



## Did the Teutonic Order create a sacred landscape in thirteenth-century Prussia?

Gregory Leighton

To cite this article: Gregory Leighton (2018) Did the Teutonic Order create a sacred landscape in thirteenth-century Prussia?, *Journal of Medieval History*, 44:4, 457-483, DOI: [10.1080/03044181.2018.1490918](https://doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2018.1490918)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2018.1490918>



Published online: 25 Jul 2018.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 42



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



## Did the Teutonic Order create a sacred landscape in thirteenth-century Prussia?

Gregory Leighton 

School of History, Archaeology and Religion, Cardiff University, Cardiff, UK

### ABSTRACT

This article defines ‘sacred landscape’ as a combination of factors that the two authoritative chroniclers of the crusades in Prussia, Peter of Dusburg and Nicolaus of Jeroschin, present in their texts. These are the intersection of hierophanies (manifestations of the sacred), martyrdom, relic veneration and pilgrimage activities at specific locations over time: connecting them can account for the Teutonic Order’s role in the sacralisation of Prussia. To map the growth of this concept, the article uses Geographical Information Systems (GIS) in combination with textual analysis, providing a visual and spatial representation of the landscape propagated by the Order. The succeeding period of crusades in the Baltic, namely those against Lithuania in the fourteenth century, shows how the places founded during the thirteenth century functioned as pilgrimage centres for knights going toward the frontier. This article considers to what extent the Teutonic Order’s crusades to Prussia in the thirteenth century created a sacred landscape.

### ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 28 October 2016  
Accepted 22 October 2017

### KEYWORDS

Baltic crusades; Prussia; pilgrimage; military orders; sacred landscape; GIS

## Introduction

The present article discusses the factors that reflect how the Teutonic Order viewed its crusades in Prussia as components in generating a sacred landscape there.<sup>1</sup> The texts produced in the Order have elements that reflect this process, namely hierophanies (manifestations of the sacred), records of martyrdoms, relics and relic veneration,

**CONTACT** Gregory Leighton  leightongj@cardiff.ac.uk  School of History, Archaeology and Religion, Cardiff University, John Percival Building, Colum Drive, Cardiff CF10 3QE, UK

<sup>1</sup> The abbreviations for primary sources and edited collections used in this article are as follows: Arnold of Lübeck: J.M. Lappenberg, ed., *Arnoldi Chronicon Slavorum*. MGH SS rer. Germ. 14 (Hanover: Hahn, 1868); Henry of Livonia: Leonid Arbusow and Albert Bauer, eds., *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*. MGH SS rer. Germ. 31 (Hanover: Hahn, 1955); Lippiflorium: Hermann Althof, ed., *Das Lippiflorium. Ein westfälisches Heldengedicht aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Weicher, 1900); LR: Leo Meyer, ed., *Livländische Reimchronik* (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1876); MÄ: Walther Ziesemer, ed., *Das Marienburger Ämterbuch* (Danzig: Kafemann, 1916); MGH SS: Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex monumentis Germaniae historicis separatim editi, eds. J.M. Lappenberg and others (Hanover: Hahn, 1871– present); Nicolaus of Jeroschin: E. Strehlke, ed., *Di Kronik von Pruzinlant*, in SRP, 1: 303–624; Peter of Dusburg: Max Töppen, ed., *Chronicon terrae Prussiae*, in SRP, 1: 24–219; PrUB: Rudolf Philippi and others, eds., *Preussisches Urkundenbuch. Politische Abtheilung*, in progress (Königsberg and Göttingen: Hartnugsche Verlagsdruckerei, 1882–); SDO: Max Perlbach, ed., *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens. Nach den ältesten Handschriften* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1890); SRP: Theodor Hirsch and others, eds., *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum: die Geschichtsquellen der Preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft*. 6 vols. (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1861–74); TOT: Ernst Strehlke, ed., *Tabulae ordinis Theutonici. Tabularii regii Berolinensis codice potissimum* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1869).

pilgrimage and pilgrimage activities. A visual and spatial representation of these aspects is provided with Geographical Information Systems (GIS). The order of these themes represents the transition from non-physical to physical components of the development of a sacred landscape in Prussia. The events recorded in the chronicles documenting the history of Prussia gave new meaning to the ways in which members of the Teutonic Order understood place and landscape. The article therefore begins with a brief introduction to the Teutonic Order, followed by a short outline of theories concerning the rise of holy places, before moving to the discussion of how hierophanies, martyrdom, pilgrimage and relics demonstrate the process of sacralising the landscape.

A pivotal event occurred in northern Poland in 1228: the arrival of the Teutonic Order in the region of Prussia.<sup>2</sup> The Order, founded in the Holy Land, was now engaged in the fight against the Prussians to prevent their incursions into the region of Poland known historically as the Kulmerland (*terra Colmensis*; Ziemia Chełmińska) (see Appendix for a concordance of place names). These were the borders of the Masovian duke, Konrad, who had summoned the Order for help.<sup>3</sup> The Golden Bull of Rimini (1226/1235), granted to the Order by Frederick II, gave the Order control over any lands that it might conquer from the Prussians.<sup>4</sup> Konrad's invitation marked the beginning of what would become a unique phenomenon in the history of the military orders as institutions: the foundation of the Teutonic Order's 'state' in Prussia. It was the political, economic and spiritual nucleus of the Teutonic Order, with its headquarters, from 1309 until 1457, at Marienburg (Malbork, Poland).<sup>5</sup> For the scope of the present article, Elbing (Elbląg) served as the headquarters of the Prussian Masters (Figure 1).

This article centres on the conquest of Prussia in the thirteenth century, from the 1230s to the 1280s, specifically the perception of this conquest as a spiritual enterprise. This was the first wave of wars that established the Order's presence in the region. The necessity for expansion and the creation of a power structure (*Herrschaftsbildung*) are a major component in the study of the Teutonic Order's crusades in the Baltic, and rightfully so.<sup>6</sup> It

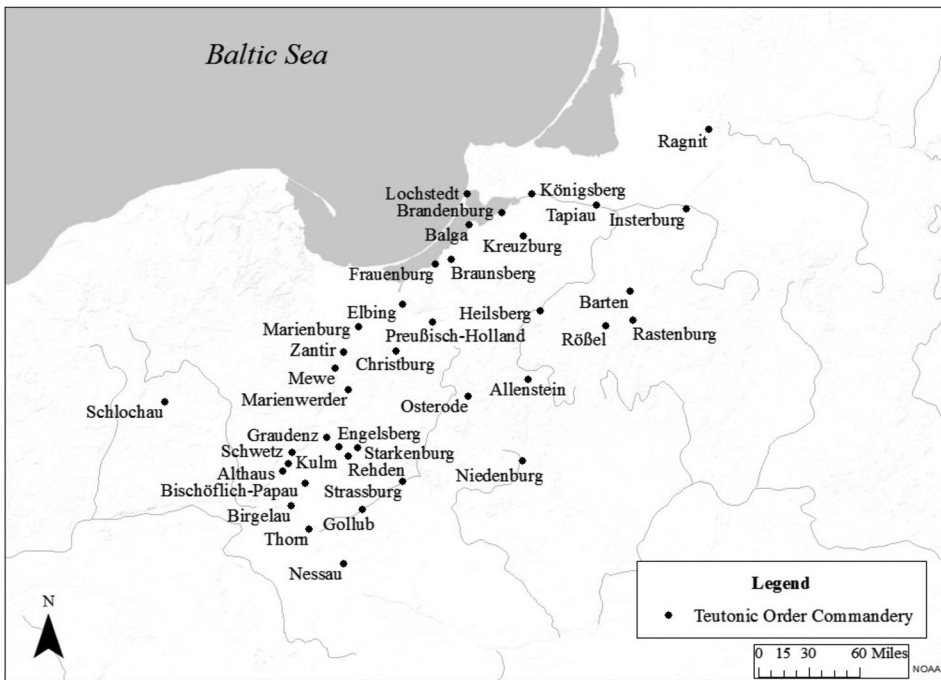
<sup>2</sup> Previously, 1226 was the scholarly consensus for the date of the Order's invitation to Prussia. See Hartmut Boockmann, 'Die Anfänge der Herrschaftsbildung in Preußen', in idem, *Der Deutsche Orden: Zwölf Kapitel aus seiner Geschichte* (Munich: Beck, 1981), 66–93 (75); László Pószán, 'Prussian Missions and the Invitation of the Teutonic Order into Kulmerland', in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, eds. Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000), 429–48; Jürgen Sarnowsky, 'Der Erwerb Preußens und Livland', in idem, *Der Deutsche Orden* (Munich: Beck, 2007), 31–6; Aleksander Pluskowski, 'The Ravages of Holy War: Crusade and Colonisation in the Thirteenth Century', in idem, *The Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade: Holy War and Colonisation* (London: Routledge, 2013), 89–139 (89–90). A recent article by Roman Czaja and Zenon Hubert Nowak suggests the date of 1228: '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*, eds. Roman Czaja and Andrzej Radziński (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 2015), 13–30 (14).

<sup>3</sup> Klaus Militzer, 'Entstehung und Ausbreitung des Deutschen Ordens im 13. Jahrhundert', in idem *Die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005), 12.

<sup>4</sup> *PrUB*, 1: 41–3 (42, no. 56). For the dating of the Golden Bull of Rimini, see R. Czaja and Z.H. Nowak, 'The State of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia', in *Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia*, eds. Czaja and Radziński, 14.

<sup>5</sup> Klaus Militzer, 'Die Übersiedlung Siegfrieds von Feuchtwangen in die Marienburg', in *Die Ritterorden in Umbruchs- und Krisenzeiten*, eds. Roman Czaja and Jürgen Sarnowsky (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2011), 47–62. Until 1309, the provincial headquarters was at Elbing (Elbląg). Also see Roman Czaja, 'Das Phänomen des Deutschordensstaates', in *Jahrbuch des Wissenschaftlichen Zentrums der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, vol. 2, ed. Irmgard Nöbauer (Vienna: Polish Scientific Academy, 2011), 163–72.

<sup>6</sup> *Herrschaft* here might be translated as 'rule' or 'rulership'. The use of the term 'Order state' (*Ordensstaat*), once common to refer to the Order's territory in Prussia, has become dated. See Bernhard Jähnig, *Verfassung und Verwaltung des Deutschen Ordens und seiner Herrschaft in Livland* (Berlin: LIT, 2012), 13; Czaja, 'Das Phänomen des Deutschordensstaates', 163–72. Current terms include *Ordensland* or *Ordensgebiet*.



**Figure 1.** Teutonic Order commanderies in the thirteenth century. *Source:* Author.

is important to remember, though, that contemporaries and the chroniclers writing of the events understood crusading (i.e. armed pilgrimage) as a spiritual act, not the construction of a ‘state’ in the modern sense of the term.<sup>7</sup>

The main chronicles documenting these crusades, produced by priests in the Order, expressed the conquest as a sign of divine favour placed on the Order itself, and framed its wars against the non-Christian tribes of Prussia as holy ones. Given this interpretation, the present article examines the perception of Prussia as a place defined by holy war and crusading expressed in the chronicles. Through using GIS alongside the events described in the chronicle of Peter of Dusburg, it maps how this landscape grew from a small number of wooden castles on the Vistula (Wisła) River into a spiritual landscape and a place of pilgrimage. The result is a geographical model representing the Order’s spiritual perception of its conquest of Prussia. This approach makes plain the growth of Prussia as a centre for crusading throughout the thirteenth century.

Primary source accounts describing the Baltic campaigns, produced both within and outside the military orders,<sup>8</sup> show contemporary perceptions of the expeditions’ spiritual objectives. For Prussia, the best accounts of the Order’s history are Peter of Dusburg’s

<sup>7</sup> See Giles Constable, ‘The Historiography of the Crusades’, in idem, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (London: Routledge, 2008), 28–9; and Anti Selart, ‘Introduction’, in *Livonia, Rus’ and the Baltic Crusades in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Fiona Robb (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 1–19, for the eastern Baltic region.

<sup>8</sup> The main Teutonic Order chronicles (*Ordenschroniken*) are *LR*; Peter of Dusburg; Nicolaus of Jeroschin; Hermann of Wartberge, ‘Chronicon Lyvoniae’, ed. Ernst Strelhke, *SRP*, 2: 21–116; and Wigand of Marburg, ‘Die Chronik Wigands von Marburg’, ed. Theodor Hirsch, *SRP*, 2: 453–662. For accounts produced outside the Order, see Henry of Livonia, 9 (2.3–4), 12 (3.2); Arnold of Lübeck, 212–13 (5.30); and Lippiflorium, 64 (ll. 767–80), 66–8 (ll. 837–70), 68–70 (ll. 871–912).

*Chronicon terre Prussie* (the *Chronicle of Prussia*, 1326) and Nicolaus of Jeroschin's translation of the same text, *Di Kronike von Pruzinlant* (1341). Both authors were priests in the Order, but with different agendas that influenced the composition of their texts. Peter of Dusburg wrote a sacred history of the Order in Prussia that justified not only the expansion of the Order's territory there and heroised the deeds of the early brothers and crusaders, but also appealed to the Church as well.<sup>9</sup> There is debate concerning the extent to which his chronicle was meant for members of the Order or for an outside audience.<sup>10</sup> His description of Romow, discussed below, hints at the text's intended audience, since the place in Peter's text functions as a sort of Prussian Rome. This was meant to frame the wars for an outside audience, probably the papal curia.<sup>11</sup> The language of the text makes it unlikely that brethren in the Order, many of whom were not literate in Latin, read the chronicle in their convents.<sup>12</sup>

Nicolaus of Jeroschin's text, by way of contrast, likely had as its audience members in the Order and served to motivate them along the lines of chivalric models with respect to their wars against the Prussians and Lithuanians.<sup>13</sup> Additionally, Nicolaus' text, like other sources produced within the Order, may have functioned as a piece read to pilgrims or the Order's 'war guests' (*Kriegsgäste*). This required a portrayal of the crusades reflecting the interests of foreign participants outside the Order's ranks, in addition to members of the Order who saw the war against the pagans as fundamental to their occupation.<sup>14</sup> Nicolaus' text is more concerned with knightly facets of physical warfare, in contrast to Peter's concern with the relationship between physical and spiritual weapons. Both authors, however, sought to frame the crusade to Prussia through the lens of sacralised warfare.

