



Akkon – Venedig – Marienburg. Mobilität und Immobilität im Deutschen Orden. Vorträge der Tagung der Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens in Venedig 2018. Herausgegeben von Hubert Houben. **Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 86 / Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens 19.** Weimar: VDG, 2022. 312 + viii pp., 47 illus. ISBN 978-3-89739-961-7.

The present review concerns the latest issue of the series, *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, which with the book under review has entered its 86th volume. The topic concerns three *loci* that have been of key importance to the history of the Teutonic Order, but through the framework of mobility and immobility. The book is composed of a total of seventeen chapters written by leading scholars in the history of the Teutonic Order, and edited by Hubert Houben, the distinguished scholar of the Teutonic Order's history in the Mediterranean and in Italy. Throughout these chapters mobility and its counterpart, immobility, take center stage and are approached from a variety of perspectives, ranging from archaeological to prosopographical studies, in addition to the mobility of ideas and individuals. As usual with the earlier titles in this series, the book is a testament to the ever-evolving field of research on the Teutonic Order and its history, while highlighting the trends to move beyond regional studies that have often dominated the prior historiography.

The volume begins with a foreword from its editor, Hubert Houben, who outlines the origins of the volume's paper and the role played by mobility in the history of the military orders and how this is seen in the impact of the Fall of Acre in 1291, which resulted in the military orders having find new centres for administration (p. VII).

A particular strength of the book lay in its organization. As expressed in the title, the history of the Teutonic Order and the role played by mobility and immobility within it are traced from its origins, namely in the Holy Land. This is the subject of the paper of Adrian Boas, who discusses the idea of mobility between two important centres of the Order in the Holy Land: Acre and Montfort. Boas' paper concludes convincingly that the rise of the Order and its at times tense relationship to its contemporaries in the Holy Land (i.e., the Templars and Hospi-

tallers) resulted in extra-urban territorial landholding (p. 15). From here, László Pószán considers the invitation of the Order to Hungary in 1211. Pószán's chapter highlights the considerable potential for research in this area of the Order's history that is marred by a lack of sources, particularly concerning the first grants of lands to the Order by Andrew II of Hungary in 1211 (p. 16). Presenting a parallel to Boas' paper, Pószán's consideration of sigillographic evidence and the archaeological record (p. 19) deserve special mention. Building on this stark base of sources, Pószán shows through a compelling chapter the ways in which the local politics of Andrew II, the papal policy of Innocent III, and the idea of war against the enemies of the Christian faith form the complex background to the Order's invitation to this region (pp. 22, 26–29). In doing so, he demonstrates the importance of mobility in terms of approaches to the source record.

With the contribution of Arno Mentzel-Reuters, we see the importance of 'religious mobility' in the early history of the Teutonic Order, a period that also suffers from a lack of written sources (p. 33). Mentzel-Reuters' chapter points out that early texts such as the *Narracio de primordiis ordinis Theutonicii*, are "imaginative retrospectives" (p. 33), and analyses the presence of the idea of the Heavenly Jerusalem in the donations of the Order, remarking that this reflects its transformation from a local hospital to a crusading institution (p. 36). Mentzel-Reuters convincingly argues that not only the spiritual mobility of the Order, but the idea of the mobility of the past, can be traced in its earliest documents, providing a fresh and innovative approach to some of the most-studied sources of the Teutonic Order and its history (p. 54).

The next chapter, written by Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, considers the Teutonic Order and its move to Venice following the conquest of Acre in the summer of 1291, introducing the theme for the next five chapters which focus on the Order and its history in Italy. Favreau-Lilie provides an exceptional outline of the reasons as to why the Order selected Venice as its new headquarters, drawing on a variety of sources. In fact, Favreau-Lilie's use of non-Order sources, such as Ottokar aus der Gal's rhymed chronicle, presents a strongpoint of her chapter, namely because this period in the Order's history appears to not have been of interest to the Order's Prussian chroniclers (p. 57). However, her chapter also points out the *problems* that the Order experienced when it moved its headquarters, ranging from general causes (including the general criticisms faced by the military orders after the Fall of Acre, p. 62) to specific ones, such as the conflicts between the Order and leaders of Venice (p. 67).

