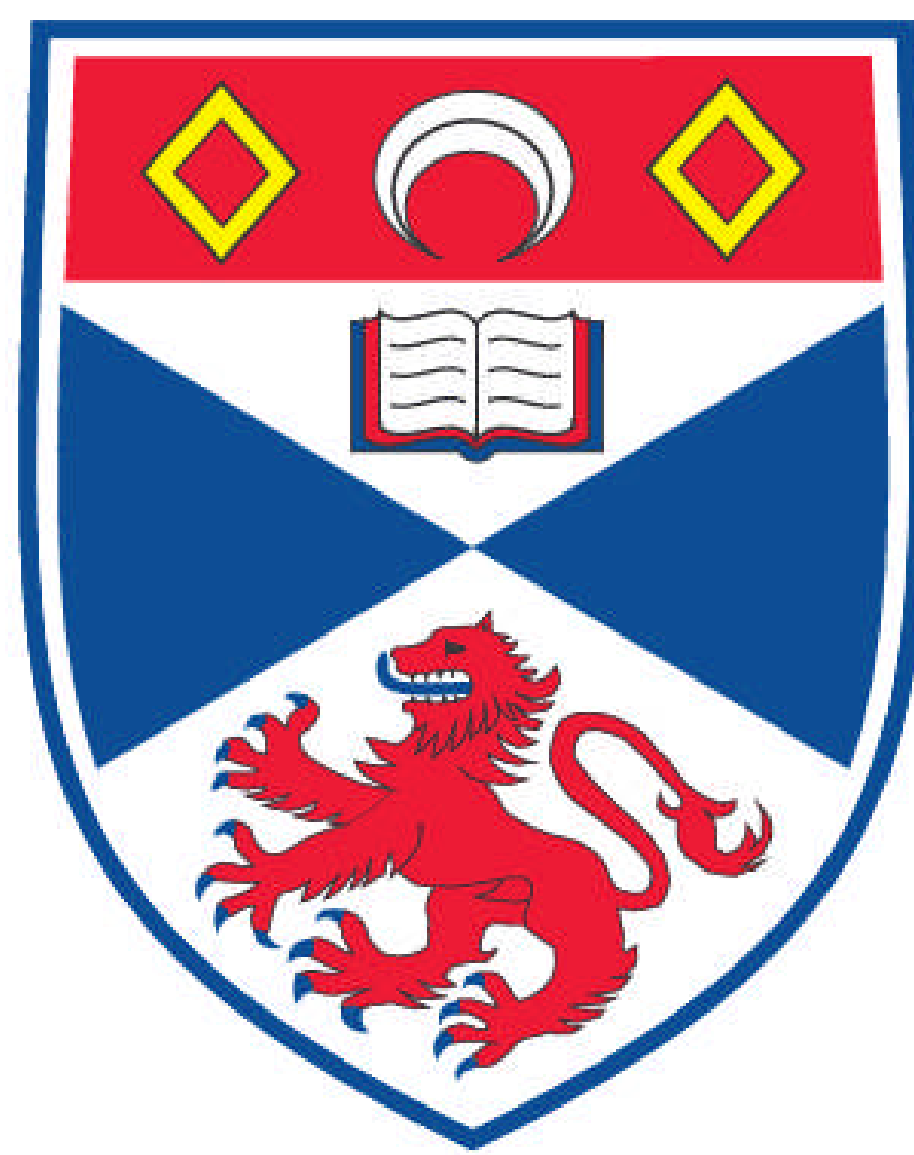


**THE IDEA OF CHRISTIAN CHIVARLY IN THE CHRONICLES OF  
THE TEUTONIC ORDER**

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**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St. Andrews**



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The Idea of Christian Chivalry  
in  
the Chronicles of the Teutonic Order

By  
M. C. FISCHER.



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### Abstract

This thesis has as its subject matter the chronicles written by members of the Teutonic Order to describe and justify the crusades undertaken by the Order in Prussia and Lithuania in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It argues that the full importance of this material has been largely ignored or misunderstood by historians and literary historians, and hence that its contribution to crusading ideology has not been fully appreciated. It is then argued that the Krônike von Prûzinlant, the most widely disseminated and influential of the chronicles, was written in response to widespread criticism of the crusades and the military orders at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, and played an important part in re-establishing the crusading ideal at a time of crisis for the crusading movement.

The first section examines the Krônike von Prûzinlant in the context of crusading tradition and contemporary crusading literature and aims to identify the Order's original contributions to crusading ideology. The second section employs a diachronic approach. It demonstrates the Krônike von Prûzinlant's importance by contrasting it with an earlier chronicle, the Livländische Reimchronik, and a later one, the Chronicle of Wigand of Marburg. It also contrasts the two existing versions



of the Krônike von Prûzinlant, the Latin original and the vernacular translation, examining the impact made by changes in the vernacular version on the form and purpose of the chronicle.

The thesis concludes that the Order made significant contributions to the development of crusading ideology in the fourteenth century. Its development of these ideas reflects its desire to come to terms with the criticisms and difficulties facing the military orders as a whole at this time and points forward to its establishment during the fourteenth century as the foremost centre of crusading warfare in Europe.

### Acknowledgments

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### Abbreviations

GAG	<u>Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik.</u>
KvP	<u>Krönike von Prûzinlant.</u>
LL	<u>Die Kreuzfahrt des Landgraven Ludwig des Frommen von Thüringen.</u>
LR	<u>Livländische Reimchronik.</u>
PBB	<u>Pauls und Braunes Beiträge.</u>
PL	<u>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina,</u> ed. by J. P. Migne (Paris, 1844-1902)
MGH	<u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica.</u>
<u>Recueil</u>	<u>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades-historiens occidentaux,</u> ed. by P. Riant (Paris, 1844ff.)
RL	<u>Das Rolandslied.</u>
RvB	<u>Reinfrid von Braunschweig.</u>
SK	<u>Karl der Große von dem Stricker.</u>
SRP	<u>Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum.</u>
WdF	<u>Wege der Forschung.</u>
ZfdA	<u>Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.</u>
ZfdPh	<u>Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie.</u>
ZfO	<u>Zeitschrift für Ostforschung.</u>

Chapter One : Introduction.

The military orders grew out of the need, which arose in the period after the first crusade, for a body of knights garrisoned permanently in the Holy Land, who were themselves dedicated to the religious life. The first of these groups of knights, the Templars, was founded by Hugo of Payens some time before 1128. Although the idea of combining the role of monk and knight had many critics,<sup>1</sup> its practical value was quickly recognised and with the help of Bernard of Clairvaux the new order was fully established by 1130. The Hospital of St John, originally purely a charitable institution, followed the example of the Templars and developed during the course of the twelfth century into a group of knights dedicated to the defence of the Holy Land.

The Teutonic Order was the third and last of the major military orders to be founded.<sup>2</sup> It grew out of a hospital founded by merchants from Bremen and Lübeck during the siege of Acre in 1189 or 1190, which in turn may have had links

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1. See chapter 5 below.

2. The following sketch of the Order's early history is largely based on the following works : H. Boockmann, Der Deutsche Orden (Munich, 1981), M. Tumlner, Der Deutsche Orden im Werden, Wachsen und Wirken bis 1400 mit einem Abriß der Geschichte des Ordens von 1400 bis zur neuesten Zeit (Vienna, 1955), and E. Christiansen, The Northern Crusades (London, 1980).



with a German hospital which is known to have existed in Jerusalem during the first half of the twelfth century, the Hospitale Sanctae Mariae Theutonicorum in Jerusalem. The impetus needed to transform the hospital into a military order came from a group of prominent German crusaders, led by Duke Frederick of Swabia, and indeed the early history of the order is closely linked with the fortunes of the House of Hohenstaufen.<sup>3</sup> The hospital quickly acquired lands and as early as 1196 was partly exempted from episcopal control, allowing it to expand beyond the diocese in which it had been founded. The death of Henry VI in 1197 brought to an end German participation in the crusade, but before departing from the Holy Land the crusaders appealed to the Pope to allow the hospital to undertake a military as well as a charitable role, and in 1199 Innocent III effectively created the Teutonic Order. The new order took over the Templars' rule to regulate its military activities, while it followed the practices of the Hospitallers in its care of the sick. It was able to profit from the precedents set by the two older institutions and was therefore able to consolidate its position relatively quickly.

During the period of instability which followed Henry VI's

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3. See Boockmann, pp. 45-56, and N. von Holst, Der Deutsche Ritterorden und seine Bauten von Jerusalem bis Sevilla, von Thorn bis Narwa (Berlin, 1981), pp. 45-56.

death little is known of the Order's fortunes. It rises to prominence again during the rule of Frederick II under the leadership of Hermann of Salza. This remarkable man, who controlled the Order from 1210 until 1239, was one of Frederick's most trusted advisers and was equally well received at the Curia. He is known often to have mediated between Emperor and Pope and the Order was able to benefit considerably from his influence. Honorius III granted the remaining exemption from episcopal control in 1221 and thereby granted the new order the same legal status as the two older ones. This Pope alone authorised 113 deeds in favour of the Order. One of these was the ability to confer indulgences in return for donations, another important factor in the consolidation of the Order's power and status. Patronage from the House of Hohenstaufen also continued to strengthen the Order's position. The period of the Order's greatest growth coincides with the time when Frederick II's power was at its height. Eric Christiansen records that the Order is known to have received eighteen donations in the period from 1190 to 1210, but sixty-one in the following twenty years, of which seventeen were from Frederick and his son.<sup>4</sup> The Order's headquarters were at Acre, while its chief stronghold, Starkenburg, was built to control the land gained

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4. See Christiansen, p. 74.

in 1229 by Frederick's crusade.

This period of rapid growth also sees the Order's first attempt to establish an autonomous territory, in this instance in the Burgenland on the borders of Hungary, which they defended on behalf of the King of Hungary from 1211 until 1225. However their attempts to exempt themselves from the control of the king's officers and the local bishop, which culminated in the Pope declaring the area the property of the See of St Peter, and thereby supporting the Order's attempts to remove it from the jurisdiction of the King of Hungary, led to the Order being driven from the area by military force in 1225. The Order's subsequent attempts to establish itself in Prussia were therefore far more cautious and well prepared.

The history of the Christian church's activities in Prussia dates back to the tenth century. Adalbert of Prague was sent there in 997 and was martyred while attempting to set up a mission. He was later celebrated by the Order in a poem by Nicolaus of Jeroschin which is now lost. In 1007 Brun of Querfurt was martyred under similar circumstances. Active mission work resumed in the area at the end of the twelfth century. In 1195 Archbishop Hartwig of Bremen reasserted his claim to Livonia and obtained full crusading privileges for campaigns there. In 1200 he appointed his



nephew Albert Bishop of Riga. Albert undertook campaigns from this base and formed the Schwertbrüderorden to consolidate his gains. In Prussia the mission work had been entrusted to the Cistercian abbot of Lekno. By 1216 the missionary appears to have given up his position as abbot and appears in documents as Bishop Christian of Prussia. His missionary work was endangered, however, by the territorial ambitions of the Polish princes, whose political impositions led the native Prussians to rebel against Christianity. In 1216 Christian and the princes appealed to the Pope for the crusading vow to be made valid for Prussia so that they could recruit help to put down these uprisings. This appeal led to two unsuccessful crusades in 1218 and 1221-23. The failure of these crusades led in turn to an appeal for support to the Teutonic Knights, and, in the interim, the creation of the Order of Dobrin to protect Christian settlements on the Polish frontier. Prussia and Livonia were therefore established centres of crusade before the arrival of the Teutonic Order and the local need for permanent garrisons of crusading knights had already been expressed in the creation of the two smaller orders.

After the debacle in the Burgenland the Teutonic Order took steps to ensure that its ambition to establish an autonomous territory could be achieved in Prussia with the minimum of opposition. Imperial support was gained and

expressed in the Golden Bull of Rimini, granted by Frederick II in 1226, which gave the Grand Master rights in the conquered lands equivalent to those of the princes in the Empire. The most important of the Polish princes, Conrad of Masovia, also appears to have given tacit support to the Order's ambitions. The authenticity of the Charter of Kruszwica, by which Conrad ceded the Kulmerland and all future conquests in Prussia to the Order, has been much debated, but it was used successfully by the Order to support its claim to Prussia. Finally, in the Bull of Rieti of 1234, the Pope took all the conquered lands under the protection of the Holy See, thus excluding the possibility of any temporal overlordship. By this time the Order had already crossed the Vistula. The Order of Dobrin was disbanded and the discredited Schwertbrüderorden was assimilated by the Teutonic Order in 1236, after the former had been all but annihilated in a defeat at Saule. The conquest of Prussia was completed in 1283.

With hindsight the emergence of their Prussian territory as the centre of the Teutonic Order's sphere of influence seems almost inevitable, but it was by no means so clear to contemporaries during the Order's early history. The Order's headquarters remained in Palestine until the fall of Acre brought an end to all Christian settlements on the mainland. Thereafter the headquarters were moved to Venice, evidently with a view to conducting further assaults on the Holy Land

from this base, and only in 1309 were they moved to the Marienburg. This decision apparently caused considerable controversy within the Order. Shortly before the decision was taken a condition was added to the statutes to the effect that the Grand Master was not to move the headquarters solely on his own initiative, indicating considerable resistance within the Order to the move. Nonetheless the move took place under Siegfried of Feuchtwangen. His successor, Karl of Trier, elected in 1311, was forced to stand down, but subsequently revoked his decision and ruled the Order from his birth-place in Trier until his death in 1324. Therefore it was not until the time of his successor, Werner of Orseln, that the Order's central command was firmly established in Prussia, and even then it is likely to have been for reasons of expediency rather than preference, since there is evidence to support the view that being sent to Prussia to serve in a commandery there may have been regarded as a form of punishment by the knight brothers.

The reasons for the apparently unpopular move to the Marienburg become apparent from a study of the political controversy surrounding the military orders at this time. Criticism of the role of the orders in the defence of the Holy Land was based largely on complaints of their misuse of accumulated wealth and of quarrels between them. Differences



in policy between the two older orders had first become apparent as early as 1168, when the Hospitallers had supported Amalric I's policy in Egypt while the Templars had held back. With the weakening of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the thirteenth century, particularly after the defeat of the Frankish-Damascene army by the Egyptians at Gaza in 1244, the military orders had become increasingly powerful in relative terms, since they had effective control of the countryside from their strongholds and were the only reliable body of knights who were prepared to fight for long periods in the Holy Land. Rivalry between them was intense, often to the point of open warfare, as in the case of the war of St Sabas in 1259. Their power increased as the gradual impoverishment of the Frankish nobles in the Holy Land forced the latter to sell off castles and lordships to the orders, whose wealth was assured by the many donations which were made to them in western Europe. Disillusionment with the military orders' shortcomings is expressed in a document prepared for use at the Council of Lyons in 1274, which concentrates on the territorial greed of the two main orders and their resulting rivalry :

His cavendum esset, ne superbia de nobilitate generis, de potestate, de divitiis laborant. Duo enim superbi in una sella equitare non possunt, et Templarii et Hospitalarii. Sicut communiter dicitur, seipsos compati non possunt. Cuius causa est cupiditas terrenorum, quae domus una invidet

alii, dum una acquirit, quod alia acquirere cupit.  
 Dicunt se renuntiasse in singulari, volentes omnia retinere  
 in generali. Etcum in singulari sint regulares, in  
 universali saeculares ; quomodo in singulari salvari possunt,  
 qui in generali pereunt? In Christi militia non sunt  
 quaerenda saeculi lucra.<sup>5</sup>

Although this attack only mentions the two older orders,  
 Joshua Prawer claims that public opinion rarely specified  
 one order for criticism, but included them all.<sup>6</sup> A later,  
 more general attack on the orders, written by Conrad of  
 Megenburg c. 1352, is probably representative of the attitude  
 to the orders throughout the first half of the fourteenth  
 century :

Nutriunt hii barbas in signum sancte virilitatis, ut invasores  
 christianorum gladio materiali debellent, sanguinem suum pro  
 Christo effudant, qui et suum effudit pro nobis. Sed heu!  
 Quidam desideria sua non dant parmis et ensibus invadendi  
 crucis inimicos, quamvis signum crucis gerant in pectoribus  
 suis, ymmo quasi muliebris mollicibus confrati commodis se

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5. Collectio de Scandalis Ecclesiae. Nova Editio.',  
Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, 24 (1931), edited by  
 P. A. Stroick O.F.M., pp. 33-62, c. 17.

6. 'Military Orders and Crusader Politics in the second half  
 of the Thirteenth Century' in Die geistlichen Ritterorden  
 Europas, edited by J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann, Forschungen  
 und Beiträge, XXVI (Sigmaringen, 1980), p.218.

donant vivendi deliciose cum deo Bacho litigantes in auro,  
cum deo Venere in diversorio, cum mammine dyabolo in  
nummismario eciam usuram turpiter exercendo.<sup>7</sup>

Disquiet with the orders' apparent secular leanings reflects criticism levelled at the Templars during their early years, when fundamental doubts about the compatibility of the monastic and chivalric life-styles led to attacks on the basis of the Order's existence. These attacks became acute once more when the loss of the Holy Land deprived them of their primary task.

A specific attack on the Prussian wars of the Teutonic Order was made by Roger Bacon in 1268, who complained that the brutality of the wars was hindering the work of conversion of the heathen:

The brethren of the German House ruin all hopes of converting them owing to the wars they are always stirring up, and because of their lust of domination. There is no doubt that all the heathen nations beyond Germany would long ago have been converted, but for the brutality of the brethren of the German House, because the pagan race has again and again been ready to receive the faith in peace through preaching.

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7. Konrad von Megenburg, Oekonomica, Book 3, Traktat 2, c. 19. I am grateful to Dr Sabine Krüger for allowing me to use the unpublished manuscript she is preparing for the Monumenta Germaniae Historica.

But they of the German House will not allow it because they want to subjugate them and reduce them to slavery and persuasions they have for many years deceived the Roman church. This is notorious, otherwise I would not make the charge.<sup>8</sup>

The response of the lay and ecclesiastical powers to the general discontent with the orders at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries took differing forms. Plans to unify the orders were put forward by Ramon Lull, and from 1305 Philip IV of France urged that all the orders should be abolished and a new one set up with himself as its leader. In 1307 he persuaded the Pope to authorise the arrest and dispossession of all the Templars throughout Europe and to set up an inquiry into the accusations against them. The Teutonic Order was also under attack at this time, both from within the church and from Poland. A state of near civil war had arisen in Livonia, where the conflicting interests of the citizens and the Archbishop of Riga on the one hand and the Order on the other led to the citizens forming an alliance with the heathen Lithuanian Grand Prince Withen. He occupied Livonia and used it as a base for raids on Prussia. The Archbishop took the side of the citizens and accused the Order of failing in its task of assisting in the conversion of the natives and fighting the heathen. Instead, he claimed, in

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8. Roger Bacon, Opus Majus, part 3, c. 13, edited by J. H. Bridges (Oxford, 1900), III, 120-22.



an echo of Bacon's criticism, they oppressed the converts and hindered the work of conversion. Litigation in the Curia from 1300 to 1303 and in 1306, when the Order responded with a detailed defence of its record, resulted only in attempts by the Pope to reconcile the two parties in order to ensure the defence of Livonia, but the Order must have been fully aware that continued papal support was dependent on their success in the crusading role for which they had been sent to Livonia. The crisis deepened when in 1308 the Knight-Brothers in Prussia seized Pomerelia and the city of Danzig, initiating a long period of damaging disputes with Poland in the Curia. These events, in conjunction with the fate of the Templars, evidently precipitated the unpopular move to Prussia. It was undertaken in such haste and secrecy that, as Marjan Tumler points out, contemporaries remained unaware of the preparations and historians have been unable to establish the exact details of the move.<sup>9</sup> In the following year the Pope authorised an investigation of all outstanding charges against the Order. The text of the Bull accused the Order of 'insulting our Redeemer, shaming all the faithful and damaging the faith'... not fighting in the name of Christ against the enemies of the faith, but rather, astounding to hear, waging war on behalf of such people

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9. Tumler, p. 304.

against Christ, with various cunning ruses.<sup>10</sup> In 1311 the papal envoy accused the Order, among a catalogue of other crimes, of murdering 10,000 people, including small children, in the city of Danzig and in 1312 the Livonian Knight-Brothers were excommunicated. That the ban was lifted the following year reflects the lack of a secular power in the area able to oppose the Order on the Pope's behalf, and hence the wisdom of the hurried move. Nonetheless, the criticism struck at the basis of the Order's existence and must have caused great internal upheaval, the scale of which can be gauged only by the silence of the Order's own chroniclers on the matter. The significance of the Order's final defeat of Grand Prince Withen, formerly ally of the city of Riga, is indicated indirectly by the extended allegorical treatment it receives from Jeroschin (KvP 23470-879). The diplomat Karl of Trier's role in securing the future of the Order is only referred to briefly :

- der reine gotis man  
grôze wîsheit hâte  
darzû er wol gerâte  
walsche sprache kunde  
und mit sîns selbis munde  
er sine sachin sundir valn

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10. Quoted by Christiansen, p. 144.



vor p<sup>â</sup>biste und cardinaln  
 plac t<sup>ê</sup>dingin in der stunt (KvP 24091-98)

The issues and other events are glossed over or ignored. This period of the Order's history has also received relatively little attention from historians, as the paucity of references in Boockmann's chapter on this period demonstrates. Yet it is on record that the Order survived this potentially disastrous crisis to become the main focus of crusading activity in the fourteenth century. Its achievements are in many ways unique. It created the only crusading state outside Palestine and it alone of the military orders produced a large body of literary works for the use of its members. The period in which the vast bulk of these works were produced coincides with the period of crisis at the beginning of the fourteenth century and the first years following the removal of the headquarters to the Marienburg. It seems likely that the first third of the fourteenth century formed a turning point for the Order as significant in its way as the more heavily researched period surrounding the battle of Tannenberg a century later, and from the prominence given to literary activity during this time it is reasonable to deduce that literature was assigned an important role in reviving the Order's fortunes.

This thesis aims to examine the Order's ideological

response to the events which occurred at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It faced two main problems : specific criticism of the military orders as such, which accused them of laxness and failing to fulfil their purpose ; and the loss of the Holy Land, which forced them to concentrate their crusading activity in Prussia, a hitherto marginal area with none of the attractions and associations of Palestine. The Order's survival and the level of popular support for its campaigns in the fourteenth century suggest that it was successful in overcoming these problems. The thesis will argue that in the Krônike von Prûzinlant, which was completed in its original form in 1326, the Order set out to restate the idea of the militia Christi and the holy war in order to provide its members with a unifying ethos, to reinforce their vocation and hence to revive the original zeal of the crusading ideal. It will also argue that the Order reinterpreted and adapted the body of crusading propaganda from the High Middle Ages to which it was heir to fit its own particular needs in Prussia in the fourteenth century.

Hartmut Boockmann, in his study of the Order's history, suggests that it was not active in creating a specific religious identity for its members.<sup>11</sup> Karol Gorski, on

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11. Boockmann, p. 55.

the other hand, traces the emergence of a Frömmigkeitsbewegung within the Order, beginning around 1291, but particularly noticeable from the time of Karl of Trier, the Grand Master whose role in securing the future of the Order was mentioned above.<sup>12</sup> The development of this movement can be traced in part through the additions to the Order's statutes made during the rule of different Grand Masters, which illustrate the prevalent disciplinary problems, the Order's response to them and attempts to enforce the Order's monastic rule more strictly, presumably in response to accusations of 'worldliness'.<sup>13</sup> The spread of personal property appears to have been a particular problem. The laws of Werner of Orseln (1324-30) specifically forbid that brothers should have money to buy their own horses and forbid the use of ornate saddles, bridles and weaponry.<sup>14</sup> Similar laws are re-enacted by Dietrich of Aldenburg, who also forbids 'vil spacîren unde ummerîten' as being too frivolous an occupation for monk-knights.<sup>15</sup> The bulk of Werner of Orseln's laws deal with additions and changes to the Order's liturgy

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12. K. Gorski, 'Das Kulmer Domkapitel in den Zeiten des Deutschen Ordens' in Fleckenstein and Hellmann (eds.) Ritterorden, pp. 330-337 (p. 337).

13. The laws of the individual Grand Masters are published in Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften, edited by M. Perlbach (Halle, 1890).

14. Statuten, pp. 147-8.

15. Statuten, pp. 149-51.

and religious observances. An attempt to ensure that the prescribed rites be more strictly observed than before - 'die prîster sulen die tazezît mit grozerem vlîze begên, dan bîsher ist geschên' <sup>16</sup> - suggests an awareness of laxness and an attempt to overcome it. Similarly, provisions to allow knights who could not speak Latin to take part in ~~the~~ worship in German pinpoints the difficulties faced by religious communities, the bulk of whose members were illiterate, but also indicates that efforts were being made to achieve fuller participation in worship : 'ouch setzen wir, daz ein igelich brûder, der nit gelêret ist, spreche sîn pater unde sîn âve Maria unde den gelouben zu Tûtsche'.<sup>17</sup> Further laws concerning religious observances were enacted by Luder of Brunswick and Dietrich of Aldenburg, indicating that these matters were of continuing concern to the Order's leaders.

While these provisions indicate general concern with the spiritual life of the members, they give no indication of a specific response to the ideological and spiritual needs of the Order as such, at this point in its history. For this we must look at the Order's literature, the material it produced for the daily use and education of its members. The Teutonic Order was, as was noted above, unique among the military orders in producing a large body of literature for

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16. Statuten, p. 147.