Peter's and Nicolaus' chronicles offer important insights with respect to the Teutonic Order's concept of itself as a crusading institution in the fourteenth century.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, the perception of the landscape of Prussia as a sacred one also contributes to this area of research. The wars that the chronicles document were not only continuations of historical predecessors, but, citing Judges 5:8, 'new wars, chosen by the Lord' ('nova bella, que elegit dominus'), they were continuations of the wars of the Old Testament set on the

<sup>9</sup> Max Töppen, 'Einleitung', in *SRP*, 1: 1–20, especially 7.

<sup>10</sup> Marcus Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter* (Weimar: VDG, 2013), 69–72. See Jarosław Wenta, 'Bemerkungen über die Funktion eines mittelalterlichen historiographischen Textes: die Chronik des Peters von Dusburg', in *De litteris, manuscriptis, inscriptionibus ... Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Walter Koch*, eds. Theo Kölzer and others (Vienna: Böhlau, 2007), 675–86.

<sup>11</sup> Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 70.

<sup>12</sup> Texts, mainly vernacular, were read aloud at meal times (*Tischlesung*). See Arno Mentzel-Reuters, 'Deutschordensliteratur im literarischen Kontext', in *Mittelalterliche Kultur und Literatur im Deutschordensstaat Preussen: Leben und Nachleben*, eds. Jarosław Wenta, Sieghine Hartmann, and Gisela Vollmann-Profe (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2008), 355–68 (364–5); Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 70.

<sup>13</sup> Ernst Strehlke, 'Einleitung', in *SRP*, 1: 291–302, especially 292.

<sup>14</sup> This also could be the case for the *LR*. See Alan V. Murray, 'The Structure, Genre and Intended Audience of the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*', in *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150–1500*, ed. A.V. Murray (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 248–50; Mary Fischer, 'Biblical Heroes and the Uses of Literature: the Teutonic Order in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries', in *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier*, ed. Murray, 268–72. Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 88–9, for Nicolaus' text. For the *Heidenkampf*, see Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 57–8, for the application of this idea to the Prussian frontier.

<sup>15</sup> German researchers use the term *Selbstverständnis* (self-understanding) to describe this field of inquiry into the military orders. For examples, see Roman Czaja, 'Das Selbstverständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden im Mittelalter. Bilanz und Forschungsperspektive', in *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden*, eds. Roman Czaja and Jürgen Sarnowsky (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2005), 11–12; Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 1–12.

pagan frontier of Prussia.<sup>16</sup> It was not just the wars, but also the symbolism applied to the weapons used by the early warriors (and knights in the Order) that had spiritual meaning and connotation. They symbolised the real fight against the pagans, but on a metaphorical level they showed the virtue possessed by the knights, as a spiritual organisation dedicated to fighting on behalf of the Church.<sup>17</sup>

If the chroniclers in the Order viewed the wars in Prussia in these terms, it raises the question to what extent crusaders and knights in the Order ‘using’ the physical (and spiritual) weapons understood place and landscape. Peter understood the history of Prussia in the thirteenth century in a sacral context. He constructed a sense of place with respect to the mission of these early crusades in his text to reflect this understanding and portray it to his audience. Combining textual analysis with anthropological theories concerning place and space provides a framework for analysing the emergence and development of a sacred landscape in Prussia established by the Teutonic Order.

Qualitative GIS offers the possibility of providing a visual representation of the spiritual landscape described by the chroniclers. Historians are increasingly using this technology to re-evaluate past events with a focus on place, specifically human interactions with place.<sup>18</sup> This has not been without criticism, though.<sup>19</sup> The application of theoretical models devised by historians of religion is now coming to focus on the field of the crusade to Prussia, and this article will contribute to this further by assessing the sources with Qualitative GIS.

Applying task and perception to landscape is not necessarily a new item in research on the military orders, specifically the Teutonic Order in Prussia. Nicholas Morton proposes that the Teutonic Order created a ‘Maccabean frontier’ in Prussia as its conquests advanced, consciously employing this imagery in its chronicles.<sup>20</sup> The portrayal of Prussia as a sacral place in light of the later wars (*Reisen*) to Prussia in the fourteenth century raises the question of re-examining the thirteenth-century expeditions there as spiritual enterprises. Given that pilgrimage adopted such components as the veneration of relics, in addition to fighting the pagan enemy, what role did the initial conquest play in developing this? One avenue to answering this question is to consider those crusades within the framework of landscape sacralisation, a topic now investigated in Polish academic literature.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> See Peter of Dusburg, 29 (2.7); and Nicolaus of Jeroschin, 327 (ll. 2160–7): ‘Abir in disen ziten / begondin kegin in striten / di ditschin brüdere gemeit / mit nûwer striter sicherheit. / Diz mugin gene strite wesin, / di got nûwe hát irlesin.’

<sup>17</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 40–6 (2.9–2.10); Nicolaus of Jeroschin, 329–41 (ll. 2274–3392). Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 80.

<sup>18</sup> See Anne Kelly Knowles, ed., *Past Time, Past Place: GIS for History* (Redlands, CA: ESRI Press, 2002); Matthew Fitzjohn, ‘Viewing Places: GIS Applications for Examining the Perception of Space in the Mountains of Sicily’, in *Viewing Space*: special issue of *World Archaeology* 30, no. 1 (2007): 36–50.

<sup>19</sup> For example, see Piraye Hacigüzeller, ‘GIS, Critique, Representation and Beyond’, *Journal of Social Archaeology* 12 (2012): 245–63, for a response to critiques of GIS’ over-reliance on theory.

<sup>20</sup> See Alden Jencks, ‘Maccabees on the Baltic: the Biblical Apologia of the Teutonic Order’ (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1989), 187–266; Arno Mentzel-Reuters, ‘Der Deutschen Orden zwischen Kreuzzügen und Reformation’, in idem, *Arma Spiritualia. Bibliotheken, Bücher und Bildung im Deutschen Ordens* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 17–96 (17); Nicholas Morton, ‘The Defence of the Holy Land and the Memory of the Maccabees’, *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010): 289–91.

<sup>21</sup> For example, Waldemar Rozyński, ‘Święci na pograniczu: o świętych w państwie Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach’ [Saints on the Border: the Saints of the Teutonic Order in Prussia] *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie* 2 (2006): 187–93; Seweryn Szczepański, ‘Sakralizacja obszaru pogranicza – na przykładzie Pomezanii Pruskiej’ [The Sacralisation of Borderland Areas, Based on the Model of Pomerania in Prussia] *Pruthenia* 6 (2011): 129–67.

Our sources represent Prussia as a landscape that has a spiritual duality (Christian vs pagan).<sup>22</sup> Peter of Dusburg describes the worship of landscape by the Prussians in his treatise on their religious rites, and mentions their sacred groves and woods. He also understood Prussia's physical geography and borders, noted in his account of the region.<sup>23</sup> His account of the Prussian Rome, 'Romow', appears more as a trope to show the dichotomy between paganism and Christianity than any real sacral centre, though.<sup>24</sup>

As Peter's chronicle progresses, narrating the Order's wars against the Prussians, the landscape became more 'sacred' to the Order and, on a broader level, to Christendom. This occurred through the construction of Christian centres such as churches and castles, through victories and martyrdoms. From an archaeological perspective, the Order's re-use of former strongholds (and their foundation of new settlements) shows this act of constructing a sacral landscape. Aleksander Pluskowski has suggested the continued use of some sites as possibly representing 'historical memory' amongst the Prussians.<sup>25</sup> The proximity of settlements to sacred groves, analysed in the work by Vykintas Vaitkevičius, reflects a sacral dimension to settlement in the pre-Christian Baltic landscape.<sup>26</sup> The Order appears to have adapted this process with respect to its occupation of these sites, reflective of 'developing' a sacral landscape.

## The Teutonic Order: background and context

The Order of Teutonic Knights ('Ordo domus hospitalis sanctae Mariae Theutonicorum in Hierosolimitana') was founded in 1190, at the siege of Acre, by groups of pilgrims and crusaders from Bremen and Lübeck to provide medical aid to pilgrims.<sup>27</sup> Eight years later, after receiving property in the city of Acre, Innocent III granted the group of knights a rule combining that of the Templars and the Hospitallers.<sup>28</sup> The small German hospital entered a world dominated by these predecessors, but its headquarters in the Levant, Montfort (Starkenburg), shows that the knights managed to garner considerable influence in the Eastern Mediterranean within a short period of time.<sup>29</sup>

In 1230, two years after the Order received Montfort, Gregory IX encouraged Christians to help in its refortification, describing the act as 'a work of piety' ('opus ... pietatis'), reflecting the growing status of the Order as a defender of Christendom. The knights in this text were 'new Maccabees ... not afraid to put their souls for their brothers'. They 'exert themselves to defend pilgrims setting out to visit the holy places, from the pagan

<sup>22</sup> 'Pagan' here refers to the term used by medieval chroniclers to describe any non-Christian 'other'. See Pluskowski, *Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, 10.

<sup>23</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 50–2 (3.2–3). This is the 'descriptio terre Prussie'.

<sup>24</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 53 (3.5); 92 (3.72); 129–30 (3.170); 136–7 (3.192); 153–4 (3.247).

<sup>25</sup> Pluskowski, *Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, 52–3, discusses the organisation of Prussian settlements as clustered, and 'carefully chosen with respect to both the physical and conceptual (i.e. political, administrative) landscape'.

<sup>26</sup> V. Vaitkevičius, 'The Sacred Groves of the Balts: Lost History and Modern Research', *Folklore* 42 (2009): 91.

<sup>27</sup> See the *Narracio de primordiis ordinis Theutonici*, in *SDO*, 159. This is the oldest text in the Order's historical canon. See Udo Arnold, 'Die Anfänge der Ordensgeschichtschreibung', in *Neue Studien zur Literatur im Deutschen Orden*, eds. Arno Mentzel-Reuters and Bernhart Jähmig (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 2014), 177–96.

<sup>28</sup> *TOT*, 266 (no. 297): 'in ecclesia vestra iuxta modum Templariorum in clericis et militibus, et ad exemplum Hospitaliariorum in pauperibus et infirmis'.

<sup>29</sup> *TOT*, 52 (no. 63) records the donation of the castle by Jacques de Mandelée in 1228.

incursions'.<sup>30</sup> The Teutonic Knights retained a presence in the Holy Land until the end of the Crusader States, fighting in key battles such as La Forbie (1244) and defending the city of Acre in 1291.

In 1211, Andrew II of Hungary commissioned the Order to protect his south-eastern borderlands against the Cumans.<sup>31</sup> After 14 years of tumult and conflict concerning the Order's practices in the kingdom, he expelled the knights from his lands in 1225. The real zenith of the Order came in Prussia. Here it formed a 'monastic state' headed by commanderies ('Komtureien').<sup>32</sup> Shortly after the Order arrived in the Kulmerland, it absorbed its two predecessors in the Baltic. Firstly, the Order incorporated its predecessors in Prussia, the Knights of Dobrin (Dobrzyń), in 1235.<sup>33</sup> The second group were the Livonian Order of the Sword Brothers, incorporated after their defeat by an army of Lithuanians at the battle of Saulė in 1236.<sup>34</sup> In this latter case, the Order entered a crusading frontier region established before its arrival by the Church in Livonia. This presented more difficulties in terms of clashes with ecclesiastical authorities there, resulting in less autonomy than in Prussia.<sup>35</sup>

After the fall of Acre in May of 1291, the Teutonic Order briefly moved its headquarters to Venice, and afterwards to the Marienburg in 1309. This occurred at a time of crisis amongst the military orders as institutions, and the Order's chroniclers were aware of this.<sup>36</sup> The strongest example of this criticism of the military orders was the trial and disbandment of the Knights Templar, in 1312.<sup>37</sup> Around this same time, the Teutonic Order in Prussia had acquired the territory of Danzig (Gdańsk) from the Mark of Brandenburg, which led to a war with the kingdom of Poland. After a complex series of negotiations, the Order purchased the city, instead of heeding the cry for help from the kingdom of Poland, and killed its inhabitants in the ensuing takeover.<sup>38</sup> This led to a succession of trials against the Order in the fourteenth century.

<sup>30</sup> *TOT*, 56–7 (no. 72): 'fratres hospitalis sanctae Marie Theutonicorum in Ierusalem, novi sub tempore gracie Machabei ... pro fratribus animos ponere non formidant et peregrinos ad loca sancta proficiscentes tam eundo quam redeundo ab incursibus paganorum defensare conantur. Sane, sicut dilectus filius Hermannus, magister hospitalis ipsius, in nostra proposuit presentia constitutes, *ad tam sanctum et pium opus* laudabiliter ... castrum Montfort iuxta territorium Acconense edificare ceperunt ... univervitatem vestram monemus et hortamur in domino in remissionem peccatorum vobis iniungentes, quatenus eisdem fratribus vel eorum nuntiis, cum ad vos accesserint, *ad opus huiusmodi grata pietatis subsidia impendatis* ... ad eterne possitis felicitates gaudia pervenire.'