Barbara Bombi's chapter provides a prosopographical study of the proctors and other officials of the Teutonic Order in Rome and their function in gaining support for the Order's missions overseas. Her consultation, too, of sources such as the report of Hartmann von Heldringen highlights a strength of the essay, namely in the variety of sources that it uses. Bombi provides a wonderful piece of research highlighting the potential of further prosopographical approaches to the Order's early history, demonstrating the mobility of numerous figures at the papal curia. Moreover, her chapter is a useful example of how periods with small or fragmented source bases remain fruitful areas of research, illuminating the wide cultural and diplomatic network of the Teutonic Order and its communication network in the thirteenth century.

Moving from the early history of the Teutonic Order in Italy, Uwe Israel considers the long relationship between Germany and Venice from the end of the eleventh century to the beginning of the sixteenth. Following a thorough overview of the transalpine links between East and West (p. 89), Israel also considers the ways in which the relationship between Germany and Venice can be seen in visual culture from the city, especially evident in his analysis of an image painted by Gentile Bellini (p. 91). The analysis of the spatial layout of Venice (p. 93) is another strong point of the paper, in addition to considering the different groups of German people who went through Venice and lived there (p. 95). By considering groups such as merchants (pp. 89–92), migrants (pp. 93–101), soldiers (pp. 101–103), and refugees (pp. 103–106), Israel emphasizes the ways in which mobility of peoples can be used to examine social relationships between groups in the high and late Middle Ages. Israel's paper demonstrates that in the later Middle Ages, there was no other city linked with Germany so strong as Venice was (pp. 106–107).

Continuing the trend of looking beyond the Teutonic Order and its time in Venice, Romedio Schmitz-Esser's chapter looks at the history of the Order's contemporaries, the Templars and Hospitallers, and their time in *La Serenissima*. Schmitz-Esser demonstrates that the overall contribution to Venetian society by the military orders remains an area that is little-researched (p. 110). Through drawing on the rich archival sources available in Bologna (p. 111) and digital approaches to the history of the Templars (i.e., a hypothetical reconstruction of the Order's house in Venice), his chapter is a demonstrative example of the future trajectory of scholarship on the history of the military orders off the battlefield. Moreover, his analysis of the *memoria* of the Battle of Hattin, present in the church of S. Giovanni de Jerusalem (p. 120). Building off of the arguments present in Favreau-Lilie's paper, Schmitz-Esser suggests that the favor placed upon Venice

by the Teutonic Order might be explained by a lack of presence of the Templars there (pp. 121–122). As such, this chapter contributes to the early history of the Order's mobility to other regions in Europe during the thirteenth century.

Hubert Houben, the editor of the volume, rounds out the section on the Order's history in Venice with a thorough and comprehensive overview of the Order's relationship to *La Serenissima*. Beginning with a history of the Order and its origins, Houben dwells upon the question as to why the Order received its first possessions in Venice (pp. 127–138). Most interesting is his consideration of a broad variety of materials, such as wills of Venetian citizens, to view the depictions of the Order among contemporaries (p. 136). Houben then considers the city as residence for the Grand Masters (pp. 139–144) and points out that the Order's house in Venice was not a very important centre, in addition to the seemingly infrequent visits of the Grand Master there. Konrad von Feuchtwangen was only documented in Venice one time: 13 January 1294 (pp. 140–141). However, Houben also shows the considerable mobility of other members of the Order from Prussia to the Mediterranean at the end of the thirteenth century (p. 142), before moving onto a history of the Order's house in Venice from 1310 to 1512 (pp. 144–152), demonstrating the many transformations that the Order's history underwent in Venice from before the loss of the Holy Land, its brief time as residence of the Grand Master, and its ultimate transformation to a sort of outpost of the Order (p. 152).

Klaus Militzer's analysis on mobility of the Teutonic Order between Germany and Prussia marks the beginning of the book's focus on the Baltic Zone. Militzer's contribution highlights the importance of the mobility of ideas and concepts between different groups moving between Germany and Prussia (pp. 153–154). Most demonstrative of the volume's theme is how Militzer's paper considers the flow of information about the Order's operations, evidenced in the large variety of letters preserved in the Order's archives (p. 158). From here, Juhan Kreem considers the flow of people and information in Livonia, addressing the degree to which a career in Livonia was a prestigious option for German nobility in the thirteenth to fifteenth century (pp. 159–170). Kreem addresses the phenomenon of mobility across a variety of themes: the early history of Order's Livonian Branch (pp. 160–162), followed by the idea of the concretization of the Order's recruitment area (pp. 162–163), mobility within Livonia and its commanderies (pp. 163–166), mobility between brothers in Livonia (pp. 166–168), and the lives of brothers after their time in Livonia (pp. 168–170). Kreem convincingly argues that Livonia

was a sort of *Endstation*, and that mobility ultimately involved the flow of people and information to the region.

