited them, though the possibility cannot be ruled out entirely. This is due to the relationship between the construction of these churches and the churches on the island of Gotland, a main pilgrimage stop for crusaders going to Livonia. There have also been connections to churches constructed in Westphalia, a region where many crusaders who journeyed to Livonia originated.⁵⁷ Their

⁵⁶ Marian Arsyński, 'Medieval Fortified Architecture in Livonia', *The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia*, p. 202.

⁵⁷ See Helge Kjellin, *Die Kirche zu Karris auf Oesel und ihre Beziehungen zu Gotland* (Lund: Gleerup, 1928), especially pp. 23-38; Armin Tuulse, 'Die Kirche zu Karja und die Wehrkirchen Saaremaas', *Sitzungsberichte der gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft* 38 (Tartu: Opetatud Eesti Selts, 1940), pp. 137-92. Also see Kaur Altoa, 'Die Sogenannten Zwickelkolonette in den Kirchen auf Saaremaa', *Baltic Journal of Art History* 4 (2012): pp. 7-41, for the links between the churches to those of Westphalia. For the origins of crusaders to Livonia, see Astaf von Transehe-Roseneck, *Die ritterlichen Livlandfahrer des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Wurzburg: Holzner, 1960).

interiors preserve some of the best sculptural examples of crusading art in the northeastern Baltic from the thirteenth century, demonstrating a parallel in vineyard imagery in both Livonia and Prussia. At Karja, and Kaarma, the imagery of these floral sculptures is well preserved. They are both pictured below (Images 2 &3).



Image 2. Floral Sculpture, Kaarja Church (13th Century). Photograph taken by Author.



Image 3. Vineyard Sculpture, Kaarma Church (15th Century?). Photograph taken by Author.

In Livonia, there are few remains of other examples to discuss the visual depictions of landscape themes, but it is clear that the imagery in chronicles as early as Arnold of Lübeck (1209) with respect to the vineyard, and the relationship of the vineyard to the spread of Christianity (via crusading), were an important element in the art of the eastern Baltic from an early period. As demonstrated in the 2017 publication concerning church architecture of the eastern Baltic, there are still more questions than there are answers with respect to crusading iconography in the eastern Baltic.⁵⁸ However, the clear alignment of the message in the texts with the visual culture of the region reflects a distinct sense of place shaped by the written culture. More solid examples, spanning both the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, can be found in the material of the southern Baltic.

The main examples of art in Prussia can be found in the Teutonic Order's churches and castles. They reflect, on large and smaller scales, the visuality of the landscape reflected in the examples discussed in this chapter. The examples discussed here, in order, include a baptismal font from Elbing (c. 1270), the Golden Gate at Marienburg (c. 1280), the cathedral portal at Frauenburg (c. 1300), and some specific frescoes at Lochstedt (c. 1380). At Elbing, a baptismal font from c. 1270 (Image 4) from the cathedral church has relief carvings of what appears to be a dragon, and some sculpted oak and vine leaves surrounding it. This demonstrates an early presence of this theme in sacral architecture in Prussia from the thirteenth century, highlighting the importance of landscape in the visual material of medieval Prussia.

⁵⁸ *Sacred Monuments and Practices in the Baltic Region: New Visits to Old Churches*, eds. Jaane Harjula, *et al* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017). Specifically, see Jes Wienberg, 'Conspicuous Architecture: Medieval Round Churches in Scandinavia', pp. 2-32; Kaur Altooa, 'The Fortified Churches in Estonia as Refuge: Myth or Reality?', pp. 124-39.

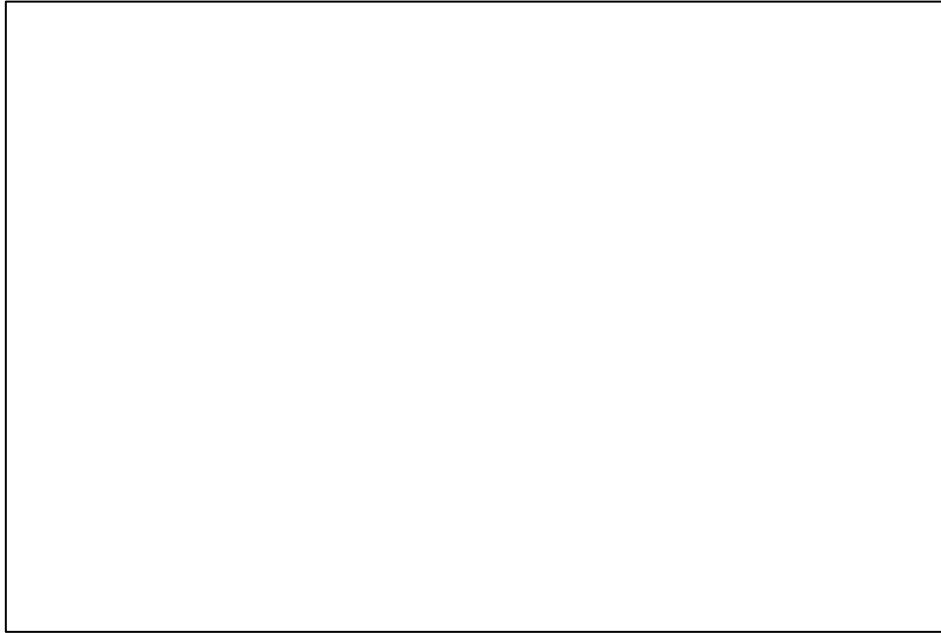


Image 4. This image has been removed by the author for copyright purposes.

In textually expressing these concepts, the Order propagated an image of Prussia and the war with the heathens as a sacral conflict.⁵⁹ Reinforcing this image through visual culture gave way to understanding how those wars shaped Prussia as a sacral landscape. This confirms a deeper level of meaning to contemporaries concerning how crusading was not only responsible for converting Prussia, but played a role in sacralising its landscape. The continual expeditions and presence in sacral centres such as churches were reinforced by this ideology and gave a distinct sense of the landscape's sacral qualities. The literary themes of the Lord's vineyard in the Prologue to Peter of Dusburg's *Chronicle of Prussia* play a significant role in the Order's early architecture in Prussia, visually reflecting a distinct understanding of how the Order's holy wars reflected the landscape sacralisation process.⁶⁰ The imagery with which Peter (and the other sources for the crusade to the north) described landscape: a fertile, lush, and pleasant

⁵⁹ Marian Dygo, 'Die Kultur des Deutschordenslandes Preussen', *Mittelalterliche Kultur und Literatur im Deutschordensstaat Preussen*, p. 58.

⁶⁰ *PDC*, p. 44 (1.1): 'Hec est vinea Domini Sabaoth electa...Plantasti [Christ – GL] radices eius et implevit terram, transtulisti eam postea et eiecisti gentes de terra Prussie et Lyvonie.' Also see the work of Kazimierz Pospieszny, 'Die Architektur des Deutschordenshauses in Preußen als Ausdruck- und Herstellungsmittel der Ordensmission und Herrscherpolitik', *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis*, p. 229.

place for conversion but also one defined by its connection to paganism, had an impact in the visual arts in the Baltic.

The Golden Gate at Marienburg (c. 1280) is the first example of the Order's art that one would encounter when entering the main chapel at Marienburg. Even if the Virgin Chapel was used almost exclusively by brothers in the Order, the presence of similar themes at other places confirms the power of this imagery and the importance of landscape. In this light it is likely that those visiting Prussia as pilgrims experienced the same imagery. The artwork in the Golden Gate provides a visual connection to how crusading led to a distinct sense of 'place', for the entrance into the sacred space of the chapel necessitated a confrontation with a visual programme depicting Prussia's pagan and, now, sacred landscape. The imagery of the vineyard and the pagan landscape of Prussia visually demonstrated to those using the space the history of the Order's wars in converting the landscape and the people there.

The Golden Gate also displays important themes reflecting the Order's understanding of its crusades and how they reflect a sacral geography in Prussia. In the second and fourth archivolt (Images 5 & 6) are sculpted vines and oak leaves, painted over in gold. The image of the (Christian) vineyard and (pagan) hybrid animals represent the Christianisation of Prussia's pagan landscape. Hybrid animals such as strange birds and a centaur figure are also present in the portal, many of which had parallels at other important commanderies of the Order that I will discuss shortly. The use of hybrids and other animals in medieval art had many functions, ranging from spiritual to political, as noted in the work of Kirk Ambrose.⁶¹ In light of section 1's analysis of the 'wild' nature of Prussia's pagan landscape represented in the sources, these themes portray contemporary understandings of landscape in the Order's artistic programme.

⁶¹ Kirk Ambrose, *The Marvellous and the Monstrous in the Sculpture of Twelfth-Century Europe* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), p. 14.

The beasts and vines highlight the dichotomy between the pagan and newly Christian landscape presented in the texts.



Image 5. The Golden Gate, Marienburg (1280). Photograph taken by Author.



Image 6. The Golden Gate (Wise Virgins). Photograph taken by Author.

Aleksander Pluskowski considers the Golden Gate's sculpted depictions of monsters and hybrid creatures as didactic tools for those using the chapel, namely brothers in the Teutonic Order. The figures show the ultimate purpose of the Teutonic Order and its wars against the pagans as a symbol of good triumphing over evil, the earthly struggle of the knights (and crusaders) against the pagan Prussians.⁶² The hybrids are in the outer archivolt on both sides of the portal, and both sides have what appears to be an equal distribution of hybrid creatures, though on the left side of the portal (Image 6), depicting the Wise Virgins, there is a figure representing a lamb. The vine and oak imagery, in which some of these creatures are intertwined, reflects the intermingling elements of the Prussian landscape. The Virgins show the triumph of the church in their ascension toward Christ, who is at the top of the portal. Given their didactic function, the themes also expressed the Order's understanding of its history and identity, and its projection of these to its patrons and members. The early conquests not only gained land for the Order to control, but through constructing their convents and expressing these artistic themes to brethren in the Order who used the castle, the imagery of landscape played a role in shaping the Order's perception of itself.

This pattern was not unique to Marienburg, showing the importance of these didactic tools and landscape imagery to the Order's art.⁶³ Other parallels included examples at Frauenburg, Brandenburg, Mewe, Elbing, Rehden, and Lochstedt, the last of which I will return to shortly. Unfortunately, their artistic works do not survive *in situ*.⁶⁴ We can see examples of the Golden

⁶² Pluskowski, *Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, p. 158.

⁶³ Ibid, citing Pospieszny, 'Cegiełka fryzowa z lwem zamku w Brandenburgu, ok. 1280 [Lion frieze bricks at the castle of Brandenburg, c. 1280]', in *Fundacje artystyczne na terenie Państwa Krzyżackiego w Prusach* [Artistic foundations in the Teutonic Order State in Prussia], ed. by Barbara Pospieszna (Pelplin: Bernardinum, 2010), p. 33.

⁶⁴ Sarnowsky, *Der Deutsche Orden*, p. 82: "In vielen der Burgen und Kirchen gab es reichen figürlichen und bildlichen Schmuck, der heute meist verloren ist."

Gate motif at Frauenburg, (Image 7), particularly in the example of the animals adorning the portal.

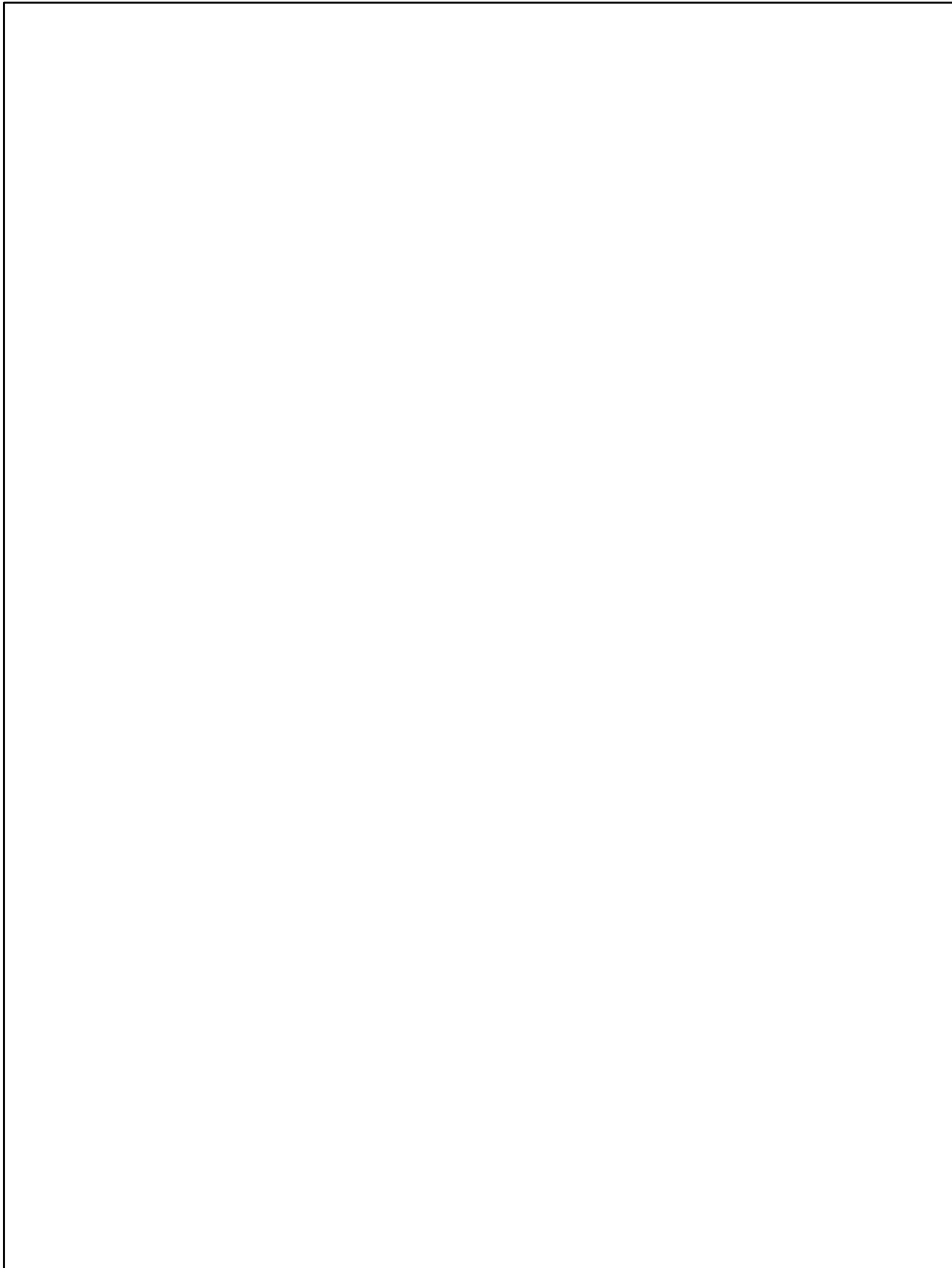


Image 7. This image has been removed by the author for copyright purposes.

In section one, the other elements of the landscape, namely the strange beasts and barbarous men inhabiting it, were used to show the pagan element of the Baltic region before the crusades. This was specifically in reference to the missions of St Otto of Bamberg to Pomerania in 1124-1125. One sees the maintenance of this concept in the late fourteenth century, namely in the castle at Lochstedt (Pawlowo, Kaliningrad Oblast), pictured below in (Image 8). The frescoes of the castle were subject to significant investigation by German historian, Conrad Steinbrecht, in the early twentieth century, before being destroyed by the Red Army after 1945. The castle was built to ‘curb the wickedness of the Sambians’ around 1270, but by the turn of the century, it served as the main office for the Amber Master. Lochstedt was a smaller, localised example of the Teutonic Order’s visual culture in Prussia that demonstrates the importance of landscape to the present study.

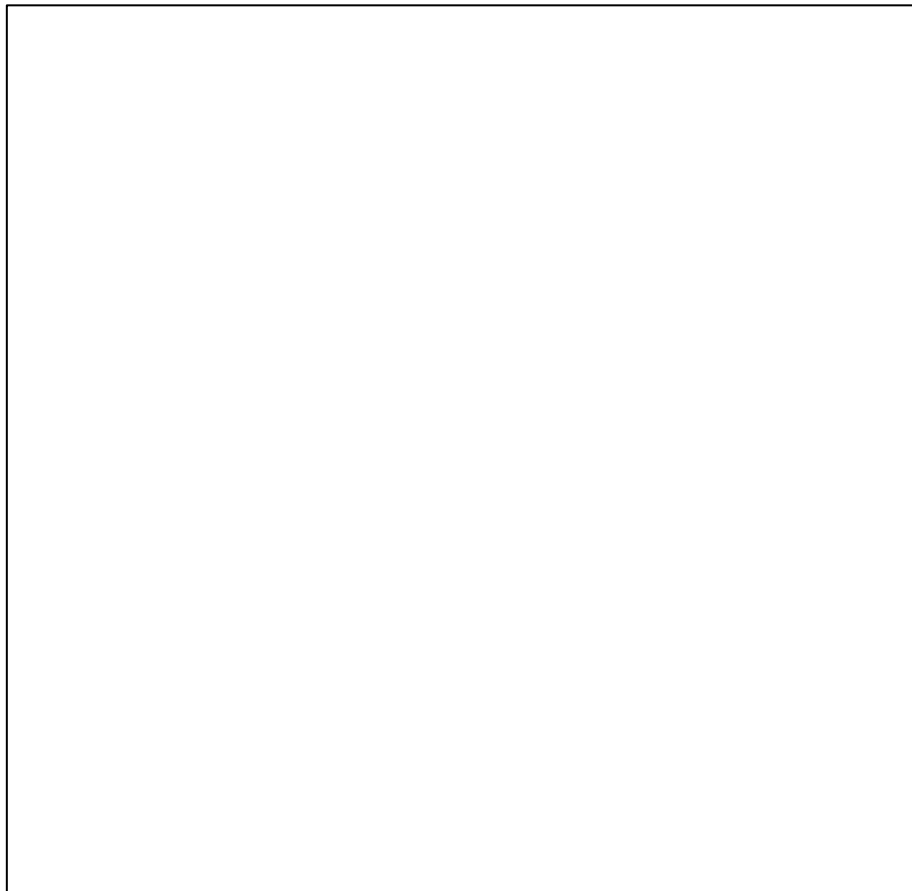


Image 8. This image has been removed by the author for copyright purposes.

Serving as a commandery castle, Lochstedt had a monastic chapel within which the brethren were able to perform their monastic duties (like Marienburg, Elbing, and other main centres of the Order discussed in the coming chapters). The chapel portal and interior, photographed by Karl Heinz Clasen in the 1920s, provides further parallels to the specific imagery analysed in this chapter concerning the Christianisation of landscape.⁶⁵ Most notable are the terracotta friezes on the inside, pictured below (Image 9) depicting oak and vine leaves, dated to around 1280.⁶⁶ These would have covered the entire space of the chapel, serving as a type of border between the upper and lower portions of the walls.

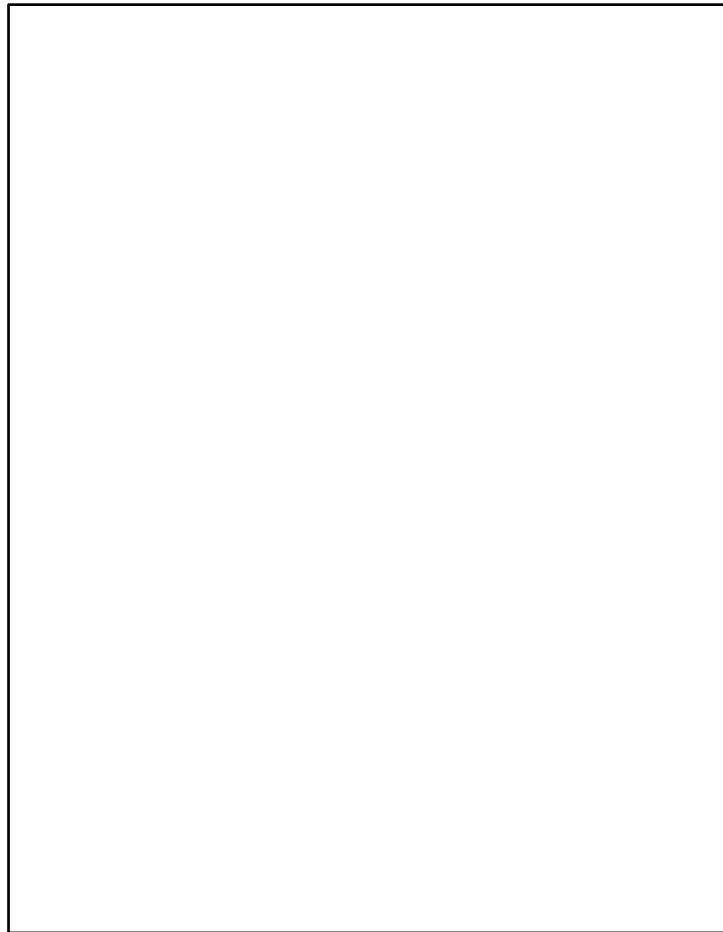


Image 9. This image has been removed by the author for copyright purposes.

⁶⁵ See August Winnig, *Der Deutsche Ritterorden und seine Burgen* (Leipzig: K.R. Langwiesche, 1940), pp. 55-63 for Lochstedt, and Karl Heinz Clasen, *Die mittelalterliche Kunst im Gebiete des Deutschordensstaates Preussen 1: Die Burgbauten* (Frankfurt am Main: Weidlich, 1979), pp. 45-56.

⁶⁶ See Cristofer Herrmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur in Preußenland*, p. 95, shows virtually identical terracotta plates in Elbing, Marienburg, and Lochstedt; also see pp. 572-73 for the dating of the building periods of the castle.

The presence of this motif in both regions a practical explanation. In both Livonia and Prussia, research concentrates on studying parallels between the architectural styles in northern Germany (particularly the Rhineland and Westphalia) and the lands under the Order's (or bishopric's) rule. In Livonia, it was the influence of political forces such as the king of Denmark, and noble families like the lords of Lippe, who brought about this style of building. Particularly in the latter case, these buildings were direct products of pilgrimage to Livonia. The *Lippiflorium* of Magister Justinian (c. 1260) records the deeds of Bernhard II of Lippe, who became the abbot of Dünamünde in Livonia, noting how he built fortresses and 'constructed churches, which he consecrated, and he appointed clergy there, who completed (*peragat*) the holy duties to god.'⁶⁷ Kersti Markus' recent study concerning the influence of crusading on church architecture in Livonia uses the political situations in northern Germany, Denmark, and Livonia to reconceptualise this unique period of crusade art.⁶⁸ She ultimately concludes, convincingly, that even for a brief glimpse in time, the presence of the newest architectural motifs in the frontier region that was Livonia showed that "the centre became the periphery."⁶⁹ Her recent study on the locations of St Olaf churches in Livonia highlights the transformative role that these buildings played in sacralising landscapes.⁷⁰ Churches dedicated to the saint were founded with political and economic interests in mind, but also a desire to reflect piety and convert the physical landscape of Livonia.

⁶⁷ Bernard of Lippe, for example, was renowned as a builder of churches and cities. See *Das Lippiflorium*, p. 86 (lines 855-858): 'Oppida, castra strui quasi propugnacula contra / Idolatras, armis, milite munit ea; / Construit ecclesias, quas consecrat; ordinat illic / Clerum, qui peragat munia sacra deo.' For the dating of this text, see p. 10. Also see Heinz Sauer, 'Vir nobilis Bernhardus de Lippia (1140-1224), Spurensuche im Balticum', in *Castella Maris Baltici* 6, ed. by Albinas Kuncevičius (Vilnius: Savastis, 2004), pp. 185-96.

⁶⁸ Kersti Markus, 'The Church on the Borderland. The Impact of Crusading on the Architecture of Gotland and Livonia', in *Crusading on the Edge*, pp. 365-90.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 390.

⁷⁰ Eadem, 'From Rus' Trade to Crusade: St Olaf's Churches in the Eastern Baltic Sea Region', *Acta Historica Tallinensia* 23 (2017): pp. 3-25.

The importation of architectural techniques and the visual reflection of crusading, in the form of constructing churches, brings to question to what extent the effects of crusading ideology transformed Livonia. Moreover, the perception of the conquest in the visual sources, places the sculptured elements common in Livonia and Prussia into a broader context of mission and landscape sacralisation. As visible structures in the landscape representing conquest, their thematic elements (such as sculpted vines) represent ideological and conceptual elements of the Christianisation process that those commissioning the churches wished to express.⁷¹ The Biblical connections of the mission and the importance of landscape present in the sources, alongside the motivating image of the *terra promissionis*, have a stronger connection with respect to concepts of centre and periphery in this light.

These themes reflect a continued presence of landscape imagery not just in the written culture of the Order, but in the visual culture of Prussia. The presence of this iconography in other centres of the Order, particularly those visited on various occasions by pilgrims or guests on the *Reisen*, points to a deeper meaning within the Order's textual tradition concerning this imagery and, as a result, our understanding of the function of landscape and place in the crusades to the Baltic region. Indeed, the 'holy places of Prussia' cleansed by the brothers, as 'new Maccabees', had a physical and visual role in the Order's self-understanding, evinced in the art present in the Golden Gate.⁷²

In Prussia, the Teutonic Order imported builders and masons who aided in the formation of its distinct architectural style. While most masons and workers came from Germany, it has

⁷¹ Eadem, 'Die Christianisierung Livlands aus der Perspektive visueller Quellen', *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 64, no. 4 (2015): pp. 477-97, especially p. 478.

⁷² See Sarnowsky, 'Identität und Selbstgefühl der geistlichen Ritterorden', in *Ständische und religiöse Identitäten in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. by Stefan Kwiatkowski and Janusz Małek (Toruń: UMK, 1998), pp. 109-130, here p. 111, highlights the importance of the Maccabees to the self-understanding of the military orders as institutions. With respect to Peter's quote and the *loca sancta terre Prussie*, Sarnowsky notes this imagery of the holy places was essential to the writing of history within the Teutonic Order. Also see the Introduction, p. 22, and Chapter 1, p. 34 above.

been suggested that the international crusaders, such as Ottokar II, had an influence on castle design in the region.⁷³ Moreover, the presence of a broader body of nobles on the *Reisen* suggests that this continued into the later period of crusading. There are other parallels to specific workshop guilds in Germany, one being Magdeburg, as demonstrated in the motifs present at Marienburg at the Golden Gate.⁷⁴

The ideological and artistic elements conform with the rest of Europe at the time, where art and architecture performed a didactic role and visually reflected elements of Scripture to those viewing it. However, Pluskowski notes that there was a unique component with respect to how the Order used these common elements to express its own ideology with respect to Prussia. The art reflected not just the Order's political and physical control of the landscape, but also the divine favour placed upon its crusades.⁷⁵ The importation of stonemasons from the regions where crusaders came from influenced a distinct style of architecture in the Prussia and Livonia, which serves to explain the parallels from a visual and architectural perspective. Crusaders replicated their spiritual centres in places such as the Rhineland and Westphalia by imitating the popular building styles in Livonia and, to some degree, Prussia. However, its presence in sacral buildings shows that there was a continuity in places of origin with this new frontier and, most importantly, the key elements in the written evidence for the crusades reflecting landscape were emphasised in the visual culture that crusader pilgrims encountered.

Summary

The written evidence for the crusades to the Baltic region in the thirteenth and fourteenth century provides clear evidence that there was a distinct association of the landscape itself with paganism. From the pre-crusade missions, notably those of St Adalbert of Prague and St Otto

⁷³ Pluskowski, *Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, p. 152.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 157.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 156-66.

of Bamberg, the connection of the landscape to the pagan religion was a clear element in the way that contemporaries began to come into contact with the region. Dark forests, and the barbarous peoples who worshipped their gods in them, were key to framing the pre-crusade missions.

The present chapter also demonstrates that the crusading movement also brought about a distinct ideology and language with respect to the landscape. The themes of spreading the faith through conversion, namely embodied in the themes of the vineyard, was a distinct element of the crusade texts that came to have a significant impact on the perception of the Baltic region. The paganism of the landscape remained constant, but it was through the mission of the crusaders, and their re-enactment of Biblical events within that landscape, that served to cement the sacralisation process in the text. As the expeditions progressed into the fourteenth century, reflections of the landscape changed. While the religious imagery of the texts sharply declines, there was a peak in the visual culture of the medieval Baltic that parallels the ideological message in the texts. The theme of the vineyard, particularly evident in the Teutonic Order's castles and churches in Prussia, but also in Livonia, was far more than a play on words: it was a visible reality.

Chapter 2: Martyrdom, qualitative GIS, and Mapping Landscape Sacralisation during the Baltic Crusades, 13th – 14th Century

While the literary themes discussed in Chapter 1 were fundamental to reflecting a Christian and pagan landscape in the chronicles for the Baltic crusades, there are more tangible, physical elements in the evidence that cement the perception of landscape sacralisation 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 of the Teutonic Order.¹ Therefore, the present chapter will analyse martyrdom from a chronological perspective in the Baltic.

It centres on martyrdom and other hierophantic acts, and the role of these in the sacralisation of the landscapes in Livonia and Prussia. It begins with discussing the early martyrdoms in Prussia before the crusade movement, and then goes onto analysing martyrdom and hierophany in the thirteenth-century crusades. It concludes with a brief discussion of these elements on the later crusades in Lithuania, the *Reisen*. Qualitative GIS analysis of the Livonian and Prussian chronicles helps to provide a new method of understanding an elusive period in the history of crusading in Livonia and Prussia and is useful for displaying the spiritual components to them geographically. Descriptions of martyrdoms show a unique supplement to the established pilgrimage routes that emerged in both areas. This is very much the case with the representation of martyrdom and its role in sacralising the landscape. The data reveals, most directly, the difference in the chronicles for Prussia and Livonia. Variances between the authors of the texts, and their stance (i.e. clerical or associated with the military orders) influenced their

¹ For the definition of *hierophany*, see Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, trans. by Rosemary Sheed (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), p. 368; Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. by Willard R. Trask (New York: Harcourt, 1959), pp. 24-9; Alan V. Murray, 'Sacred Space and Strategic Geography in Twelfth-Century Palestine', *SSSTOP*, pp. 35-7; Kurt Villads Jensen, 'Martyrs, Total War, and Heavenly Horses: Scandinavia as Centre and Periphery in the Expansion of Medieval Christendom', in *Medieval Christianity in the North: New Studies*, ed. by Kirsi Salonen, Kurt Villads Jensen, and Torstein Jørgensen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 89-120, especially pp. 95-7.

perception of landscape. Most revealing is the variance in the geographical distribution of events like martyrdom and hierophanies.

2.1: Pre-Crusade Martyrdom in the Baltic

The first martyrs associated with the Baltic were, as discussed in Chapter 1 above, St Adalbert of Prague (23 April, 997) and St Bruno of Querfurt (14 February, 1009). Scholars have identified the location of Adalbert's martyrdom with various places in former East Prussia, with the prominent one being at Tenkitten, near Lochstedt, where a shrine to the saint existed in the fifteenth century.² If this is the location where he was martyred, this means that it occurred somewhere near a pagan grove, for according to his *vita*, the saint and his company entered the holy grove and field (*campestris loca*) of the Prussians, on the day of Adalbert's martyrdom.³

Both versions of Adalbert's *vita* (produced at the turn of the eleventh century) describe Adalbert's zeal (*zelum*) for martyrdom. Right before the Prussians martyred him, Bruno informs us, Adalbert stood fearless.⁴ This emphasis on zeal continued to the chronicles of the Teutonic Order and the calls for crusades to Prussia and Livonia in the 1240s and 1250s, as we see in the next section, and reflects the enthusiasm of authors to highlight the sacrality of the expeditions in the pagan landscape. According to John Canaparius' version, Adalbert was successively beaten away by the pagans three times, before succumbing to martyrdom by the Prussians, reflecting his zeal. After this third attempt, he was killed, and his body 'thus

² Voigt, *Geschichte Preussens 1*, pp. 266-70, outlines Adalbert's mission to Prussia. For the shrine to Adalbert, see Conrad Steinbrecht, *Die Baukunst des Deutschen Ritterordens in Preußen 3: Schloss Lochstedt und seine Malereien* (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1910), p. 4. Tenkitten is present-day Beregowoje, Kaliningrad Oblast. For earlier shrines in Prussia, see Seweryn Szczepański, 'Sakralizacja obszaru pogranicza na przykładzie Pomezanii Pruskiej [Sacralisation of borderland areas after the example of Pomeranian Prussia]' *Pruthenia*, 6 (2011): pp. 129-67.

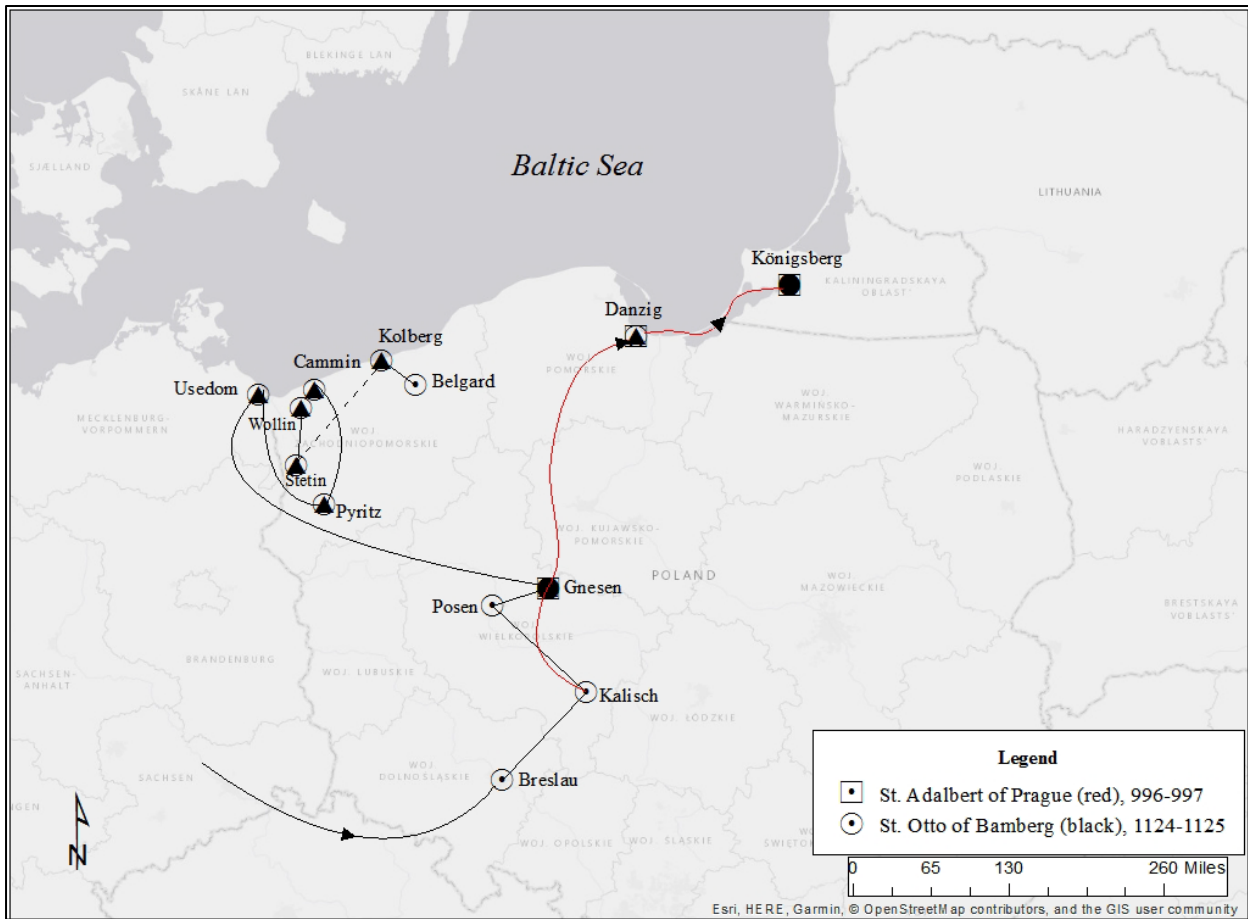
³ John Canaparius, p. 594: 'Inde nemora et feralia lustra linquentes [Adalbert and his company]...*campestris loca adierunt*.' Also see Voigt, *Geschichte Preussens 1*, p. 660.

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

occupied the earth, stretched out as if on the cross' (*sic nobile corpus protenta cruce terram occupat*).⁵ The example here solidifies the martyr's death to a specific point in the pagan landscape, which, as we see in sections 2 and 3 of this chapter, came to play an important role in the later crusade period in Prussia. Adalbert's martyrdom and its sacralisation of the landscape was recalled by Siegfried of Regenstein, bishop of Samland, who, when dedicating Königsberg cathedral in 1302, recalled how Adalbert's martyrdom 'sanctified' (*per martyrium...sanctificavit*) the diocese.⁶

⁵ John Canaparius, p. 595. See 'Brunonis vita S. Adalberti', p. 612: '...ipsam vero amicam mortem amplexus, quam semper sequens dilexit, *in modum crucis manus expandit.*'

⁶ *UB Samland 2*, p. 109 (no. 200): '...domum dei (the cathedral) nominis erigendo *ad honorem sancti martiris et pontificis Adalberti, cuius suffragiis innitimur, 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.



Map 1. Mission of St Adalbert of Prague (997) and St Otto of Bamberg (1124)

The martyrdom of St Bruno of Querfurt in 1009 provides little direct geographical information, and the precise location of his martyrdom is a contested issue.⁷ The chronicle of Thietmar of Merseburg records that the Prussians martyred him ‘in the confine of the aforesaid region and Russia as he was preaching’ (*in confinio predicate regionis et Rusciae cum predicaret*).⁸ 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.⁹ Voigt, in the nineteenth century, suggested that the castle of Braunsberg (Braniewo) was dedicated to St Bruno, which would indicate medieval origins to the cult of St Bruno in addition to a connection with the Teutonic Order.¹⁰ However, modern research has instead connected that place with Bruno of Olmütz, who accompanied the 1255 crusade of Ottokar II, going off of Peter of Dusburg’s account of the place’s foundation.¹¹ In any case, the early missions to Prussia had a powerful influence in establishing a sense of place in a formerly pagan landscape with respect to sources documenting the religious history of the region.

These examples from the accounts of the missions of Adalbert and Bruno show us that authors of saints’ lives, particularly in the lives of martyrs, express their stories in emotional language that creates a sacral and profane landscape. They are composed in a formulaic manner

⁷ See Darius Baronas, ‘The year 1009: St Bruno of Querfurt between Lithuania and Rus’’, *Journal of Medieval History* 34, no. 1 (2008): pp. 1-22, especially pp. 9-13; also see Liudas Jovaiša, ‘The Cult of St Bruno in Lithuania: Liturgical and Hagiographical Aspects’, *Lithuanian Historical Studies* 14 (2009): pp. 27-40.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Pluskowski, *Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, p. 86; pp. 369-70. Lake Niegocin is located in Warmia-Mazury region of northeastern Poland. However, this heritage landscape is a modern creation with no archaeological links to the saint

¹⁰ Voigt, *Geschichte Preußens* 1 (1829), p. 289, proposes this connection.

¹¹ *PDC*, p. 190 (3.71), lists ‘episcopus Olmacensis’ amongst the company of Ottokar II.

and follow a close structure, emphasising zeal and willingness for martyrdom.¹² Visual depictions of martyr saints reflect this as well, 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, reflecting how martyrdom in its written and artistic forms elicited a highly emotional response from medieval contemporaries.¹³ This applies to landscape and place as well, demonstrated in the image of Adalbert’s martyrdom from the Gniezno doors (11th century), in which he is decapitated, and then his head placed near what appears to be a large tree, which could symbolise a sacred grove (Image 10 below).

One issue to bear in mind is that Adalbert’s body was not kept in Prussia, regardless of where he was martyred. Instead, according to the *Miracula sancti Adalberti*, the body was transported back to Poland by Boleslaw I Chrobry, after he paid for its weight in gold.¹⁴ The text also notes that, before returning to Poland, there were a series of miracles that occurred as a result of Adalbert’s head and body in Prussia. One of these was the head of Adalbert, being discovered by a certain Prussian (*Prutenus quidam*), asked him to be brought back to Poland, specifically to Gnesen (Gniezno, where his shrine stands today).¹⁵ This demonstrates, to some extent, that the body of the saint was viewed as miraculous wherever it happened to rest, something common with respect to relics in the middle ages as elements that sacralised various places.¹⁶ As we see in the coming chapter, a similar event happens in Prussia, in 1242, when

¹² See Robert Bartlett, ‘Rewriting Saints’ Lives: The Case of Gerald of Wales’, *Speculum* 58, no. 3 (1983): pp. 598-613; Derek Krueger, ‘Writing as Devotion: Hagiographical Composition and the Cult of the Saints in Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Cyril of Scythopolis’, *Church History* 66, no. 4 (1997): pp. 707-19; Brian Ó Broin, ‘Some Ascension Motifs in Irish Saints’ Lives’, *Eolas: The Journal of the American Society of Irish Medieval Studies* 1 (2006): pp. 97-118, esp. pp. 97-8.

¹³ Assaf Pinkus, ‘The Martyr’s Cycle at Schwäbisch Gmünd’, *Gesta* 52, no. 1 (Spring 2013): pp. 43-59.

¹⁴ See ‘*Miracula sancti Adalberti*’, *SS* 4, pp. 613-16, especially p. 615, for the repossession of the saint’s relics.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 613.

¹⁶ For example, see Nikolas Jaspert, ‘Vergegenwärtigungen Jerusalems in Architektur und Reliquienkult’, in *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter. Konflikte und Konfliktbewältigung, Vorstellungen und Vergegenwärtigungen*, ed. by Dieter Bauer (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2001), pp. 219-70, especially pp. 245-

the relics of St Barbara ‘ask’ the Teutonic Knights to bring her to their city of Kulm, which became a major pilgrimage shrine by the end of the thirteenth century.



Image 10. Martyrdom of St Adalbert of Prague. Gniezno Doors (c. 1075). Photograph taken by Author.

The early martyrdoms associated with the Baltic demonstrate that, like the literary themes discussed in the chapter above, 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 emphasise the role of Adalbert’s engagement with the landscape and the direct effect of his martyrdom on the sacralization of that landscape. However, as the coming sections

70; Tomasz Borowski and Christopher Gerrard, ‘Constructing Identity in the Middle Ages: Relics, Religiosity, and the Military Orders’, *Speculum* 92, no. 4 (October 2017): pp. 1056-1100, especially p. 1058 for the sacralising nature of relics.

demonstrate, 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.

2.2: Martyrdom and Sacred Landscape in Livonia, 12th – 13th Centuries

Mentioned in the Source Outline of the Introduction, the texts documenting the crusades to Livonia place considerable significance on the concept of gaining the martyr's palm whilst on crusade in the Eastern Baltic. This is true for both the chronicles produced by priests outside of the military orders, such as those of Arnold of Lübeck, Henry of Livonia, the Cistercian chronicler, Alberic of Trois-Fontaines (fl.1241), in addition to the author of the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*.¹⁷ Papal letters calling for the crusades to Livonia, often addressed to the Dominicans and the Franciscans, likewise highlight the importance of martyrdom and the suffering brothers in the Teutonic Order as a motivator to participate in the crusades there. Unlike the examples above concerning Adalbert of Prague and Bruno of Querfurt, these texts regularly commemorate both known and anonymous crusaders as martyrs. This gives a sense that the imagery concerning the landscape in Livonia, namely that of the lord's new vineyard, was a suitable theatre to gain martyrdom, thus highlighting that it was seen as part of a sacral landscape.

It is possible to view this development over time and space by constructing a map of martyrdoms in Livonia during the active period of crusading (namely, the thirteenth century). This map reflects part of Livonia's 'phenomenological landscape', since the perception of martyrdom was indeed a moment in time that separated the sacred from the profane, both in time, and in space. Since the act of martyrdom could recall earlier martyrs, the space in which it occurs takes on a sacred quality. Henry of Livonia, for example, likened martyrdoms to key

¹⁷ See the Source Outline in the Introduction.

Biblical events, thus transporting them to the landscape of Livonia.¹⁸ The significance of martyrs' relics is present in letters from the time of the First Crusade. Describing his march to the Holy Land, Stephen of Blois emphasized the sacral history of the city of Nicomedia to his wife, Adela, pinpointing it as the place of the martyrdom of St Pantaleon (d. 305).¹⁹ Also, on the Spanish frontier, local cults emerged to commemorate fallen crusaders, such as that of Henry of Bonn, who died at the Siege of Lisbon (1147).²⁰ The act of martyrdom and the perception of martyrdom as a manifestation of the sacred thus had an effect on marking sacral points in the landscape. This was the same case in the Baltic, where it aided in creating a sacred landscape, since it anchored a sacral event to a specific location.

From a practical point of view, the centres at which martyrdoms took place in Livonia (or Prussia) did not necessarily have a sacral quality, since many were originally trade posts. Üxküll, where the first two bishops of Livonia were buried (in addition to two neophyte martyrs, Kyrian and Layan, discussed below), was founded by Meinhard, who came 'with a company of merchants' (*cum comitatu mercatorum*). The same is true for Holme, and the *Rhymed Chronicle* likewise mentions merchants (*Kouflûte*) in the Baltic before the arrival of Meinhard.²¹ In Prussia, cities such as Thorn, Elbing, Balga, and others, were major economic

¹⁸ See Murray, 'Sacred Space and Strategic Geography', p. 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*, p. 27 (9.3), citing II Maccabees 6.19; p. 30 (9.12), citing Psalm 62.12; p. 36 (10.4), citing Romans 8.35, 39; p. 37 (10.7), citing Psalm 13.3. Also see Linda Kaljundi, '(Re)performing the Past: Crusading, History Writing, and Rituals in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia', in *The Performance of Christian and Pagan Storyworlds: Non-Canonical Chapters of the History of Nordic Medieval Literature*, ed. by Lars Boje Mortensen and Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 295-338.

¹⁹ *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes – Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088 – 1100*, ed. Heinrich Hagemeyer (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1901, repr. 1973), p. 139 (no. 4): "ad Nicomediam, urbem desolata a Turcis, in qua beatus martyr Pantaleon pro Christus passus est... iter nostrum direximus."

²⁰ See Stephen Lay, 'Miracles, Martyrs and the Cult of Henry the Crusader in Lisbon', *Modern Humanities Research Association* 24, no.1 (2008): pp.7-31. For accounts of Henry's martyrdom, see 'Annales sancti Disibodi', ed. by Georg Waitz, *SS* 17 (Hannover: Hahn, 1861), pp. 4-30, here pp. 27-9; *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica, Scriptores*, vol. 1, ed. by A. Herculano (Lisbon: Lisbon Academy of Sciences, 1856), pp. 406-7.

²¹ *HCL*, p. 2 (1.2): 'Hic simpliciter pro Christo et predicandi tantum causa cum comitatu mercatorum Lyvoniæ venit.' For Holme, see p. 4 (1.8-1.9). For the trade functions of cities, see Paul Johansen, 'Die Kaufmannskirche im Ostseegebiet', in *Studien zu den Anfänge des europäischen Städtewesens. Reichenau-Vorträge 1955-1956*, ed. by Theodor Mayer (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1975), pp. 499-525; Bernhart Jähniç, 'Anfänge der

centres for the Teutonic Order, serving as trade and resupply centres for merchants and crusaders.²² However, these trade routes, when overlapped with the locations of martyrdoms, show a distinct connection between the practicalities 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.²³

Prussia, discussed in section three, offers a very solid case for this process, where we can see how Peter of Dusburg and other chroniclers understood these places as ones within a larger sacral history, at the centre of which were the Order’s wars (often framed in miraculous, or hierophantic, terms). These locations of martyrdoms that took place during the crusades in Prussia and Livonia aligned, for the most part, with castles built by the Teutonic Order, giving a clearer insight with respect to how the memory and commemoration of events in the chronicles shape the understanding of the development of place and landscape. With respect to the present thesis, this also illustrates the importance of place and landscape in the self-understanding of the military orders in the Baltic, and the role it played in their spirituality.²⁴ While associated with sacred landscapes in the Holy Land and Spain, in Livonia and Prussia we see the relationship of the military orders in developing a new sacral geography. The commemoration of martyrs is an important component in this.

The first martyrdom to be connected with the crusades in Livonia was that of Berthold, a Cistercian from the abbey of Loccum, who became Livonia’s second bishop in 1196. He was

Sakraltopographie’, pp. 124-48; Raoul Zühlke, ‘Zerschlagung, Verlagerung und Neuschaffung zentraler Orte im Zuge der Eroberung Livlands. Die räumliche Neuordnung als ein Schlüssel zum Erfolg?’, in *Leonid Arbusow (1882-1951) und die Erforschung des mittelalterlichen Livlands*, ed. by Ilgvars Misāns and Klaus Neitmann (Cologne: Böhlau, 2014), pp. 165-86.