<sup>31</sup> *TOT*, 156 (no. 158); Harald Zimmermann, *Der Deutsche Orden im Burzenland: eine diplomatische Untersuchung* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2000), offers the most comprehensive study of the Order in the Burzenland (present-day Transylvania).

<sup>32</sup> The term 'state' with respect to the Order's Prussian territories is an issue of debate in German scholarship. See Marian Biskup, 'Wendepunkte der Deutschordensgeschichte', in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, vol. 1, ed. Udo Arnold (Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 1986), 1–18 (6–9). Also see Czaja and Nowak, 'Attempt to Characterise the State of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia', in *Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia*, eds. Czaja and Radziński, 13–31, especially 16.

<sup>33</sup> Militzer, *Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, 65.

<sup>34</sup> Friedrich Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder. Fratres milicie Christi de Livonia* (Cologne: Graz, 1965).

<sup>35</sup> Bernhard Demel, 'Welfare and Warfare in the Teutonic Order', in *The Military Orders*, vol. 2, *Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (London: Routledge, 1998), 61–73 (68). Also see K. Militzer, 'Der Deutsche Orden im Staatenbund Alt-Livlands', in idem *Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, 118–22; Bernhart Jähning, 'Herrschaftsgrundlagen', in idem, *Verfassung und Verwaltung des Deutschen Ordens und seiner Herrschaft in Livland* (Berlin: LIT, 2012), 14–32.

<sup>36</sup> Fischer, 'Biblical Heroes and Uses of Literature', 268–9.

<sup>37</sup> See Helen Nicholson, 'The Implication of the Military Orders in the Loss of Acre, May 1291', in eadem, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights. Images of the Military Orders, 1128–1291* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1995), 125–29.

<sup>38</sup> See Sarnowsky, *Der Deutsche Orden*, 45; Czaja and Nowak, 'Attempt to Characterise the State of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia', 16.



A series of Grand Masters headed the Order in the ensuing decades who, in addition to navigating the difficult political circumstances in which the Order found itself, promoted devotional and historical literature, which has been subject of much scholarly examination with the aim of assessing the Order's spirituality.<sup>39</sup> Among the most prolific of these Masters was Luther of Brunswick (d. 1335). He increased the veneration of St Barbara, whose relics were 'discovered' in Prussia by the Order in 1242, in addition to producing a work devoted to her, and a verse translation of the book of Maccabees.<sup>40</sup> He increased the spiritual discipline and devotion of the brothers, as evinced in his additions to the Order's Rule.<sup>41</sup> The initial conquests of the brothers in Prussia also figured in this body of work, as did the landscape for which the brothers fought as a collective institution.

From its small origins in the late twelfth century, the Teutonic Order experienced a rapid growth and crystallisation of its identity as a military religious order. In the Holy Land it continued to defend the holy places, while at the same time fighting enemies of the faith in Transylvania, Livonia and Prussia. Following the loss of the Holy Land, there emerged significant problems with respect to the Order's utility to Christendom. However, it used its status as a crusade institution in Prussia to survive and navigate these issues. By portraying its status as a spiritual institution of knighthood on the Prussian frontier, protecting Christian settlements and extending the faith, the Order remained a legitimate vehicle for the expression of piety among Christian knights and nobles. Among the ways it did this was through internal reform, and external expressions of its duty to fight the heathen peoples, all of which created a concept of place and landscape.

## Theories of holy places and crusading in Prussia

The idea of holy places tied to specific, geographic locations grew in importance in Christianity in the fourth century following the reforms of Constantine the Great.<sup>42</sup> Early Christian thinkers had been opposed to having physical locations tied to the Christian faith, viewing them as dated and contrary to Christian teachings; but the interest in martyrs and their cults served to anchor places outside the Holy Land within the framework of sacred time, thus sanctifying a place by means of an event that had occurred there such as venerating a relic or commemorating a martyr. Ideas of pilgrimage and the sanctity of places connected with the life of Christ created specific locations in the landscape

<sup>39</sup> See Karl Helm and Walther Ziesemer, *Die Literatur des Deutschen Ritterordens* (Gießen: W. Schmitz, 1951) for a survey of the Order's literature; Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma spiritualia*, 17–47; idem, 'Deutschordensliteratur im literarischen Kontext', in *Mittelalterliche Kultur im Deutschordeusland Preussen*, eds. Wentz, Hartmann and Vollmann-Profe, 355–68; Mary Fischer, 'Winning Hearts and Winning Minds: the Role of the Crusades in North-Eastern Europe in the Fourteenth Century', in *The Book in Medieval Germany*, eds. M. Fischer and W.A. Kelly (Edinburgh: Merchiston Publishing, 2010), 1–16.

<sup>40</sup> Militzer, 'Die "Blütezeit" des Deutschen Ordens, 1309–1410', in idem, *Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, 95–104, especially 101–2. For a general outline of the Order's canon and Luther of Brunswick, see Graeme Dunphy, 'Literary Transitions, 1300–1350: From Late Medieval to Early Modern', in *Camden House History of German Literature*, vol. 4, *Early Modern German Literature, 1350–1700*, ed. Max Reinhart (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2007), 43–89, especially 54–5.

<sup>41</sup> *SDO*, 147–8.

<sup>42</sup> R.A. Markus, 'How on Earth Could Places Become Holy? Origins of the Christian Idea of Holy Places', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2 (1994): 257–71, especially 261–63; Julie Ann Smith, 'Mapping My Lord's Native Land: Mapping the Christian Holy Land', *Church History* 76 (2007): 1–31; 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. Keith D. Lilley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 271–300 (279–80).

where pilgrims journeyed for religious purposes. Places now had a sacred component, and structures that demarcated them from the surrounding territory and reflected this.

These aspects found continuity in the crusading movement: places gained sacrality through their ties to holy war in regions outside of the Holy Land. Relics and martyr saints were of high priority when it came to the ideals of crusading, and cults developed around places associated with them in the Holy Land and on other frontiers.<sup>43</sup> In the Baltic, similar centres became destinations for pilgrimage, particularly in Livonia. One example of this process can be seen with Bertold of Loccum, the second bishop of Livonia, who became the first martyr of the Baltic crusades.<sup>44</sup> Bertold and Meinhard, the first Livonian bishops, also appear to have been venerated on a local level in the Middle Ages and from the thirteenth century their tombs were sited close to the Altar of the Holy Cross in Riga.<sup>45</sup> This placed them at the spiritual nucleus of the city, and in the heart of the spiritual landscape that developed as a result of the crusades against the Livonians. In Prussia, the arrival of the relic of the True Cross in the conquest period (discussed below) played a key role in legitimising and sacralising the Teutonic Order's territory through the propagation of its cult. Moreover, the tradition of the conquest of Prussia in the Order's historical works served to commemorate, in particular, the first wave of brothers to fight there as heroes and martyrs.<sup>46</sup>

Martyrdom and the cult of relics can be connected to the theoretical framework of 'tasksapes' and the early conquests of Prussia can be viewed as an example of how crusading and holy war sacralised landscape. 'Tasksapes' are a reflection of the theory that people in a landscape view it as a product of their task, and that their role in this landscape is the product of their wish to carry out the social processes in their lives and world.<sup>47</sup> In this light, the societal implications of crusading as a sacred act and a reflection of piety apply to the Prussian frontier. The need to convert the inhabitants there, an important aspect of the crusades in the Baltic, formed a novel part of the multi-level 'task' of

<sup>43</sup> Norman Housley, 'Origins and Character of the First Crusade', in idem, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 24–47, especially 40–1.

<sup>44</sup> The accounts of his martyrdom appear in virtually all the chronicles of the Livonian crusade, as well as world chronicles from the 1250s produced by members of the mendicant orders. See Arnold of Lübeck, 215 (5.30); Henry of Livonia, 10 (2.6); LR, 13–4 (ll. 555–82); Hermann of Wartberge, 'Chronicon Lyvoniae', 23. Also see J.M. Lappenberg, ed., 'Annales Stadenses', in *Annales aevi Suevici*, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH SS in folio 16 (Hanover: Hahn, 1859), 271–379 (353); Alberic de Trois Fontaines, 'Chronica Albrici monachi trium fontium', ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, in *Chronica aevi Suevici*, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH SS in folio 23 (Hanover: Hahn, 1874), 872. Berthold was martyred on 24 July 1198.

<sup>45</sup> Hermann von Bruiningk, 'Die Frage der Verehrung der ersten livländischen Bischöfe als Heilige', *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands aus dem Jahre 1902* (1903): 3–22. For the movement of his tomb to Riga, see idem, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebiet nach dem Brauche der Rigaschen Kirche im späteren Mittelalter* (Riga: Kymmell, 1904), 27–8; Gustavs Strenga, 'Clergy and Memoria. Livonian Religious Communities as Commemorators of the Dead', in idem, 'Remembering the Dead: Collective Memoria in Late Medieval Livonia' (PhD diss., Queen Mary University of London, 2013), 182, citing Bernd Ulrich-Hucker, 'Der Zisterzienserabt Bertold, Bischof von Livland, und der erste Livlandkreuzzug', in *Studien über die Anfänge der Mission in Livland*, ed. Manfred Hellmann (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989), 39–64.

<sup>46</sup> See Stefan Kwiatkowski, "'Devotio antiqua', ihr Niedergang und die geistigen Ursachen der religiösen Krise des Deutschen Ordens im Spätmittelalter", in *Deutscher Orden, 1190–1990*, ed. Udo Arnold (Lüneburg: Institut Nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk, 1997), 107–28 (124–6); Rainer Zacharias, 'Die Marienburg als Wallfahrtsstätte', in *Burgen kirchlicher Bauherren*, ed. Wartburg-Gesellschaft zur Erforschung von Burgen und Schlössern in Verbindung mit dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum (Bonn: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2001), 49–60 (50–4); Marian Dygo, 'Die Kultur des Deutschordenslandes Preussens: das Problem der Eigentümlichkeit der Region', in *Mittelalterliche Kultur und Literatur im Deutschordensland Preußen*, eds. Wentta, Hartmann and Vollmann-Profe, 57–80, especially 58–60. For the commemoration of the early brothers, see Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 58–9 and 75–87.

<sup>47</sup> See Tim Ingold, 'The Temporality of the Landscape', in *Conceptions of Time and Ancient Society*: special issue of *World Archaeology* 25, no. 2 (1993): 152–74 (157).

crusaders and knights in the Teutonic Order.<sup>48</sup> On a broader level, the space in which they fought (here, the Prussian landscape) related to this task. Alongside the people, there was a need to convert and sacralise this landscape through other acts, such as venerating relics and carrying out the divine office.

Another component of this task was fighting in the service of the Virgin Mary, a distinct component in the ideology employed by the Teutonic Order in Prussia and in the identity of the place that was prominent from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries.<sup>49</sup> These factors reflect the application of ‘task’ to landscape in Prussia, a unique avenue of inquiry with respect to research on crusading in that region.

The early crusades to Prussia are the natural starting point for examining the development of these aspects. A main issue, though, is the sparsity of Christian holy places in the region of the Teutonic Order’s crusades in the thirteenth century, although there were already Christian sites in Poland long before the Order’s arrival, in the regions of the Kulmerland and Löbau (Lubawa).<sup>50</sup> Peter of Dusburg mentions, in his description of the destruction of Poland by the Prussians before the Order’s arrival, the presence of many churches and monasteries.<sup>51</sup>

This description in Peter’s text informs us of a border between the Christianised landscape and the pagan one, plausibly the Cistercian houses established in Kulmerland before the arrival of the Order.<sup>52</sup> Seweryn Szczepański has recently addressed the proximity of these houses to pagan cult sites and border areas with the Prussians, and the transition from ‘old sacred’ to ‘new sacred’.<sup>53</sup> This delineates a landscape already ‘made’ sacred through the construction of sacred spaces, and one that the Order propagated as its own creation. A sacred landscape is thus a physical, as well as a spiritual, creation. In areas which had no prior Christian sites places emerged which became centres for pilgrimage activities. The texts produced in the Order propagated this movement.

Prussia’s sacred landscape emerged in two ways. One was through military innovation and technology, which resulted in the successful conquest of the region. This was the case for both Livonia and Prussia.<sup>54</sup> The other was the representation of the conquest in the Order’s chronicles. The regions beyond the frontier were sacralised through building castles and castle-churches (since the late thirteenth century) that allowed the brothers

<sup>48</sup> For example, see the recent work by Burnam W. Reynolds, *The Prehistory of the Crusades: Missionary War and the Baltic Crusades* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

<sup>49</sup> Marian Dygo, ‘The Political Role of the Cult of the Virgin Mary in Teutonic Prussia in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries’, *Journal of Medieval History* 15 (1989): 63–80; Cordelia Heß, ‘Himmelskönigin und Geburtshelferin: Marienverehrung im spätmittelalterlichen Preußen’, in *Cura animarum: Seelsorge im Deutschordensland Preußen*, ed. Stefan Samerski (Cologne: Böhalu, 2013), 185–99.

<sup>50</sup> Krystyna Zielińska-Melkowska, ‘Średniowieczne miejsca pielgrzymkowe w ziemiach chełmińskiej, lubawskiej i michałowskiej’ [Medieval Pilgrimage Places in the Kulmerland, Lubawaland, and Michaelowland], in *Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy [Peregrinations. Pilgrimage in the Culture of Old Europe]*, eds. Halina Manikowska, Halina Zaremska and Hanna Zaremska (Warsaw: Polish Historical Institute, 1995), 243, outlines the early Christian sites in the Kulmerland.