Kristjan Toomaspoeg's chapter takes us back to the Mediterranean, addressing the idea not just of mobility of the Order, but immobility as well (pp. 171–189). Toomaspoeg begins by highlighting the seeming immobility of members of the military orders, who straddled the worldly and spiritual realms of life in the Middle Ages (p. 171). We are introduced again to the difficult nature of the sources with respect to the history of the Teutonic Order in the Mediterranean (pp. 172–173). Toomaspoeg's paper ultimately addresses the question as to whether a career for a brother of the Order in Italy was a prestigious option, or a punishment (p. 174). By considering the Teutonic Order's history in Italy, from before the Fall of Acre to the 1330s, he demonstrates that the answer was affirmative by consulting a wide array of archival sources and employing a prosopographical approach to demonstrate that a career in Italy could be a lucrative option (p. 175).

The subsequent chapter, written by Jürgen Sarnowsky, addresses the topic of the Teutonic Order and its trade relations in the Mediterranean (pp. 190–206). In contrast to Prussia, there appears to have been little to no organized trade network for the Order in this region (p. 191). Following an overview of privileges granted to the Order (pp. 192–195), Sarnowsky highlights the importance of southern Italy and the Order's trading activities in the Mediterranean (p. 195) as well as the importance of the Visitations of the Grand Masters to the Order's houses in the fifteenth century (p. 196). Most fascinating is the way that the chapter highlights the links between Prussia and the Mediterranean in terms of goods (p. 199), showing the broader expanse of the Order in terms of trade relations. By highlighting the flow of luxury goods (e.g., pepper, saffron, but also animals), Sarnowsky's chapter highlights new paths forward for considering trade in the Mediterranean, a region which did not have nearly the same number of resources as were available in Prussia (p. 205).

Werner Paravicini brings the volume back to Prussia, namely by considering the reasons why the nobility journeyed to Prussia on the *Reisen* in the fourteenth century (pp. 207–216). The chapter is essentially a summary of the recently published third volume of *Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels*. The chapter highlights the appeal of the *Heidenkampf* to the nobility, and the ways in which this idea fit into the contemporary values of knighthood in the fourteenth century. Most appealing is the consideration of the degree to which devotion (*Frömmigkeit*) or worldly fame (*eitler Ruhm*) motivated participants on the *Reisen* (pp. 210–216), where Paravicini correctly points out that such concepts had different meanings

than they do today (p. 211). His consideration of contemporary criticisms of the *Reisen* (pp. 211, 214), such as Heinrich der Teichner and Philipie de Mézières further demonstrates the complexity of the issue. Paravicini also addresses mobility through the lens of the experiences and expectations of crusaders, moving from the Prussian towns and cities (*der Welt der Frauen*) to the spaces of the Order such as Königsberg and Marienburg (*der Welt der Männer*), and ultimately to the land of monsters and animals (*der Welt der als Tiere aufgefassten heidnischen Litauer*) (p. 213). Paravicini's chapter highlights how ideas such as the *Heidenkampf* in addition to the emotions and expectations of individuals coming to the *Reisen* were quite mobile, especially after the appeal of fighting the "Saracens" in Lithuania had faded by the fifteenth century.

Similar approaches and considerations can be seen in the chapter of Christofer Herrmann, which discusses the mobility of artistic influences and their impact as seen through the Grand Master's Palace at Marienburg (pp. 217–225). Herrmann specifically focuses on the building as an exceptional example of fourteenth-century European secular architecture, beginning with an overview of terminology linked to residences in the Middle Ages (pp. 218–220). From here, Herrmann highlights the hierarchical structure of the building (pp. 220–221), and the modernity and originality of the building in terms of its function (pp. 221–223) as key components of investigating this building and its place in the architecture of the Middle Ages, a topic that he has recently examined in more detail in his 2019 monograph, *Der Hochmeisterpalast auf der Marienburg: Konzeption, Bau und Nutzung der modernsten europäischen Fürstenresidenz um 1400*. Adopting an approach of the architectural historian but basing his analysis in written texts, too, Herrmann's chapter is a strong example of the mobility of concepts and ideas, things which we do not always observe in the written record but are apparent in the visual record.