17. Statuten, p. 147.



the use of its members. The dates of Gorski's Frömmigkeitsbewegung, from 1291 to approximately 1340, coincide with the period of intense literary activity within the Order. The importance it attached to its books has been discussed by Heinz Finger in his articles on the Order's libraries.<sup>18</sup> The Gesetze über dem Meer, a series of laws added to the statutes some time before the fall of Acre, forbid priests who are leaving the Order to take their books with them and set down that money earmarked for the purpose of buying books should not be appropriated for any other purpose.<sup>19</sup> The books in question all belonged to clerics, but there is no indication of the nature of the books. They were used by the Order not only for the liturgy, but also as a source of the daily readings which the statutes stipulated should be held at mealtimes :

darüber sal man behalten in allen hûseren, dâ convent von brûderen ist, daz sint zwelf brûdere unde ein commendûr zu der gezal der iungeren unseren herren Jhêsu Christi, daz man da pflegelîche dî lectien zu tische habe, die alle, die da ezzent, mit swîgene sulen hôren, daz in alleine dî gumen iht werden gespîset, sunder ouch ir ôren hungere

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18. H. Finger, 'Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Bibliothek des Deutschen Ordens in Mergentheim. Teil I.', Gutenberg Jahrbuch, 55 (1980), 325-54.

19. Statuten, p. 135.

nach Gotes worte.<sup>20</sup>

The difficulties created by brothers who could not understand Latin were alluded to above. Their presence necessitated the use of vernacular texts for the meal-time lectio. While there is evidence that the practice of taking meal-time readings from works in the vernacular also existed in purely clerical communities,<sup>21</sup> the different requirements of the two groups within the Order, priests and knights, are reflected in the inventories of the libraries of the Order's parish church and commandery in Thorn.<sup>22</sup> These lists date from the early fifteenth century. The books belonging to the church are exclusively Latin, theological works, while the equally big commandery library possessed at least six German books, of which two were secular in content: a chronicle of Livonia and 'eyn buch Rudelant genant' - presumably Stricker's version of the Rolandslied. It was evidently to fulfil this demand for suitable vernacular literature that writing flourished to such an extent in the Order during the period under discussion.<sup>23</sup>

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20. Rule 13, Statuten, p. 41.

21. See D. H. Green, Modern Language Review, 78 (1983), 221-2.

22. See Finger, p. 328-30.

23. The most complete survey of the Order's literary output



The earliest books obviously intended as sources of didactic readings which were written within the Order are the Väterbuch<sup>24</sup> and the Passional<sup>25</sup>. These are thought to have been written by the same author and date from the second half of the thirteenth century. The Väterbuch contains the exemplary lives of one hundred and twenty church Fathers, while the Passional is largely a vernacular translation of the Legenda Aurea and deals with the lives of the Virgin, the Apostles and the saints of the church. The Legende von der Heiligen Martina<sup>26</sup> was written by Hugo of Langenstein, completed in 1293, and reflects a repudiation of worldly values in favour of spiritual ones. Der Sünden Widerstreit,<sup>27</sup> an allegorical poem describing the battle between Virtue and Vice as enacted by a group of monk-knights, and written at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth

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is by K. Helm and W. Zieseimer, Die Literatur des Deutschen Ritterordens (Giessen, 1951).

24. Das Väterbuch, edited by K. Reissenberger, Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, XXII (Berlin, 1914).

25. No complete edition exists. Books 1 and 2 are published in Das alte Passional, edited by C. A. Hahn (Frankfurt, 1845) and Book 3 in Das Passional. Eine Legendensammlung des 13. Jahrhunderts, edited by Fr. K. Köpke, Bibliothek der National-literatur (1852).

26. Edited by A. von Keller, Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins, 38 (Stuttgart, 1856).

27. Edited by V. Ziedler (Graz, 1892).

centuries, has a similar theme. The two very early Bible translations which date from the same period, Judith<sup>28</sup> and Hester,<sup>29</sup> both glorify defenders of the faith and the story of Judith in particular, which had been interpreted in the light of the crusades during the twelfth century, was an obvious source of biblical precedents for the Order. One of the most prolific of the authors associated with the Order, Heinrich of Hesler, also wrote at this time. His Evangelium Nicodemi<sup>30</sup> and Apokalypse<sup>31</sup> were both begun before 1312. The only non-theological work which dates from this period is the Livländische Reimchronik,<sup>32</sup> which was written in the period from 1291 to 1298.

A second period of flourishing literary activity coincides with the rule of the Grand Masters Werner of Orseln (1324-30), Luder of Brunswick (1330-35) and Dietrich of Aldenburg (1335-41), the first Grand Masters who ruled the Order exclusively from Prussia. During this time vernacular translations were produced of the books of Ezra and Nehemia,<sup>33</sup>

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28. Edited by R. Palgen, *Altdeutsche Textbibliothek*, 18 (Halle, 1924).

29. Edited by K. Schröder, *Germanistische Studien*, 1 (1872).

30. Edited by K. Helm, *Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins*, 224 (Tübingen, 1902).

31. Edited by K. Helm, *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, 8 (Berlin, 1907).

32. Edited by L. Meyer (Paderborn, 1876).

33. Edited by S.D. Stirk, *Sprache und Kultur der germanischen und romanischen Völker*, IV (1938).

Job,<sup>34</sup> Daniel,<sup>35</sup> and the Maccabees.<sup>36</sup> The last two were were popular in a crusading context during the twelfth century. Tilo of Kulm's Von siben ingesigelen<sup>37</sup> was also written about 1330. The lives of St Barbara and St Adalbert, which are known to have been written at this time, have not survived. The life of St Barbara is thought to have been written by the Grand Master Luder of Brunswick himself and he is also attributed with the authorship of the Maccabee translation, although this seems less likely. The life of St Adalbert, an early Prussian martyr, was written by his chaplain, Nicolaus of Jeroschin. Jeroschin's main contribution to the Order's literature was his vernacular translation of Peter of Dusburg's Chronicon Terre Prussiae.<sup>38</sup> This chronicle of the Order's history was written at the instigation of Werner of Orseln and deals with the Order's origins and its wars against the Prussians and Lithuanians until the date

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34. Edited by T. E. Karsten, *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, XXI (1910).

35. Edited by S. Hübner, *Palästra*, 101 (Berlin, 1911).

36. Edited by K. Helm, *Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins*, 233 (1904).

37. Edited by K. Kochendörffer, *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, IX (1907).

38. Edited by M Toeppen, in Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum, edited by Th. Hirsch, M. Toeppen and E. Strehlke, 5 vols (Leipzig, 1861-74) (hereafter SRP), vol. 1. Jeroschin's translation is edited by E. Strehlke in the same volume.



of its completion in 1326.

None of the Order's theological works sheds any light on its conception of its military role. The failure to exploit the idea of Christian chivalry to the full in works intended for the use of a military order is a measure of the extent to which these ideas were still suspect in conservative theological circles. In the Passional knights are presented exclusively in their traditional role as worldly warriors, and those who have a religious vocation renounce their former careers entirely when they enter on new lives as monks. The concept of the militia Christi is presented solely in pre-crusading terms as the monk's struggle against spiritual evil. Even the depiction of St George, which offers obvious scope for the elaboration of theories on Christian knighthood only gives limited approval to the idea of knighthood on behalf of God, although the final section of it, which describes his intervention during the siege of Jerusalem on the first crusade contains the only use of the term gotes ritter in the context of military service of God. Both the Väterbuch and the Legende von der Heiligen Martina group knighthood along with 'valscher lieb chraft' (Väterbuch 41473) as pernicious influence, which deflects men from the pursuit of spiritual values. Arno Borst, in his discussion of Hugo of Langenstein's career, points out that after the fall of Acre the vast majority of the members of

the Order, who felt no urge to participate in the struggle in Prussia, were deprived of the reason for their membership of the Order, a career in crusading warfare. Borst suggests, convincingly, that in Martina Hugo was attempting to wean his fellow members away from apparently outmoded values and place spiritual rather than military values at the centre of their service.<sup>39</sup>

The Order's official chronicle, on the other hand, is forced to confront the Order's military role directly and hence to develop a legitimisation for the wars and to restate and expand the Christian theory of knighthood. The specific nature of the military orders was first formulated by Bernard of Clairvaux in his apologia for the Templars, De laude novae militiae.<sup>40</sup> The ideal of combining military and Christian values took its main impetus from the crusading movement. It was restated and developed by successive Popes and theologians and is echoed and exploited in the vernacular literature of the crusades. Peter of Dusburg was therefore heir to a long tradition when he came to write the official history of the Prussian wars and restate the idea of the militia Christi. With the translation of Dusburg's chronicle

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39. A. Borst, Mönche am Bodensee 610-1525 (Sigmaringen, 1978), 227-45.

40. Edited by J. P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina, (hereafter PL), 182, 921-40.

into the vernacular by Jeroschin the Order was able to use it to reinforce the knights' sense of corporate identity and strengthen their awareness of the Order's mission and role in Prussia. The chronicles also provided material which the Order could use to influence potential supporters and lay crusaders.

Until very recently criticism of the Order's chronicles has tended to view them from the purely literary or purely historical viewpoint. The Chronicon Terre Prussie and Jeroschin's translation were edited and published in their entirety in 1861 as part of the Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Max Toeppen, the editor of Dusburg's work, evaluates it from the standpoint of nineteenth-century humanism. He lists Dusburg's failure to discuss colonisation, feuds with ecclesiastical and secular princes, and internal and external politics as shortcomings in the work. Allusions to the devotional life of the Knight Brothers and divine intervention are perceived as interruptions rather than an integral part of the chronicle.<sup>41</sup> He is particularly critical of Dusburg's onesidedness and partisanship : 'peinigend ist die einseitige Auffassung des Erzählers; geradezu abstossend aber ist der dumpfe Aberglaube, welcher Dusburgs Glauben an die unmittelbare Einwirkung der göttlichen Macht umlagert, und die Lieblosigkeit,

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41. Toeppen, SRP I, pp. 7-8.



zu welcher sein starrer hierarchischer Dogmatismus ihn hie und da fortreisst'.<sup>42</sup> Jeroschin is implicitly criticised in the same discussion for failing to redress the balance in any way.

Ernst Strehlke, in his introduction to the Kronike von Pruzinlant in the same volume,<sup>43</sup> justifies the inclusion of the vernacular translation in the Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum by referring to the fact that it was far more widely disseminated and influential than the original. He acknowledges Jeroschin's poetic achievement and the historical value of some of his additions but his chief concern, like Toeppen, is historical accuracy. He points to dangers involved in translating a Latin prose chronicle into a vernacular rhymed chronicle, referring to 'Ausfüllwörter und dgl., welche mitunter zu einer Entfernung von strenger historischer Treue verleiten'.<sup>44</sup>

In their eagerness to evaluate the texts as sources of historical fact alone the two editors effectively disregard large sections of the chronicles. To write, as Toeppen does, of the chronicles as 'Kriegsgeschichte, hie und da durch

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42. Toeppen, SRP I, pp. 7-8.

43. SRP I, pp. 291-302.

44. Strehlke, SRP I, p. 292.

Beispiele besonderer Devotion und Selbstpeinigung unterbrochen,<sup>45</sup> is to ignore the first 3500 lines of the Kronike von Pruzinlant, in which the theoretical basis of the wars is elaborated. This one-sided view of the works has largely dominated discussions of the chronicles until relatively recently.

Literary criticism of the Order's literature has been dominated by the work of Walther Zieseemer. His study of Jeroschin's translation of the Chronicon Terre Prussie, published in 1907, and a survey of the whole of the Order's literature with Karl Helm, have formed the basis of all subsequent criticism of this body of literature.<sup>46</sup> His study of Jeroschin's chronicle evaluates it on its merits as a work of literature and gives detailed insights into Jeroschin's poetic technique and style. However the shortcomings of this method mean that the chronicle is nowhere discussed as part of a larger corpus of crusading literature or its themes and preoccupations examined in the light of other, similar literature. Jeroschin's additions and alterations to Dusburg's chronicle are adduced purely for the light they shed on Jeroschin's personality or

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45. SRP I, p.7.

46. See above, note 23, and W. Zieseemer, Nicolaus von Jeroschin und seine Quelle (Berlin, 1907).

background. His pleasures in the more frivolous details of life are contrasted with Dusburg's 'bigotry' and 'kirchliche Befangenheit', while possible contextual reasons for the attitudes adopted in both chronicles are not discussed.

More recently Hartmut Boockmann's discussion of Dusburg's chronicle acknowledges that it was partly intended as a tool for forming opinion within the Order.<sup>47</sup> However his interpretation of one specific incident illustrates the shortcomings of the purely historical approach to the chronicle. He refers to an episode in which a knight is said to have expressed doubts about the value of service in the Order as a means to spiritual salvation. The knight's doubts are resolved when he sees a vision of members of the Order, in the company of members of other, purely religious orders, and under the leadership of its patron, the Virgin Mary. The Virgin shows him the wounds the knights have suffered in the service of Christ (KvP 4655-744). Boockmann interprets the incident solely within the immediate context of the war against the Prussians as an appeal for spiritual renewal and military vigilance, and is forced to conclude that the precise meaning of such episodes remains obscure :

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47. Boockmann discusses Dusburg's chronicle in Chapter 4, pp. 100-109.

aber damit ist doch nicht die Frage beantwortet, was der spätere Historiker mit solchen Erzählungen anfangen kann. Eine Antwort ist schwierig. Denn es wäre zu wenig, diese Berichte einfach für frommes Gerede zu halten, das die tatsächlichen Vorgänge verdeckt, oder, ebenso simpel, festzustellen, daß die Ordensbrüder eben die Tötung von Heiden für Gottesdienst zu halten gelehrt worden waren und daß man mehr darüber nicht sagen könne. Man kann nur schwer abschätzen, in welchem Grade hier eine Art von Ideologe spricht ... <sup>48</sup>

It is on precisely such points, however, that a knowledge of the Order's literature and of the issues in crusading literature in general can shed light. This motif appears elsewhere in the Order's literature and doubts similar to those attributed to the knight in the story were also expressed in the controversy surrounding the foundation of the Order of the Temple.<sup>49</sup> Far from being an isolated incident, from the point of view of the Order it is central

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48. Boockmann, p. 105.

49. Compare Väterbuch, 40717-771, and see J. Leclercq, 'Un document sur les débuts des Templiers', Revue de l'histoire ecclésiastique, 52 (1957), 81-91 (p. 85). The letter of Hugo 'peccator', quoted by Leclercq, which discusses early difficulties experienced by the Templars, mentions precisely this doubt of the spiritual value of service in a military order and the 'desiderium ordinis alcioris' expressed by the member of the Teutonic Knights.



to the debate on the legitimacy of the crusading orders. On such issues the literary historian is often able to illuminate matters which remain obscure to historians, while an awareness of context is essential for a full understanding of the literary texts.

Attempts to evaluate the chronicles within their literary and historical context have been made on a limited basis by Helmut Bauer, and more recently by Horst Wenzel. Bauer's work is a study of the historiography of the Order.<sup>50</sup> He sees Peter of Dusburg as the founder of the tradition and traces its development through the works of Wigand of Marburg, a herald in the Order who wrote a history of it at the end of the fourteenth century, and Johann of Posilge, a Prussian cleric who had contact with the Order and wrote a Latin history of Prussia at the same time as Wigand of Marburg. Bauer gives a summary of earlier historians' views of Dusburg's usefulness and points to their tendency to criticise the chronicle for its one-sidedness and tendentiousness. He is among the first to stress the importance of evaluating the importance of Dusburg's work within the context in which it was written. He details aspects of the internal crisis in the Order at the beginning

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50. H. Bauer, Peter von Dusburg und die Geschichtsschreibung des Deutschen Ordens im 14. Jahrhundert in Preussen (Berlin, 1935).



of the fourteenth century, outlined above, and sees Dusburg's work as a conscious attempt to reassert old values and restore morale within the Order. He acknowledges Dusburg's debt to the crusading tradition and illustrates the stylistic parallels by reference to the Gesta Anonymi Francorum and the chronicles of Raymond of Aguilers, Albert of Aachen and William of Tyre. Bauer sees in both these crusading chronicles and the chronicles of the Order a development away from the historical writing of the High Middle Ages, in which the events and personalities are subordinate to the world view of the author or the group which he represented, a style represented here by Dusburg and the Gesta Anonymi Francorum, towards a more critical and humanistic account of history, most nearly approached by William of Tyre and Johann of Posilge.

His work is necessarily limited by the state of research on the Order in the 1930s. He does not mention the fundamental political crisis which faced all the military orders at the beginning of the fourteenth century and which in turn contributed to internal change, and instead attributes the decline to a decline in the crusading ideal per se. In his view therefore, Dusburg is attempting to reconstruct a past ideal in order to lengthen the Order's effective existence. Recent research indicates that while disillusionment with the ideal undoubtedly existed, it continued to exert considerable

appeal over the knightly groups in society in western Europe and that participation in a crusade was still regarded as the highest form of knighthood throughout the fourteenth century.<sup>51</sup> The Order, to whose ethos Dusburg was entrusted with giving literary form, was the centre of the crusading movement during this period, and its conception of its role is therefore of continued importance, both to contemporaries and to later historians of the crusades.

The greatest shortcoming in Bauer's work relates to his evaluation of Jeroschin's chronicle. While he is able to counter the view that Jeroschin's work constitutes a slight improvement on its 'fanatical' and 'bigotted' Latin source, he does not consider the possibility that Jeroschin's alterations, which are largely in matters of detail rather than overall import, may also, like Dusburg's original chronicle, have been carefully thought out to fulfil a specific purpose of their own. This question is considered in a chapter in the second part of the thesis.

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51. This view is argued by W. Paravicini, 'Die Preussenreise des europäischen Adels', Historische Zeitschrift, 232 (1981), 25-38, and M. Keen, 'Chaucer's Knight, the English Aristocracy and the Crusade', in English Court Literature in the Later Middle Ages, edited by V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherbourne (London, 1983).

Horst Wenzel's recent work investigates the relationship between late medieval historical writing and reality.<sup>52</sup> In particular he is concerned to demonstrate the way in which specific groups in society reinterpret reality and received ideas from their own socially, religiously or politically determined viewpoint. He bases his investigation on the occurrence of the themes of minne and aventure in late medieval chronicles. These had previously been interpreted as an indication of the influence of courtly ideals on late medieval reality. Wenzel shows, however, that fiction, legend and historical events are inseparably intertwined in late medieval chronicles and that the latter must be interpreted not in terms of historical fact, but in the light of the audience's expectations and the context for which the chronicle was intended. He uses the Krönike von Prûzinlant, and to a lesser extent the Livländische Reimchronik, as examples of literary Selbstdeutung. The first part of his discussion of the Order's chronicles deals with the use of biblical precedents in the Krönike von Prûzinlant to justify the Order's combatant role and to legitimise the use of

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52. H. Wenzel, Höfische Geschichte : Literarische Tradition und Gegenwartsdeutung in den volkssprachigen Chroniken des hohen und späten Mittelalters, Beiträge zur älteren deutschen Literaturgeschichte, 5 (Bern, 1980). The relevant sections are the Introduction and Chapter 2 : 'Ordenschronistik : ein Modell für institutionale Selbstinterpretation.'



weapons. All the elements he lists here are familiar to students of the Order's literature. Wenzel uses them to demonstrate the chronicler's use of traditional material to legitimise contemporary events. He then briefly outlines the parallels with vernacular crusading epics and acknowledges the chronicles' debt to the popular literary crusading tradition. The second part of Wenzel's discussion deals with the Order's attempts to differentiate its own ethos from that of secular knighthood by means of reinterpreting courtly values. Here Wenzel shows how the ideas of minne and aventure are adapted by the Order in the Krönike von Prûzinlant. His discussion of the group of episodes centred on Herman Sarrazin, in which the secular knight's Frauendienst is implicitly contrasted with the monk-knight's devotion to the Virgin Mary, although brief, casts important light on the methods the Order used to establish its ethos and this theme is discussed at length in this thesis in the chapter on the cult of the Virgin Mary in the Order. In his discussion of the theme of aventure he shows how the Order attempted to reconcile the lay knight's pursuit of glory in individual combat with the Order's corporate ethos by attributing specifically religious motivation to those who put themselves at risk in this way. It is significant, although Wenzel does not mention it here, that all the knights involved in the single combats described in the Krönike von Prûzinlant are lay crusaders and not members of the Order.

Evidently the knight-brothers had overcome the urge to shine individually, or, more likely, descriptions of the occasions when they did break discipline have been suppressed. One of the most striking features of the Krônike von Prûzinlant is its consistent refusal to name individual members of the Order who made significant contributions in battle. This is less true of the Livländische Reimchronik, where individual knight-brothers are often credited with having been outstanding in battle. Fundamental differences in approach between the two chronicles and the possible reasons for them are discussed in the second part of the thesis.

Wenzel's overall approach gives valuable insights into the nature of the chronicles and represents a major step forward in the evaluation of the works of the Order. The theme of the influence of secular and courtly values is one of the topics discussed in the second part of the thesis. The picture which emerges bears out Wenzel's argument in its essentials, but it will also show that the Order only developed its response to these influences gradually and that many of the elements in the Livländische Reimchronik which appear to reflect the Order's role and status are in fact used inconsistently and demonstrate at best only a confused grasp of the crusader's role. Only in the Kronike von Pruzinlant is the whole narrative stamped with a coherent idea of the Order's mission and ethos. Valuable though



Wenzel's study is, the writings of the Teutonic Order form only a small part of his argument and his treatment of them is confined to the themes mentioned above. This thesis will take a broader view of the influences which shaped the Order's ethos, particularly those of the church and the crusading tradition, without which a full understanding of the Order's ideology is not possible.

Both Wenzel and Bauer briefly acknowledge the chronicles' debt to crusading literature. The exact definition of this term has come under renewed scrutiny recently in the works of Peter Hölzle and Marianne Ott-Meimberg, both of whom reject what they see as the imprecision of earlier definitions.<sup>53</sup> The first broad survey of crusading literature and the one which originally provoked the controversy was published by F. W. Wentzlaff-Eggebert in 1960.<sup>54</sup> Although he gives no clear idea of what constitutes crusading literature here, it is clear that the definition he provides in his entry on

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53. P. Hölzle, Die Kreuzzüge in der okzitanischen und deutschen Lyrik des 12. Jahrhunderts, 2 vols, GAG, 278, (Göppingen, 1980), and M. Ott-Meimberg, Kreuzzugepos oder Staatsroman? Strukturen adeliger Heilversicherungen im deutschen 'Rolandslied' (Munich, 1980).

54. F. W. Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung des Mittelalters (Berlin, 1960).

Kreuzzugsdichtung in the Reallexikon der deutschen Literatur-  
-geschichte holds good for the later work. There he  
 gives a broad definition of the term : 'im gesamten deutschen  
 Mittelalter wird unter vart jede Pilgerreise oder kriegerische  
 Unternehmung ins heidnische Land verstanden. ... Im Vorder-  
 -grund bleiben hier alle Kreuzzugsdichtungen, die den  
 Kreuzzugsgedanken in poetischer Form vertiefen oder historische  
 Vorgänge wiedererkennen lassen'.<sup>55</sup> His monograph deals  
 with all poetry, Latin, Provençal and Old French as well as  
 Middle High German, which reflects or develops crusading ideas  
 during the period of the crusades to the Holy Land, relating  
 them to the historical events and the differing emphases in  
 the propaganda of successive Popes and preachers of crusade.  
 He also traces the development of early 'pre-crusading'  
 poetry and later reflections of crusading ideas in post-  
 courtly literature. The work was criticised for its lack  
 of a specific definition of its subject matter and in  
 particular for its lack of a definition of the term 'crusade'  
 as the basis for future research. Subsequently scholars  
 have attempted to make good this shortcoming. Ulrich Müller  
 bases his definition of a crusade on the Augustinian concept

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55. Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte, edited  
 by P. Merker and W. Stammer, second edition edited by W.  
 Kohlschmidt and W. Mohr (Berlin, 1958), vol. 1, H. Schneider,  
 'Kreuzzugsliteratur', revised by F. W. Wentzlaff-Eggebert,  
 885-95 (p. 885).

of a 'bellum Deo auctore' and cites the Islamist Claude Cahen, who defines a crusade as 'a war for the defence or liberation of oppressed co-religionists'.<sup>56</sup> On this basis Müller defines crusading poetry as 'Dichtungen über diesen christlichen Glaubenskrieg sowie die Wallfahrt ins Heilige Land' and defines four rough categories : poetry which glorifies and propagates the idea of a crusade, poetry, which although pure literary invention, rests on a presupposition of the 'rightness' of crusades, poetry which discusses crusading ideas within the context of private relationships and finally poetry which criticises the idea of crusades. Peter Hölzle arrives at a similar broad definition of the crusade.<sup>57</sup> He demonstrates that the term cannot be applied solely to armed incursions into the Holy Land by citing the examples of other wars regarded by contemporaries as crusades : the wars against the Moors in Spain, the Slavs and the Albigensian crusades, and like Müller he accepts Cahen's definition of the crusade as being most useful. By applying it to literature he arrives at a definition of

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56. U. Müller, 'Tendenzen und Formen. Versuch über mittel-hochdeutsche Kreuzzugsdichtung' in Getempert und Gemischt, Festschrift für W. Mohr, GAG, 65 (Göppingen, 1972), 251-281 (p. 252).

57. P. Hölzle, 'Kreuzzug und Kreuzzugsdichtung. Das Problem ihrer Definition.' in Festschrift für K. H. Halbach, GAG, 70 (Göppingen, 1972) pp. 55-72.



crusading poetry as 'Dichtung, die einen Krieg zur Verteidigung oder Befreiung von Glaubensgenossen zum Thema hat'.<sup>58</sup> However in his later monograph,<sup>59</sup> while retaining the broad definition of crusade, he modifies the definition of crusading lyric in order to facilitate a comparative study of Middle High German and Occitan crusading lyric. Romance scholars, as he demonstrates, have traditionally defined the field more narrowly than Germanists. Here he defines crusading lyrics as 'Poeme, die in der Mehrzahl ihrer Strophen oder Verse mit direkten und/oder indirekten Appellen an ein Kollektiv der Wehrfähigen und/oder an einzelne Herrscher z.T. auch mit dem Exempel der Kreuznahme eines oder mehrerer Herrscher oder eines Dichters, oft in Parallele zur Kreuzpredigt zur Kreuzfahrt anrufen'.<sup>60</sup> This narrow definition excludes many of the poems previously regarded as belonging to the genre and Hölzle's approach has been described as 'excessively rigoristic'.<sup>61</sup> Moreover the narrowness of the scope of his definition of crusading lyric is in marked contrast to his broad definition of the crusade and 'casts doubts on the usefulness of such criteria.

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58. As above, p. 72.