²² See Aleksander Pluskowski, *The Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, pp. 196-246.

²³ See Piotr Oliński, ‘Die zentrale Funktion der religiösen Stiftungen in den preussischen Städten vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert’, in *Städtelandschaften im Ostseeraum im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Roman Czaja and Carsten Jahnke (Toruń: UMK, 2009), pp. 141-54.

²⁴ Chapter 3, pp. 124-33; pp. 134-47.

killed in a skirmish with the Livs, after his horse had gotten away from him. 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 Buxhoveden. Berthold was the first to bring the idea of the crusade to Livonia, for before he left, he brought a group of pilgrims and crusaders who were eager to bring down the faith of the gentiles. His martyrdom had a clear effect on the development of Livonia as a region of holy war and sacralisation, and this is clear in the relative quickness with which he was viewed as a martyr after his death. Already in 1209, Arnold of Lübeck describes his martyrdom and notes that, like Adalbert of Prague's body, Berthold's corpse was miraculous in that it remained 'intact and unspoiled' (*corpus intactus et incorruptus*) by flies as it lay on the battlefield.²⁵

Henry of Livonia's account, around eighteen years later, is roughly the same, indicating that he could very well have used Arnold's text as a source. However, he notes that when Berthold came to Livonia 'with an army' (*venit cum exercitu*), he stopped first at the island fortress of Holme, built by his predecessor, St Meinhard (d. 1196).²⁶ Unsuccessful in converting the pagans there 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 had resorted back to paganism.²⁷ After an exchange of words, it became clear that the Livonians would not accept Christianity, and so Berthold prepared for war. The commemorative element of Berthold's martyrdom is evident in the fact that Henry preserves the names of the two Livs who killed the bishop and decapitated him. Later, Berthold's body was taken to the island church at Üxküll, where it was interred next to Meinhard. In 1225, when

²⁵ *ACS*, p. 215: 'Denique die secunda cum requirerentur corpora occisorum, *inventum est corpus episcopi intactum et incorruptum*, ceteris corporibus, quia estus erat, muscis et vermibus repletis.'

²⁶ *HCL*, p. 9 (1.4): 'Episcopus...venit cum exercitu, ad castrum Holme procedens, quod quidem in medio fluminis situm est.'

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 9 (4.2): 'Respondet episcopus causam, quod tamquam canes ad vomitum, sic a fide sepius a paganismum redierint.' See Proverbs 26:11.

the Papal Legate, William of Modena, came to visit Livonia, he held a mass at Üxküll, ‘commemorating the memory of the first holy bishops’ (*primorum sanctorum episcoporum memoriam commemorans*).²⁸ At least in Henry of Livonia’s time, it appears that the martyr was connected specifically to the area around Riga and the church at Üxküll.

The *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* offers a rendering of Berthold of Loccum’s martyrdom which includes a speech made to the crusaders outside of the city of Riga. This inclusion reflects the perception of crusading as a sacred cause, with a strong focus on memory and commemoration, appropriate for a text like the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, which was aimed primarily at members in the Teutonic Order, but also to crusaders in Livonia. Commemorating the predecessors and the sacral nature of the cause thus served to legitimise the missions of those who heard the text read aloud.²⁹ Berthold reminded the crusaders of how Christ died for them on the cross, and that they are in this place on account of God’s will (*wir sîn durch got von himele hie*).³⁰ Christ’s holy blood (*daz Jhêsus Cris sîn reinez blût*) and the wickedness of the pagans framed the war in divine terms, but also shows a primary factor in the formation of the eastern Baltic’s spiritual geography, particularly in Berthold’s subsequent martyrdom. Its connection to Riga as a place gives a sacral dimension to the Baltic’s physical geography, from 1198 onward.³¹

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

²⁸ *HCL*, p. 212 (29.5): ‘...seminatoque doctrine sancta semine in Ykescolam processit, *ubi primorum sanctorum episcoporum memoriam commemorans* eciam illos Lyvones in Dei servicio confortavit.’ Also see Mikkel Mäesalu, ‘Päpstliche Gewalt im Kreuzzugsgebiet: Gründete Wilhelm von Modena in Estland einen “Pufferstaat”?’ *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 6 (2011): pp. 11-30.

²⁹ *LR*, p. 13 (lines 523-528). “Der bishof Bertold der began / die Rîge bûwen als ein man, / der gerne wolde blîben. / die Letten unde Lîven / umme zins sie satzten sich; / daz was den cristen helflich.”

³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 13 (lines 536-541; 545). “was der bischof Bertolt dû / unde die pilgerîne. / er trôste wol die sîne / und sprach: ,gedenket helde gût, / daz Jhêsus Cris sîn reinez blût / vor uns and dem crûze gôz, / ...wir sîn durch got von himele hie.” Goldingen lay in modern-day Kuldīga, in western Latvia.

³¹ See Jensen, ‘How to Convert a Landscape’, pp. 162-63.

propagating 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.³² Alberic states that Berthold “merited” (*promeruit*) martyrdom.³³ The memory of Berthold as a martyr and the place where he died survived into the sixteenth century. The *Chronicle of the bishops of Riga*, records his martyrdom and connects to a hill outside of the city: “Berthold was slain by the Livs and died on the holy mountain before the city of Riga” (*Partoldus... wart er geschlagen unnd gethodet vonn den Liven uff dem Santperge vor Riga*).³⁴ When his tomb was moved to the Riga cathedral in the fourteenth century, located next to the altar of the Holy Cross, it became a pilgrimage shrine.³⁵ This location of the tomb was a highly important space in medieval Christianity and an indicator of the veneration of martyrs on the Baltic crusade on account of its closeness to the most holy space in a medieval church.

³² See Marek Tamm, ‘Communicating Crusade. Livonian mission and the Cistercian network in the thirteenth century’, *Ajalooline Ajakiri* [Historical Review] 129, no. 3 (2009): pp. 341-72, here pp. 344-45. Albert of Stade was a Benedictine monk who had joined the Franciscans around the time he composed his chronicle.

³³ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, ‘Chronica Albrici monachi trium fontium’, ed. by P. Scheffer-Boichorst, *MGH SS* 23, ed. by Pertz (Hannover: Hahn, 1874), pp. 631-950, here p. 872, which records that Berthold gained martyrdom after his death: ‘postmodum interfectus martyrium promeruit.’ Also see Albert of Stade, ‘Annales Stadenses’, ed. by J. M. Lappenberg, *SS* 16 (Hannover: Hahn, 1859), pp. 271-379, here p. 353: ‘Bertoldus Livoniensis episcopus a paganis occiditur’.

³⁴ ‘Chronica Episcoporum Rigensium’, in *Archiv für die Geschichte Liv, Est, und Kurlands*, vol. 5, ed. by F.G. von Bunge (Dorpat, 1847), pp. 174-80, here p. 174. Also see Anti Selart, ‘The Use and Uselessness of the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia in the Middle Ages’, in *CCWMBF*, pp. 345-61, here p. 355.

³⁵ See Hermann von Bruiningk, ‘Die Frage der Verehrung der ersten livländischen Bischöfe als Heilige’, *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands aus dem Jahre 1902* (1903), pp. 3-36, and p. 314 for the location of his tomb ‘before the altar of the Holy Cross’ (*vor dem Altar des hl. Kreuzes*); Bernhart Jähmig, ‘Die Anfänge der Sakraltopographie von Riga’, p. 157; Strega, ‘Remembering the Dead: Collective Memoria in Late Medieval Livonia’, pp. 180-87; Halina Maikowska, ‘Geografia sakralna miasta [‘The sacred geography of towns’]’, in *Animarum cultura. Studia nad kulturą religijną na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu, 1* [‘Animarum cultura. Studies on the religious culture of Poland in the Middle Ages’], ed. by Halina Manikowska and Wojciech Brojer (Warsaw: Instytut Historii PAN, 2008), pp. 95-131; Raoul Zühlke, ‘Zerschlagung, Verlagerung und Neuschaffung zentraler Orte im Zuge der Eroberung Livlands. Die räumliche Neuordnung als ein Schlüssel zum Erfolg?’, in *Leonid Arbusow (1882-1951) und die Erforschung des mittelalterlichen Livlands*, ed. by Ilgvars Misāns and Klaus Nietmann (Cologne: Böhlau, 2014), pp. 65-67. Also see Anti Selart, ‘Meinhard, Berthold, Bernhard – kein Heiliger für Livland,’ in *Credo. Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter 1: Essays*, ed. by Christoph Stiegemann, Martin Kroker and Wolfgang Walter (Petersberg: Imhof, 2013), pp. 434-40, for a critical view of the veneration of local saints in Livonia.

The divine providence of the war and the commemoration of Berthold's death as a martyrdom, reflected in the scenes above, tie his death directly to a specific point in the landscape. It has a place, and this place becomes a sacred one in that it reflects a sacred mission in the eyes of the chronicler.³⁶ As we will see in the sections below, this carried over to the development of Riga as the major city for the annual pilgrimage expeditions of German knights that would last throughout the thirteenth century in Livonia until roughly 1290.³⁷

The early thirteenth century in Livonia also saw other martyrdoms recorded in Henry's chronicle, but not in any others, indicating the importance of this concept to the early crusade chronicles. In 1205, for example, 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.'³⁸ 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 death 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 pagan gods.³⁹ Their connection to the early sacral centres in the Livonia landscape, Holme and Üxküll, serves to cement their increasing status as early sacral places in Livonia's landscape. 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.⁴⁰

³⁶ See above, Introduction, 'Ecclesiastical Sources' section of Source Outline.

³⁷ Anti Selart, *Livonia, Rus' and the Baltic Crusades*, pp. 14-5.

³⁸ *HCL*, p. 27 (9.2). Conrad did not die, but God turned the enemy away in flight.

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 31 (9.12): '...peregrini de castro Ykescola exeuntes pro colligenda annona...a Lyvonibus...quorum quosdam diis suis immolantes crudeli martirio interfecerunt.'

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 35-6 (10.4-6), recounts their martyrdom. For their burial, p. 36: 'Horum corpora in Ykescolensi quiescunt ecclesia atque apposite sunt tumbe episcoporum Meynardi et Bertoldi, quorum primus confessor, secundus martyr.'

Üxküll was not the only main 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 a priest and his scholars (*socii eius*) near the castle of Holme, when the priest, John, was captured by the people of Holme and decapitated and dismembered.⁴¹ His scholars, Gerard and Hermann, were likewise killed by the same people, 'for the confession of the faith, as we predicted, they went to eternal life through the martyr's palm.'⁴² John's body was not buried with the other martyrs discussed above, but in Riga, which became the main sacral centre for all of Livonia.⁴³ The final incident occurred at the castle of Fellin (Viljandi), in 1211, and involved one Arnold, a Swordbrother. Fellin is one of the most significant sieges in Henry's chronicle for a variety of reasons. For one, it appears to have been the scene of a miraculous vision (*hierophany*), in 1217.⁴⁴ For the present section, it is significant because of Arnold's martyrdom. As the siege rages on, Arnold, 'who laboured day and night [in the siege], was at the same time struck by a thrown stone, and passed over into the company of the martyrs.'⁴⁵

Martyrdom in the *Chronicle of Henry of Livonia* is thus connected to the earliest stages and centres of the mission: Üxküll, Holme, and Riga. However, it does describe the sacralisation of other points in the landscape, such as Fellin (Viljandi). I have mapped the two pilgrimages (1205, 1211) below (Maps 1 & 2, with tables) that these events were taken from below, to show

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 37 (10. 7): 'Porro Holmenses, quorum pedes veloces ad effundendum sanguinem, *capto Iohanne sacerdote suo, caput eius abscidunt, corpus reliquum membratim dividunt.*'

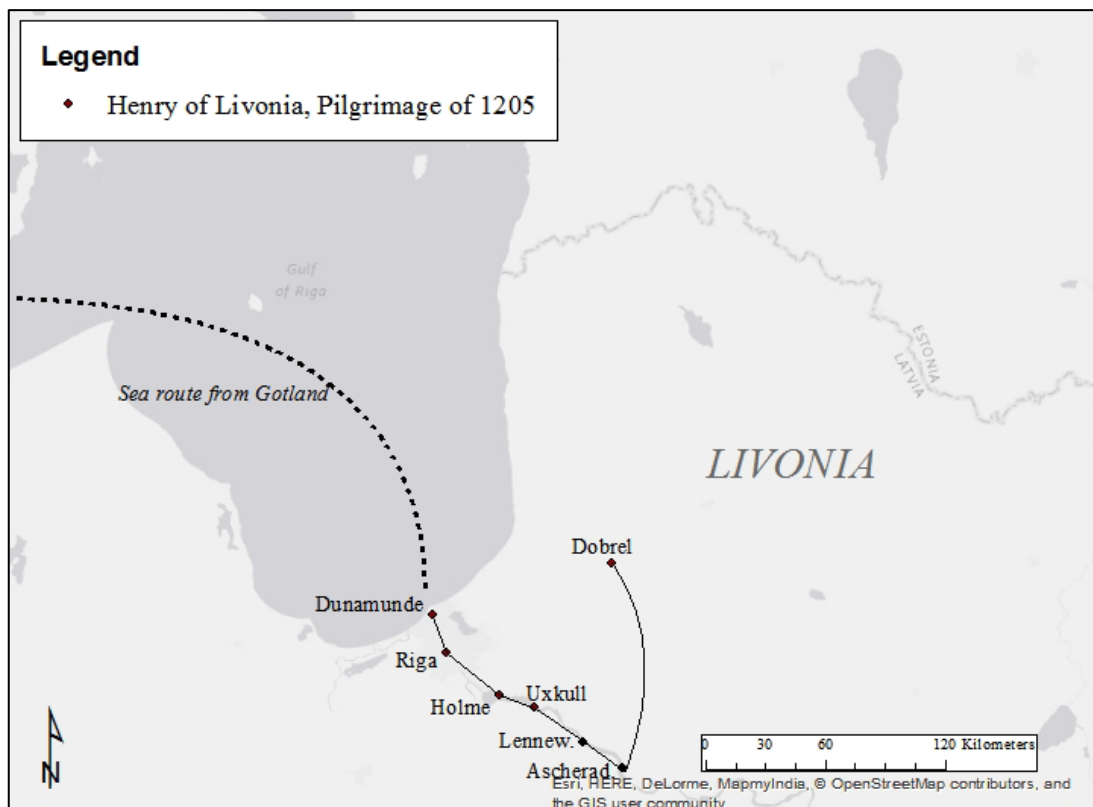
⁴² Ibid: 'Gerhardus et Hermannus, pro fidei confessione, *sicut prediximus, per martyria palmam ad vitam pervenit eternam.*'

⁴³ Ibid: 'Cuius corpus et ossa...in Riga in ecclesia beate Marie domnus episcopus cum suo capitulo devote sepelevit.'

⁴⁴ See Bernd Ulrich Hucker, 'Zur Frömmigkeit von Livlandpilgern und Ordensrittern', in *Ordines Militares VII: Die Spiritualität der Ritterorden im Mittelalter* (Toruń: UMK, 1993), pp. 111-30, here pp. 114-16, highlights the role of martyrdom for crusaders going to Livonia.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 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.*'

this distribution. Clearly, the role of martyrdom was a very real factor that can be tied to the literary themes in Chapter 1 above: the main chronicles responsible for the dissemination of that literary imagery were also keen to emphasise the specific role of martyrdom in sacralising the landscape. In the case of specific martyrs, like Berthold of Loccum, there appears to have been a level of commemoration and veneration, which were thus associated with specific points in the landscape (in this case, his tomb at Üxküll).

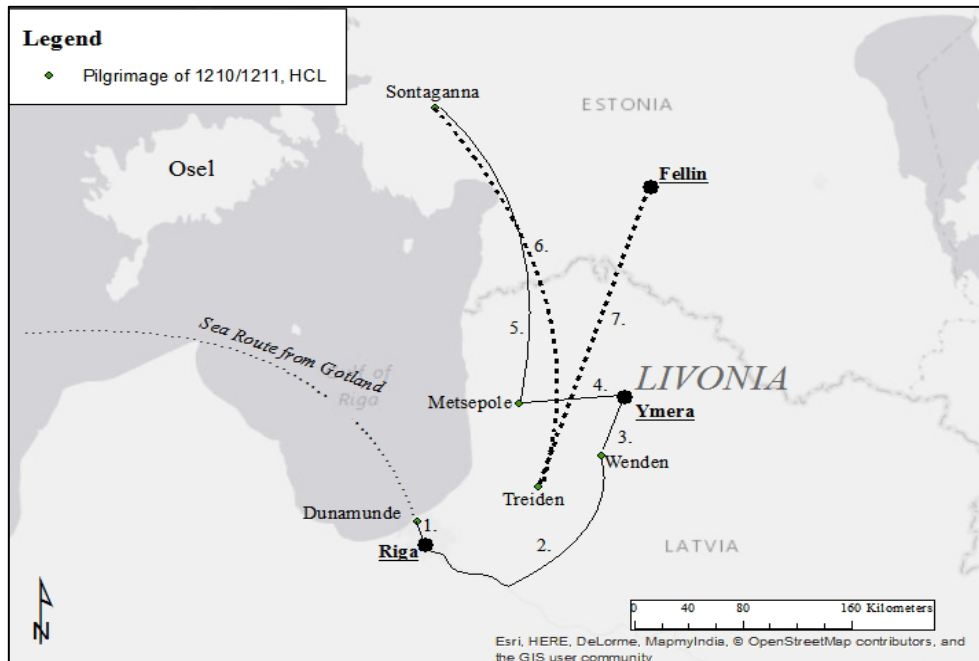


Map 2. Pilgrimage of 1205, taken from HCL.

Place	N	E	Reference
Bremen	53.079296	8.8016940	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 28-9 (9.6)
Visby	57.6348	18.294840	
Dünamünde	57.044306	24.041171	<i>claustrum Cysterciensium monachorum locaverunt</i> (Ibid.) <i>Rigam perventum est</i> (Ibid.)
Riga	56.950846	24.100268	
Holme	56.846709	24.340747	
Üxküll	56.815548	24.501325	
Lennewarden	24.100268	24.100268	p. 30 (9.8)
Ascheraden	24.100268	24.100268	Ibid, (9.9)
<i>via Memeculle</i>	<i>No location</i>	<i>No location</i>	

Üxküll	56.815548	24.501325	p. 31 (9.11).
Holme	56.846709	24.340747	p. 38 (10.8).
Coiwa	57.169453	24.846477	p. 40 (10.10).

Table 1. Pilgrimage of 1205, with coordinates and references to HCL.



Map 3. 1211 Pilgrimage, including the Siege of Fellin. Taken from HCL.

Place	N	E	Reference
Visby	57.6348	18.29484	p. 76
Dünamünde	57.044306	24.041171	Ibid.
Riga	56.950846	24.100268	p. 77 (13.3); <i>magno ludo</i> mentioned.
Wenden	57.309192	25.26613	p. 78
<i>ad Ymeram</i>	57.538466	25.426362	Ibid. Martyrdom nearby castle
Metsepole	57.511925	24.722971	p. 79
Sontaganna	58.6614	24.1622	Ibid
Treiden	57.182585	24.850255	
Fellin	58.353907	25.59454	p. 84 (martyrdom of Sword Brother); p. 99 (martyrdom of a priest)

Table 2. Pilgrimage of 1211, with coordinates and references to HCL.

A second group of texts solidify martyrdom as an agent of landscape sacralisation in the Baltic: these are the chronicles of the military orders and papal letters encouraging the preaching of the crusades to pilgrim crusaders. Particularly in the case of the military orders, the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* is a prime example of the commemoration of martyrs and battles within the Teutonic Order in Livonia.⁴⁶ It is also likely that the Order commemorated its fallen brethren in Livonia throughout their bailiwicks, as discussed by Gustavs Strenga, thus indicating that the relationship of martyrdom to a new sacral landscape in Livonia were disseminated beyond the eastern Baltic.⁴⁷ The papacy's letters to the preaching orders, too, demonstrate the role of martyrdom in generating this image to a broader audience.

By the 1250s and later, the incentive to strive for martyrdom, in addition to assisting the Teutonic Knights in their battles against the pagans, became important themes in papal letters to the Dominicans, tabulated below (Table 3). Their function, to recruit crusaders to campaign in the Baltic region, as well as their intended audience, show the sacralisation of Livonia as a place through the presence of martyrdom. Both activities occurred within a landscape and a new region of Christendom. They also shed light on the perception of brothers in the Teutonic Order and their role in the fight against non-Christians.

⁴⁶ See Murray, 'Structure, Genre, and Intended Audience', pp. 238-42; Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, pp. 64-5; Strenga, 'Remembering the Dead', p. 134.

⁴⁷ See Strenga, 'Remembering the Common Past. Livonia as *lieu de mémoire* of the Teutonic Order in the Empire', in *Livland – eine Region am Ende der Welt? Forschungen zum Verhältnis zwischen Zentrum und Peripherie im späten Mittelalter*, ed. by Anti Selart and Matthias Thumser (Cologne: Böhlau, 2017), pp. 347-71, here pp. 349-55.

Date	Issuer	Recipient	Reference	Language
12 May, 1237	Gregory IX	Bishops of Riga, Ösel, Dorpat	1.149, col. 191	<i>ibi celebrem reddituri patris aeterni filium, ubi coelentium potestates aeras infinita multitudo perit animarum</i>
23 Sept., 1243	Innocent IV	Dominicans of Wisby	1.174, cols. 228-29	<i>profecturi et acturi secundum fratrum predictorum hospitalis eiusdem, ita quod et ipsis praemium debeatur aeternum</i>
1 Oct., 1243	Innocent IV	Pilgrims in Livonia	1.176, col. 231	<i>per vos et ipsi pugiles Christi [Brothers in the Teutonic Order]...possint leviter conteri contemptores nominis Christi</i>
13 Jan., 1252	Innocent IV	Dominicans in Bohemia	1.233, col. 292	<i>Pro negocio fidei fratres... .. adiuti subsidiis aliorum Christi fidelium...cum multa effusione proprii sanguinis pertulerunt</i>
7 Aug., 1257	Alexander IV	Dominican Priors	1.311, cols. 398-99	<i>quod dicti fratres martirii palmam, in desiderio semper habentes</i>
8 Aug., 1257	Alexander IV	Minor Orders	1.314, cols. 401-03	<i>fratres manibus infidelium crudeliter sunt occisi; sub continua exspectatione martirii patiuntur</i>
13 June, 1260	Alexander IV	Minor Orders in Meckl.*	1.353, cols.447-49	<i>viros Christianos et catholicos...tamquam zelum Dei habentes...liberandum proximos de manibus de paganorum...gloriari</i>
28 Feb, 1266	Henry of Brandenburg	Brandenburg Diocese	1.394, col. 499	<i>Proveniat corona civium supernorum</i>

Table 3. Martyrdom Language in calls for crusades to Livonia, taken from LECUB 1.

The language in these letters shown here demonstrates the importance of martyrdom imagery in motivating crusaders to visit the north. It also demonstrates a growing image of the Teutonic Order's spirituality as a crusading institution in the Baltic, one 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*, a phrase that described the military orders from the time of Bernard of Clairvaux onwards. With respect to their death in battle, it was a martyr's one. Bernard, describing the knighthood embodied by the military orders, wrote 'How blessed are those who are killed in battle as martyrs' (*quam beati mortiuntur martyres in praelio*).⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, 'De laude', col. 922, refers to "strong athletes" (*fortis athleta*). The *athleta Christi* was a prominent term with reference to martyrdom from early on in the history of the military orders. See Joachim Röther, 'Embracing Death, Celebrating Life: Reflections on the Concept of Martyrdom in the Order of the Knights Templar', *Ordines Militares* 19 (2014): pp. 169-92.

In the context of the examples tabulated above, we can also see that martyrdom was used to motivate potential crusaders to the Livonian frontier. While no specific sermons appear to survive for Livonia, we can hypothesize that they emphasised the concept of martyrdom, and that this was a benefit of taking the cross and fighting against non-Christians. This is likely, given the letters to the preaching orders issued by the popes. Moreover, the themes were just as important in the North as they were in the East.⁴⁹ Holy places and the concept of sacred landscapes in the Baltic were, due to these factors of martyrdom and the spiritual framework of the wars, not ‘needed’ in the early crusades to the north to attract crusaders.

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.⁵⁰ Preachers read these aloud, and such sermons would have been quite intense or emotional.⁵¹ 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, it is very likely that these calls to participate would have invoked her patronage of the formerly-pagan lands on the Baltic littoral.⁵² 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, discussed in Chapter 4.⁵³ However, the focus on martyrdom and the brothers

⁴⁹ Christoph Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology. Model Sermons for Preaching the Crusades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 52-4 considers the terminology used in the sermons; p. 54 focuses on the adaptive nature of the sermons.

⁵⁰ Hucker, ‘Zur Frömmigkeit’, p. 113; Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, pp. 3-4; pp. 111-12.

⁵¹ Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* pp. 37-43, especially p. 42, outlines the preaching of crusades.

⁵² *HCL*, pp. 131-32 (19.7), for the speech of Bishop Albert to Pope Innocent IV: ‘sicut,’ inquit, ‘pater sancte, terram sanctam Ierosolimitanam, que est terra filii, sanctitatis tue studio fovere non desinis, sic Lyvoniam, que est terra matris, consolationum tuarum sollicitudinibus hactenus in gentibus dilatam eam 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.’

⁵³ See Introduction, note 81, for the applications of Marian imagery to the Baltic region by Henry of Livonia. For place-names, see below, Chapter 4, section 3.

of the military orders as engaging in martyrdom for the faith, offers a more physical element to motivate pilgrims to go to Livonia.

The Teutonic Order certainly commemorated its fallen brethren as martyrs in the thirteenth century, and churches read the names of pilgrims who died in particularly gruesome battles who died on crusade in the Baltic.⁵⁴ The identity of the Order as a Marian institution thus applies to the commemoration of brothers who became martyrs in her land. The *Necrologia* for Ronnenburg (Rauna, Livonia), a collection of entries remembering the deaths of fallen brothers, mentions “brother Bernhard, commander, along with seven brothers” killed at Fellin in the 1250s.⁵⁵ The *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, offers more instances of the perception of martyrdom as an aide to understanding the sacralisation of the landscape, namely battles in which the Teutonic Knights suffered defeats. These are the Battle of Saule (22 September, 1236) and the Battle of Durben (13 July, 1260). Hermann of Wartberge commemorated the battle of Saule, too, noting that the master “was martyred” (*fuit martyr occisus*) along with 50 brothers, many pilgrims, the count of Hasseldorf, and the count of Dannenberg.⁵⁶ Martyrdom thus served as an important motivator to pilgrims, even if we do not have many references to individual pilgrims who were venerated as martyrs. Dietrich of Haseldorf, a knight who died at the Battle of Saule (1236) was honoured in the Hamburg cathedral on 22 September, the day on which the battle took place. He was also mentioned in the *Rhymed Chronicle*.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ *SDO*, pp. 37-8 (*Rule*, no .10).

⁵⁵ ‘Necrologia von Ronnenburg’, ed. by Strehlke, *SRP* 2, p. 147: “Januarii ultimo die frater Bernhardus commendator cum septem fratribus apud Weliniam occisus.” Also see note 2, on the identification of this commander.

⁵⁶ Hermann, p. 32.

⁵⁷ See ‘Annales Stadenses’, p. 363: “Facta est magna strages peregrinorum in Livonia circa festum Mauricii. Theoricus des Hasiltor ibi cecidisse dicitur.” See *LR*, p. 43 (line 1869), which mentions ‘a nobleman from Haseldorf’ (*von Haseldorf ein edil man*) at the Battle of Saule. He was commemorated in the Hamburg Cathedral necrologue. See Karl Koppmann, ‘Necrologium Capituli Hamburgensis’, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für*

Constructing churches to commemorate fallen crusaders also demonstrates the importance of martyrdom to sacralising the landscape in thirteenth-century Livonia. The Teutonic Order in Livonia is a suitable case to study this relationship of martyrdom to the landscape, since there are some specific sites associated with their battles and they were often commemorated in *necrologia*.⁵⁸ Karuse church, photographed below (Image 11), was erected to commemorate the death of Otto of Lutterberg, master of the Livonian Branch of the Teutonic Order, at Karuse.⁵⁹ In fact, recent archaeological excavations have indicated that he was buried under the altar, demonstrated by finds of a limestone tomb with an image of a warrior on it holding a shield.⁶⁰ We also see parallels in Prussia, discussed in section sections 2.3 and 2.4.⁶¹ 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 sacralisation of the landscape.

Hamburgische Geschichte 6 (1868): pp. 21-183, here p. 121: "Obiit Tydericus, pater domini Frederici de Haseldorpe."

⁵⁸ For Saule, see *LECUB* 1.1.149, cols. 191-93, here col. 191, commemorates the master and many pilgrims slain by the Livonians: '...magister et quinquaginta fratrum eiusdem militia ac peregrinorum plurium, paganorum saeviente perfidia, noviter pertulerunt...postulantes, spe sibi proposita, quod, cum praefati magister et fratres strenuam et famosam habeant in sua domo militiam, thesauro pretiosus arbitrantem, animam pro illo ponere.' Also see *Annales Stadenses*, p. 363: 'Facta est maxima strages peregrinorum in Livonia circa festum Mauricii. Theoricus de Haselitor ibi cecidisse dicitur'; *LR*, pp. 44-5 (lines 1906-1958), especially p. 45 (lines 1941-1949) for the death of Volkwin and 48 brothers (*achte und vierzik der dâ bliben*), and their martyrdom with many pilgrims (lines 1953-1958); Hermann, p. 33. For the Battle of Durben, see *LR*, pp. 128-135 (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 pilgerîn, / der dâ leit die selbe nô / durch got unde starken tô*); *PDC*, pp. 204-06 (3.84); *KvP*, pp. 424-27 (lines 10,513-10,732); 'Canonici Sambiensis epitome gestorum Prussie', ed. by Max Töppen, *SRP* 1, p. 282; Hermann, p. 41.

⁵⁹ For Karuse, see *LR*, pp. 177-83 (lines 7804-7997): *LR*, p. 181 (lines 7905-7907): 'dâ wart geslagen in der nô / der gûte meister Otte tô / und zwêne und vumfzic brûdere gût.' The chronicler goes on to place the event at 'Wiek, which lay by the sea' (*die Wic ist bie dem mere gelegen*). Also see Hermann, p. 47: 'fuit autem Otto magister occisus a Letwinis in Maritima circa Karuszen cum LII fratribus ac VIc fidelibus.' See Hermann, p. 47 (footnote 1) for the debate surrounding Otto's burial in the church.

⁶⁰ Also see Jüri Kivimäe, 'Karuse Jäälahnig anno 1270' (The Battle of Karuse, 1270), *SA Haapsalu ja Läänemaa Muuseumid* (Haapsalu and Laanemaa Museums) 19 (2016): pp. 48-66.

⁶¹ Christofer Herrmann, 'Bauorganisation (Bauherr, Handwerker, Kosten und Finanzen)', in idem, *Mittelalterliche Architektur im Preußenland*, p. 128. For the commemorative memorials of fallen crusaders in Prussia, see Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1, p. 120, p. 335; Idem, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 2, pp. 120-22.



Image 11. Karuse Church, burial place of Otto of Lutterberg (13th Century). Photograph taken by Author.

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. Livonia was not so much 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, and commemorated local saints and martyrs to reflect their perception of and devotion to this new Christian landscape in the northeastern Baltic.

2.3: Martyrdom, Hierophany, and Sacred Landscape in Thirteenth-Century Prussia

The role and conception of martyrdom in the material for the thirteenth-century crusades to Prussia present some parallels to Livonia. There are also some differences, namely in that martyrdom is connected to specific points in the landscape on repeat occasions. The charters for Prussia give a somewhat different approach to recruiting crusaders with the prospect of martyrdom. We can attribute this to the earlier contacts with missionary work from the tenth century (see above, Chapter 2, section 1), 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 in their preaching to the Prussians. The text states how the abbot of Łekno was inspired by the tomb of St Adalbert of Prague, ‘the blessed martyr’ (*beatus martyr Adalbertus*), and how ‘he saw the need for that pure land [Prussia] to be brought to harvest.’⁶² The emphasis of Adalbert’s martyrdom in Prussia here was used to motivate pilgrims coming from those lands to help fight against the Prussian incursions. However, this is not a regular component of subsequent letters calling for assistance against the Prussians.

Papal charters issued to the preaching orders regularly show the suffering of the Christian population in the region and the process of landscape sacralisation *via* martyrdom, a continuation of the above section. For example, in 1232, Gregory IX took care to note ‘more than 20,000 Christians cut down by the sword and condemned to a disgraceful death.’ He also described the brothers as acting on God’s behalf, ‘repaying the attack by the savage barbarians.’⁶³ In 1252, Innocent IV highlighted how ‘the brothers...aided with the support of

⁶² *PrUB* 1.1, p. 3 (no. 4): “Cum enim ad partes illas pro quibusdam fratres [of Łekno – GL] liberandis, qui ab ipsis paganis tenebantur alligati vinculis, accessisset, et dominus terre illius ipsum benigne ad dimisisset liberos eius fratres, *demonstrans eidem nihilominus beate martyris Alberti sepulcrum*, elevatis oculis vidit, *quod regio illa alba esset ad messem.*” My italics.

⁶³ *Ibid*, p. 67 (no. 87): “...cum quibus [the brothers] deus misericorditer operatur, *reprimendo per eos impetum barbaram feritatis.*”

other Christians, suffered many labours and innumerable expenses, with much constant bloodshed for a long time' in his call to crusaders to support the Order in Prussia.⁶⁴ The same imagery was present in the bull, *Pro fidei negotio* (1263), issued by Urban IV, which highlights the deaths of some 500 brothers were killed at the hands of the Prussians (*a longis retro temporibus...quod fere quingenti ex eis iam, prout accepimus, manibus infidelium crudeliter sunt occisi*).⁶⁵ The charters reinforce the role played by the Teutonic Order in sacralising the Prussian landscape through dying as martyrs and fighting the enemies of the faith constantly.

A notable difference separating the crusades in Livonia and Prussia is that, in the latter case, few chronicles survive documenting the thirteenth-century expeditions. 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.⁶⁶ Therefore, the commemorative nature of the earlier expeditions is often emphasised by chroniclers such as Peter of Dusburg, and Nicolaus of Jeroschin, for they wrote nearly a century after the events that 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 in the thirteenth century, and one of those sources has survived to the present day. Attributed to the Order's fifth Grand Master, Hermann of Salza (d. 1239), the short text recounts the situation in Prussia

⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 195 (no. 255): "fratres...adiuti subsidiis aliorum Christi fidelium, labores plurimos et expensas innumeras cum multa effusione propria sanguinis a longis temporibus constantissime pertulerunt."

⁶⁵ *PrUB* 1.2, pp. 155-56 (no. 201).

⁶⁶ See Helm and Ziesemer, *Literatur des Deutschen Ritterordens*, pp. 14-7; Hartmut Boockmann, 'Die Geschichtsschreibung des Deutschen Ordens: Gattungsfragen und 'Gebrauchssituationen', in *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im späten Mittelalter*, ed. by Hans Patze (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1988), pp. 447-69; Mary Fischer, 'Winning Hearts and Minds: the role of the written word in the Crusades in north-eastern Europe in the fourteenth century', in *The Book in Germany*, ed. by M.C. Fischer and W.A. Kelly (Edinburgh: Merchiston Publishing, 2010), pp.1-16, here p. 1.

before the Order's arrival, the invitation of the Order by Konrad of Masovia, and the subsequent battles between the brothers and Duke Swantopolk of Pomerania.⁶⁷ It concludes sometime around the Treaty of Christburg (1249), which saw the end of the First Prussian Uprising (1242-1249). The first, and only, edition of the source can be found in the fifth volume of the *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1874), pages 153-58, where Theodor Hirsch correlated it to the first two books of Peter of Dusburg's *Chronicle of Prussia*.

The concept of martyrdom is present in this small letter, demonstrating its importance to landscape sacralisation from an early period in the conquest. When describing the early raids of the Prussians in Conrad of Masovia's lands, the letter records how 'the people...hoped that God sent many of them to heaven as martyrs' (*war hoffnung, das sy Gothe manche sele mit der marter haben gesant*).⁶⁸ 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' (*ich wil bey euch sterben*). Similar references can be found in the Rhymed Chronicle. There are even instances of crusaders (referred to as pilgrims), expressing their wish to die alongside the brothers in the Order.⁶⁹ This could be an early reference to two relevant passages in the Book of Maccabees, specifically 1:2, 50-51, in which Mattathias reminds his sons to "be ye zealous for the law, and give your lives for the covenant of your fathers."⁷⁰ The second passage occurs in chapter 3: 58-9: "Gird yourselves...that you may fight with these nations

⁶⁷ The text was probably written by Heinrich of Hohenlohe (d. 1249). See Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, p. 58.

⁶⁸ *HvSB*, p. 158.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 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.'

⁷⁰ I Maccabees 2.50-51: 'Nunc ergo, o filii, aemulatores estote legis, et date animas vestras pro testamento patrum vestrorum.'

(*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.”⁷¹

The later chronicles documenting the crusades in the thirteenth century emphasise martyrdom as an aspect of landscape sacralisation. Peter of Dusburg clearly noted an interest in attaining the martyr’s palm amongst members in the Order. He explicitly wrote how the brothers in Prussia suffered (*paciuntur*) for the heavenly crown (*corona glorie...in celis*) of Jesus Christ, which is the crown of all the saints.⁷² 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*). This was not limited to brothers in the Order. 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.⁷³

There are some martyrdom accounts in Peter’s text that can be mapped. 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 1, this example of martyrdom in a place that could be a site

⁷¹ 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.’

⁷² *PDC*, p. 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?*”

⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 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 militari pertransiit hostium cuneos interficiens impios a dextris et a sinistris...Sed in reditu, dum venisset ad medium ipsorum, occisus est.”

of worship indicates a competition between pagan and Christian sacrality in the landscape.⁷⁴ Demonstrated in the fourteenth and fifteenth century inventories of the Order's archive in Marienburg, martyrologies were key texts that were read at mealtimes, and would thus have been suitable for Peter to use in his framing and commemoration of martyrdoms.⁷⁵ This battle was commemorated in texts produced in Prussia throughout the fourteenth century. For example, a small rhymed chronicle of Prussia, dated to c. 1338, records that 'God gave all [those who died] a holy victory' (*Got gebe allen sêlen heil!*).⁷⁶ The *Chronicle of Oliwa*'s (c. 1350) record of this campaign, however, does not hint at martyrdom. Instead, fifty-five brothers are cut down, with other Christians, by the pagans near Crucke.⁷⁷

Another significant martyrdom occurred in the year 1261, at the Battle of Pocarwen. According to the many texts in which it is mentioned, a great number of pilgrims and brothers were killed there.⁷⁸ Later sources reflect this as a martyrdom and reveals Peter's perception of it as such in how he commemorates the fallen brothers and pilgrims. 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.'⁷⁹ For example, other contemporary

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 184 (3.66): "Volve et revolve omnia scripta martirologii, non occurret tibi tale genus martirii...Inter istos quidam frater sic martirium fuit passus: Prutheni ligaverunt eum vivum per manus ad arborem et excisum umbilicum ventris suis, cui adherebat viscus, affixerunt arbori, quo facto plagis multis compulerunt eum, ut circuiret arborem, quousque omnia viscera arbori adheserunt, et sic in confessione vere fidei reddens Deo spiritum expiravit."

⁷⁵ *MÄ*, pp. 122-24, is an inventory of 1394 showing two *legenda* and one *passional* in the Order's Latin text collection. Also see pp. 125-26, an inventory of 1398; pp. 126-31, here p. 129, taken in the year 1437; p. 133, taken in 1400. Also see *GÄ*, p. 32 (*1 legende de sanctis...eyn passionale de sanctis*); p. 35; p. 39; p. 40; p. 47; p. 93; p. 139; p. 144; p. 160; p. 167; p. 172; p. 418, mentions books 'to be read at the table' (*zu tische zu lesen*); p. 600, mentions 'table books' (*tischbucher*).

⁷⁶ 'Zwei Fragmente einer kurze Reimchronik von Preussen', ed. by Ernst Strelhke, *SRP* 2, p. 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 brüder tôt / und pilgerim ein michel teil / Got gebe allen sêlen heil!'

⁷⁷ *Ältere Chronik von Oliwa*, p. 601, reads: "Fratres vero cesserunt ad villam, que dicitur Crucke, et ibi de auxilio Dei desperantes se hostibus subdiderunt absque defensione, qui una die ibi occiderunt liij fratres et alios multos Christianos; et hoc factum fuit anno Domini m^occ.xlix."

⁷⁸ *PDC*, pp. 212-14 (3.91) outlines the battle.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 214: 'Nota hic, quod idem Henricus et plures alii sub iramento suo postea affirmabant, *wuod, cum idem burgensis in equo cremates emitteret spiritum, viderunt ex ore ipsius colmbam albissimam evolantem.*'

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*.⁸⁰ Mentioned above, the rhymed chronicle of Prussia (c. 1338) commemorated the battle as a martyrdom (*got helpe irre sêle aller nôt*).⁸¹ Smaller texts, too, commemorated the battle, indicating that it was remembered in Prussian churches, since these sources were read in churches.⁸²

A hermit living in the area surrounding Labiau castle, after a battle between the Nattangians and the brothers fighting under Helmerich of Wurzburg in c. 1263, apparently witnessed burning candles surrounding the fallen men on the battlefield who had gained the martyr's crown (*corona martirii*).⁸³ This does not appear to be commemorated in the later texts, as the examples above are, but it demonstrates the perception of martyrdom in thirteenth-century Prussia and the commemoration of fallen brethren and crusaders as such.

The map below (Map 3) shows the locations of the events perceived as martyrdoms in Peter's chronicle and indicates 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, that any place could be sacred through martyrdom, thus removing the commemorative element to other

⁸⁰ See 'Annales Pelplinenses', ed. by Max Töppen, *SRP* 1, p. 270. Also see 'Epitome gesotrum Prussie', ed. by Töppen, *SRP* 1, p. 282: 'A. d. MCCLXI. Fuit conflictus in Pokarwen, ubi occisi sunt fratres et peregrini multi.'

⁸¹ 'Kurze Reimchronik', p. 4.

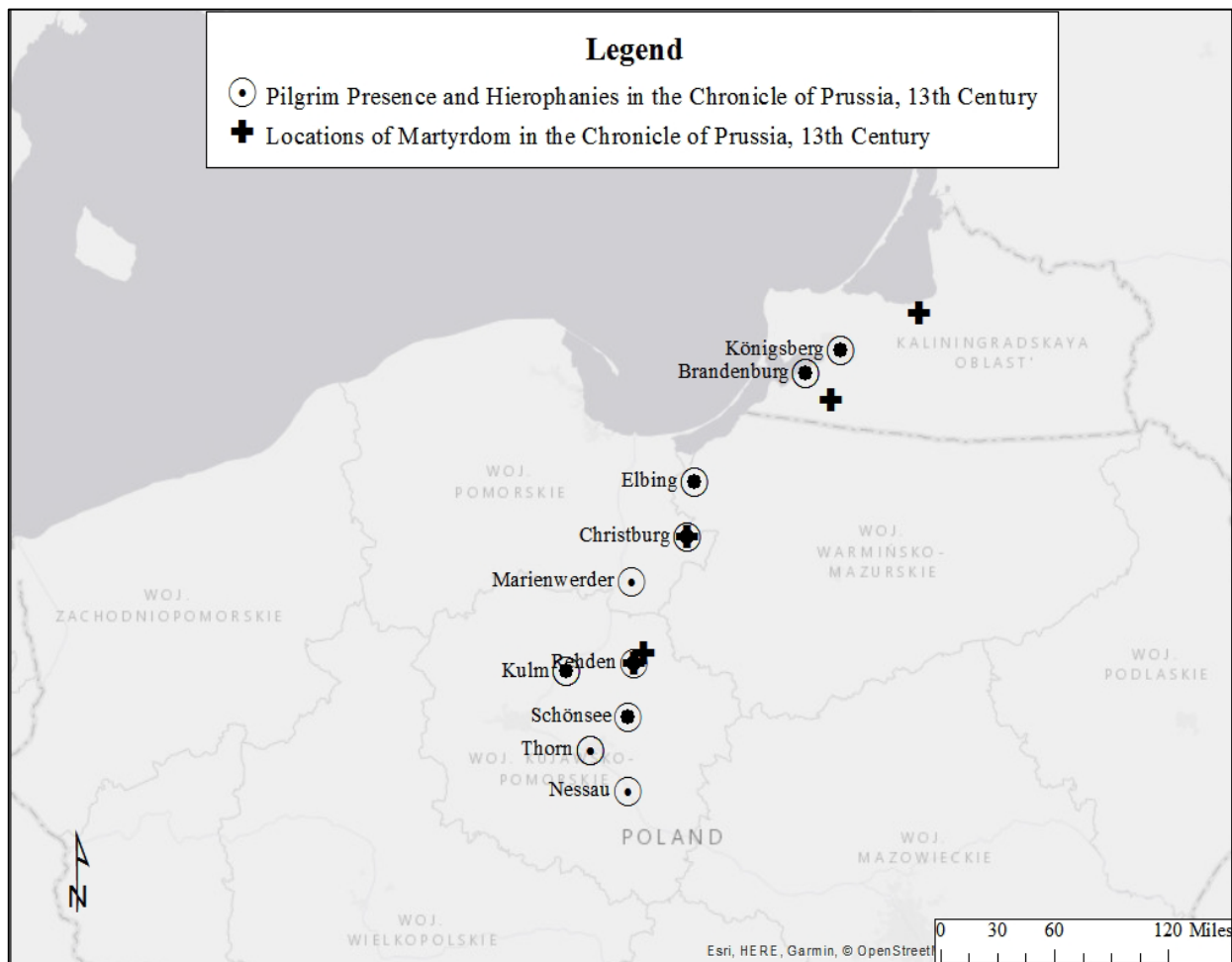
⁸² 'Kurze Preussische Annalen', ed. by Ernst Strehlke, *SRP* 3, p. 2; 'Annales Expeditionalis Prussici', ed. by Strehlke, *SRP* 3, p. 10; 'Annalista Thorunensis', ed. by Strehlke, *SRP* 3, p. 61.

⁸³ *PDC*, p. 242 (3.123): "In hoc loco (i.e. the region surrounding Labiau castle) certaminis postea quidam heremita habitans vidit noctis tempore candelas ardentis pluribus vicibus, que interfectos ibi iam coronam martirii apud regem martirum adeptos esse manifestius declarabant." Schultz and Wojtecki place the village to the south of Kreuzburg (present-day Slavskoye, in the Kaliningrad Oblast). See p. 564.

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 whilst on their journey to the frontier. With respect to the martyrdoms discussed in this segment, there is a clear relationship between these events and the major cities of Prussia where crusaders visited. As the coming chapters demonstrate, these were more than stops along the way for re-supplying armies.

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. 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 that the Order was aware 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 of 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 serves to add that the Teutonic Order understood the significance of creating a spiritual landscape wherever it happened to need one.



Map 4. Hierophanies and Martyrdom in the Chronicle of Prussia, 13th Century.

The present section offers a new model of Prussia as a crusading landscape based on the presence of miraculous events in the chronicle of Peter of Dusburg. Hierophanies, or manifestations of the sacred, permeate medieval chronicles. Historians of religion have noted how these manifestations of the sacred aid in creating a sacred place. These events delineate a sacred place from the surrounding profane region (in our case, the pagan landscape in Prussia).¹ These events have been recently analysed with respect to the crusades in the Holy Land by Murray, who analysed the refortification of sites and the translation of relics as examples of

¹ First proposed by Mircea Eliade in the 1950s. See Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, p. 368; Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, pp. 24-9.

delineating a sacred geography in the region. He also discussed 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.²

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*) that occurred throughout the Order's conquest of Prussia.³ The conquest itself was a miracle (*magnum signum*) in Peter's eyes.⁴ 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 so-called Hermann of Salza Letter, Peter of Dusburg's Chronicle, and Nicolaus of Jeroschin's translation, have significantly more examples of hierophanies than those concerned with 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.⁵ Five years earlier, in 1243, a dying Christian outside of the walls of Kulm (*Althaus*) saw a

² Alan V. Murray, 'Sacred Space and Strategic Geography in Twelfth-Century Palestine', *SSSTOP*, pp. 35-7.

³ *PDC*, p. 28: "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."

⁴ *Ibid*: "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."

⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 178-80 (3.63-64). For the construction of the castle, Peter writes: "Convocata iterum multitudine peregrinorum, quo continue de partibus Alemanie per predicacione 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 gencilando se inclinaret ad crucem osculandam, imago crucifixi lignea elevans se extendit brachia sua volens cum circumdando brachiis amplecti."

vision of the Virgin Mary appear to him. The tale recounts how a woman visited her dying husband among the slain outside of 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.⁶ 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, but also served to reiterate the sacralization of landscape.⁷

Alt-Kulm (*Aldenus; Althaus; antiquum Colmen*) 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.⁸ 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 emerging sacred landscape of Prussia.⁹ It was one of only three castles to survive the revolt, showing that the Christianised 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

⁶ Ibid, p. 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.’”

⁷ See Edward Potkowski, ‘Spirituality and reading. Book collections of the Teutonic Order in Prussia’, *Die Spiritualität der geistlichen Ritterorden im Mittelalter*, pp. 217-39.

⁸ Sarnowsky, *Der Deutsche Orden*, pp. 39-41 provides a basic outline of the First Uprising. See *PrUB* 1, 1.145, p. 110, mentions the struggle of the Order against the Pomeranian duke, Swantopolk. The Uprising concluded with the Treaty of Christburg, mentioned above.

⁹ See *PDC*, p. 174 (3.59): “civitatem Colmensis de Castro Antiquo transtulit ad cliuvum montis, in quo nunc sita est”; *KvP*, p. 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, pp. 183-94 (no. 252), issued after the city burned down: “postmodum per incendium civitatis Culmensis amisso.”

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 of 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 chronicle had a readership outside of the Order, perhaps in the papal court.¹⁰ 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.¹¹

¹⁰ Schulz and Wojtecki, 'Einleitung', *PDC*, p. 10; Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, p. 70.

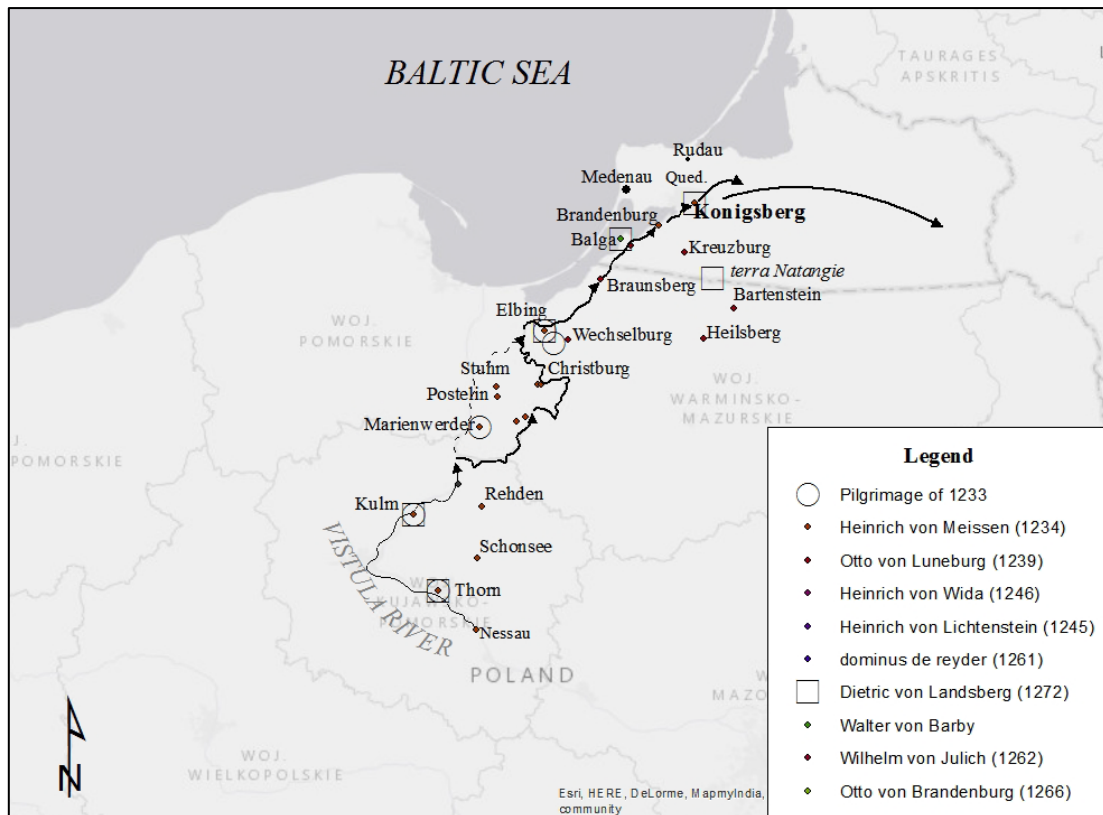
¹¹ Marian Kutzner, 'Die Herrschaftspropaganda in der Kunst des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen', in *Echte Wehrhaftigkeit oder martialische Wirkung: Zur praktischen Funktion und zum Symbolcharakter von Wehrelementen profaner und sakraler Bauten im Deutschordensland Preußen und im Ostseeraum*, eds. Gerhard Eimer and Ernst Gierlich (Köln: Wissenschaft und Politik, 2000), p. 254; Janusz Turpinda, 'Die Chronik von Peter von Dusburg als Quelle für die Interpretation der architektonischen Ausschmückung des sog. Kapitelsaals un der Schlosskapelle im Nordflügel des Hochschlosses in Marienburg', in *Mittelalterliche Kultur und Literatur im Deutschordensstaat in Preussen: Leben und Nachleben* (Toruń: UMK, 2008), pp. 513-28, especially p. 521.



Map 5. Hierophanies along the Pilgrimage Route in Prussia toward Königsberg. Bold dots = hierophany.

The above map (Map 5) of 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 (Map 6 below). 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.¹²



Map 6. Pilgrimages after Peter of Dusburg: 1233-1272

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 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* arose as a means to legitimise the Order and reflect the contemporary attitudes toward the military orders and crusading in the fourteenth century, the mental attitude and perception of Prussia as a sacral landscape finds its roots in the thirteenth century.

¹² The Order was expected to accommodate pilgrims and the poor. This goes back to its *Rule*. See *SDO*, p. 25 (*Prologue*, 4): “sunt eciam caritatis beneficiis affluentes hospitem peregrinorum et pauperum receptores”; “Sie sint ouch vonubervluziger mine entphêhere der geste unde der pilgerîne unde der armen lûte.”

The chroniclers' descriptions of the landscape and the conquest period employ formulaic language, charged depictions of war, and emphasise 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 legitimising the Order's mission and its territory.¹³ 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 4). The second layer is displayed in the hierophanic events (Map 5), followed by what becomes a standardised *pilgrimage route* in the region (Map 6).

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 13th century. This applied to both Livonia and Prussia, presenting the case for further examining parallels in the crusade ideology for both regions. Furthermore, this approach has highlighted the potential for using theoretical models concerning place, landscape, and how people of the past viewed their world, to the medieval Baltic. Future studies utilising 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.

Reynolds has situated the concept of pilgrimage in the Baltic and its conversion-oriented nature.¹⁴ His work has argued for the development of pilgrimage shrines for future crusaders,

¹³ Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma Spiritualia*, p. 21; Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, p. 89; *PDC*, p. 28.

¹⁴ See Reynolds, *Prehistory of the Crusades*, pp. 154-55.

and the present thesis builds off of this to consider its implications on a broader chronological and thematic scale. Qualitative GIS visually displayed the connection between events linked to pilgrimage practices, martyrdom, and miraculous vision, there is a more nuanced version of the pilgrimage landscape.¹⁵ 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.

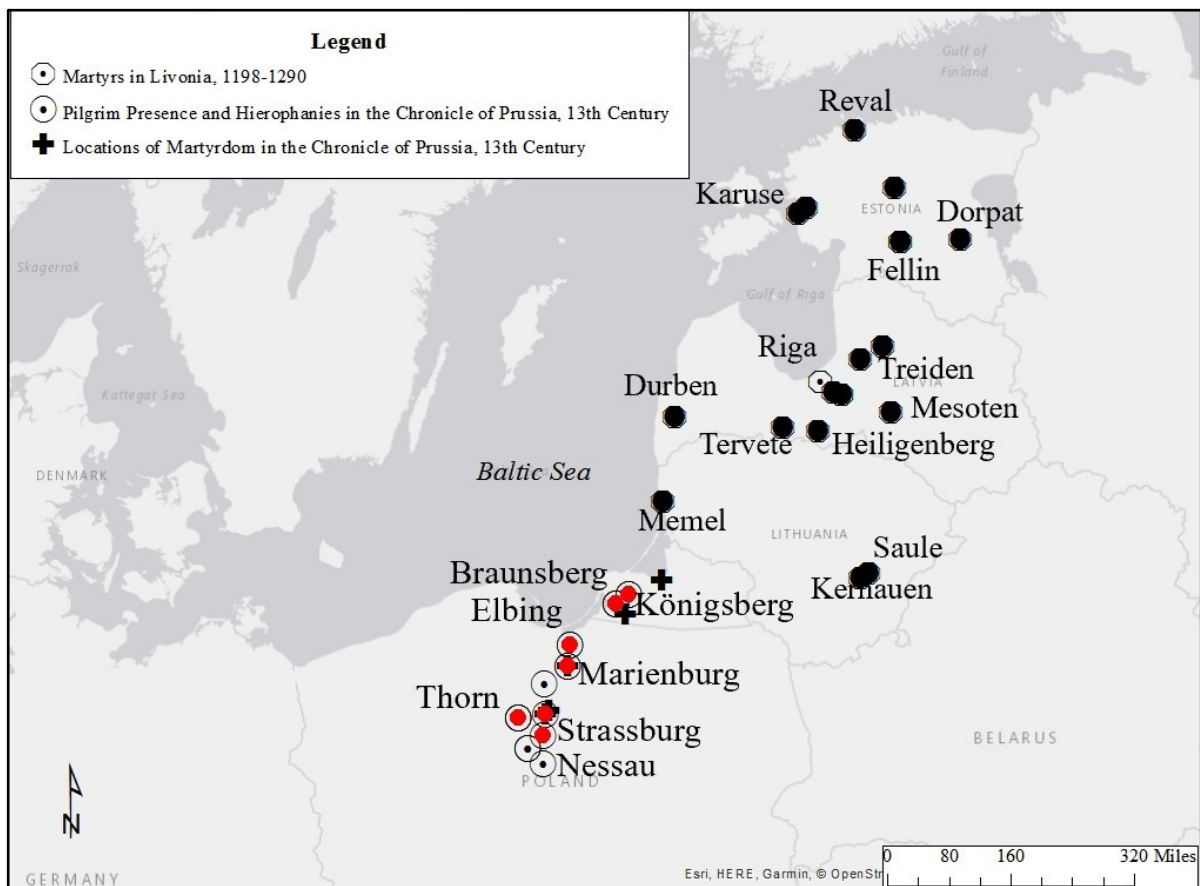
Chroniclers used physical and spiritual interactions with this landscape in their accounts of pilgrimage and martyrdom, creating an iconographic landscape in their accounts of the history of the Baltic region. The geographies constructed in Livonia and Prussia defined by the connection contemporaries 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 memorialise the wars of the Teutonic Order, such as Guillibert de Lannoy and Anna, Princess of Lithuania, discussed below in Chapter 4.¹⁶

Two main implications of the present section involve the use of Geographical Information Systems in its analysis of how martyrdom and hierophantic events reflect the concepts of landscape and the ideology of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. This is reflected in the map below (Map 5). It provides not just an analysis of the literary and ideological elements expressed in the texts, 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 provides a new framework for considering the *signa et mirabilia* that serve to frame the entire outlook of Peter of Dusburg's chronicle. Moreover, it also reflects the significance of events perceived to be sacred ones (i.e. martyrdoms) in shaping a sense of place

¹⁵ Chapter 3, pp. 143-96.

¹⁶ *SRP* 3, p. 238, recounts the pilgrimage of Princess Anna in 1400; also see below, Chapter 4.

and landscape amongst contemporaries. In Prussia especially, the main cities of the Teutonic Order were, as the present section shows, tied to key events that shaped the Order's identity in Prussia: namely the martyrdom of crusaders and brothers in the Order during the early conquest period. 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.



Map 7. Martyrdom and Hierophanies along the Main Pilgrimage Routes in Livonia and Prussia, 13th Century. Bold dot = martyrdom or hierophany.

2.4: Martyrdom and Hierophantic Acts on the *Reisen*: Continuities and Change

To what extent were martyrdom and hierophantic acts factors in the development of a sacral landscape in 14th-century Prussia, when the concepts surrounding holy war and its manifestation in this region underwent pivotal changes? Similar to Chapter 1 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 to the thirteenth-century expeditions. However, there are some examples to demonstrate that martyrdom and hierophantic acts had an effect in shaping perceptions of landscape in the fourteenth-century Baltic.

The dedication of Königsberg cathedral in January of 1302 demonstrates the early connection of martyrdom to landscape sacralisation in the fourteenth century, at least within the ranks of the Teutonic Order. The cathedral was dedicated to Adalbert of Prague, who ‘through spreading his precious blood in preaching the Christian faith, truly consecrated our diocese.’¹ In light of section 1 above, there appears a link between the earliest missions to Prussia and the later, chivalric-oriented crusades of the fourteenth century. In this example, at least, an understanding of Adalbert’s martyrdom, and its connection to the Order’s land in Sambia, is quite clear.

However, the shift in conceptions of holy war and its relationship to landscape sacralisation is blurry, evinced the apparent lack of martyrdoms and hierophanies present in the sources describing the *Reisen*. There are three examples of battles recorded in the Order’s chronicles that offer examples, but these should be regarded as exceptions. These are the accounts for the

¹ *UB Samland*, vol. 2, p. 108 (no. 200): ‘...domus dei nominis erigendus ad honorem sancti martiris et pontificis Adalberti, cuius suffragiis innitimur, et eundum patronum assumimus, non indigne eius, quo q̄pud deum habet, meritis recensitis, nostre enim dyocesis terram Sambiam in predicacione fidei christiane per martyrium aspersione preciosi sui sanguinis consecravit.’

Battle of Streba (1348), the Siege of Kaunas (1362), and the Battle of Rudau (1370), all of which were recorded in the chronicle of Wigand of Marburg. These three events were deemed miraculous, or hierophantic, and 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 (1348) attributes the victory to the Virgin Mary. In one of the surviving Middle High German fragments of the chronicle, it states that it is from Mary that the help in the battle came (*ir hulfe allir meist / ist von Marien komen*).² An earlier account of the battle from 1350 preserved in Voigt's *Codex diplomaticus Prussicus* mentions the Lord and Virgin Mary "fighting before the crusaders" (*der herre und seine gebenedeite gepererin Jungfrau Marie vor sie fechtende*).³ According to this letter, the army, "a great force of Christians" (*grosse heer der Christen*) was on campaign in Lithuania to "avenge the crucified one" (*zu rechen die schmach des gekreuzigten*).⁴ The language and imagery in these sources describing the victory shows both the continued sacralization of the conflict in some sources for the *Reisen*, in addition to the creation of pilgrimage shrines supported by pilgrim-crusaders throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth century.

With respect to these campaigns and their relation to landscape sacralisation, there continued to be the practice of constructing sacral buildings to give thanks to God and the Virgin. 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 other at Löbenicht, an area of Königsberg. It certainly appears that the monastery at Löbenicht received donations from crusaders who came

² Wigand, p. 512.

³ *CDP*, vol. 3, pp. 80-1 (no. 58).

⁴ Ibid: "Sein die wirdigen menner bruder Seifrid von Tannfelt desselben heyiligen Ordens Oberster Marschalk, bruder weinrich von Kniprode groskumptur und bruder Ludwig von Wulkenbruch oberster Trappier *bewegt worden zu rechen die schmach des gekreuzigten und mit grossem heer der Christen in das Land Litten...sieben tage verwüstende.*"

to Prussia on the *Reisen*, evinced in its foundation charter that the monastic community there was to be supported by ‘alms, from the good people’ (*von gutter luthelmozen*).⁵ In 1408, there is a record of an offering made ‘to the nuns in Königsberg’ (*den juncfrauwen zu Konigsberg*), which could be a reference to the Löbenicht monastery.⁶ The 1350 account of the Battle of Streba also notes that, in the monastery at Löbenicht, there was an altar to the Holy Cross, perhaps indicating that guests and crusaders would visit the place to commemorate the battle as a sacral event.⁷

The Siege of Kaunas in 1362 is a good example relating tasks to place in the frontier zone of Lithuania and how the later chronicle evidence commemorated events in sacral terms. Wigand’s account provides a relevant example to this connection as reflected by an associate of the Teutonic Order, and his account served as the main source for later texts, like the *ältere Hochmeisterchronik* (1440). The expedition took place in 1362, at the time of Easter (18 April).⁸ In his record of the siege there are various instances of dialogue between Winrich von Kniprode and the Lithuanian prince, Kęstutis, which have been analysed in light of the ideological programme of the Order’s crusades at this time by Krzysztof Kwiatkowski. The speech in Wigand’s chronicle 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 and is connected to a specific point in the landscape.⁹

⁵ *UB Samland*, 2, pp. 268-69 (no. 383).

⁶ *Marienburger Tresslerbuch*, p. 490: “Her Arnolt... ½ fird. *den juncfrauwen zu Konigsberg*.” This entry was made in 1408.

⁷ *CDP* 3, p. 81 (no. 58): “...und alda ist auch die Eptissin zu ewigem dinst gottis geweyhet worden, sampt zweien altaren, der erste gegen Mittnacht zu ehren S. Catherin, Sanct Margareth und der XI^m maid, *der ander gegen Mittag zu ehren dem heyligen Creutz*.”

⁸ Wigand, pp. 531-39, relates the preparations for and the siege of Kaunas.

⁹ Kwiatkowski, ‘*Christ ist erstanden...and Christians win! Liturgy and the sacralisation of armed fight against pagans as determinants of the identity of the members of the Teutonic Order in Prussia*’, *SSSTOP*, p. 109. See Wigand, p. 535, where Winrich says “we trust in our God, that you shall not be able to protect nor defend

After this speech, there are further reinforcing elements to cement the miraculous nature of the battle to the landscape. For example, Wigand frames the events in the light of Christ's passion, for the siege took place on Easter and, therefore, became a sacral event in itself.¹⁰ 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, and a mass officiated by the bishop of Sambia took place, thus sacralising the event through the celebration of Easter Mass.¹¹ Wigand's commemoration of the event, over 30 years after it occurred, reflects the memorialisation of this victory and thus places Kaunas in a context to support the Order's sacred history in Prussia. Specifically, the victory at Kaunas represented 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 composed of pilgrims and new converts, showing the popularity and religious perception of the wars to warriors outside of the Teutonic Order.¹²

We can also further consider Wigand's account of the siege as an aid in understanding the sacralisation of the conflict present in the surviving Middle High German fragments of the chronicle. The possible Biblical parallels reinforce the Order's crusade ideology present in the later texts documenting the *Reisen*. In describing the crusader army at Kaunas, Wigand records an exchange between Winrich von Kniprode and Kynstut, in which both offer fighting words

yourselves against this trust" (*Speramus enim in Domino, quod non poteritis eam protegere nec retinere*) This is a rare example of Wigand's text that includes the original Middle High German: *Wir trûwen gote, unserm hern, / daz irz nicht kennet erwern vor unseren gewalten.*"

¹⁰ Wigand, p. 536: "carpentarius, rector operis, levavit eam ad casum particulatim ad domum, nec poterant exire propter acervum petrarum muri et structure, que adeo arsit, quod nec extingui poterat a paganis, quum Dominus forte voluit, *ut sic ea die morentur, qua Christus pro nobis passus est.*"

¹¹ Ibid: "unde christiani ceperunt letanter cantare hoc laudabile carmen in vulgari: Cristus surrexit, concludentes in vulgari: nos omnes volumus letari, pagani sunt in omnia pena, kirieleison...In die pasche mane convenient ad missam, quam celebravit dominus Bartolomeus, et fit sermo ad populum et hortatur ad laudam divinam, cantantes more solito illius festi in magna letitia. Indulgentie quoque ordinis sunt pronunciate et communicantur, suscipientes ab episcopo benedictionem."

¹² Kwiatkowski, 'Christ ist erstanden...and Christians win!', p. 116.

to one another. Wigand has Winrich including the phrase ‘to shake the earth’ (*zur erden wegen*) in his record of an exchange between the Grand Master and Kynstut of Lithuania. 1 Maccabees 9:13, presents a similar account of Judas Maccabeus’ final battle, where ‘the earth shook’ (*commota est terra*).¹³ 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.¹⁴

Though there are only two of these links, it should be noted that Wigand’s text survives in only nine original Middle High German fragments. The rest of the text is a translation, but there could have been other parallels in the lost parts of the text. The potential links to such pivotal features of crusade ideology in this late text demonstrates the importance of studying sacral elements of the *Reisen*. Wigand, the authoritative account of the expeditions, appears to have framed them in sacralised terms.

The Battle of Rudau (17 February, 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 and of ‘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 sacralisation we can take the example of Henning Schindekopf, the marshal of the Order, who

¹³ Wigand, p. 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 1 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.”

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 470 (Fragment 1): ‘zog er mit eime here grôz...obir daz wazzer Driwanze / als eine sunne glanze.’ See 1 Maccabees 6.39.

died in battle. According to Wigand's account, Henning was killed along with a hundred men.¹⁵ To commemorate the victory, Winrich von Kniprode had a monastery constructed at Heiligenbeil (Mamnovo).¹⁶

There was also a shrine to Henning at the nearby church of Quendau (Severnaya Gora), which had been known since Ottokar II's conquests in Sambia.¹⁷ This shrine consisted of the fallen marshal's armour, which was placed in Quednau Church, indicating that Henning was commemorated and possibly venerated by the local Christian population.¹⁸ Parish churches in Prussia were visited by both guests on the *Reisen* and used by the local population, demonstrated in the work of Christofer Herrmann, who has examined the intense spiritual lives of the local Christian population in Prussia.¹⁹ We know from later examples the commemoration of members in the Order, oftentimes by a candle or lamp in a church. Such examples can be found in the *Marienburger Tresslerbuch* for the Grand Masters of the Order buried in Marienwerder, or the monument and flame kept for Luder of Brunswick in Königsberg cathedral.²⁰

Commemorative acts undertaken by participants on the *Reisen* allow for some inferences with respect to how they understood the relationship of their campaigns as elements in

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 566: 'In quo conflictu xxvi fratres sunt occisi et 100 viri, signanter Scindecop marschalkus, Kun de Hattensteyn, Hinricus de Stochem commendator et vicecommendator, frater Petzolt de Korwitz et plures alii, qui a multis sepcialiter conquerulabantur.'

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 568.

¹⁷ PDC, p. 192 (3.71).

¹⁸ This tradition is preserved in Lucas David's *Preussische Chronik* (c. 1575). See Ernst Hennig (ed.), *Lucas David's Preussische Chronik*, vol. 7 (Königsberg: Hartnung, 1815), pp. 87-9.

¹⁹ Herrmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur in Preußenland*, pp. 210-14. Also see pp. 224-25. For the use of churches by guests on the *Reisen*, see Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1, pp. 305-09.

²⁰ For example, see *MT*, p. 312: '22 1/2 m vor 18 steyne wachs zu unsers homeisters lichte den thumherren zu Marienwerder gegeben'; p. 428: '2 1/2 m vor 2 steyne wachs zu unsers homeisters beygraft, dem got gnade'; pp. 535-536: '1 m. 4 scot vor 1 steyn wachs, als man den alden meyster seliger gedechtnisse her Cunrad von Jungingen beging.' Conrad von Jungingen also had a lamp to commemorate his death at the Battle of Tannenberg in the cathedral of Culmsee, see *Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Culm 1: Das Bisthum Culm unter dem Deutschen Orden, 1246-1466*, ed. by Carl Peter Woelky (Danzig: Theodor Bertling, 1885), pp. 411-12 (no. 511). For Luder's monument, see 'Annales expeditialis Prussici', pp. 10-11; Wigand, p. 487.

sacralising the landscape through martyrdom. This is particularly true when we consider almsgiving by prominent crusaders in Lithuania. While the examples above concerning the commemoration of the dead explicitly involves members of the Teutonic Order, there are examples of fallen crusaders receiving commemoration 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’ (*mortuus in itineragio Prussiae*).²¹ Werner Paravicini notes that William of Holland, in 1344, lit a candle to honour John in Thorn (*tofferen...doe men s graüen wtüaert van Namen*).²² Perhaps this commemoration was the product of a vow that William took before departing.

The burials in Königsberg cathedral of knights who fought in Lithuania provide insight into the views of contemporaries who took part on the expeditions. Paravicini and others have analysed these burials.²³ A charter issued by the cathedral chapter of Königsberg in 1333 stipulates that the faithful departed be commemorated every year.²⁴ This certainly applies to participants on the *Reisen*, who heard masses while on campaigns, one example being William IV of Holland, who heard a mass in the St George church in Königsberg in 1344.²⁵ While the charter does not mention that *visual* monuments be part of this commemoration, we know

²¹ See M. Galliot, *Histoire Générale, ecclésiastique et civile, de la Ville et Province de Namur*, vol. 2 (Liège, 1784), p. 18; *SRP* 2, p. 784 (taken from *Annales Mosomagenses*, SS 3, p. 160): “1335. Eodem anno *defunctus est in Prucia* Johannes comes Namurcensis et nobilissimus homo, potens in armis.”

²² Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1, p. 74. Also see *SRP* 2, p. 744: ‘It. des selfs daghes aldaer ten minderbroederen minin heer tofferen bi Jan van Consore, *doe men s graüen wtüaert van Namen*.’

²³ Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 2, p. 120. Also see Tadeusz Jurkowlaniec, ‘Mittelalterliche Grabdenkmäler in Preußen’, in *Ecclesiae Ornatae: Kirchengestaltungen des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit zwischen Denkmalwert und Funktionalität*, ed. by Gerhard Eimer (Bonn: Kulturstiftung der Deutschen Vertriebenen, 2009), pp. 177-219, especially p. 192.

²⁴ *UB Samland*, 2, p. 215 (no. 283).

²⁵ *SRP* 2, p. 745: ‘II. die hi omme gode gaf bi mins heren beüelen v peen tijt, *doe mijn here te sente Jorion misse hoerde ii ghulden*.’

crusaders donated to have their monuments placed in the cathedral. William IV donated money for the construction of the cathedral on his *Reise*, too.²⁶

Some crusaders wished to have their burial in Königsberg, should they die in battle fighting the heathen. 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.²⁷ He also made an offering to the cloister at Braunsberg, an example that this practice may not have been limited to Königsberg.²⁸ Timothy Guard has considered the concept of dying in Lithuania as a martyr amongst the English nobility, indicating the popularity of the campaigns as requisites for heavenly salvation.²⁹ Henry Bolingbroke (Henry IV of England), commemorated a fallen crusader in Königsberg cathedral in 1391, on his ‘sacred pilgrimage’ (*peregrinatio sancta*).³⁰ Almsgiving and commemoration of fallen crusaders thus qualifies as a task of those who participated on the *Reisen*.

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.³¹ Still, the

²⁶ Ibid, p. 756.

²⁷ SRP 2, p. 768: “Item tot monster 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.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 776: “Item den Jacopinen *te Bruunsberghe* ghegheuen hoer cloester mede te doen timmeren ij marc facit iij Dordr. ghulden xxiiij gr.” My italics.

²⁹ Timothy Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and the Crusade*, pp. 144-58.

³⁰ SRP 2, p. 792: ‘Elemosynam...*pro quodam Duchmann defuncto apud Conyngb. in oblatione domini.*’ This excerpt was taken from the account of Richard Kingston, who participated on the *Reise*. See ‘Zur Geschichte der Preussenfahrt des Grafen Heinrich Derby in den Jahren 1390 und 1391’, ed. by Theodor Hirsch, SRP 2, pp. 788-96.

³¹ See Christopher J. Knüsel et al., ‘The Identity of the St Bees Lady, Cumbria: An Osteobiographical Approach’, *Medieval Archaeology* 54 (2010): pp. 271-311.

popularity of Königsberg as a place for pilgrims on the *Reisen* to gather suggests that, in fact, there was 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 relics of martyr saints also help to illustrate the conception of martyrdom in fourteenth-century Prussia. The Teutonic Order’s inventories from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries show that, in many centres visited by crusaders on the *Reisen*, there were kept relics of saints associated with the martyr’s death. 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*).³² Other martyr saint relics included those of St Euphemia, St Katherine, St Barbara, St Victor, St Christina, and St Sebastian.³³ We know that William IV visited the relics of St Katherine, which he made an offering to in 1344.³⁴ 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 would journey there to venerate a relic of the True Cross.³⁵ Indeed, the presence of these structures and objects in the Prussian landscape cement that there was 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.

³² See *MÄ*, p. 124, and p. 129. This inventory was taken in 1394.

³³ See *GÄ*, p. 481 (*I capud Enfemie cum corona*, recorded in Nessau, 1416); p. 328 (*I monstrancie send Katherinen*, kept in Osterode, 1411); p. 704 (*Barbare gesbytczte bilde mite rem heilighum*, kept in Danzig, 1428); p. 434 (*I silberyn sancti Victoris*, kept in Thorn, 1413); p. 600 (*I houpt de sancta Cristina*, kept in Graudenz, 1413); and p. 308 (*I silberyn monstrancie cum reliquiis sancti Sebastiani*, kept in Memel, 1420). There is a full table of the relics kept in the Order’s Prussian commanderies below.

³⁴ *SRP* 2, p. 745: ‘...die hie minen here gheleent hadde tofferen t sinte Katherinen eenen scilt, val. xviii grote.’

³⁵ For example, see Johannes Voigt, *Geschichte Marienburgs*, pp. 536-37. Also see Rainer Zacharias, ‘Die Reliquienwallfahrt zur Hochmeisterresidenz Marienburg’, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Erlmands* 50 (2002): pp. 11-35.

Banners and standards are a main element of the chronicles documenting the *Reisen* and served a variety of practical and ideological functions. They served as rallying points in battle, but also provide the opportunity to ask deeper questions about the ideology of the wars, and the perception of the campaigns ‘in the Wilderness’ relative to landscape sacralisation. 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.³⁶ However, the veneration of George as a martyr can also allow us to gain insight into martyrdom on the *Reisen*. For example, some participants took their vow to go to Prussia in honour of St George and the Virgin Mary, such as William of Guelders in 1389.³⁷ Others were distinguished by carrying the banner of St George in battle. 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.³⁸

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 formed a component of the task of some crusaders who chose to visit those shrines and deserves specific consideration with respect to the role of crusading in the development of sense of ‘place’ in the medieval Baltic, as I will now outline. Wigand of Marburg, 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

³⁶ Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 2, pp. 139-52. Also see Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, pp. 22-6, for the popularity of St George in the Teutonic Order and his function in the Order’s ideology.

³⁷ *Gedenkwaardigheden uit de Geschiedenis van Gelderland*, ed. by Isaak Anne Nijhoff, vol. 3 (Arnhem: Nijhoff, 1839), p. 153 (no. 141): ‘Hertoge van Gelre ind greue van Zutphen...yn die eer Godis ende des heiligen ridders sente Georgijs, in Pruyssen soilen riden.’

³⁸ *UB Samland*, vol. 2, pp. 220-21 (no. 295), and p.

processions, and fighting under the banner of the Virgin.³⁹ Knights coming to Prussia would do this as a component of other pilgrimages, or returning from one. The *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* describes Conrad of Richarszdorf, who came to Prussia on two occasions in 1385 and in 1391. He was noted for his journey to Jerusalem and embracement of all the chivalric virtues of his day (*Der waz der gepreiseste in ritterlichen gescheften*).⁴⁰

These aspects serve as examples of the Order's self-understanding in the late fourteenth century, in addition to the self-understanding of the pilgrims, of which the war against the heathen formed a crucial part.⁴¹ Wigand used it to commemorate the Order's grand masters, the struggle of Christianity against the heathen, and to appeal to a knightly audience.⁴² 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."⁴³ A following charter fragment,

³⁹ Wigand, p. 454-55, 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. Also see p. 488, noting the *Reise* of 1336, states that Master Dietrich of Altenburg (d. 1341) led a campaign "on Sunday" (*in dominica reminiscere*); and p. 536, recounting the Siege of Kaunas in 1362.

⁴⁰ *ÄH*, p. 620: "*Der was der gepreiseste in ritterlichen gescheften, wen her was obir lant gerethen zcu dem heiligen grabe.*"

⁴¹ See Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, 'Die Selbstdarstellung des Deutschen Ordens in der *Chronik* Wigands von Marburg', *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis*, pp. 127-38.

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 129, p. 130 discuss the connection of the chronicle to memory and to the *Kriegsgäste*.

⁴³ *TOT*, no. 210 (pp. 201-02): "Nam novissimis istis temporibus illustris princeps patruelis noster dilectus, Henricus, dux Bawarie, egregias edificorum iuncturas in infidelium Lytwinorum regionibus...utpote castrum

on the making of treaties, issued in 1338, makes a specific reference to “the pilgrimage against the Lithuanians” (*via peregrinationis contra Lythwanos*).⁴⁴

War and chivalric elements of knighthood certainly applied to those going to Prussia, but the spiritual elements and language in these accounts reflects 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, the present section observes some of the changes and continuities with respect to the landscape sacralisation 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, fought in Lithuania in 1356 ‘to serve our Lady’ (*ze dīnest unser vrauen*).⁴⁵ The company of Albert III of Austria, in 1377, was knighted for fighting ‘for the love of noble Christianity and Mary’.⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷

Summary

Martyrdom and hierohpanic acts were a key element of the landscape sacralisation 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

capitale tocus 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.*”

⁴⁴ Ibid, no. 212 (p. 204).

⁴⁵ SRP 2, p. 159: “In Preuzzenlant mit wernder tât / *lie sich der edel schauen / ze dīnest unser vrauen / mit chunig, mit grâven hōchgeporn / Vreien, dinstman auzerhorn, / mit ritter, chnechten mûtes reich.*”

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 165: “Der fūrst 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 werden und zu êren.*”

⁴⁷ For a general overview of the rise of the Marian cult in the West, see Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Europe*, pp. 76-8.

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 sacralise 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 such as 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. This, too, was reflected in a more physical element to show the perception of a new sacral landscape: the construction of churches and monasteries in remembrance of the event. As we see in the coming chapter, objects housed in these structures, namely relics, were key in the landscape sacralisation process, too.

Chapter 3: Relics, Processions, and Sacred Landscape in the Baltic, 13th – 14th Century

The physical act of martyrdom was used in the chronicles of the Baltic crusades as a legitimisation factor to reflect the process of landscape sacralization. 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. Relics, as sacred objects, were intermediaries between the earthly and spiritual world. Their presence demarcated a sacral space in the landscape, for they were often invoked for cures to ailments, and believed to hold miraculous properties.¹ The veneration of relics increased with the rise of the crusading movement, evinced by the common practice of crusaders bringing relics home with them from their expeditions. This illustrates the connection between crusading as not just an act of war, but also one of pilgrimage.² In bringing relics back, participants reflected the spiritual nature of their mission.

Landscape and place were connected to relics as well, particularly with respect to the crusades. As we will see, relics served as a connection to the Holy Land itself, thus linking the places where they were brought in Europe with the land in which Christ walked.³ In a letter of countess Clementia of Flanders, dated to October of 1097, she describes the acquisition of relics by her husband, Robert II (d. 1111), whilst he was in Apulia.⁴ In sending the relics to his county, Robert reflected his piety and the holiness of his status as a crusader. This example

¹ Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 32-3; Alan V. Murray, 'Sacred Space and Strategic Geography', *SSSTOP*, pp. 14-15.

² Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, p. 92; Anne E. Lester, 'Remembrance of Things Past. Memory and material objects in the time of the Crusades, 1095-1291', in *Remembering the Crusades and Crusading*, pp. 73-94. Also see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: Continuum, 2003), pp. 94-5.

³ Megan Cassidy-Welch, 'Remembering in the Time of the Crusades', in *Remembering the Crusades and Crusading*, p. 7.

⁴ Hagenmeyer, *Epistolae et chartae*, pp. 142-43 (no. 7).

shows that the importance of relics to the crusading experience, and the awareness of a sacrality to the expeditions.

Relics were portable and transferrable, and they often have a 'lineage' of where they were held.⁵ One could take the relics of St Isidore of Seville (d. 636) in Spain, which were transported from Seville to León in a great procession, thus marking the creation of his cult in León.⁶ The portable nature of relics reflects the concept of transferable holiness, which has a long tradition in medieval Christianity.⁷ Relics could speak to people, as we will see in this chapter, and express their desire to be taken to a more proper place. These factors all provide significant material to assess the process of landscape sacralisation on a physical level, as opposed to literary themes or acts such as martyrdom.

In the Baltic, a place with no Christian shrines, crusaders brought relics along with them on their expeditions. Given this function of relics as moveable, holy objects, the present chapter will discuss the effects of relics on creating a new sacral landscape in Livonia and Prussia. The presence of relics and their function in processions, which were essential components to the crusading experience in the Baltic, gave rise to a specific understanding of how to sacralise the landscape (in this case, through engaging in pilgrimage acts). Through their importation to the region and the development of specific cults, namely that of the True Cross, a pilgrimage geography emerged that allowed crusaders to express their piety whilst carrying out the war-oriented pilgrimage that defined crusading in the Baltic. The present chapter will discuss the nature and functions of relics in the medieval Baltic in the thirteenth and fourteenth century to demonstrate their role in sacralising the landscape.

⁵ For example, see Cynthia Hahn, 'What Do Reliquaries Do for Relics?' *Numen* 57, vol. 3/4 (2010): pp. 284-316.

⁶ See Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel, *San Isidoro de Sevilla. Su vida, su obra y su tiempo*, 3rd edn. (León: Publications of the University of León, 1995), pp. 271-84, especially pp. 274-76 for the translation of St Isidore's relics. The reliquary which carried his body is still visible today in the *Basílica de San Isidoro* in León.

⁷ See Dyas, 'To Be a Pilgrim', p. 2.

3.1: Relics in Livonia and Prussia during the Crusades in the 13th Century.

The earliest mention of relics connected to crusading in the Baltic comes from Henry of Livonia's account of the year 1203. That summer, Bishop Albert of Livonia arrived in the city of Riga with pilgrims (*peregrini*). While the use of *peregrini* to describe crusaders was common and not necessarily exclusive to those going on unarmed pilgrimage, this early instance demonstrates a more nuanced understanding of 'pilgrimage' on the basis of relics.⁸ Having battled with the Estonians on their way across the sea from the island of Gotland, the party arrived in Riga and the citizens came out to them with relics (*cum reliquis...suscipiunt*).⁹ Henry does not name the relics specifically, so it is not possible to determine to which saint they belonged. He does that earlier that year, a 'book in the hand of Gregory the Great' (*biblioteca beati Gregorii pape manu scripta*) was given to the Livonian chief and convert, Caupo, after his visit to Rome.¹⁰ The relic as a sacral object was thus an important component to welcoming the annual arrivals of pilgrims in Riga, and forms an element of the se;-representation of crusaders in the region viewed as a sacred landscape.

The annual arrivals of crusaders in Riga is one of the ways that Henry divided his chronicle and reflects his understanding of time, space, and place: Livonia was a land of pilgrimage and under the patronage of God and the Virgin Mary.¹¹ Therefore, the arrival of pilgrims was a sign of support and zeal for the mission, meriting the display of the most sacred objects in the new Christian landscape, such as relics. Given Henry's religious training and his enthusiasm for the mission in Livonia, his text is a rich resource for understanding the relationship between relics

⁸ Léan Ní Chléirigh, 'Nova peregrinatio', pp. 69-72.

⁹ *HCL*, p. 20 (7.2): "De quorum adventu cives et alii in Riga morantes valde gavisii obviam eis exeunt et cum reliquiis...suscipiunt."

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 21 (7.4)

¹¹ Paul Johansen, 'Die Chronik als Biographie. Heinrich von Lettlands Lebensgang und Weltanschauung', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 1 (1953): pp. 1-24.

as sacral objects and Livonia as a sacral landscape.¹² They form a central component to reflecting the evolution of the annual campaigns in the region from strictly armed expeditions to sacralising events that included specific rituals (discussed below in Section 2). From this early entry of 1203, we see that relics and sacral objects were a part of the ceremonial aspect of crusading in Livonia. Henry records about 20 pilgrim arrivals in Riga, and the language that he uses is formulaic enough to suggest the adoration of relics each time crusaders were received into the city.

Narrative evidence is not the only body of sources to examine the function of relics in the thirteenth-century eastern Baltic. Charter evidence confirms the presence of relics and relic ceremonies, too, providing further ground to examine the presence of relics from an early stage in the conquest period. We know from a charter of 1211 that confirmed the foundation of St Mary's church outside of the city walls of Riga that relics played a key role in delineating sacred places in the landscape.¹³ On the feast of St James (25 July), one day after the martyrdom of Berthold in 1198, Bishop Albert led the people in a procession with relics (*cum reliquis*) to a designated place for the consecration of the church.¹⁴ The party then 'consecrated the place to the blessed Virgin Mary' (*consecrantes eundem locum beatae virgini Mariae*).¹⁵ The procession and the presence of the relics demonstrate that, even in the early conquest period in Livonia, there was a clear understanding of sacral and profane space amongst contemporaries,

¹² Ibid, pp. 19-20.

¹³ See Wilhelm Heine, 'Hagiologisches aus Alt-Livland. Studien und Analekten zur Geschichte der Heiligenverehrung in Liv-, Est- und Kurland vom Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts bis auf Gegenwart von einem Livländer', *Der Katholik: Zeitschrift für Katholische Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben* 27, no. 2 (1903): pp. 219-20, for the popularity of St James/Jacob in Livonian churches.

¹⁴ *LECUB* 1, 1.21, col. 29: "On the Day of St Jacob the Apostle, led by the priests, we proceeded, holding relics and crosses (*cum reliquis et crucibus*)...to a place outside of the city walls where the Livs had a settlement. By common consent of the parties involved (*cum consensu omnium eligentes*) we consecrated the place to the blessed Virgin Mary and the cathedral church."

¹⁵ Ibid.

and relics were key in this separation.¹⁶ This solidifies the status of relics as an essential element to the experience of crusading in the eastern Baltic in the thirteenth century.

The importance of relics also brings into question the extent to which crusading in the Baltic was a form of traditional pilgrimage, or was just an adaptation of crusade terminology, since texts from both Livonia and Prussia refer to participants as ‘pilgrims’ (*peregrini*). This example from the charter describing the foundation of the Riga Cathedral indicates that relics and relic veneration were a part of the experience of crusading in the ‘barbarous land’ (*terra barbara*) of Livonia. The witnesses of the foundation charter included the church officials of the city of Riga, but also pilgrims (*peregrini*).¹⁷ Later, a relic of the True Cross was placed in Riga cathedral, the main destination for the crusader’s pilgrimage to Livonia in the thirteenth century. It is likely that this was in the cathedral since the thirteenth century, since it was at this time, as we saw above in Chapter 2, that Berthold of Loccum’s grave was moved to the cathedral.¹⁸ Clearly, there was an adaptation of language, but to ignore the pilgrimage aspect of crusading in the Baltic leads to an oversimplification of the experience of those who took part in the wars. We can study this further in the Teutonic Order’s Prussian territories during the thirteenth century, where the study of relics leads to a clearer understanding of crusade as pilgrimage in the southern Baltic.

In medieval Prussia there were indeed parallels to Livonia, particularly in the thirteenth century, with respect to relics and their sacralising functions. While the Piasts associated the

¹⁶ Ibid. The charter specifically records that there was a ‘solemn procession’ (*solemni processio*).

¹⁷ Ibid: ‘Testes sunt: Iohannes praepositus Rigensis...et totus conventus (*peregrinorum, Iohannes de Branstorp, Hermannus de Molve, Theodoricus Wrot, Walterus quondam dapifer, Philippus advocatus, Iordanus, Albertus et alii quam plures cives et peregrini.*’ My italics.

¹⁸ See Hermann von Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, pp. 27-8. Also see LECUB 4 (Dorpat: 1859), p. 28. Also see Idem, ‘Die Altäre der Domkirche zu Riga im Mittelalter’, *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands aus dem Jahre 1901* (Riga, 1902), pp. 11-3, which outlines the importance of the Holy Cross altars in medieval churches, and then specifically its history in the Riga cathedral.

relics of St Adalbert of Prague with their holy wars against the Prussians, and St Otto of Bamberg likely took relics with him on his preaching missions in Pomerania, the Teutonic Order was by far the most significant agent in bringing relics into the region and regulating the veneration of them by the population and crusaders alike.¹⁹ The relics brought in by the Order were directly related to crusading in the Holy Land, thus reframing the brothers' wars in Prussia along the lines of a continuous crusading ideology, as opposed to the regional significance of Adalbert's relics. The most obvious example of this favour directed at 'Holy Land relics' is reflected in Frederick II's gift to the Order's headquarters at Elbing of 'a great piece of the True Cross' (*magna pars sancta crucis*), which is discussed in further detail in Section 3 below.²⁰ The Order used the Cross Relic to link its Prussian wars with the Holy Land. In terms of pilgrimage, those who went to Prussia on crusade and venerated the relic thus took part in this linking of crusade theatres, but also landscapes.

Other relics played a significant role, too, in generating a sacral landscape in Prussia. On Ottokar II's crusade to Prussia in 1254/55, he brought along the relics of St Hedwig of Silesia (d. 1243), a local saint who was venerated heavily in that region. Though the passage is unclear, it does state that before he "departed for Prussia" (*gen Priuzen...rîten*) the pope gave Ottokar two relics: "a head" and "an arm" (*houbt; irm gebeine*).²¹ What is unclear is whether he took them with all of the way with him on his journey. If he did, this indicates the possibility that there could well have been a developing pilgrimage network to Prussia. Ottokar's journey is traced below (3.2, Map 6), but for the time being the importance of relics to sacralising landscape is the focus. It shows the concept of pilgrimage *to* a land with few Christian sites

¹⁹ For example, see Darius von Güttner-Sporzyński, *Poland, Holy War, and the Piast Monarchy*, pp. 77-107.

²⁰ *PDC*, p. 52 (1.5); *PrUB* 1.1, pp. 76-7 (no. 103).

²¹ *Ottokars österreichisches Reimchronik*, vol. 1, ed. by Joseph Seemüller, *MGH Dt. Chron.*, 5.1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1890), p. 127 (lines 9595-9608): 'dô der bâbest het erloubt, / daz man sant Hedwigen houbt, / daz heilic und daz reine, / mit anderm irm gebeine / solde phlanzen und erheben.' See below, p. 112.

nevertheless included practices that sacralised the journey and reflected contemporary perceptions of the journey as a holy one.

For crusaders and pilgrims going to Prussia, relics were the physical embodiment of their mission in the wars against pagans. Relics not only served to show God's intercession in daily life, or to provide a connection between man on earth and the saints. In Prussia, they linked a physical spot in the landscape to the divine by their very presence there. As Patrick Geary argues, this only occurred if the communities who adored those relics gave specific religious values to them.²² Recent work by Maria Starnawska shows the relevance of holy objects to forming community identity.²³ In the case of the Teutonic Order, the possession of relics indeed solidified its identity as a monastic military order, fighting the enemies of the faith in Prussia and in Livonia. The Order kept relics in its castle chapels, where they performed the spiritual duties required of them solidifying the relationship of relics to the religious values of the Order.²⁴

This also applied to the crusaders who journeyed to the Baltic, particularly in their support for the Teutonic Order and its wars against the Prussians. Many of them took their vows to go to Prussia to engage in battle against the Church's enemies and to support the Order, discussed in Chapter 2 above. For this group, relics were objects that they could visit in churches, thus serving to ground them in a new holy place. Into the late fourteenth-century, the importance of crusaders visiting parish churches as pilgrims was recognised by the papacy and encouraged. Indulgences were given to those who 'devoutly visited the chapel churches each year on certain

²² Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 6-7.

²³ Maria Starnawska, 'Relics as the Basis of Order in the Life of a Community', in *Przestrzen religijna Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w średniowieczu*, ed. by Krzysztof Bracha (Warsaw: Polish Historical Institute, 2010), pp. 31-46.

²⁴ See below, Chapter 4, for a deeper discussion of spatial reflections of identity in the Prussian castles of the Order.

days' (*ecclesias cappellas et loca certis diebus tunc expressis devote visitarent annuatim*).²⁵ Crusaders were certainly included in this reference to 'devout visitors', evinced particularly in the fourteenth century, when there are records of knights and nobles visiting pilgrimage shrines near Königsberg. Considering that main churches and parish churches were consecrated in the presence of relics, and relics were kept in them, this evidence suggests that relic veneration was an important part of the experience of crusaders in the Baltic landscape.²⁶ Specific places associated with them became centres for pilgrimage, which appears to have occurred both within the local population of Prussia and amongst the guests who participated on the *Reisen*.²⁷ This is particularly demonstrable in Prussia, and I will discuss some specific examples now.