<sup>51</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 34 (2.2). He mentioned specifically 250 parish churches, monasteries and hermitages.

<sup>52</sup> Darius von Güttnner-Sporzyński, ‘Missions to the Prussians and the Beginning of the Prussian Crusade’, in *idem, Poland, Holy War, and the Piast Monarchy, 1100–1230* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 187–216.

<sup>53</sup> Seweryn Szczepański, ‘Sakralizacja obszaru pogranicza’, 147–54.

<sup>54</sup> Sven Ekdahl, ‘Die Rolle der Ritterorden bei der Christianisierung der Liven und Letten’, in *Gli inizi del cristianesimo in Livonia-Lettonia. Atti del colloquio internazionale di storia ecclesiastica in occasione dell’VIII centenario della Chiesa in Livonia (1186–1986)*, ed. M. Maccarone (Vatican: Libreria editrice Vaticana, 1986), 203–43; *idem*, ‘Horses and Crossbows: Two Important Warfare Advantages of the Teutonic Order in Prussia’, in *Military Orders*, vol. 2, ed. Nicholson, 119–51.

to carry out their monastic obligations.<sup>55</sup> These spaces also reflect the second component of the Order's role in sacralising the landscape through housing relics. By 1243 the land of Prussia was divided into four bishoprics: Kulm, Pomesania, Warmia and Sambia.<sup>56</sup> The Order controlled episcopal elections for all the bishoprics save Warmia.<sup>57</sup> These interactions shaped not just the territorial boundaries of the Order and bishoprics in Prussia, but also the boundaries of monastic houses and church foundations, like parish churches. These latter places served as centres for pilgrims and crusaders to visit on their way towards the east throughout the thirteenth century, as well as functioning as places of worship for the local Christian population.<sup>58</sup> The accounts of the period of conquest by the Order and other sources, discussed below, show that relics, pilgrims and Christian spaces were augmented by connecting miraculous events to specific places, thus creating a sacred landscape.

### Prussia and its pre-crusade landscape

In Prussia, the Order entered a region with a history of preaching and missionary activity. Peter of Dusburg's description of the religious (i.e. profane, non-Christian) landscape in his description of Romow, shows it as the antithesis of Christendom.<sup>59</sup> Two significant missionaries to Prussia were St Adalbert of Prague (d. 997) and St Bruno of Querfurt (d. 1009).<sup>60</sup> The Prussians martyred both.<sup>61</sup> The missionary efforts were not particularly successful, though they did establish contact between the pagans and Western Christendom.<sup>62</sup> In terms of landscape and pilgrimage, Adalbert's tomb was a shrine popular among Piast nobility and, even in the year 1000, was a pilgrimage destination for the Holy Roman Emperor, Otto III. We do not know where Bruno was martyred, or where his shrine was (if it ever existed).<sup>63</sup> Missions to the Prussians, such as those of St Otto of Bamberg to West Prussia in 1124–5, continued sporadically throughout the twelfth century.<sup>64</sup> What role did these earlier missions play in the Order's creation of a sacred landscape in Prussia?

<sup>55</sup> See Kazimierz Pospieszny, 'Die Organisation des liturgischen Raumes des Deutschordens-Konventshauses in Preußen', in *Die sakrale Backsteinarchitektur des südlichen Ostseeraums – der theologische Aspekt*, eds. Gerhard Eimer and Ernst Gierlich (Berlin: Mann, 2000), 101–15, especially 102–3.

<sup>56</sup> *PrUB*, 1: 108–9 (no. 143).

<sup>57</sup> Radosław Biskup, 'Bistümer im Deutschordensstaat Preußen', in *Cura animarum*, ed. Samerski, 58–73 (61–4); Pluskowski, *Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, 256; Andrzej Radzimiński, 'Church Divisions in Prussia', in *Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia*, eds. Czaja and Radzimiński, 109–44 (111).

<sup>58</sup> Radzimiński, 'Church Divisions', 136–8, outlines these foundations.

<sup>59</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 53–5 (3.5).

<sup>60</sup> See Ian Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400–1500* (London: Longman, 2001), 217, 231–2.

<sup>61</sup> See John Canaparius, 'Vita S. Adalberti episcopi', in *Chronica et annales aevi Salici*, ed. G.H. Pertz and others. MGH SS in folio 6 (Hanover: Hahn, 1844), 574–620, especially 594–5 for St Adalbert's martyrdom, and 'Vita secunda auctore Brunone archiepiscopo', in *Chronica et annales aevi Salici*, ed. Pertz, 596–612, especially 610 for Bruno's account. See E. Kade, ed., 'Vita quinque fratrum eremitarum martyrum in Polonia', in *Supplementa tomorum I–XII, pars III. Supplementum tomi XIII*, ed. G. Waitz and others. MGH SS in folio 15, part 2 (Hanover: Hahn, 1888), 716–38, for Bruno's vita.

<sup>62</sup> Boockmann, *Zwölf Kapitel*, 70–1.

<sup>63</sup> See Darius Baronas, 'The Year 1009: St Bruno of Querfurt Between Lithuania and Rus', *Journal of Medieval History* 34 (2008): 1–22, especially 9–13; also see Liudas Jovaiša, 'The Cult of St Bruno in Lithuania: Liturgical and Hagiographical Aspects', *Lithuanian Historical Studies* 14 (2009): 27–40.

<sup>64</sup> For example, see Kurt Villads-Jensen, 'Physical Extermination of Physical Sin – Remarks on Theology and Mission in the Baltic Region Around 1200', in *Sacred Space in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia*, eds. Jarosław Wenta and Magdalena Kopczyńska (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2013), 87–100.

Adalbert's cult amongst the Piast rulers was a powerful image in their 'holy wars' against their pagan neighbours, the Prussians, before the arrival of Teutonic Knights.<sup>65</sup> The saint's shrine at Gnesen (Gniezno) was the seat of the first Polish kings. The sacralisation of warfare, in the form of waging a war against non-Christians, thus pre-dates the arrival of the Order in Prussia. It is surprising that the Teutonic Order did not adopt the veneration of St Adalbert until the fourteenth century. The Order's Rule does not commemorate Adalbert, and only one piece of work produced in the Order, by Nicolaus of Jeroschin, tells his life story.<sup>66</sup> The dedication of Königsberg cathedral (Kaliningrad), the main spiritual centre of the *Reisen* in the fourteenth century, was to St Adalbert and the Virgin.<sup>67</sup> By the fifteenth century there was a pilgrimage shrine established near the Order's castle of Lochstädt dedicated to St Adalbert, at Tenkitten.<sup>68</sup> It appears that the Order did not emphasise Adalbert's cult until sometime after the conquest of the Prussians, when it had established its territory and, in a way, its own pilgrimage shrines.

The Order created a new set of destinations for pilgrimage in its conquest of Prussia, which it accomplished through such things as bringing relics and keeping them in its castles. Some sites were re-used by the Order when it came to the Kulmerland whilst others were constructed without any previous foundations. Examples of reuse of sites are Thorn, Engelsburg, and possibly Elbing.<sup>69</sup> There was clearly an established activity for saint veneration and pilgrimage that pre-dated the Teutonic Order in Prussia, and one that had been established for some time. These earlier apostles are absent from the Order's histories: perhaps their efforts fell among the older wars that Peter wrote about, which preceded the new, divine wars fought by the Order.

### Hierophanies in the *Chronicle of Prussia*

In contrast to the *Chronicle of Livonia* and the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, Peter of Dusburg's and Nicolaus of Jeroschin's texts give many examples of hierophanies, or manifestations of the sacred, in their accounts of the conquest of Prussia. These incidents played important roles during the crusades in creating sacred sites, even new ones in the ultimate holy place, Jerusalem.<sup>70</sup> The instances recorded in Peter's account of the thirteenth-century conquests can be mapped to give an understanding of landscape and sacred place.<sup>71</sup> With respect to hierophanies and miraculous visions, these things defined Peter's representation of Prussia in his chronicle. This was the place and space in which

<sup>65</sup> Darius von Güttner-Sporzyński, 'The Expansion of the Piast Realm, 960–1100', in idem, *Poland, Holy War, and the Piast Monarchy*, 29–50 (38).

<sup>66</sup> Nicolaus of Jeroschin, 'Das Leben des heiligen Adalbert', ed. Strehlke, in *SRP*, 2: 423–8. Only a few hundred lines of the text survive.

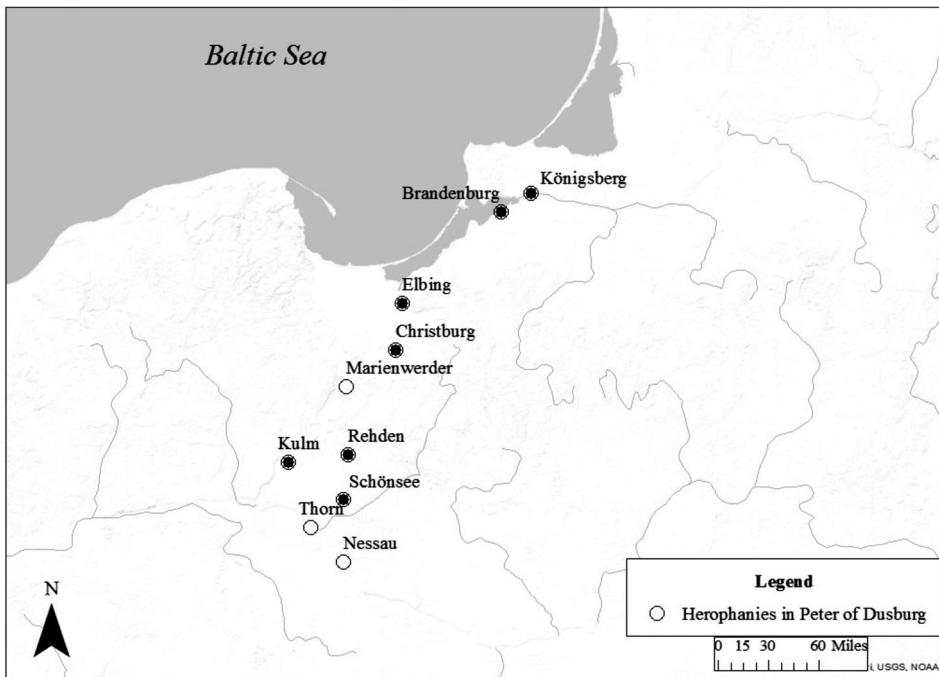
<sup>67</sup> Carl Peter Woelky and Hans Mendthal, eds., *Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Samland*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Duncker & Humboldt, 1891–8), 1: 108 (no. 200). The document was issued on 11 January 1302. Also see 126 (no. 214), where the cathedral is dedicated to Adalbert and St Elizabeth ('nostra ecclesia cathedrali in honore sancti Adalberti et beate Elyzabeth consecrata'). For the dedication of the cathedral to Mary, see vol. 2: 169 (no. 251). This phrasing comes from the dedication of an altar in the cathedral by Johannes Clare in 1327, 'ad laudem et gloriam dei omnipotentis et gloriose virginis, genitricis eius, Marie sanctorumque Adalberti et Elyzabeth, patronorum ecclesie nostre'.

<sup>68</sup> Carl Steinbrecht, *Die Baukunst des Deutschen Ritterordens in Preußen 3: Schloss Lochstedt und seine Malereien* (Berlin: Springer, 1910), 2–4. The place, known as Tenkitten (Beregowoje), had a chapel dedicated to Adalbert from the fifteenth century.

<sup>69</sup> Pluskowski, *Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, 97.

<sup>70</sup> Alan V. Murray, 'Sacred Space and Strategic Geography in Twelfth-Century Palestine', in *Sacred Space in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia*, eds. Wenta and Kopczyńska, 1–37.

<sup>71</sup> Smith, 'Mapping the Holy Land', 1.



**Figure 2.** Castles and hierophanies in the thirteenth century as recorded by Peter of Dusburg. Bold point: hierophany at the given location. *Source:* Author.

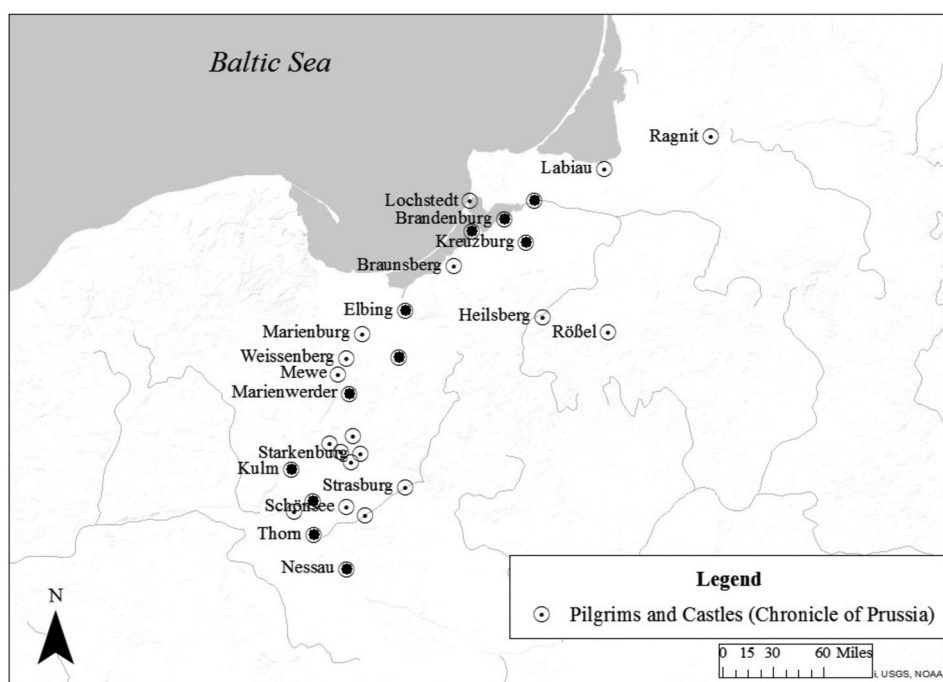
God's 'signs and miracles' (*signa et mirabilia*) occurred and symbolised the divine favour of the Order's conquest of the land.<sup>72</sup> Mapping these instances correlates the castles built by the Order to sites in the landscape where miraculous events happened, and provides a visual representation of Prussia's sacral history as expressed in Peter's chronicle.