59. See note 53 above.

60. Hölzle, Die Kreuzzüge, pp. 101-03.

61. See D. H. Green, in Modern Languages Review, 78 (1983) p.481.

The extensive definition of the crusade commonly accepted by literary scholars is not one which is widely adopted by historians. H. E. Mayer has specifically criticised Cahen's definition. For Mayer the crusade is 'ein Krieg, der vom Papst ausgeschrieben wird, in dem das Gelübde verlangt, der Ablass und die weltlichen Privilegien bewilligt werden und der auf die Erlangung oder Erhaltung eines ganz bestimmten, geographisch umrissenen Zieles gerichtet ist : auf die christliche Herrschaft über das Grab des Herrn in Jerusalem'.<sup>62</sup>

The British historian, Jonathan Riley-Smith, in response to Mayer's appeal for a generally accepted definition of the term, defines the crusade slightly more widely in recognition of the fact that contemporaries also recognised wars in other geographical areas as crusades. He identifies the crusades, on the basis of contemporary views, as 'expedition[s] authorised by the Pope, the leading participants in which took vows and consequently enjoyed the privileges of protection at home and the Indulgence, which when the campaign was not destined for the East, was expressly equated with that granted to crusaders to the Holy Land'.<sup>63</sup>

If either of these definitions were applied to crusading literature, then it is clear that many of the works preeminently associated with

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62. H. E. Mayer, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge (Stuttgart, 1965), p. 263.

63. J. Riley-Smith, What were the Crusades? (London, 1977), p. 15.



the genre, most notably the Rolandslied and Wolfram of Eschenbach's Willehalm, would not qualify for inclusion.

We must conclude that literary critics, in their search for a definition of crusade which is compatible with the existing body of literature, have been forced to accept a definition which is so broad as to be of little use as an analytical tool.

Marianne Ott-Meimberg, in her study of the Rolandslied, recognises the problem inherent in this approach. She talks of 'eine geradezu beängstigende Begriffsvielfalt und Verwirrung' and dismisses Müller's and Hölzle's definition as 'nichtssagend'.<sup>64</sup> Her response is to define the crusade in a predominantly philosophical, Hegelian sense rather than in a straightforward historical one. She sees the crusading movement not as a primarily religious movement, but as one of the many ways in which the lay noble explored and sought to define his role in society : 'es geht um die Selbstdefinition adeliger Laien in der Suche nach neuen, speziell der Situation und den Fähigkeiten ihres Standes entsprechenden Heilsmöglichkeiten auch in dieser Welt. Kreuzzug wird so selbstverständlich zum Thema volkssprachiger Literatur, die jedoch folgerichtig nicht einfach den Heiligen Krieg propagieren wird, sondern diesen zunächst ganz allgemein als

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64. Ott-Meimberg, pp. 51-59.

eine Heilsmöglichkeit für ihr Publikum reflektiert'.<sup>65</sup> Thus she subsumes the whole idea of crusade under the broader heading of 'Selbstdefinition adeliger Laien' and denies the existence of a genre of crusading literature as such. While aspects of these ideas have some appeal they cannot give a complete explanation of the crusading movement, of crusading literature as a whole or of the interaction between the aims of the Curia and the aspirations of chivalric society which characterised its development.

Attempts to define or deny the existence of crusading literature directly from the basis of a definition of the crusades appear to be unhelpful. However, as has been noted above, contemporaries had a clear idea of what constituted a crusade and they defined it not solely and loosely as a 'bellum Deo auctore' but according to the characteristic features which entitled a war to be called a crusade : the Papal authority, vows taken by participants and rewards promised to them. This is the definition given by Riley-Smith above. The ideas which formed the basis of the crusading movement were developed over several centuries by Popes and theologians and were first fully expressed in the crusade of 1097. They were developed and adapted by later theologians but the central corpus of ideas remained

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65. Ott-Meimberg, pp. 60-61.

unchanged. Crusading literature reflects, adapts and attempts to come to terms not with the wars themselves, but with the body of ideas which formed the concept of crusade and it is in this context that the interaction of the crusades and literature can be most usefully studied. Müller acknowledges this implicitly when, after defining the crusade, he goes on to discuss the central features of crusading propaganda and evaluates the literature on the basis of these ideas. In a later article, in which he argues that a fifteenth-century Swiss song should be regarded as a crusading poem, he again argues a broad definition of crusades as 'bella Deo auctore' and hence of crusading literature : 'Kreuzzugsdichtung ist demgemäß jede Dichtung, die in irgendeiner Weise einen dieser 'von Gott befohlenen Kriege' zum Thema hat'.<sup>66</sup> However, the war in question in this poem, a dispute between the Swiss Confederation and the Habsburgs and the Empire, can in no way be regarded as a 'bellum Deo auctore'. What gives the poem its interest is not the status of the war itself, but the use of crusading ideas to confer legitimacy and the aura of a crusade on one side and to discredit the enemy.

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66. U. Müller, 'Ein Zurich-Habsburgisches Kreuzlied gegen die Eidsgenossen' in Adelsherrschaft und Literatur, edited by H. Wenzel, Beiträge zur älteren deutschen Literaturgeschichte, 6 (Bern, 1980), pp. 259-286 (pp.260-61).



The tendency evident in German scholarship to define crusading poetry broadly is undoubtedly justifiable, although not for the reasons usually stated. It is possible to agree with D. H. Green, who asserts that 'the term crusading literature should include not merely works with an explicitly crusading nature, but also literature indirectly influenced by the crusades or whose crusading theme is no more than implicit',<sup>67</sup>

Yet despite the broad focus which has commonly been adopted, relatively little has been written on the literature of the Teutonic Order in this context. The authors of the Krönike von Prûzinlant were careful to establish the credentials of the Prussian crusades, and the wars fit into all but the narrowest definitions of the term. Papal authority is established (KvP 2019-29) and it is stressed that the Indulgence for these crusades was the same as for wars in the Holy Land (KvP 3654-70). Indeed Jeroschin was among the first to use the term crûzevart (KvP 1843 and 7670). Wentzlaff-Eggebert includes the chronicles of the Teutonic Order along with Die Kreuzfahrt des Landgraven Ludwigs des Frommen von Thüringen and Wilhelm von Österreich in his list of accounts of historical crusades in the Reallexikon, but is remarkably dismissive of their interest for

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67. D. H. Green, The Millstätter Exodus (Cambridge, 1966), p. vii.



scholars of crusading literature: 'genauer zeichnet sich das historische Geschehen in den Deutschordenschroniken ab, wenn es auch mit dem Kreuzzugsthema nur lose verknüpft ist'.<sup>68</sup> His monograph on crusading literature devotes only one and a half pages to Deutschordensdichtung and is equally dismissive of it : 'mehr als Traditionsbewußtsein und Sinn für Parallel-geschehen im Orient kann hier für die Kreuzzugsthematik innerhalb der Deutschordensdichtung nicht herausgearbeitet werden. Eine selbstständige Ausformung von neuen Motiven und Gedankenkreisen fehlt'.<sup>69</sup> Other authors also acknowledge the chronicle's right to be considered as crusading literature<sup>70</sup> but none has examined it in depth in this context.

This thesis will challenge the assertion made by Wentzlaff-Eggebert that the Teutonic Order made no contribution to the development and interpretation of crusading ideas. An awareness of parallels with the wars in Palestine was a necessary prerequisite for the legitimisation of the crusades in Prussia and cannot therefore be criticised as lack of originality. However, establishing these parallels was not

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68. Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Reallexikon, pp. 887-88.

69. Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, p. 295.

70. See for example P. Hölzle, 'Kreuzzug und Kreuzzugsdichtung', p. 72 : 'in Nikolaus von Jeroschin's Kronike von Pruzinlant ... wird man von Kreuzzugsdichtung sprechen können'.

the sole task of the authors of the chronicles. The thesis will attempt to place the chronicles in the context of earlier and contemporary crusading epic and illustrate that as well as restating traditional motives the authors of the Krônike von Prûzinlant developed new ideas and new emphases in order to propagate the idea of crusade and Christian chivalry in the context of the wars against the heathen in Prussia and against the background of the hostile political climate discussed above. The second section of the thesis will examine the two other vernacular chronicles written within the Order, the Livländische Reimchronik and the chronicle of Wigand of Marburg, in the light of the findings discussed in part one, and discuss to what extent, if at all, the Order's view of its role changed during the hundred years from 1290.

Part One

Chapter Two : The 'Krônike von Prûzinlant' in the light  
of earlier and contemporary crusading epics.



Contemporary secular literature never played a large part in the official life of the Order. The only works intended primarily for a lay audience to be found in the Order's libraries are the Rolandslied, probably in the version by Stricker,<sup>1</sup> and Rudolf of Ems's Barlââm und Jôsaphât.<sup>2</sup> Both works date in this form from the first half of the thirteenth century and appear to have been widely distributed throughout the Order.<sup>3</sup> The Rolandslied obviously owed its popularity to its depiction of crusading warfare and its synthesis of chivalric and religious values. Based on the twelfth-century epic by the cleric Konrad, it provided a link with the period when crusading fervour was at its height and reflects much of the material from sermons and crusading bulls of that time. Rudolf of Ems's Barlââm und Jôsaphât was based on a Latin text and reflects a more conservative view of secular ethics and the conversion of the heathen. Its interest for the Order probably lay

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1. Karl der Grosse von dem Stricker, edited by K. Bartsch, Bibliothek der gesamten National-Literatur (Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1857). Reprinted with an appendix by D. Kartschoke (Berlin, 1965). Hereafter SK

2. Edited by F. Pfeiffer (Leipzig, 1843). Reprinted with an appendix by H. Rupp (Berlin, 1965).

3. See L. Zacher and E. Steffenhagen, 'Die altdeutschen Handschriften zu Königsberg', ZfdA, XII (Berlin, 1857), 501-74, for a discussion of the works found in the Order's libraries and their distribution.

in its rejection of worldly values and the depiction of the creation of a Christian state, albeit by peaceful means.

• Crusading literature written at the beginning of the fourteenth century reflects the developments of church thinking on the crusade and its reception by the laity at the end of the crusading era. The following two sections will examine the Krônike von Prûzinlant in the light of these developments, as they are reflected in Die Kreuzfahrt des Landgraven Ludwigs des Frommen von Thüringen and Reinfrid von Braunschweig, both of which were written in the first years of the fourteenth century. Die Kreuzfahrt des Landgraven Ludwigs des Frommen von Thüringen<sup>4</sup> was written at the court of Bolko II in Silesia in 1301. Like the Krônike von Prûzinlant it deals with historical events, in this case the battle against Saladin in the third crusade. The material of the epic would have become known to the author through contact with members of Thuringian families who had taken part in the crusade and later settled in the east. These families are mentioned prominently in the poem and Bolko himself was distantly related to the House of Thuringia. The style and content of the epic follow the tradition established by Wolfram of Eschenbach and his imitators. The editor of the text, Hans Naumann, stresses the author's

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4. Edited by H. Naumann in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Deutsche Chroniken, 4, 179-332.

stylistic dependence on Ulrich of Etzenbach and suggests that he may have spent some time at the court of Prague before joining Bolko as court chaplain.<sup>5</sup> In view of the author's apparently undisputed clerical status, Landgraf Ludwig provides a measure of the extent to which a clerical author's view of crusading warfare had been influenced by the events of the thirteenth century and the ideas which had emerged from the crusading literature written by laymen. He therefore provides a useful comparison with Jeroschin, who was also a cleric and also wrote, as will be seen later, with a lay audience in mind. The author of Landgraf Ludwig also gives some indication of the status of the military orders at this time.

In contrast, Reinfrid von Braunschweig was written by a layman in about 1300 and the events it depicts are entirely fictitious. The author is highly critical of the political, and resulting moral decline in society and the work contains a long passage describing a crusade undertaken by Reinfrid, which enables the author to comment on contemporary practice. The author's ideal of knighthood is represented by the hero and the depiction of the crusade sheds light on the concept of the militia Christi and of crusading warfare which

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5. See Naumann's introduction, pp.198-201.

6. Edited by K. Bartsch, Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, CIX (Tübingen, 1871).

obtained in lay circles at the end of the thirteenth century.

• The following sections attempt to set these epics in the context of crusading ideology as a whole, and hence establish the extent to which the Krônike von Prûzinlant reflected current trends or attempted to counter them.



a) The Attitude to the Heathen.

The church's traditional attitude to the heathen derives from Augustine's division of the world into two cities : the civitas coelestis and the civitas terrena. According to this view, history is a preparation for the final age of the world under the aegis of Christ and the Church, and everything outside the Church and not useful to it has no part in this final age. These ideas gained new significance with the so-called Cluniac reform of the church and at the time of the crusades they combined with the theories of just war, the need to defend property or recover lost territory and protect Christians living there, to provide a basis for the church's justification of its attacks on its heathen opponents. The most extreme view of the heathen was taken by Bernard of Clairvaux at the time of the second crusade. While he did not advocate wars of aggression against the heathen and stressed the church's duty to convert them by peaceful means if possible, he regarded the killing of heathen as necessary in the last resort in order to protect the faithful, and even saw it as a source of glory for Christianity :

In morte pagani christianus gloriatur, quia Christus glorificatur ... Non quidem vel pagani necandi essent, si quo modo aliter possent a nimia infestatione seu oppressione fidelium cohiberi. Nunc autem melius est ut occidantur, quam certe relinquatur virga peccatorem super sortem justorum ne forte extendat justi ad iniquitatem manus suas.  
(De laude novae militiae, PL 182, 924).

This view is reflected in Konrad's Rolandslied,<sup>7</sup> where the heathen are shown as the tools of the devil and are slaughtered mercilessly. The author shows no respect for the fallen enemy and the devil comes to collect his own when he takes away their souls. The heathen are characterised by the term vermezzzen, which puts them in the same category as Lucifer, whose hubris caused him to be cast out of heaven :<sup>8</sup>

si uerlait ir groz ubermut  
 di Luciferen den alten  
 hi beuor ualte.  
 alle di sich ir unterwindent  
 di werdent alle hi geschendet  
 di sint sine genoze  
 di werdent zu im uerstozen. (RL 4604-10)

The Stricker, in his Karl der Grosse, takes over Konrad's view of the heathen largely unaltered.<sup>9</sup> They are characterised by ubermuot and untriuwe, although not to the same extent as in Konrad's Rolandslied. He says of the heathen warrior

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7. Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad, edited by C. Wesle (Halle, 1955). Hereafter RL.

8. See S. Stein, Die Ungläubigen in der mittelhochdeutschen Literatur von 1050-1250 (Heidelberg, 1933), pp. 39-42.

9. See Udo von der Burg, Strickers 'Karl der Grosse' als Bearbeitung des Rolandslieds, GAG, 131 (Göppingen, 1974), Chapter VII.

Targîs :

der quam mit schalle und in der wîs  
als al diu werlt sîn waere (SK 5668-9)

The heathens' hohvart is the source of their defeat :

untriuwe mac niht gesigen  
hohvart muoz ie underligen (SK 5903-4)<sup>10</sup>

The heathen are motivated by minnedienst and worldly honour  
and this is contrasted with the crusaders' exclusively  
religious motivation :

Targîs vaht umb êre  
und umbe werltlîchen prîs.  
dâ wider vaht aber Ansîs  
umbe den himelischen ruom  
und umbe den grôzen rîchtuom  
der iemer êweclîche wert. (SK 5726-31)

While the crusader is rewarded in heaven when he dies, the  
heathen are rewarded by the devil.<sup>11</sup> The crusaders are  
seen as divine agents for the punishment of the heathen :

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10. See also SK 5712, 5223ff., 5620-21.

11. SK 9007ff., 843ff., 5419-21, 6045ff., 10584ff..



ez hât der kûnec Pâligân  
 wider unsern trehtîn getân :  
 nu hât uns got dar zuo gespart  
 daz wir die selben hôhvert  
 mit sîner helfe rechen  
 und ir gedanc zebrechen (SK 9045-50)

This dogmatic view of the heathen is in contrast to a more humane vision which emerged in secular courtly literature. Increasing contact between Christians and Moslems, the presence of Christian officials in Sarracen courts, many mixed marriages, Christian admiration of Saladin himself, and the general influence of twelfth-century 'humanism' led to the heathen being depicted as human beings and not merely embodiments of the devil. In Willehalm both Christian and heathen are idealised and there is very little differentiation between them as people. Gyburg's Toleranzrede<sup>12</sup> and her plea to the Christian warriors to spare 'gotes hantgetât' after victory has been won, emphasise the gulf which separates this standpoint from that of Bernard of Clairvaux. Both these trends continued to influence writing on the crusades throughout the thirteenth century.

The clerical author of Landgraf Ludwig is heir to both

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12. Willehalm, 306, 4ff..

these traditions. He retains an awareness of the dogmatic religious differences between Christian and heathen and frequently refers to the fact that dead heathen will be consigned to hell while the Christians will go to heaven.<sup>13</sup> Nonetheless he has sympathy for the human plight of the heathen. His sympathetic attitude is expressed both by events in the narrative and by asides in the text. Wounded enemies have their wounds treated and are not killed (LL 1439ff., 5313ff.). The narrator frequently expresses regret at the death of a heathen warrior (LL 4410, 7337ff.), and when a wounded prince tries to escape he expresses sympathy :

der furst versêrt den rucke im gap,  
 er wolde lebende kumen hin.  
 er rûwet mich, ez moht niht sin :  
 ein Cristen daz ors under im stach,  
 an der flucht das geschach.  
 also quam er ûf die erde  
 dô lag ertret der werde  
 wol geborne Sarrazîn  
 wer mochte dô des geretten in ? (LL 4408-06)

He also develops the theme that all men, regardless of faith, are God's creation :

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13. See Kreuzfahrt des Landgraven Ludwigs des Frommen von Thüringen (hereafter LL), 1586ff., 2350ff., 3209ff., 4909ff., 7245ff., 7265ff..

Sie waren ouch lûte, got sie hât  
 und sîn almehtige craft  
 als menschen geschäft (LL 7284-86)

This leads to the paradox that the heathen, as God's creation,  
 are fighting to dishonour Him :

wir wesen alle dîn geschäft  
 sie sint dîne unde ir craft  
 sol swachen dîn almehticheit ! (LL 7119-21)

There is no suggestion, as might be expected from a  
 clerical author, that the heathen are the tools of, or in  
 league with the devil. Stephen Kaplowitt notes the scarcity  
 of derogatory epithets in the epic.<sup>14</sup> The usual term  
 used to describe the heathen, ubermuot, does not occur.  
Vermezzen occurs only five times, once in a positive context,  
 while hochvart is used on eight occasions, but only three  
 times applied to the heathen in a negative sense. In this  
 epic the religious difference is not a gulf which excludes  
 the possibility of any further contact, but only one aspect  
 of the relations between the two groups and the only reason  
 for hatred between them :

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14. Stephen Kaplowitt, 'Landgraf Ludwigs Kreuzfahrt : Two  
 Studies', in Germanic Studies in honor of Otto Springer, edited  
 by Stephen J. Kaplowitt (Pittsburgh, 1978), pp. 177-94  
 (p. 185).

Den heiden waren sie gehaz  
 und durch die gotes êre daz  
 und durch den gelouben, durch niht mêr. (LL 3635-37)

The author finds much to admire in the heathens' way of life, and they are portrayed as the Christians' equals in all respects except religion. They are motivated to fight the Christians by the pursuit of honour and the conventions of minnedienst which were the ideals of the secular knight in Christian society (LL 1310, 1315). The motivation of Saladin's reinforcements illustrates the similarities :

des quam im manich stolzer Sarrazin  
 uf solt, uf prîses gewin,  
 sumeliche durch fruntschaft  
 etsliche twanc der minnen craft  
 als sie dâ ir frundin  
 an ritterschaft zu dienste sin  
 wolden, unverdrözzenlich  
 uf prîses bejac wagen sich. (LL 7075-82)

The author's attitude to the heathen is clearly apparent in his idealised descriptions of Saadin and the prince Arfax. Saladin is sympathetically portrayed, particularly in the description of his concern for Ludwig's injuries (LL 7561ff.). Descriptions of him stress his qualities as an ideal ruler :

Salatin vil milde hât



er was ein kunic von grôzer tât  
 nach sînem lebene wîse,  
 nach der werlde prîse  
 warp er, menlich gemût  
 noch den lîb noch das gut  
 sparn er wolde. (LL 7057-65)

Both he and Arfax fulfil the ideals set by chivalric society.

Arfax arrives for battle :

niht von Salatînes gebote,  
 sunder ein magt liehtgevar  
 in twanc und die minne dar (LL 6004-06)

He is an exemplary knight, 'des tat man hohe prîste an ritterschaft' (LL 6017-18). His camp is luxurious and richly decorated (LL 6024ff.).<sup>15</sup> He stresses that he is not motivated by hatred of Christianity but solely by pursuit of minne :

zu hazze der Christenheit  
 noch zu schaden ir werdicheit  
 bin ich niht hie, sprach er.  
 herre mich jagt ir minne her. (LL 6807-10)

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15. Naumann, p. 281, points out that much of the description is taken directly from the works of Ulrich of Etzenbach.

It is noteworthy that minnedienst is only developed as a source of motivation for the Christians in connection with St Elizabeth and specifically in the context of war against the heathen. The passage occurs after Ludwig's first joust against the heathen, in a discussion of whether the prince was justified in taking such risks :

man sol der tât niht strâfen in  
 wes mochte im danken die lantgrâvin  
 die tugentliche Elizabeth  
 ob er niht vor uns alle het  
 also gehôhet sînen prîs ?  
 'goteweiz, her markîs,  
 min frouwe wolt des betrûbet sîn  
 wêre er so von mir kumen hin.  
 wan solde daz niht die gute klagen  
 lieze ich mich einen heiden jagen !' (LL 2773-82)

While the heathen embody a militia saecularis for which such motivation is the norm, the clerical author suggests implicitly here, by the special conditions in which he develops the motive, that for the Christian knight it had at best limited validity.

In Reinfrid von Braunschweig the consciousness of religious differences and moral dilemmas perceived by the author of Landgraf Ludwig are indicated conventionally - the Christian's promised reward in this life and the next is contrasted with the fate of the heathen : 'niht wan ein grimmez sterben'

(LL 16209) - but these issues are implicit rather than explicit and not central to the author's view of the events. His depiction of the heathen reflects an uneasy alliance of courtly convention and realism. The policy of scorched earth which the crusaders pursue against the heathen after the former's initial successes (RvB 15564ff.) probably reflects the reality of warfare more exactly than many of the historical events in Landgraf Ludwig. It contrasts strongly with the formal joust in which Reinfrid and the Persian prince engage, where common courtly conventions largely outweigh religious differences. The prince is an idealised figure who, like Saladin and Arfax in Landgraf Ludwig, epitomises the chivalric code of western culture in all respects except religion (RvB 16749ff.). Since the emphasis in the epic is on knightly prowess rather than religious issues, the heathen are presented as the Christians' equals so that they represent worthwhile enemies. Reinfrid and the prince are presented as exemplary representatives of the two opposing armies <sup>16</sup> :

Hie mit, als ir hant vernomen  
was zucht an rehte milte komen  
kiusche an bescheidenheit  
triuwe an rehte staetekeit,

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16. See also Reinfrid von Braunschweig (hereafter RvB) 17269-80 and 17281-87.

guot an guot, an tugent tugent  
 starc an starc, an jugent jugent,  
 wunsch an wunsch ûf alliu ort. (RvB 17281-87)

This is in sharp contrast with the passage from Stricker's Karl, quoted above, p. 56, where in his description of a similar exemplary battle the author emphasises that Anseis and Targîs are motivated by totally opposing principles. Reinfrid von Braunschweig is so far removed from the spirit which imbues the Rolandslied, that on one occasion the knights' military skill is said to be pleasing to God for its own sake :

ir ritterlichez werben  
 moht got gerne hân gesehen  
 solt ein kampf vor im beschehen. (RvB 17490-92)

The crusading theme has therefore become a framework within which to demonstrate the hero's prowess rather than the innate superiority of Christianity.

The attitude of the Teutonic Knights to their Prussian opponents, as revealed in the Kronike von Pruzinlant, is, as might be expected, in marked contrast to that expressed in the Landgraf Ludwig and Reinfrid von Braunschweig. It reflects not only the reality of the warfare which had been waged in Prussia for almost one hundred years and



which the chroniclers knew from first hand, but also a restatement of the extreme theological position which had been stated most unequivocally by Bernard of Clairvaux.

The close proximity in which the Order lived with its enemy is reflected in its understanding of their culture, which was by comparison with the conception of Islam propagated by earlier crusading literature, enlightened, if not sympathetic. Stein notes that even in theological literature and historical writings during the early period of the crusades the monotheistic Mohammedans are often made into polytheists, and this confusion persists in literature up to the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>17</sup>

By contrast the Krônike von Prûzinlant begins its description of the Prussian wars with a study of their culture and religion (KvP 3983ff.). The description begins with an indication that their paganism is the result of simplicity, rather than evil :

tum und einveldic was ir sin  
des inmohtin sî nicht in [got]  
bevân mit der vornumfte grift  
und want sî ouch nicht hattin schrift,  
darin man gote pflît irspên  
des mohtin sî in nicht irsên

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17. See Stein, pp. 44ff.. Examples of this confusion are found for example in LL 1345ff. and RvB 16386ff..

mit den ougin der kentnisse.

While the chronicle censures their shortcomings according to the Christian ethic, their drunkenness and treatment of women as chattels, it also comments approvingly on their disregard of luxury and their hospitality and the lack of vagrancy among them.

However, greater understanding of the enemy does not lead in this case to greater tolerance. Instead the Augustinian dualism is restated with renewed vigour and there is no hint of the humane understanding shown by the author of Landgraf Ludwig. The Prussians are seen not as fellow human beings of a different faith, but as tools of the devil in his wars against Christianity.