In addition to transferring relics into the landscape, there is a particular case in which a relic was 'discovered' in the pagan landscape, and expressed its wishes to go to a more appropriate, 'holy' place. This case is the discovery of the relics of St Barbara at Sartowitz (Sartowice) in 1242, and it was a fundamental component to ideology of the Teutonic Order as an institution in Prussia.²⁸ The relics were venerated not just by the brethren, but by pilgrims visiting the city of Kulm (Althaus). The saint's shrine in the town was one of the primary destinations of pilgrimage throughout the thirteenth century.²⁹ Its elevated status lasted well into the fifteenth century, when the inventories of the Order's commandery at Althaus carefully record the

²⁵ *CDP*, vol. 4, p. 41 (no. 34). This was a letter of Urban VI in 1386, confirming the privileges of his predecessors on the building of churches and chapels in Prussia, Livonia, and Pomerania.

²⁶ Herrmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur in Preußenland*, p. 147.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 127.

²⁸ *PDC*, pp. 138-40 (3.36) narrates the discovery of the relics. Also see *KvP*, pp. 375-79 (lines 6277-6670).

²⁹ See Rainer Zacharias, 'Die Reliquienwallfahrt zur Hochmeisterresidenz Marienburg', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands* 50 (2002): pp. 11-35. For primary source accounts of the pilgrimage to the relics of St Barbara, see 'Johannes von Posilge. Chronik des Landes Preussen', ed. by Ernsts Strehlke, *SRP* 3, p. 238, which records the pilgrimage of Anna, Grand Duchess of Lithuania (d. 1418), in 1400: 'Item noch Margarethe kwam die grosmechtliche herzogynne, Wytowes frouwe, von Littowin in das lant zcu Pruszin...und czoch betefart czu sinte Katharinen zcu Brandenburg, und zcu Marienwerder, und zcu sinthe Barbaran zcum Aldenhuse.' Guillebert de Lannoy, 'Aus den Voyaiges de Guillebert de Lannoy', ed. by Strehlke, *SRP* 3, p. 449, describes the visit of Guillebert to the relics of St Barbara: "...et de la m'en alay a ung chastel et commanderie nomme Aldenhoux, ou on aoure sainte Barbe."

decorations of the relic, indicating its status as a major pilgrimage shrine. These included crowns, pearls, and embossed images of silver.³⁰ The place gained an element of sacrality due to its association with the Teutonic Order (who founded the city in 1232), in addition to the presence of Barbara's relics. The thirteenth-century arrival of relics alongside the armed pilgrimage expeditions in Prussia and Livonia was fundamental to developing later perceptions of place and landscape, namely in the continued pilgrimage journeys in the fifteenth century to venerate them.

One of the main issues, though, is that the sources do not provide any direct evidence of the use of relics whilst on campaign. We do not know whether relics accompanied armies into battle or not, though Paul Johansen suggested that a relic of the True Cross was present at the siege of Fellin in 1217, based on an apparent vision of the cross at the battle. The importance of Fellin is also demonstrated by the archaeological excavations carried out there in the past decades, particularly surrounding the castle church and the medieval walls.³¹ However, the lack of direct evidence concerning the True Cross here would suggest that the relics brought into both regions were kept at specific locations and not used whilst on campaigns against the pagans. Instead of bringing relics into battle, which was common on the crusades in the Holy Land and in Spain, relics were connected to specific sites. As a result, they understood the sacrality of the spaces that held relics, evinced by the evidence that they venerated them in

³⁰ *GA*, p. 515: 'Item boden dem howbte Sente Barbare eyn snüre vol czeihen von sylbern gebylde von heringen, awgen, herczen, satele, fyssche, schiffe, behne, ingegraben bilde und derglich und etliche gulden mit czweyn obergulden vorspannen... *Item boben Sante Barbaren hinden an der wand henget ouch eyn eyszen vol dergleichen mancherley czeichen von bilde von sylber.*' My italics.

³¹ See Paul Johansen, 'Lippstadt, Freckenhorst und Fellin in Livland. Werk und Wirkung Bernhards II. Zur Lippe im Ostseeraum', in *Westfalen-Hanse-Ostseeraum*, ed. by A.K. Hömberg *et al* (Münster: Aschendorf, 1955), pp. 95-160, here p. 118, cited in Bern Ulrich Hucker, 'Die Frömmigkeit', p. 115. There have been considerable excavations at Fellin with respect to the Teutonic Order's castle and its surroundings, see Arvi Haak, 'Archaeological investigations at Viljandi castle of the Teutonic Order and in medieval Viljandi', *Arheoloogilised välitööd Eestis* (2003): pp. 107-21; idem, 'Archaeological investigations in medieval Viljandi. The castle and its surroundings.' *Arheoloogilised välitööd Eestis* (2007): pp. 85-98; Riina Juurik, Anti Lillak, and Heiki Valk, 'Archaeological investigations at the castle of the Teutonic order in Viljandi.' *Arheoloogilised välitööd Eestis* (2008): pp. 75-83.

places such as Riga (in Livonia) and Elbing (in Prussia). This gave way to a route comprised of centres that were visited (or, likely visited) repeatedly as pilgrims went to the frontier, forming a ‘pilgrimage landscape.’ Sites were indeed visited for practical reasons: they were necessary for supplying armies and providing shelter. The late fourteenth-century Austrian poet and herald, Peter Suchenwirt, recorded the festivities provided to guests on the *Reisen* at places like Thorn, Kulm and Königsberg.³² However, the examples above demonstrate that the veneration of relics was also an important factor in the pilgrimage experience of crusaders who came to Prussia and Livonia in the thirteenth century.

Relics were fundamental to establishing a new sacral landscape in the Baltic landscape by their very presence in the churches visited by crusaders. Churches were consecrated in the presence of relics, as this helped sacralise the space within. Saints from the early Christian period were used to consecrate churches and there was special reverence for the relics of martyrs, which further cements the importance of martyrdom in sacralising the landscape (discussed above in Chapter 2). From the eleventh century on, the ceremonies for consecrating churches were quite elaborate.³³ Even in the churches on the island of Saaremaa, which are difficult to establish as pilgrimage shrines in the sense that crusaders continued to visit them while on campaign, the altars in the church have spaces for the relics to be kept and used for the local congregation.³⁴ In fact, a letter from 1428 confirms that relics were in the churches, not just in the cities but also in the countryside. It states that the relics were not correctly used in “the rustic and rural places in our province of Livonia” (*rustici et incole in provincia nostra*

³² *SRP* 2, p. 160.

³³ Alison Blinns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales, 1066-1216* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990), pp. 12-4; *The Church at Prayer, Volume 1: Principles of the Liturgy*, ed. by Irénée Henri Dalmais *et al*, (London: Cassel, 1989), pp. 208-9, 216-20; Mark G. Boyer, ‘The Altar of Christ’, in Boyer, *The Liturgical Environment: What the Documents Say* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1990), pp. 35-57, here pp. 39-42.

³⁴ I am thankful to Fr. Veiko Vihuri, who is parish priest for Saaremaa’s churches, for providing me with this information.

Lyovnie).³⁵ The statute feared that “they might cling to superstitious idolatry and aid from demons, in a greatest offense to God.”³⁶

3.2: Relic Processions and Mapping a Sacral Landscape in the 13th-Century Baltic: The Teutonic Order in Prussia

Relics functioned as legitimising elements in the crusades in the Baltic, namely due to their being sacred objects that allowed for crusaders to carry out a more ‘pilgrimage-like’ experience in the region. They also reflected God’s favour upon the wars. We can learn more about how contemporaries used them to create a new sacred landscape by considering how relics functioned in the region.

The Teutonic Order’s conquest of Prussia in the thirteenth century offers significantly more information about the function of relics and their status as sacral objects in a pagan landscape in comparison to Livonia. Indeed, the earliest cities founded by the Order possessed the most important relics in the region and functioned as places of pilgrimage. They also were scenes of repeat processions and other sacralising acts in which crusaders took part. Thorn, followed by Kulm, Elbing, Marienwerder, Rheden, and Balga were the earliest centres where pilgrims, relics, and some sort of processions occurred in thirteenth-century Prussia. The letter attributed to Hermann of Salza confirms that these took place in the conquest period, describing the relic procession at Kulm after the Order ‘discovered’ Barbara’s relics. The brothers, returning to Kulm with the relics, were welcomed by the people with a ‘song of praise’ (*loggesange*), which presumably included a procession.³⁷ Peter of Dusburg states that, once the relics had been

³⁵ *LECUB*, vol. 7, ed. by Hermann Hildebrand (Riga, 1881), no. 690, pp. 470-95.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 492: “in gravissimam Dei offensam adeo inherent supersticiose ydolatrie ex demonum subtilitate adjuvante.”

³⁷ *HvSB*, p. 161, narrates the procession to Kulm and the reception of the brothers by the citizens: “Do besatzten sy das haus und furten s. Barbaren mit grossen eren ken Kolmen. *Do wart sy herlich entpfangen mit heiligtum und loggesange*, und alle dy do szum Colmen woren.” My italics. See Appendix below, p. 325, for the English translation.

brought back to Kulm, there was ‘a solemn procession’ (*solemnis processio*) with the clergy and people.³⁸

Contemporary chronicles for the Livonian crusades place similar processions at Riga, which took place accompanied by relics. These often took place when Albert of Riga arrived from his recruitment campaigns to Germany for pilgrims. The first of these took place in 1203, when German crusaders were received joyfully by the citizens of Riga ‘with relics’ (*cum reliquis...suscipiunt*). These receptions structure Henry’s *Chronicle*, often with each book beginning with the arrival of crusaders in Riga. Processions and masses were not limited to the main city of Livonia, though, indicating that there was a practice of engaging in these sacral acts whilst on campaign. In Henry’s account of the crusader conquest of Ösel in the winter of 1227, he notes that the army proceeded to the island ‘having celebrated solemn mass’ (*celebratis missarum solempniis procedunt*).³⁹ Once they had conquered the dichotomy of Christian and pagan religion in the exultations of both armies. While the pagan Öselians call upon their sacred grove (*nemus...invocant*), the Christian army called upon Jesus Christ (*Iseum invocant*), which could indicate a procession of some sort. It was not uncommon for armies to engage in these practices during the crusades in the Holy Land, perhaps the most famous example being the circling of Jerusalem three times by the crusaders in 1099 to replicate the conquest of Jericho.⁴⁰

While Henry of Livonia’s chronicle provides the best glimpse into the role of relics and landscape in the thirteenth-century eastern Baltic, later sources, such as the *Rhymed Chronicle*,

³⁸ *PDC*, p. 140 (3.36): “Post hec [the discovery of the relics]...reversus has sanctas reliquias versus Colmen duxit, ubi clerus et populus *cum solenni processione* occurrens eas ad ecclesiam portaverunt et ad Castrum Antiquum posuerunt.” Also see *KvP*, p. 379 (lines 6615-6621), mentions the relics being brought back ‘with songs’ (*mit gesange*).

³⁹ *HCL*, p. 217 (30.3).

⁴⁰ See Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana. History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. by and trans. by Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 413-15. For the conquest of Jericho, see Joshua 6: 1-27.

do not include any references to these objects. However, there are mentions of processions and the celebration of masses whilst on campaign that highlight a continuity of practices over the course of a century. These examples occur in the text's account of the siege of Heiligenberg (Svētkalns, Latvia). The author records a journey of the brothers from Prussia along the coast of Kurland, to Goldingen 'where they were joyfully received' (*entpfiengen sie und wâren vrô*), similar to the 'great joy' recorded at crusader arrivals in Henry's chronicle.⁴¹ Following the arrival of these brothers, there was a journey through Semigallia to Heiligenberg 'which lay in enemy lands' (*Heiligenberg...lac in der viende lant*), and after a skirmish with the pagans, the army made camp outside the castle walls. The chronicler records that, on the following morning, the army of brothers, and men of Dorpat and Leal, sang mass there (*di here man messe sanc*), before going into battle and eventually gaining a victory.⁴² The reception of warriors in cities like Riga, but also in Order castles like Goldingen and Heiligenberg, indicates that relics could have been present and used in important ceremonies related to the war against the enemy. While there was not a sacral point in the landscape in the traditional sense, the presence of relics and their use were a key element in sacred *causes* in Livonia, which contemporaries transferred to their perception and representation of landscape in their chronicles.

Relic processions thus played an important role in both Livonia and Prussia with respect to sacralising those conflicts, in addition to the landscape in which they took place. They also provided a physical manifestation of the perceived holiness of the mission. Through participating in processions (or mass) in the presence of relics, they engaged in a sacred act

⁴¹ *LR*, p. 251 (lines 10876-10934) records the expedition.

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 252 (lines 11027-11037): "Zûm Heiligenberge man sie liez, / der meister dô die brüdere hiez, / daz sie slügen ûfir gezelt. / vor die burc ûf daz velt / wart die legerstat genomen. / Dô [Heiligenberg - GL] daz her was allez komen, / sechs tûsent uber al / prûvete man das heres zal. / die nacht sie hatten gût gemach. / *des morgens dô der tac ûf brach, / in dem here man messe sanc.*"

that allowed for the transformation of the landscape from pagan to sacred. As outlined in the work of Mircea Eliade, acts such as processions were ‘repetitions’ of an original hierophantic act, and thus separated a sacred space from the profane space surrounding it. They also reflect bodily and personal experiences of participants, namely in that participating in the ritual of a procession engaged a participant with a sacral history or hierophany.⁴³

Processions formed a key component of medieval drama and spirituality, and they played a similar role in the crusades in Livonia and Prussia.⁴⁴ Scholars have noted this in other regions of medieval Europe, one example being Padua. Michael Viktor Schwartz has shown convincingly the potential for assessing the relationship of processions to understanding cities (or, rather, the sacred places within cities) as religious centres. Sites within the city, taken from a description of 1278, clearly were the places for theatrical worship and drama during the procession.⁴⁵

The sources for the thirteenth-century expeditions to Livonia and Prussia offer little in the way of describing processions like the one used by Schwartz’s article. There is no contemporary evidence, save for the Hermann of Salza Letter and Henry of Livonia’s chronicle, that mention processions directly. We instead have small body of sources that can be vague, but parallels in language can help to show that processions likely took place whilst on campaign, and therefore were an active component to the conquest of the landscape. Time on the Baltic crusades centred around Marian feast days, like the Purification (2 February) and Assumption (15 August), giving more importance to the language chroniclers use to describe the arrival of pilgrims and indicating the likelihood of relic processions. For example, the

⁴³ For example, see Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, trans. by Rosemary Shead (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), p. 368. Also see Matthew Johnson, ‘Phenomenological Approaches’, p. 273.

⁴⁴ Roger E. Reynolds, ‘The Drama of Medieval Liturgical Processions’, *Revue de Musicologie* 86, no. 1 (2000): p. 128.

⁴⁵ Michael Viktor Schwartz, ‘Padua, its Arena and the Arena Chapel: A Liturgical Ensemble’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courland Institutes* 73 (2010): pp. 39-64, especially p. 44.

Order's *Rule* states that processions were to be held on these days, since these feasts were held in the highest office (*totum duplex*).⁴⁶

The development of cities by the end of the thirteenth century and throughout the fourteenth century show the importance of these prolonged campaigns. The significance of the art in the chapel of the Order at Marienburg, the main pilgrimage centre in the *Ordensstaat*, reflects a sacred history, but also the memory of the early conquests of the Order.⁴⁷ We know from later accounts, namely that of John of Posilge (1360s), that pilgrims would participate in relic processions at Marienburg.⁴⁸ These acts likely would have incorporated the memory of the Order's crusades against the Prussians, thereby solidifying the sacral history of the place. We know that in the fourteenth century, prayers were to be said for those who went to fight against the pagans from a formulary book from Breslau in the 1360s. The bishop Warmia, Johannes, issued a decree on the saying of masses 'for all those now going out against the enemies of Christ' (*missa...pro omnibus nunc transeuntibus contra crucis Christi inimicos*).⁴⁹ The performance of these masses and processions must have included the display of relics and, therefore, recalled the earlier expeditions undertaken by subsequent crusaders.

In this light, the processions formed an important part of the emergence of Prussia and Livonia as landscapes of crusading for a variety of reasons. They transferred common practices on the continent to the landscape whilst commemorating the conversion of the pagans. For

⁴⁶ *SDO*, p. 2, p. 8.

⁴⁷ Janusz Turpinda, 'Die Chronik Peters von Dusburg', p. 521.

⁴⁸ Heß, 'Himmelskönigin und Geburtshelferin', p. 191. Also see 'Johanns von Posilge. Officials von Pomesanien, Chronik des Landes Preussen', ed. by Ernst Strehlke, *SRP* 3, pp. 79-388, here p. 113; p. 146: "In desim jare (1386 – GL) uf Walpurgis *wysete man das heyligethum zcu Marienburg*"; p. 191, which describe relic processions (*wyseten*).

⁴⁹ *Das Formelbuch des Domherrn Arnold von Protzan*, ed. by Wilhelm Wattenbach (Breslau: Max, 1862), p. 307. Also see *CDW*, vol. 2, p. 316 (no. 306): 'Johannes d. e. a. s. gr. Warmien. ecclesie Episcopus... Rogamus vos et mandamus, quatenus quilibet vestrum *teneat tres missas in sua deuocione, vnam de santa trinitate etc. pro omnibus nunc transeuntibus contra crucis Christi inimicos etc.*' There is no specification as to the other two masses to be held.

example, the regular procession of the relics of St Barbara, recorded in virtually all of the Teutonic Order's chronicles, suggests that the successful battle of Sartowitz was also part of that commemorative process.⁵⁰ Likewise, the other relic centres in Prussia, such as Elbing, which the present chapter discusses at greater length in the following section, indeed were witness to processions when crusaders arrived there. Representing this visually shows a new perspective to the development of how sacred landscapes were created in both regions. In the map below (Map 6), for example, we see a very systematic representation in Prussia especially in terms of where relics were present and where processions occurred. The deeper tradition of historical writing within the Teutonic Order in Prussia suggests that in the case of Livonia, these events are more diverse, spatially, offering a unique contrast between the two regions of crusading.

Mapping the presence of relics and processions in the early crusades to Livonia and Prussia provides a new way to represent a more traditional pilgrimage route, which allows us to reassess how crusaders spiritually interacted with the landscape and sacralised it in the process. Henry's account, for example, highlights the status of Riga as the main religious centre in the eastern Baltic,⁵¹ but also shows the dissemination of them to other areas, like Fellin, namely because of the presence of relics and religious processions there discussed in the section above. Peter of Dusburg's text, drawing on that of the so-called Hermann of Salza letter, traces the emergence of the Kulmerland as the Teutonic Order's sacred landscape in the thirteenth century. This had a positive effect on the development of Prussia as a sacred landscape patronised and protected by the Teutonic Order.⁵²

⁵⁰ For example, see Gustavs Strenga, 'Remembering the Common Past', pp. 347-71. Likewise, the *Chronicle of Oliwa* records the commemoration of St Barbara's at Kulm: see *Die ältere Chronik von Oliwa, SRP 5*, p. 599.

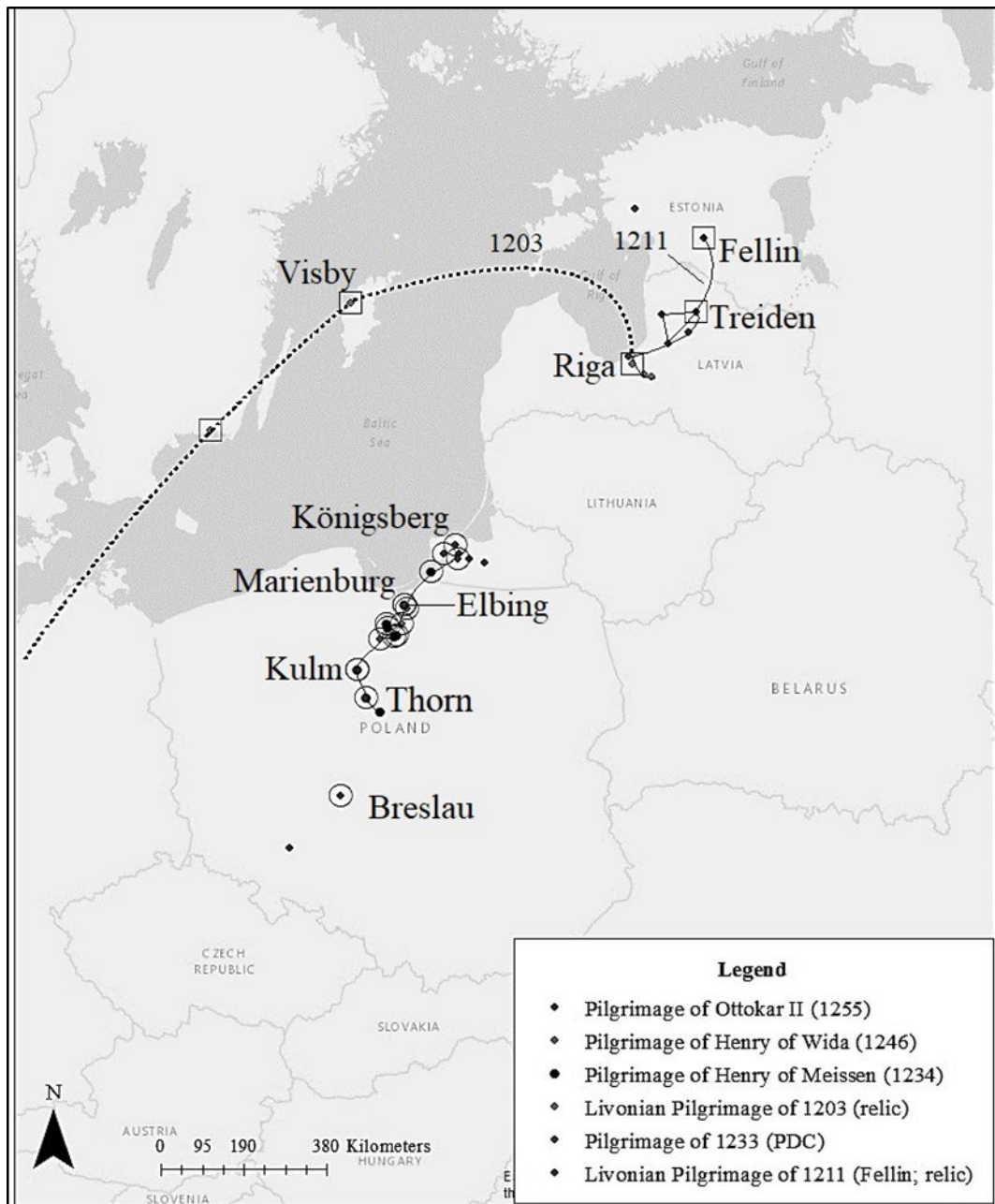
⁵¹ Tuulse, *Die Burgen in Lettland und Estland*, pp. 30-5; Jähnig, 'Die Anfänge der Sakraltopographie', pp. 157-58; Raoul Zühlke, 'Zerschlagung, Verlagerung und Neuschaffung zentraler Orte', p. 178.

⁵² Maria Starnawska, 'The role of the legend of Saint Barbara's head in the conflict of the Teutonic Order and Świętopełk, the duke of Pomerania', trans. by Agnieszka Sokołowska, *MO 6.2*, pp. 203-12, especially pp. 205-6.

This map also portrays the Teutonic Order's conquest of Prussia in a new light, and reflects how the differences in historical writing in both regions resulted in a different spiritual landscape. The locations of relics and processions in Peter of Dusburg's chronicle regularly occur at cities founded by the Order, whereas in Henry of Livonia's text these appear at locations removed from the main sacral centre of Riga. This aligns with the differences in land administration and settlement in Prussia and Livonia, a topic that has received considerable attention in the works of Czaja, Sarnowsky, and Jähnig.⁵³ The present analysis also highlights that the ideological narratives in both regions concerning landscape sacralisation reflects these differences spatially. The Order's Prussian cities were embedded in a deep tradition of a sacral history, in contrast to the representation of the wars in Henry of Livonia's chronicle.

The relics were held in Althaus Kulm until the mid-fifteenth century, when they were moved to Marienburg. See *MÄ*, p. 129 (line 33), an inventory from 1439, which records 'eyn bilde Barbare virginis unvorguldeth.'

⁵³ For example, see Czaja, 'Das Phänomen des Deutschordenstaates', in *Jahrbuch des Wissenschaftlichen Zentrums der Polnischen Akademie*, pp. 166-68; Idem and Zenon H. Nowak, 'An Attempt to Characterise the State of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia', in *The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia*, pp. 16-18; Sarnowsky, *Der Deutsche Orden*, pp. 36-47; Jähnig, 'Räumliche Gliederung der Ordensherrschaft', in idem, *Verfassung und Verwaltung des Deutschen Ordens*, pp. 117-26.



Map 8. Relic Pilgrimages in Livonia (1203; 1211) and Prussia (1233; 1234; 1246; 1255).

The map shows the example of some pilgrimages from both Peter of Dusburg's and Henry of Livonia's chronicles where armed pilgrimage involved the presence of relics and/or processions. The examples from Peter's chronicle are circled, and in Henry's text they have squares around the points. The pivotal events during these campaigns occurred primarily at castles established by the military orders, such as Fellin (in Livonia), and Thorn, Kulm, and Elbing (in Prussia).

During the relic pilgrimages of the 1230s and later, these were beginning to transform from the early wood and earth castles into stone and brick ones. It is likely that they housed relics and hosted to crusaders. Therefore, the practical elements to crusading also coincide with important events such as relic processions. We can see this in the terminology for the structures, indicating more permanent buildings in which these processions took place. A 1246 charter of the city of Elbing mentions “city walls” (*propugnacula civitatis*), implying stone or brick buildings as opposed to wood and earth ones.⁵⁴ In 1251, the cathedral of Kulmsee (Chełmża) was built in stone.⁵⁵ At Thorn, by 1255, the bishop of Sambia donated funds to build a tower or a wall for the castle (*turris...dicti castrisive ad murum...dicti castris*).⁵⁶ In 1263, again at Thorn, is the first mention of the castle chapel, which held a large piece of the True Cross and the relics of the saints (*omnium sanctorum reliquie in ibi continentur*).⁵⁷ Anselm, the bishop of Warmia, encouraged the construction of the chapel and offered an indulgence to ‘all devout visitors’ (*omnibus devote visitantibus*) who participated in the effort.

It is possible, then, the crusaders coming to Prussia around this time venerated the relics in the castle and helped to build the chapel. William of Jülich (1262/1263), could have visited the castle, though it is proposed by Töppen that he went directly to Königsberg by sea. He could have visited it on his journey back.⁵⁸ Otto of Brandenburg and Ottokar II, on their crusade of 1266, likely visited the castle and chapel, too.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ *CDW*, vol. 1, pp. 18-22 (no. 13).

⁵⁵ *PrUB* 1.1, p. 181 (no. 250).

⁵⁶ *CDP*, vol. 1, p. 96 (no. 99); p. 97 (no. 100). The latter letter was a donation of 10 silver marks made by Bishop Henry of Samland for the construction of a tower of Thorn castle: “Quod nos *ad opus turris castris Thorunensis assignamus aut promissimus decem marcas argenti.*”

⁵⁷ *CDW*, vol. 1, p. 82 (no. 45).

⁵⁸ *PDC*, pp. 218-20 (3.98) records the campaign. For the course of the campaign in Prussia, see *SRP* 1, p. 102 (note 3): “Dass auch sie zur See, direct nach Königsberg, kamen, kann man wohl ziemlich sicher daraus schliessen, weil sie erst von Königsberg aus, sich südwarts hin gegen Scunien wandten.”

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 244-46 (3.125-127), records the crusade of ‘many pilgrims’ (*multorum peregrinorum*). Also see *SRP* 1, p. 248 (Beilage 5): “Anno MCCLXVI Marchio Brandenburgensis...moritur...Item eodem anno Otto frater dicti

When we consider the analysis of ‘pilgrimage’ to the Baltic in the thirteenth century, especially the motivating factors such as martyrdom, we see a more physical manifestation of the crusade as a pilgrimage when we consider the presence of relics and of relic veneration. In physical terms of the landscape, we see that these sacral objects were being brought to the region at the same time that centres were being constructed in brick and in stone. This also coincides with a language centred on movement that demonstrates the view of Prussia in the thirteenth century as a pilgrimage landscape by contemporaries. Ottokar II ‘went forward’ (*processurus*) against the Prussians in 1255.⁶⁰ A knight of Bohemia, in 1262, offered money to any man who ‘would go’ (*vadat*) to Prussia in his place, for the salvation of his sins.⁶¹ Pilgrimage as ‘movement’ developed alongside the re-building of settlements in stone, and the establishment of new bases from which to fight the Prussians.

The charters also reference hospitals for pilgrims, which demonstrate that these places where relics were kept did, in fact, draw pilgrims. For example, in 1242, the Teutonic Order constructed a hospital in Elbing “for the poor pilgrims and for the sick” (*construe pro peregrinis pauperibus et infirmis*).⁶² It was granted additional lands in May of 1255, indicating the increased use of the hospital by visiting pilgrims and crusaders who were coming to venerate the relic of the True Cross at Elbing, which had been there since 1233.⁶³ The significance of this relic to the spiritual landscape of Prussia is discussed in the coming section.

Johannis estivo tempore *Prussiam contra Saracenos procedens*, cum non fuisset permissus bellare cum eis, strenuum castrum Brandenburg nominatum in terra condidit Prutenorum.”

⁶⁰ *PrUB* 1.1, p. 220 (no. 297): “Boemie rex...potenter contra dictos infideles divina favente clementia *processurus*.” On Ottokar’s second expedition to Prussia in 1267/68, he and his army were ‘those who went forward’ (*proficisci*) to Prussia, see *PrUB* 1.2, p. 198 (no. 280).

⁶¹ *PrUB* 1.2, p. 135 (no. 162): “Et triginta marca argenti denture inde homini, qui pro anima mea *vadat ad Pruthenos*.”

⁶² *CDW*, vol. 1, pp. 3-4 (no. 3). The document is dated to 13 February, 1242.

⁶³ *Ibid*, pp. 73-4 (no. 36): “Vestre notum facimus caritati, quod fratres nostri hospitali spiritus sancti in Elbinc contulerint molendinum in civitate, et allodium ante civitatem, et xl. mansos in terra kadinensi. Nos vero hanc donacionem confirmamus.”

In any case, it appears that relics played a significant role in demarcating a sacral landscape in Prussia already by the thirteenth century, and served to attract pilgrims. This would explain the construction of pilgrim hospices at centres such as Elbing and at other centres, such as Thorn.

Through the application of qualitative GIS analysis to the Prussian crusades of the thirteenth century, the pilgrimage landscape in the region and the relationship of the military orders to creating a new sacral landscape in the Baltic is represented visually and spatially. The above section shows, most importantly, that relics formed an important component to pilgrimage in the Baltic and served to motivate crusaders to journey there. It also points out, in combination with the physical structures of pilgrimage, that the missions were not simply expeditions meant to grab land. The development of these pilgrimage shrines would not have occurred unless the ‘pilgrims’ were interested in venerating relics whilst on their campaigns. To account for this, the Teutonic Order brought relics in and propagated their relationship to the mission. Participants in the early crusades used the Baltic to reflect individual piety, and in doing so established a foundation for continued pilgrimage practices into the later Middle Ages.

3.3: The True Cross, the Cult of Relics, and Visualising a Sacral Landscape in Prussia

Relics and processions were key aspects to the experience of crusading in the Baltic from the thirteenth century. However, it was one relic above all that deserves specific attention in the genesis of a new sacral landscape in the region: that of the True Cross. This relic provided a physical and spiritual link with the Holy Land, and its presence in the Baltic demonstrates the role of the crusading missions in generating a new sacral landscape, namely due to its status in medieval society and the distribution of the relic throughout the Baltic in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Therefore, the present section will discuss the cult of the True Cross during the Baltic crusades.

Crusaders and pilgrims in the Holy Land, Spain, and the Baltic placed profound significance on the True Cross. Chroniclers and commentators used Helena's discovery of the relic in the fourth century (and its return to Jerusalem by Emperor Heraclius in the seventh) to validate the divine nature of the wars against enemies of the Church.⁶⁴ As we see below (Image 12), the imagery of the discovery of the Cross played a role in Prussia, particularly at Marienburg, where it is depicted on the south entrance to the Chapel of St Anne, the burial place of the Grand Masters of the Teutonic Order.

The True Cross was connected to crusading and the sacred landscape of the Holy Land since the First Crusade. Its rediscovery in 1099 legitimised Christian control of Jerusalem, and thus the reconquest of the holy places.⁶⁵ One could also connect Albert of Aachen's description of the siege of Jerusalem in 1099 to the importance of cross relics to crusader armies, namely in his mention of a siege engine with a cross atop it. No matter the assault on the machine, the cross on the top could not be taken down.⁶⁶ The True Cross also sacralised conflict in other theatres of holy war. The account of the Siege of Lisbon (1147), too, has a discourse on its importance, where it is connected to the sign of the cross worn by crusaders themselves. It protects those fighting for it, regardless of where this fighting took place.⁶⁷ Likewise, chroniclers equated its loss at Hattin in 1187 with the Holy Land itself.⁶⁸ Giles Constable notes

⁶⁴ See Jan Willem Drijvers, *Helena Augusta. The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden: Brill, 1992); Jessalynn Bird, 'Preaching and Crusading Memory', in *Remembering the Crusades and Crusading*, p. 21.

⁶⁵ For example, Fulcher of Chartres records the discovery of the relic. See *The First Crusade. The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, ed. by Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969), pp. 79-80. Also see Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. by and trans. by Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 450-53 (4.39).

⁶⁶ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 424-25, describes the mangonel: 'Erat crux in summitate eiusdem machine figuram continens Domini Iesu auro fulgidissima.'

⁶⁷ *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. by Charles Wendell David (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp. 155-56. Also see William Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in Iberia and the Holy Land, c. 1085 – c.1187* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), for a comparative analysis of holy war in both regions.

⁶⁸ Peter Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade. Sources in Translation* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), p. 1; p. 36. Also see *Chronicle of the Third Crusade. A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, trans. by Helen J. Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), p. 33.

that, though there was a profusion of True Cross relics after the First Crusade throughout Europe, contemporaries held a small piece as the entire Cross itself.⁶⁹ The relic thus linked its very being with holy war and the holy land, wherever it might be.

In Prussia and Livonia, the True Cross in Prussia had a significant effect on the ideology of the crusade missions in the region.⁷⁰ In Prussia, it arrived almost commensurately with the Teutonic Order itself, when Frederick II sent a great part of the holy cross to Elbing, in 1233. He did this, supposedly, as punishment for a rebellion by the Venetians.⁷¹ That same year, Gregory IX gave an indulgence of ten days' penance to pilgrims 'venerating' (*adorans*) this fragment of the cross.⁷² Moreover, Peter's statement that pilgrims continued to venerate it in his own day (*ad presentem diem; noch hûte*).⁷³ The inhabitants of Elbing and the pilgrims who visited the castle regarded the relic as miraculous, thus elevating the castle to a pilgrimage site and the landscape around it as sacred.⁷⁴

In Livonia, Riga was the main centre for relics. There was a True Cross relic here from the early thirteenth century. In 1211, year Bernard of Lippe likely brought a relic of the True Cross

⁶⁹ Giles Constable, 'The Cross of the Crusaders', in idem, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 82.

⁷⁰ Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, 'Die militärische Funktion der Städte unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen (vom 13. bis zum Anfang des 15. Jh.)', in *Städtelandschaften im Ostseeraum im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Roman Czaja and Carsten Jahnke (Toruń: UMK, 2009), p. 174. Also see Wust, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, pp. 77-8.

⁷¹ *PDC*, p. 52 (1.5); *KvP*, p. 316 (lines 1119-1142). The rebellion of the Venetians has not been found in any other sources. See Schultz and Wojtecki, p. 53, note 91.

⁷² *PrUB* 1, p. 77 (no.103): "omnibus, qui ad eandem adorandam crucem in sexta feria humiliter accesserint et devote, x dies de iniuncta sibi penitentia relaxamus."

⁷³ *PDC*, p. 52 (1.5); *KvP*, p. 316 (lines 1135-1142): "ûf dî burc, dâ noch hûte / dî cristinlichen lute / im wirde grôz irbîten / durch sâlbindêr genîten, / daz si dâ hân besundir, / von got vil manich wundir / an manchim menschin wirkit schôn / dâselbins durch sîn crûze vrôn."

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, "Idem imperator dicto magistro dedit, qui eam versus Prussie partes misit ad castrum Elbingense, ubi usque ad presentem diem a Cristifidelibus in magna reverencis habetur propter crebra miracula, que per ipsam Dominus operatur." Elbing was 'the second most lovely castle in Prussia after Marienburg,' according to the sixteenth-century chronicler, Paul Pole. See 'Paul Poles Preussische Chronik', ed. by Töppen, *SRP* 5, pp. 185-222, here p. 194: "Disse hat der konigk inne...die stete Elbingk, *das schlos zcu boden gebrochen, von welchem man sagt, es sei das schonste schlos gewesen in Preussen nach Marienburgk.*" My italics. The description comes from an account of the divided territories after the wars of 1454.

with him to Livonia which made its appearance at the Battle of Fellin in 1217.⁷⁵ A guild of the Holy Cross was in Riga, connected to the cathedral, since 1252.⁷⁶ Chroniclers used this parallel in their texts to impart the spirituality of the mission to their readers, but the spaces in which these relics were kept also sacralised the landscape to those who lived in it (and visited pilgrimage shrines). The reason for this is that participants in the crusades and those who worshipped in the sacral spaces in the Baltic were actively engaging with the landscape through venerating the relic and participating liturgical services.

The cult of the True Cross was also represented physically throughout the landscape in medieval Prussia, specifically. The cult of the True Cross was essential to the Order's perception and reflection of its mission in Prussia, taking on a similar role to the one it played in the Holy Land. It served as a symbol of divine protection of the Order and support of its mission.⁷⁷ The relic was also key in the sacralization process, for its presence immediately gave a connotation of sacrality in the newly-converted Prussian landscape. We can consider this by looking at some of the places where the relic was held aside from Elbing. The Order possessed fragments of the cross at Strasburg (Brodnica), Thorn, and Rehden, discussed in further detail shortly.⁷⁸ Moreover, it dedicated churches to the True Cross throughout the fourteenth century, one example being the church at Biescobnicken (Ochotnoje, Kaliningrad Oblast), where there was mentioned, in 1325, a 'new church of the holy cross' (*nova ecclesia sanctae crucis*).⁷⁹ The presence and dissemination of the relic aided in creating a sacral landscape through the development and propagation of its cult, since relics, in combination with hierophantic acts and

⁷⁵ Paul Johansen, 'Lippstadt, Freckenhorst und Fellin', pp. 95-160.

⁷⁶ Hermann von Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet nach dem Brauche der Rigischen Kirche im spätmittelalter* (Riga: N Kymmels, 1904), p. 323; Hucker, 'Zur Frömmigkeit von Livlandpilgern und Ordensritter', p. 118.

⁷⁷ Borowski and Gerrard, 'Constructing Identity in the Middle Ages', p. 1061; pp. 1071-73.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 1085. Also see Zielińska-Melkowska, 'Średniowieczne miejsca pielgrzymkowe', pp. 247-48.

⁷⁹ *UB Samland*, 3, p. 292 (no. 425).

enclosed structures for worship, separated a sacred location within a landscape from the profane.⁸⁰ We saw in Chapter 2 above that Strasburg, Thorn, Elbing, and Rehden were all centres of hierophanies expressed in Peter of Dusburg's chronicle, and the presence of cross relics at these centres solidify the literary tradition generated in the Order's texts.⁸¹

Many chroniclers viewed the sign of the cross (and the relic of the True Cross) as a mystical symbol that transcended earthly struggle. It symbolised God's favour, the suffering of his Son, and the sign of Christianity (and crusading) itself. The transferral of the relic to Prussia was a transferral of the Holy Land to the new, 'unholy' land of Prussia, and this set Elbing as one of the most important sacral markers in the landscape. The presence of the relic from an early stage in the conquest legitimised the wars, and provided a physical reflection of the wars' role in sacralising the landscape, for Elbing now gained one of the most important relics to Christendom. It is also clear that the continuation of building altars and dedicating churches to the relic was symbolic of the landscape sacralisation process. For example, after the major victory of the Teutonic Order at the Battle of Streba (1348), Winrich Kniprode established a monastery and a nunnery near Königsberg. Discussed above in Chapter 2, the connection of the victory to the Order's Marian patronage and the solidification of Prussia as a Marian landscape is clear. However, an altar of the Holy Cross (*zu ehren dem heyligen Creutz*) was also built, indicating that the cult of the relic was associated with wars against the pagans, too.⁸²

⁸⁰ Murray, 'Sacred Space and Strategic Geography in Twelfth-Century Palestine', *SSSTOP*, p. 15.

⁸¹ See Chapter 3, p. 146 (Map 6).

⁸² *CDP*, p. 81 (no. 58).

The True Cross was pivotal in the liturgical services in Prussia both within and outside of the Teutonic Order. Annual chapter meetings were held in Elbing on the Feast of the Holy Cross (14 September) following a decree of Master Eberhard of Seyne in the 1250s. By the end of the thirteenth century, the Order had increased the status of the Feast of the Holy Cross to a *totum duplex* mass in its convents (along with the Feast of St Katherine).⁸³ The prayer guidelines likewise specify in some detail the prayers in which the cross is raised, again highlighting the importance of the True Cross to the inner lives of the brethren. When the priest raised the relic, those in the church were expected to chant the *Ecce lignum crucis*. The Middle High German version of the *Rule*, which predates the Latin text, states that one was supposed to kiss the cross during prayer (*unde sô man singet ecce lignum...unde sô man ez kussen wil*).⁸⁴

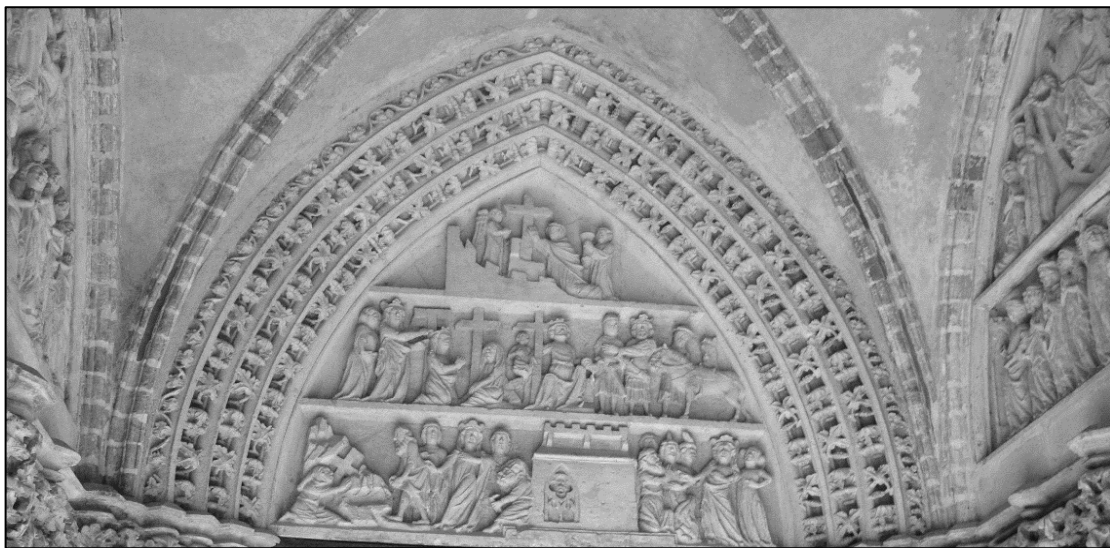


Image 12. The Chapel of St Anne, Marienburg. Photograph taken by Author.

⁸³ *SDO*, p. 161: ‘Mandamus...quolibet in anno exaltacione sancta crucis celebratis generale capitulum in Elbingo.’ For the elevation of the feast day to *totum duplex*, see p. 144: ‘Wir setzen ouch, daz man die zwô hôgecît des heiligen cruces invencio et exaltacio unde ouch sente Katherine tag behehe totum duplex.’ This final decree was from 1297, issued by Gottfried of Hohenlohe.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, (*Rule* 12), pp. 123-24: “et quando crux detegitur vel denudatur, venia et totiens, quotiens *cantatur antiphona ecce lignum crucis, fit venia, et quando crux desculatur, venia, et quando crux elevatur et deportatur, venia.*” Also see the MHG text: “unde sô man singet *ecce lignum* unde das crûce endecket, sô sal man venien, unde sô man ez kussen wil, so sal man vor dem crûce tûn ein lange venie unde ez darnach kniende kussen.”

The popularity of the relic throughout Prussia speaks to the early onset of pilgrimage activities in castles soon after castles were fortified in stone.⁸⁵ Christburg, too, appears to have held a relic of the True Cross and Mikołaj Gładysz suggests that it was used in battle against the Prussians in 1249.⁸⁶ The 1263 charter discussed above, concerning the Cross relic at Thorn, states that pilgrims visiting the castle and helping in the construction of the castle's chapel would receive an indulgence of one hundred days from their penance.⁸⁷ The penance would be for those going "for the reverence of the most victorious and holy cross, of which a good piece, and the relics of other saints are contained in the chapel there." The renewal of the city rights for Rehden, issued in 1285, refers to "a church of the holy cross in our castle."⁸⁸ Therefore, the veneration of the Cross relic by crusaders also demonstrates a deeper process to landscape sacralization, namely that there was an obligation to bring more permanent sacred elements into the landscape and to repeatedly venerate them as part of the crusade experience.

Centres along the pilgrimage route to the frontier held relics and served to enhance the spiritual lives of the brothers living there, in addition to the annual pilgrims, whom the 1263 charter refers to as "devout visitors" (*omni devoti vistanti*).⁸⁹ In light of the GIS analysis carried out in Chapter 2, the presence of such an important relic at multiple centres in the Order's territory during the thirteenth century serves to provide more weight to the literary themes analysed in Chapter 1. More than using language emphasising vines and plants to describe the

⁸⁵ Zielińska-Melkowska, 'Średniowieczne miejsca pielgrzymkowe', p. 247.

⁸⁶ See Mikołaj Gładysz, 'Supporting the Crusading Orders: 1225-35', in idem, *The Forgotten Crusaders. Poland and the Crusader Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, trans. by Paul Barford (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 213-52, here pp. 248-49, citing Marian Dygo, *Studia nad początkami władztwa zakonu niemieckiego w Prusach (1226-1259)* (Warsaw: University of Warsaw Institute of History, 1992), p. 336.

⁸⁷ *CDW*, vol. 1, no. 45 (p. 82): "Nos...confisi omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis. qui eis ad hoc manum porrexerint adiutricem [the construction of the chapel – GL]. centum dies de iniuncta penitentia misericorditer relaxamus...ob reverentiam victoriosissime et sancta crucis, cuius bona pars sicut et aliorum predictorum sanctorum reliquie in ibi continentur."

⁸⁸ *PrUB* 1.2, pp. 292-93 (no. 458): "ecclesia sancte crucis in castro nostro."

⁸⁹ This phrase is in the indulgence clause. See *CDW*, vol. 1, pp. 82-3: "omnibus devote visitantibus...ipsis misericorditer relaxamus."

conversion of landscape, the Order ensured that the presence of relics and the demarcation of spaces in a formulaic way established specific sacral centres to help solidify the spirituality of the crusade missions in Prussia. This was not just to brethren in the Order, but to pilgrims visiting this region. One could compare the diffusion of the relic and creation of new holy sites to the various shrines around the Templar castle of Saphet (Safad) in the Holy Land.⁹⁰

Relics played an important role in serving as physical manifestations of the sacral landscape which emerged as a product of crusading expeditions to Prussia. Using Elbing as a case study, Waldemar Rozykowski analysed the items within the chapel as reflective of the intense spiritual lifestyle carried out there, and the function of the chapel as a pilgrimage site. Though the chapel was primarily used for brothers, it is likely that the relics in the chapel were displayed to pilgrims, thus marking the area of the procession as a sacral one as well.⁹¹ The inventories taken by the Order in the late fourteenth and throughout the fifteenth century attest to the devotion and maintenance of the sacral centres within castles, evinced in the Appendix of this thesis, and in Rozykowski's analysis of votive offerings made in the chapel by pilgrims.⁹² By the end of the fourteenth century there were defined spaces for worship for brothers and pilgrims. With respect to sacral landscapes, these spaces themselves were products of centuries of sustained holy war and annual expeditions (pilgrimages). Over time, a landscape dotted by visual manifestations of how the Order and crusaders viewed their cause physically represented the sacralisation of the landscape.

We can consider this with respect to the uses of space at these sites. Trupinda's analysis of the Great Refectory (*Groß Remter*) at Marienburg, though it deals with the paintings put there

⁹⁰ See *De constructione castris Saphet: Construction et fonctions d'un château fort franc en Terre Sainte*, ed. by R.B.C. Huygens (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing, 1981), especially pp. 43-4, for the holy sites around Saphet.