Figure 2 shows the connection between castles of the Order and hierophanies in Peter's chronicle. At Christburg a large group of pilgrims ('*multitudine peregrinorum*') came to refortify the castle in 1248 and, later that year, a miraculous vision of the True Cross appeared to a brother living in the castle.<sup>73</sup> Scholars of the history of religion note how such apparitions and manifestations of the sacred aid in creating a sacred place: these events serve to delineate a sacred space from the profane (in our case, the pagan space) surrounding it.<sup>74</sup> Examples can be found throughout Peter's text. For example, in 1243, a Christian dying among the slain outside the walls of Kulm (Alt-Kulm) had a vision of the Virgin Mary: he was visited by his wife, and he told her how the Virgin had appeared

<sup>72</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 21–2. Also see Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 73–4; idem, 'Zu Entstehung und Rezeption der "Chronik des Pressenlandes" Peters von Dusburg', in *Neue Studien zur Literatur im Deutschen Orden*, eds. Mentzel-Reuters and Jähmig, 199–200.

<sup>73</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 85–6 (3.63–3.64). For the reconstruction of the castle, Peter writes: 'Convocata iterum multitudine peregrinorum, quo continue de partibus Alemanie per predicationem sancte crucis confluebat, preparatis omnibus, que edificacionem castrorum fuerunt necessaria, processerunt ad terram Pomesanie. Immutantes locum et non nomen edificaverunt castrum Cristburgk.' Later that same year, a brother from Gleißberg living in the castle saw a vision of the wood of Christ's cross: 'Inter hos fratres fuit quidam dictus Glisbergk... dum divinum officium in ecclesia ageretur et more solito geniculando se inclinaret ad crucem osculandam, imago crucifixi lignea elevans se extendit brachia sua volens eum circumdando brachiis amplecti.'

<sup>74</sup> First proposed by the Romanian scholar, Mircea Eliade, in the 1950s: *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, trans. Rosemary Sheed (London, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), 368.



**Figure 3.** References to pilgrims in thirteenth-century Prussia. *Source:* Author.

to him with two maidens, reassuring him that he would die peacefully and rest in eternal joy.<sup>75</sup> At this date, the Order was engaged against the Prussians – in what is known as the First Uprising of the Prussians, which was to last until 1249. The miracle served to emphasise that the Order’s conquests were held in divine favour – which would result in the suppression of the rebellion.<sup>76</sup> Kulm was one of only three castles (the other two being Thorn and Rehden) to survive the revolt, showing the extent to which the Christianised territory established in the first phase of the conquest was reduced. The hierophany at one of Prussia’s oldest Christian centres constructed by the Order was an effective marking of the sacred from the profane, and reinforcing the sacrality of the landscape around Kulm in the face of harsh rebellion. Peter’s use of this device to legitimise the Order’s wars and show the divine nature of the Order’s conquest likewise makes a connection to Prussia as a mental place or, as Keith D. Lilley puts it, an ‘imagined geography’, that is, how chroniclers both described and, as a result, experienced place.<sup>77</sup>

The development of this imagined geography in Prussia can be examined further by considering the frequency with which pilgrims stopped at the places where hierophanies had happened. Pilgrims visited the centres in [Figure 3](#) on many occasions. Three visits to

<sup>75</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 74 (3.41): ‘respondit [the wounded knight] 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 eternam gaudiam evolabit.”’

<sup>76</sup> Sarnowsky, *Der Deutsche Orden*, 39–41, provides a basic outline of the First Prussian Uprising. *PrUB*, 1: 110 (no. 145), mentions the struggle of the Order against the Pomeranian duke, Swantopolk. The Uprising concluded with the Treaty of Christburg in 1249.

<sup>77</sup> Keith D. Lilley, ‘Introduction: Mapping Medieval Geographies’, in *Mapping Medieval Geographies*, ed. idem, 1–20; idem, *Urban Life in the Middle Ages* (London: Palgrave, 2009).

Thorn by pilgrims are recorded, in 1231, 1245–6 and probably once more sometime in the 1250s.<sup>78</sup> Pilgrims are noted more than once at Kulm (1232, 1242 and 1253), Christburg (1247, 1248 and 1279), Elbing (1237, 1273) and Brandenburg (1266, 1267).<sup>79</sup> Hierophanies occurred during at least some of these visits, as indicated by the bold dots on the map at Elbing in 1237, Christburg in 1247, Brandenburg in 1267 and Christburg in 1279.<sup>80</sup> Peter also describes miraculous events a Königsberg in 1284 surrounding the commander of the castle, Albert of Meißen.<sup>81</sup>

These places were locations for hierophanies throughout the course of the thirteenth century until the Prussians were subdued in 1283.<sup>82</sup> When compared to the initial centres established between 1230 and 1239, in the first phase of the conquest, it becomes clear that the number of hierophanies and the number of places visited by pilgrims increased. This is not too surprising considering the overall success of the Teutonic Order's conquest of the Prussians over the course of 50 years. However, these maps show the degree to which the Order helped to spread a created geography through the descriptions in its texts: pilgrimage centres were established and used again by subsequent crusaders on their journeys to fight the pagans.

The conquest of Prussia has a long tradition as a phenomenon, not just to scholars documenting its history but also to those who wrote about it. Castles and the artistic programmes expressed within them were crucial in disseminating the ideology of this event. This carried into the twentieth century, when the *Groß Remter* in Marienburg (where pilgrims on the *Reisen* would gather) had scenes from Peter of Dusburg and Nicolaus of Jeroschin's chronicles painted on the walls.<sup>83</sup> It was the first instance of a military order creating its own monastic state. Mapping the descriptions of hierophanies and pilgrimages from the 1230s up until the conquest of the Prussians in 1274 modifies our understanding of the role of the military orders in propagating this landscape, and its growth. The initial centres served ideological functions in the text, namely as the locations of events reflecting the necessity of conquest and supporting the mission of the crusaders. Prussia as a place, expressed in Peter's mental connection to its history under the Order, had a history defined by sacral events and miracles.

<sup>78</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 50 (3.1); 81–2 (3.55).

<sup>79</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 56 (3.8), 69–70 (3.36), 174 (3.59) for Kulm; 83 (3.58), 85–6 (3.63), 119–20 (3.141–3.142) for Christburg; 61 (3.17), 129–30 (3.170) for Elbing; 114 (3.127), 115–16 (3.131) for Brandenburg.

<sup>80</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 61 (3.17), records a captured Pomesanian's vision in which 'we surely saw the battlefield filled with many armed men, similar in dress and arms to the brothers' ('certe nos vidimus totum campum plenum viris armatis, in vestitu omnino similes fratribus et in armis') who later converted to Christianity; 90 (3.69) relates how a brother saw a vision of the Cross as he prayed ('crucifixus ligneus, coram quo oravit, extendit brachium suum, et cruce signando ipsum benedixit') in the castle of Christburg; 115–16 (3.131) tells of how a priest in Brandenburg castle saw a vision of the Virgin Mary ('apparuit ei beato virgo Maria'); and 119–20 (3.141) records a vision of the Virgin herself carrying a banner ('vidissent in actu bellandi unam pulcherrimam virginem vexillum fratrum in aere ducentem') as the brothers fight against the Pogesians.

<sup>81</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 345–8 (3.230–2).

<sup>82</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 146 (3.221): 'Explicit bellum Prussie. Incipit bellum Lethowinorum.'

<sup>83</sup> Janusz Trupinda, 'Historische Gemälde im Großen Remter des Ordensschlosses Marienburg aus der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts als Beispiel einer politischen Sichtweise der Eroberung Preußens durch den Deutschen Orden', in *Kryžiaus karų epocha Baltijos regiono tautų istorinėje sąmonėje [The Era of the Crusades in the Historical Consciousness of the Peoples of the Baltic Region]*, eds. Rita Regina Trimonienė and Jurgaitis Robertas (Šiauliai: Saulės delta, 2007) 278–91. See 279 for the function of the room as a gathering space. Also see Werner Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels*, 3 vols. (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1989–95, and in progress), 1: 268–9.



**Table 1.** Descriptions of martyrdoms by place in Peter of Dusburg's account of the thirteenth-century crusade to Prussia.

Place, date	Reference	Description
Kreuzburg, 1249	Peter of Dusburg, 87–8 (3.66)	'inter istos quidam frater sic martirium passus'
Kulmerland, 1261	Peter of Dusburg, 112–13 (3.123)	'interfecti ibi jam coronam martirii apud regem martirum adepti esse'
Starkenbourg, 1270s	Peter of Dusburg, 123 (3.150)	'frater Conradus ... vulneratus fuit quinque vulneribus ad modum quinque vulnerum Cristi, et occisus'
Rehden, 1270s	Peter of Dusburg, 124 (3.155)	'fratres et burgienses de Redino ... passi sunt pro defensione fidei Cristiane a Pruthenis'

## Martyrdom and sacralising Prussia in the thirteenth century

The *Chronicle of Prussia* likewise offers accounts of the martyrdom of crusaders or knights of the Teutonic order (Table 1). These hierophanies at cities founded and patronised by the Order provide another anchor in creating a religious geography in Prussia. The occurrences of martyrdom in Peter's chronicle, however, are sparse, but that does not mean he was necessarily unaware of these events. He noted the interest in attaining the martyr's palm not just among the brothers of the Order, but amongst the pilgrims who came to Prussia.<sup>84</sup> The same held true for pilgrims fighting in Livonia earlier in the thirteenth century.<sup>85</sup> Arnold of Lübeck's chronicle, written around 1209, explicitly connected this to landscape to the Holy Land, calling Livonia the 'promised land' ('terra promissionis'). This has been interpreted as evidence that he and other chroniclers understood the landscape's relationship to crusading (and, therefore, pilgrimage) as not limited to Jerusalem and the Holy Land.<sup>86</sup>

Peter used martyrdom to represent Prussia as a sacral landscape that emerged not just from wondrous visions, but from the death of knights and crusaders. He wrote how the brothers in Prussia suffered ('patiuntur') for the heavenly crown ('corona glorie ... in celis') of Jesus Christ, which is the crown of all the saints.<sup>87</sup> The pilgrims and brothers in the early phase of the conquest thought it a privilege, Peter writes, 'if they could drink from the cup [chalice] of suffering' ('si biberent calicem salutifere passionis'). A certain pilgrim from Westphalia, named Stenckel of Bernheim, came to Prussia after he heard a bishop's 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 Nantangians, hoping to die, which he did.<sup>88</sup>

Table 1 shows the accounts of or allusions to martyrdom in Peter's text that have geographical locations. Figure 4 shows the proximity of these events to hierophanies mentioned in Peter's text. In 1249 somewhere near the area of Kreuzburg (Slavskoye, Kaliningrad Oblast), during a battle between the Prussian Master Heinrich of Hohenlohe and the

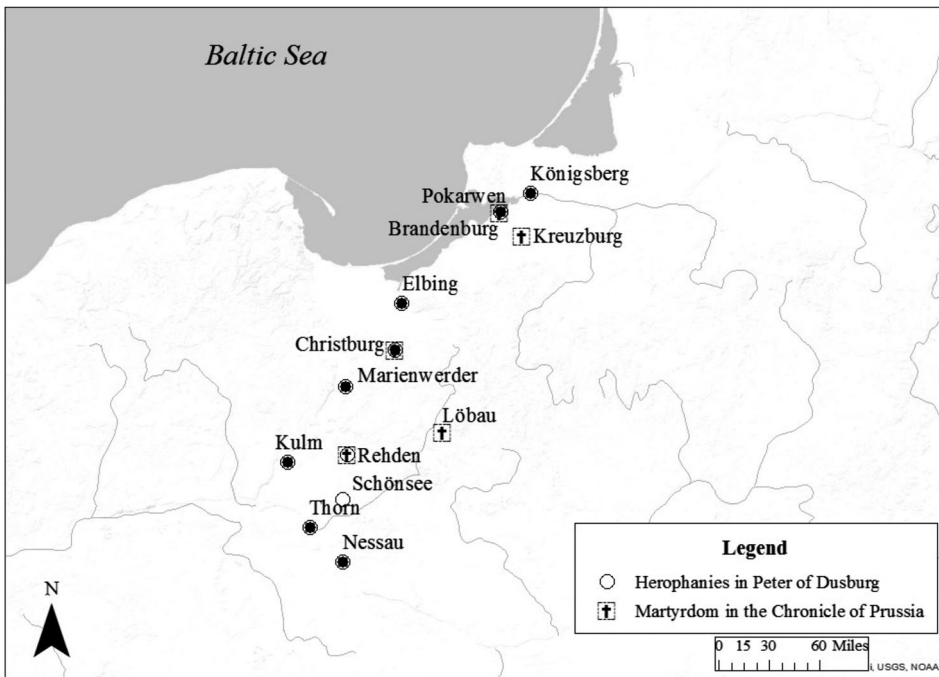
<sup>84</sup> For example, Peter of Dusburg, 23, 38 (1.6).

<sup>85</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, 215–16 (5.30).