Atrocities committed by the Prussians are frequently quoted as a prelude to campaigns against them. Two long passages describe the desecration of churches and the persecution of the clergy (KvP 1614ff and 26435ff). As well as the execution of captured brothers, atrocities against innocent civilians are also frequently described as a preliminary justification for the Order's countermeasures :

Si hertin und brantin blôz ;  
swaz sî dô trafen mannis wert,

daz irmorte gar ir swert ;  
 wîb und kint sî dannen tribin  
 dî êwiclîch sîn eigin blibin.  
 Waz ouch bîwilen ein swangir wîb  
 dî dâ trûc sô swêren lîb  
 daz sî in nicht mochte gevolgin  
 ûf dî wurdin sî irbolgin  
 daz sî sî totten mit der vrucht.  
 Sî ructen vreislich mit unzucht  
 den mûtren den vil armen  
 dî kindir von den armen  
 und spîztin sî mortlîchin sâ  
 ûf dî zûne hî und dâ. (KvP 1587-1600)

This parallels the practice in papal crusading bulls which traditionally listed the ravages of the infidel in the Holy Land before exhorting the knights to take the cross, and also serves as another justification for the wars.

The degree of ferocity of the battle is directly related to the honour accruing to God, in an echo of the words of St Bernard :

Sô gar sî sî besouftin  
 in ires selbis blûte  
 daz sîn got der gûte  
 immir mûse êre hân. (KvP 5442-5)

There is no sympathy for the heathen dead and their

death is described with relish :

Secht dô wart ein tôtin  
 dô rach man nôt mit nôtin ;  
 dô wart gerochin wol daz blût  
 daz dâ vor di cristnin gût  
 vorguzzin bî dem hûze,  
 want in dem geprûse  
 den Prûzin harte leit geschach.  
 Stich, how, morde und slach  
 was der cristnen spil irkant  
 dî wîl man icht dâ Prûzin vant (KvP 5113-22)

The Prussians are consistently characterised in the chronicle by the terms gûf, hochvart and ubermut.<sup>18</sup> A discussion of the sin of hubris (KvP 23470ff) introduces the account of the defeat of King Withen which is discussed in detail below. As in the Rolandslied the function of the crusaders is to show the hollowness of the heathens' vanity :

er [brudir Heinrich] wart in swindir ande  
 wendin sîne ger darûf  
 wî er ir erclîche gûf  
 vorterbte und vordructe  
 und ôt hô ûfgezucte  
 des geloubin heilikeit. (KvP 8581-6)

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18. Gûf appears in the Krônike von Prûzinlant in lines 8583, 11278, 1247, 12540, 24583, 26634, 16864, 21018, 7641 ; hochvart in line 27196 ; ubermuot (gehûze) in line 24181.



While not the embodiments of the devil to the same extent as in earlier epics, they are nonetheless seen as his tools and called 'des tûvils kint' (4119) and 'des tûvils kempfe' (13387). They are also frequently compared with dogs, reflecting an old tradition of clerical description of the heathen.<sup>19</sup>

In the Krônike von Prûzinlant the most severe censure is reserved, however, not for the Prussians, but for Duke Swantopelk of Pomerelia, a former ally and Christian prince who formed an alliance with the Prussians when the Order began to threaten his own influence and economic power. The Order finally defeated Swantopelk with the help of Polish princes who were also in dispute with him and, more significantly, with the help of the papal legate, who wanted Swantopelk to cooperate with the Order and had a crusade preached against him when he failed to do so.<sup>20</sup> As an apostate and powerful enemy Swatopelk is condemned far more bitterly in the chronicle than the Prussians, reflecting the fact that the Duke was a far greater political threat to the Order than the heathen. He is :

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19. See KvP 10960, 16699, 1615 and 26330. The term is also used in the chronicle of the Moslems in Jerusalem (21653).

20. The historical background to the dispute is discussed by Eric Christiansen, The Northern Crusades (London, 1980) pp. 100-102.

ûf bôsheit gar vormezzin  
 und zu allir gûte blint.  
 Er was gar des tûvils kint  
 und ein sun der vorlust.  
 Im was herze unde brust  
 wârheit und trûwin bol  
 und valschir trûgne vol. (KvP 5956-62)

He is a 'hellehund' (5927) and compared to a fox (6790,8510). Elsewhere he is called 'des tûvils wigant' (6200) and 'des tûvils sun' (6243). He is the instrument of the devil (6096ff.) and is motivated by 'tuvilischir nît' (7398) and 'tuvilischir haz' (8712). In his wars against the representatives of Christianity he is 'gotis vorvolgêr' (6827). These passages reflect the fact that political as well as religious issues played an important role in the northern crusades, and that crusading propaganda was often used to further political ends.

The portrayal of the heathen in the Krônike von Prûzinlant represents a return to the unequivocal condemnation of them prevalent in the early days of the crusades and given literary expression in the Rolandslied, and a reaffirmation of the idea of Holy War. While the idea of Holy War itself had lost none of its validity in church circles, during the twelfth century a shift had taken place in theological thinking towards a less belligerent attitude to the place of the non-believer in the world and to their conversion. This shift is clearly reflected in the epics under discussion here in Reinfrid of Braunschweig's response to the Persian

prince's plea to be allowed to keep his own religion after his defeat in their joust :

twing ich in von der heidenschaft,  
gedaht er in dem sinne,  
niht anders ich gewinne  
denn einen boesen kristen.  
des mac mich niemen fristen. (RvB 17876-80)

Both this and the less dogmatic attitude of the clerical author of Landgraf Ludwig reflect this trend. The Teutonic Order's stance on the issue of forced conversions appears at first sight to be ambivalent, and indeed the question appears to have received an ambivalent response from the church throughout its history.

The Christian's right to destroy the heathen 'by fire and sword' had been stated as early as the fourth century by Firmicus Maternus, while the first direct connection between conversion and military activity was made by Gregory I. He established the concept of indirect missionary war, where military conquest was to be a prelude to peaceful missionary work by clerics. This idea continued to be the norm in church circles and Helmut Beumann notes that few voices were raised in support of direct missionary war, where the conquered heathen were to be confronted with the stark alternative of death or conversion.<sup>21</sup> It is

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21. This summary of the early history of the church's

interesting that the examples of apparent approval of forced conversion cited by Margret Bünding-Naujoks in her discussion of this issue are taken either from popular literature or from chronicles glorifying the deeds of princes.<sup>22</sup> Possible theological support for the idea of the direct missionary war, Brun of Querfurt's appeal to the Emperor Henry II to compel a heathen tribe to enter the church, has been shown by Hans-Dietrich Kahl to refer not to the forced christianisation of a heathen people, but to be an appeal to the Emperor to resubject a formerly christianised people to the discipline of the church.<sup>23</sup> Since Augustine, the compelle intrare of Luke 14. 23 had been interpreted as sanctioning the use of force against heretics and apostates and Brun's appeal can therefore be

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attitude to the heathen is largely based on Helmut Beumann, 'Kreuzzugsgedanke und Ostpolitik im hohen Mittelalter' and Hans-Dietrich Kahl, 'Compellere intrare : Die Wenden-politik Bruns von Querfurt im Lichte hochmittelalterlichen Missions- und Völkerrechts', both in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke in der Ostpolitik des Mittelalters, edited by Helmut Beumann, Wege der Forschung, 7 (Darmstadt, 1963), pp. 121-145 and 177-274 respectively.

22. M. Bünding-Naujoks, 'Das Imperium Christianum und die deutschen Ostkriege vom zehnten bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert' in Beumann, Heidenmission, pp. 65-120 (p. 93).

23. See note 21.



seen as part of this tradition. The main exception to this rejection of the use of force to convert the heathen are the Saxon wars of Charles the Great and it derives from the Carolingian interpretation of Augustine's Civitas Dei and its implications for the nature and responsibility of kingship. It is not therefore strictly comparable with wars sponsored solely by the church.

Conversion by the sword was openly advocated by the church only during the period of the crusades and then apparently only by Bernard of Clairvaux, in his call to the Wendish crusade of 1147. In this he called on the crusaders to destroy or convert the heathen : 'denuntiamus armari Christianorum robur adversos illos, et ad delendas aut certe convertendas nationes illas'.<sup>24</sup> Later he forbids the Christians to have any dealings with the enemy 'donec, auxiliante Deo, aut ritus ipse aut natio deleatur'. H.-D. Kahl attempts to fit these passages into the patristic tradition by seeing the main purpose of the crusade as inflicting punishment and revenge on the heathen with conversion only as a secondary, indirect aim.<sup>25</sup> While this explanation may reconcile St Bernard with church tradition, it seems that Pope Eugene III may have felt that he had gone too far, since the Pope's edict on the Wendish

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24. PL 182, Epistle cdlvii.

25. Kahl, pp. 227-228.

crusade takes over all the main points of St Bernard's letter, but not the alternative of death or conversion.

The traditional church attitude to forced conversion is expressed in Rudolf of Ems's Barlââm und Jôsaphât, which is based on a Latin, and therefore clerical, text given to him by Wide, the Cistercian abbot of Kappel. In it Josaphat uses the practice of conversion by conquest as an argument against heathen religions :

diner gote werdekeit  
 wart von kunegen ufgeleit  
 die mit gewalteclicher hant  
 diu liute twungen und das lant  
 in ir gote lere.  
 sich, wie der ere  
 von tage ze tage siget  
 und jeniu lere ufstiget  
 die durch armer liute mund  
 got tet mit rehter lere kunt. (BuJ 13029-38)

Nonetheless, despite the church's hesitancy, conversion by the sword was evidently practised by crusaders. The chronicle of Cosmas of Prague, written in the period from 1110-1125 criticised the forced conversions which had been inflicted on the Jews during the first crusade,<sup>26</sup> and the debate in Reinfrid von Braunschweig confirms that knights

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26. See Beumann, 'Kreuzzugsgedanke und Ostpolitik', p. 138, footnote 55.

thought of it as a real possibility. It is possible that St Bernard was reflecting popular lay misconceptions about the purpose of crusade in his exhortation as much as the patristic tradition on the necessity of punishing the infidel.

During the thirteenth century the church began to move away from the more dogmatic stance in relation to the infidel. Thomas Aquinas restated the traditional rejection of conversion by the sword and sought to draw up guidelines, although only on a limited basis, for the peaceful coexistence of Christians and pagans, while upholding the church's right to wage war on them if it was expedient.<sup>27</sup> This trend is reflected in vernacular literature in Wolfram of Eschenbach's Willehalm.

Given this theological climate, the accusation of forced conversion of the Prussians is a damning indictment of the Teutonic Order, but one which has often been levelled at it in the past by historians and was implicitly raised by the Poles at the Council of Constance in 1414.<sup>28</sup> The Krônike von Prûzinlant includes several passages which appear at first sight to suggest that the Prussians were converted by

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27. See Frederick H. Russell, The Just War in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 284-88.

28. See Erich Weise, 'Der Heidenkampf des Deutschen Ordens', Zeitschrift für Ostforschung 12 (1963), pp. 457-71 (p. 457).



force. There are frequent references to the enemy submitting to the knights and accepting Christianity after long, bloody campaigns; one of which describes the campaign in which Dietrich of Meissen participated :

Des tagis er ûzrante,  
 morte, raubte, brante  
 al daz lant alumme  
 dî lenge und dî crumme  
 âne strîtis widersat  
 unde tet sî do sô mat  
 daz sî des nêhistin jaris sidir  
 dem geloubin wurdin widir  
 und den brudren undirtan ! (KvP 13311-19)

Similar passages recur throughout the chronicle.<sup>29</sup> The key to this passage is the widir in the second last line. Conversion as such was not the task of the Order. The role of evangelising the Prussians had been entrusted initially to Bishop Christian and subsequently to Dominican priests. The Order had been called in when the bishop's mission was endangered by Prussian uprisings, and according to medieval theories on just war it was entitled to take whatever measures were necessary to ensure the safety of Christians and safe-guard their territory, and thereafter, to create the military

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29. See KvP 9192ff., 1071ff., 13311ff., 13450ff., 15304ff., 15814ff., 16395ff., 17936ff., 17844ff., 17840ff..



and political conditions under which missionary work could flourish. Any Prussian tribe which had been christianised, if only nominally, could be compelled, as apostates, to resubmit themselves to the church.

Erich Weise gives a further, subsidiary explanation for the apparently causal link between military defeat and the acceptance of Christianity in the chronicle by attributing it to the reaction of a primitive people, who are defeated in battle and thereby forced to conclude that the Christian God is stronger than their own and accordingly transferred their allegiance.<sup>30</sup> There is ample evidence in the chronicle for this superstitious attitude to the Order on the part of the heathen. On one occasion the chronicle reports that a Prussian saw the brothers eating cabbage and thought it was grass.:

Dâvon wer mochte widerstân  
dem volke, daz alsô sich kan  
in der wiltnisse genesen  
und gras vor spîse zêren. (KvP 9881-84)

The same Prussian also records that the only other visible difference between the brothers and himself is their devotion to prayer and concludes that this is the source of their

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30. Weise, p. 468.

victories (9833-72).

In its discussion of the licit uses of armed force<sup>31</sup> the chronicle does not mention conversion, but does advocate its use as a deterrent to the enemy (3316-45), and there is evidence that the knights' chastisement of the Prussians often had this effect. After the description of the slaughter which took place during a campaign in which King Ottakar of Bohemia took part, the chronicle describes the reaction of neighbouring tribes :

... ûf daz er nicht sulchin mort  
 dô begînge alsô dort,  
 sâ brachtin sî im durch den vûc  
 zu gisle irre kindir genûc ;  
 darzû sî sich vorbundin,  
 das sî zu allin stundin  
 âne widerschundin  
 woldin gotis vrûndin  
 den brûdrin, wesin undirtân  
 und den gelouben gern inpfân  
 unde werdin cristin. (KvP 10067-77)

Here again, although by modern standards the distinction is rather fine, there can be no accusations of forced conversion.

The difference between the lay crusaders who fought in

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31. These are discussed below in the chapter on the idea of chivalry.

Prussia and the Order itself is revealingly illustrated in an incident in which a Christian army has besieged a Lithuanian fortress and the garrison offers to accept baptism in return for their lives, a situation closely parallel to that discussed above from Reinfrid von Braunschweig. The Order's attitude to the proposal is sceptical :

dî rede wûc der meister dô  
 und dî brudre vil unhô  
 want sî wol kantîn iren mut  
 daz sî mit nichte blibben gût  
 mit getwange sô bekart  
 want der wolf von siner art  
 man saelden mac gezemen. (KvP 27021-27)

However, at the insistence of the lay crusaders, including the King of Bohemia, the heathens' request is granted. Paradoxically, the apparently Christian gesture has less basis in medieval theological dogma than the alternative, which was to wipe out the garrison. Forced conversions were outlawed, but the extermination of the garrison is admissible to secure the safety of the Christians in the area. The Order's greater realism is borne out by the outcome :

Doch nicht ubir lanc darnâch  
 den gelouben man sî sach  
 vorwerfin cristinlîcher ê

und blîben abir wolf als ê. (KvP 24049-52)

Both the Order and the author of Reinfrid von Braunschweig recognised the problem. Their different responses reflect their degree of involvement with the problem.

The episode also has parallels with the passage in the Rolandslied, where the pagans offer to accept Christianity in order to avoid further warfare. There Bishop Johannes warns Karl not to believe the heathen (RL 1054ff.) and although there are echoes of St Bernard in Oliver's desire to 'bring the heathen to reason by the sword' (RL 948-51), it is left to the traitor Genelun to urge acceptance of the offer.

The Krônike von Prûzinlant, then, contains little that is new in the depiction of the heathen. It represents a return to the more dogmatic attitudes prevalent in the early years of the crusading movement. Although its standpoint appears outmoded by the standards of lay chivalry, it is fully within the context of contemporary church teaching. Its main interest lies in the light it sheds on the interaction of church dogma and political reality, in contrast to the idealised situations of the other epics.



b. Crusading Propaganda.

The ideology of crusade was created and fostered by a series of Papal bulls and the letters and sermons of preachers of the crusade. The body of ideas and inducements propagated in these sermons and documents is reflected in contemporary literature throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and informs the passages in the Krônike von Prûzinlant which describe the Order's wars against the Prussians and Lithuanians.

The most widely disseminated crusading text in the Order, Stricker's Karl, an adaptation of Konrad's twelfth-century Rolandslied, reflects all the main themes of crusading propaganda at the height of the crusading movement and must have been a valuable means of keeping these ideas alive among the members of the Order.

Typological links with the Hebrews underlie the theological conception of the crusaders. These ideas are most explicitly expressed in Karl in Turpin's final speech to Roland (SK 6799ff). He recalls God's destruction of Pharaoh and his army after the crossing of the Red Sea and His sustenance of His people in the wilderness and asks for similar care of their own army. In the following passage the knights are described as :

... diu reinen kindelîn  
den durch unsern trehtîn  
Herôdes den tôt hât getân. (SK 6827-9)

References to Herod and Pharaoh recur elsewhere and reinforce the implicit parallels between the heathen and the enemies of Israel on one hand, and the crusaders and the Hebrews on the other. These parallels are further strengthened by reference to God's intervention on behalf of Old Testament heroes. On three occasions God is shown to regard Karl's army in the same light as those of Gideon and Joshua by intervening on Karl's behalf in the same way as He did for them : in the case of Gideon by enabling a small group of warriors to defeat a much larger one (SK 5998ff. and 10088ff.) and in the case of Joshua by lengthening the day by holding up the course of the sun (SK 8420ff.). In Karl's prayer before the final defeat of the heathen (SK 9333ff.) the examples of Jonah and the whale, Daniel in the lion's den and the three children in the fiery furnace precede a prayer for like protection in the coming battle. The story of the three children had already been associated with crusading ideas in the twelfth century and it forms a large part of Jeroschin's introduction to his version of the Krönike von Prûzinlant.<sup>1</sup>

Along with the typological view of the crusades, Stricker's Karl also emphasises the benefit to be gained by individual crusaders taking the crusading vow. The crusade is

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1. See below, in the chapter on Jeroschin's alterations to Dusburg's chronicle.

presented as a God-given opportunity for knights to prove their devotion to God by the exercise of their profession and to renew their faith by undergoing danger - the 'probatio et exercitatio fidelium' of Bernard of Clairvaux's crusading sermons. In connection with this there are also echoes of St Bernard's insistence on the present as the ordained day for warriors to atone for sins - the tempus acceptabile motive. Here Stricker preserves and prolongs the influence of Bernard's crusading propaganda in the twelfth-century Rolandslied.

Karl's speech to his army (SK 528ff.) emphasises the dual usefulness of the crusade :

ich bin des sicher âne wân  
 daz mir disiu hervart  
 ûf iweru trost geboten wart :  
 ez geschiht iu zeinen êren.  
 ir sult daz liut bekêren  
 got wil iuch damit erwerben. (SK 542-47)

Roland later expresses the same ideas using the analogy of a sword :

versuochet doch ein man ein swert  
 gestet ez danne, sôst ez wert.  
 also sîn wir gote, ob wir gestân  
 swenne wir grôze nôt hân. (SK 4889-92)



Unlike the heathen, who are condemned at death to everlasting damnation, the Christian knights receive spiritual benefits in this world and the next - 'wir genesen oder sterben / wir werden hiute ân sünde gar' (SK 4720-1). Roland sees the battle explicitly as a means for atoning for sin, while Turpin's zeal in battle is such that it is presented as equivalent to the most severe penance :

dâ sluoc er manegen heiden  
 Turpîn der gotes urkunde  
 und leit für sîne sünde  
 waer er ein morder gewesen  
 im waere diu sêle nû genesen (SK 7762-66)

In another passage Turpin directly equates the killing of heathen with penance :

swaz ir hiute der heiden  
 von dem lîbe muget gescheiden  
 daz setze ich iu ze buoze. (SK 4813-5)

He then grants the warriors an indulgence which is immediately confirmed by a voice from God.

The death of warriors during battle is regarded as martyrdom (SK 6824-5 and 7306-7) and they are granted direct entry to life everlasting (SK 9020ff., 4784ff., 4805ff.). This idea is represented symbolically by the flowers which

grow by the heads of fallen Christians (SK 10854ff.) and the transportation of Oliver's soul to heaven on a shaft of light (SK 7644ff.). It also accounts for Juliane's reprimand to Karl for excessive mourning of the dead (SK 10455ff.).

Related ideas which are also developed in the epic are those of the imitatio Christi, which is inherent in the symbolism of the crusader wearing a cross on his shoulder and is most fully developed in the crusading bulls of Alexander III in the time before the third crusade, and of the haereditas theme, the idea of the Holy Land as the inheritance of Christians from Christ. The call to imitate Christ's suffering and death is directly referred to in speeches by Turpin (SK 691ff.) and Karl (SK 9020ff.) but is most vividly expressed in Roland's death scene - 'eime kriuze leite er sich gelich / nider ûf dem selben stein' (SK 4202-3). The inheritance theme recurs similarly in sermons. Turpin calls on the crusaders 'nu vehtet umb iwer erbe' (SK 4794) while Christ calls those who follow him his 'erbekint' (SK 9032). The inheritance referred to here is not the Holy Land itself, since the knights are fighting in Spain, but the kingdom of heaven which is the inheritance of all Christians. This terminology appealed specifically to the aristocracy's notions of feudal ties and obligations. Particular appeal was made to ideas of honour, revenge and feudal relationships by Henry of Strassburg in a sermon he

preached at the Reichstag before the third crusade and the ideas of feudal obligations were further developed by Innocent III.<sup>2</sup> Their use as a tool of crusading propaganda becomes even more marked in the Standespredigt of the thirteenth century. There are several references to service of God in Stricker's Karl (compare SK 4759ff. and 5704ff.). The scene in which Roland hands back his glove, the symbol of his feudal authority, directly to God (SK 8215ff.) represents the idea that individual knights received their authority directly from God and not their feudal overlord. This idea is not fully developed in Karl. Stricker may have intended his work as a call on the Emperor to undertake a crusade<sup>3</sup> and such ideas would not have been relevant to his purpose, but nonetheless the incident illustrates the importance of feudal terminology for expressing the ideas of crusading warfare.

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2. For a full discussion of the development of crusading ideas see Ursula Schwerin, Die Aufrufe der Päpste zur Befreiung des Heiligen Landes von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang Innocent IV., Historische Studien 301 (Berlin, 1937), and Valmar Cramer, 'Kreuzpredigt und Kreuzzugsgedanke von Bernard von Clairvaux bis Humbert von Romans', Das Heilige Land in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, Palästinahefte des Deutschen Vereins vom Heiligen Land, 17-20 (1939), 43-204.

3. For a detailed discussion of this theory see Udo von der Burg, Strickers 'Karl der Grosse' als Bearbeitung des 'Rolandliedes', GAG 131 (Göppingen, 1974), especially pp. 354-5.

The idea of the crusade as divinely ordained war for the purpose of spreading God's kingdom on earth is expressed, not only by the view of the heathen discussed above, as the agents and representatives of the devil on earth, but also by direct divine intervention in the wars. The parallels with Joshua and Gideon have already been mentioned. Further signs of divine approval are apparent in the wind which is sent to refresh the warriors (SK 5476ff.) and the direct encouragement given to Karl, not only when he is commissioned to conquer heathen lands for Christianity (SK 307ff.) but also at the height of the final battle. The knights' deeds are confirmed as the fulfilment of God's plan on earth :

nu spar den man niht mære  
daz urteil ist über in getân.  
die dir hiute wellent widerstân  
den ist verfluochet ir leben :  
dir ist der sige an in gegeben. (SK 10278-82)

This view of the battle is supported by the knights' conviction that with God's help defeat is impossible (SK 8773-6) and that God's will rather than the size of armies determines the outcome of battles (SK 5223ff. and 6136ff.). There are also echoes of the pre-Christian ethic that the efficacy of a god is proved by the result of a battle (SK 6482ff.). This could obviously not apply in the case of Christian defeats and is largely superseded by the Christian view



that defeats and set-backs represent God's chastisement of sinners and offer opportunities for spiritual insight (SK 5943-4 and 8920-1). This attitude is summarised when Hatte suffers a set-back in battle :

Nune ist niemen sô guot,  
swie gerne er gotes wille tuot  
got lâze im doch leit geschehen. (SK 5943-5)

This theory was widely used to explain the loss of Edessa before the second crusade and the failure of the second and subsequent crusades, without weakening the theory of divinely ordained war.

The Kreuzfahrt des Landgraven Ludwigs and Reinfrid von Braunschweig were written approximately eighty years after Stricker's Karl and one hundred and thirty years after the Rolandslied, on which it is based. They reflect both the changing emphasis in crusading propaganda and the lessening of fervour for the idea of crusade itself.

In Landgraf Ludwig there is a narrowing of themes and concentration on those aspects of crusading propaganda which could be most easily combined with praise of secular knight-hood. The theme of service and feudal obligations is relatively far more dominant. The purpose of warfare is

to show :

wie ir mit werlîcher hant  
 welt wern lûte unde lant  
 die niht enerben : sie sîn ein lên  
 û von gote ; ir welt sie vên  
 starke und zu vînden hân  
 die ûch betrûbten daran. (LL 1881-86)

The motivation of the knights is frequently expressed in terms of service : 'da sie wolden wesen gote / zu dienste gegen der heidenschaft' (LL 1186-7), 'zu dienste gote' (LL 1163), 'dienen gote' (LL 1758), 'in gotes dienste' (LL 3325). Their reward is still perceived in terms of gain to their souls in this world or the next (LL 1869-70). The main factor which differentiates Christians and heathens is their fate after death : 'er wâget sich uf ein êwic leit / wir uf der fröuden êwicheit' (LL 4909-10)<sup>4</sup>. Correspondingly the death of Christians is still seen as martyrdom (LL 4652 and 7275).

However the rewards are no longer solely spiritual, and the poem acknowledges a further dimension to the warfare, expressed by the courtly poets as the pursuit of 'der werlte lop, der sele heil'. Bernard of Clairvaux's condemnation

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4. See also LL 2350ff., and 3209ff..

of military splendour and his distinction between militia and malitia<sup>5</sup> has gradually become diluted, so that Ludwig's warriors also fight 'uf hôhes prises bejac' (LL 1675) and 'nach ietwederer minne / ... der werlde und ouch gotes' (LL 4222-23).<sup>6</sup> This is already true of earlier epics, notably Wolfram's Willehalm.