⁹¹ See Rozykowski, 'The liturgical space in the chapels of the Teutonic Order in Prussia – selected issues', *SSSTOP*, pp. 143-50, especially pp. 149-50. Also see the Appendix.

⁹² *Ibid*, pp. 149-50.

in the twentieth century, highlights how pilgrims and ‘guests’ on the *Reisen* interacted with space inside the Teutonic Order’s Prussian castles. The Great Refectory was one of the main rooms of the castle, located in the middle castle (*Mittelschloss*). This building was constructed in the early decades of the fourteenth century as the place where the Order would host its guests (and pilgrims).⁹³ Throughout the period of the *Reisen*, knights would visit and gather in the room and the Order would host festivities there.⁹⁴ In doing so, they reinforced their perception of holy war by participating in the Order’s festivities, and in doing this connected themselves to the place in which they fought it.

Practicing religious life in the castles, and the veneration of relics, reinforced a perception of the ‘new’ holy land of Prussia by the end of the fourteenth century. The spaces in which these duties were performed were sacred ones, and their continued use by both brothers in the Order and foreign ‘guests’ indicates the continued perception of a sacred landscape. While a distinct visual culture was present in many of the Order’s commanderies in Prussia, relics and the presence of sacred spaces for both brethren in the Order and pilgrims on the *Reisen* cement the ideological nature of the development of the crusades against the Prussians. Through its visual culture in these centres, the Order expressed its pious origins, the origins of its relics, and demarcated specific sacral places to its guests. This imparted a sense of a sacral landscape to them through the decorations in its castles, and relic adoration, which necessitated ritual and divine service.

⁹³ Trupinda, ‘Historische Gemälde im Großen Remter des Ordenschlosses Marienburg aus der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts als Beispiel einer politischen Sichtweise der Eroberung Preußens durch den Deutschen Orden’, in *Kryžiaus karu epocha Baltijos regiono tautu istorineje samoneje. Moksliniu straipsniu rinkinys* [The Crusade Period in the Historical Consciousness of the Baltic Nations. Scientific Articles], ed. by R. R. Trimonienė and R. Jurgaitis (Vilnius: Saule Delta, 2007), pp. 278-88.

⁹⁴ Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1, p. 268.

3.4: Relics and Crusading in the 14th-Century Baltic

Later sources assist us in understanding the role relics played in the development of Livonia and Prussia as pilgrimage places. They also allow us to consider the development of the crusading experience in the Baltic in the later middle ages, where holy war took on an increasingly personal and chivalric tone. Relics were mentioned in Livonian inventories at Teutonic Order castles throughout the fourteenth century, though their function as elements of armed pilgrimage were different than in Prussia due to the continued crusading expeditions there as opposed to in Livonia.⁹⁵ In 1398, a piece of the True Cross was sent to Livonia, to be placed in the main altar of Riga cathedral. This is where Berthold, Livonia's first martyr, lay buried since the 1250s.⁹⁶ While we do not know many of the relics held in the Riga cathedral, there are letters of indulgence for those going to visit the chapel of the Virgin located there, one specific example being a decree of the Council of Basel, issued in February of 1440.⁹⁷ An inventory of the St Jacob's church in Riga (founded in 1225) mentions objects for showing the relics of a saint (*3 sulvern vorgulde monstrancien myd hylligedome*).⁹⁸ The inventory is from the years 1430-1480.

In Prussia, the veneration of relics was a key element in the engagement with the sacralisation of the landscape through crusading. For example, the foundation of Christmemel castle, founded on the Neman River in the fourteenth century, was marked by a 'procession of relics' (*processio reliquiarum*).⁹⁹ A network of stops developed for crusaders journeying toward Königsberg, both within the Order's territory and in Europe, indicated by pilgrimage

⁹⁵ For example, see Wilhelm Heine, 'Hagiologisches Alt-Livland', *Der Katholik* 27, no. 3 (1903): pp. 306-22, specifically pp. 313-20.

⁹⁶ *LECUB*, vol. 4, ed. by von Bunge (Reval, 1859), no. 1713, p. 28.

⁹⁷ *LECUB*, vol. 9, ed. by Hermann Hildebrand (Riga, 1889), no. 560, pp. 416-17.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, vol. 8, no. 376, pp. 217-19.

⁹⁹ *PDC*, pp. 424-26 (3.315). Also see below, Chapter 4, p. 182, which considers the relic procession as part of the place-naming process in the region.

badges from Aachen excavated at sites like Elbing.¹⁰⁰ For example, the Order's headquarters at Marienburg was a regular stop where pilgrims would venerate relics, and brothers in the castle venerated them regularly as part of their monastic obligations.¹⁰¹ Our knowledge concerning relics and pilgrimage activities comes from later registers kept in the commanderies of the Teutonic Order, alongside charters and chronicles produced in the Teutonic Order. In this context, we see that the Order propagated a sacred landscape in that they displayed these relics to pilgrims. For example, in an inventory from 1394 taken at Marienburg, the Order had "a wooden display tray with a relic" (1 *holczin tofelen mit heilgetume*).¹⁰² It was kept in the chapel of St Bartholomew, in the Middle Castle, the area of the Marienburg castle complex that housed the Order's guests.¹⁰³

Fortunately, the Order's Prussian inventories from the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries mention a wide variety of relics, unlike the sources for Livonia. In the chapel of St Anne, the Order possessed a piece of the True Cross (*daz heilige crucze*), St Anne's head (1 *houbt*), and a piece of St Anthony's jawbone (*eyn knybacke Anthony*).¹⁰⁴ The Order kept these relics in clearly defined spaces, namely the cathedrals, castle chapels, city churches, and local parish churches. Relics were fundamental to the development of pilgrimage in the region, and while we have scant references to how they arrived in the Baltic during this period, it appears crusaders brought them along on their journeys, and participated in relic veneration whilst on the *Reisen*.

¹⁰⁰ Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (London: Boydell, 2010), pp. 258-61.

¹⁰¹ Cordelia Heß, 'Himmelskönigin und Geburtshelferin. Marienverehrung im spätmittelalterlichen Preußen', in *Cura animarum*, pp. 185-99.

¹⁰² *MÄ*, pp. 122-24.

¹⁰³ Pluskowski, *The Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, p. 182.

¹⁰⁴ *MÄ*, pp. 122-4; pp. 126-31.

This practice was not limited to Marienburg, but other important centres like Elbing. William IV of Holland (d. 1345) visited the city in January of 1344 on his expedition to Lithuania and made offerings in the city.¹⁰⁵ It is not specified if William made an offering to the relic of the True Cross. However, Paravicini has shown that the expenses on the *Reisen* involved many things (horses, food, lodging, etc.), in addition to making donations to shrines and altars, in addition to the giving of alms.¹⁰⁶ Elbing's possession of such an important relic in Prussia makes it likely that it was a regular stop for crusaders, since they venerated relics at other centres.¹⁰⁷ An inventory taken in May of 1440 makes note of the chapel of the Holy Cross in the castle (*die cleyne tumbē das heilige crucze*), demonstrating its continued veneration into the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁸

Other centres were places where crusaders made offerings and visited shrines. For example, we could use the example of William IV of Holland again, who visited St Katherine's church (Arnau), the St George altar in Königsberg, and the monastery of Wehlau.¹⁰⁹ The fifteenth-century *Banderia Pruthenorum*, compiled after the Battle of Tannenberg (1410), shows the banners of both the city and burghers of Elbing as representing two crosses above one another,

¹⁰⁵ For William IV of Holland, see Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1, p. 56; 2, p. 166, which documents his expenses on the *Reise*. For his visit to Elbing, see 'Johannes von Niederheims Rechnungen über die Preussenfahrt des Grafen Wilhelm IV. von Holland im J. 1344', ed. by Hirsch, *SRP* 2, pp. 742-62, here p. 755: "daer hi jehghens mijn here ghereden was ten Elūinghen, ii scot pruus valent iii grote." He also made an offering to the new cathedral in Königsberg, see p. 756: "doe ghesent was van mijns heren wegghen an den bisscop van Zamenland, als dat hi mijn here leenen woude dien niefwen doem in te legghen iiii scot, valent vi grote iiii mit." He visited Elbing again in February of that year. Two men in his company, Hermann van Esse and Johann von Niedersheim, visited Elbing in April of 1344. Hermann gave a donation at Elbing 'because he was on a *Reise*' (*die wile dat men in die reyse was*).

¹⁰⁶ Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1, pp. 275-85, outlines the expenses and activities of the guests in Prussia.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 305-8.

¹⁰⁸ *GA*, p. 91 (line 37).

¹⁰⁹ Also see 'Johann von Niederheims Rechnungen', p. 745: "In den eersten svridaghes v daghen in Maerte te Conijnberghen [Königsberg] minen here tofferen iiii grotē Beems valet iiii grote x mit. – It. selūes daghes Rutghern van Broechusen wederghegheūen, die hi minen here gheleent hadde tofferen t sinter Katherinen eenen scilt, val. xviii grote...It. selūes daghes haren Jakenin Donsard wederghegheūen, dien minen here gheleent hadde tofferen te s. Jorijs eenen ghulden, val. xiiii, d. grote x mit...doe hi reed te Willov [Wehlau] waert jehghens die heyden, vii scot."

a possible link to the city's status as the relic's home from an early period in the Order's history in Prussia. It is pictured below (Image 12). This banner was carried, according to Długosz, by the Vice-Commander, mercenaries, and the citizens of Elbing at the Battle of Tannenberg.¹¹⁰

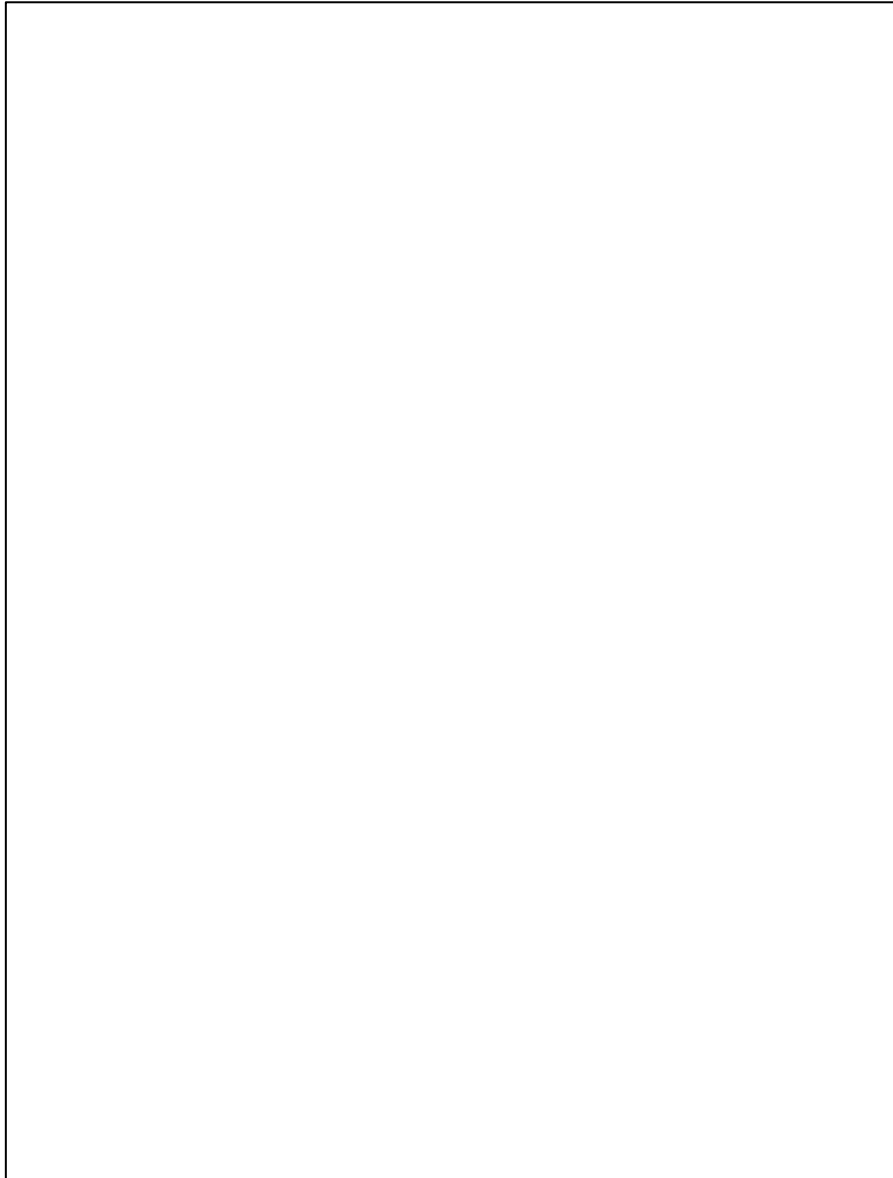


Image 13. This image has been removed by the author for copyright purposes.

The True Cross thus continued to be a favoured relic in the fourteenth century. Mentioned earlier, it continued to be a popular dedication for parish churches in Prussia, one example

¹¹⁰ ‘Johannis Długosz canonici cracoviensis banderia Pruthenorum’, ed. by Strehlke, *SRP* 4, pp. 22-3 (nos. 28 and 30): “Banderium secundum civitatis et comendarie de Elbingo, quod ducebat vicecomendator Elbingensis, sub quo fratres de ordine militares...merentes.”

being “a new church of the Holy Cross” at Biescobnicken, about 40km to the north of Königsberg.¹¹¹ An altar to the Holy Cross was dedicated at the monastery of Löbenicht, after the Battle of the Streba in 1348.¹¹² A relic of the True Cross arrived at Marienburg as a gift to the Order on three occasions in the fourteenth century. In 1358 the bishop of Cuenca (Spain) and others issued an indulgence to pilgrims worshipping a fragment of the True Cross in the St Laurence Chapel. Those who visited the relic would receive a penance of forty days, and the many bishops including those of Cuenca, Besançon, Rocamadour, Sorrento, and others who issued this indulgence letter speaks to the international character of the *Reisen*, and thus the extent to which those participating in the wars could gain salvation through venerating the relic of the True Cross.¹¹³ The reputation of Prussia as a place for gaining salvation through fighting pagans, but also venerating relics and going on pilgrimage, was international, too.

Fragments of the True Cross continued to arrive in the region and it is clear that the Teutonic Order was the primary agent in promoting the veneration of the relics by crusaders. Wigand of Marburg writes that in the winter of 1375, “the King of France’s chamberlain transported a great part of the blessed cross, which the king had sent to the master.”¹¹⁴ The relic, “appropriately adorned with gold,” (*cum auro decenter ornatam*) was placed in the Chapel of

¹¹¹ *UB Samland*, 3, p. 292 (no. 425): “nova ecclesia sanctae crucis.”

¹¹² *CDP* 3, p. 81 (no. 58); also see Chapter 4 above, p. 244.

¹¹³ See Voigt, *Geschichte Marienburgs*, pp. 536-37. The bishop of Cuenca, Spain (*Conchensis*), Sorrento, Italy (*Sorrensis*), Potenza, Italy (*Potentinensis*), Urfa, Turkey (*Carminensis?*), San Sebastian, Spain (*Sebastiensis*), York, England (*Valonensis?*), Pistoia, Italy (*Pistoriensis*), Rocamadour, France (*Maturensis*), Belcastro, Italy (*Belcastrensis*), Crete (*Arcadiensis?*), and Besançon, France (*Crisopolitanus*). For the Latin place names, see *Orbis Latinus. Lexikon lateinischer geographischer Namen des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, 3 vols., ed. by Johann Georg Theodor Graesse (Braunschweig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1972), vol. 1, p. 560 (Conchensis → Cuenca); vol. 3, p. 439 (Surentum → Sorrento); vol. 3, p. 197 (Potentinum → Potenza); vol. 1, p. 436 (Carrhae → Carminensis → Urfa, Turkey); vol. 3, p. 352 (Sebatea → St Sebastian); vol. 1, p. 64 (Auola → Valona → York); vol. 3, p. 159 (Pistoriensis → Pistoria); vol. 2, p. 553 (Matura Rocca Amatoris → Rocamadour); vol. 1, p. 238 (Belcastrensis → Belcastro); vol. 1, p. 132 (Arcadiensis → Crete?); vol. 1, p. 591 (Crisopolitanus → Bisuntio/Besançon).

¹¹⁴ Wigand, pp. 574-75. “Accidit in eadem hyeme, quod camerarius regis Francie dominus Hoesteyn de Fremellis asportaret magnam partem crucis benedictae, in qua redempti sumus, quam rex misit magistro.” The chamberlain to the king was one Guy IV de la Tremouille.

St Lawrence at Marienburg, clearly accompanying the relic mentioned in the paragraph above.¹¹⁵ There was a significant *Reise* in 1375 with many guests, recorded both in Wigand's chronicle and the *ältere Hochmeisterchronik*. Many of these guests came from Germany, and according to Paravicini, the route of many German crusaders on the *Reisen* would have included a stop at Marienburg.¹¹⁶

Later, in 1382, Charles IV of France sent another large piece of the True Cross to the Teutonic Order, this time 'a great piece of the holy cross' (*eyn grose stücke von dem heiligen cruce*).¹¹⁷ An inventory taken at Marienburg from 1398 may refer to this last relic as stored in the Bell Master's sacristy, where there was "a relic of the holy cross that one kisses on Fridays" (*daz heilige cruce daz man dez frytages kuschet*).¹¹⁸ Not just any relics, but some of the most important ones to holy war, and to the physical sacred landscape of Jerusalem, dotted the Prussian frontier from the thirteenth and into the fifteenth century.

We know from a register taken in 1394 by Glockmeister¹¹⁹ of Marienburg, Conrad of Czaczchereny, that the Chapel of St Bartholomew, in the Middle Castle, possessed "a wooden box with relics."¹²⁰ In the same inventory, he recorded "one cross with a piece of the holy wood" (*1 cruce mit dem heiligen holcze*) in the Chapel of St Anne, also in the Middle Castle.¹²¹

¹¹⁵ Ibid, n.1036.

¹¹⁶ Wigand, p. 574: '...marschalis primam reysam suam statuit et cum...*Multi quoque peregrini intererant et cum 150 galeis intrantes terram paganorum fortiter vocabulo Dirsgungen.*' Also see *ÄH*, p. 597. For the routes of crusaders on the *Reisen*, see Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1, p. 207, for a table of the stops of crusaders from 1344 to 1390.

¹¹⁷ The original document is in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (GStAPK), Ordensfolianten (OF) 1. See GStA PK XX, HA., OF 1, Bl. 13-15: 'Und der konig hat mich dy dornyne krone sonderlanf losin sehen und *and[er] gros heylgetum und sneyt myt syner hant abe ein gros strücke von dem heyligen c[ru]ce.*'

¹¹⁸ *MÄ*, p. 124.

¹¹⁹ The office of Glockmeister (literally "master of the (church) bell") refers to the keeper of the chapel of Virgin at Marienburg who oversaw the ringing of bells for mass. See Edward Potowski, 'Spirituality and reading. Book collections of the Teutonic Order in Prussia', *Die Spiritualität der geistlichen Ritterorden im Mittelalter*, p. 220, gives a definition of the office of Glockmeister, as does Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma Spiritualia*, p. 108.

¹²⁰ *MÄ*, p. 124 (lines 27-9): "Item czu sente Bartholomeus sint 3 monstraneien und 2 cruce, *item 1 holczin tofelen mit heiligetume.*"

¹²¹ Ibid, (line 20): "Item czu sente Annen sint 6 monstraneien und 1 houbt, *item 1 cruce mit dem heiligen holcze.*"

A later inventory mentions processions and the displaying of relics to guests. Engelhard Nothafft, who left his office in March of 1437, noted that in the main church of the castle there were nine lectionaries “when one displays the relics”.¹²² In the Middle Castle there was, a wooden image and relic of St George (*eyn holtzen Jorgenbild mit heilgethum*).¹²³ Relics, in this context, were used in processions either to the local population or to guests visiting Marienburg on pilgrimage, which they continued to do throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth century.

It appears that the Chapel of the Virgin was only for the use of the brothers in the Order, with some exceptions. To consider the dissemination of sacred space and relics, we must look to other areas of the complex. The Middle Castle at Marienburg dates from the 1340s, and this second fortification includes the Chapel of St Anne and the Hospital/Dormitory that housed visitors to the castle, including pilgrims.¹²⁴ In it were the chapels of St Bartholomew and St Katherine, and we know from the *Marienburger Ämterbuch* that these chapels held relics. Therefore, there were spaces where pilgrims reflected their piety through the adoration of relics and solidified their connection to Prussia as a landscape in doing so. These examples explicitly deal with Marienburg, and a majority of the relics (of which there are a surprising variety) were kept in the Chapel of the Virgin. These texts do list the procedures for displaying relics, and Engelhard Nothafft’s inventory (1437), outlines the procedure for the displaying of relics to foreign priests or monks when they came to the chapel, “when foreign priests or monks come” (*wenne vremde prister kamin adir monche*).¹²⁵

¹²² *MÄ*, p. 127 (line 38): “9 lectionum wenn man das heiligethum umbtreith.”

¹²³ *Ibid* (lines 29-30).

¹²⁴ Pluskowski, *Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, p. 150, p. 179-82.

¹²⁵ *MÄ*, p. 127 (lines 24-5): “Soe synt ouch in des glogkmeisters sacresteie in der kirchen pfunff *gancze ornat unsczugehen wenne vremde prister komin adir monche...item eyn holtzen crucze, damete man di herren zcu grabe treith und bringhet.*”

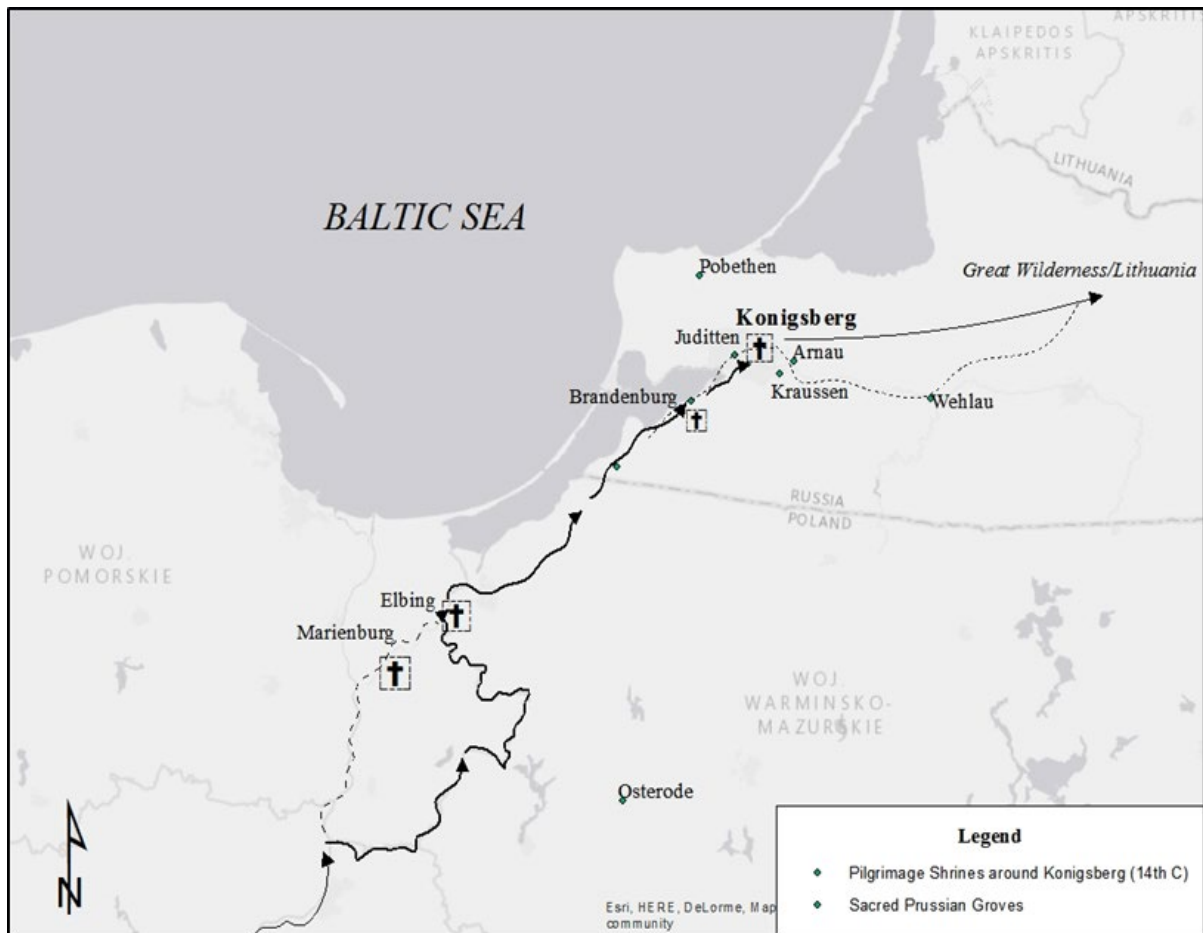
Although these entries took place after the “end” of the *Reisen* in the early fifteenth century, it is likely that such practices of relic adoration and processions had occurred for some time. Demonstrated in the sections above, the thirteenth-century sources for Prussia, while scarce, refer to relic processions and the veneration of relics by crusaders, notably those of St Barbara and the True Cross. By the fourteenth century this appears to have been a common aspect for pilgrims going on the *Reise*. The *Reise* of William IV of Guelders included stops at Juditten and Arnau in 1390, shrines surrounding Königsberg.¹²⁶ Juditten, the oldest church in Samland, was first mentioned in 1287 and became a significant Marian pilgrimage shrine by the 1360s.¹²⁷ John of Blois visited the shrine on the return from his *Reise* in 1363.¹²⁸ William IV of Holland visited numerous shrines in and around Königsberg in 1343-44, and 1344-45. Guillibert of Lannoy (c. 1413) offers an example of the longevity of this process, showing the established pilgrimage route toward the frontier included a stop at Marienburg, before proceeding to Elbing and then to Brandenburg.¹²⁹ There was a sustained development of sacral places in the landscape, namely castle chapels and individual churches, that became central to propagating a sacred geography in Prussia on the part of the Teutonic Order. The locations of these shrines are mapped below (Map 7).

¹²⁶ Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1, p. 306.

¹²⁷ See Ernst Ludwig Stork, *Die Kirche und das Kirchspiel Juditten im Landkreise Königsberg. Ein Beitrag zur vaterländischen, Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Preußens*. (Königsberg: Schultz, 1861).

¹²⁸ *PrUB* 1.2, pp. 322-24 (no. 514): *villa sic nominate Gaudityn*. The charter is from 1287.

¹²⁹ ‘Aus den Voyaiges’, p..



Map 9. Pilgrimage Shrines in Prussia, 14th Century. Cross = Order Castle/Convent.

Summary

While warfare and armed conversion expeditions were the main lure of crusading in the Baltic throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it is clear that the veneration of relics and the importation of relics into the region had a clear effect on the sacralisation of the landscape. Relics and relic veneration were significant elements of the crusading experience in the Baltic since the early thirteenth century, in Livonia, and that crusaders brought them as part of their pilgrimages. Demonstrated in section 1, this is the case in particular with the foundation of the Riga cathedral in 1211, the arrival of the True Cross in Elbing in 1233, and the discovery of St Barbara's relics in 1242. All of these had a profound and lasting effect on the sacral geography

in both regions, namely through the processions carried out with them throughout the century. In Riga, the cathedral was the main centre for these acts, while in Prussia, we can tie them to a variety of centres such as Thorn, Elbing, and Kulm. The thirteenth century saw the conquest of the landscape in both regions, but also an increase in the veneration of relics by crusaders participating in the campaigns.

The cult of relics continued to grow into the fourteenth century, where it was represented visually in castles like Marienburg at the chapel of St Anne (c. 1344), the burial place of the Grand Masters of the Teutonic Order and a shrine for guests visiting the castle on the *Reisen*. The True Cross continued to sacralise places through its presence in parish churches, like Biescobnicken in Sambia. Other relics were kept in the Order's chapels and churches, and displayed to important guests and crusaders who journeyed to participate in the *Reisen*. The same happened in centres like Elbing, which was a frequent stop for pilgrims toward the route to Königsberg. In the fourteenth century, altars of the True Cross were established to commemorate important victories for the Order, solidifying its role in sacralising those events and, in turn, the landscape in which they occurred. These instances combined with the emergence of the Order's visual culture in Prussia, thus segueing into the final chapter of this thesis on the visuality of the Baltic's sacred landscape expressed in the visual culture.

Chapter 4: The Ritualisation and Iconography of Landscape Sacralisation in the Baltic

Demonstrated in the above chapters, literary themes, martyrdom and hierophanic acts, the arrival and adoration of relics, and the traditional forms of ‘pilgrimage’ in the medieval Baltic all played roles in the solidification in the concept of a new sacred landscape in the region. These elements all reflect the ‘Self-understanding’ (*Selbstverständnis*) within the Teutonic Order and the crusaders who journeyed to the Land of the Virgin Mary. The visual culture in the Baltic region also reflects this concept, and this is a fast-growing aspect of academic work in the study of crusading. The Order used its castles and churches to express its status as a spiritual institution in addition to the political sovereignty it held in Prussia, reflecting its self-image (*Selbstbild*) to members and crusaders who came to Prussia to serve alongside the Order.¹ While these aspects expressed in the Order’s material culture are rooted in its historical canon of texts, how does the visual culture of the Order re-enforce the importance of the new holy land in the Baltic?

Castles of the Teutonic Order, and the cities that developed around them, have a rich tradition in the Order’s historical canon concerning their foundations. This is particularly the case in Prussia, offering the opportunity to view the development of a new sacred landscape over time through the commemoration of pivotal foundation events. For example, the sources

¹ The support of the nobility was crucial to the Order’s success, demonstrated by Ehlers, ‘The Crusade of the Teutonic Knights’, *Crusade and Conversion*, pp. 21-2; Idem, *Ablaßpraxis*, pp. 51-3. Also see Roman Czaja, ‘Das Selbstverständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden im Mittelalter. Bilanz und Forschungsperspektive’, in *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis*, pp. 11-12; Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, pp. 209-10. Also see Christofer Herrmann, ‘Kloster und Burg – die Architektur des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen und Livland’, in *Glaube, Macht und Pracht: geistliche Gemeinschaften des Ostseeraums im Zeitalter der Backsteingotik. Beiträge einer interdisziplinären Fachtagung vom 27. bis 30. November 2007 im Alfred-Krupp-Wissenschaftskolleg Greifswald*, ed. by Oliver Auge, Felix Biermann, and Christofer Herrmann (Rahden: Leidorf, 2009), pp. 209-19, here p. 218. The critiques of the *Reisen* have been considered by Erich Maschke, ‘Burgund und der Preussische Ordenstaat. Ein Beitrag zur Einheit der ritterlichen Kultur Europas im späten Mittelalter’, in *Domus Hospitalis Theutonicorum. Europäische Verbindungslinien der Deutschordensgeschichte*, ed. by Klemens Weiser and Udo Arnold (Bonn-Godesberg: Georg Hartmann, 1970), pp. 15-34, especially pp. 20-4, for the chivalric nature of the campaigns and the motivations of the guests. Finally, see Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 2, pp. 110-11. Also see Timothy Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade. The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013), for the importance of the Prussian crusades to the English nobility.

connect them directly to hierophanies. The early conquests in Prussia were commemorated in this framework from the thirteenth century well into the fifteenth, emphasising God's role in the foundation of the castles at Kulm, Thorn, Marienwerder, and Elbing.² Peter of Dusburg connected the 'many fortresses, cities and castles' (*plures municiones, civitates et castra*) to the great 'signs and miracles' (*signa et mirabilia*) of the Lord acted out in Prussia.³ Therefore, the present chapter considers the castles and churches of the Teutonic Order as the most visible elements of the process of landscape sacralisation.⁴

The chapter examines the history of these buildings and the spaces. It discusses first the physicality of the sacred landscape expressed in the presence of the castles by the end of the fourteenth century. It then discusses more unique elements surrounding the building of castles and churches in the region. Thirdly, elements associated with the missions of the Order and the place-naming process are discussed, demonstrating how the replication of place names and the meaning of place names show how the Order (and crusaders) applied the strong ideological messages present in the written material to specific points in the landscape itself. It concludes with a discussion of the iconography of this message in the castle chapels, and local sites.

² *HvSB*, p. 159: 'Do dyse burge alle mit *Gotes hulffe gebaweth woren*'; *PDC*, p. 108 (3.8): 'Cum ergo sonus predicacionis crucis Cristi exiret in omnem terram regni Alemanie et preconizaretur *novum bellum, quod elegit Dominus in terra Prussie*...Cum hiis peregrinis, dum veniret Thorun, frater Hermannus magistrum edificavit castrum et civitatem Culmensem.' Ibid, p. 110 (3.9): 'Postquam hec castra *per Dei gratiam essent edificata*.' *KvP*, p. 353 (lines 4401-4456); *ÄH*, p. 543: 'Nu merket hy, *wy gross int gotis wundyr...so daz noch LIII Jaren dy Prusyn al von en betwungin warn*.' This is quoting *PDC*, p. 28 (Prologue), describing the 'signs and wonders' (*signa et mirabilia*) of the Lord in Prussia: 'Nec pretereundum est hoc eciam magnum signum...*quod infra undecim annos a die introitus sui in terram Prussie gentes...sibi potenter et Cristiane fidei subdiderunt*.'

³ *PDC*, p. 28 (Prologue).

⁴ For a general background to the Livonian War in English, see William Urban, 'The Origin of the Livonian War, 1558', *Lituanus. Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences* 29, no. 3 (Fall, 1983) [accessed online, 16/05/2017: http://www.lituanus.org/1983_3/83_3_02.htm]. For the differences in architecture and material culture between Prussia and Livonia, see Christofer Herrmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur in Preußenland*, pp. 183-84; Marian Arsyński, 'Medieval Fortified Architecture in Livonia', in *The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia. The political and ecclesiastical Structures, 13th – 16th century*, ed. by Roman Czaja and Andrzej Radzimiński (Toruń: TNT, 2015), pp. 199-224, here pp. 201-2.

4.1: Castles as Markers of Prussia's Sacral Landscape

The number of sacral centres erected by Order and bishops in Prussia by the end of the fourteenth century reveals the full development of sustained crusading expeditions and how the sacralization of landscape is far from a literary theme, or a process associated with specific acts such as martyrdom or hierophanies. The structures constructed by the Order and the Church in Prussia alone amount to some 857 castles and churches by the end of the fifteenth century. Of these structures, 120 were castles, and 91 of those were Commanderies.⁵ In Livonia, the total number of castles is about 150, with approximately 60 *Ordensburgen*.⁶ This amounts to over 150 structures that were Commanderies, castles employing the function of a monastery.⁷

Throughout the colonisation and settlement phases in both regions respectively, it is natural that fortified, central places emerged in the landscape. The castles and the churches constructed in the Baltic are the most visible legacy of the crusades to that region.⁸ To the present day, they serve as important centres for tourism and restoration works, highlighting this legacy. In the crusade period, particularly from the end of the thirteenth century, their monumentality and presence in the landscape made them markers, symbols of the Order's dominance in the region and the success of the mission against the pagans. This raises the question to what extent their visibility served to demonstrate the landscape sacralisation process brought about in the

⁵ Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, p. 207, citing Christofer Herrmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur im Preußenland*, p. 14.

⁶ Herrmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur*, p. 184; Armin Tuulse, *Die Burgen in Lettland und Estland*, p. 15.

⁷ The material for the Order's Livonian castles is not nearly as diverse or available as the Prussian material is. See below, 4.2.

⁸ Torbus, 'Die Marienburg und die Deutschordensburgen in Preußen – neuere Forschungsergebnisse', *Jahrbuch des Wissenschaftlichen Zentrums der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, ed. by Irmgard Nöbauer (Vienna: Polnische Akademie der Wissenschaften Wissenschaftliches Zentrum in Wien, 2009), pp. 173-82.

crusading period by pilgrims in the Baltic.⁹ Their ideological programmes, namely the art and iconography, expressed themes from crusading ideology and the transference of it to the northern frontier of Christendom in the Baltic.

Landscape and human interactions with historical landscapes regularly highlight the importance of visibility, and metaphor, to show the development of constructed landscapes in the past.¹⁰ The recent work of Christofer Herrmann on the medieval architecture of Prussia considers the structures with respect to ‘art and geographical regions’, demonstrating the applicability of these concepts to the Prussian landscape. The castles (and churches) were products of a variety of physical and social factors. Regional styles were imported but were dictated by aspects of climate and geography.¹¹ In this section, the castles are treated as products of the completion of the landscape sacralisation process expressed in the Order’s texts. They visually reflect the ideological components surrounding the genesis of a new sacral landscape and reinforce the main themes in the texts analysed in the chapters above.¹²

People in the past interacted with landscape in an active sense, moving through it and, in the case of the crusades in the Baltic, created a distinct landscape as a result of their crusades,

⁹ Herrmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur*, p. 240: “Die Burgen des Preußenlandes gelten als die herausragende architektonische Leistung dieser Landschaft, als ein einzigartiger Beitrag des Nordostens für die europäische Architektur.”

¹⁰ For example, See Barbara Bender, ‘Time and Landscape’, *Current Anthropology* (August – October, 2002): pp. S103-S112; James M. Potter, ‘The Creation of Person, the Creation of Place: Hunting Landscapes in the American Southwest’, *American Antiquity* 69, no. 2 (April, 2004): pp. 322-38; Matthew Fitzjohn, ‘Viewing Places: GIS Applications for Examining the Perception of Space in the Mountains of Sicily’, *World Archaeology* 39, no. 1 (March, 2007): pp. 36-50.

¹¹ Herrmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur im Preußenland*, pp. 25-39, provides an overview of these topics from the nineteenth century to today.

¹² Marian Arsyński, ‘Der Deutsche Orden als Bauherr und Kunstmäzen’, in *Die Rolle der Ritterorden in der mittelalterlichen Kultur*, ed. by Zenon Hubert Nowak (Toruń: UMK, 1993), pp. 145-68; Idem, ‘Die Deutschordensburg als Klosterbau’, in *Die Spiritualität der Ritterorden im Mittelalter*, ed. by Zenon Hubert Nowak (Toruń: UMK, 1993), pp. 147-64; Marian Kutzner, ‘Die Herrschaftspropaganda in der Kunst des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen’, in *Echte Wehrhaftigkeit oder martialische Wirkung: Zur praktischen Funktion und zum Symbolcharakter von Wehrelementen profaner und sakraler Bauten im Deutschordensland Preußen und im Ostseeraum*, ed. by Gerhard Eimer and Ernst Gierlich (Cologne: Wissenschaft und Politik, 2000), pp. 253-302; Rainer Zacharias, ‘Die Reliquienwallfahrt zum Hochmeisterresidenz Marienburg’, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands*, 50 (2002): pp. 11-36.

settlement, and colonisation. We saw in the chapters above that the main ‘task’ of those who took the cross was, as reflected in the chronicles, the conversion of the tribes there and to carry out a vow made to participate in holy war. There certainly were motives and tasks that reflected worldly interest as well, as one could argue for the participants in the *Reisen*. The physical structures left behind testify to the spiritual interaction and mobility through the landscape by crusaders in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, and is reflected in the study of the sacred topography of the Order’s Prussian towns and cities.

For example, in light of chapter 3 on relics and relic processions, the castles of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and, to a lesser extent, those in Livonia, served as pilgrimage centres.¹³ A network of distinct places along a route clearly emerged. Pilgrimage routes and the repetitive visiting of specific places in the landscape gives insight into how people interacted with that landscape. Certain points were more sacral (or, more strategically important) than others. In this sense, the castles serve as an enduring reflection of the sacred geography brought by the Order’s commitment to its mission (to convert the pagans), in addition to the tasks of crusaders who came to participate in the expeditions. The sources describe religious processions and, in the later chronicles, festivals taking place at castles. What this demonstrates is a broader understanding amongst contemporaries of the castle as an enclosed sacred place in the landscape amongst contemporaries.

While this chapter primarily considers the art in the castle at Marienburg, the castle of Königsberg was the central place where the Order reflected its ideology and crusaders absorbed

¹³ This is due to the conquest of Livonia by c. 1290. See Gąssowski, ‘Der Anteil der Bürger aus den norddeutschen Städten an den Pilgerreisen nach Riga im 13. Jahrhundert’, *Wallfahrten in der europäischen Kultur*, pp. 147-48, and Selart, *Livonia, Rus’ and the Baltic Crusades*, p. 259. The remaining frontier in Lithuania, separating Prussia and Livonia, was the main target in the fourteenth century. However, most participants on the *Reisen* came from Germany and Europe, and this necessitated that they continue to visit the Order’s centres in Prussia. Also see Rainer Zacharias, ‘Die Marienburg als Wallfahrtstätte’, in *Burgen kirchlicher Bauherren. Hg. von der Wartburg-Gesellschaft zur Erforschung von Burgen und Schlössern in Verbindung mit dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum* (Bonn: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2001), pp. 49-60.

it. This was due to its proximity to the frontier with the Duchy of Lithuania.¹⁴ Pilgrims visited Marienburg along the way, usually coming from Danzig, and also stopped at other centres. They would then proceed to Elbing, stopping at Frauenburg, Brandenburg, Braunsberg, and Königsberg. Guillibert de Lannoy, in one of the most detailed accounts of this pilgrimage route, described Königsberg as ‘a great city, situated on a river, with two sets of walls. It is the property of the grand marshals of the Order. In this town, we saw the weapons and the *Table of Honour* from the time of the *Reisen* to Prussia (*le table d’honneur du temps des reises de Prusse*).’¹⁵

The place of Königsberg, in this context, has a distinct connection to the holy wars that brought about its foundation in 1255, when Ottokar II paid for the construction of a castle at Tuwangste (a Prussian sacred grove) during his crusade against the Sambians. The tradition that developed around it as the main centre for the *Reisen* held strong into the fifteenth century, and this carried over to the landscape surrounding it. Various pilgrimage shrines within the city and outside of its walls, discussed in Chapter 3 above, reflect this process. This demonstrates that the continued use of the city as a base for expeditions against the Lithuanians affected how contemporaries perceived it as a sacral place in relation to their mission in the region. Pilgrimage shrines and large collections of relics separated Königsberg from the region surrounding it, in economic and spiritual terms.¹⁶

We can see the function of this in a variety of sources. For example, in a charter confirming the dedication of an altar to St George by Grand Master Heinrich Dusemer, dated to 7 March,

¹⁴ Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1, pp. 272-73.

¹⁵ ‘Aus den voyages’, p. 445: “puis vins a Keunichzeberghe, qui est grosse ville assise sur une riviere, et y a deux fermetez et appartient au marechal de Prusse et voit on en celle ville les armes, le lieu et la table d’honneur du temps des reises de Prusse.”

¹⁶ Rainer Zacharias, ‘Die Marienburg als Wallfahrtsstätte’, in *Burgen kirchlicher Bauherren. Hg. von der Wartburg-Gesellschaft zur Erforschung von Burgen und Schlössern in Verbindung mit dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum* (Bonn: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2001), pp. 49-60.

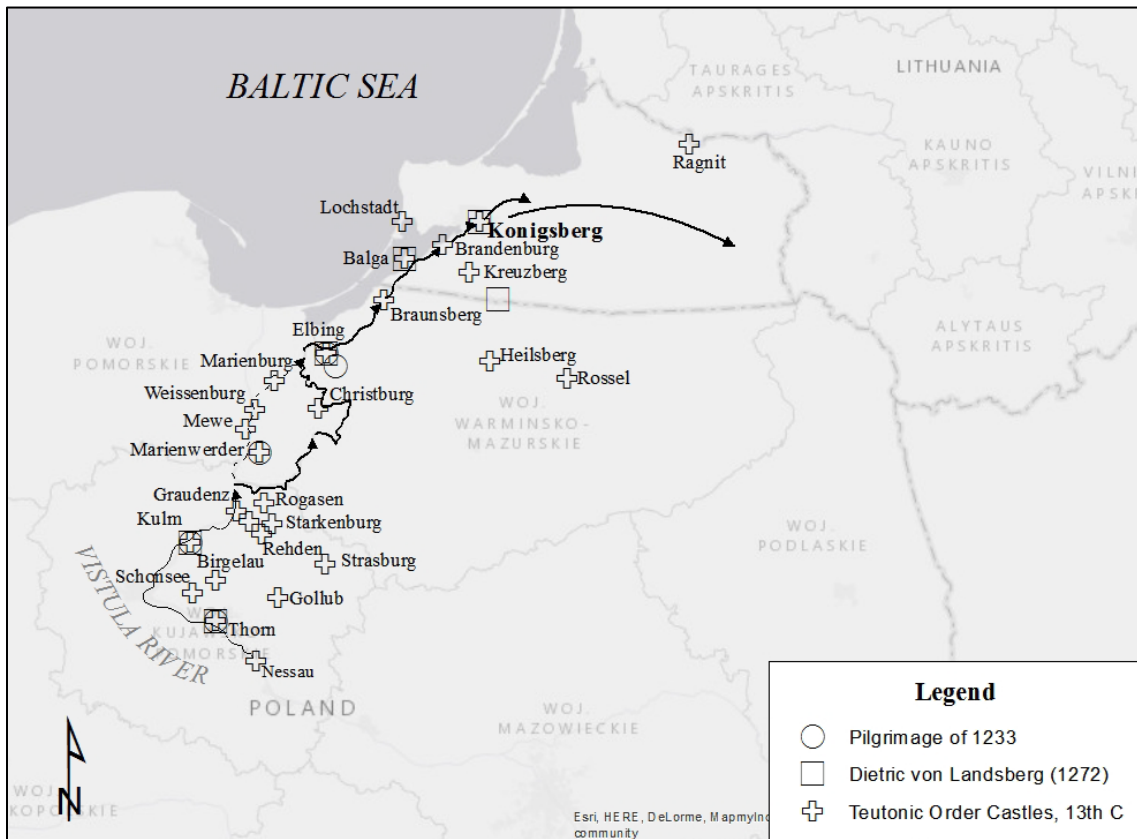
1336, we have an example of how pilgrims viewed the city as a sacral centre. The text describes the establishing of the altar by what could be pilgrims, the exact description being ‘illustrious men and famous knights’ (*virī consipcui et famosi milites*). Heinrich Dusemer established the altar because the men were in Prussia ‘for the unanimous purpose of seeking salvation of their souls’ (*querendo animarum suarum saliteum in unum concordantes*). With respect to the city as a sacral place, the charter explicitly states that the knights were ‘congregated in our city of Königsberg’ (*in civitate nostre kunigisberc congregati*) with these intentions.¹⁷ The gathering of the knights and pilgrims in this place demonstrates how castles and cities built by the Teutonic Order functioned as crucial in developing the spiritual landscape in Prussia. Dedicating altars for pilgrims to use, and building sites to commemorate the victories of the Order, such as the monastery at Löbenicht in 1348, directly connected the Order’s mission and the pilgrim’s perception of their undertaking to a specific point in the landscape.¹⁸

We saw in the above chapters, particularly Chapter 3, that a route emerged demarcated by these castles. It is also mapped below (Map 10). Though the castle of Königsberg is just one example, it is likely that pilgrims performed similar acts in the Order’s other main cities and castles, like Elbing, Marienburg, or Frauenburga. The development of these places as centres associated with the journey toward Königsberg gave cause for more traditional manifestations of pilgrimage. These were, in a sense, holy sites due to the combination of physical and spatial elements present in them. By 1400, these sites were well-established. For example, Anna, wife of Witold of Lithuania, made a pilgrimage to various places throughout Prussia that held relics

¹⁷ *UB Samland*, 1, pp. 220-21 (no. 295). Grand Master Werner of Orseln established a hospital dedicated to St George in 1327: see p. 180 (no. 263). In 1333, a perpetual flame was lit in the hospital, a donation from one Conrad Sutor upon his death.

¹⁸ For a similar example in Marienburg, see Zacharias, ‘Die Marienburg als Wallfahrtsstätte’, pp. 49-50. The monastery at Löbenicht was built to commemorate the Battle of Streva (2 February 1348), see *UB Samland*, 3, p. 268 (no. 383).

such as Brandenburg (Ushakovo), Kulm (Althaus Kulm; Starogard Chełminski), and Marienwerder (Kwidzyn).¹⁹



Map 10. Castles and the Thirteenth Century Pilgrimage Route in Prussia.

I discussed above the register books of the Teutonic Order as evidence for pilgrims (or guests of the Order) utilising the castles as sacral centres. Chapters 2 and 3 above considered hierophanies, martyrdom, and processions, as useful for identifying sacral locations in the landscape. Notable examples were Thorn, Kulm, and Riga. The function of these castles as pilgrimage centres offers a means of exploring the physical genesis of sacral sites during the crusades to the Baltic region.