<sup>86</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, 214. See B.U. Hucker, 'Zur Frömmigkeit von Livlandpilgern', in *Die Spiritualität der Ritterorden im Mittelalter*, ed. Zenon H. Nowak (Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikoława Kopernika, 1993), 111–30 (113).

<sup>87</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 47 (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?*'

<sup>88</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 100 (3.91): '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 lancea more militari pertransiit hostium cuneos interficiens impios a dextris et a sinistris ... Sed in reditu, dum venisset ad medium ipsorum, occisus est.'



**Figure 4.** Castles and hierophanies in the thirteenth century. *Source:* Author. Bold, black dot = Hierophany at a given location.

Natangians, Peter records how one brother was killed in a particularly cruel fashion, the likes of which could not be found in any of the martyrologies.<sup>89</sup> A hermit living in the area surrounding Löbau castle (Lubawa), after a battle between the Natangians and the brothers fighting under Helmerich of Wurzburg in c.1263 near a village known as Crucke, witnessed burning candles surrounding the fallen men who had gained the martyr's crown ('corona martirii').<sup>90</sup> The *Chronicle of Oliwa*, a mid fourteenth-century account of the history of Oliwa (Oliwa) Abbey, in its record of this campaign, however, does not hint at martyrdom, nor does it mention the hermit.<sup>91</sup> The map of these locations shows a strong correlation to martyrdoms occurring in Lithuania during the latter part of the thirteenth century, immediately before the Order's wars with Lithuania began.

<sup>89</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 88 (3.66): 'Volve et revolve omnia scripta martirologii, non occurret tibi tale genus martirii.' The brother was tied to a tree, eviscerated by the Prussians and had his entrails hung about the tree: '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 circumiret arborem, quousque omnia viscera arbori adhererunt, et sic in confessione vere fidei reddens Deo spiritum expiravit.'

<sup>90</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 113 (3.123): 'In hoc loco [the region surrounding Löbau castle] certaminis postea quidam heremita habitans vidit noctis tempore candelas ardentis pluribus vicibus, que interfectos ibi iam coronam martirii apud regem martirum adeptos esse manifestus declarabant.' Scholz and Wojtecki place the village to the south of Kreuzburg. See K. Scholz and D. Wojtecki, eds., *Chronik des Preussenlandes* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), 564.

<sup>91</sup> *Die ältere Chronik von Oliwa*, ed. Theodor Hirsch, *SRP*, 5: 601: 'Postea congregato exercitu fratres de Kirsburg descenderunt versus terram Natangorum et illam spoliis et incendiis vastauerant, quibus Natangi cum exercitu occurrerunt et bello eos invaserunt et invaluerunt contra eos. *Fratres vero cesserunt ad villam, que dicitur Crucke, et ibi de auxilio Dei desperantes se hostibus subdiderunt absque defensione, qui una die ibi occiderunt liiij fratres et alios multos Christianos; et hoc factum fuit anno Domini m<sup>o</sup>cc.xlix.*' Author's italics.

Important centres for pilgrimages around the castle of Königsberg dedicated to saints worshipped within the Order emerged at this time, too. Some of them were dedicated to martyr saints. The pilgrim churches of Juditten, Arnau, Wehlau and the church at Brandenburg contained relics or had associations with these saints. Juditten was a known place of Marian pilgrimage,<sup>92</sup> Arnau was dedicated to St Katherine,<sup>93</sup> Wehlau was erected to commemorate the victory of the brothers against the Lithuanians at the battle of the Streva River in 1348<sup>94</sup> and Brandenburg held relics of Katherine in its church.<sup>95</sup>

Werner Paravicini provides an overview of the noblemen who travelled to these places on their *Reisen* throughout the later fourteenth century.<sup>96</sup> Given the accounts of martyrdom, hierophanies and the dedication of places to their saints – as opposed to known Prussian martyrs – it can be argued that the Teutonic Order created its own sacred geography. The role of martyrdom was localised in Peter's chronicle, and but that served an important ideological function in his text. [Figure 5](#) correlates the pilgrimage shrines around Königsberg and the martyrdom accounts in Peter's text.

### 'Pilgrimage' to thirteenth-century Prussia

'Pilgrimage' to Prussia in the thirteenth century had clear differences from pilgrimage to the Holy Land: the most obvious was that the target areas had no sacred sites or shrines for pilgrims to visit.<sup>97</sup> Given the lack of sacred Christian shrines in Prussia, what aside from war against the pagans defined pilgrimage there? A limited definition of pilgrimage as visiting a holy shrine or place has been used in the past to discredit crusading in the Baltic region as an act of pilgrimage.<sup>98</sup> However, Christianity began with very few (if any) inherently sacred places, and we have seen how this idea became a key component to the development of sacred, Christian landscapes.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>92</sup> See Ernst Ludwig Storch, *Die Kirche und das Kirchspiel Juditten im Landkreise Königsberg. Ein Beitrag zur vaterländischen, Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Preußens*, vol. 1 (Königsberg: Schultz, 1861), 9–13, which outlines the history of the church. It was one of five pilgrimage churches in Samland before the Reformation (9). See also Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, 1: 305, for an outline of pilgrims who visited Juditten in the 1360s–1390s.

<sup>93</sup> Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, 1: 305.

<sup>94</sup> Wigand of Marburg, 'Die Chronik Wigands von Marburg. Originalfragmente, lateinisch Uebersetzung und sonstige Ueberreste', ed. Theodor Hirsch, in *SRP*, 2: 429–622, here 511–13, records the events of the battle and the foundation of Wehlau by Master Heinrich Dusemer in 1348: 'et sic terminatum est hoc bellum in Lithwania juxta flumen Streben. Dicta victoria ex speciali gratia indulta est Christianis, quum magister Dusemer cum preceptoribus voverat reddere Deo laudes et claustrum edificare, ut factum est in Königsberg, ubi construxerunt claustrum virginum ... anno sequenti statuit claustrum Welow ad Dei laudem.' The Latin is accompanied by a surviving Middle High German fragment, highlighting the Marian connections to the victory: Wigand of Marburg, 512: 'unser vrouwen bilde / di in der zit gar milde / vor den ougen hin und her / was den cristen ein güt wer / ... / unde ir hulfe allir meist / ist von Marien komen.' Also see Woelky and Mendthal, eds., *Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Samland*, 2: 268–9 (no. 383), for the document issued by Heinrich Dusemer.

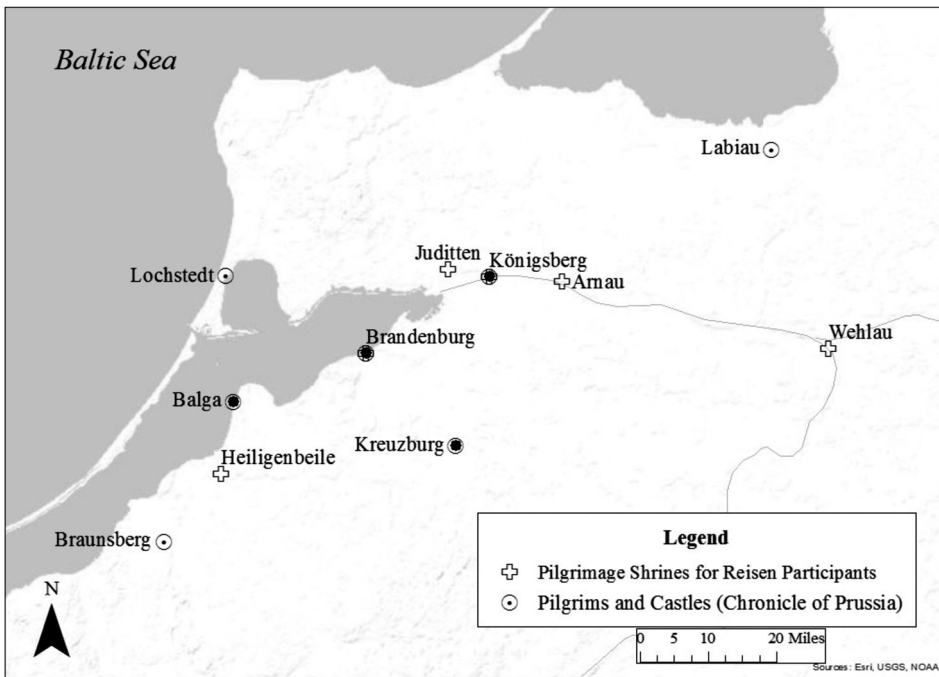
<sup>95</sup> See Aleksander Pluskowski, 'Converting Prussia: the Christianisation of the Teutonic Order's State', in idem, *Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*, 246–93 (280).

<sup>96</sup> Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1.

<sup>97</sup> Burnam W. Reynolds, 'A New Kind of Pilgrim', in idem, *Prehistory of the Crusades*, 142–57.

<sup>98</sup> William Urban, 'The Organisation of the Baltic Crusade', in idem, *Baltic Crusade*, 2nd edn. (Chicago: Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, 1994), 45–60 (58), highlights the personal ambitions of 'pilgrims' to Livonia in the thirteenth century. Also see Urban, 'Review of *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades, 1147–1254* by Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt', *Speculum* 83 (2008): 95.

<sup>99</sup> For example, see Markus, 'How on Earth Could Places Become Holy?', 257–71. Also see Diana Webb, 'The Geography of Pilgrimage', in eadem, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c.700–c.1500* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2002), 114–53, especially 118–21 for pilgrimage to peripheral areas.



**Figure 5.** Main castles and pilgrimage shrines around Königsberg, fourteenth century. *Source:* Author.

The pilgrims (*peregrini*, *pilgerîn*, *gâste*) mentioned in the sources for the Baltic campaigns in the thirteenth century were crusaders, who had taken a vow to participate in the armed conversion of the Prussians. They did not make a vow to visit a holy site, but rather to assist those who were engaged in converting the Prussians, namely the Teutonic Order.<sup>100</sup> They made oaths to journey *in partibus Pruscie* and assist the Order in the war against pagans, going on the pilgrimage in honour of the Virgin Mary. However, this has not kept researchers from investigating the perception these pilgrims had of this undertaking, and much has been written concerning the piety of pilgrims to Livonia and Prussia. The difficulty of working with the early conquest phase, in both regions, forms a large portion of the subject.<sup>101</sup> There do not appear to be any direct accounts of pilgrimages to Prussia surviving for the thirteenth century, unlike the larger amount of material documenting pilgrimage made during the golden age of chivalric crusading in the fourteenth century.<sup>102</sup> This gives way to a limited body of source evidence in chronicles and charters, which is sufficient to show the emergence of a network of places that came to constitute the traditional ‘pilgrimage route’ used by crusaders in Prussia.

<sup>100</sup> For some examples, see *PrUB*, 1: 65–6 (no. 85); also 73–5 (nos. 99–100).

<sup>101</sup> The first major attempt at this, for the Livonian campaigns, was Astaf von Transehe-Roseneck, *Die ritterlichen Livlandfahrer des 13. Jahrhunderts: eine genealogische Untersuchung* (Würzburg: Holzner, 1960), especially 2–3, 6–8. Also see Hucker, ‘Zur Frömmigkeit’, 111–30; for Prussia, see Erich Maschke, ‘Die Mission in Preußen und Livland bis zum Christburger Vertrag 1249’, in idem, *Der Deutsche Orden und die Preußen: Bekehrung und Unterwerfung in der preußisch-baltischen Mission des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1928), 14–36. For a more modern interpretation, see Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, ‘Die “Eroberung Preußens” durch den Deutschen Orden – ihr Bild und ihre Wahrnehmung in der Literatur des Deutschen Ordens im 14. Jahrhundert’, in *Krzyżiakus karę epocha Baltijos regiono*, eds. Trimonienė and Jurgaitis, 131–70, especially 150–1.

<sup>102</sup> Paravicini, ‘Einleitung’, in idem, *Die Preußenreisen*, 1: 1–20 (14–19).

Charter evidence shows that pilgrims visited the early centres patronised and, in some cases, founded by the Teutonic Order. During the thirteenth century, the Order (and pilgrims) constructed some 30 castles. These were first along the Vistula (Wisła) River, but then expanded into Lithuania (Figure 1).

We do know, however, that by the later fourteenth century and beyond, a pilgrimage network of shrines developed in Prussia. Many of these were early foundations by the Teutonic Order dating to the thirteenth century.<sup>103</sup> By cataloguing and mapping the frequency that places hosted pilgrims, or were witness to sacred events, we see the origins of that route, and the centres that emerged from it for pilgrimage activity. Much of the narrative material regarding the arrival of the brothers confirms two things: that pilgrims were an important part of the initial conquest of Prussia, and that the castles of Thorn (Toruń), Elbing (Elbląg), Kulm (Chełmno), Balga (Vesyeloe, Kaliningrad Oblast), and others emerged as centres for pilgrimage.<sup>104</sup>

Pilgrims aided the Order in building Thorn, one of the earliest settlements constructed to emerge from the crusades in Prussia, in 1231. Peter of Dusburg only notes that an army (*exercitus*) accompanied Master Hermann Balke to build the castle, originally in an oak tree.<sup>105</sup> *Die ältere Chronik von Oliva* is more specific, referring to the company as ‘faithful pilgrims’ (*fideles peregrini*) helping the brothers build the castle.<sup>106</sup> *Die ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, from the 1440s, also refers to the company ‘embarking in the name of God’ (*vuren in gotis name*) to build the castle.<sup>107</sup> These accounts and their renderings thus give the impression of this expedition as a pilgrimage. Alan Murray’s work assessing how chroniclers adopted crusade language from the Holy Land to refer to their pagan enemies, notably *Sarraceni*, demonstrates the transmission of crusade traditions to Christendom’s frontier in north-eastern Europe.<sup>108</sup> Hermann of Wartberge, for example, chronicling the Order’s history in Livonia wrote of ‘a certain satrap’ (*quidam satrap*) against which the Livonian Master, Arnold of Vitinghof, led a campaign in 1360.<sup>109</sup> Language, therefore, forms a key component to understanding these crusades in terms of the chroniclers’ perceptions and opinions of peoples, of an enemy. Place, though, is another important component to understanding the effects of the crusades waged by the Order on Prussia’s landscape.