Biblical justification of the wars is barely evident. The only mention of an Old Testament warrior is of Gideon, in the familiar context of a small army defeating a larger one (LL 1612ff.). The historical context of the third crusade provided sufficient justification of the war and the emphasis is therefore less on divine purpose than on human prowess. The emphasis on human skills is taken to such an extent that on one occasion terminology usually used of Christ is applied to Ludwig, with only a clumsy, passing acknowledgement of the superhuman element in the wars : 'sie sprachen 'herre nâhest nâch got / ir sît uns ein ware helpe in nôt' (LL 4555-56). Superhuman intervention does take place, in the form of St George, who assists Ludwig in his battles (LL 6887ff., 7198ff., 7290ff.) and with him symbolically knocks down the image of Mohammed (LL 6913ff.), but his presence is only visible to Ludwig and to Walther of Spelten, the Master of the Templars, who relates the

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5. De laude novae militiae, PL, 182, 921-940 (p. 923).

6. See also LL 2350ff., 4193-94 and 2706ff..

events to the rest of the army. His appearance is therefore less a sign of approbation of the war as a whole, than a recognition of Ludwig's exemplary status. This is confirmed when it is found that the banner of St George's troop of knights, left behind after the battle, can only be picked up by Ludwig (LL 7476ff.).

In Reinfrid von Braunschweig the original crusading ethos has retreated even further in the hands of the lay author. The context of the crusading element in the epic - Reinfrid makes a vow to the Virgin to go on crusade in return for the promise of an heir - deprives it of all reality. The Virgin's repeated promises that Reinfrid will return unharmed (RvB 13302-07, 13370-74, 13408-11) remove the episode even further from the realms of reality and create a tension between the narrative and the elements of crusading propaganda which are introduced later in order to give an illusion of reality to the episode. The most extreme example of this contradiction between form and content comes in the crusaders' prayer before battle (RvB 15967ff.) where they express their willingness to die in penance for their sins as Christ had died for them :

sît er marterlîchen leit  
dur uns willenclîch den tôt  
sô sôllen wir ouch unser nôt  
mit lobelîchen dingen



im hie ze opfer bringen  
 daz doch der sêle werde rât  
 swie der lîb gesündet hât. (RvB 15992-98)

This allusion to the imitatio Christi becomes meaningless in the light of the audience's knowledge that there is no danger to Reinfrid's life. The crusading theme is therefore in conflict with the less serious genre of the aventure and is relegated to become a legitimisation of and a colourful backcloth to topical adventure.

The crusading ethos and the literary forms it had developed persist, but more as a source of literary convention than as an ideology which determines the course of the war. The crusaders' motivation is given as a desire to atone for sins (RvB 14438ff. and 15985-91) and their reward is to be eternal blessedness (RvB 15974-7, 15961). They are implicitly compared with the Children of Israel in Reinfrid's exhortation to his army (RvB 15776ff.) where he lists the examples of the crossing of the Red Sea, the wars of Moses, Aaron, Joshua and Gideon, Mathathias's rebuilding of the Temple and Judith's defeat of Holofernes as well as the martyrdom of St Maurice. Although the listing of biblical precedents conforms to the practice in crusading propaganda, in Reinfrid von Braunschweig it has to be seen in the light of the author's tendency to display his erudition by comparing his characters to personages from classical and

vernacular literature,<sup>7</sup> and reads less like a genuine crusading exhortation than a competent, informed survey of the relevant literature.

The extent to which crusading terminology has simply become part of the vocabulary of literary warfare is demonstrated by the use of such terminology in contexts where it is totally inappropriate, especially in the description of a battle with a giant (RvB 25346-418) - 'werden wir hie lîbes ân / sô ist diu sêle dort genesen' (RvB 25370-71) - where the spiritual goals of the militia Christi are applied to a fabulous encounter with no basis in reality.

The Teutonic Order's exploitation of received crusading propaganda reflects the nature of its mission in Prussia. It represents a return to the original crusading ideals as expressed in the Rolandslied and Karl and a rejection of the worldly values apparent in Landgraf Ludwig and especially in Reinfrid von Braunschweig. The reasons for this are evident in the knights' clerical status and in the reality of their war in Prussia. The new crusade in eastern Europe

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7. Compare for example Irkane's leave-taking of Reinfrid where she is variously compared with Gyburc (RvB 14854ff.), Laudavine, Delilah, Athanata, Silarin, Helen (RvB 15156ff.), Dido, Thisbe, Zazamanc, Secundille, Isolde and Amalia (RvB 15260ff.).

could only be justified if the motivation for it was seen to be theologically sound.

The status of the Order's warriors as members of a religious order, for whom, presumably, the spiritual benefits for the individual were already accepted and needed little further elaboration, also influences the form of the chronicle. References in the body of the chronicle to the spiritual reward which was consistently stressed in earlier crusading literature are relatively scarce. The chroniclers are careful to stress near the beginning of the chronicle that the rewards are the same as those for a crusade to the Holy Land (KvP 3654ff.) but thereafter there are few references to 'den himelischen solt'.<sup>8</sup> The comment that any other kind of reward could be desired only by those 'dî nicht rechtir witze hân' (KvP 16582) indicates the extent to which the chroniclers intend individual motivation to be taken for granted<sup>9</sup> and

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8. KvP 7268. Other references in lines 4280, 12755 and 16259.

9. The extent to which this idealism was shared by other members of the Order is less clear. This comment occurs in a passage describing a brother who neglected the defence of the Christians in his area because of his greed for money. Although this is an isolated incident, it is an example of a point in the chronicle where reality conflicts with the ideal. The extent to which secular values had gained a foothold in the Order is discussed below, especially in the chapter on the cult of the Virgin.



reject the partly secular motivation attributed to the knights in Landgraf Ludwig and Reinfrid von Braunschweig.

Considerably more emphasis is given to stressing the divine sanction of the wars of the Order, from which alone the benefit to the individual derived. The chroniclers stress the divinely-ordained nature of the wars by putting renewed emphasis on the typological link between the crusaders and the Children of Israel and by interpreting the events of the wars in terms of divine intervention on behalf of the Order. Many biblical quotations referring to the Holy Land are transferred directly to Prussia, using Zion in the extended sense of the kingdom of heaven. This device was also used in Karl, where the author was attempting to give theological justification to wars in Spain. Attacks on Christians in Prussia are equated with the Hebrews' loss of the Holy Land :

Dêswâr an in wirt irvult  
vil gar daz gotliche wort  
daz Isâias schrîbit dort  
'Got hêrre trôstin wirt Siôn  
und iren val ûfrichtin vrôn' (KvP 3500-04)

The German knights' struggles against the Prussians are similarly seen as a postfiguration of the Hebrews' attempts to rebuild Jerusalem (15247ff.) and on one occasion a



voice from heaven speaking Latin addresses the crusaders in the words of II Chronicles 20. 15-17 :

Nu sêt, dô quam von himle dort  
 ein stimme, dî alsulche wort  
 in lâtime sprach zu em :  
 'Judêa et Jerusalem  
 alle vorchte salt ir lân.' (KvP 12599-603)

D. H. Green has already illustrated the importance of Old Testament typology for the acceptance of Christian ideas by the Germanic peoples of western Europe, particularly with regard to the development of the idea of the populus Dei and warfare.<sup>10</sup> The idea of the Christian community as Israel secundum spiritum and hence the identification of beleaguered Christian communities as the typological realisation of the Jerusalem of the Old Testament was exploited from the beginning by clerics calling for military incursions into the lands to the east of the Empire. In the appeal for a crusade against the Wends, which was addressed by churchmen to lay potentates in the border area as well as to princes of the church, in 1103, Jerusalem appears in both the literal and typological senses. After a description of the atrocities perpetrated by the heathen in the area,

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10. See D. H. Green, The Millstatter Exodus (Cambridge, 1966), Chapter VII, 'The relevance of the Old Testament to the medieval present.'

which parallels the normal practice in papal crusading bulls, the author refers to crusades to the Holy Land and calls on the German princes to duplicate them in their homeland :

Surgite, principes, contra inimicos Christi, arripite clypeos, accingimini, filii potentes, et venite omnes, viri bellatores. Infirmus dicat : Quia fortis sum ego, quoniam dominus fortitudo plebis sue et protector salvationum Christi sui est. Erumpite et venite, omnes amatores Christi et ecclesiae, et sicut Galli ad liberationem Hierusalem vos preparete ! Hierusalem nostra, ab initio libera, gentilium crudelitate facta est ancilla.<sup>11</sup>

The appeal to Old Testament authority is strengthened by frequent quotations, particularly from Joel and the Maccabees. The Christian lands being overwhelmed by the Wends are therefore implicitly compared with the Jerusalem of the Old Testament.

The comparison with Jerusalem is also present in the chronicle of Helmold of Bosau, which describes the subsequent

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11. 'Aufruf zum Wendenkreuzzug' in Urkunden und erzählende Quellen zur deutschen Ostsiedlung im Mittelalter, edited by Herbert Helbig and Lorenz Weinrich, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, XXVIa (Darmstadt, 1975), 97-103 (pp. 98-101). The individual biblical quotations are noted in the footnotes.

conquest of these lands. In his description of the first Slav rebellion he presents the events as a fulfilment of an Old Testament prophecy about the destruction of Jerusalem :

Impleta est nobis prophetia, quae ait ; Deus, venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam, polluerant templum sanctum tuum et reliqua, quae propheticè deplorantur in Ierosolomitanae urbis excidio.<sup>12</sup>

In the Krönike von Prûzinlant the link is maintained by frequent comparisons with the events of the Old Testament. Frequent implicit parallels are drawn with the entry of the Israelites into the Promised Land under Moses. The melting of ice on a river after the safe passage of a Christian army which is being pursued by the enemy is compared with the crossing of the Red Sea (KvP 20186ff.) and elsewhere the thoughts of the Christians are reported in the words of Moses to the Israelites (KvP 13955ff. ; Deuteronomy 32. 30). Similarly the Prussians are compared with the enemies of Israel. On one occasion they are directly compared with Pharaoh (KvP 3863-64), while later in the chronicle the words of the enemies of Israel are put into their mouths (KvP 11303ff. ; Psalms 73. 8 and 84. 4). A Prussian who challenges the Christians to single combat is compared to

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12. Helmold von Bosau, Slawenchronik, edited by Heinz Stoob, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters XIX (Darmstadt, 1973), 103-109.



Goliath (KvP 12406ff.). The comparisons are not always favourable to the Order, as when a knight is compared to the men in the Old Testament who succumbed to the temptation of women (KvP 19077ff.), but this serves only to strengthen the sense of identity. This identification with the people of the Old Testament is most fully apparent in the use of the Maccabees as a prefiguration of the Order. The contribution of the Maccabee material to crusading ideology and its use by the Order in particular is discussed in detail below.

The divinely ordained nature of the war is also emphasised by constant reference to divine intervention and a divine plan behind the events of the wars. The Order's victories are achieved by the grace of God<sup>13</sup> and with direct divine assistance.<sup>14</sup> On one occasion God is personified as the wechtêre of a Christian castle, since He causes the Prussians not to notice an open entrance (KvP 12018ff.). Often natural phenomena are attributed to divine intervention, as

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13. See KvP 4879, 6345ff., 6729, 8433, 8609, 11646ff., 9445, 16145, 16373.

14. See KvP 4462, 10725-6, 11743ff., 12517, 13717, 16735, 19885. In lines 23410ff. the brothers' losing their way is attributed to divine intervention, since it leads to a Christian victory. In lines 24866ff. a concussed squire is said to have been saved by divine intervention.



when a thunderstorm saves some brothers from certain death  
 (KvP 24775ff.), or when a wind blows the Order's ships into  
 position for battle (KvP 11719-25). Of this event it is  
 said 'diz vugte gotis vorbesicht' (KvP 11725). The  
 listener is encouraged to see the Order's successes in a  
 symbolic light by the frequent use of the term zeichinlich.  
 A description of one of the Order's defeats of the  
 excommunicated Swantopelk talks of :

des sigis prîs  
 der in von der gotis hant  
 wart dô zeichinlich gesant. (KvP 8445-7)

Another passage describes the Prussians' realisation of the  
 brothers' source of power and their consequent submission :

dô dî offenlîchin sên  
 begondin und mit wârheit spên  
 daz gotis zorn in widervacht  
 unde zeichinlîche macht  
 den brûdrin gap zu allin zîtin  
 beide in sturmin und in strîtin  
 daz sî î wurdin sigehaft,  
 si entorsten der gotlîchin craft  
 dêswâr nicht lengir widerstân. (KvP 16373-81)

The Order is presented as the tool of divine retribution

in Prussia.<sup>15</sup>

The chronicle comes to terms with the Order's defeats by recourse to the view, already seen in Karl, that set-backs are God's way of chastising sinfulness and strengthening faith. It also places great emphasis on the value of death in battle for Christian warriors. During the period of the Order's most serious set-backs in the second Prussian revolt the description of the defeats is prefaced by a long passage which describes the visions of a holy woman and a Christian peasant (KvP 10765ff.). They predict the defeats, but the emphasis is not on the defeat of Christians in battle, but on the joy in heaven on the creation of new martyrs :

Ouch sach sî sêlin train  
dî engele mit vroidin grôz  
in des himelrichis schoz      (KvP 10784-86)

The facts that the defeats are foreseen by gifted Christians suggests by implication that they are part of God's plan and the passage ends with confirmation of this : the defeats are trials sent by God to strengthen the Christians' faith -

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15. For other occurrences of the term zeichinlich see KvP lines 128, 5714, 11745, 12022, 20041.

- 'want des geloubin tuginheit / vortirbit ofte in sicherheit'  
(KvP 10875-76).<sup>16</sup>

The Order's dead are consistently celebrated as martyrs, and this is particularly evident after defeats, when the spiritual reward to dead warriors is the only proof of divine approval. The most detailed account of the fate of dead warriors is given after a defeat which led to the death of the Master, the Marshall and forty brothers :

Darnâch an der walstat  
ein einsidil was gesat  
der des nachtis dicke  
sach mit clârim blicke  
vil lîchtir kerzin brinnin  
dem ummекреise binnin  
dâ dî cristnin lâgin  
mit nôtin ê irslagin.  
Daran irschein wol offfinbâr  
daz dî cristinlîche schar  
di dâ vorgozzin hât ir blût  
von Cristô dem kunge gût  
intfangin hatte schône  
der martirâte crône,  
dî in hôhir wunne

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16. See also KvP 15297-98 : 'swem er hi di slege spart / der wirt mit jamir dort bewart', and lines 10853ff., 11385ff., 12945ff., 23343ff..

lichtir den dî sunne  
dort zustrouwit iren schîn. (KvP 12817-33)<sup>17</sup>

The Christians' deaths are often accompanied by the apparition of a dove, commonly used in the Middle Ages as a symbol of the Holy Ghost. The account of Brother Gunteram's death in battle is followed by a vision of two doves accompanying the body on its journey to Christburg for burial :

ob dem lîchname swebbin  
zwo snêgevare tuben wîz,  
und dî hattin sulchin vlîz,  
swâ man hîlt mit der lîche,  
dâ swebtin sî ouch gelîche  
ubbir dem tôtin blibende,  
und swâhin si trîbende  
den lîchan vûrtin oddir zugin,  
dâhin dî tûben mitte vlugen. (KvP 22302-09)

The spirit of a merchant who is martyred by the Prussians is also represented by a dove (KvP 11165ff.).

The finding of the head of St Barbara appears to be, in part at least, a similar device for the implicit justification of the Order's wars since the account occurs at the height of the first Prussian rebellion and is

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17. See also KvP 9111ff., 10639ff., 10784ff., 12134ff., 15189ff..



interpreted as a sign of divine approval.<sup>18</sup>

Other motives from conventional crusading propaganda which appear in the chronicle are frequent calls to avenge the wrongs done to Christ and fellow Christians, and the imitatio Christi theme. Explicit calls for revenge were a twelfth-century introduction into crusading propaganda and are related to the feudal ideas introduced in an attempt to make the crusading ideal more accessible to knights. These ideas were particularly suitable for the Order, whose members were of knightly origin.<sup>19</sup> Vengeance is also the motive most frequently attributed to the lay crusaders who fought alongside the Order.<sup>20</sup>

The imitatio Christi motive, although implicit in the idea of the crusades, is expressed most explicitly in the chronicle in the accounts of the deaths of warriors who died in battle from five wounds, corresponding to the five wounds Christ suffered on the cross :

[er] infînc vumf wundin  
des lîbis an vumf endin

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18. This incident is discussed in greater detail below, in the chapter on Jeroschin's alterations to Dusburg's chronicle.

19. For examples see KvP 4420, 16191ff., 27494ff..

20. See KvP 9171, 9930, 11065, 12881, 23101, 24676.

an vûzin und an hendin  
 dî vumfte an der sîtin.  
 Nach Christo sach man lîtin  
 in dî wundin ebene. (KvP 14258-63)<sup>21</sup>

This form of death was a particular distinction and achieved only after lives of great piety, and may be related to the mystical stigmata, by which the purity of saints' lives was thought to be sealed.

As well as idealised accounts illustrating conventional ideas, the chronicle also gives some insight into the reality of the crusades and even lends some support to the idea, developed by the author of Reinfrid von Braunschweig, that the crusading vow was beginning to lose its appeal in some circles. It reports an attempt by Duke Leske of Cracow to strengthen the resolve of his army after attacks on Polish villages (KvP 16954ff.). He calls on the faithful to help him avenge the injuries done to Christ by His enemies and promises them a heavenly reward :

... den himelischen hort  
 den got hât behaldin dort  
 allin den gerechtin  
 dî durch in hî vechtin (KvP 16865-69)

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21. See also KvP 17215ff..

The response is disappointing :

Hî mogt ir jâmir merkin  
 daz ûz al der menige grôz  
 nî sich volkis mê geschôz  
 wen drihundert man allein,  
 dî trâtin zu dem vurstin rein ;  
 daz andre alliz dannen weich  
 und vorzait kegn hûse streich. (KvP 16870-76)

In an attempt to overcome such lack of enthusiasm, the chronicle obliquely stresses the value of crusading vows in the story of a pilgrim who dies on his way home from a crusade (KvP 8155ff.). His son goes in search for him and chances on the graveyard where his father has been buried, while it is being consecrated by the bishop. The crusader's grave opens and the dead man emerges and reveals that his crusading vow has saved him from hell, but that he is condemned to purgatory until a piece of land he stole from a neighbour during his lifetime is restored to its rightful owner. The son promises to do this and the dead man returns to his grave in peace. After this testimony from beyond the grave, the anecdote concludes with a reminder to listeners of the power of crusading vows :

Nû merkit, wî genâden vil  
 gibit Crist den sînen

getrûwin pilgerînen  
 sî sîn lebînd odir tût.  
 Dî sich gebin hî in nôt  
 mit lîbe und mit gûte  
 und in willigim mûte  
 darzû stête sîn gereit,  
 daz sî dî heilige cristinheit  
 nâch irre macht beschirmin  
 von der ungehirmin  
 heidenischin dîte,  
 den wil zu mîte  
 daz êwige lebin  
 in himelriche gebin. (KvP 8250-64)

Another incident reveals the mixture of theological dogma and political realism which guided the Order's activities, and is a characteristic of the chronicle, and indicates that they were worldly enough not to rely on spiritual inducements alone for the support of their allies. In the report of an exhortation of a converted Prussian prince to his men, the material benefits given to them by the Order are cited as reasons for loyalty to Christianity and juxtaposed with theological arguments :

Ô ir vrumin lûte  
 ir sult gedenkin hûte  
 an der schonin kleidre wât  
 dî ir oft intpfangin hât  
 von der brûdre mildekeit  
 unde lât des lîbis kleit



durch jener kleidir varwe sîn  
 huite in der martir pin  
 mit ûwerim blûte rôtin !  
 Gedenkit in disin nôtin  
 an des metis sûzekeit  
 der ûch von in was gereit  
 mit anderen getrenkin  
 unde lât ûch schenkin  
 des bittirlichin tôdis tranc  
 huite mit in um den danc  
 der ûch wirt gegebin dort  
 mit êwigir vroidin hort  
 in des himels lande  
 um des gelouben ande !      (KvP 10633-52)

Jeroschin's discussion of the Prussians' life-style specifically condemns their fondness of drink (KvP 4159ff.) and notes their lack of personal vanity and disregard for fine clothes. This adds an extra irony to the passage by illustrating the corrupting influence of the Christian colonists. Such passages where the exigencies of reality break through the dogmatic theological construct are, however, rare, and the overall impression is of crusade conducted according to the precepts laid down at the height of the crusading movement.

The Order's main contribution to the idea of the crusade and just war was not, however, in its restatements of conventional crusading propaganda, important as it was to their

ethos, but in their attempts to give it new life and mould it to the needs of a crusading order at the beginning of the fourteenth century. This is reflected in the significance they attached to the wars of the Maccabees as a prefiguration of their own wars and their adaptation of the hereditas theme to fit their own circumstances in Prussia. The examples of Landgraf Ludwig and Reinfrid von Braunschweig illustrate growing disillusionment with the crusading ideal and the extent to which secular ideas had increasingly devalued the crusading ethos. The Order's attempts to counter these developments with a restatement of the ideal of the militia Christi and by reinterpreting secular values in a Christian sense, along with their efforts to justify and define their own role in Prussia form the basis of the following three chapters.

Chapter Three : The Books of the Maccabees and the  
development of the crusading ideal.

While the whole body of propaganda built up during the crusading period is reflected in the Order's chronicles, it is apparent from the frequency and predominance of allusions to them, that by far the most important source of biblical precedents for the Order was the Books of the Maccabees. Indeed Helmut Bauer says of the Order that it was unique in its almost exclusive use of Judas Machabeus as a model.<sup>1</sup> The association of the Order with the warrior-priests of the Old Testament was recognised and promoted at a very early stage in its history by both the church and the laity. In 1221 Honorius III called the Teutonic Knights the 'novi sub tempore gratie Machabei',<sup>2</sup> while in a document dating from between 1230 and 1260, in which he ceded property to the Order, Count Poppo of Wertheim compared them with 'veris Machabeis crucem dominicam in corpore proprio baculantibus et pro defensione eiusdem periculis sese exponentibus'.<sup>3</sup> The following chapter traces the role of the Maccabee material in the development of the church's

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1. Helmut Bauer, Peter von Dusburg und die Geschichtsschreibung des Deutschen Ordens im 14. Jahrhundert in Preussen (Berlin, 1935), p. 33.

2. In Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici, edited by Ernst Strehlke (reprinted Toronto, 1975), No. 321, p. 290.

3. Quoted by Philip Funk, 'Zur Geschichte der Frömmigkeit und Mystik im Ordenslande Preussen', revised by Leo Junke, Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands, 30 (1966), 1-37 (footnote 74, p. 32).



attitude to warfare and the specific use made of it by the Teutonic Knights.

. The attitude of the early church fathers to the Books of the Maccabees was fundamentally one of suspicion. They were omitted from the Old Testament by the early church and from the Canon by St Jerome, but despite this, certain aspects of the stories, in particular the martyrdom of the mother and her seven children, celebrated by the church on the first of August, and the death of Eleazar, had considerable attraction to the early church during periods of persecution. References to them are found in Origen's Exhortatio ad martyrum<sup>4</sup> and in the writings of Augustine.<sup>5</sup> Augustine expresses reservations about the wholehearted acceptance of the books: 'recepta est ab ecclesia non inutiliter, si sobrie legatur vel audiatur',<sup>6</sup> but in Civitas Dei speaks of them as canonical 'propter quorundam martyrum passiones vehementes atque mirabiles'.<sup>7</sup> He argues in In solemnitate martyrum Machabaeorum that the Maccabees can be regarded as

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4. Bibl. d. Kirchenväter I, 177ff.. Quoted in Bauer, p. 33.

5. For example Sermo CCC, 'In solemnitate martyrum Machabaeorum' in Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina (hereafter PL), edited by J. P. Migne, 38, 1377ff..

6. 'Contra Gaudentium Donatistarum episcopum', Liber II, PL 43, 729.

7. Civitas Dei 18, 36, in PL 41, 596.

the first Christian martyrs, despite having lived under the laws of the Prophets : 'martyre eos fecit moriturus Christus'.<sup>8</sup> The final sections of the sermon make it clear that Augustine is discussing only the martyrdom of the mother and sons and not the wars of the Maccabees as such. This interpretation of the books remains significant in the High Middle Ages. Bernard of Clairvaux restates it in his response to a query as to why the Maccabees alone of the Old Testament heroes should have a feast day.<sup>9</sup>

The church does not appear to have attempted to come to terms with the other aspects of the books until the ninth century, when there was renewed interest in them, perhaps in response to the Viking attacks on Christendom and the need for Christians to defend their institutions. The first illustrations of the warring Maccabees appear at this time,<sup>10</sup> as does Hrabanus Maurus's official commentary, dedicated to Louis of France and written in response to official recognition of the books by the church. The commentary

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8. PL 38, 1377.

9. Epistola XCVII, 'De Machabeis', in PL 182, 230. Compare also Otto of Freising, Chronik, edited by W. Lammer (Darmstadt, 1960), c. II, 26, p. 154.

10. In the Buch der Makkabäer, St Gallen, ninth century. Reproduced in G. Dehio, Geschichte der deutschen Kunst (Berlin and Leipzig, 1930), vol. I, p.61.

attempts to come to terms with the warlike contents of the books in terms of the psychomachia and as a prefiguration of the Christian conquest of the world. Mathathias is seen as a prefiguration of Christ, while his sons are prefigurations of the apostles of the early church. Judas Machabeus's name is interpreted as meaning 'evangelist' and his role is equated with that of the first preachers of the gospel : 'quid per Judam Machabeum, nisi primi praedicatores designantur Evangelii, qui, ab ipso Salvatore eruditi idonei fuerunt ad agendum bellum Christiani populi'.<sup>11</sup> This line of interpretation dominates exegetic writings on the Maccabees throughout the Middle Ages. Godfrey of Admont sees I Maccabees 1 as an allegory of the creation and fall of man, the life of the church and the end of the world under the Antichrist.<sup>12</sup> Hugh of St Victor uses allegories of weapons based on the words of St Paul from Ephesians 6 to develop the theme of spiritual warfare which he too sees as central to the material : 'Ipsorum namque certamina gloriosa designant agones contra spirituales hostes eorum'.<sup>13</sup>

However, while exegesis confined itself to expounding the

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11. 'Commentaria in libros Machabaeorum' in PL 109, 1127ff.. Here column 1147.