With the paper of Heinz Notflascher, we move from the mobility of ideas and concepts to the movements of individuals, as well as into the "modern" history of the Teutonic Order. This introduces the final three papers of the volume. Notflascher's analysis of the travels of *Deutschmeister* and Archduke, Maximilian III of Austria, around 1600 provides a wealth of information concerning individuals and mobility at the turn of the seventeenth century. He divides Maximilian's travels into four phases (pp. 240–275). These include as a prince with little political influence as a conqueror of lands, as a general against the Ottomans, and as a pilgrim (p. 240). Through tracing his extensive travels in the Reich, as well as in Spain and in Italy, Notflascher's chapter demonstrates that we can call Maximilian III an

example of the “Grand Tourist”, even if he had taken his trip at a later age than was traditional (p. 275).

The final two chapters of the volume concern the history of the Teutonic Order in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and both focus on objects. The first of these, a newly discovered portrait of Johann Baptist Lamp der Ältere, is the subject of the collaborative contribution of Raphael Beuing and Bernhard Huber. This chapter provides an overview of this picture and how it made its way from Vienna to Venice (p. 277). It includes a multi-faceted analysis of different types of evidence, from photographs to inventories, and highlights the important role played by Karl Borromäus, Count of Colloredo and the Landkomtur of Waldsee and Mels as an example of “clientele politics” (*Klientelepolitik*) (p. 280). Bernhard Huber provides the final chapter of the volume, which concerns a statue of St George at the castle of Busau. Huber traces the journey of the statue from Venice by way of Vienna before its ultimate arrival at Busau. It is a fine conclusion to the volume, namely in the ways that it demonstrates the ways that mobility and immobility even factor into the modern history of the Order (p. 290), in addition to demonstrating the ever-growing field of scholarship on the Order’s modern history as a religious institution.

Overall, this volume is a superb testament to the new research on the Teutonic Order and the new trends that appear to be developing. Through addressing the theme of mobility, the authors demonstrate the importance of looking at the Order’s history beyond a regional scale, demonstrated in the paper of Jürgen Sarnowsky.¹ Moreover, the volume demonstrates the importance of key elements of the Teutonic Order’s identity as a military monastic institution, especially that of the *Heidenkamp* (seen in the papers of Laszlo Pósan and Werner Paravicini). Perhaps more telling of this book’s contribution is the clear potential for prosopographical research, an area that highlights the importance of mobility within the Teutonic Order not just in the Middle Ages, but in the modern period, a theme explored in the papers of Barbara Bombi, Klaus Militzer, and Juhan Kreem. One should also highlight the importance of tracing the mobility of objects and things as a way to understand the Order’s more modern history, as demonstrated in the papers of Bernhard Huber and Raphael Bueing. The same can be said for the study of ideas and concepts, and how these appear in other regions of the Order’s his-

¹ One should also remember Udo Arnold, “Ordines Militares – 20 Konferenzen. Der Weg einer Freundschaft / Ordines Militares – 20 Conferences. The Way of a Friendship,” *Ordines Militares Colloquia Torunensia Historica. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders* 25 (2020): 387–420.

tory. This was particularly the case in the paper of Arno Mentzel-Reuters, as well as those of Christofer Herrmann and Heinz Noflatscher.

The structure of the book also deserves special attention. The papers are assembled in a generally agreeable fashion and show a clear sense of mobility between places linked with the Order's history, beginning with Acre and focusing heavily on Venice and Marienburg. While the placement of photographs in one section, as opposed to having them spread out in the texts, might make for more flipping for the reader, the organization is clear and it is actually more advantageous, in my opinion, to have this material accessible in one place. *Akkon – Venedig – Marienburg* continues the tradition of *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* by assembling leading scholars in the history of the Teutonic Order and providing a thorough, yet accessible, volume.

*Gregory Leighton (Toruń)**

* ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4203-2313>