‘Crusader’ Prussia was not heavily settled with churches, monasteries and castles until the beginning of the fourteenth century, after the establishment of the bishoprics and the conclusion of the conquest period.<sup>110</sup> One of the most prominent examples of this are the

<sup>103</sup> Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, 1: 305–9, assesses the pilgrimage centres around Königsberg and Elbing.

<sup>104</sup> Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, 1: 207–12.

<sup>105</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 49–50 (3.1): ‘Frater Hermannus Balke magister Prussie aspirans ad negocium fidei prosequendum, assumpto sibi duce predicto et virtute exercitus sui transivit Wiselam ad terram Colmensem et ... edificavit anno domini MCCXXXI castrum Thorun. Hic edificacio facta fuit in quadam arbore quercina.’

<sup>106</sup> *Die ältere Chronik von Oliva*, SRP, 5: 596: ‘Postea anno Domini MCCXXXI cum predicto duce Conrado [of Masovia] et aliis fidelibus peregrinis frater Hermannus Balke provincialis magister et sui fratres transierunt Wislam ... et iuxta ripam Wisle super unam frondosam quercum edificaverunt propugnacula ... munitionem Thorun appellantes.’

<sup>107</sup> Max Töppen, ed., *Die ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, in SRP, 3: 542: ‘Hermann Balke mit allem vleisze doruf ging, wy her den globin merte. Des nam her an sich den herzog von Polan mit seyner macht, und *vuren in gotis name obyrdy Weiszil* uf dy cölmische seyte, und buyten eyn burg Thoran genant.’ Author’s italics.

<sup>108</sup> Alan Murray, ‘The Saracens of the Baltic: Pagan and Christian Lithuanians in the Perception of English and French Crusaders to Late Medieval Prussia’, *Journal of Baltic Studies* 41 (2010): 413–29 (414).

<sup>109</sup> Hermann of Wartberge, *Chronicon Lyvoniae*, 80.

<sup>110</sup> See Karl Heinz Clasen, *Die mittelalterliche Kunst im Gebiete des Deutschordensstaates Preußen* (Königsberg: Gräfe und Unser, 1927); Tomasz Torbus, *Die Konventsburgen in Deutschordensland Preußen* (Munich: R. Oldenburg,

Order's castles, which functioned as fortified monasteries as well, allowing the Order to carry out its conquests whilst also observing the monastic duties set out in its Rule.<sup>111</sup> The art in the Order's chapel at its headquarters, the Marienburg, represents a sacred history, including depictions of the Order's Old Testament models. Elements of the spiritual landscape in the Holy Land were also depicted, namely Mount Zion and Jerusalem itself.<sup>112</sup> Through adding more to the sense of place to the text, art, and architecture describing these crusades, we can better understand these early expeditions as spiritual exercises.

Peter's chronicle is an important tool for interpreting the art and architecture of the Teutonic Order in Prussia.<sup>113</sup> The miraculous legends and stories he recounted 'sold' the land of Prussia to pilgrims. It was a land where miracles happened, where martyrs died and where Christendom was under attack. Mapping this landscape makes it possible, among other things, to identify pilgrimage destinations. While there were no established Christian sites in the region granted to the Order, missionaries had died in Prussia as martyrs, and their cults were centres of pilgrimage for Polish and German nobility since the eleventh century.<sup>114</sup> This sacred landscape grew through the deeds of two parties: pilgrims and the Teutonic Order. Preachers who sought participants in the crusades to Livonia appear to have played on the motivation for martyrdom, too.<sup>115</sup> The early castles that they visited were indeed military structures used in the expanse of the Prussian frontier, but they were also places of an emerging sacred landscape through the events that chroniclers believed occurred at them.

## Relics and pilgrimage activities in thirteenth-century Prussia

When Henry of Livonia,<sup>116</sup> the anonymous author of the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*,<sup>117</sup> Peter of Dusburg,<sup>118</sup> or Nicolaus of Jeroschin<sup>119</sup> describe pilgrims returning to a place 'with great joy' (or similar variations), it is likely that they were referring to the veneration of relics, and that these events influenced the development of cities like Thorn in terms of their religious topography, that is, the development of the churches that served as their spiritual centres from the end of the thirteenth century onwards. It is difficult to determine

---

1998); 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 (Cologne: Wissenschaft und Politik, 2000), 253–302; Janusz Trupinda, 'Die Chronik von Peter of Dusburg als Quelle für die Interpretation der architektonischen Ausschmückung des sog. Kapitelsaals und der Schlosskapelle im Nordflügel des Hochschlosses in Marienburg', in *Mittelalterliche Kultur und Literatur im Deutschordensstaat in Preußen*, eds. Wentz, Hartmann and Vollmann-Profe, 513–28.

<sup>111</sup> Kutzner, 'Die Herrschaftspropaganda', 253–4.

<sup>112</sup> Trupinda, 'Die Chronik Peters von Dusburg als Quelle', 521.

<sup>113</sup> Kutzner, 'Die Herrschaftspropaganda', 288.

<sup>114</sup> Otto III visited Gnesen in 1000: 'Annales Magdeburgenses', in *Annales aevi Suevici*, ed. Pertz, MGH SS 16 in folio, 105–96 (159); see also von Güttner-Sporzyński, 'Expansion of the Piast Realm', in idem, *Poland, Holy War, and the Piast Monarchy*, 36.

<sup>115</sup> Hucker, 'Zur Frömmigkeit von Livlandpilgern', 113–14.

<sup>116</sup> Henry of Livonia, 141 (21.1), documents the arrival in Riga of Albert of Lowenburg in 1217. Notable is the use of language: 'Et susceptus est [Albert and his company] cum leticia magna.'

<sup>117</sup> *LR*, 31–2 (ll. 1333–74), records the arrival of the same Albert and his reception 'by both rich and poor' ('man entpfienç sie lieblichen dô / beide arme unde rîche'). Also see *LR*, 38–9 (ll. 1647–64) for the arrival of the Graf of Arnstein.

<sup>118</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 59 (3.13); 69–70 (3.36); 113–14 (3.125).

<sup>119</sup> Nicolaus of Jeroschin, 357 (ll. 4745–66); 375–9 (ll. 6280–70); 451–2 (ll. 12,849–960).

**Table 2.** Pilgrims, relics and locations, 1230–9.

Place, date	Pilgrims	Relics	Procession	Reference
Nessow, 1230	?	No	No	Peter of Dusburg, 47–8 (2.11)
Thorn, 1231	Yes	No	No	Peter of Dusburg, 49–50 (3.1)
Kulm, 1232	Yes	No	No	Peter of Dusburg, 56 (3.8)
Elbing, 1233	?	Yes	Yes	Peter of Dusburg, 31 (1.5)
Marienwerder, 1234	Yes	No	No	Peter of Dusburg, 56–8 (3.9–10)
Rehden, 1234	?	No	No	Peter of Dusburg, 58–9 (3.12)
Elbing, 1237	?	No	No	Peter of Dusburg, 61 (3.17)

whether each church established during the conquest period possessed relics, as the sources are not descriptive in terms of church foundations. However, the account of the conquest and the few references in charters from the period show that relics and pilgrimage had a close link by the middle of the thirteenth century in Prussia.

Thorn, followed by Kulm, Elbing, Marienwerder, Rehden (Radzyń Chełmiński), and Balga were the earliest settlements established during the conquest of Prussia. They were places where pilgrims and relics were present, and either processions or religious activities occurred (Table 2). Scholarship on the Teutonic Order's role in the Christianisation of Prussia has focused on this early phase for some time, describing it as a phenomenon due to its rapid nature and success.<sup>120</sup> Nationalist interpretations of this conquest abounded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but both Peter and Nicolaus were themselves aware that this was no ordinary conquest mission.<sup>121</sup> Given this line of thinking, it is necessary to go further and investigate their attitudes to the places that were conquered and how commemoration gave rise to a sacral geography. The early castles laid the foundations for later pilgrimages to conquer tribes further afield, towards the border with Lithuania, on the chivalric journeys known as the *Reisen*.<sup>122</sup>

Using the chroniclers' descriptions as a basis for Qualitative GIS analysis shows that these places could have held relics at one point or another, and been the stage for pilgrim processions. Processions were an integral part to pilgrimages throughout Europe and in the Holy Land, and one wonders whether crusaders in thirteenth-century Prussia engaged in this practice.<sup>123</sup> Elbing, for instance, had held a fragment of the True Cross since 1233. Gregory IX encouraged pilgrims to visit the relic, granting 10 days' relaxation from their penance in that same year.<sup>124</sup> This was the first relic that we know of to arrive in Prussia, and the cult of the True Cross functioned as a powerful element in creating sacral centres in the landscape at other locations.<sup>125</sup> Thorn had a piece

<sup>120</sup> See Kwiatkowski, 'Die "Eroberung Preußens"', 131–2.

<sup>121</sup> Kwiatkowski, 'Die "Eroberung Preußens"', 135. The ideological interpretations of the first wave of conquests go back to the first scholarly history of Prussia. See Johannes Voigt, *Geschichte Preussens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Untergange der Herrschaft des deutschen Ordens*, vol. 2, *Die Zeit von der Ankunft des Ordens bis zum Frieden 1249* (Königsberg: Bornträger, 1827); also see Albert Ludwig Ewald, *Die Eroberung Preussens durch die Deutschen*, 4 vols. (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1872–6).

<sup>122</sup> Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, 2: 13, gives an analysis of the word's meaning and its transmission to other languages, such as French and English, in the fourteenth century.

<sup>123</sup> For an example on the Continent, see M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, 'Portals, Processions, Pilgrimage and Piety: Saints Firmin and Honoré at Amiens', in *The Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles. Texts*, eds. Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 217–42, specifically 235–6 for the function of processions.

<sup>124</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 31–2 (1.5). Also see *PrUB*, 1: 76–7 (no. 103): 'omnibus, qui ad eandem adorandam crucem in sexta feria humiliter accesserint et devote, X dies de iniuncta sibi penitentia relaxamus.'

<sup>125</sup> Dygo, 'Die Kultur des Deutschordenslandes Preussens', 57–80, especially 58–60.

of this relic and other relics in 1263. Anselm of Meißen, the first bishop of Warmia, issued an indulgence to any pilgrims who were to help construct the chapel at Thorn.<sup>126</sup> He specifically mentioned the work as a labour for ‘the reverence of the most victorious and Holy Cross, of which a good fragment and the relics of other saints are kept in the chapel there’.<sup>127</sup> Another fragment of the Cross was present as early as 1251 at the Order’s castle in Rehden.<sup>128</sup>

From an early stage in the conquest, therefore, relics were being actively brought in to Prussia. A clause in the Treaty of Christburg (7 February 1249) states that the churches destroyed in the First Prussian Uprising ‘be built and decorated with the ornaments, chalices, books and other necessary things’.<sup>129</sup> While the text does not mention relics directly, the churches specified were within the boundaries of the new bishoprics established in 1243, and one might easily imagine that relics were among the ‘other necessary things’. Scholars have deduced the likelihood of a cult of the True Cross in Livonia as early as the 1220s, and speculated over the presence of relics on the crusade expeditions to the north.<sup>130</sup> Even those relics only recorded in the late fourteenth century had to arrive somehow, and it is likely that some arrived in the crusading period.<sup>131</sup> By correlating places to relics (or the likely presence of relics), it is possible to map potential spiritual centres and represent the ‘new’ sacred landscape created by crusading.

Kulm was one of the earliest Christian centres under the Order’s patronage in Prussia. It was the centre of St Barbara’s cult. The Order (and pilgrims) brought her relics to the castle in 1242 from a pagan hillfort called Sartowitz (Sartowice, Poland).<sup>132</sup> As we will see below, Peter also places the castle as a centre for miracles, another important component in creating a sacred landscape. Pilgrims founded the castle in 1232, after they travelled from Thorn.<sup>133</sup> The cult became a major object of veneration within the Order and in Prussia. By the fourteenth century, when the Order experienced a spiritual revival, the veneration of Barbara was at a peak.<sup>134</sup>

Table 3 inventories entries in Peter’s *Chronicle* for relics, and Figure 6 maps the places where there were, or appear to have been, relics. Aside from Kulm, there are mentions of relics at Bartenstein (Bartoszyce), Marienwerder and Königsberg. At Bartenstein, the inhabitants of that castle (*fratres et sue familiae*) were forced to retreat due to an attack by the Prussians. As they went to the closest castles for refuge (Königsberg and Elbing), Peter notes that they [the brothers] left ‘having collected the relics of the saints’.<sup>135</sup> At

<sup>126</sup> Carl Peter Woelky and Johann Martin Saage, eds., *Codex diplomaticus Warmiensis*, vol. 1: *Urkunden der Jahre 1231–1340* (Mainz: Franz Kirchheim, 1860), 82 (no. 45): ‘Nos ... confisi omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis, qui eis ad hoc manum porrexerint adiutricem [the construction of the chapel]. centum dies de iniuncta penitentia misericorditer relaxamus.’

<sup>127</sup> Woelky and Saage, eds., *Codex diplomaticus Warmiensis*, vol. 1, 82 (no. 45): ‘ob reverentiam victoriosissime et sancta crucis, cuius bona pars sicut et aliorum predictorum sanctorum reliquie in ibi continentur’.