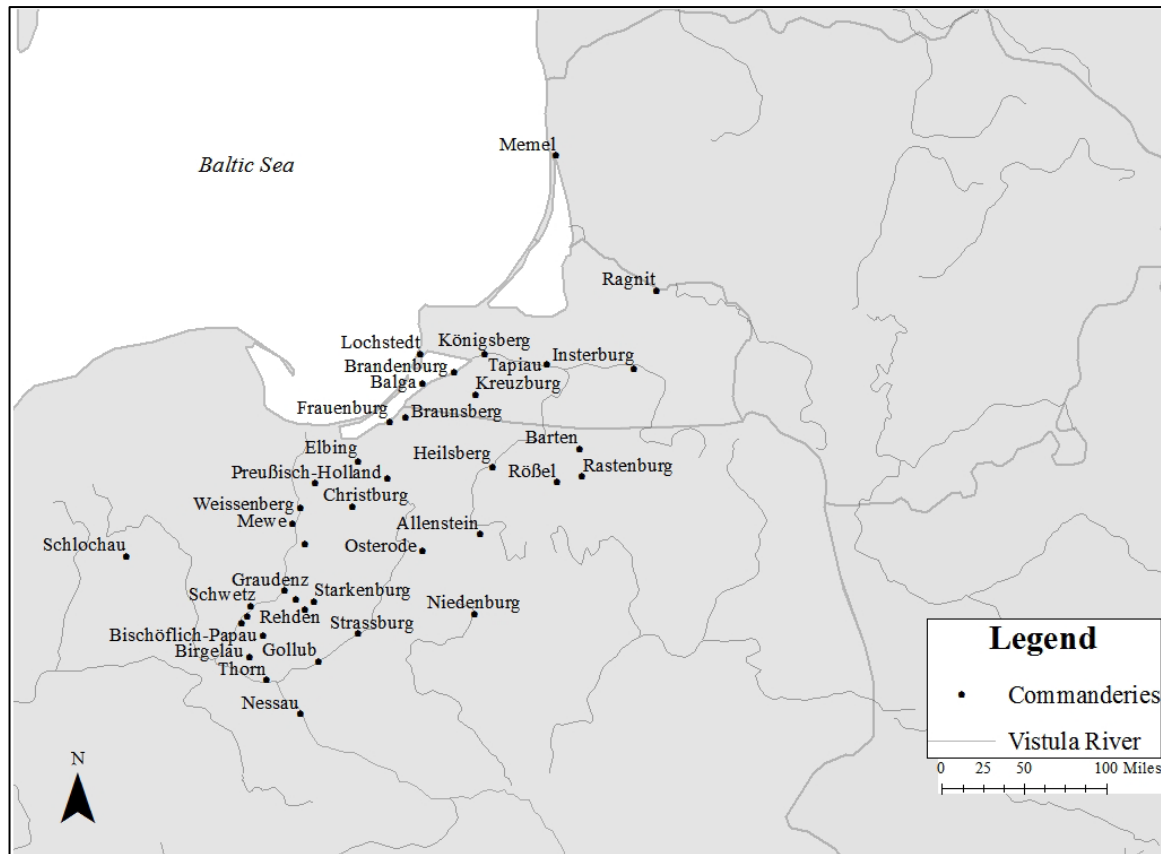
With respect to Prussia and Livonia, the concept of identity applied to that landscape is the subject of Chapter 1 above. It was defined by its paganism and association with the heathen, whilst also framed in the concept of crusade ideology in the form of Biblical imagery. It was

¹⁹ Zacharias, 'Marienburg als Wallfahrtstätte', p. 50.

the Promised Land of the Old Testament and, with respect to the crusade movement, it gained association with the Virgin Mary. This first came about in Livonia, but shortly afterward, when the Teutonic Order arrived in Prussia, this latter landscape received a similar quality.²⁰ In terms of the structures built by the crusaders and the Order, the transferral of relics to the region, and the establishment of pilgrimage routes, the Christianisation and sacralisation processes manifested themselves in a spiritual manner, but also in a visual one. The physicality and visibility of the castles and pilgrimage churches marked this landscape, functioning as important centres from which ‘tasks’ (i.e. conversion of pagans, raids to frontier areas, etc.) were carried out. The castle also served as a space and marker for another important task established in the chapters above, namely the veneration of relics and more traditional pilgrimage activities.

We can see the cluster of structures erected in the Kulmerland and around the frontier region toward Königsberg as representative of key places in the new sacral landscape, created by the literary themes, martyrdom, relics and, now, castles. The map below (Map 11) illustrates the spatial distribution of sites and their locations by the fourteenth century, when the Order’s ‘state’ functioned at its peak in terms of administrative duties and participants visiting on the *Reisen*. Given the analysis of the above factors and features of the castles built by the Teutonic Order in Prussia, this map represents Prussia as a spiritual landscape at the turn of the fourteenth century.

²⁰ For example, *HCL*, p. 92 (15.4); p. 132 (19.7); p. 179 (25.2); p. 180 (25.2); p. 181 (25.2). *LR*, p. 11 (lines 441-451); p. 186 (lines 8117-8120); p. 217 (lines 9493-9502); p. 273 (lines 11944-11950). *HvSB*, p. 167; *PDC*, pp. 550-52 (Suppl. 18). Wigand, p. 512; p. 513.



Map 11. Teutonic Order Commanderies by the mid-14th Century.

4.2: Castle and Church Building in the Medieval Baltic: Designs and Spatial Significance

While the mid to late fourteenth century saw a significant period of growth in the spirituality of the Teutonic Order as an institution engaged in the fight against the enemies of the Church, it likewise saw the peak of the Order's visual culture in Prussia, and the highpoint of the annual campaigns against Lithuania.¹ Given the intersection of these factors, the perception of

¹ Johannes Voigt, *Geschichte Marienburgs* (Königsberg, 1824), pp. 143-44; Idem, *Geschichte Preussens 5: Die Zeit vom Hochmeister Ludolf König von Weizau 1342 bis zum Tode des hochmeisters Konrad von Wallenrod 1393* (Königsberg, 1832), pp. 86-7; Helm and Ziesemer, *Literatur des Deutschen Ordens*, p. 16; Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1, p. 272; Stefan Kwiatkowski, 'Gott, Mensch und Welt in der Sicht der Deutschordensritter', in *Terra sanctae Mariae. Mittelalterliche Bildwerke der Marienverehrung im Deutschordensland Preußen*, ed. by Gerhard Eimer, Ernst Gierlich, Matthias Müller, and Kazimierz Pospieszny (Bonn: Kulturstiftung der deutschen Vertriebenen, 2009), pp. 15-27, here pp. 15-6; Joachim Vennesbuch, 'Zentrale Facetten der Spiritualität des Deutschen Ordens im Spiegel der älteren Hochmeisterchronik', *Ordines Militares* 18 (2013): 264.

landscape sacralised by holy war formed a key component of this support by crusaders from Europe. Wigand of Marburg, the authoritative chronicler for the period, noted that ‘many buildings [in Prussia] were refortified, alongside the construction of religious buildings such as cloisters and monasteries.’² It was in these buildings (and cities) that the Order’s guests experienced the Order’s visual culture, and understood the sacral history of the region in which they were fighting.³ They did this through participating in masses, offering alms, and venerating relics. Likewise, the Order itself engaged in a specific use of sacral spaces which, through ritual, solidified the perception of a new sacred landscape in the Baltic. This section considers these structures and highlights the role of ritual in asserting the concepts of landscape sacralisation expressed in the chapters above.⁴

While the *Reisen* were defined by the martial expeditions and feats of valour against the Lithuanians, there were specific places in the landscape where participants gathered and engaged in acts of commemoration, relic veneration, and ‘pilgrimage’ to shrines. These places were castles of the Order in addition to parish churches and pilgrimage shrines. However, all of these had their origins in the thirteenth-century conquest period. The castles (*castra* in Peter of Dusburg’s chronicle, for example) were initially not the stone and brick structures that came to define the visual culture of the medieval Baltic, but were instead constructed of wood and earth.⁵ This construction method lasted into the fifteenth century, such as the castles built in

² Wigand, p. 515, describing the election of Winrich von Kniprode (r. 1351-1382): *Frater Wynricus de Knyprode xxiius magister generalis, post predictam Epyphanie electus ex divina Misericordia...castra vero et oppida Prusie tempore suo sunt fortificata muris et propugnaculis, claustra quedam edificata, aliqua instaurata.*

³ See Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1, pp. 305-09.

⁴ For example, see Sławomir Józwiak, and Janusz Trupinda, *Krzyżackie zamki komture w Prusach: Topografia i układ przestrzenny na podstawie średniowiecznych źródeł pisanych [‘Commandery Castles of the Teutonic Order in Prussia: Topography and spatial layout based on Medieval written sources’]* (Toruń: UMK Press, 2012).

⁵ Górski, ‘Religijność Krzyżaków a klimat kulturalny’, *Przegląd Historyczny* 75, no. 2 (1984): pp. 249-58; Torbus, *Die Konventsburgen*, pp. 55-8; Herrmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur in Preußenland*, pp. 240-41; Idem, ‘Kloster und Burg – die Architektur des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen und Livland’, in *Glaube, Macht und Pracht. Geistliche Gemeinschaften des Ostseeraums im Zeitalter der Backsteingotik. Beiträge einer interdisziplinären Fachtagung vom 27. bis 30. November 2007 im Alfried Krupp Wissenschaftskolleg Greifswald*, ed. by Oliver

the Great Wilderness during the summer campaigns (*Baureisen*).⁶ The castle of Kreuzburg, pictured below (Image 14), demonstrates the earth and wood fortification styles from this period.

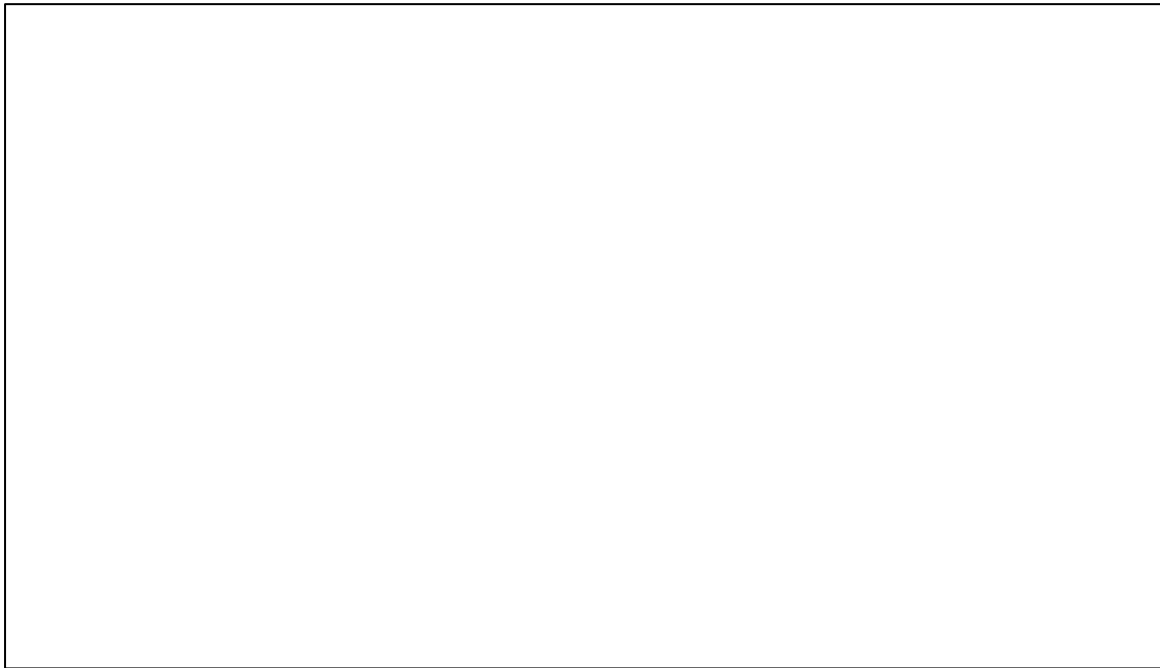


Image 14. This image has been removed by the author for copyright purposes.

Sacred space connotes a specific point in a landscape that is made holy through ritual.⁷ In this sense, the Order's commanderies were sacral spaces, for they were required in the *Rule* to possess a church, a refectory and dormitories, the essential elements for the brethren to carry

Auge, Felix Biermann and Christofer Herrmann (Rahden: Marie Leidorf, 2009), pp. 209-19, especially p. 212; Pluskowski, *Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, pp. 97-100.

⁶ See Napoleonas Kitkauskas, and Vytautas Sliogeris, 'Litauische Burgen im Zeitraum der Bildung und Zentralisierung des litauischen Staates (11.-15. Jh.) - Ergebnisse der Forschung', in *Castella Maris Baltici 1*, ed. by Knut Drake (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1993), pp. 109-15; Christofer Herrmann, 'Deutschordensburgen in der 'Grossen Wildnis'', *Castella Maris Baltici 6*, ed. by Albinas Kuncevičius (Vilnius: Savastis, 2004), pp. 97-104, specifically p. 98; Gintautas Zabiela, 'Mottes and bailey in Lithuania', *Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich*, 23 (2007): pp. 307-14. For the *Baureisen*, see Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 2, p. 84.

⁷ Murray, 'Sacred Space and Strategic Geography', *SSSTOP*, p. 15.

out their monastic obligations.⁸ In addition, commanderies (headed by a commander or *Komtur*), were required to have twelve brothers, mimicking the figure of Christ and his apostles, thus the space within was solidified in Biblical tradition.⁹ While the precise dates for the emergence of these buildings is shady, it is clear that by the end of the thirteenth century there was a clear use of sacred spaces within the Order's castles. Peter of Dusburg's account of the brothers in Balga, for example, places the origins of conventual life within the Order's castles to around 1250. He likewise connected the name of Engelsberg to the angelic lifestyle practice by the brothers.¹⁰

While it is very unlikely that castles from the 1230s and 1240s had a standardised monastic layout, it is clear that the Order began to build castles in stone and brick sometime near the end of the 1250s and throughout the remainder of the century, in addition to churches and cathedrals. Kulmsee Cathedral (1250) and the new castle chapel in Thorn (1263), mentioned above, are two early examples.¹¹ The same can be said for Livonia, where the both Henry of Livonia and the Rhymed Chronicler refer to castles having chapels. Their accounts of the assassination of Master Wenno of Rohrbach both refer to the castle as 'the monastery' (*monasterium*) or 'the house' (*hūs*).¹²

⁸ *SDO*, p. 71.

⁹ *Ibid*, 41: "Preterea observandum est, ut in omnibus domibus, ubi numerus fratrum ad integritatem conventus est completus (ut scilicet XII fratres et tercius decimus preceptor eorum ibidem morentur secundum numerum discipulorum Christi) leccio continue ad mensam habeatur, quam omnes in mense edentes sub silencio audient." Also see Pluskowski, *Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, p. 142.

¹⁰ *PDC*, p. 122 (3.22). "Qualis vite puritas quantaque virtus abstinencie et quantus rigor regularis fuerit discipline inter fratres de Balga." Balga is modern-day Veseloye, located in the Kaliningrad Oblast, about 19 miles to the southwest of Kaliningrad. For Engelsberg, see p. 124. "Ad castrum Engelsbergk venerunt quidam religiosi viri, qui dum viderent statum et conversacionem fratrum ibidem, quesiverunt, quod esset nomen castrum. Quibus cum diceretur, quo Engelsbergk i.e. mons angelorum vocaretur, responderunt: 'Vere nomen habet a re, quia habitantes in eo angelicam ducunt vitam.'" Engelsberg, modern-day Pokrzywno, is located in north-western Poland, about 10km northwest of Rehden.

¹¹ Herrmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur in Preußenland*, p. 240. See also above, Chapter 3.

¹² *HCL*, pp. 67-8 (13.2-3) recounts Wenno's death at the hands 'of one knight in the Order, named Wickbert' (*Wickbertus quidam inter fratres milicie*); *LR*, pp. 16-7 (lines 687-716). Also see *LR*, p. 12 (line 515), which describes Kokenhusen as a 'house': 'zû hûse er [Caupo – GL] wider kûme quam.' Segewold is also a house, p. 15 (line 631): 'hūs...Sigewald', as is Ascheraden, p. 15 (line 640): 'hûz zû Ascherate.' My italics. For the early

From a spatial point of view, the emergence of the conventual castles (*Konventsburgen*) provide a key aspect to the sacralisation of landscape. This is primarily through the spaces that the castles seek to represent, and the rituals that occur within them. The conventual castles are unique in their structure and layout, which emphasises a four-winged quadrangular castle. Examples of this include the High Castle at Marienburg (constructed c. 1280), as well as Rehden (c. 1330), Strasburg (c. 1350), and Ragnit (1390s).¹³ This is noted, for example, in the late thirteenth-century poem, the *Apokalypse*, written by Heinrich Hesler, a brother in the Order. The text describes the Heavenly Jerusalem as ‘a castle on a high hill...with twelve gates’, as outlined in Revelation 21, thus framing the quadrangular shape of the Order’s castles in the context of the heavenly city itself.¹⁴

The four wings have specific spatial connotations, noted especially in the literature of Polish researchers. The castle chapels here were the primary space in which rituals took place regularly. These provide key points to the sacralisation of landscape, namely in the iconography present in the structures and their use in key liturgical and religious processions. Janusz Trupinda, for example, has considered the visuality of the Heavenly Jerusalem in the chapel of the Virgin Mary at Marienburg (c. 1344) and connected this to the Old and New Testament frescoes decorating the walls.¹⁵ I will discuss this further in the coming segment. Kazimierz Pospieszny has likewise considered the Heavenly Jerusalem reflected in the spatial layout of the chapel, linking the placement of relics and the presentation of relics in the chapel during

phases of castle building in Livonia, see Ēvalds Mugurevics and Ulrich Willerding, ‘Zur Archäologie mittelalterlicher Burgen in Lettland.’ *Lübecker Schriften zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte* 12 (1986): pp. 241-59.

¹³ Herrmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur in Preußenland*, pp. 242-45.

¹⁴ Heinrich Hesler, *Die Apokalypse Heinrichs von Hesler aus der Danziger Handschrift*, ed. by Karl Helm (Berlin: Widemann, 1907), pp. 305-11 (lines 20,803-21,184), outlines the heavenly city and its proportions.

¹⁵ Trupinda, ‘Die Chronik von Peter von Dusburg als Quelle’, p. 521, for the sacred history (*Heilige geschichte*) reflected in the Old and New Testament frescoes on the chapel walls. Also see Lotan, Lotan, Shlomo, ‘*Querimonia deslacionis terre sancte*’, *Mirabilia*, 15, pp. 47-55, for the commemoration of the earthly Jerusalem.

services as connected to the New Jerusalem in Prussia, namely by tracing the procession paths and examining the spaces in which the relics were stored.¹⁶

However, Marienburg is not the only example of a quadrangular castle containing cloisters and a chapel. The replication of this design of castle throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Prussia speaks to a conscious replication of various ‘Jerusems’, in terms of landscape sacralisation, the conventual castles, complete with chapels, relics, and other holy objects provided tangible elements for rituals to take place by both brothers in the Order, the local Christian population, and crusaders. Convent castles at Rehden, Kulm, Christburg, Brandenburg, Mewe and, most importantly for the fourteenth century, Königsberg, were the scenes of relic processions and gathering centres for guests on the *Reisen*. They held churches with altars for saints and their relics, evinced in the register books for each castle taken throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹⁷

The continued use of these spaces over time reflects the key aspects of landscape sacralisation via commemoration and memorialization. Many of these castles were the scenes of martyrdoms and hierophanic events in the thirteenth-century conquests, especially in Peter of Dusburg’s chronicle. For example, we saw above in Chapter 2 how martyrdom and hierophanic acts demonstrated that there was a perception of miraculous events happening in these places, namely the martyrdoms and miraculous visions placed there in the Peter of Dusburg’s chronicle. Rehden was the scene of a hierophanic vision, as were Thorn, Kulm, and

¹⁶ See Pospieszny, ‘Die Organisation des liturgischen Raumes des Deutschordens-Konventhauses in Preußen: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Marienburg’, in *Die sakrale Backsteinarchitektur des südlichen Ostseeraums – der theologische Aspekt*, Gerhard Eimer and Ernst Gierlich (Berlin: Mann, 2000), pp. 101-15; Idem, Orte der Reliquienpräsentation in den Deutschordensburgen in Preußen. Ein Beitrag zu neuen Forschungen’, in *Ecclesiae ornatae. Kirchengestaltungen des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit zwischen Denkmalwert und Funktionalität*, ed. by Gerhard Eimer, Ernst Gierlich and Matthias Müller (Bonn: Kulturstiftung der deutschen Vertriebenen, 2009), pp. 311-26.

¹⁷ *GA*, p. 564, records relics (*heilighum*) in Rehden in 1411; p. 502, for relics at Kulm (Althaus) of St Barbara in 1412; p. 132, for relics at Christburg in 1411; p. 232, for the relics of St Katherine in Brandenburg in 1437; p. 743, for the relics in Mewe in 1416; and p. 6, which lists relics and altars in Königsberg, taken in 1387.

Christburg. All of these were commandery castles of the Order by the fourteenth century, possessing a quadrangular structure and a chapel with relics.

Practicing religious life in the castles and the veneration of relics reinforced a perception of the ‘new’ holy land of Prussia by the end of the fourteenth century, and one is left to wonder the extent to which the previous hierophanic events or martyrdoms were actively associated with specific places. It very likely would have been within the Order, for there are clear guidelines for commemorating fallen brethren outlined in the *Rule*. Brothers were expected to pray 100 pater nesters for the souls of their fallen brethren. The houses where brothers died were expected to give alms for the deceased brothers, too, indicating that those figures mentioned in Peter of Dusburg’s chronicle martyred in the thirteenth century would have been commemorated by the Order.¹⁸ This is also present in the structure of Peter of Dusburg’s chronicle which mentions the date of and year martyrdoms and, sometimes, naming individual brethren and crusaders. For example, he commemorated the battle of Pocarwen (1261) as a martyrdom, and named a specific crusader from Magdeburg who was also killed, placing it in the vicinity of Brandenburg castle, thus linking the commemoration of this event to one of the most important convents in the Order’s territory.¹⁹ Spatially, this indicates that the spaces in the castles were used to commemorate not just the major feast days of the church, but the specific events that helped to shape the Christianisation of Prussia as a sacral war, which transformed the pagan landscape.

Not only the motivations of crusaders in the fourteenth-century Baltic, but the acts in which they engaged while on their ‘pilgrimage’, are extremely difficult to pinpoint. Crusaders often

¹⁸ *SDO*, pp. 37-8: ‘Zu deme hûs, dâ inne der brüder gestirbet, gehôret daz...vierzich tage gebe eime armen, wenne dâz almûsen ledeget von deme tôde unde gestatet niht, daz die sêle, die in gnâden hinnen gescheiden sint, die lenge sîn in wîzen.’ Also see *SDO*, p. 153, for the additional processes added by Winrich von Kniprode concerning deceased brethren.

¹⁹ *PDC*, p. 212 (3.91).

did visit the major cities of the Order on their route to Königsberg, the main place for gathering before (or after) a campaign into Lithuania. The extent to which they actively engaged with the sacred spaces within the Order's castles is difficult, though there is an account from the *Marienburger Ämterbuch* that mentions 'foreign priests or monks' using the Chapel of the Virgin in the 1430s.²⁰ Instead, we can view the interaction and sacralisation process by these guests in considering the giving of alms and the donations to altars in cities such as Thorn, Elbing, and Königsberg. For example, William IV of Holland (d. 1345) visited Elbing in January of 1344 on his expedition to Lithuania and made offerings in the city.²¹ It is not specified whether or not William made an offering to the relic of the True Cross, though it is very likely that he did. Paravicini has shown that the expenses on the *Reisen* involved many things (horses, food, lodging, etc.), in addition to making donations to shrines and altars.²² We saw above in Chapter 2.4 that noblemen on the *Reisen* who commemorated their predecessors in churches. At Thorn, William IV of Holland lit a candle for the memory of John II of Namur, who perished in Prussia in 1335.²³ The commemorative practice of alms-giving was viewed as a sacral act, and an expression of piety, therefore reflecting how crusaders in the fourteenth-century Baltic interacted with space, and sacralised landscape, through processions and commemorative acts. Indeed, they could also commemorate their own deeds, such as William

²⁰ *MÄ*, p. 127 (lines 24-5): "Soe synt ouch in des glogkmeisters sacresteie in der kirchen pfunff *gancze ornat unsczugehen wenne vremde prister komin adir monche...item eyn holtzen crucze, damete man di herren zcu grabe treith und bringhet.*"

²¹ For William IV of Holland, see Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1, p. 56; 2, p. 166, for his expenses on the *Reise*. For his visit to Elbing, see 'Johannes von Niederheims Rechnungen über die Preussenfahrt des Grafen Wilhelm IV. von Holland im J. 1344', ed. by Hirsch, *SRP* 2, pp. 742-62, here p. 755: "daer hi jehghens *mijn here ghereden was ten Elüinghen*, ii scot pruuus valent iii grote." He also made an offering to the new cathedral in Königsberg, see p. 756: *doe ghesent was van mijns heren weggen an den bisscop van Zamenland, als dat hi mijn here leenen woude dien niewen doem in te legghen iiiii scot, valent vi grote iiiii mit.*" He visited Elbing again in February of that year. Two men in his company, Hermann van Esse and Johann von Niedersheim, visited Elbing in April of 1344. Hermann gave a donation at Elbing 'because he was on a *Reise*' (*die wile dat men in die reyse was*).

²² Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1, pp. 275-85, outlines the expenses and activities of the guests in Prussia.

²³ See above, Chapter 2, section 4. Also see *SRP* 2, p. 744: 'It. des selfs daghes aldaer ten minderbroederen minin heer tofferen bi Jan van Consore, *doe men s graüen wtaüert van Namen.*'

IV of Ostrevent who, in 1389, had a plaque (*tafel*) depicting his coat of arms hung in the cathedral (*op te hanghen en die kerke*). The various frescoes of crusaders who participated on the *Reisen* that decorated the west end of the church, too, serve to indicate that participants in the *Reisen* participated in commemorative practices in sacral spaces.²⁴

Parish churches and pilgrimage shrines surrounding Königsberg demonstrate a broader projection of practices and ritualization that reflects the sacralisation of landscape via engaging with sacred space. At Juditten, a popular shrine to the Virgin Mary since the late thirteenth century, the coats of arms of crusaders again decorated the walls, but so did apocalyptic scenes of the Last Judgement. The small stone church, the oldest one in the diocese of Sambia, was visited by a number of crusaders throughout the fourteenth century, such as William of Guelders on his *Reise* in 1389. He also visited he visited Elbing, where he was received ‘with great honour’ (*grose ere vil geschach*), before visiting the relics of St Katherine at Brandenburg (*reit...zcu sinte Katherinen zcu Brandenburg*).²⁵ These shrines were supported through alms, and it appears that the giving of alms and commemoration of fallen crusaders were significant elements of the *Reisen* in terms of experience: the campaigns, highly dependent on climate and weather, were indeed defined by war and engagement in battle.²⁶ However, pilgrimage, commemorative acts and, as a result, interaction with sacred space, were significant in that they were not so reliant on weather conditions.

²⁴ See *SRP* 2, p. 768. For the frescoes in Königsberg cathedral: Paravicini, ‘Verlorene Denkmäler europäischer Ritterschaft: Die heraldischen Malereien des 14. Jahrhunderts im Dom Zu Königsberg’, in *Kunst und Geschichte im Ostseeraum. Tagungen 1988 und 1989 Homburger Gespräche*, ed. by Erich Böchler (Kiel: Martin-Karl-Adolf-Böckler Stiftung, 1990): pp. 67-168, especially p. 71 for the location of the frescoes; also see Christoffer Herrmann, ‘Die Anfänge des Königsberger Dombaus’, in *750 Jahre Königsberg. Beiträge zur Geschichte einer Residenzstadt auf Zeit*, ed. by Bernhardt Jähmig (Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 2008), pp. 327-52, specifically pp. 340-41 for the frescoes.

²⁵ *ÄH*, p. 616, recounts William’s visit: ‘Do quam her [William] zcu dem meister ken dem Elwinge, do em grose ere vil geschach, und reit dornoch zcu unser liben frawen ken Judenkirche, und zcu sinte Katherinen zcu Brandenburg.’ Also see Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1, pp. 305-09, for the main shrines and crusaders who visited them throughout the fourteenth century.

²⁶ Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 2, pp. 13-46.

The spaces in which these duties were performed were sacred ones, and their continued use by both brothers in the Order and foreign ‘guests’ indicates the continued perception of a sacred landscape. While a distinct visual culture was present in many of the Order’s commanderies in Prussia, relics and the presence of sacred spaces for both brethren in the Order and pilgrims on the *Reisen* cement the ideological nature of the development of the crusades against the Prussians. Through its visual culture in these centres, the Order expressed its pious origins, the origins of its relics, and demarcated specific sacral places to its guests. This imparted a sense of a sacral landscape to them through the decorations in its castles, and relic adoration, which necessitated ritual.

Though the castle chapels of the brothers were private spaces, there are instances of pilgrims and guests using them in the later decades of the fourteenth century. Most relics were kept in the chapel, which recent spatial analysis by Borowski and Gerrard shows was a very complex space to access in castles of the Teutonic Order.²⁷ This would confirm that, in general, pilgrims were not always present in the services that took place within them. However, we do have references in the thirteenth-century chronicles to processions (discussed above, Chapter 3.2), and indirect accounts of celebrations of victories over the pagans. These played a role in the formation of identity with respect to the crusaders who took part in these events (in the sense that victory was perceived to be divine providence), in addition to the areas in which they occurred. The victory sacralised the place. The analysis indicates that pilgrims and brothers took part in these acts, and it follows that the spaces in which they conducted processions and relic veneration were shared ones in some cases.

²⁷ Pluskowski, *Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, pp. 156-57. Borowski and Gerrard, ‘Constructing Identity in the Middle Ages’, pp. 1082-83 and pp. 1090-92.

4.3: Place-naming and Landscape Sacralisation in the Medieval Baltic

Castle and church building were key in the sacralisation of landscape. Equally as important were the elements present in the place-naming processes in both Livonia and Prussia. The strongest link between the two regions can be found in the presence of a Marienburg (Mary's castle) in both regions by the end of the thirteenth century. In Livonia, the first Marienburg is mentioned in a charter of 1225, in a land dispute between Albert of Riga and the bishop of Semigallia, which mentions a castle of Babath, 'called [the castle] of the Virgin Mary' (*castrum Babath, sanctae Mariae nuncupatum*).²⁸ In the *Rhymed Chronicle*, there are clear references to specific places being named after battles, in relation to a miraculous event. The foundation of Heiligenberg (holy mountain), done as a holy work, reflects Williken von Endorp's commitment to holy war and the author's view of it as such.²⁹ There was another 'holy mountain' near the city of Riga, upon which Berthold of Loccum was martyred in July of 1198, thus connecting the event to a specific point in the landscape, specifically one which would become the main sacral centre of the Eastern Baltic region. Indeed, it was kept in historical memory into the sixteenth century, known as 'the holy mountain' (*der Santperge*).³⁰

However, it is the historical writing of the Teutonic Order (*Ordensgeschichte*) in Prussia that offer the most demonstrable evidence of place-naming activities and how this reflects the process of sacralisation of the landscape. The chronicles record the various instances of naming places after the Order's patron, the Virgin Mary, in addition to other saints venerated in the Order, such as St George, and it appears to have been a common element of the Order's identity in Prussia since its arrival in 1230. The Order appears to have replicated not just the names of its patron saints, but physical locations of its history in the Holy Land.

²⁸ *LECUB* 1.76, cols. 82-4, here col. 83.

²⁹ *LR*, p. 228 (lines 9934-9939).

³⁰ 'Chronica Episcoporum Rigensium', p. 174. Also see Anti Selart, 'The Use and Uselessness of the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia in the Middle Ages', in *CCWMBF*, pp. 345-61, here p. 355.

The first of these was Thorn, named after Toron des Chevaliers (Tibnin, Lebanon), ceded to the Order in the early thirteenth century. In fact, in a donation charter of April, 1229, the importance of the castle is noted by its proximity to pagans, in this case, Muslims.³¹ The castle of Montfort (Starkenberg) was the Order's headquarters in the Holy Land from 1229 to 1271, and also had its Prussian counterpart in the castle of Starkenburg (Slupp), constructed sometime c. 1275 by Master Anno von Sangerhausen. Peter of Dusburg informs us that it was built 'through God's grace' (*per Dei gracia*).³² Subsequent castles named Starkenberg were constructed in the late fourteenth century, namely at Krasny Bor (Kaliningrad Oblast), founded in the late fourteenth century.³³ Castles in the pagan landscape were received names key to the Order's early history and identity as an institution, thus representing the process of landscape sacralisation through commemorating these early places.³⁴

Thorn in Prussia was named after this important centre for the Order in the Holy Land, but it soon took on its own identity with respect to Prussia's sacral geography. It was the first castle constructed by the Order, and as such it was remembered both in the Order's texts and other chronicles. It was founded in an oak tree, the story of which was re-told in virtually all of the Order's texts from the time of the so-called 'Hermann of Salza Letter' (c. 1249): 'Then the brothers entered the land [of Kulm]...they first built a castle in an oak tree, with the help of noble pilgrims.'³⁵ The struggle of the early brothers in this oak tree castle became an integral

³¹ *TOT*, p. 54 (no. 66).

³² *PDC*, p. 270 (3.149): 'Sed longe postea iterum magister populum convocavit et tunc edificacionem dicti castris *per Dei gracia consummavit covans ipsum Starkenbergk, quod Latine dicitur fortis mons.*' Also see p. 272 (3.150), which documents the relocation of the castle. For the date of construction, see Christofer Herrmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur in Preußenland*, p. 684.

³³ Christofer Herrmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur*, p. 735.

³⁴ Starkenburg is mentioned in the Order's *Rule*, see p. 97.

³⁵ *HvSB, SRP 5*, p. 159: 'Dornach furen dy bruder yn das landt und logen mit hulffe des hertzen und andere elender pylgram unnd furen ober dy Weyssel yns lanth zcum Colmen...Czum ersten do baweten sy uff einen eichenen bawm, und Goth sante yn zu hulffe pilgram.' Also see 'Translacio et miracula sanctae Barbarae', ed. by Max Töppen, *SRP 2*, pp. 399-411, here p. 403, for the account of the oak tree. For the function of these trees, see Seweryn Szczepański, '*Arbor custodie que vulgariter dicitur Wartboum*. The Function and Existence of the So-

part of the new sacral landscape in Prussia, evinced in its presence in Peter of Dusburg's chronicle, Nicolaus of Jeroschin's translation of Peter's chronicle, and the *ältere Hochmeisterchronik*.³⁶

The memory of the place and the commemoration of the early oak tree lasted into the fifteenth century, becoming a trope to describe the conversion of the Prussians and, indeed, the landscape. It became a crucial part to the Order's identity, not only expressed by its members, but by guests who visited Prussia. Guillibert de Lannoy, one of the last to visit the Order's land as a participant on the *Reisen*, visited Thorn in 1413, and reflected on the early brothers who lived in this oak tree, 'and brought the land of Prussia into Christendom', in the 1420s, the Holy Roman Emperor, Sigismund of Luxembourg, recalled the early history of Thorn and its relationship to the conquest of the Prussian landscape, thus framing the brothers and their history in Prussia within a sacral context: the war against the Prussians sacralised the landscape and it was through the Order's literary and historical writings that this memory survived and came to be associated with the region of Prussia itself.³⁷

Other instances of place naming involve saints directly connected to the missions in Prussia, namely the Virgin Mary, and St George. These were key patrons of the Order, but also major components of crusading ideology in Prussia, which became known as a Marian landscape

Called 'Watchtower Trees' in Pomesania and Żuławy Wiślane in the 13th – 14th Centuries', *Zapiski Historyczne* 76, no. 1 (2013): pp. 5-19.

³⁶ *PDC*, p. 96 (3.1): 'Hec edificacio [Thorn] facta fuit in quadam arbore quercina.' *KvP*, p. 345 (lines 3706-3704): 'Diz bûwin was alsus getân: / ein grôze eiche in der stunt / ûf eime hubele dâ stunt.' *ÄH*, p. 542.'

³⁷ For the account of Guillibert de Lannoy, see 'Aus den Voyaiges', p. 449: 'Et de la fus mene sur la riviere de le Wisle a une lieue de Thore en une islette, ou jadis du temps, que tout le pais de Prusse estoit miscreant, le signeurs... de l'orde de Prusse firent leur premiere habitation sur ung gross foulleu arbre de quesne, assis sur le bort de la riviere, ou ilz firent ung chastel de bois et le fortifierent de fossez autour, arrousez de la dicte riviere, dont depuis par leur vaillance a l'ayde et retraitte du dit chastel conquirent tout le pais de Prusse et le mirent a nostre creance.' For the charter of Sigismund of Luxembourg, see *TOT*, pp. 204-05 (no. 214), which describes the brothers as '...bruder, die von anfang von einer eychen zu Alden Thorn in kleiner czal ritterlich und mennlich die heidnische undyet hinder sich gedrungen, und dornach sich von sunderlichen gnaden des almechtigen gotes also gemeret haben, daz die heilig kristenheit durch ir mue, arbeyt und sorgveltikeit hinder in, als hinder einem vesten schild, bisz uff dise czit in gutem frid gessen und als in eynem garten der rue requicket ist.'

already in the thirteenth century.³⁸ Marienwerder (*insula sanctae Mariae*) was founded shortly after Thorn in 1234, during the pilgrimage of the Burgrave of Magdeburg and many other nobles. There is no connection explicitly to the Virgin Mary in Peter's account of the castle's foundation, but it is likely that a Marian pilgrimage shrine existed near the island that pre-dated the Order's arrival.³⁹ Georgenburg (1259),⁴⁰ Marienburg (1280),⁴¹ and Frauenburg (1280s),⁴² to name a few examples, were constructed in Prussia and reflect the association of specific points in the landscape with the Order's primary patron saints.

This pattern continued into the fourteenth century, where there were Marienburgs and Marienwerders constructed in Lithuania. It appears that, similar to the record for the thirteenth-century conquest of Prussia, place-naming reinforced the Marian tone of the missions and the connection of conquering the landscape in honour of the Virgin Mary. As early as 1336, the Order had constructed a Marienburg near Velun (Veliuona).⁴³ This Marienburg was likely refortified in the 1360s, when Master Winrich von Kniprode led a group of soldiers and 'many pilgrims [who] were in the land' (*erant...multi peregrini in terra*) to the same castle on the feast of St Peter and Paul. Wigand tells us that after this expedition (either in April or in June),

³⁸ For example, see Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, p. 2.

³⁹ *PDC*, p. 110 (3.9). For early pilgrimage shrines before the arrival of the Order, see Zielińska-Melkowska, 'Średniowiecze miejsca pielgrzymkowe', p. 244-45. Also see Waldemar Rozynkowski, 'Święci na pograniczu: o świętych wpaństwie Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach ['Saints on the Border: On saints in the Teutonic Order State in Prussia].' *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie*, 2 (2007): pp. 187-93.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 202 (3.83), for Georgenburg: 'magister...ordinavit sub equalibus expensis et laboribus fratrum de Lyvoniam et Prussia edificabatur anno domini mclcx castrum in terra Carsovie in monte sancti Georgii, quod tunc fuit summe necessarium ad incrementum Christianae fidei.'

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 324 (3.208): 'Anno mclxxx castrum Santiri mutato nomine et loco translatum fuit ad eum locum, ubi nunc situm est, et vocatum nomen ejus Mergenburk i.e. castrum sancte Marie, ad cujus laudem et gloriam hec translatione facta fuit.'

⁴² For Frauenburg (Frombork), known as 'castrum sanctae Mariae', see *CDW*, vol. 1, pp. 92-3 (no. 54), a land division charter which records Frombork as 'castrum domine nostre' (the castle of Our Lady). Also see Marian Dygo, 'O kulcie maryjnym w Prusach Krzyżackich w XIV-XV wieku' [The cult of the Virgin Mary in Teutonic Prussia in the 14th – 15th century], *Zapiski Historyczne* 52, no. 2 (1987): pp. 5-38. Also see *Idem*, *Studia nad początkami władztwa zakonu niemieckiego w Prusach (1226-1525)* [Studies on the Origins of the Teutonic Order Rule in Prussia, 1226-1525] (Toruń: UMK, 1992).

⁴³ *HWC*, p. 92: 'Eodem anno frater Wynricus, generalis magister, circa Petri et Pauli struxit contra montem in Velun castrum dictum Marienborch.' Also see Wigand, p. 490.

the group returned to Prussia ‘chanting praises to God joyfully’ (*Deo laudes cum júbilo decantabant*).⁴⁴ According to the Order’s *Rule*, the feast was commemorated with a *duplex* mass, and it is likely that the crusaders would have engaged in this celebration after the event.⁴⁵ From this example in particular we see that the continued tradition of Marian place-naming and performing services whilst on campaign lasted well into the more chivalric themed campaigns of the fourteenth century. Marian ideology and the construction of specific places named after her was thus a key element of the experience of crusading in Prussia. Other places were re-created, such as Marienwerder (Mary’s Island). In 1384, the Order (and, presumably, its guests) constructed a castle called Marienwerder near New Kaunas, on a certain island.⁴⁶ It was mentioned as well in the *Littauischen Wegeberichte*, on the route from Insterburg, another commandery castle in the Great Wilderness founded in 1336, and an important gathering place for guests on the *Reisen*.⁴⁷

Saints were not just the reasoning for the naming of places, though. For example, Kreuzburg (‘cross castle’ or ‘castle of the cross’) was founded in 1240, according to Peter of Dusburg, ‘for the praise and glory of Jesus Christ’ (*ad laudem et gloriam Jesu Christi*).⁴⁸ The relic of the

⁴⁴ Wigand, p. 558.

⁴⁵ *SDO*, p. 6.

⁴⁶ See Jarosław Wentka, ‘Holy islands and their christianization in medieval Prussia’, in *Islands and Cities in Medieval Myth, Literature, and History*, ed. by Andrea Grafetstätter, Sieglinde Hartmann and James Ogier (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011), pp. 37-54. For the foundation of the castle, see Wigand, p. 626: ‘Magister preceptoque...nove domus in profectum ordinis econtra Cawen in quidam insula et in continenti lateres etc. necessaria duxerunt de Pruzzia, *imponentes ei vocabulum Mergenwerder*.’ Also see *Ibid*, pp. 628-29. One can also see the longevity of Marian imagery on the *Reisen* by consulting a letter edited by Johannes Voigt from 1395, documenting an expedition against the Lithuanians led by the Order’s marschal, Werner von Tetingen. See *CDP*, vol. 6, pp. 98-9 (no. 96).

⁴⁷ *LW*, pp. 682-83. See Wigand, p. 454, which mentions a commander of Insterburg (*commendator de Insterborg*) in 1311. The castle was rebuilt in 1337 by Master Dietrich von Altenburg and Henry of Bavaria, see ‘Epitome gestorum Prussie’, *SRP* 1, p. 281. In 1347, the convent there was disbanded (Wigand, p. 508). For the function of Insterburg, see Christof Herrmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur in Preußenland*, p. 155, also pp. 496-97. The castle held relics, namely a wooden table with relics (*eyn tofelen mit reliquien holzen*). See *Urkunden zur Geschichte des ehemaligen Hauptamts Insterburg*, vol. 1, ed. by Hans Kiewning and Max Lukat (Insterburg: Horn & Horn, 1895), p. 16 (no. 9). The inventory was taken in August of 1451.

⁴⁸ *PDC*, p. 128 (3.27).

True Cross, discussed above in Chapter 3, had been in Prussia for roughly seven years, and its power as a symbol for the Order's wars against the Prussians and the conversion of the landscape is demonstrated in this event described by Peter. In 1263, when the castle was abandoned, Peter reflects on their 'many glorious battles and heroic deeds there' (*multa bella gloriosa ibidem gesta*). Kreuzburg was under the supervision of the commandery at Brandenburg, discussed in Chapter 3 above as one of the most important pilgrimage shrines in Prussia, since it possessed the relics of St Katherine.⁴⁹ Other places were called Kreuzberg as well, namely in Livonia, noted in Hermann of Wartberge's chronicle for the year 1375.⁵⁰ Christburg, founded in the 1240s, received its name because the former pagan castle (*castrum Pomesanorum*) was captured on the night of Christ's nativity (24 December).⁵¹ It was later moved to a new location by an army of 'many pilgrims' (*multitudine peregrinorum*), who moved the castle 'to the praise and glory of Jesus Christ.'⁵² By the fourteenth century, there was a castle called Christmemel on the banks of the Neman River, thus replicating the foundation process of Christburg on the frontier with the Lithuanians. In fact, this castle was founded 'on the shore of the infidels' (*litus infidelium*), its foundation marked with a relic procession and a solemn mass.⁵³

Peter of Dusburg's account for the foundation of Balga provides another example of the power of the naming process and its relationship to the development of a sacral landscape. We

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 236 (3.118). For Kreuzburg and Brandenburg, see Max Töppen, *Historisch-Comparativ Geographie von Preußen*, p. 208.

⁵⁰ *HWC*, p. 107. This was a bishop's castle and is located at present-day Krustpils (central Latvia). See Tuulse, *Die Burgen in Estland und Lettland*, p. 104

⁵¹ *PDC*, p. 174 (3.58).

⁵² Ibid, p. 180 (3.63): 'Immutantes locum et non nomen edificaverunt [the pilgrims] castrum Cristburgk in eo loco...*ad laudem et gloriam Iesu Cristi.*'

⁵³ Ibid, pp. 424-26 (3.315): 'Anno Domini MCCXIII...frater Karolus magister *ad laudem et gloriam Dei et matris sue*...edificavit castrm Cristmemelam in litore Memele supra Raganitam...Tanta fuit ibidem multitudino navium, quod factus fuit pons super Memelam de ipsis, quem quilibet sine periculo poterat *pertransire usque ad litus infidelium*...*Consummato edificio clerici sequente populo cum solempni processione reliquias ad ecclesiam portaverunt missam ibi sollempniter celebrantes.*' This is a rare example in the fourteenth-century chronicles of

learn of the castle's construction in the year 1239 by the Margrave of Meißen, Henry III (d. 1288). Henry had come to Prussia on crusade and constructed two wooden castles on the Frisches Haff, called 'pilgrim' and 'Vredeland.' Peter of Dusburg provides the Latin translation of the names: 'in Latin this is called Pilgrim and Pacifying the Land (*sonat in Latino...pacificam terram*).'⁵⁴ In fact, the concept of 'pacifying the land' goes back to the *Prologue* to the Order's *Rule*, where the knights in the Order are likened to the Maccabees who 'recovered the ark and brought it back to Syon, *pacifying the land*.'⁵⁵ The castle of Vredeland was still recorded in the 1380s, namely an inventory of 1380 for the convent of Brandenburg.⁵⁶

The naming of these places solidified the connection of the Order's wars to the landscape, and in the case of Kreuzberg and Christmemel, for example, the physical sacralisation of the landscape through importing relics. While we do not know of any relics present at Kreuzberg during the conquest period, the later inventories confirm that a relic fragment was kept in the chapel.⁵⁷ The development and continuation of this practice is a solid avenue to view the role of the Teutonic Order in the landscape sacralisation process, especially in terms of how it came to generate a distinct landscape as a product of its wars. While the Marian patronage of the Order has been subject to a significant amount of work since the nineteenth century, we can see how the idea of a 'Marian landscape' was very much a physical reality by the end of the fourteenth century.⁵⁸ In combination with the literary themes surrounding how Livonia and Prussia were described as strongly associated with paganism, the renaming and re-siting of key

relic processions taking place at the foundation of castles. The castle was abandoned in the late fourteenth century, see *PDC*, p. 540 (Suppl. 3).

⁵⁴ *PDC*, pp. 114-16 (3.15-16).

⁵⁵ *SDO*, p. 25: 'Machabei qui...arcem Syon reciperent et redderent pacem terre.'

⁵⁶ *GA*, p. 211: 'Item an gewisser schult 4023 m. summa des rocken (Rye – GL), der czu Brandenburg ist, czu Cruczeburg, czu Vredelant und zcum Elbinge.'

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p. 345: 'Crutezburg...eine holtzene tofel.'

⁵⁸ For example, see Johannes Voigt, *Geschichte Marienburgs, der Stadt und des Haupthauses des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen* (Königsberg: Bornträger, 1824), pp. 43-64; Idem, *Geschichte Preussens*, vol. 2, pp. 1-67;

places in the Order's history show the conversion of the landscape in a physical way. This also shows the importance of Marian symbolism not just to the Teutonic Order's self-image and inner life, but that of crusaders who took the cross to journey to Livonia and Prussia.