12. 'Homilia in Libros Machabaeorum', caput prima, in PL 174, 1130.

13. 'Allegoriae in Vetus Testamentum', caput IV, on PL 175, 1130.



spiritual and allegorical sense of the material, the historical sense also came to be of increasing importance. The resurgence of interest in it reflects and illustrates the changing attitude to warfare in the church. Gradual acceptance of the warrior ethos was brought about firstly by the christianisation of the state and its functions, begun under the Romans and continued with Charlemagne's renovatio imperii, and secondly by the need to defend Christendom from threats from outside. The Pax Dei and the Treuga Dei mark the beginnings of attempts by the church to assert its authority over the warrior sections of society and create an ethical framework for their activities, and as such indicate an implicit acceptance of their role in society. Erdmann sees the main impulse towards the assimilation and harnessing of the Germanic warrior ethos as coming from the reform movements of the eleventh century and their concern for the spiritual renewal of lay society, and he notes the importance of Old Testament models, including the Maccabees, in the formation of the idea of religious warfare.<sup>14</sup> Within the context of this gradual change the literal sense of the Maccabee material is increasingly used to indicate approval of warlike behaviour. This development reflects the way in which the idea of the militia Christi, originally conceived of in the terms of St Paul as a

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14. Carl Erdmann, Die Entstehung des Kreuzzuggedankens, (Stuttgart, 1935), pp. 62ff. and p. 253.



spiritual force, comes to have the second meaning of military service in the service of the church. One of the most striking representatives of the new attitude within the church, Bishop Waso of Liège, a major figure in the reform movement in Lorraine in the eleventh century, who participated in the defence of his city and in attacks on other cities, is compared by his biographer with Judas Machabeus for his warlike exploits and Mathathias for his religious zeal.<sup>15</sup> The Maccabees are also used as a justification for wars against the heathen at this time, as is illustrated by a poem celebrating a campaign in 1087 by the city of Pisa against the pagans of North Africa, which cites them along with other Old Testament models as precedents for the present war.<sup>16</sup>

The trial of strength between the Empire and the Papacy during the Investiture Contest, by intensifying the controversy within the church about the right of clerics to sanction the use of armed force, brought to the fore another aspect of the Maccabee material : its use as a justification of the use of armed force in the service of the church against the

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15. See 'Anselmi Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium', c. 54-6 in MHG Scriptores VII, 221-22. The same bishop is also attributed with forming the first group of warriors bound by oath specifically to the church.

16. See Fünfundzwanzig Lateinische weltliche Rhythmen aus der Frühzeit, edited by F. Schmeidler, p. 34ff..

secular power. As early as the fourth century, Hilarius in Contra Constantinum had justified his right to speak against the Emperor by invoking the speeches of the mother and children in front of Antioch.<sup>17</sup> During the Investiture Contest military supporters of the Papacy are compared with the Maccabee warriors. Bonizo of Sutry calls the knight Erlembald 'the new Judas Machabeus',<sup>18</sup> while Anselm of Lucca, a leading propagandist of Gregorian claims, encouraged Italian warriors to emulate the deeds of the Maccabees.<sup>19</sup> Manegold of Lautenbach uses the example of Mathathias to demonstrate that no blame attached to those who killed opponents of the church : 'quod videlicet factum Mathathie ostendit, qui Judeum sacrificantem super ipsum altare trucidavit et nuncium regis sacrificare cogentem ipso tempore occidit'.<sup>20</sup> In the early twelfth century Ekkehard of Aura returns to this theme in his chronicle of the life of Henry V. His wars against his father in support of the Papacy are compared with the Maccabees' wars for the true faith :

Videres fortissimos Machabeos in bello catholice pacis post stragem plurimam apostice genti illatam fide magna et leticia suas animas Christo pro se passo commendantes

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17. PL 10, 582. Compare II Maccabees 7.

18. 'Liber ad amicum' VII, MHG Libelli I, 604, 40f..

19. See Rangerius of Lucca, v. 3569, p. 1234, in MHG Scriptores XXX, 11.

20. MHG Libelli I, 399, 7ff.. Compare I Maccabees 2. 23-25.

ac huiusmodi pro transitu priorum delictorum veniam in eadem indulgentie die se consecutos invicem consolantes .<sup>21</sup>

The references here to martyrdom and the redemptive power of war may also reflect the influence of crusading propaganda on the material during the first years of the century.

The process of the integration of the warrior ethos into the church and its christianisation culminated in the crusading movement, and the crusades mark the final stage in the secularisation of the concept of the militia Christi, which by the end of the eleventh century was generally identified with the armed crusader. As has been noted above, Old Testament models continued to play an important role in the reinforcement of the concept in church propaganda and Papal bulls throughout the period of the crusades. The Maccabee material is used, with differing emphases, by nearly all the Popes who concerned themselves with the crusades.<sup>22</sup>

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21. In Die Chroniken Frutolfs und Ekkehard's und die anonyme Kaiserchronik, edited by Schmale and Schmale-Ott, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, XV (Darmstadt, 1972). Here Ekkehardi chronica, Reconsensio III, p. 278, l.19ff..

22. The contents of the papal bulls and crusading sermons are fully discussed by Ursula Schwerin, Die Aufrufe der Päpste zur Befreiung des Heiligen Landes von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang Innocent IV, Historische Studien 301 (Berlin, 1937), and Valmar Cramer, 'Kreuzpredigt und



Although the text of Urban's speech at Clermont cannot be established with any degree of certainty, the account given of it by Guibert of Nogent, who is thought to have been an eye-witness, has Urban use the Maccabees typologically as a prefiguration of the Christian crusaders :

Si Machabeis olim ad maximam profuit pietatis luadem,  
quia pro ceremoniis et Templo pugnaverunt : et vobis, o  
milites christiani, legitime conceditur, ut armorum  
studio libertatem patriae defendatis .<sup>23</sup>

This typological link is also stated later by Honorius III. He discusses the joy with which the population of Jerusalem greeted the liberation of the Holy Places by the Maccabees and calls on the crusaders to renew this joy : 'speramus quod modernis temporibus haec in populo Christiano debeat laetitiae innovari'.<sup>24</sup>

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Kreuzzugsgedanke von Bernard von Clairvaux bis Humbert von Romans', Das Heilige Land in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, Palästinahefte des Deutschen Vereins vom Heiligen Land, 17-20 (1939), 43-204.

23. Gesta Dei per Francos, Book II, c. IV in Recueil des Historiens des Croisades - historiens occidentaux (hereafter Recueil), edited by P. Riaut (Paris, 1844-), vol. IV, 138.

24. 'Exultet in Domino' in Veterum Scriptorum et monumentorum amplissima collectio, edited by E. Martene and U. Durand (Paris, 1724-33), IV, 1480ff..



The example of Mathathias is frequently used as a model of the attitude and state of readiness required of a crusader. Eugene III uses it to illustrate the rejection of worldly values expected of them :

Sit vobis etiam in exemplum bonus ille Mathathias, qui pro paternis legibus conservandis seipsum cum filiis et parentibus suis morti exponere et quicquid in mundo possidebat relinquere nullatenus dubitavit.<sup>25</sup>

Honorius III uses the same example to berate the crusaders' unwillingness to shoulder their responsibilities :

Ubi est magnanimitas Mathathie, qui videns sancta Domini prophanari, prosilvit ut legem et paternas observantias tueretur ? Accingantur ergo fideles et sint filii potentes.<sup>26</sup>

James of Vitry, Henry of Albano and Humbert of Romans also use this figure as a model for an ideal crusader, while Henry of Albano emphasises the need for Christians to transcend the deeds of the Maccabees because of the New

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25. 'Quantum praedecessores', 1. 12. 1145, Vetralla, in PL 180, 1064.

26. 'Tempus acceptibile', 23. 1. 1217, Rome, in MHG Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum, edited by C. Rodenberg, vol. I (1883), p. 9, l. 39ff. The final line of the quotation comes from I Maccabees 3. 59-60.

Covenant in Christ.<sup>27</sup>

These examples all relate to spiritual rather than warlike qualities and reflect the church's continued unwillingness to confront the explicitly bellicose nature of the material. Gregory VIII's references to the Maccabees in the bull Audita Tremendi encompass all the elements discussed above and he also uses the material to illustrate the idea of self-sacrificial love in imitation of Christ as a means of warriors attaining salvation and hence as an implicit justification for warfare :

Attende qualiter Machabei zelo Divinae legis accusi, pro fratribus liberandis extrema quaeque pericula sunt experti, et non solum substantias, sed personas pro fratres docuerint salute ponendas exhortantes seipso ...<sup>28</sup>

The main exceptions to the use of the Maccabees as precedents for the crusade are the papacies of Celestine III and Innocent III. Neither uses the material in ~~this~~ crusading bulls,

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27. The text of James of Vitry's sermon 47 'ad cruce signatos' is published in Cramer, p. 127, footnote 45. See also Henry of Albano, De peregrinante civitate Dei : Digressio, qua lamentatur auctor Jerusalem ab infidelibus captam, c. xii in PL 204, 350ff.. Humbert of Romans is discussed in Cramer, pp. 183-85.

28. 'Audita Tremendi' 29. 10. 1187, Ferrara, in Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, edited by Mansi, (Venice, 1178), XXII, 527ff..

but Innocent III suggests that the Maccabees may no longer have been regarded solely as a simple precedent for the militia Dei, when he mentions them in connection with a proposal to the Lateran Council of 1215, that the recapture of the Holy Land is primarily the task of priests.<sup>29</sup> During the thirteenth century, when the material reappears in crusading propaganda, it is used less centrally and in conjunction with a greater variety of other biblical motives and, increasingly, anecdotes and examples from sources other than the Bible.

The typological links between the crusaders and the Maccabees are more explicitly expressed in the chronicles relating the events of the crusades, in particular those of the first crusade.<sup>30</sup> The Christians are seen as the successors of the Maccabees, but because of the New Covenant

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29. Mansi, XXII, 968ff..

30. Evidence from secondary sources is unhelpful and inconclusive on this point. P. Alphandéry, 'Les citations bibliques chez les historiens de la première croisade', Revue de l'histoire des Religions, 99 (1929), pp. 139ff. traces the wide use of quotations from Psalms as well as Isaiah, Zacharia, several books of the New Testament and apocryphal literature such as Daniel, but remarkably does not mention the Maccabees. Bernard Schmeidler, 'Geschichtsschreibung im Mittelalter', Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, XIII (1917), p. 214, states that I Maccabees 3. 18 is quoted in nearly all the chronicles of the time, but does not give references.



in Christ their deeds are shown to transcend those of the Old Testament models. These ideas are most starkly expressed in the Gesta Dei per Francos :

Et si Machabeis olim, pro circumcissione et carne porcina pugnantibus, evidens apparuisse legitur coeleste suffragium, quanto amplius his debuit, qui, pro repurgio ecclesiis adhibendo et statu fidei propagando, fusi sanguinis Christo detulere servitium.<sup>31</sup>

The ideas are also developed at length by Fulcher of Chartres<sup>32</sup> and in the Historia peregrinorum euntium Jerusalem,<sup>33</sup> which stresses the contrasting motivation of the two groups of warriors, one fighting for its earthly inheritance, the other for the kingdom of heaven.

The typological link is evident too, in a comparison made by Raymond of Aguilers of a battle fought by the Maccabees and one fought during the siege of Antioch in the course of the first crusade. While the Maccabees had defeated 48,000 of the enemy with 3,000 men, the Christians claimed to have routed 60,000 with 400 knights - 'but we neither disparage

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31. Book VI, c. ix, in Recueil, IV, p. 207.

32. See the prologue to the 'Historia Hierosolymitana Gesta Francorum Iherusalem Peregrinantium' in Recueil, III, p. 319.

33. Prologue in Recueil, III, p. 173.



the courage of Machabeus nor boast the bravery of our knights, however we proclaim God, once wonderful to Machabeus, was even more so to our army.<sup>34</sup> The theme of a small army defeating a larger one is also touched on by Fulcher of Chartres, who uses the example of Gideon and the Maccabees to spur on the Christian army.<sup>35</sup>

Although the Maccabees still feature in chronicles describing later crusades, Erdmann's contention that the Old Testament models were chiefly of importance for the early crusading period is borne out by their relative lack of importance for later chroniclers.<sup>36</sup> Jeanette Beer, in her discussion of Villehardouin's biblical sources, observes that he did not develop the analogies of Judas Machabeus, Joshua, David or Gideon.<sup>37</sup> Oliver of Paderborn mentions the Maccabees, but in a way which suggests that they were now seen as part of the accepted rhetoric of the crusades, rather than as models whose importance had to be established : '...our leaders fell into idleness and laziness according to their custom. They invented a motive for deferring negotiations and did not imitate Judas Machabeus, who 'seeing that the

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34. Raymond d' Aguilers, edited and translated by J. and L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1968), chapter IV, p. 35.

35. 'Historia Hierosolymitana', c. liv, in Recueil, III, p.43 .

36. Erdmann, p. 253.

37. Jeanette M. A. Beer, Villehardouin; Epic Historian (Geneva, 1968), p. 18.

time served him' gave no rest to the enemy.<sup>38</sup>

An exception to this trend is the Chronicon Livoniae of Heinrich of Lettland, begun c. 1224.<sup>39</sup> The importance of the Books of the Maccabees as a source for the chronicle is discussed by Bauer in his introduction.<sup>40</sup> The striking preponderance of borrowings from the Maccabees has been established by W. Bilkins, who calculated that borrowings from the first Book of the Maccabees appear in one hundred and forty-nine sections of the chronicle, with sixty-four distinct borrowings.<sup>41</sup> The borrowings enumerated by Bilkins are stylistic rather than thematic and the Maccabees are not presented explicitly as a model in the chronicle, but nonetheless, the frequency of allusions to the Books of the Maccabees indicates that the author saw a particular affinity

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38. 'The capture of Damietta' by Oliver of Paderborn, translated by J. Gavigan (Philadelphia, 1943), p.28.

39. Heinrich of Lettland, Livländische Chronik, edited by A. Bauer, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, XXIV (Darmstadt, 1975). For the date see Bauer, pp. xvi-xviii.

40. See A. Bauer, p. xxix.

41. W. Bilkins, Die Spuren von Vulgata, Brevier und Missale in der Sprache von Heinrichs Chronicon Livoniae. (1928)

The figures are quoted in L. Arbusow, 'Das entlehnte Sprachgut in Heinrichs Chronicon Livoniae', Deutsches Archiv, 8 (1950), 109.

between his chronicle and the Maccabee material. Bauer suggests that this interest in the Maccabees may have been awakened by the chronicler's education at a mission school, where special emphasis would have been placed on religious warfare.<sup>42</sup>

The association of the Maccabees with the crusaders was not solely an element of papal bulls and official chronicles. The inscription on Baldwin I's tomb - 'the new Machabeus'<sup>43</sup> suggests that the identification had a hold on the popular imagination at an early stage. It indicates also an awareness of the typological link seen by theologians between the Maccabees and the crusaders in seeing the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem as the heir of the Judaic kingdom. This accords with the general practice in the Middle Ages of seeing emperors as the successors and heirs of the Old Testament kings. There are several instances of princes being identified with Judas Machabeus in the twelfth century in order to stress their warlike prowess and piety. The Archipoeta compares Barbarossa directly with Machabeus,<sup>44</sup> while Otto of Freising compares the Emperor's army with

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42. A. Bauer, p. xxix.

43. See E. Bickermann, Der Gott der Makkabäer (Berlin, 1937), p. 37.

44. In Hymnen und Vagantenlieder, edited by K. Langosch, (Basel, 1954), 'Kaiserhymnus', p. 250, stanza 12.



that of the Maccabees.<sup>45</sup> Helmold of Bosau, a contemporary of Barbarossa and Henry the Lion, continues the practice of identifying warriors fighting specifically on behalf of the church with the Maccabees when describing the death of Gottschalk, prince of the Obotrites during the Slav rebellion : 'passus est autem alter ille Maccabeus'.<sup>46</sup> D. H. Green, discussing the twelfth-century Maccabee fragment, suggests an awareness of parallels in subject matter between the history of the Maccabees and Germanic heroic literature, as well as its relevance to the crusades, as a reason for the twelfth century's affinity with the material.<sup>47</sup>

In view of the evidence of their importance for the development of the concept of the militia Dei and the crusading ideal, it is surprising that there is no reference to the Maccabees in the Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad, as the first major literary work which is fully imbued with

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45. Die Taten Friedrichs, edited by A. Schmidt and F. J. Schmale, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, XVII (Darmstadt, 1960), Gesta Frederici, II, 34, p. 352.

46. Helmold of Bosau, Slawenchronik, edited by H. Stoob, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, XIX (Darmstadt, 1963), c. xxii, p. 106.

47. D. H. Green, The Millstätter Exodus (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 224ff..



the crusading idea.<sup>48</sup> This may be further evidence of ambivalence in the church's attitude to the material. Its relevance to crusading propaganda was recognised and exploited, but even here there is a marked tendency to avoid the warlike qualities of the material and to emphasise spiritual matters. Helm and Ziesemer, while conceding that the Maccabees had some importance in the early Middle Ages, argue that the material as a whole remained foreign to the Middle Ages.<sup>49</sup> The twelfth-century Maccabee poem survives only as a fragment.<sup>50</sup> A translation mentioned in the Hildesheimer Esra is lost.<sup>51</sup> A Maccabees poem edited by Schade deals with the martyrdom of the mother and the children and not the history of the Maccabees themselves.<sup>53</sup> The elements in the Maccabees story which most appealed to the popular imagination and symbolised the new idea of the militia Christi were precisely those which the church preferred to avoid in official exegesis, and this may account for the

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48. Although they are mentioned in the Kaiserchronik (l. 1075ff.) as part of the Old Testament tradition of rulers of Jerusalem.

49. K. Helm and W. Ziesemer, Die Literatur des Deutschen Ritterordens (Giessen, 1951), p.96.

50. In Deutsche Gedichte des 12. Jahrhunderts, edited by C. Kraus (Halle, 1894), pp. 25-29.

51. See K. Euling, 'Bruchstücke einer Mitteldeutschen Bearbeitung des Esras und des Jesaias', PBB, XIV, pp. 122-26 (p.124)

52. Das Buch der Makkabäer, edited by K. Helm (Tübingen, 1904).

53. Geistliche Gedichte des Niederrheins, edited by Schade, p. 366.

relative lack of popularity of the biblical text of the Maccabees in the Middle Ages. The same may be said of the Exodus material, which is also frequently quoted as a typological prefiguration of the crusades, but rarely treated in extenso. Even the Millstätter Exodus, as Green concedes in his conclusion, can at best be seen as a forerunner of the crusading epic in German, and its author 'stops short of depicting the Israelites engaged in a battle required of them by God'.<sup>54</sup>

#### The Maccabees and the Military Orders

The association of the Maccabees with the military orders seems particularly apt because of their analogous historical role as priest-warriors, and there is some evidence that this was recognised by contemporaries. Adrian IV suggests a direct link when he talks of 'strenui et egregii Domini bellatores, milites videlicet templi, novi sub tempore gratie Machabei'.<sup>55</sup> Honorius III likewise called the Teutonic Knights the 'novi sub tempore gratie Machabei' and elsewhere compares them with Mathathias in their zeal for the welfare of the Holy Places.<sup>56</sup> James of Vitry, too, refers to the

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54. Green, p. 423.

55. 'Quantum strenui', 13. 11. 1157, Rome, in Martene-Durand, II, 647.

56. As note one, and No. 389, p. 329.

Templars as the 'new Maccabees'.<sup>57</sup>

There is no indication that the Maccabees came to be primarily or exclusively associated with the crusading orders, but there is evidence that the spiritual leaders of the orders, (with the possible exception of the Templars), in common with all theorists of the crusade, saw the Maccabees as an integral part of their ideological pedigree. The Templars had the patronage of Bernard of Clairvaux and may therefore have felt less need of justifying their existence, but both the other orders produced accounts of their origins which rely heavily on Old Testament models.

The popular view of the origins of the Knights of St John is contained in the Miracles or Legends, which were evidently used as a supplement to the prosaic account of the origins of the Order by William of Tyre.<sup>58</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith suggests that the Miracles date from the twelfth century,<sup>59</sup>

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57. Historia Orientalis, liber II, c. 66.

58. See A. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Historical Activities 1291-1400', Annales de l'Ordre Souverain Militaire de Malte, XXIV (Rome, 1966), pp. 129-129.

59. J. Riley-Smith, The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus 1050-1310 (London, 1967), p. 32.



and this appears to be generally accepted, although the editors of the Miracles in the Recueil suggest a date of 1220 to 1270.<sup>60</sup> They were translated into several languages and validated by Innocent IV. By the mid fourteenth century they are found at the beginning of all collections of the statutes of the order as the only authentic account of the origins of the order.

The Maccabees are mentioned among the Old Testament patrons of the Hospital in all versions of the Miracles. In the earliest version in the Recueil<sup>61</sup> Judas Machabeus makes a donation to the Hospital for the souls of the dead, although at this stage he is not associated with the warrior element in the Hospital, which is not mentioned. Riley-Smith suggests a further possible connection with the Maccabees in seeing the legend of the foundation of the Hospital as a corruption of the story of the attempted profanation of the Temple by Heliodorus on the orders of Seleucus.<sup>62</sup> The latest, undated version of the Miracles

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60. The texts of the Legends are published in the 'Exordium Hospitarorium' in the Recueil, V, pp. 399-435.

61. 'Josephi Historiographi Tractatus de Exordio Sacrae Domus Hospitalis Jerosolimitani', in Recueil, V, pp. 405-21.

62. See Riley-Smith, p. 32. The attempted profanation of the Temple is described in II Maccabees 3.



is the only one which deals specifically with the Hospital's military function and here the story of the foundation of the Hospital is changed.<sup>63</sup> The story of the visions of Melchiar and Antioch, on which earlier accounts were based, is omitted, and this version claims that the Hospital was founded by Judas Machabeus during the wars for the liberation of Jerusalem, as a refuge for the wounded and a place of prayer for the souls of the dead. This version links the Miracles more closely with the crusades. The text deals with the Order's move to Rhodes after the fall of Acre and therefore cannot date from before 1291, but it probably represents an older tradition of identification of the warriors of the Order with the Maccabees.

The one Middle High German version of the Miracles which is known to exist is the poem Von dem Spitâle von Jêrusalêm.<sup>64</sup> It is thought to have been written by a clerical member of the Order in Strassburg in the twenty years before the fall of Acre.<sup>65</sup> The editor of Von dem Spitâle does not seem to have been aware of the existence of other versions of the legends and argues that the poet did not base the poem

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63. 'De primordiis inventione sacrae religionis Jerosolymitani', in Recueil, V, pp. 428-29.

64. Von dem Spitale von Jerusalem, edited by Arnold Kuster, Diss. Phil. Strassburg (Wiesbaden, 1897).

65. See Kuster, pp. 17-19, p. 30.

on a written source, but his view has been supported in later secondary literature.<sup>66</sup> The content of the poem corresponds closely to the earliest of the texts of the Miracles published in the Recueil, which are thought to have been written down at about the same time.<sup>67</sup> If the author did not use another text as the basis for his poem then the contents of the Miracles must have been well established in the oral tradition of the Order at this time. The role of Judas Machabeus in Von dem Spitâle is the same as in the Latin and French versions :

zwelf tûsent gewaege  
 gap der helt von silber dar  
 daz man der siechen naeme war  
 und man ir wol pflaege  
 swâ ir dekeiner laege  
 und si sô wol taeten  
 daz si got vûr in baeten,  
 daz er im hulfe an der stat  
 sô got zer welte spricht mat. (Von dem Spitale 260-8)

He is portrayed as a model of the ideal warrior, combining

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66. See Kuster pp. 34-35. Compare de Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, vol. 3, i, pp. 209-10, and Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters - Verfasserlexikon, edited by W. Stammeler and K. Langosch, 5 vols (Berlin, 1933-55), IV (1953), p. 250.

67. Recueil, V, p.405.

the virtues of charity and courage which the Hospital represented :

der was ein helt des muotes  
und was ouch milte guotes  
an allen tugenden vollkommen  
und gar zen besten ûz genomen. (Von dem Spitâle 209-12)

The typological interpretation of his wars is not relevant here. He is not presented as a precedent for the Hospital, but as part of a continuing tradition of warfare on behalf of God against the heathen :

der was den Israhêlen mite  
mit manheit und mit râtes site  
half er an manegen zîten  
in manegen sturm erstrîten  
gegen der valschen heidenschaft,  
der sluoc er vil mit sîner kraft.  
swer die apgöte betet an  
dem was Machabeus gran. (Von dem Spitâle 213-20)

The connection between Judas Machabeus and the knights of the Hospital is implicit in the text, but nowhere presented explicitly. The emphasis instead is on the Hospital's charitable function.

The Maccabees and the Teutonic Knights

The earliest reference to the Maccabees by the Order occurs in the Prologue to the revised statutes.<sup>68</sup> The Order was originally given the rule of the Templars but the rule was subsequently revised during the first half of the thirteenth century. The revision was probably undertaken by William of Modena, papal legate to Prussia at the time of the Council of Lyons. The revised statutes did not exist before 1244 but are taken for granted by 1251.<sup>69</sup> The prologue lists biblical precedents familiar from crusading propaganda : Abraham and Melchisedech, the Apocalypse of St John, Moses, Joshua, David and the Maccabees. Unlike the early version of the Miracles, where the emphasis is solely on the charitable work of the Hospital, the Old Testament models in the prologue to the statutes of the Teutonic Knights are adduced to demonstrate the existence of a body of knights active in the service of the church since the time of Abraham, and hence the Maccabees are used here explicitly as a precedent for religious warfare. The link is made far more pointedly than in any of the literature of the crusades up to this date :

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68. Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den Ältesten Handschriften, edited by M. Perlbach (Halle, 1890).