<sup>128</sup> Krystyna Zielińska-Melkowska, ‘Średniowieczne miejsca pielgrzymkowe’, 247, citing Marian Dygo, *Studia nad początkami zakonu niemieckiego w Prusach (1226–1529)* [*Studies on the History of the German Order in Prussia (1226–1529)*] (Warsaw: Warsaw University Institute of History, 1992), 336.

<sup>129</sup> *PrUB*, 1: 163 (no. 218): ‘edificare et ornare ornamentis, calcibus et libris et aliis necessariis’.

<sup>130</sup> Hucker, ‘Zur Frömmigkeit’, 117, citing Paul Johansen, *Lippstadt, Freckenhorst und Fellin in Livland. Werk und Wirkung Bernhards II. zur Lippe im Ostseeraum* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1955), 95–160.

<sup>131</sup> von Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, 319.

<sup>132</sup> See M. Töppen, ed., ‘Translacio et miracula sanctae Barbarae’, in *SRP*, 2: 399–411, for a Latin account of various legends concerning the arrival of the relics in Prussia.

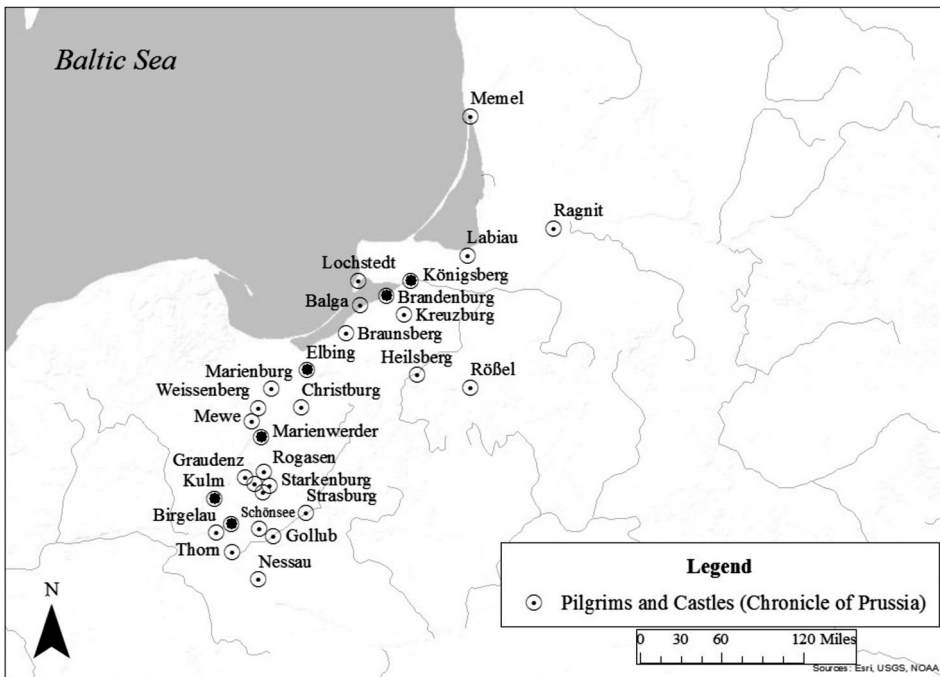
<sup>133</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 56 (3.8): ‘Cum his peregrinis [from Germany], dum veniret Thorun, frater Hermannus magister edificavit castrum et civitatem Colmensem anno Domini MCCXXXII ... ubi nunc situm est castrum antiquum.’

<sup>134</sup> Töppen, ed., ‘Translacio et miracula’, 397–9.



**Table 3.** Relics in Prussia during the thirteenth century.

Place, date	Pilgrims	Relics	Procession	Reference
Sartowitz, 1242	No	Yes	Yes	Peter of Dusburg, 69–70 (3.36)
Kulm, 1242	Yes	Yes	Yes	Peter of Dusburg, 70 (3.36)
Thorn, 1245	Yes	?	Yes	Peter of Dusburg, 81–2 (3.55)
Kulm, 1253	Yes	Yes	Yes	Peter of Dusburg, 83–4 (3.59)
Königsberg, 1255	Yes	?	?	Peter of Dusburg, 94 (3.77)
Bartenstein, 1264	?	Yes	No	Peter of Dusburg, 111 (3.121)
Elbing, 1264	?	Yes	Yes	Peter of Dusburg, 111–12 (3.121)
Thorn, 1268	Yes	?	?	Peter of Dusburg, 113–14 (3.125)
Marienwerder	No	Yes	No	Peter of Dusburg, 122–23 (3.148)
Königsberg, 1284	No	Yes	Yes	Peter of Dusburg, 149–50 (3.230)
Königsberg, 1284	No	?	?	Peter of Dusburg, 150 (3.232)
Königsberg, 1284	No	?	Yes	Peter of Dusburg, 150 (3.233)

**Figure 6.** Castles and relics in Prussia in the thirteenth century. The smaller points represent the possession or likely possession of relics. *Source:* Author.

Marienwerder (Peter does not give us a date), a raid by the Prussians resulted in the destruction of the castle, and that ‘much damage was done by them to the images of the saints’.<sup>136</sup>

Other cases are less direct. For example, Peter’s account of the brothers living at Königsberg in the 1280s, and their piety, only hints that the place held relics. We know, for example, that the brothers there carried out monastic duties from his account of a

<sup>135</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 111–12 (3.121): ‘fratres dividentes se et suam familiam in duas partes (quarum una venit ad Kunigsbergk, altera in Elbingum), assumptisque reliquiis sanctorum.’

<sup>136</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 122–3 (3.148): ‘Quo facto accesserunt ad civitatem Insule sancte Marie ... in duabus hiis pugnis Pruthenorum magna facta fuit verecundia imaginibus sanctorum ab iis.’

certain brother, Albert of Meißen. Likewise, at a pre-battle Mass, where the brothers took communion, ‘as they were accustomed’ (‘sumere consueverunt’), it is possible that relics would have been paraded there.<sup>137</sup> Such festivities did take place on the Order’s later campaigns against the Lithuanians, specifically the siege of Kaunas (1362).<sup>138</sup>

It is highly likely that pilgrims were present when dedications were made. They were present at Kulm for the initial installation of the relics of St Barbara, in 1242. When an army of brothers and pilgrims returned to Thorn after a miraculous victory over the Pomeranians in 1245, we are told ‘that great rejoicing was made among the Christian people’.<sup>139</sup> Given that this occurred on a pilgrimage to one of the early centres of the Order’s history (and its sacred landscape) in Prussia, such festivities very likely included relics as well. The pilgrimage of the Prince of Anhalt in the 1250s resulted in the physical transfer of the city, Kulm, to a new location, on a hill.<sup>140</sup> The translation of the relics from one space to another, presumably a church in this case, would have required a procession of some sort, per the Roman Rite.<sup>141</sup>

The evidence above concerning relics and the activities of known pilgrims to Prussia in Peter of Dusburg’s chronicle suggests that, even in the thirteenth century, there was a strong sense of spirituality in the campaigns against the Prussians. Although this knowledge comes from a source written almost a century after the event, it also suggests that the Order consciously sacralised this conflict in its later historical texts. Highlighting the devotion of these early stages, in this case through relics and pilgrim activities like processions, a key component in the Order’s creation of a sacred landscape emerges.

## Conclusion

Did the Teutonic Knights create a sacred landscape in Prussia the thirteenth century? Peter of Dusburg’s chronicle does indeed offer examples of elements that reflect his mental creation of a sacred landscape in Prussia based on his record of events that took place during the thirteenth century. The signs and miracles that framed the production of his chronicle can be shown to have a new meaning when we correlate them spatially with the progress of the conquest. We see the conception of Prussia as a place defined by its relationship to the Order’s crusades and the sacral qualities of the landscape that emerged from them. With respect to the early missions, those pre-dating the Order, the sense of the way the sacred landscape was shaped by Peter and the chroniclers is stronger, as the veneration of the early missionaries did not appear until later in the history of Prussia.

The presence of hierophanies, martyrdoms, pilgrims and relics at the Order’s early centres reveals that the Order was aware of the need to create such a landscape after the conquest, and to propagate it in its texts as a sacred one. Mapping the account presented by Peter of Dusburg shows physically the boundaries of this manufactured landscape,

<sup>137</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 149–50 (3.230–3).

<sup>138</sup> Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, ‘Christ ist erstanden ... And Christians Win! Liturgy and the Sacralisation of Armed Fight Against Pagans as Determinants of the Identity of Members of the Teutonic Order in Prussia’, in *Sacred Space in the State of the Teutonic Order*, eds. Wenta and Kopczyńska, 101–30. It should be noted that this celebration took place after, not before, the siege.

<sup>139</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 81–2 (3.55): ‘facta est leticia magna in populo Cristiano’. The pilgrimage was preached throughout Germany in 1254.

<sup>140</sup> Peter of Dusburg, 83–4 (3.59).

<sup>141</sup> See Irénée Henri Dalmais and others, *The Church at Prayer*, vol. 1, *Principles of the Liturgy*, trans. Matthew J. O’Connell (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1987), 220–2.

created in the thirteenth century. It makes plain, too, the spatial dimensions of pilgrim activities like relic veneration, and processions, which served to sacralise their conflict and, in doing so, the areas where they occurred. Kulm, and other fortresses along the Vistula towards Königsberg, formed the initial pilgrim route that developed into the fourteenth century.

The descriptions of the thirteenth-century conquest period and their mapping show that centres for a more traditional experience of pilgrimage were present in the early stages of the conquest of Prussia, and that they were the main components in the sacralisation of landscape. That landscape emerged through a programme of sacralising the conflict and connecting it to specific places in Prussia, formerly a heathen place in the eyes of the Teutonic Order's chroniclers. At the same time, notable parallels to the process of landscape sacralisation emerged in Peter's account of Prussian conquest to be found in the scope of Christian history, especially in that of the Holy Land itself in Late Antiquity. In Prussia, this occurred on a smaller, localised scale, as the region lacked inherently Christian sites. The construction of buildings and centres in Prussia, however, delineating pagan from Christian spaces, offers a new way of viewing the crusades there, a way that closely reflects the interests of contemporaries.

This sacralisation of the landscape was to have an important effect in the later crusades undertaken by the Teutonic Order against Lithuania, when the Order's expeditions were popular amongst European nobility.<sup>142</sup> The sacrality that emerged from the early conquests can be seen in the example of the Flemish diplomat, Guillebert de Lannoy and his pilgrimage (*Reise*) to Prussia in 1413. Guillebert visited the early centres built as a result of the thirteenth-century conquest, including Kulm, Thorn, Marienburg and Königsberg. On seeing the city of Kulm, and venerating St Barbara's relics, he described his journey as a 'very fine pilgrimage' (*un moult beau pelerinaige*).<sup>143</sup> The landscape propagated and created by the Teutonic Order had become, at least in the eyes of medieval pilgrims, a sacred one that lasted well beyond the initial period of conquest.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my colleagues and supervisors for reading through the drafts of this article and offering helpful suggestions and criticism in its preparation.

## Note on contributor

*Gregory Leighton* is Ph.D. student working on the broader concept of landscape sacralisation, crusading ideology and spirituality within the Teutonic Order during the crusade period in Prussia and Livonia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries at Cardiff University. He received his Bachelor's

---

<sup>142</sup> Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1. Also see Fischer, 'Biblical Heroes and the Uses of Literature', 269.

<sup>143</sup> Guillebert de Lannoy, 'Aus den Voyages de Guillebert de Lannoy', ed. E. Strehlke, *SRP*, 3: 449.

and Master's degrees in the United States, where he first was inspired to study the military orders and the crusades to the Baltic.

## ORCID

Gregory Leighton  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-4203-2313>

## Appendix. Concordance of historical and modern place-names

German name	Polish name	Russian name	Lithuanian name
Arnau	–	Rodniki	Arnava
Balga	–	Vesyeloe	–
Birgellau	Bierzglowo	–	–
Brandenburg	–	Ushakovo	–
Braunsberg	Braniewo	–	–
Christburg	Dzierzgoń	–	–
Elbing	Elbląg	–	–
Engelsburg	Pokrzywno	–	–
Fischhausen	–	Primorsk	–
Gollub	Gollub-Dobrzyń	–	–
Graudenz	Grudziądz	–	–
Heiligenbeil	Świętomiejsce	Mamnowo	Šventapilė
Heilsberg	Lidzbark Warmiński	–	–
Juditten	–	Mendelejewo	–
Königsberg	–	Kaliningrad	–
Kraussen	–	Borissowo	–
Kreuzburg	–	Slavskoye	–
Kulm	Chełmno	–	–
Kulmsee	Chełmża	–	–
Löbau	Lubawa	–	–
Lochstедt	–	Near Baltijsk	–
Marienburg	Malbork	–	–
Marienwerder	Kwidzyn	–	–
Memel	–	–	Klaipėda
Mewe	Gniew	–	–
Nessau	Nieszawa	–	–
Oliva	Oliwa	–	–
Osterode	Ostróda	–	–
Pobethen	–	Romanowo	Pobėtai
Ragnit	–	Neman	–
Rehden	Radzyń Chełmiński	–	–
Rogasen	Rogoźno	–	–
Rößel	Reszel	–	–
Schönsee	Kowalewo Pomorskie	–	–
Starkenberг	–	Near Krasny Bor	Starkai
Strasburg	Brodnica	–	–
Thorn	Toruń	–	–
Weissenberg	Biała Góra	–	–

Source: after Torbus, *Die Koventsbuergen im Deutschodensland Preußen*.