These examples all provide fresh insight into the self-image of the Order, but also of the crusaders who went to Livonia and Prussia, and how they viewed landscape. Self-image is a product of viewing the world and how a person (or, in our case, a group) interacts with the world around them, and how they view themselves within that world.⁵⁹ In the Middle Ages, in western Europe, the world was viewed within the context of the sacral history of the Bible, which was used to frame events and place them within a broader point in time. Crusading was part of a long tradition of holy war and was framed eschatologically in the contemporary sources, the wars viewed and reflected as holy causes and continuations of the Biblical wars of the Old Testament.⁶⁰ Moreover, objects like banners, but also their names, symbolically reflected the worldview of the author describing the event. The same is true for aspects of war or, in terms of crusading, the celebration of mass whilst on campaign, thus bringing to question aspects of time in the sacralisation of landscape (namely, recreating past events and reenacting sacred time).⁶¹ The symbolism behind the objects, the acts and, as this section shows, the name of places, reveals a great deal about self-image, self-understanding, and views of landscape.

⁵⁹ See Borgolte, 'Selbstverständnis und Mentalitäten', pp. 189-210, especially pp. 195-99 for the study of *Selbstverständnis* in the Middle Ages. Also see Jürgen Sarnowsky, 'Identität und Selbstgefühl', *Ständische und religiöse Identitäten*, pp. 108-30; Roman Czaja, 'Das Selbstverständnis des geistlichen Ritteroden', *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis*, pp. 8-11; Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, pp. 6-10.

⁶⁰ The classic study is Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of the Crusade*, trans. by Marshal Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), especially pp. 35-57.

⁶¹ Again, see Erdmann, 'Kaiserlichen und Päpstlichen Fahnen im Hohen Mittelalter', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 25 (1933-1934): pp. 1-48. Also see Paul Chevedden, 'Pope Urban II and the Ideology of the Crusades', in *The Crusader World*, ed. by Adrian J. Boas (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 7-53; M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, 'The Liturgical Memory of July 15, 1099. Between History, Memory, and Eschatology', in *Remembering the Crusades and Crusading*, pp. 34-48.

With respect to the present section, the construction of these places reflects both the Order's inner understanding of its identity as a Marian institution, but also the view of crusaders as journeying to a land that they associated with the Virgin Mary. In re-siting and building places with replica names, the sources demonstrate a concept of landscape sacralization as a product of memory and memorialisation of past events in the Order's history, in this case the earliest cities associated with the Order's patron saints, and important relics in the region.⁶² Even Wigand of Marburg's chronicle, so focused on chivalric elements of the *Reisen*, commemorates fallen brethren and crusaders throughout his text, highlighting the importance of remembrance of earlier deeds to the audience who likely heard his text while they themselves were fighting alongside the Order in Prussia.⁶³ Naming various castles after the Virgin Mary, St George, the True Cross, or Christ himself solidified the sacralising process of the wars in that, while there was no inherently holy shrine there before, there was one after the building and foundation of a castle or city.

4.4: The Virgin Chapel at Marienburg and Landscape Iconography in Prussia

Chapter 1, section 4, analysed the iconography of landscape themes present at the castle of Marienburg. This section considers the space in which this iconography was expressed and absorbed. The Chapel of the Virgin at Marienburg is the best example of church architecture and visual iconography from medieval Prussia. The present building was completed around

⁶² The concept of 'time' in Peter of Dusburg's chronicle has been assessed recently by Grischa Vercamer, 'Zeit in Peters von Dusburg *Chronica terre Prussie* (1326). Chronologische Ordnung oder Mittel zum Zweck?' *Zapiski Historyczne* 76, no. 4 (2011): pp. 517-33. Also see Zenon H. Nowak, 'Neustadtgründungen des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen: Entstehung, Verhältnisse zu den Altstädten, Ende der Eigenständigkeit', in *Stadt und Orden. Das Verhältnis des Deutschen Ordens zu den Städten in Livland, Preußen und im Deutschen Reich*, ed. by Udo Arnold, (Marburg: Elwert, 1993), pp. 129-42.

⁶³ *Ibid*, pp. 523-34. This is also present in the chronicle of Wigand of Marburg. See Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, 'Die Selbstdarstellung des Deutschen Ordens in der 'Chronik' Wigands von Marburg', *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis*, pp. 127-38. For instances of commemoration in Wigand's chronicle, see Wigand, p. 482; p. 487; p. 502; p. 513; pp. 537-38; p. 549; p. 557; p. 567 (*Et optat historia requiem et beatitudinem defunctis christianis*, this is his account of the Battle of Rudau, 14 February, 1370); p. 616; p. 645; p. 649.

1344,⁶⁴ but the construction of the High Castle, which would have included a chapel, dates from the later thirteenth century.⁶⁵ The artwork remaining in its interior has provided art historians and historians with significant material for analysis into the ideological programme of the Teutonic Order in Prussia.⁶⁶ The images of the Chapel (Images 15 & 16 below) demonstrate the progress of recent renovation works in the chapel and the richness of the decorations from the fourteenth century.⁶⁷ These decorations included frescoes depicting scenes from the Old and New Testament, in addition to multiple depictions of the Virgin Mary. The image below (Image 15), for example, shows frescoes of the patriarchs and Old Testament figures, with an apostle above them.

⁶⁴ Torbus, *Die Konventsburgen*, pp. 266-67.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 177-78, outlines the issues with arriving at a date for the construction of the High Castle.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 156. Also see Waldemar Rozyńkowski, 'Der Marienkult in den Kapellen der Deutschordenshäuser in Preußen im Lichte der Inventarbücher', in *Terra sanctae Mariae: Mittelalterliche Bildwerke der Marienverehrung im Deutschordensland Preußen*, ed. by Gerhard Eimer, Matthias Müller and Kazimierz Pospieszny (Bonn: Kulturstiftung der deutschen Vertriebenen, 2009), pp. 57-67; *Idem*, 'Liturgical space in the chapels of the Teutonic Order in Prussia - selected issues', in *Sacred Space in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia*, ed. by Wenta and Koczyńska (Toruń: UMK Press, 2013), pp. 143-52.

⁶⁷ The recent 'Conservation and building works in the complex of the Holy Virgin Church in the Castle Museum in Malbork' project completed in 2014 significantly restored the interior. See <http://www.funduszeoog.zamek.malbork.pl/index.php?lang=en>.

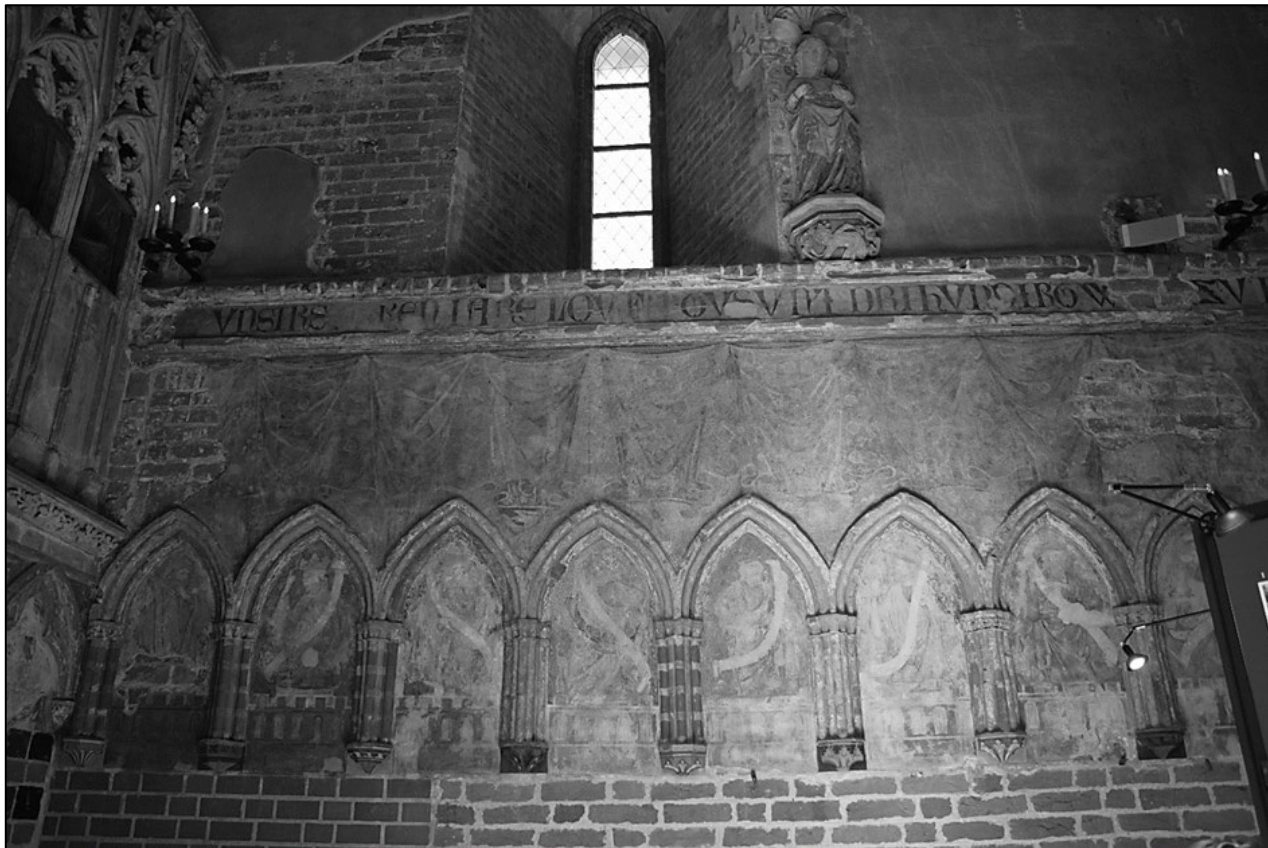


Image 15. North Wall of the Virgin Chapel at Marienburg. Photograph taken by Author.



Image 16. The South Wall of the Virgin Chapel at Marienburg. Photograph taken by Author.

Like the sculptures on the portal of the Golden Gate, the frescoes reflect the Order's didactic programme. The frescoes on the north wall show the Order's historical predecessors from the Old Testament, possibly a reference to the warriors and prophets who lived in and gave rise to the sacred landscape in the Holy Land. The New Testament imagery of Christ at the Last Supper (Image 16 above) is on the south wall. It also reflects more specific, crusading ideology, such as the scene of the *lactatio sancti Bernardi* (near the doorway). Janusz Trupinda notes that the frescoes are difficult to identify, and that there are no representations of Teutonic Knights in the chapel. This makes for difficulty comparing specific Old Testament figures as representative of the Order's creation of a sacred landscape, namely through a lack of depictions of the Order's members fighting in combat. However, the Old Testament warrior figures played a key role in the formation of identity and understanding of mission amongst the brothers, evinced in chronicles such as Peter of Dusburg's, so the figures were likely part

of the *ecclesia militans* cycle of frescoes. We can determine this likelihood based on the frescoes of Königsberg cathedral, which included Samson, Joshua, and David.

This imagery portrayed the successful conversion of the Prussians by means of the Order's wars and the Order's relationship to Christ and the Church Triumphant.⁶⁸ The progression of the frescoes in the Virgin Chapel move from west to east, with two levels of separated frescoes that survive in fragments. Old Testament figures of the prophets and kings of Israel, draped in green curtains, form the bottom half of this cycle. The New Testament frescoes, aside from that depicting the Last Supper, include figures such as Apostles, or saints, which are above the Old Testament cycle on columns (pictured in Image 14). A similar programme was present in the Königsberg cathedral, pictured below (Image 17).⁶⁹

Trupinda and others have considered the dichotomy between the Old and New Testament imagery in the chapel as reflective of two concepts: the historical predecessors of the Order (Old Testament) and the current parallels to its mission in Prussia (New Testament).⁷⁰ Section 4.1 above analysed this from a spatial perspective and placed the castle chapel within the framework of the Apocalyptic tradition. The frescoes on the wall portrayed an ideological framework of the mission of the Teutonic Order, showing the divine predecessors that ultimately led to the conquest of Prussia. Moreover, the concepts of the church militant (*ecclesia militans*) and church triumphant (*ecclesia triumphans*) have a visual grounding.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Dygo, 'Die Kultur des Deutschordenslandes Preussens', in *Mittelalterliche Kultur und Literatur im Deutschordensland Preußen*, p. 58.

⁶⁹ For the patronage of Königsberg Cathedral by participants on the *Reisen*, namely in commemorating works of art and frescoes to celebrate their deeds, see Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1, pp. 335-44.

⁷⁰ Pluskowski, *Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, p. 158; Trupinda, 'Die Chronik von Peter von Dusburg als Quelle', pp. 522-24. Also see Zdzisław Kliś, 'The city as hell and its structure in medieval wall painting.' *SSSTOP*, pp. 225-41, for a similar pattern of representing this imagery in eastern Europe.

⁷¹ See Marian Dygo, 'Die Kultur des Deutschordenslandes Preussens', p. 63; Kazimierz Pospieszny, 'Orte der Reliquienpräsentation in den Deutschordensburgen in Preußen. Ein Beitrag zu neueren Forschungen', in *Ecclesiae ornatae. Kirchengestaltungen des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit zwischen Denkmalwert und Funktionalität*, ed. by Gerhard Eimer, Ernst Geierlich and Matthias Müller (Bonn: 2009), pp. 311-26.

This concept of the earthly struggle against the enemies of the faith and the heavenly kingdom found a suitable place in the Order's programme, where the war against the pagans was framed as a war against Christianity's enemies on earth. The Order's wars and its Biblical predecessors reminded the brothers of their status as holy warriors and their history; however, this was not in Jerusalem but in Prussia.

Image 17. This image has been removed by the author for copyright purposes.

Discussed in 4.2, the New Testament imagery represented the heavenly Jerusalem in Prussia. Wigand of Marburg, whose chronicle is noted for its focus on the chivalric aspects of crusading in the Baltic, stated that ‘through many wars the Order won land from the pagans...[and] many crusaders, princes, and other noblemen *traded their earthly life for eternal life*.’⁷² Although the audience of Wigand’s text is not known, due to the fact that the original version of the text does not survive, it has been proposed that the text may have appealed the Order’s guests (crusade pilgrims), who came to participate in the *Reisen*.⁷³ Considering the strong interest in knightly exercise and warfare that dominates Wigand’s chronicle, his status as a herald (in the Order’s service), and commemorative nature expressed in the text surrounding the death of knights in the Order and pilgrims, this is not an unfounded claim.⁷⁴ The understanding of exchanging the earthly life for the heavenly one, though, reflects the efficacy of the imagery experienced by guests who would have visited the Order’s castle chapels and, indeed, parish churches, like Arnau. The church had scenes of Old Testament warriors such as David, in addition to the New Testament imagery of Mary conquering the devil. The latter image is pictured below (Image 18).⁷⁵

⁷² Wigand, p. 453: “per varia bella ordo obtinuerit terram a paganis...eciam multi cruciferorum et alii principes et nobiles eis succurrentes pro temporali vita eternam mercati sunt.”

⁷³ Kwiatkowski, ‘Die Selbstdarstellung des Deutschen Ordens in der *Chronik* Wigands von Marburg’, p. 130: “Gleichwol lassen sich in Wigands Werk auch solche Elemente ausmachen, die eine Identifizierung des Autors mit den Gästen des Ordens nahelegen, die nach Preussen gekommen sind, um ihre geistigen, materiellen und militärischen Bedürfnisse zu befriedigen, oder einfach um der Abenteuerlust nachzugehen.”

⁷⁴ For the nature of Wigand’s text, see Töppen, ‘Einleitung’ *SRP* 2, pp. 446-47, which notes the importance of warfare and knightly prowess in Wigand’s text. Also see Kwiatkowski, ‘Die Selbstdarstellung des Deutschen Ordens in der *Chronik* Wigands von Marburg’, p. 128, p. 130, which highlights the religious elements of Wigand’s text in addition to the issues with the source. Also see Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, pp. 105-09, especially p. 106. For the significance of the herald in the Middle Ages, see Werner Paravicini, *Die Ritterlich-Höfische Kultur*, p. 16: “Herolde wurden zu Laudatoren, Registratoren, Historikern der ritterlich-höfischen Gesellschaft und haben eine einige Heroldsliteratur hervorgebracht.” Also see *Ibid*, pp. 80-1.

⁷⁵ For the remaining frescoes of Arnau, see <http://www.kirche-arnau.de/Fotoalben/index.htm>.

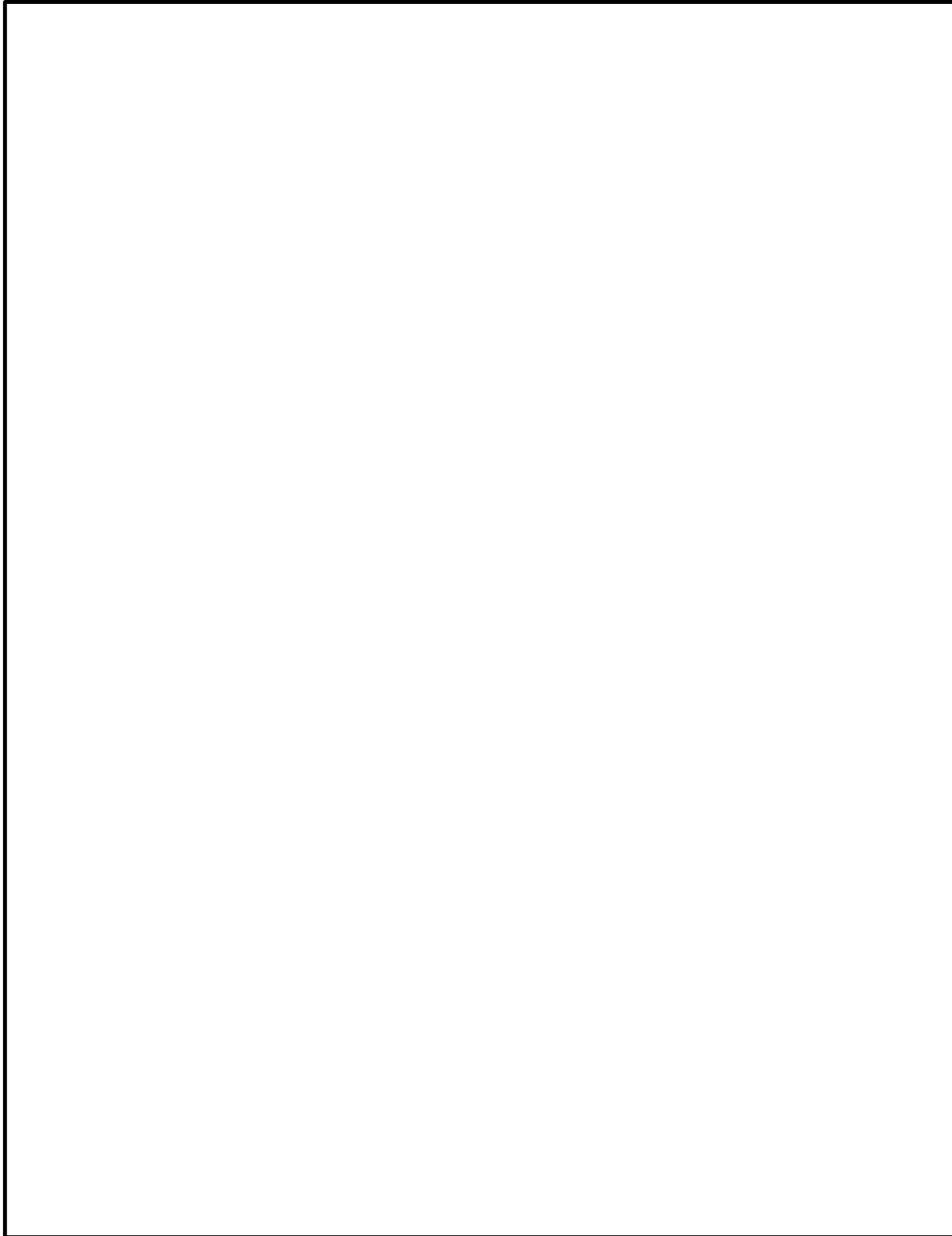


Image 18. This image has been removed by the author for copyright purposes.

The message of the conquest of Christianity over the pagan religion of the Prussians and Lithuanians reinforced contemporary understandings of the war in Prussia as a sacral one, which transformed the place into a Christian one. It is also important to note the role that place, and landscape, played in the Old Testament narratives that inspired the Order. The Promised Land in which they fought was a model for the Order to transfer to Prussia. The presence of these figures and their role in the Order's programme demonstrate this transference, for the

chapel served as the main spiritual space for knights in the Order. The imagery in the chapel, therefore, reflecting the spiritual Jerusalem and the triumph of the Christian faith over paganism, framed the conflict in which crusaders were engaged and shaped their view of the landscape in which they fought.

The spatial arrangement can also be interpreted as an analogy for the landscape sacralisation process. The Old Testament and New Testament fresco cycles move toward the eastern end, providing a visual narrative of the Order's predecessors in the Holy Land and its wars in Prussia. The holy wars of the Old Testament and the place in which they occurred were key factors in the motivation of crusaders, pilgrims, and members of the Order.⁷⁶ The historical predecessors and their link to the Holy Land are in the western end of the church, but it is movement eastward, to the new holy land of Prussia, that guides the viewer as they move through the chapel. This reflects the conversion of the landscape and the introduction of the New Jerusalem to Prussia. Brothers participating in the liturgy, therefore, would be reminded of this.

The use of the frescoes in this light has contemporary parallels in Europe. Preachers such as Humbert of Romans (d. 1277) encouraged their audiences to learn from the works of art and use them as *exempla*, things to mimic and models to follow whilst on crusade. He exhorted those in his audience to gather inside palaces and other spaces where noblemen meet, places where “the great deeds of the ancient warriors are painted upon the walls” (*in pallacijs nobilium ubi solent multi nobiles conuenire depinguntur in parietibus gesta fortia antiquorum*

⁷⁶ *SDO*, p. 23, cites the Old Testament figures of Abraham, Moses, Joshua, and the Maccabees as the predecessors of the Order. For the influence of the Maccabees and other *exempla* on the military orders, see Joachim Röther, ‘Embracing Death, Celebrating Life: Reflections on the Concept of Martyrdom in the Order of the Knights Templar’, *Ordines Militares* 19 (2014): pp. 169-92.

bellatorum).⁷⁷ The visual expression of these factors solidified the connection between sacrality and history, warfare, and landscapes in the Middle Ages. Similar parallels present in Prussia, such as the frescoes in Königsberg cathedral. This demonstrates the applicability of this imagery for crusaders, guests in Prussia who were not members of the Teutonic Order.

These themes have a stronger relevance when we consider the high level of significance of Prussia to the Teutonic Order's spiritual, and political, identity. Given the status of the Baltic as the *terra Mariae*, the connection between Marienburg itself and the understanding of the land of Prussia as Mary's land is quite clear. Marian Dygo noted in the late 1980s that the dedication of Prussia to the Virgin was not just as an ideological tool to legitimise the Order's spirituality to its members and to participants on the *Reisen*, but an expression of political suzerainty in Prussia.⁷⁸

Dygo connected the monumental statue of the Virgin and Christ (c. 1330-1340, decorated in mosaic c. 1380) to the popular ways in which political rulers represented themselves throughout Europe in the fourteenth century.⁷⁹ The statue, Figure 18 below, was recently restored in 2014. It was a symbol for pilgrims coming to visit the chapel in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, reinforcing the status of Prussia as the land of the Order and, therefore, the land of Mary.⁸⁰ Guillebert de Lannoy, a fifteenth-century Flemish knight who travelled to Prussia in 1413, described the castle of Marienburg as the place where the power, authority,

⁷⁷ Humbert of Romans, 'Liber de precatone sct. Crucis', edited and transcribed by Kurt Villads Jensen (available online at: <http://www.jggj.dk/saracenos.htm#cap16>), sermon number 16: *de exemplis antiquorum que inducunt ad bella contra saracenos*.

⁷⁸ Dygo, 'O kulcie maryjnym w Prusach Krzyżackich w XIV – XV wieku [On the Cult of the Virgin Mary in the Teutonic Order State in Prussia in the 14th and 15th Centuries]', *Zapiski historyczne* 52, no. 2 (1987): pp. 5-38. For a similar article in English: Dygo, 'The political role of the cult of the Virgin Maria in Teutonic Prussia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', *Journal of Medieval History* 15 (1989): pp. 63-81.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 'The political role of the cult of the Virgin', pp. 64-5.

⁸⁰ Pluskowski, *Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, p. 159. It was decorated in mosaic c. 1380.

and the treasure (*le tresor*) of the Teutonic Order rested.⁸¹ Indeed, the monumental statue of the Virgin would merit such a description.

His account of Marienburg reflects the Order as an institution of power and its creation of a sacral geography in Prussia, since it is the headquarters of ‘the lords of the white mantle of Our Lady.’⁸² Even into the later history of the Order, written and visual sources continued to highlight Prussia’s Marian connections. The study of the Order’s seal throughout the late medieval period reflects this continued association of Prussia with the Order and with Mary.⁸³ The statue (pictured below, in Image 19) reflects here the triumph of the Order over the Prussian tribes, and Mary as the ultimate suzerain of Prussia as a landscape. While this monumental statue expressed the Order’s earthly power, the visuality of the statue projected the conversion and sacralization of the landscape to pilgrims visiting the Order’s headquarters.

⁸¹ Ernst Strehlke (ed.), ‘Aus den Voyages de Guillebert de Lannoy’, *SRP* 3, p. 444 (no. 25): ‘de Danzique m’en alay sur charioz devers le dit hault maistre, que je trovay a Mariembourg, qui est ville et chastel tres fort, ou quell gist le tresor, la force et tout le retrait de tous les seigneurs de Prusse.’

⁸² Ibid: “appartient le dit pais de Prusse aux seigneurs des blans manteaulx de l’Ordre de Nostre Dame.”

⁸³ This is particularly true in the seals of the Order, analysed by Jürgen Sarnowsky, ‘Ritterorden als Landesherrn: Münzen und Siegel als Selbstzeugnisse’, in *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis*, ed. by Czaja and Sarnowsky, pp. 181-97, especially pp. 188-92, which examines the imagery of the Virgin on the Order’s seals from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.



Image 19. Statue of the Virgin at Marienburg (c. 1380). Photograph taken by Author.

The relationship between written and visual in the Order's territory adds to our understanding of the place of landscape in its ideological programme. While this space was primarily used by the brothers in the Order, it shows a continuity of a distinct landscape-based image that the brethren encountered when they used the chapel. This demonstrates that the Order's literary genesis of a sacral landscape in Prussia had a real, physical component, and reinforced the

image of this landscape into the mentality of the brothers. The coming section analyses this on a smaller, local scale, at the castle of Lochstedt (Pawlowo).

4.4.1: Lochstedt

Lochstedt was a Commandery castle built by the Order in 1270 to provide a base for raids against the Sambians.⁸⁴ The castle, located on the Vistula Lagoon (Frisches Haff), was located near a shrine associated with the mission of St Adalbert of Prague at Tenkitten, constructed in 1422 by Ludwig of Lanse, a Marshal of the Order.⁸⁵ It was destroyed after 1945. Lochstedt is notable for the art that decorated its interior. This presents an important avenue for viewing the spiritual developments within the Order at the later end of the fourteenth century and how it manifested itself on a smaller scale than the Order's visual programme expressed at Marienburg.⁸⁶ There was a diffusion of religious imagery concerning place and landscape throughout Prussia, not just at main centres like Marienburg, Elbing, or Königsberg. The interior of the castle had scenes of knights, saints, and members of the Order dating from the late fourteenth century (c. 1390). They are contemporary, based on artistic style and similarities, to the frescoes in the pilgrimage church of Juditten, which functioned as an important Marian shrine near Königsberg by the 1360s, when John of Blois visited the shrine in 1363.⁸⁷ The frescoes at Lochstedt were didactic and depicted stories popular to fourteenth-century chivalric audiences, in addition to imagery from the Old and New Testament.

⁸⁴ See *PDC*, p. 232 (3.112), for the details on the castle's construction. He writes that Lochstedt was built "so that the brothers might curb more easily the wickedness of the Sambians." (*castrum Tapiow, quod Prutheni nominant Surgurbi, et in successu tempore temporis castrum Wiclantsort, quod dicitur nunc Locstete...edificarunt munientes ea, ut facilius compescerent maliciam Sambitarum.*) Also see Pluskowski, *Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, p. 154.

⁸⁵ See Steinbrecht, *Die Baukunst des Deutschen Ritterordens in Preußen – Bd. 3, Schloss Lochstedt und seine Malereien* (Berlin: Springer, 1910), pp. 3-4; Herrmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur*, p. 124.

⁸⁶ Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, pp. 220-23.

⁸⁷ Steinbrecht, *Schloß Lochstedt und seine Malereien*, p. 24; Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1, p. 305: "Auch die Kirche von Juditten war mit bedeutenden Fresken vom Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts geschmückt, darunter wiederum Ritterdarstellungen und Wappen, von denen möglicherweise einige von Preußenfahrern in Auftrag gegeben worden sind." Also see Herrmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur*, p. 500. One could also make the

In the personal room of the head of the castle were worldly models, namely the Nine Worthies, with Charlemagne, King Arthur, and Godfrey of Bouillon pictured below (Image 20). The Nine Worthies included important figures in crusading history and ideology, namely Godfrey of Bouillon and Judas Maccabbeus, but also Alexander the Great, King David, and Julius Caesar. Biblical scenes included Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac and the Giving of the Ten Commandments on Mt Zion (Image 21), the Crucifixion of Christ, images of St Christopher, St George (Image 22) , and St Michael the Archangel slaying the dragon.⁸⁸ The visual programme at Lochstedt is similar to Marienburg and other pilgrimage shrines in the region, pointing to a wide dissemination of visual material that can be used to reinforce the view of Prussia as a sacral landscape.

The private room (*Wohnstube*) in Lochstedt has some parallels of the landscape imagery present at Marienburg and other centres of the Order, noted in Steinbrecht's images. For example, the pointed archways of the room were decorated in green oak leaves, and two scenes showed further the imagery of wilderness and an alien landscape that we could apply to the representation of Prussia in the Order's chronicles. They are provided in order below, in Images 20 – 23. Such imagery reinforced the spiritual ideology of the Order in a smaller, localised centre that was not frequented by guests on the *Reisen*.

comparison to the diffusion of religious imagery at the Abbey of Lad (Poland), see Andrzej Abramowicz and Tadeusz Poklewski, 'The Fourteenth-Century Frescoes of Łąd', *World Archaeology*, 3 (1972), pp. 293-300.

⁸⁸ Steinbrecht, *Schloß Lochstedt und seine Malereien*, p. 21.

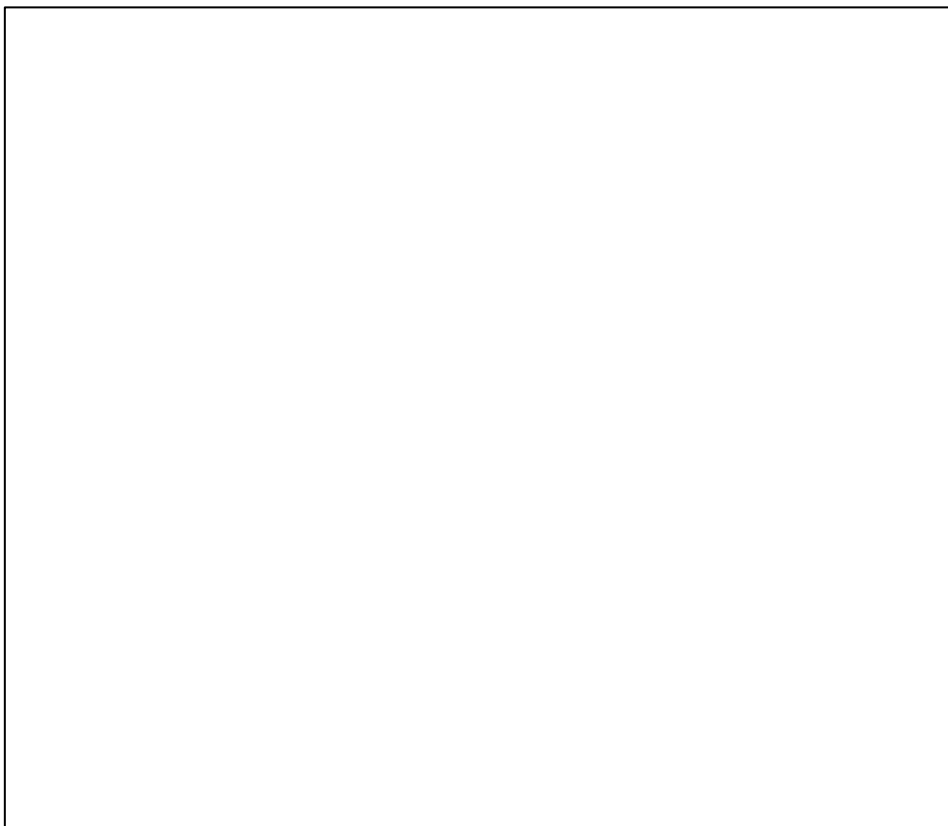


Image 20. This image has been removed by the author for copyright purposes.



Image 21. This image has been removed by the author for copyright purposes.

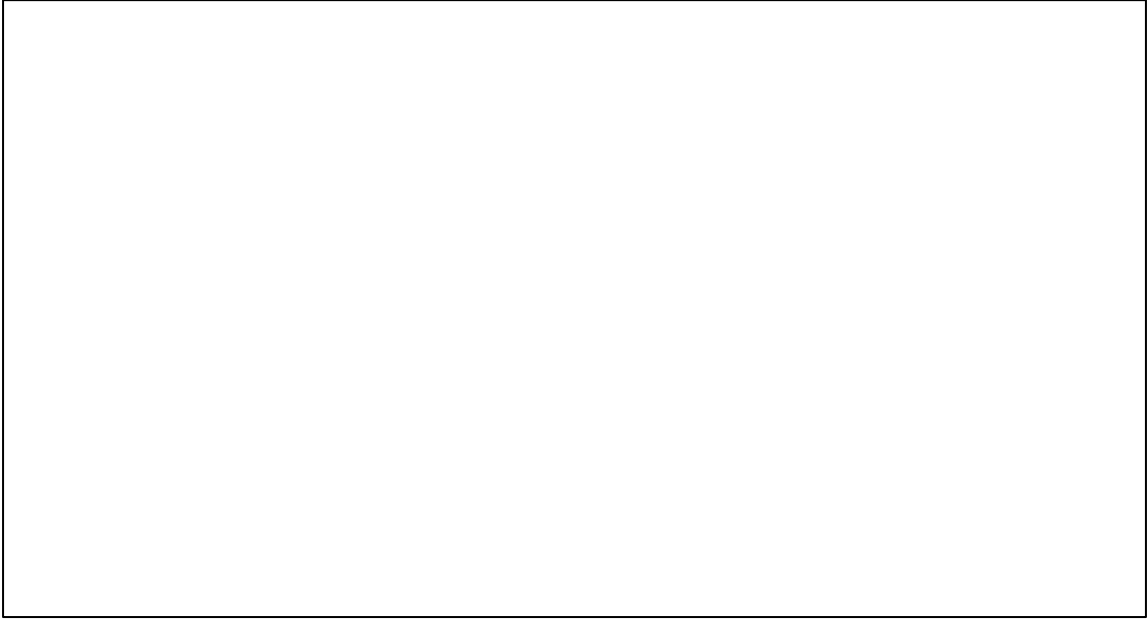


Image 22. This image has been removed by the author for copyright purposes.

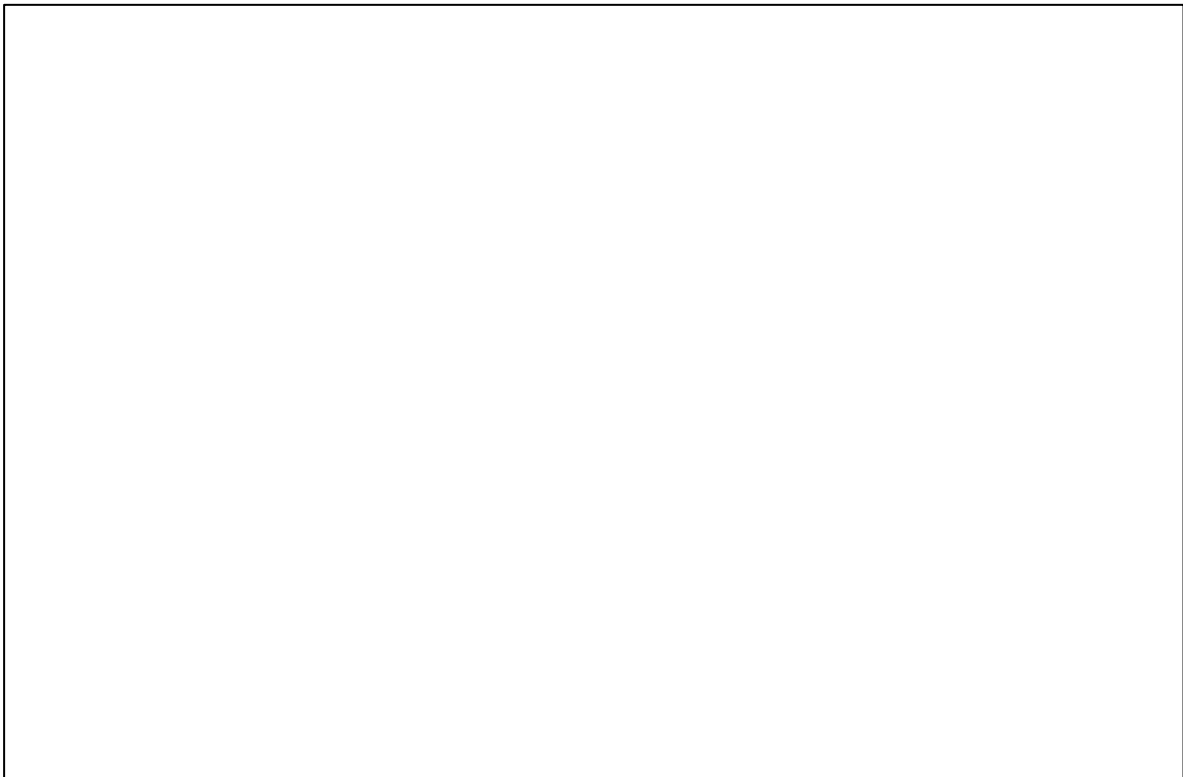


Image 23. This image has been removed by the author for copyright purposes.

Images 19 – 22 above demonstrate that landscape, here Prussia’s pagan landscape, was a theme reflected in more localised places. Moreover, it also shows a continued use of religious imagery in these smaller places, highlighting that the dissemination of the iconography analysed in the above sections concerning landscape and the New Testament aspects of the Order’s mission were propagated throughout Prussia. The visual culture of the Order played a strong ideological role in reaffirming the sacral nature of the wars that allowed the Order to exist there, particularly evident in Image 22, in which Christ emerges from his tomb carrying the banner of the Order. The image applies to the mission of the Order in Prussia itself, and the conversion of the pagan landscape.

Summary

The castles and churches of the Teutonic Order in Prussia physically reflected the sacralisation of the landscape. As visible structures in the landscape, they were the most physical elements of the long process of Christianisation and the propagation of the Teutonic Order’s ideology as an institution engaged in the physical combat against the enemies of the Church that came to define its rationale by the end of the fourteenth century. The present chapter has examined this to a deeper extent, considering the spatial significance of the buildings as places in which the Order and its guests sacralised the landscape through rituals. Demonstrated above in Chapter 3, the role of relics and processions by the crusaders in the Baltic sacralised the landscape, but through considering the spaces in which these events occurred, it is clear that the visual culture experienced by those who used the spaces solidified the ideological programme of the Order.

This chapter has also examined to great length the role of place-naming as reflective of a deliberate creative process of a new sacred landscape. Through re-siting locations associated with its original mission in the Holy Land, the Order built on this to generate a unique, individual history of its Prussian castles and the new sacred landscape that they dotted. This is specifically true with the castle of Thorn, and the various castles founded by the Order named

after the Virgin Mary and Christ. These processes reflected the self-understanding and identity of the Order and, equally as important, the crusaders who journeyed to the Baltic to fight in the Land of the Virgin Mary. Finally, the ideology of the visual elements in one of the Baltic's most important sacral centres, the Chapel of the Virgin at Marienburg, was present in solidifying the spiritual understanding of the Order's physical struggles in the region, framing their history and mission in highly religious terms. The castles and churches of the Order in Prussia, in this light, align with the evidence in the written evidence concerning the sacralisation of the landscape via crusading and armed pilgrimage.

Conclusion

*‘Bittet ouch vor alle die lant, die vor der heidenschaft legen,
Daz Got mit sîme râte unde craft zu hulfe kome.’¹*

The Baltic was a formerly alien landscape with fringe contacts to Christendom, but by the end of the fourteenth century, it had become engrained in the mental map of Christendom as a place that became a new sacred landscape as a direct result of crusading. This was largely the product of the written and visual material of the crusades, in addition to the actual armed crusading expeditions. These resulted in the development of pilgrimage networks, and the popularity of crusading in the Baltic by the end of the fourteenth century. Written and visual sources, namely the castles and churches of the Teutonic Order, express this concept and cement the distinct role played by conceptions of place and landscape in shaping how contemporaries perceived the Baltic region. In this conclusion I will present a summary of the results of each chapter, followed by a discussion of the implications and limitations of these results, and finally suggest further research trajectories.

Chapter Summary and Thesis Findings

The thematic organisation of this study traced concepts of place and landscape over four chapters. Chapter 1 provided a broad survey of the main sources describing the crusades into Livonia and Prussia during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, focusing on the paganism of the landscape expressed in the sources themselves. Considering the earlier missionary records to Prussia, the chapter established that the crusade chronicles used a distinct imagery concerning landscape that both continued and changed an established tradition. The strong focus on the religious identity of the landscape, particularly in identifying and emphasising the worship of natural geographical features such as trees, was a key component of this tradition.

¹ *SDO*, p. 132 (*Gebet*, 7): “Also pray for all of the land, which lay before in paganism, that God come to help with his council and his power.”

The view of an enemy, pagan belief, served to legitimise the conversion of the landscape, since the Baltic campaigns themselves highlighted the need to convert the pagan peoples living in the region. Chroniclers in both Livonia and Prussia frequently commemorated events tied to the Holy Land crusades and applied them to the wars in the Baltic. This framed them in a broader historical concept centred on the liberation of Jerusalem, which could be placed in the pagan landscapes of Livonia and Prussia. It demonstrated the ideological placement of key events of crusading history, such as the loss of the Holy Land, in Prussia. A historical consciousness, particularly expressed in the Teutonic Order's texts, centred on the sacred landscape on the Holy Land was a key aspect to the verbal expression of crusading ideology in the Baltic. The literary themes present in this ideology present a specific focus on landscape, namely in their references to the 'vineyard of the Lord' in Prussia and Livonia, a theme that appears to have arrived along with crusading in the twelfth century and developed throughout the fourteenth. This is an identifying characteristic of that region that legitimised and propagated the wars in the Baltic as sacral ones.

Chapter 2 focused on the role of martyrdom and hierophanic acts as the next element that sacralised the landscape outlined in Chapter 1. It considered the development and association of martyrdom in the Baltic from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, thus situating the concept of martyrdom expressed in the crusade sources within a broader tradition. It shows how the Baltic crusades transformed the landscapes in Livonia and Prussia fit well into the theoretical frameworks concerning landscape sacralisation, 'taskscape' and 'place-making activities.' These elements are qualitative, and reflect contemporary understandings of the expedition in spiritual terms, but also were key aspects of developing the sacred landscape in the region. The emotional accounts of martyrdom of brothers in the Teutonic Order in Prussia, or pilgrims in Livonia, provide insights demonstrates how those qualitative factors apply to landscape by representing them visually. Letters addressed to potential crusaders, in addition to the

commemorative practices surrounding martyrdom in both Livonia and Prussia, reflected this concept. The chapter provided a spatial representation of martyrdom in Livonia and Prussia, highlighting key differences surrounding the rise of ‘sacral cities’ in both regions.

Chapter 3 discussed relics and processions, providing a geographical and spatial model of how the sacralisation of landscape developed throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth century. This chapter provided a specific representation of pilgrimage routes that emerged by the end of the thirteenth century. This is particularly evident in the case of Prussia, where the cities founded by the Order were repeat locations of martyrdom and hierophanies. A distinct relationship between these qualitative components to the texts, and specific places (such as Riga, Thorn, Kulm, and Elbing) in the landscapes of Livonia and Prussia emerges. This is a novel approach to the study of the crusades in the Baltic during the thirteenth century, demonstrating the suitability of new methodological approaches to examining the spirituality of those expeditions.

Chapter 4 demonstrated the prevalence of landscape ideology in the Teutonic Order’s Prussian castles. Through considering the examples of the Order’s visual programme expressed in centres such as Marienburg, Königsberg, and Lochstedt, the themes concerning landscape and landscape ideology discussed in Chapter 1 were expressed visually. Given that these centres were used by pilgrims and knights in the Order, the dissemination of a distinct relationship between holy war and the sacralisation of landscape in the Baltic comes full circle. The consideration of these themes also demonstrates the new possibilities for scholarship on the visual culture of crusading in the Baltic region. There has been little attempt to analyse the role of landscape in the Order’s visual culture, though the concept of landscape sacralisation played a key role in the Teutonic Order’s historical texts, in addition to the missionary texts produced outside of the Order.

Implications of Research

Specific new contributions to studies on the spirituality of the Teutonic Order, self-understanding, and identity amongst pilgrims and brothers in the Order, emerge from this research.² The propagation in the sources and visual evidence of a new sacral landscape in the Baltic region all can be connected to understandings of place and landscape. This field of research thus has a broad reaching spectrum of applications, particularly from a chronological perspective, in how these ideas and concepts developed over the course of a century.³ In the context of recent academic research, the present thesis demonstrates the growing need to re-assess previous summaries of the Baltic crusades as ‘religiously glossed ethnic cleansing.’ It proposes that the religious imagery of the texts, the visual culture of the regions, and the spatial analysis of this material demonstrates quite the opposite.⁴ Often, the new sacral centres created in the Baltic were re-used or incorporated existing pagan settlements. They were not simply obliterated and abandoned, indicating a more complex and multi-faceted view of the missions as holy causes by the Order and by contemporaries.⁵

The above research also offers a new comparative approach to the study of the Teutonic Order and its Baltic crusades by consulting both Livonia and Prussia in its investigation of sacred landscapes. Previous work tends to focus on one or the other, drawing relevant comparisons and differences where appropriate. This is sensible, for control of the land was different in Livonia than in Prussia due to the pre-established division of power between the

² The conversion of the landscape in the Baltic has been a subject of recent scholarly interest, noted in the last twenty years or so of publications in German, Polish, and English. See the Introduction, pp. 15-9.

³ Hans-Dietrich Kahl, *Heidenfrage und Slawenfrage im Deutschen Mittelalter*, pp. 409-30, here pp. 410-14.

⁴ Christopher Tyerman, *The Crusades. A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 47: “The Baltic crusades acted as one more element in a cruel process of Christianization and Germanization, providing a religious gloss to ethnic cleansing and territorial aggrandizement.”

⁵ Krystyna Zielińska-Melkowska, ‘Średniowieczne miejsca pielgrzymkowe’, in *Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy* (*Peregrinationes. Pilgrimage in the culture of Old Europe*), pp. 242-52.

Order and the Bishops of Riga.⁶ The findings in this thesis, however, demonstrate key parallels between both regions with respect to the Teutonic Order as a spiritual institution and how it viewed itself as the creator of a sacral landscape. This is demonstrated in Chapter 1's consideration of the visual expression of literary themes concerning the vineyard in both areas.

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 13th century. This applied to both Livonia and Prussia, presenting the case for further examining parallels in the crusade ideology for both regions. Furthermore, this approach has highlighted the potential for using theoretical models concerning place, landscape, and how people of the past viewed their world, to the medieval Baltic. Future studies utilising 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.

The present thesis also contributes to a lesser-studied aspect of the Teutonic Order's later crusades in Prussia. In analysing the concept of landscape and taskscapes, fundamental to Chapters 2 and 3, we see a new way of interpreting the *Reisen*, the period in which the Order's visual expression of its ideology reached its peak. The discussion of the themes and the analysis of the Order's visual culture in the fourteenth century is a topic receiving increased scholarly attention, though the smaller pilgrimage churches have only been addressed in a handful of publications in the last two decades.⁷ The iconographical themes provide a continuity to the

⁶ See Jähmig, *Verfassung und Verwaltung des Deutschen Ordens und seiner Herrschaft in Livland* (Münster: LIT, 2012), pp. 12-32; Alan V. Murray, 'The Sword Brothers at War: Observations on the Military Activity of the Knighthood of Christ in the Conquest of Livonia and Estonia (1203-1227)', *Ordines Militares* 18 (2013), pp. 27-38.