69. For the history of the statutes see Perlbach, p. xlvi.



Wir gedenken ouch des lobelichen strîtes, der wert vor  
gote was, der rittere, die da heizent Machâbei, wie  
ste rcliche die durch ir ê unde umme den gelouben striten  
mit den heiden ... (Statuten, p. 25)

The Maccabees are presented as being part of a long tradition  
to which the Order is the heir :

disen strîten hat nâchgevolget herteclîche dirre heilige  
ritterliche orden des spitâles sente Marien von dem  
Thûschen hûse. (Statuten, p. 25)

An official ideological framework is thus established  
early in the Order's history, but it is not necessarily  
reflected in later writings. The next major work produced  
in the Order which deals with warfare, the Livländische  
Reimchronik, is remarkable for its lack of biblical  
references or discussion of crusading ideology. Lutz  
Mackensen, in his discussion of the work, contrasts the  
author's evident interest in the technicalities of warfare  
with his general anti-clerical attitude and chivalrous  
treatment of the heathen.<sup>70</sup> It is evident from this work  
that the official ideology, as presented in the statutes,  
had by no means imprinted itself on the warrior group in

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70. L. Mackensen, Zur deutschen Literatur Altlivlands  
(Würzburg, 1961), pp. 21-58.

the Order at the time the chronicle was written.

The period of religious revival and of great literary activity discussed in the introduction consisted partly of a series of translations of books from the Old Testament. The books translated - Daniel, Esther, Judith and the Maccabees - suggest a renewal of interest in themes popular in the twelfth century at the height of the crusading movement,<sup>71</sup> and the Maccabee translation in particular might be expected to give an insight into the Order's view of the importance of the Maccabees as precedents for the Order, and their view of their role in Prussia. Surprisingly, however, given the presence of the Maccabees in the prologue to the statutes and their prominence in crusading propaganda as a whole, the translation sheds little light on these matters.<sup>72</sup> It is a literal one with few independent additions by the translator, as he states at the beginning : 'es ist gar der historien sin / miner rede kumt niht darin' (Makkabäer, 315-16). The commentaries on the text are taken chiefly from the Glossa Ordinaria and the Historia

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71. The place of the Altere Judith, the poem Drei Jünglinge im Feuerofen and the twelfth-century Maccabee translation in the development of crusading ideology is discussed by Green, pp. 224ff..

72. See note 52.

Scholastica<sup>73</sup> and deal almost exclusively with the elucidation of historical detail. There is no attempt to interpret the spiritual or allegorical sense of the material or to relate it to events in Prussia. With the exception of the introductions and conclusions to the two books the only lengthy independent passage (lines 4091-4129) describes the final battle of Judas Machabeus, a passage the author obviously felt would appeal to his listeners, but which is, in the words of Helm, 'ein lyrischer Versuch, der jedoch sehr wenig geglückt ist'.<sup>74</sup> The author's final conclusion, which forms a bridge between the Old and New Testaments and indicates that the translation was written as part of a projected translation of the whole Bible, further relativises the usefulness of the Old Testament as a source of ideology :

da von sal vurbaz behalden  
nieman nu die ê der alden  
want wer nachvolget ir site  
der wirt gar verloren mite. (Makkabäer, 14299-302)

The Livländische Reimchronik and the Buch der Makkabäer suggest that the importance of the Maccabees to the Order is confined to the early reference in the statutes, and that they played no further part in developing the knights'

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73. See Helm's introduction, pp. liii-lx.

74. Helm, p. lxviii.

conception of their role. However, in Peter of Dusburg's Chronicon Terre Prussie and in the Krônike von Prûzinlant quite a different picture emerges. Sections one and two of the chronicle are devoted to laying the historical and theological foundation for the Order's wars in Prussia, and extensive use is made of biblical models and references. The Maccabees emerge clearly as the main historical model, both in terms of the frequency of allusions and in the way in which they are used in the chronicle. The Books of the Maccabees are mentioned twenty-five times in the chronicle, while the next most frequently used source, the two books of Samuel, is quoted only sixteen times, and the next most frequent, the Psalms, only nine times. Where specific individuals are held up as models the Maccabees again predominate with thirteen references, as against six for David, the next most popular model.

References to the Maccabees dominate key points in the narrative. This is most noticeable in the text of the papal exhortation to the Order before its first campaign in Prussia. The text does not correspond to any historical document and was obviously written to fill a need felt within the Order for a document initiating and sanctioning their wars in Prussia in the form of a traditional crusading bull. It takes the form of earlier papal crusading bulls, beginning with a description of the threat to Christianity



and going on to exhort the knights to follow the example of the Israelites, and Judas Machabeus in particular. With the exception of two passages from Deuteronomy the entire text is made up of quotations from the Books of the Maccabees. The first passage (I Macc. 3. 58-59, KvP 2040-51) contains passages frequently used in crusading propaganda :

Sune, gurtit ûwir swert  
und sit an creftin wert  
....  
wan uns bezzer ist dî nôt  
daz wir in strîte ligin têt,  
wenne daz wir sûllen spêhn  
unsir volc bemeilgin  
und ouch unsir heilgin (KvP 2040-1, 2046-52)

This passage is first used in relation to the northern crusades in the Aufruf zum Wendenkreuzzug of 1108.<sup>75</sup> It is used in its entirety by Gregory VIII in his bull Audita tremendi of 1187, which set the tone of the propaganda for the third crusade, during which the Order was formed. It subsequently features prominently in Honorius III's bull Tempus acceptabile of 1217.<sup>76</sup> The theme that it is better to

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75. See Urkunden und erzählende Quellen zur deutschen Ostsiedlung im Mittelalter, edited by Herbert Helbig and Lorenz Weinrich, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, XXVIa (Darmstadt, 1975), 97-103 (p. 98).

76. See notes 28 and 26 above.

die than to allow the destruction of the Holy Places recurs later in the chronicle (KvP 6302-3, 15207ff.) and is echoed in the Livländische Reimchronik (LR 1525-6, 10531ff.). It evidently came to be something of a rallying-cry for the Order. The exhortation continues in the words of God to the Israelites from Deuteronomy 20. 1 and 3, which called on them not to be afraid of a numerically superior enemy, since God was on their side. The next passage reinforces this (KvP 2072-96) by quoting from Judas Machabeus's speech to his men before battle (I Macc. 4. 8-11), in which he reminds them of the crossing of the Red Sea. He uses this episode as a historical precedent for his own success and the passage thus furnishes the chronicle with a double source of authority. The following passage (KvP 2097-2103) is taken from Mathathias's death-bed speech to his sons (I Macc. 2. 62-3) and in the context of the chronicle it sounds like an oblique attack on the Order's political enemies.:

invorchtit ouch in keime zil  
 des sundigen mannis wort  
 want al sîner êren hort  
 ist ein unvlat und ein wurm.  
 Hûte stîgit er als ein turm ;  
 morne ist er so vorswundin,  
 daz sin nichtis nicht wirt vundin (KvP 2097-2103)

The final passage also comes from Mathathias's final speech (I Macc. 2. 50-51 and 64). In traditional exegesis this

passage prefigures Christ sending out the apostles to evangelise the world. Here the role of the apostles is taken by the knights who are to conquer Prussia for Christendom :

Darum, ô lîbin sune sît  
 der ê minnêre alle zît  
 unde wâgit bederbe  
 umme der vetre erbe  
 in strîte uwir lebin hin ! (KvP 2104-08)

This passage is repeated at the end of the chronicle (KvP 27109-31) where it has become a programme for the knights' continued presence in Prussia :

Dirre gute lere wort  
 und der noch vil vorgît dî schrift  
 namen in des herzen grift  
 der meister und dî brûdre dô  
 und berîten sich alsô  
 daz sî wolden Prûzinlant  
 daz ê was uz der heiden hant  
 mit unzellicher kost entnumen  
 und an dî cristenheit sô kumen  
 beschirmen menlich unde wern  
 und den gelouben drinne nern (KvP 27132-42)

The prominence and weight given to these passages suggest that the Order was consciously attempting to establish specific parallels between itself and the Maccabees, and

this process of identification continues throughout the chronicle. While in the passages above the Pope is implicitly identified with Mathathias, members of the Order itself are also compared with Maccabee characters. A commander is compared by implication with Judas Machabeus when he uses Judas's words from I Maccabees 3. 18 to encourage his men in battle (KvP 20011-31). The knights themselves are twice compared with the Maccabee armies. The first of these comparisons occurs in the introduction to the first Prussian rebellion, and here the link evidently helps to preempt any criticism which might have been levelled at the Order because of its apparent failure :

der meister und di brûdre sîn  
 dî dâvor genennit sîn  
 recht als der Machabêin trucht  
 wantin mit volliger tucht  
 darûf ire hende,  
 daz sî der cristnen ende  
 gebreittin und gemachtin wît. (KvP 5871-77)

The second is not fully translated by Jeroschin. He says only that the knights fought 'sam di turin kempfin' (KvP 10659), while in the Latin original Dusburg uses the name Machabei, but the meaning of the phrase would have been clear to Jeroschin's audience.



The references to the Maccabees appear almost exclusively in relation to warfare. The only exception to this is the use of the words of Mathathias (I Macc. 2. 7) to lament the destruction of churches (KvP 7177ff.). This lament was extensively used in earlier crusading propaganda.<sup>77</sup> It is significant that in the section of the chronicle which deals with open warfare as one of the licit uses of armed force they are the only Old Testament authority quoted. Judas's wars with Lysias are described at length and Lysias's hubris along with the destruction of Jerusalem and its churches are given as the justification of the Maccabees' wars :

Hîvon stet in dem bûche  
 Machabêorum, als ich las,  
 dô der arge Lusias  
 ....  
 dî gotis craft nicht wolde  
 betrachten als er solde  
 sundir mit vorlâznim mûte  
 Jêrusalêm dî stat vil gûte  
 und den gotis tempil ouch  
 vorterbî wolde hân, der gouch,  
 und dô er hatte und sîn her  
 gewonnen itzunt dî vorwer  
 Machabêus leite an  
 wâpin.

(KvP 3165-67, 3170-79)

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77. Compare for example Henry of Albano, 'Digressio , qua lamentatur auctor Jerusalem ab infidelibus captam' (see above note 27).

The passage goes on to equate these wars with the Order's wars in Prussia, by virtue of the identification of Prussia with the spiritual Jerusalem discussed above, and hence justifies the Order's use of warfare (KvP 3202-11).

There can therefore be little doubt that the Maccabee model was central to Dusburg's and Jeroschin's attempts to sanction and justify the crusades in Prussia. The Order's treatment of the material reflects the trend noted above in earlier crusading propaganda : that while official exegesis of the text and papal use of the material tended to avoid the specific challenge to come to terms with the literal sense of the material, chronicles and popular literature had fewer inhibitions and exploited the material more fully. This tendency may explain the surprising conservatism of the Order's Maccabee translation. It was evidently still felt that the obvious and acknowledged parallels between the Order and the Maccabees were best dealt with in a chronicle rather than in a translation of the Holy Writ. The lack of any reference to the Order in the translation and the author's marked lack of involvement casts doubts on Helm's hypothesis that Luder of Brunswick was the translator.<sup>78</sup> Even allowing for continued inhibitions about the literal sense of the material, it seems unlikely that the Grand Master, given

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78. See Helm, Makkabäer, pp. xcii-xcv.

his interest in the Krönike von Prûzinlant and the important role the Maccabees play in it, would have failed to draw attention to the parallels at some point in the text of the translation. Instead it seems more likely that the author was a cleric, for whom the implications of the material were still a minefield, best avoided in their entirety.

The Order's major innovation in their exploitation of the Maccabee material is its explicit use as a justification of warfare. Earlier writers had used the material as a source of models for crusaders and of precedents for the course and outcome of battles, but they sanctioned warfare only by implication. None, with the possible exception of Papal supporters during the Investiture Contest, had used the material as a direct justification of physical warfare, and nowhere else is it used so consistently to sanction war and warriors within a carefully argued defence of the use of arms against the heathen. The chronicle therefore states explicitly what the church had up to then acknowledged only by implication. The Maccabee material was central to the Order's crusading ideology and is the main element which it develops from earlier propaganda and uses in conjunction with other motives to form its notion of crusading chivalry.

Chapter Four : The Teutonic Knights' cult of the Virgin  
Mary and the development of the idea of  
the 'militia Christi'



Although the original association with the Virgin was largely fortuitous, the cult of the Virgin played a large part in the religious life of the Order. The extent to which it influenced their self-image and their attempts to create a coherent ideology for their military role in Prussia has not yet been investigated, but the prominent role the Virgin plays in Dusburg's chronicle and her relatively even greater importance in Jeroschin's vernacular translation suggests that the worship of the Virgin played a significant part in forming the Order's ethos.

The origins of the association between the Teutonic Knights and the Virgin Mary date back to the founding of a German hospital in Jerusalem in 1118 under the protection of a church dedicated to the Virgin, the hospital St Mariens der Deutschen in Jerusalem. The name was taken over after the fall of Jerusalem by the group of Lübeck merchants who founded a hospital during the siege of Acre, the Hospitale Sanctae Mariae Theutonicorum in Jersalem, and when the hospital was transformed into an order by Pope Clement III the name was retained and the brothers became known as the fratres theutonici ecclesiae sanctae Mariae Jerusalemitanae.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See Bernard-Maria Rosenberg, 'Marienlob im Deutschordensland Preussen' in Festschrift für Tumler, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens (Bonn, 1967), pp. 321-37.

The Virgin was adopted as the patron of the Order :  
 Grand Master Dietrich of Aldenburg referred to her as the  
 '... howbtfrowe und beschirmerinne unsers ordens'.<sup>2</sup> Knights  
 joining the Order pledged ' ... ghorsam gote unde sente  
 Marien',<sup>3</sup> and the knights came to be popularly known as the  
Marienritter. Jeroschin refers to them in the Krönike von  
Prūzinlant as 'di strîter unsir vrouwen' (KvP 12759) and  
 the Passional and Väterbuch both also use the title.<sup>4</sup>  
 The term occurs towards the end of the Väterbuch in a passage  
 describing the rewards of the faith. The Teutonic Knights  
 are introduced at the end of a long list of the inhabitants of  
 paradise, including church fathers and clerical orders grouped  
 round their founders :

Ein rot saltu noch schawen  
 Bei der schonen junchvrawen  
 Gotes muter, Marien :  
 Di mit hertzen freien  
 Di werlt hin varn liessen  
 Und Marie ritter hiessen. (Väterbuch, 40757-62)

The Virgin is presented as being the leader of the Order in

2. Rosenberg, p. 322.

3. See Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften, edited by Max Perlbach (Halle, 1890), p. 128.

4. Das alte Passional, edited by K. A. Hahn (Frankfurt, 1845), v.143,66 ; and Das Väterbuch, edited by Karl Reissenberger, Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters XXII (Berlin, 1914), v. 40762.

the same way as St Francis was the leader of the Franciscans :

Nicht hauptmännens hat di rot  
 Auf den si jehen mugen nach Got,  
 Wan di lieben-junchvrawen  
 Bei der machtu si schawen. (Väterbuch, 40769-72)

Specific evidence of particular devotion to the Virgin has been listed by Bernard-Maria Rosenberg. Marian festivals were specially honoured by the Order, and the texts of the liturgy, originally borrowed from the Dominicans, were expanded and elaborated by the Order in her honour. He notes in particular the special form of the Kyrie Eleison used by the Order, which was expanded to include a reference to the Virgin.<sup>5</sup> Grand Master Dietrich of Aldenburg's introduction of a new festival in addition to the three traditionally celebrated by the church in honour of the Virgin, the 'festum beatae Virginis sanctificationis sive conceptionis, quae digna fuit concipere Dominum Jesum Christum' testifies to the importance of the cult of the Virgin at the time of Jeroschin's translation of the chronicle.<sup>6</sup>

Architectural and artistic evidence is also cited as proof of the importance of the role of the Virgin in Prussia. The

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5. Rosenberg, pp. 323-35.

6. Rosenberg, p. 322.

statue of the Madonna in the Marienburg was unique in Germany, and another form of Marian statuary, the Schrein-madonna, is only found within the Order's territory in Prussia.<sup>7</sup> Innumerable churches, chapels and altars were dedicated to the Virgin and many towns and settlements named after her, including the first fortified camp at Marienwerder and the Order's headquarters at the Marienburg.<sup>8</sup> That her significance was not confined to the Order's monastic and charitable role is demonstrated by the picture of the Virgin as a crowned queen, which appears on the banners the knights carried on campaign.<sup>9</sup>

The knights' cult of the Virgin was evidently recognised by contemporaries. Philipp of Seitz dedicated his Marienleben firstly to the Virgin herself, then to Christendom as a whole and finally to the Teutonic Knights, whom he mentions both at the beginning and end of the book in recognition of their devotion to the Virgin :<sup>10</sup>

Auch ditz büchlin ich sende

Den brüdern von dem daeutschen hûs

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7. Rosenberg, pp. 328-30, p. 331.

8. Rosenberg, p. 330.

9. Rosenberg, p. 327.

10. See Kurt Gärtner, 'Philipp von Seitz, Marienleben' in Analecta Cartusiana, Die Kartäuser in Österreich, vol. II, (1981) pp. 117-29.



Die han ich lange erkörn ūz  
 Wand si gern Marien erent  
 Und den gelauben cristes merent.

Kurt Gärtner notes that in the prologue, which was written after the completion of the work, the tense changes, and instead of 'ich sende' (10089), Philipp writes 'ich han gesandt' (22,1) ; that he has already sent the text to the Order. A completely different , prologue in a significant number of later manuscripts suggests that the Order was instrumental in the later wide dissemination of the text :

Ein buch habent die teutschen herren  
 daz wart in gesant von verren.  
 Darab wart geschriben ditze  
 got geb allen den saelde und witze  
 Die es horen unde lesen.<sup>11</sup>

They therefore played an active role in the propagation of the cult of the Virgin in German-speaking Europe, a fact also attested to by their close association with the Passional, which contains the largest collection of Marian legends in Middle High German.<sup>12</sup> The status of the author remains unclear, but he is thought to have been a member of the Order and the work was widely disseminated within the Order.

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11. Both quotations from the Marienleben, lines 10089-93 and from the prologue are quoted from Gärtner, p. 121.

12. The legends are published in Marienlegenden aus dem alten Passional, edited by H.-G. Richert (Tübingen, 1965).

The depiction of the Virgin in the Krônike von Prûzinlant reflects her importance to the Order. There are no substantial differences in the depiction of the Virgin in the two versions of the chronicle, but there are indications that the cult of the Virgin had a greater role to play in Jeroschin's vernacular version than in the original. In particular, Jeroschin's alterations to formal prayers and references to God's benevolence to the Order in Dusburg's Latin version, to include references to the Virgin, parallel alterations made to the liturgy to give her a more prominent role in the religious life of the Order. Dusburg's 'deo grates referentes ... exultantes in Domino sunt reversi' (III, 53) becomes in Jeroschin's version :

Des sigiſ wart grôz lob geseit  
 gote und der reinen meit  
 Marien von den brûdrin al. (KvP 8147-49)

Similarly, while Dusburg ends his introduction with a plea to Christ for inspiration, Jeroschin appeals exclusively to the Virgin :

Darum ich armer schrîe  
 an dich, sûze Marien.  
 Ô mâtir, dich mir bîe  
 und hulfe mich gezwîe  
 als ich dir wol getrûwe. (KvP 315-19)

This relative prominence in the vernacular version may reflect Jeroschin's personal piety, but it may also indicate that the cult of the Virgin was felt to be particularly relevant for the audience for whom Jeroschin's translation was intended ; the non Latin-speaking knight-brothers of the Order and the wider lay public which the Order hoped to make sympathetic to its cause.

Many of the specific incidents in the Krônike von Prûzinlant in which the Virgin plays a specific role have the same general theme as the Marian legends in the Passional. The Virgin is presented as the mater misericordiae, who helps those who honour her, regardless of their worthiness.<sup>13</sup> A knight who has blasphemed by raping his nurse after receiving the last rites of the church is saved by an appeal to the Virgin and by promising her to join the Teutonic Knights (KvP 25988ff). She heals the sores of a brother who wore armour next to his skin as a penance, and was to be punished by the Order for carrying his self-chastisement to excess (KvP 31215ff.).<sup>14</sup> Her mercy also extends to heathens

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13. Compare Marienlegenden No. VI, where the Virgin saves a convicted thief because he has habitually said Hail Marys. See also Nos XXIII, XIX, XVII.

14. Brothers were not allowed to single themselves out by excessive penance. See Strehlke, SRP I, p. 455, footnote 2.

who have shown respect or devotion to her. A heathen who prevented a picture of the Virgin and Child from being destroyed by his companions has a vision in which the Virgin promises him eternal life as a reward (KvP 17257ff.) :

Den dînst, den dû irbotin  
 kegn der tummin rotin  
 hâst an mînem bilde mir  
 sol gegoldin werdin dir  
 mit lône ubirrîche  
 in minis kindis rîche. (KvP 17341-46)

The Prussian is subsequently converted shortly before his death and impresses a priest who attends him with the depth of his piety. This incident and a story identical in all its essentials told of the conversion of the Prussian leader Scumant (KvP 18484ff.) suggest that the worship of the Virgin was felt to be of particular value in the conversion of the heathen.

The final episode of this nature fits rather uneasily into the general pattern, but illustrates the influence of the form of the legends on the vernacular version of the chronicle. A Lithuanian heathen, with no previous record of sympathy to Christianity, has been imprisoned by his king. He is advised by a fellow prisoner to make an offering to God to secure his release. He does so, and immediately his chains fall away



and the prison doors open (Dusburg III, 294). The Virgin plays a part only in Jeroschin's version of the incident. The prisoner is advised to make his offering to

gote und der magit rein  
 sînre mûtir Marien  
 want in ir helfe vrîen  
 mochte wol von allir nôt.      (KvP 23059-62)

Jeroschin evidently felt that the incident could be more easily explained by the intervention of the Virgin, since the story bears some resemblance to the themes of the popular legends. However since there is no record of the Lithuanian's devotion to the Virgin either before or after the incident, a necessary element in all the Marian legends, Jeroschin is here applying the familiar form of the legends to an incident which evidently had a different origin.

The Virgin's role in warfare, as depicted in the chronicle, is largely, as might be expected, a non-military one. On two occasions she is seen comforting the souls of the dead and carrying them off to heaven (KvP 7219ff. and 10820ff.). On the second occasion she appears in this role in a vision seen by a peasant before hostilities have begun. During the same period the Virgin appears to Hermann Sarrazin to announce his imminent death in battle and confirm his reward for his faith in her :

ich lade dich  
 zu der wirtschaft mînes suns  
 dâ du dich vroien salt mit uns  
 in êwigir selikeit. (KvP 10742-45)

These incidents occur during the Prussian revolt when the Order suffered serious set-backs, and her apparition, along with similar visions of the souls of the dead being transported to paradise (KvP 10765ff. and 11213ff.) serve as an implicit justification of the Order's wars during a period when their lack of success might be seen as a judgement on their cause. A similar purpose is served by her intervention during the second rebellion when she appears to a peasant and sends him to the bishop of Culm with a letter warning of future strife :

Ouch darzû geschriben was  
 daz in Prûzinlande  
 dî cristnin manchirhande  
 jâmir unde bittirkeit  
 unde martirlichiz leit  
 soldin noch irlîtin  
 in kumftigin zîtin  
 von der prûzschin dîte  
 um des himils mîte. (KvP 14352-60)

The device of having the first part of the letter describe the bishop's past life in order to lend credence to the peasant's mission shows parallels with an episode in the Passional, where a cleric is given secret information

about a bishop in order to persuade the bishop that he is fit to be consecrated as a priest.<sup>15</sup> This reinforces the impression that the form of the incidents in the chronicle is based on traditional models which were familiar to audiences of the time.

The Virgin appears more belligerently as ambassador for the Order in a vision to the chief of the Hungarians (KvP 27442ff.). She warns him, 'im sprechinde zornliche zu' (KvP 27442), that he will die unless he stops persecuting Christians. The Order's territory is described as her 'erbe' (KvP 27444) and the defeat of the Hungarians as Christ's revenge for 'sinre muter lande' (KvP 27494-97), implicitly stressing the Virgin's role as 'houbtvrowe' of the Order. The theme of crusaders fighting for their rightful inheritance is familiar from earlier crusading propaganda, when it was applied to Jerusalem and the Holy Land.<sup>16</sup> The idea that the newly-

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15. Marienlegenden, No. XXII.

16. Carl Erdmann, Die Entstehung des Kreuzzuggedankens (Stuttgart, 1955), pp. 322-3 notes that the popular claim to Antioch during the first crusade was based on its status as the original bishopric of St Peter. F. W. Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung des Mittelalters (Berlin, 1960), p. 140, stresses the importance of this idea at times of crisis in the Holy Land. Its popular appeal is reflected in the poetry of Walther von der Vogelweide. (See 10. 10, 12. 10, 70. 77 in Lachmann's edition).



conquered lands to the north east were under the particular protection of the Virgin predates the arrival of the Teutonic Knights in that area. A striking passage in Henry of Lettland's Chronicon Livoniae,<sup>17</sup> written between 1224 and 1226, describes the Virgin's protection of Livonia, which is presented as being her land in the same way as the Holy Land was the special concern of Christ. The Virgin's association with Livonia evidently stems from her traditional identification with the Pole Star. In the same way that this star helped sailors to navigate, so Mary was regarded as man's guide in life. This symbol is used widely in hymns and prayers, notably the hymn 'ave maris stella'.<sup>18</sup> The association of the star with Livonia evidently derives from its northerly geographical location. In the passage in the Chronicon Livoniae the Virgin is presented as playing an active role on behalf of the crusaders :

Sic, sic maris stella suam semper custodit Livoniam; sic, sic mundi domina terrarumque omnium imperatrix specialem suam terram semper defendit; sic, sic regina celi terrenis regibus imperat. Nonne imperat, quando reges multos contra Livoniam pugnantes exacerbavit, quando regem magnum Woldemarum de Plosceke venientem in Lyvoniam cum exercitu subitanea morte percussit? ..... Ecce Dei mater, quam mitis circa suos, qui fideliter ei

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17. Heinrich of Lettland, Livländische Chronik, edited by Albert Bauer, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, XXIV (Darmstadt, 1975).