⁷ Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1, pp. 305-09; Idem, 'Verlorene Denkmäler europäischer Ritterschaft', pp. 75-7. Also see Pluskowski, *The Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, pp. 162-63, p. 275. Also see Herrmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur in Preußenland*; Idem, 'Wehrhaftigkeit von Sakralbauten im Mittelalterlichen

language analysed in Chapter 1, which aids in re-assessing the spiritual nature of the later *Reisen* in Lithuania. This connection makes re-considering such evidence particularly useful, since it reflects the Order's ideological programme outside of its castles. It provides an opportunity to consider the views of pilgrims and crusaders who journeyed to the Land of the Mother. This adds particularly to the continuation of Marian imagery, and the Marian component to armed pilgrimage in the Baltic. If this was indeed an ideological trope, it was a highly effective one. These components were embedded not just in the written ideology of the Order, but in centres patronised by it and used by crusaders to legitimise the spiritual component of their mission.

Pilgrimage and its nature with respect to the crusades in Livonia and Prussia highlights the implications of the above study. The language of pilgrimage and the use of terms such as *peregrini* are key aspects of crusade ideology, sometimes used to discredit the pilgrimage component of crusading in the Baltic, a land with no shrines sacred to Christianity.⁸ Recent scholarship by Burnam Reynolds has situated the concept of pilgrimage in the Baltic and its conversion-oriented nature.⁹ His work has argued for the development of pilgrimage shrines for future crusaders, and the present thesis builds off of this to consider its implications on a broader chronological and thematic scale. Qualitative GIS analysis visually displayed the connection between events linked to pilgrimage practices, martyrdom, and miraculous vision, there is a more nuanced version of the pilgrimage landscape.¹⁰ 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.

Ordensland Preussen. Mythos oder Realität?' in *Die Mittelalterliche Dorfkirchen in den neuen Bundesländern 2. Form – Funktion – Bedeutung*, eds. Dirk Höhne and Christine Kratzke (Halle: 2006), pp. 91-100.

⁸ For example, William Urban, *The Baltic Crusade* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1975).

⁹ See Reynolds, *Prehistory of the Crusades*, pp. 154-55.

¹⁰ Chapter 3, pp. 143-96.

These results lead into the consideration of how this approach to the sources contributes to the growing applications of digital and spatial analyses in the study of the Middle Ages. Lilley has successfully demonstrated the application of these concepts to mental perceptions of city and landscape in medieval Europe. Cities and towns were reflective of medieval perceptions of faith, incorporating highly symbolic layouts and reflecting concepts of religious iconography, especially that of Jerusalem.¹¹ The above thesis likewise emphasises that these concepts are applicable to the crusade movement in the Baltic, a diverse frontier region defined by its holy wars.

Two main implications of the present study involve the use of Geographical Information Systems in its analysis of landscape and the ideology of the Teutonic Order, and the Order's visual culture portrays the ideology expressed in the Order's texts concerning landscape. The present study provides not just an analysis of the literary and ideological elements expressed in the texts, but a spatial and geographical representation of them. This lends a new perspective to studies on historical landscapes that are turning the use of qualitative GIS to better understand past societies' connections to landscape. 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.

Limitations of Research

There remain some research limitations concerning the written material and the visual evidence. While language (in the form of the chronicle-descriptions and charter phrasing) and the visual culture of the Baltic crusades does have a connection, demonstrated in the analysis above, there are significant gaps in chronology and preservation of these materials. This leads

¹¹ Keith D. Lilley, *City and Cosmos: The Medieval World in Urban Form* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), pp. 78-130; Idem, 'Cities of God? Medieval Urban Forms and their Christian Symbolism', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 29, no. 3 (2004): pp. 296-313, especially pp. 298-300 concerning 'iconographical geographies.'

to limitations concerning the analysis of this material, in addition to the limits of methodological approaches to it. Discussing these issues helps to better frame the findings of the thesis and provide possible avenues for future research on the role of landscape sacralisation in crusade ideology.

The early history of the crusades in Prussia, namely the fragmented chronicle evidence from that period, still remains the most difficult period to consult in terms of research and further trajectories. The primary historical narratives of the Teutonic Order documenting the conquest of Prussia come from the fourteenth century, mainly products of an intense spiritual reform in the Order and the need to legitimise itself to its critics. The lack of contemporary (i.e. thirteenth-century) reports of the conquest of Prussia is compounded by further source issues, namely the loss of most of Wigand of Marburg's *Chronicle of Prussia*. It also was produced at a time when the Order's visual culture reached its peak. However, the quick rendering of the text into Latin has been an issue noted in nearly all of the studies on the text. We simply do not know completely the extent to which Wigand reflected the wars, or the place in which the crusaders fought, within the framework of crusading and armed pilgrimage. The present thesis has identified the possible presence of biblical parallels in the text, though it is difficult to ascertain further the ideological nature of this chronicle, especially.

The preservation of the visual material of the medieval Baltic region, especially Livonia, is a significant object that any study of the ideological impact of crusading had on the Baltic region. I noted above in Chapter 1 (section 4) that, due to the series of conflicts that took place in Livonia, for example, the visual programme of the Teutonic Order there is virtually extinct.¹² Moreover, the preservation of the Order's art and architecture in Prussia, while available in the scholarship predating World War Two, is now fragmented. Therefore, the exact nature of the

¹² See above, Chapter 1, section 4.

ideology and themes expressed in the Order's visual culture presents a significant challenge to studying these aspects of the Baltic crusades. The surviving examples from each region, analysed in Chapter 2 and in Chapter 5, are separated by quite a gap in time. The visual programme expressed in the pilgrim churches of Saaremaa are from the thirteenth century, about a hundred years before the main examples of the Teutonic Order's art in Prussia. Themes are present, such as vineyards and leaves, but there is little more left to consider with respect to drawing further parallels.

Future Research Trajectories

The potential for future research based on the present thesis is considerable. For example, consulting a broader chronological framework would allow for examining the development of ideas relating to holy war and the conversion of landscapes in Northern Europe. Future studies would also benefit from considering the development (or decline) of this ideology and its use by the Teutonic Order in Prussia during the fifteenth century, to take one example. The benefit here is two-fold, primarily because the studies on the Order's state and its ideology after the Battle of Tannenberg in 1410 are primarily limited to German and Polish researchers.¹³ How, for example, did the Order express its ideology in the fifteenth-century sources such as the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*? Was the commemoration of the earlier expeditions framed differently than, say, in Nicolaus of Jeroschin's chronicle, and does this reflect a distinct development in the representation of Prussia as a crusading landscape? Such questions do not only apply to Prussia, demonstrated in the work of Anti Selart, who has recently written on the ideology of crusading and self-understanding in the chronicle of Hermann of Wartberge.¹⁴ The

¹³ For example, see Vennebusch, 'Zentrale Facetten der Spiritualität des Deutschen Ordens im Spiegel der *ältere Hochmeisterchronik*', *Ordines Militares* 18 (2013): pp. 243-65, especially pp 245-47; Czaja, 'Gesellschaft und Landesherr im Ordensland Preußen zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Zapiski Historyczne* 75, no .4 (2010): pp. 20-31.

¹⁴ Gisela Vollman-Profe, 'Die ältere Hochmeisterchronik. Versuch der Rettung eines verkannten Werkes der preussischen Historiographie', *Mittelalterliche Kultur und Literatur im Deutschordensstaat Preussen*, pp. 541-

present thesis has indicated, though, that the concept of landscape did indeed change with the changes of crusading produced by the age of the *Reisen*, namely through considering the Chronicle of Wigand of Marburg, another source which deserves closer examination in English.

Another area for further research is the employment of greater-detailed approaches using qualitative GIS. While the present study has employed a qualitative analysis, there is still considerable potential for how this work situates itself on the development of landscape in the late-medieval Baltic. The recent publication of Christofer Herrmann, for example, systematically analyses the churches and castles of Teutonic Prussia and situates the elements discussed in this thesis into a broader conceptual framework of settlement patterns.¹⁵ To supplement the intensely spiritual mapping of the early conquest periods in Livonia and in Prussia, further research into the long-term effects of settlement and the use of religious structures by the local population is necessary. Relics played a crucial role in the initial process of Christianisation and the sacralisation of landscape, but how did they function at the local parish level? A historical GIS-based study on the religiosity of late-medieval Prussia would be a welcome addition to studies on the religious ideology of medieval Prussia as a whole.

Future research would also benefit in the form of providing translations of relatively little-known sources for the Prussian and Livonian crusades. This has been done by William Urban in 1977, in an appendix to his translation of the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, but the lesser-studied sources concerning Prussia would facilitate the growing interest amongst English-speaking scholars in this theatre of crusading. As a step toward remedying this, the author of

52. Also see Anti Selart, 'Die livländische Chronik des Hermann von Wartberge', in *Geschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Livland*, ed. by Matthias Thumser (Berlin: LIT, 2011), pp. 59-87, especially pp. 78-83.

¹⁵ For example, see Herrmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur im Preußenland*.

the present thesis has prepared a translation of the so-called ‘Hermann von Salza’ letter, which is currently being prepared for publication.

Further research on the Teutonic Order’s Livonian history would benefit from future research, especially practices of memory and commemoration, in addition to the development of crusade ideology in the region throughout the fourteenth century. A prime example of this potential is the 2013 PhD thesis of Gustavs Strenga, which considered the role of memory in late medieval Livonia. His consultation of the little-studied chronicle of Hermann of Wartberge, in addition to the *necrologia* of brothers in the Teutonic Order from houses in Germany, demonstrates the potential of examining the spiritual lives of the brothers in Livonia. His work demonstrated the importance of memory (*memoria*) as an identifying factor in the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order well after the conquests of the thirteenth century.¹⁶ Future research trajectories for the ideology of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and in Livonia abound, and would benefit the present study in a variety of ways. Landscape, and the concepts of place on which this thesis has focused, would indeed complement these investigations.

To conclude, the above thesis has considered the role of landscape in the ideology of the Teutonic Order, primarily in Prussia but also in Livonia. This role was assessed from textual, geographical, and visual perspectives, and it was through the lens of holy war that all three elements manifest themselves in the written and visual material of the region. Contemporaries viewed holy war, in the form of armed pilgrimage and crusading, in a fluid sense, and created new sacred landscapes within which they could enact these components of medieval life. The Teutonic Order was a key factor in this process, for it led the wars on both fronts and provided, ideologically, a connection in Prussia (or Livonia) to the Holy Land. Engaged in a war against enemies of the church, the Order used this imagery to its advantage in garnering support and

¹⁶ See Strenga, ‘Remembering the Dead’, especially pp. 139-76.

maintaining its spiritual identity. Crusaders and participants in these wars likewise used it to shape their construct of 'place' when they were on their seasonal campaigns. Landscape sacralisation was a key factor in defining, propagating, and portraying the crusades in the Baltic region during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, reflected in the introductory quotation to this chapter: 'Also pray for all of the land, which formerly lay in paganism.'

Appendix I: Relics in the Baltic Region (13th – 16th Centuries)

The following appendix lists the relics mentioned in the sources for the Baltic crusades from the thirteenth and into the sixteenth century. It provides the date, location, and individual relics listed in the chronicles and the registers taken by the Order. These registers were first taken in the mid to late fourteenth century.¹ However, as this appendix shows, relics and crusading in the Baltic go hand in hand: while the majority of entries in this table come from the ‘end’ of the crusading period, the early mentions of relics demonstrate their importance to the missions from the initial conquest period. In light of the end of the present thesis’ scope, which stops in the 1390s, it is of considerable value for examining the role of sacral objects in the later period of the Order’s history in Prussia. During the high point of the *Reisen*, there were quite a large variety of relics that were kept throughout the Order’s territory. Given that Guests visited the standard route of centres discussed above in Chapter 3, the appendix shows the likelihood that crusaders and members of the Order venerated a rich variety of relics whilst on campaign,² in addition to the variety of relics venerated by the Christian population in Prussia.³

¹ See *GA*, pp. x-xi.

² Indeed, it is difficult to determine the extent to which relics accompanied armies on campaign in the Baltic. There are some letters to suggest the celebration of mass whilst on the *Reisen*, see *CDP* 3, p. 71 (no. 48), which allows armies to hold mass before dawn ‘when on expeditions against infidels, schismatics, and pagans’ (*cum in expeditione armorum contra infideles, scismaticos et paganos essent*).

³ For example, see the recent publication of Waldemar Rozyńkowski, *Omnes Sancti et Sanctae Dei. Studium nad kultem świętych w diecezjach pruskich państwa zakonu krzyżackiego* [*Omnes Sancti et Sanctae Dei. A Study on the cult of saints in the Prussian dioceses of the Teutonic Order*] (Malbork: Malbork Castle Museum, 2006), pp. 206-29.

<u>Place</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Relics</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
Riga	1203	<i>reliquiae</i>	<i>HCL</i> , p. 20 (7.2)
Riga	1211	<i>reliquiae</i>	<i>LECUB</i> 1, 1.21, col. 29
Elbing	1233	<i>magna pars sancte crucis...misit ad castrum Elbingum</i>	<i>PDC</i> , p. 52 (1.5)
Althaus	1242	<i>caput beate Barbare virginis et martiris</i>	<i>PDC</i> , pp. 138-40 (3.36)
Thorn	1263	<i>victoriosissima sancte crucis, cuius bona pars sicut et aliorum predictorum reliquie in ibi continentur</i>	<i>Cod. dipl. Warm.</i> 1, p. 82 (no. 45)
Marienwerder	1270	<i>imagines sanctorum, vestes sacrae, et alia ad cultum Dei dicata et ecclesie sacramenta</i>	<i>PDC</i> , p. 270 (3.148)
Rehden	1285	<i>nova ecclesia sanctae crucis</i>	<i>PrUB</i> 1.2, pp. 292-93 (no. 458)
Christmemel	1313	<i>processio reliquiarum</i>	<i>PDC</i> , p. 426 (3.315)
Biescobnicken	1325	<i>nova ecclesia sanctae crucis</i>	<i>UB Samland</i> , 3, p. 292 (no. 425)
Marienburg	1358	<i>lignum sancte crucis</i>	<i>Gesch. Marien.</i> , p. 537
Brandenburg	1375	<i>ymagine cum reliquiis...sancte Katharine</i>	Wigand, p. 598
Brathean	1379	<i>das heilige crucze ist copperyn</i>	<i>GÄ</i> p. 361
	1379	<i>1 monstrancia</i>	
	1386	<i>2 monstrancien</i>	
Juditten	1389	<i>unser liben frawen ken Judenkirch</i>	<i>ÄH</i> , p. 615
Brandenburg	1389	<i>sinte Katherinen zcu Brandenburg</i>	<i>ÄH</i> , p. 616
Marienburg	1394	<i>30 stocke an monstrancien und an cleynten cruczen sente Agathen houbt</i>	<i>MÄ</i> , p. 124
		<i>das heilige crucze das man dez frytages kuschet</i>	
		<i>gy grose silbrynne obirgulde taufel</i>	
		<i>6 monstrancien und 1 houbt</i>	
		<i>1 crucze mit dem heiligen holcze</i>	
		<i>3 monstrancien und 2 crucze</i>	
		<i>1 holczin tofelen mit heiligetume</i>	
Graudenz	11 Aug., 1398	<i>1 silberyn tafelchin mit heilgethum</i>	<i>GÄ</i> , p. 597

Marienburg	1 Nov., 1398	<i>1 cruz das man vor der processio treyt</i>	MÄ, p. 125
Gerdaunen	1 Nov., 1402	<i>eyne tofel mit heilgethum</i>	GÄ, p. 67
Christburg	30 Mar., 1410	<i>3 houbte heylithum</i>	GÄ, p. 132
Rehden	27 June, 1411	<i>eyne sakke ouch heylithum</i> <i>ewangelarium mit heiligethum</i>	GÄ, p. 564
Osterode	18 Oct., 1411	<i>2 cleyne solberynne crucze</i> <i>3 solberynne monstrancien und 1 kopperyn</i> <i>1 strusey mit heiligethum</i> <i>1 holczen hewpt mit heiligethum</i> <i>1 holczen touffel mit heiligethum</i> <i>eyne monstrancie von send Segemunt</i>	GÄ, p. 328
Rehden	28 Oct., 1411	<i>eyn ewangelienbuch mit heiligethum</i> <i>eyne monstrancie send Helenen</i> <i>send Mertinsbilde</i> <i>1 monstrancie send Katherinen</i> <i>1 cleyne monstrancie</i> <i>1 heupt sind Huperti</i> <i>2 crucze *</i> <i>1 hewpt von den 11 000 juncfrouwen</i> <i>2 taffel mit heilgethun</i>	
Schönsee	1411	<i>1 hulczen houpt mit heilgethun und andir heilgethum</i> <i>unvorworcht</i> <i>2 cleyne silberynne crucze</i> <i>1 cleyne copperin crucze</i> <i>2 houbt heilgethums</i> <i>1 corporalentaful mit heiligthum</i> <i>1 silberin bilde Katherine</i>	GÄ, p. 414
Balga	11 Nov., 1412	<i>1 sulbern toffel mit heyligthum</i>	GÄ, p. 160

		<i>2 grose monstranczien</i>	
		<i>1 gros sulberen crucze</i>	
		<i>1 butel mit heyligethum</i>	
Ragnit	25 Nov., 1412	<i>1 monstrancie mit eyner cleynen buchsen</i>	<i>GÄ</i> , p. 268
		<i>5 monstrancien silberyn cleynd und gros</i>	
Althaus	1412	<i>1 solberinne crucze</i>	<i>GÄ</i> , p. 503
		<i>6 solberinne monstranczien</i>	
		<i>1 ewangeliumbuch mit heiligethum</i>	
Thorn	13 May, 1413	<i>1 silberyn sancti Victoris</i>	<i>GÄ</i> , p. 434
		<i>eyne silberyn tofel</i>	
		<i>2 silberyn crucze</i>	
		<i>4 silberyn monstrancien</i>	
Graudenz	14 May, 1413	<i>2 crucze mit heyligethum</i>	<i>GÄ</i> , p. 598
		<i>1 haupt de sancta Cristina</i>	<i>GÄ</i> , p. 600
		<i>1 silberyn obirgolt hopt</i>	
		<i>2 pectoralia eyn gros und eyn cleynd mit heiligethum</i>	
		<i>1 obirgolte touffel mit heiligethum</i>	
		<i>1 brillenbuchse mit heiligethum</i>	
		<i>3 monstrancien mit heiligethum</i>	
		<i>1 cleyne monstrancie de sancto Huperto</i>	
		<i>1 hopt von den 11 000 jungfrauwen</i>	
Gollub	23 Nov., 1413	<i>2 sulberynne crucze</i>	<i>GÄ</i> , p. 402
		<i>1 silberynne monstrancia</i>	
		<i>1 kopperynne [monstrancia]</i>	
		<i>1 silberynne sante Katherinenbilde</i>	
		<i>1 veschen mit heiligethum</i>	
		<i>2 haupt heiligethum, 1 Otilie, das ander Mobilie</i>	<i>GÄ</i> , p. 403
Neumark	27 June, 1413	<i>1 vorgult crucze</i>	<i>GÄ</i> , p. 770
		<i>eyner lade heyligethum</i>	

Roggenhausen	9 Jan., 1414	<i>2 crucze von koppir eyn cleyne crucze</i>	GÄ, p. 540
Engelsberg	22 May, 1414	<i>2 silberynne obirgolte crucze in der kirche 2 monstrancien, dy eyne mit heiligethum 1 copperynne monstrancie mit heiligethum</i>	GÄ, p. 589
Birgelau	19 June, 1415	<i>2 kopperyn crucze eyn kopperyn arm 2 cleyne kopperyn monstrancien 1 cleyne silberyn cruczchin</i>	GÄ, p. 489
Roggenhausen	1415	<i>3 cleyne crucze</i>	GÄ, p. 542
Mewe	7 June, 1416	<i>1 crucze mit heiligethum eyne lange monstrancie zcu dem sacramento mit heilgethum Sente Huperten bilde silberyn vorguld eyn driekechte monstrancie 1 cleyne monstrancie mit corporalen heiligethum 1 cleyne monstrancie mit dorinne 2 toffeln mit heiligethum 1 ledechin mit heiligethum und eyn heupt unvorworcht in des heiligen cruczes altar</i>	GÄ, p. 743
Danzig	12 Nov., 1416	<i>eyn grose monstrancia mit dry bilden 1 grose monstancie mit eyner bilden und heiligethum eyn gros silberyn crucze 2 silberyn touffelen mit heiligethum eyn silberyn pectorale mit heiligethum</i>	GÄ, p. 693 GÄ, p. 694
Nessau	18 Nov., 1416	<i>1 crucze 1 capud Enfemie cum corona 1 monstrancie 1 touffel mit reliquien</i>	GÄ, p. 481
Schönsee	24 Nov., 1416	<i>eyne touffel mit heiligethum</i>	GÄ, p. 416

Memel	2 Sept., 1416	<i>1 monstrancia cum reliquiis</i>	<i>GÄ</i> , p. 307
		<i>3 cleine kasten ane heiligethum</i>	
Christburg	26 Sept., 1416	<i>1 silberynne schibe mit heiligethum</i>	<i>GÄ</i> , p. 133
		<i>eyn buch mit heiligethum</i>	
		<i>Sente Huwpertus bilde silberyn</i>	
		<i>Sente Katherynen bilde silberyn</i>	
Engelsberg	29 May, 1417	<i>2 monstrancien</i>	<i>GÄ</i> , p. 543
		<i>eyn crucze</i>	
		<i>1 borstynynne touffel</i>	
Christburg	1 Sept. 1418	<i>eyne silberynne scheibe mit heiligethum</i>	<i>GÄ</i> , p. 134
		<i>1 buch mit heiligethum</i>	
		<i>Sente Hupertus silberyn</i>	
		<i>Sente Catherinen bilde sibleryn</i>	
Ragnit	20 Jan., 1419	<i>1 toffil mit heilgethum</i>	<i>GÄ</i> , p. 276
		<i>1 benete palle czum heiligen crucze</i>	
Kapelle zu Tannenberg	22 Nov., 1419	<i>1 cleine monstrancia</i>	<i>GÄ</i> , p. 360
		<i>2 silberyn cruczchin</i>	
		<i>eyn toffelin mit heiligethum</i>	
Memel	9 Oct., 1420	<i>1 silberyn monstrancie cum reliquiis sancti Sebastiani</i>	<i>GÄ</i> , p. 308
		<i>1 silberyn heupr sancte Margarete</i>	
Danzig	13 Oct., 1420	<i>item [1] unser liben frawen bilde</i>	<i>GÄ</i> , p. 698
Königsberg	10 Jan., 1422	<i>1 silber toffil mit heilgethum</i>	<i>GÄ</i> , p. 20
		<i>3 hewpte mit reliquien</i>	
		<i>1 silberynne tofil mit heilgethum</i>	
		<i>1 holczyn heupt mit heilgethum</i>	
Thorn	21 Jan., 1422	<i>1 vyregkechte toffil silberyn mit heiligethum</i>	<i>GÄ</i> , p. 438
		<i>1 silberynne lange toffil mit mancherley heilgetum</i>	

Christburg	10 Mar., 1422	<i>1 schein mit heilgethum</i>	GÄ, p. 136
		<i>1 buch mit heilgethum</i>	
		<i>1 grose monstrancia mit heilgetum</i>	
Königsberg	15 Mar., 1422	<i>1 tafel mit heilgethum</i>	GÄ, p. 21
		<i>3 hewpte mit reliquien</i>	
Mewe	17 Mar., 1422	<i>2 holzene toffeln mit heilgethum</i>	GÄ, p. 745
Königsberg	25 Oct., 1425	<i>eyn hulczin heupt mit heilgethum</i>	GÄ, p. 28
Schwetz	3 July, 1427	<i>eyne silberynne thoffel obergoldet mit heilgthum</i>	GÄ, p. 623
		<i>eyn grosze monstrancia copperyn obergoldeth</i>	
		<i>eyn grös silberyn crucze mit edlem gesteyne</i>	
		<i>eyen cleyne monstrancia silberyn</i>	
		<i>zinthe Katherin holczin bilde mit eynem silberynnem rade obergoldet</i>	
		<i>2 cleyne beynyne bochschin mit heilgthum</i>	
		<i>2 ledechin mit leder oberczogin mit heilgthum</i>	
		<i>3 houbte heilgthum</i>	
Danzig	21 Nov., 1428	<i>eyn vorspan mit heiligthum</i>	GÄ, p. 704
		<i>Senthe Elyzabet und Barbara gesnytczte bilde mit erem heiligthum</i>	
Strassburg	30 Nov., 1428	<i>eyn silberin crucze ane fus</i>	GÄ, p. 388
		<i>1 silberin Upertus</i>	
		<i>2 copperin toufeln mit heiligtum</i>	
		<i>eyn monstrancia mit heilgthum</i>	
Lochstedt	28 Dec., 1429	<i>2 crucze</i>	GÄ, p. 46
		<i>2 monstrancen</i>	
Königsberg	1431	<i>1 grose toffel mit heiligethum</i>	GÄ, p. 29
		<i>czwei swarcze strawsseyer inne mit heilgethum</i>	
		<i>czwei ladechen mit heiligethum</i>	

Graudenz	14 Jan., 1434	<i>1 ewangelarium mit heilgethum das grose heilge crewze 1 new silbryn crewcz</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 604</i>
Christburg	6 April, 1434	<i>3 buchsen mit heiligethum 2 brillen mit heilgethum 1 silbrin scheibelechte tafil mit heiligthum</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 605 GÄ, p. 139</i>
Königsberg	6 April, 1434	<i>1 crewcze silberin monstrancz 3 kopperin mit heiligthum 1 gros tept sente Ruprechts heilgethum</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 140 GÄ, p. 32</i>
Althaus	22 June, 1434	<i>1 grose taffel mit heilgethum 1 ewangelarium mit heilgethum das grosse heilige crewcze 4 cleyne monstranczen mit heiligethum 2 ledechen mit heiligethum 1 silberin crewcz mit dem heiligen holcze</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 507</i>
Königsberg	17 October, 1436	<i>1 buch mit silber beleit ful heiligthum 1 burnsteyn Barbara mit eyner silberin crone sinte Ruprechts hilgethum</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 34</i>
Marienburg	26 Mar., 1437	<i>1 grosse touffel mit hilgethum 1 ewangelarium mit hilgethum das grosse heilige crewcz 4 cleinen monstrancien mit heiligthum das bilde unser liben frawen</i>	<i>MÄ, p. 126</i>
		<i>grossen crucze, mit den monstrancien cleyne und gros und mit den armen, doe ouch heilgethum inne ist eyn gros silbereyn crucze, doe das grosse heilige holtcz inne ist und sust ander heilgethum eyn cleyne crucze gantcz goldyn, doe ouch vom heiligen holtcz inne ist und ander heilgethum</i>	<i>MÄ, p. 129</i>

		<i>eyn bilde Katherin virginis silberyen und vorguldeth</i>	
		<i>eyn bilde Barbare virginis unvorguldeth</i>	
		<i>eyn kynbacke Anthonny martiris in silber unvorguldeth</i>	
		<i>eyn stucke von sancte Elyzabeth arm in silber vorwurcht</i>	
		<i>eyn houpt Eufemie virginis in silber vorworcht und vorguldet</i>	
		<i>eyne Veronica mit silber beleget und besaczt mit kostelechem edelem gesteyne</i>	
		<i>eyn holtzen Jorgenbilde mit heilgethum</i>	MÄ, p. 130
		<i>eyn holtzen towffel mit heilgethum</i>	
Brathean	21 Dec., 1437	<i>1 silbern crucze</i>	GÄ, p. 370
		<i>1 silberne Katherina</i>	
		<i>1 silberne Barbara</i>	
		<i>2 silbern scheiben mit heiligthum</i>	
		<i>1 samptbutel mit heiligthum</i>	GÄ, p. 371
		<i>1 blechen ledichen mit heiligthum</i>	
		<i>1 hulczen tofel mit heiligthum</i>	
Osterode	1437	<i>eyn palle zcu dem heiligen crucze</i>	GÄ, p. 331
		<i>1 houpt heiligthum</i>	
		<i>1 virkant glas mit eynem silbern reyfen dorunder ist heiligthum</i>	
		<i>1 obirgolt kesteleyn dorinne ist sinte Katherinen und ander heiligthum</i>	
Tapiau	1437	<i>1 toffel mit heiligthum</i>	GÄ, p. 59
		<i>3 houpte mit heiligthum</i>	
Gerdauen	1437	<i>1 toffel mit reliquien</i>	GÄ, p. 68
Balga	1437	<i>2 brillen mit reliquien ane silber</i>	GÄ, p. 167
		<i>2 buthel mit reliquien</i>	
		<i>1 kopperyn ledichen mit reliquien</i>	
Brandenburg	1437	<i>1 gros gulden crucze</i>	GÄ, p. 232
		<i>sente Katherynenbilde</i>	
		<i>1 grosze monstranze</i>	
		<i>1 silbern toffel mit heiligthum</i>	

Königsberg	1437	<i>5 holczin toffelchin mit heiligthum</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 38</i>	
		<i>1 silbern houbt Huperti</i>		
		<i>1 silbern monstrancia mit heiligthum</i>		
		<i>3 laden mit heilgthum</i>		
		<i>sinte Ruprechts heiligthum</i>		
		<i>1 grosze tofell mit heilgthum</i>		<i>GÄ, p. 39</i>
		<i>1 ewangelarium mit heiligthum</i>		
		<i>das grose heilige crucze</i>		
		<i>4 cleyne monstranczen mit heiligthum</i>		
		<i>1 gros tept sente Ruprechts heiligethum</i>		<i>GÄ, p. 40</i>
Strassburg	1437	<i>1 grose tofel mit heiligthum</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 391</i>	
		<i>1 ewangelarium mit heiligethum</i>		
		<i>1 gros heilige crucze</i>		
		<i>4 cleyne monstrancien mit heiligethum</i>		
Thorn	1437	<i>1 ledichen mit heiligthum</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 450</i>	
Schlochau	1437	<i>3 schedel mit heiligthum</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 666</i>	
		<i>1 gros silberyn crucze</i>		
		<i>1 brille, do ist heiligthum inne</i>		
Brathean	18 Oct., 1439	<i>1 holczin toufel mit heiligthum</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 372</i>	
		<i>1 kleyn ledechin mit heyligthum</i>		
		<i>1 ganz hewpt sancte Patroplien der juncfrawen</i>		
		<i>1 sulbern bilde unser frawen</i>		
Elbing	8 May, 1440	<i>1 holczynne towfell mit heilgethum</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 93</i>	
		<i>1 toffel von holcze darin ist gemolt eyn creucze mit und 1 Maria</i>		
Balga	4 July, 1441	<i>3 silberne toffeln gros und cleyne mit heiligthum</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 171</i>	
		<i>1 holczin tofelchen mit heilgethum</i>		
		<i>sente Margerethen houbt</i>		
		<i>2 brillen mit reliquien ane solber</i>		<i>GÄ, p. 172</i>
		<i>1 cleyne copperynne monstrancze</i>		
		<i>2 beutel mit reliquien</i>		
		<i>1 copperin ledechin mit reliquien</i>		

Roggenhausen	13 Nov., 1442	<i>4 crewcze</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 552</i>
		<i>3 monstranczen</i>	
		<i>1 silbern buchse</i>	
Danzig	1446	<i>5 monstrancien</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 712</i>
		<i>eyn Barbarenbilde silberyn</i>	
Danzig	25 Jan., 1447	<i>1 gros monstrancie, do steet sant Elizabeth inne</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 715</i>
		<i>2 silberin unsir liben frawen bilde</i>	
Brandenburg	1447	<i>1 gros guldin krewcze</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 237</i>
		<i>sant Katherinenbilde</i>	
		<i>1 grosse monstrancze</i>	
		<i>1 silberynne monstrancie mit heiligthum</i>	
		<i>1 silberyn houpt Huperti</i>	
		<i>1 silberynne monstrancie mit heiligthum</i>	
		<i>5 holczene toffeln mit heyligethum</i>	
		<i>3 laden mit heiligethum</i>	
Neidenburg	1507	<i>1 silbern monnstrancz</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 358</i>
Osterode	1507	<i>1 silbern vorgult finger sanct Martini</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 343</i>
Pr. Mark	1507	<i>1 silbern taffeln und ein brust salvatoris mit reliquien</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 146</i>
		<i>1 silbern ewangelienbuch mit reliquien</i>	
		<i>1 ubergult taffeln mit reliquien</i>	
		<i>1 silbern bilt sancte Katherinen ubergult</i>	
		<i>1 bilde sancti Huperti mit reliquien</i>	
Soldau	1507	<i>1 monstrantz kupperrn ubergult</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 351</i>
Pr. Holland	1508	<i>1 brillenvas mit heilgthum</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 109</i>
Pr. Holland	7 June, 1518	<i>1 silbern brillen mit heilthum</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 111</i>
Lochstedt	16th Century	<i>2 holtzen buchsen mit heiligthum</i>	<i>GÄ, p. 52</i>
		<i>1 samat bewtel mit heilgthum</i>	
		<i>1 gros silbern pacifical mit vil heiligtumb</i>	
		<i>2 holtzen tafeln mit vil heiligtumb</i>	

Appendix II: GIS Data

The appendix below lists the GIS data used in this thesis to generate the maps in Chapters 2 and 3. It is organised chronologically, from the late 12th century and into the late 14th, representing the qualitative data taken from the chronicles for the crusades in Livonia and in Prussia. The categories (abbreviated, explained in the footnote below), reflect the single elements outlined in the Introduction that this thesis uses to define the landscape sacralisation process in the Baltic.⁴ Reading through the chronicles, I made notes of the place in which events occurred, followed by extracting the geographical data from Google earth (for coordinates of cities). In many cases, Google earth will allow you to select the site of the medieval fortress, which allows for a better approximation of medieval sites as opposed to present-day locations.

In some cases, the sources are vague with respect to whether or not there was a liturgical procession, or whether or not an event was perceived as martyrdom. In these cases of ambiguity, the data is represented as 'ND' (no data). Immediately noticeable is the number of sacralising events that took place in the city of Riga, mainly the processions of crusaders and relics. However, the events of martyrdom in Livonia are more spatially diverse, more similar in this sense to the representation of Prussia in the chronicle of Peter of Dusburg. Equally apparent is the sharp decline in representations of martyrdom and relics in Peter of Dusburg's chronicle after the year 1272, the last year in which he records crusaders (*peregrini*) coming to Prussia, and begins his account of the wars in Lithuania. The repetitive nature of the raids at Junigeda (Velinuova) and Pisten (Pieštve) from 1283 into the early fourteenth century has no mention of pilgrims, relics, or hierophanic visions in Peter's chronicle.

The data shows, however, that these key elements were indeed present in the written material documenting the Baltic crusades for practically the entirety of the timespan of this study. The perception of events as martyrdom or miraculous, the presence of relics in the region, the description of processions, and the presence of the Teutonic Order, reflect the complexity of the development of a new sacred landscape in the Baltic. The data also shows the rich amount of applications that can be made with digital technologies, such as GIS, the use of which can represent the data spatially based on a combination of each category.

⁴ D = Date; Rel. = Relics; Pro. = Procession; Ma. = Martyrdom; B. = Battle; H. = Hierophany; M.O. = Military Orders; N = North; E = East; Ref. = Reference.

Place	D	Rel.	Pro.	Ma.	B.	H.	M.O.	N	E	Ref.
Riga	1198	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	56.950846	24.100268	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 9-10
Visby	1199	N	N	N	N	N	N	57.6348	18.29484	<i>HCL</i> , p. 12 (3.2)
Riga	1200	N	N	N	N	N	N	56.950846	24.100268	<i>HCL</i> , p. 14 (4.5)
Üxküll	1200	N	N	N	Y	N	N	56.815548	24.501325	<i>HCL</i> , p. 13 (4.1-2)
Riga	1201	N	N	N	ND	N	N	56.950846	24.100268	<i>HCL</i> , p. 15 (5.1)
Riga	1203	Y	ND	N	N	N	N	56.950846	24.100268	<i>HCL</i> , p. 20 (7.2)
Visby	1203	ND	ND	N	Y	N	N	57.6348	18.29484	<i>HCL</i> , p. 19 (7.2)
Lennewarden	1205	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	56.718862	24.801341	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 29-30 (9.8-9)
Riga	1205	ND	ND	N	N	N	ND	56.950846	24.100268	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 28-9 (9.6)
Üxküll	1205	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	56.815548	24.501325	<i>HCL</i> , p. 32 (9.2)
Holme	1206	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	56.846709	24.34074	<i>HCL</i> , p. 37 (10.7)
Riga	1207	ND	ND	N	N	N	ND	56.950846	24.100268	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 47-8 (11.1)
Odenpah	1208	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	58.059598	26.504781	<i>HCL</i> , p. 63 (12.6)
Kokenhusen	1209	N	N	N	N	N	Y	56.638104	25.418469	<i>HCL</i> , p. 66 (13.1)
Riga	1209	ND	ND	N	N	N	N	56.950846	24.100268	<i>HCL</i> , p. 68 (13.3)
Riga	1210	ND	Y	N	N	N	Y	56.950846	24.100268	<i>HCL</i> , p. 77 (14.5)
Fellin	1211	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	58.358599	25.597357	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 83-5 (14.11)
Riga	1211	ND	ND	N	N	Y	N	56.950846	24.100268	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 87-8 (15.1-2)
Riga	1211	ND	ND	N	Y	Y	Y	56.950846	24.100268	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 89-91 (15.3)
Riga	1212	ND	ND	N	N	N	ND	56.950846	24.100268	<i>HCL</i> , p. 101 (16.1)
Treiden	1212	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	57.182272	24.850391	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 108-11 (16.4)
Treiden	1214	N	N	Y	N	N	N	57.182272	24.850391	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 115-6 (18.1)
Riga	1215	ND	ND	N	ND	N	ND	56.950846	24.100268	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 123-4 (19.1-2)
Sontagana	1216	ND	ND	N	Y	N	Y	58.659287	24.164274	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 132-3 (19.8)
Fellin	1217	N	ND	N	Y	Y	Y	58.358599	25.597357	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 142-3 (21.1-2)

Place	D	Rel.	Pro.	Ma.	B.	H.	M.O.	N	E	Ref.
Riga	1217	ND	ND	N	N	N	ND	56.950846	24.100268	<i>HCL</i> , p. 142 (20. 1); see <i>LR</i> ll. 1333-1374
Riga	1218	N	N	N	N	N	ND	56.950846	24.100268	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 147- 8 (22.1)
Wenden	1218	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	57.31015	25.269855	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 124- 25 (19.3)
Mesoten	1219	N	N	Y	N	N	N	56.438706	24.052596	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 156- 7 (23.2-3)
Sontagana	1219	N	N	N	Y	N	ND	58.659287	24.164274	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 152- 3 (22.9)
Holme	1220	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	56.846709	24.34074	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 162- 4 (23.8)
Leal	1220	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	56.694485	23.839205	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 172- 73 (24.3)
Riga	1221	N	N	N	N	N	ND	56.950846	24.100268	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 177- 8 (25.1)
Riga	1221	ND	ND	N	ND	N	Y	56.950846	24.100268	<i>HCL</i> , p. 182 (25.3)
Dorpat	1223	ND	ND	N	Y	N	Y	58.377486	26.729047	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 198- 99 (27.6)
Fellin	1223	ND	ND	N	Y	N	Y	58.358599	25.597357	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 195- 6 (27.2)
Treiden	1223	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	57.182272	24.850391	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 192- 3 (27.1)
Lake Ratisgerwe	1224	ND	ND	N	N	N	Y	57.733492	26.910888	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 202- 4 (28.5)
Riga	1224	ND	ND	N	N	N	Y	56.950846	24.100268	<i>HCL</i> , pp. 199- 200 (28.1)
Riga	1225	ND	Y	N	N	N	ND	56.950846	24.100268	<i>HCL</i> , p. 208 (29.2)
Visby	1226	ND	ND	N	N	N	N	57.6348	18.29484	<i>HCL</i> , p. 216 (30.1)
Muhu	1227	N	ND	N	Y	Y	Y	58.603719	23.226428	<i>LR</i> , lines 1660-1689
Riga	1227	N	N	N	N	N	Y	56.950846	24.100268	<i>LR</i> , lines 1613-1646
Nessow	1230	N	N	N	N	N	Y	52.834401	18.895077	<i>PDC</i> , pp. 92-4 (2.11)
Torun	1231	N	N	N	N	N	Y	53.009346	18.610605	<i>PDC</i> , p. 96 (3.1)
Kulm	1232	N	N	N	N	N	Y	53.34842	18.42499	<i>PDC</i> , p. 108 (3.8)
Elbing	1233	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	54.156061	19.40449	<i>PDC</i> , p. 52 (1.5)
Kulm	1234	ND	Y	N	Y	N	Y	53.34842	18.42499	<i>PDC</i> , p. 112 (3.11)
Marienwerder	1234	N	N	N	N	N	Y	53.735695	18.919996	<i>PDC</i> , p. 110- 12 (3.9-10)
Rheden	1234	N	N	N	N	N	Y	53.385879	18.936281	<i>PDC</i> , pp.112- 14 (3.12)

Place	D	Rel.	Pro.	Ma.	B.	H.	M.O.	N	E	Ref.
Saule	1236	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	54.940655	25.007698	LR, lines 1908-1958
Elbing	1237	N	N	N	N	N	Y	54.156061	19.40449	PDC, p. 118 (3.17)
Balga	1239	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	54.552743	19.967357	PDC, p. 120- 22 (3.19)
Balga	1239	N	ND	N	ND	N	Y	54.552743	19.967357	PDC, pp. 126- 27 (3.23)
Riga	1240	ND	Y	N	N	N	Y	56.950846	24.100268	LR, lines 3391-3406
Kulm	1242	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	53.34842	18.42499	PDC, p. 140 (3.36)
Sartowicz	1242	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	53.432087	18.555465	PDC, pp. 138- 41
Kulm	1243	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	53.34842	18.42499	PDC, p. 150 (3.41)
Elbing	1244	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	54.156061	19.40449	PDC, p. 160 (3.48)
Thorn	1245	ND	Y	N	Y	N	Y	53.009346	18.610605	PDC, pp. 168- 70 (3.55)
Christburg	1246	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	53.92148	19.34723	PDC, p. 174 (3.58)
Christburg	1248	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	53.92148	19.34723	PDC, pp. 178- 80 (3.63)
Christburg	1248	ND	Y	Y	N	N	Y	53.92148	19.34723	PDC, p. 180 (3.64)
Crucke	1249	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	54.494219	20.440602	PDC, pp. 182- 84 (3.66)
Kulm	1253	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	53.34842	18.42499	PDC, p. 174 (3.59)
Memel	1253	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	55.703295	21.144279	LR, lines 3909-4084
Riga	1254	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	56.950846	24.100268	LR, lines 4159-4328
Königsberg	1255	ND	ND	N	N	Y	Y	54.706335	20.512475	PDC, p. 198 (3.77)
Memel	1257	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	55.703295	21.144279	LR, lines 4489-4526
Riga	1257	ND	Y	N	N	N	Y	56.950846	24.100268	LR, lines 4405-4436
Riga	1257	N	N	N	N	N	Y	56.950846	24.100268	LR, lines 4527-4628
Dobeln	1259	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	56.623787	23.273414	LR, lines 5479-5540
Goldingen	1259	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	57.031998	22.783582	LR, lines 4741-4934
Tervete	1259	N	N	N	N	N	Y	56.41192	23.318833	LR, lines 5375-5444
Durben	1260	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	56.588818	21.36868	PDC, pp. 206 (3.84)
Semigallia	1260	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	ND	ND	LR, lines 5287-5374

Place	D	Rel.	Pro.	Ma.	B.	H.	M.O.	N	E	Ref.
Brandenburg	1261	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	54.611803	20.249415	<i>PDC</i> , pp. 212-14 (3.91)
Kulm	1262	Y	ND	Y	N	Y	Y	53.34842	18.42499	<i>PDC</i> , p. 244 (3.125)
Labiau	1263	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	54.862201	21.110974	<i>PDC</i> , p. 214 (3.92)
Semigallia	1265	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	ND	ND	<i>LR</i> , lines 7281-7348
Brandenburg	1266	N	N	N	N	N	Y	54.611803	20.249415	<i>PDC</i> , p. 246 (3.127)
Brandenburg	1267	N	N	N	N	N	Y	54.611803	20.249415	<i>PDC</i> , p. 250 (3.131)
Christburg	1270	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	53.92148	19.34723	<i>PDC</i> , p. 264 (3.143)
Elbing	1270	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	53.009346	18.610605	<i>PDC</i> , p. 260 (3.141)
Karuse	1270	N	ND	Y	Y	N	Y	58.636345	23.69084	<i>LR</i> , lines 7769-7794
Kulm	1270	N	N	N	N	N	Y	53.34842	18.42499	<i>PDC</i> , p. 272 (3.152)
Kulmerland	1270	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	53.34842	18.42499	<i>PDC</i> , pp. 282-84 (3.165)
Marienwerder	1270	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	53.735695	18.919996	<i>PDC</i> , pp. 258-70 (3.148)
Poganste	1270	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	53.886244	19.336711	<i>PDC</i> , pp. 262-64 (3.143)
Mesoten	1271	N	N	N	N	N	Y	56.438706	24.052596	<i>LR</i> , lines 8031-8071
Elbing	1273	N	N	N	Y	N	ND	54.156061	19.40449	<i>PDC</i> , pp. 288-90 (3.170)
Dunaburg	1276	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	55.872723	26.522661	<i>LR</i> , lines 8169-8294
Heiligenberg	1285-6	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	56.478492	23.387428	<i>LR</i> , lines 9899-9960
Kernaven	1279	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	54.886596	24.854469	<i>LR</i> , lines 8295-8368
Riga	1280	ND	Y	N	N	N	Y	56.950846	24.100268	<i>LR</i> , lines 8869-8928
Riga	1281	ND	Y	N	N	N	Y	56.950846	24.100268	<i>LR</i> , lines 9405-9462
Riga	1282	ND	Y	N	N	N	Y	56.950846	24.100268	<i>LR</i> , lines 9507-9543
<i>Memel</i>	1283	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	55.089207	23.121735	<i>PDC</i> , p. 336 (3.221).
Königsberg	1284	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	54.706335	20.512475	<i>PDC</i> , pp. 345-48 (3.230-32)
Üxküll	1287	N	ND	N	Y	N	Y	56.815548	24.501325	<i>LR</i> , lines 10329-10498
Üxküll	1287	N	ND	N	Y	N	Y	56.815548	24.501325	<i>LR</i> , lines 10329-10498
Ragnit	1288	N	N	N	N	N	Y	55.027626	22.026889	<i>PDC</i> , pp. 349-50 (3.235)

Place	D	Rel.	Pro.	Ma.	B.	H.	M.O.	N	E	Ref.
Colayne	1290	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	55.05851	22.703212	<i>PDC</i> , p. 352 (3.238)
Lethowia	1290	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	55.05851	22.703212	<i>PDC</i> , p. 354 (3.239)
Colayne	1291	ND	ND	N	Y	N	Y	55.05851	22.703212	<i>PDC</i> , p. 358 (3.243)
Gesovia et Pastovia	1291	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	55.077358	23.281201	<i>PDC</i> , p. 360 (3.246)
Oukaym ⁵	1291	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	55.353647	22.512686	<i>PDC</i> , p. 362 (3.247).
Oukaym	1292	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	55.353647	22.512686	<i>PDC</i> , p. 366 (3.251)
Junigeda	1293	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	55.077358	23.281201	<i>PDC</i> , p. 368 (3.252)
Pisten	1293	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	55.080159	23.40593	<i>PDC</i> , p. 370 (3.254)
Pisten	1293?	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	55.080159	23.40593	<i>PDC</i> , p. 372 (3.257)
Garthen ⁶	1295	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	53.669354	23.813131	<i>PDC</i> , p. 376 (3.260)
Garthen	1296	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	53.669354	23.813131	<i>PDC</i> , p. 382 (3.266)
Junigeda and Pisten	1298	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	55.077358	23.281201	<i>PDC</i> , p. 386 (3.271)
Strassburg	1298	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	53.257891	19.399563	<i>PDC</i> , p. 386 (3.270)
Christmemel	1313	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	55.093355	22.905106	<i>PDC</i> , pp. 424- 26 (3.315)
Streba	1348	ND	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	ND	ND	Wigand, p. 512
Kaunas	1362	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	54.898521	23.903596	Wigand, pp. 531-39
Rudau	1370	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	54.706335	20.512475	Wigand, pp. 566-68

⁵ *Bataikiai*, western Lithuania.

⁶ *Garthen*, Grodno.

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