18. See Peter Kesting, Maria-Frouwe, *Medium Aevum*, 5 (Munich, 1965), especially p. 14.



deserviunt in Lyvonia, qualiter ipsa semper defendit eos a cunctis inimicis suis, quamque crudelis circa illos, qui terram ipsius invadere sive qui fidem et honorem filii sui in terra ipsa conantur impedire. Semper enim hactenus vexillum suum in Livonia et preundo et subsequendo defendit et de inimicis triumphare fecit. (pp. 268-71)

Several other passages in the chronicle refer to Livonia as the 'terra beate Virginis' (pp. 136; 280) or the 'terra matris' (p. 196). She was patron of the See of Riga and the Sword Brothers as well as of Livonia. The Teutonic Knights appear to have combined this existing tradition with their own links with the Virgin and exploited them to consolidate their claim to Prussia and Livonia.

The Virgin's appearance to some Prussians in a battle to frighten them off in a passage in the Krônike von Prûzinlant reflects the active role attributed to her in the earlier chronicle and suggests that she had assumed for the Order the role more usually played by St. George. The Prussians see:

dî allirschônste juncvrouwe,  
dî î ûf erdin wêr erkant ;  
dî vûrt in irre zeswin hant  
vil crefticlîch der brûdre van. (KvP 13738-41)

Although her active participation in battle is uncharacteristic

in this chronicle, the effect the sight has on the Prussians is reminiscent of the Virgin's direct confrontations with the devil in the legends :

der juncvrouwin aneblic  
gab uns, jân si, sulchin schric,  
dâvon entweich al unse craft  
und wurde alsô zagehaft  
daz wir ôt nicht intochtin  
noch uns gewerin mochtin. (KvP 13743-8).<sup>19</sup>

In this instance her role as the regina caeli has been adapted by the chronicler or by tradition within the Order to demonstrate her traditional power over evil in a manifestation which is particularly suited to her role as protector of the Order.

The Virgin's special relationship with the Order is at the centre of several other anecdotes. Early in the chronicle the Order's status is established by her intervention as equal to that of other orders as a means to salvation (KvP 4655ff.). A brother with misgivings in this respect -

daz des genzliche dûchte in  
des dûtschin husis ordin  
des er was brûdir wordin  
mochte im dî sêle nicht irnern (KvP 4660-3)

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19. Compare for example Marienlegenden Nos. XVII, XX.

- has a vision in which he sees St Bernard, St Dominic, St Francis and St Augustine leading a procession of their respective orders. He begs to be admitted to each of them in turn and is refused, but then finally sees the Virgin leading a procession of Teutonic Knights. She shows him the wounds from which they died while fighting the heathen and convinces him of his mistake. This story shows parallels with the description of the Order at the end of the Väterbuch, where the Virgin is also presented as the Order's leader. Her sanction is also implicit in the story of the knight who raped his nurse. As the story is presented here there is a causal link between his promise to join the Order and the Virgin's intercession on his behalf :

Und als er den ordin inthîz  
 zuhant der tûvil in vallin lîz  
 unvorserit in ein brûch  
 want sîn Mariê hatte rûch (KvP 26028-31)

The Virgin's role as figurehead of the Order is used not only to confirm the status of the Order, but also to demonstrate the fundamental incompatibility of worldly chivalry and the idea of the militia Christi. The conflict is symbolised in a joust fought by Hermann Sarrazin on his way to join the Order (KvP 10371ff). Sarrazin's devotion to the Virgin is established in an anecdote about his life before he joined the Order, which relates how he freed a prisoner who appealed to

him in her name. Sarrazin is challenged to a joust by a knight who wishes to fight 'umme habe' (KvP 10394) and 'zu erin der juncvrouwen sin' (KvP 10397). This worldly motivation is compared with that of the knight on his way to join the Order :

Er hofte an dî zarte mait  
 dî er in lîbe hatte irkorn  
 und ir zu dînste sich gesworn,  
 Marien ich do meine. (KvP 10400-03)

Sarrazin defeats the knight at the first encounter and gives the spoils to the poor. The joust illustrates the victory of religious over secular values, but it is presented in such a way as to be comprehensible to a lay audience, for whom warfare represented a way of life and who were familiar with the literary conventions of minne and service of a lady. The scene is described minutely in terms familiar to the audience of courtly epics :

Nu secht - dô vant er undirwegen  
 ûf einem plâne rittir vil  
 ûbinde dâ rittirspil  
 mit juste, mit hurdieren,  
 mit schuste, mit turnieren (KvP 10378-82)

The knight who issues the challenge is -



mit wâpenin wol angeleit  
 und rittirlich gezîret  
 man unde ros vorlankenîret (KvP 10386-89)

Hermann Sarrazin's relationship with the Virgin, too, is described in courtly terms. As the knights of the world looked to their lady to inspire them with 'hoher mut', so Sarrazin's exemplary piety is attributed to his association with the Virgin (KvP 10414ff.). The language used in the description is also reminiscent of minnesang. She is 'dî magit zart, [di] in tougenlîchin trôste, ofte mit im koste' (KvP 10422-24). When she comes to tell him of his imminent death she calls him 'lîber vrûnt' (KvP 10742) and speaks 'vil senfteclîch' (KvP 10741). Familiar terminology is used to make the idea of service of God as an alternative to secular chivalry acceptable to a lay audience. The dichotomy between service of the world and service of God is emphasised in the following chapter (KvP 10415ff.), where the Virgin complains that the brothers' conversation at mealtimes is displeasing to her. They talk of 'werltlîchir vurstin tât' (KvP 10447) instead of her and her son - 'daz sint in sûze mêre / und ist mir ein swêre' (KvP 10449-50).

The incompatibility of the two forms of knighthood is also the subject of several of the legends in the Passional. In the four legends which deal specifically with knights

exercising their profession, three of the knights are in league with the devil.<sup>20</sup> Of these at least one conforms to the ideals of lay chivalry :

Horet von eime rittere  
 wi er vremder tugent genoz  
 an sime namen was er groz  
 und an der iugende grune.  
 er was stolz und kune  
 vri herzen unde mutes  
 und milde sines gutes.  
 den saelden er verlac  
 da er ofte suchen pflac  
 beide tiust unde forest (XX 12-21)

Extravagance causes him to lose his fortune. A second knight aspires to the same ideals, but less successfully :

an turneie und an tiuste  
 verlos er me dan er gewan.  
 dirre sinnelose man  
 armte vaste an gute.  
 idoch von hoem mute  
 wolde er nicht entwichen. (XXIV 10-15)

They are both reduced to ally themselves with the devil because

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20. Marienlegenden, Nos XIV Der Teufel als Kämmerer, XX Maria rettet einen Ritter um seiner Frau willen, XXIV Marias Fürbitte für einen Ritter.

the extravagant life-style forced on them by worldly chivalry reduces them to penury. A third knight has to resort to evil from the outset in order to maintain his way of life :

Ez was ein ritter, der pflac  
als noch manic arm ritter pflit  
uf dem groz gesinde lit,  
der nicht groze gulde hat  
und doch nicht gerne abe lat  
er enwolle grozlichen leben  
und stete in dem vollen sweben;  
des muz er dicke reisen  
uf witewen unde weisen  
den er ist vil bitter. (XIV 12-21)

The implicit reference to the Schwertleite oath to protect widows and orphans here emphasises how completely he has turned away from the ideals of Christian knighthood.<sup>21</sup> It

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21. The term is taken from the accipe gladium of the German coronation rite : see Erdmann, pp. 74-77 and 329-31. It is often used as a summary reminder of the chivalric vow. In the Rolandslied Roland's sword is conferred for the protection of widows and orphans (RL 6867ff.). The oath is presented as the source of a knight's honour in Willehalm (299. 13-18). Bruder Werner, in the Spruch in which he complains of the decline of chivalric standards, uses the vow as a summary of a knight's duties : 'wer helt nu staete ritterschaft, / sit man niht swert durch schirmen segent witewen und weisen?' (42. 7-8). See also the chapter on the idea of chivalry.

is later revealed that the devil is in his pay as chamberlain. Two of the knights are finally saved only by their refusal to abandon their faith in the Virgin, and the third by his wife's piety.

The fourth legend (IV, Maria im Turnier) illustrates the obverse case. A pious knight particularly devoted to the Virgin enters a church to hear a mass in her honour while on his way to a joust. When he leaves the church he meets fellow knights coming from the tournament, who congratulate him on his exploits there. The moral of the legend is clear. The values of worldly chivalry are incompatible with faith in God, lead inevitably to evil, and those who practise them are doomed to failure. Only by turning their backs on the world and devoting themselves to God, as in the case of the fourth knight, can knights fulfil the full potential of their calling. In this story the knight in question takes leave of the world in order to become a Marienritter. It seems likely that this term is used as a specific counter to the secular vrouwenritter. Ashcroft has recently challenged the view, represented by Bunke, that the use of the term gotes ritter demonstrates the synthesis achieved between secular and Christian values in medieval chivalry, and has shown that this term was used specifically as the obverse of the secular ritter.<sup>22</sup> The use of the term Marienritter in this

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22. See J. Ashcroft, 'Miles Dei - Gotes Ritter : Konrad's



context in the Passional illustrates an awareness of the same dichotomy between secular and religious values. There is some evidence that even the term vrouwenritter itself was used in a transferred, religious sense. While there are no examples in the literature of the Order of the use of the term in this way, the Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch quotes one instance of the use of the term to mean 'dienstmann eines Marienstiftes'.<sup>23</sup> This indicates a positive attempt on the part of the church to imbue the word with a second religious meaning as a challenge to the original secular one. In the Krônike von Prûzinlant, in the story of Hermann Sarrazin's joust, the Teutonic Knights' cult of the Virgin is explicitly set against and contrasted with the lay knight's pursuit of minne, and put forward as a more satisfactory ideal. The knights are not called upon to renounce their chivalric lifestyle but to embrace a higher form of it.

The use of the conventions of minne by the Teutonic Knights

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Rolandslied and the evolution of the concept of Christian chivalry', Forum for Modern Language Studies, XVII (1981) pp. 146-166, and J. Bumke, Studien zum Ritterbegriff im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert, Beihefte zum Euphorion 1, second edition (Heidelberg, 1977), pp. 113-114.

23. The reference is taken from the Strassburger Stadtrecht 2. 155, published in Fundgrube für Geschichte deutscher Sprache und Literatur, edited by H. Hoffmann, vol. I, p. 355. (Breslau, 1830). Benecke, Müller, Zarncke vol. III p. 741.

to express the obligations of the knight dedicated to the service of God is not confined to the Kronike von Pruzinlant. In Der Sünden Widerstreit,<sup>24</sup> an allegorical poem describing the battle between the forces of good and evil, led by Sünde and Minne, knights are encouraged to fight well in order to gain the attention of the Virgin and her attendants watching in heaven, the equivalent of the 'wibes gruoze' sought after by secular knights :

sus solden jungelinge  
mit ritterschefte ringe  
der gotes mûter neme war  
zu himele und al der meide schar  
engele vrouwen unde kint  
und al dî heiligen dî dâ sint (SW 2404-9)

As in the world, the lady's praise is the highest honour a knight can hope to attain :

ane sweme dî gnâde geschât  
den unser lîbe vrouwe sât  
sô riterlîchen rîten  
durch iren sun in strîten  
dem enkan zur werlde nîmer mê  
êren alse vil geschê  
wen daz der wunneclîchen meit

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24. Der Sünden Widerstreit, edited by V. Zeidler (Graz, 1892).

sîn ritterschaft so wol beheit. (SW 2410-17)

The knights are instructed on how to deport themselves in the face of an attack by Sünde, in order to win the lady's favour :

sêt, alsus mochte ein gotes degen  
vrouwen grûz und iren segen  
mit riterlîchem prîse .  
irwerbe in dirre wîse ... (SW 2418-21)

The same text stresses that a knight in the service of God does not necessarily have to do without material rewards :

der solde wol hân gewalt  
beide gût und êre  
und anders nîman mêre  
wan dî mit tugentlîchen siten  
alsus durch got gên sunden striten. (SW 445-49)

Nor do they have to abandon the traditional sources of pleasure :

dî mochten sunder zwîvel wân  
maneger hande vrouden hân;  
spilen unde lachen  
und kurzewîle machen  
singen, sagen mêre .

daz wol mit gote wêre  
 loufen unde rinnen  
 und wol gût gewinnen  
 mit gote und mit trûwen  
 und sûberlîche bûwen  
 unde beizen unde jagen  
 und doch gote wol behagen. (SW 450-61)

The Order evidently felt the need to combat beliefs that service of God was a dull business.

The church in Prussia converted the sacred Linden trees worshipped by the heathen into Christian shrines in order to make the transition between paganism and Christianity as painless as possible. Similarly the Order seems to have taken over the ideology and vocabulary of secular knighthood and invested it with new religious meaning in order to re-educate their recruits and potential pilgrims in terms which would have had meaning for them. This practice has parallels with other popular religious literature in the thirteenth century. Attempts to make religious beliefs accessible to the laity were largely the work of the Friars, who were also closely associated with the cult of the Virgin. The vernacular version of the Legenda aurea on which the Passional is based is thought to have been the work of a Franciscan monk.<sup>25</sup> Use of the terminology and imagery of minnesang

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25. See Hans Fromm, 'Mariendichtung', in Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte, second edition, edited by W. Kohlschmidt and W. Mohr (Berlin, 1965), 271-91 (p.277).



is evident in the mystical literature of the Dominican monasteries and of Mechthild of Magdeburg in particular, who uses the conventions of minnesang to express the relationship of the soul to the body and the soul's longing for God. The parallels are often striking, as in this passage which describes the effect of God's love on the soul :

Du hast mich gejaget, gevangen, gebunden,  
Und so tief gewundt  
Das ich niemer werde gesunt.  
Du hast mir manigen kulenschlag gegeben;  
Sage mir, sol ich ze jungest vor dir genesen?<sup>26</sup>

Here, too, the intention was to convey religious truths in a form accessible to a lay community. Herbert Grundmann<sup>27</sup> has shown that a need for religious literature in the vernacular arose from the development of communities of religious women with no theological training or ability to read Latin. The Order, in its literature for its members, is responding to the same situation and uses the same

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26. Offenbarungen der Schwester Mechthild von Magdeburg oder Das fliessende Licht der Gottheit, edited by P. Gall Morel (Darmstadt, 1980), no. III, p. 6 : Von den megeden der sele und von der miñe schlage.

27. H. Grundmann, Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter, second edition (Hildesheim, 1961). See especially chapters IV and VIII.

conventions to convey the ideas.

The Order's link with the Virgin was not specifically chosen by them, but nonetheless its potential was exploited to the full in the Krônike von Prûzinlant to enhance the status of the Order and inculcate the requirements of the religious life. Many of the episodes in the Krônike von Prûzinlant show parallels with the traditional Marienlegenden but the Order was able to shape them to fit its own particular circumstances in Prussia. Its exploitation of the conventions of courtly love in conjunction with the cult of the Virgin follows the traditional church practice of adopting secular practices and imbuing them with Christian significance. It enabled the Order to explain the idea of the militia Christi to knights with little or no theological training, but who would have readily understood the idea of service of an exemplary woman.

Chapter Five : The Teutonic Order and the idea of chivalry.

While the ideology of the crusades represents the main thrust of the church's efforts to bring secular knighthood within a Christian framework, its desire to extend its influence is also reflected in the sanctioning of military orders which grew out of the crusading movement, and, at the other extreme, in the creation of specific liturgies for the creation of lay knights in an attempt to imbue their vocation with religious values. This chapter will examine these developments and examine how the Teutonic Order exploited them in its restatement of the idea of chivalry in the context of the Prussian wars.

The first attempt at institutionalising the combined virtues of the military and religious lives came with the founding of the Templars c. 1120. The novelty of the combination of a monastic and chivalric vocation encountered much resistance during the early years and this resulted in a shortage of new recruits for the order. A letter written by the as yet unidentified Hugo 'peccator' to his brothers, the Templars, reveals that the basis of the order's existence, the bearing of arms against the heathen, was called into question by outsiders, who regarded it as 'inlicita vel pernitiiosa'. Opponents also claimed that the contemplative life-style demanded of monks was made impossible by the necessity of practising with weapons. Doubts were voiced within the order, too, by the desire of some knights to enter a purely



religious order, with the implication that their present life was not a sufficient guarantee of salvation.<sup>1</sup>

Similar doubts voiced by members of the Teutonic Knights in the Krônike von Prûzinlant suggests that the military orders never fully overcame this problem.<sup>2</sup> Hugo 'peccator' attributes these doubts to the devil and challenges the knights to counter them with watchfulness, purity and humility.

However, it was left to Bernard of Clairvaux to dispel the doubts as to the value of the monastic knights' calling and to lay down the practical and theoretical basis for the life of the new order in his exhortation De laude novae militiae.<sup>3</sup> St Bernard's new knight was to be armed not only in body, but also in spirit :

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1. The text of Hugo's letter is published in J. Leclercq, 'Un document sur les debuts des Templiers', Revue d' Histoire Ecclesiastique, 52 (1957), 81-91, and discussed by Josef Fleckenstein, 'Die Rechtfertigung der geistlichen Ritterorden nach der Schrift De laude novae militiae Bernards von Claivaux' in Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas, edited by Josef Fleckenstein and Manfred Hellmann, *Forschungen und Beiträge XXVI* (Sigmaringen, 1980), pp. 9-22.

2. See KvP 4655ff.. This passage is discussed briefly in the introduction and in Chapter 4, pp.29-31 and 162-63.

3. See PL 182. 921-940.

impavidus profecto miles, et ex omni parte securus, qui ut corpus ferri sic animum fidei lorica induitur ... nec daemonem timet nec hominem. (PL 182. 922)

They are distinguished from the militia saecularis by the divinely ordained nature of their wars and by their rejection of the worldly splendour of secular knighthood. The militia Christi is guilty not of homicide, as lay knights are, but of 'malicide', and while their worldly counterparts are condemned to live and die as sinners, the militia Christi are assured of salvation by the just nature of their warfare :

Miles inquam, Christi securus interimit, interit securior ... Dei enim minister est ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum. (PL 182. 926)

While secular knighthood is purely concerned with the trappings of earthly glory and power, St Bernard outlines a monastic ideal for the militia Christi, and an attitude to battle where the justice of the cause outweighs personal considerations :

pugnam, quippe, non pompam, victoriam sed non gloriam cogitantes, et studentes magis esse formidini quam admirationi. (PL 182. 926)

This programme was the culmination of church teaching on the role of the military in the church, and the military orders were the most extreme approach to the synthesis of

military and religious values which the church had hoped to impose on the knightly classes as a whole.

However the church's influence on the chivalric ideal was not confined to the theoretical justification of the military orders. The church's success in imbuing the secular ritual of the Schwertleite with Christian values is well known.<sup>4</sup> The benedictio ensis of early rituals which marked the symbolic handing over of power in the Germanic coronation rites or the entry into public life of a young prince gradually came to be applied to the ritual of taking up arms. Jean Flori<sup>5</sup> traces this process and shows how the liturgy was adapted to a more explicitly military function by an increase in the literal use of vocabulary based on the root miles, and an increasing reference to the tools of warfare. Of greatest interest are the texts of liturgies which were composed specifically for the creation of knights. Although the earliest document of this nature dates from 1097, Flori notes the scarcity of specific rituals for the dubbing of knights

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4. See Joachim Bumke, Studien zum Ritterbegriff im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert, Beihefte zum Euphorion I, second edition (Heidelberg, 1977), Chapter 5, and W. Erben, 'Schwertleite und Ritterschlag. Beiträge zu einer Rechtsgeschichte der Waffen', Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde, 20 (1918), pp. 105-167.

5. Jean Flori, 'Chevalerie et Liturgie', Moyen Age 84 (1978), pp. 248-278 and 409-442.



during the twelfth century, despite the importance of knight-hood during this period and the role the church played in dubbing knights, as witnessed to in literature and chronicles. He concludes that the church continued to adapt earlier rituals during this period, but the lack of specific texts may also reflect the church's unwillingness to be seen sanctioning military activity not directly under the control of the church by the radical step of creating a new liturgy.

The earliest document specifically written for the creation of knights dates from the end of the eleventh century and is only found in Cambrai.<sup>6</sup> The church here, remote from both the spiritual and secular sources of authority, responds to the threat to its position from local potentates in the same way as the church as a whole did by the institution of the pax Dei and the crusades - by attempting to impose its own ethos on them. While much of the text is based on the traditional coronation rites, the four sections of this text which refer specifically to knights<sup>7</sup> are not found in any

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6. 'Ordo ad armandum ecclesiae defensorem vel alium militem' in De divinis catholicae officii ac ministeriis, edited by M.Hittorp (Cologne, 1568), printed in Flori, pp. 436-38 and discussed by him pp. 275-78.

7. These are c) the benediction of the lance, l) the benediction of the shield, m) the handing over of the shield and n) the oratio.



of the earlier material. The text justifies the knight's profession by reference to the Old Testament heroes and kings Gideon, Saul, David and Abraham. The saints Maurice, Sebastian and George are invoked as examples of knights and martyrs in an appeal for divine protection : 'per meritum sanctorum tuorum et militum Mauricii, Sebastiani, Georgii praesta huic viro victoriam de hostibus suis'. The change in the nature of the ceremony from the liturgical blessing of a prince, king or emperor who is being invested with the symbols of public office, to a specific endorsement of the military profession, as itself constituting a Christian office, is emphasised by the expanded provision of blessings for the warriors' weapons. The benedictio ensis is derived from traditional liturgies and contains the usual exhortation to defend the church, widows and orphans. The traditional ecclesiastical blessing of banners had already been adapted to refer to the man carrying the banner, and this too is found in this ordo.<sup>8</sup> Entirely new are the benediction of the lance and the shield. The lance is presented as an instrument of the divine redemption of mankind, since Jesus's side was pierced by a lance as he died on the cross. The shield is justified in an oblique reference to St Paul's armatura Dei :

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8. Flori, pp. 268-69.

super hoc scutum humani corporis tegumentum infunde  
benedictionis tuae donum, ut qui ipsum lateri suo applicuerit  
ob defensionem sui, scutum et tutelam te habeat contra inimicos  
animae et corporis.

The next extant text of the consecration of a knight comes from the pontifical of William Durand and dates from between 1293 and 1295.<sup>9</sup> Flori concludes from its contents that this document dates from a time when chivalry had already become a caste. In contrast to the earlier documents the ideal of chivalry presented here is loaded with religious and moral values, most of which occur in the new sections added to adapt the liturgy specifically for chivalry. The oratio in section six is the longest new section and presents the theological ideas which are given as the basis of Christian chivalry. It justifies the bearing of arms as a divinely ordained duty 'ad coerendum malitiam reproborum et tuendam iustitiam', and refers to St John the Baptist's commandment to soldiers to be satisfied with their pay (Luke 3.14). Flori suggests that the mention of malitia may be a reference to St Bernard's play on the words malitia and militia. The reference to Luke 3. 14 is also used by St Bernard in his defence of the Templars, and was central to the church's

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9. 'De benedictione novi militis' in Les ordini romani du Haut Moyen Age, edited by M. Andrieu (Louvain, 1938-61) vol. III, pp. 447ff.. Reprinted in Flori, pp. 438-39 and discussed by him pp.409ff..

sanction of military activity.

si percutere in gladio omnino fas non est Christiano, cur ergo praeco Salvatoris contentos fores suis stipendiis militibus indixit; et non potius omnem eis militiam interdixit? (De laude novae militiae PL182,924)

The text invokes the memory of David's battle with Goliath and Judas Maccabee's wars with unbelievers as a sign of God's previous support of warriors :

David puero tuo Goliam superandi largitus es facultatem et Judam Machabeum de feritate gentium nomen tuum non invocantium fecisti.

While the example of David is an indication of the deeds a knight can be expected to do with divine support, implicit in the mention of Judas Maccabee is the suggestion that the correct area for a knight to exercise his skills is in the war against the heathen prefigured by the Maccabees. The personal qualities by means of which the knight is to carry out his duties are not the conventional military ones, but theological ones reminiscent of St Bernard's programme for the Templars :

prestes fidei, spei et caritatis augmentum et Dei timorem pariter et amorem humilitatem, perseverantiam, obedientiam et patientiam bonam et cuncta in eo disponas.

The final part of the oratio exhorts the knight to make the occasion of his formal taking up of arms an occasion for spiritual renewal, reminiscent of the nova devotio of the early crusades :

veterem hominem deponens cum actibus suis, novam induat hominem, ut te timeat et recte colat, perfidorum consortia vitet et suam in proximam caritatem extendat, proposito suo in omnibus recte obediat et suum in cunctis iuste officium exequatur.

The two other entirely new passages are short and relate to the individual being received into the honorific military ordo - the sacramental kiss and the actual dubbing ceremony with the sword. Provision is made within the text for the blessing of the knight's weaponry according to a separate liturgy,<sup>10</sup> although only the sword and banner are mentioned specifically in it.

It appears from these examples that as chivalry developed into a caste the church responded by giving a definitive form to a specific Christian chivalric ethic which had its origin in the ideas of the crusading movement and in the ideas expounded by St Bernard for the regulation of the lives of the institutionalised military orders.

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10. Benedictiones armorum, edited by M. Andrieu, pp. 549-50. Reprinted in Flori, pp. 439-40.



The ritual used by the Teutonic Knights themselves for creating knights survives as an appendix to an early collection of the statutes of the Order.<sup>11</sup> The manuscript in which it appears is thought to date from the period from 1271 to 1297 and the text therefore probably represents the ceremony for creating knights in use in the period immediately before the writing of the chronicles.<sup>12</sup> It fits neatly into the pattern established by Flori, but in comparison with the document from the pontifical of William Durand, the text is relatively restrained. The liturgy begins with the Benedictio ensis ad faciendum militem. This is followed by the Benedictio ad militem, formal prayers and the Oracio. All the elements of the text are derived from the Germanic coronation rite and there is nothing equivalent to the passages referring specifically to knighthood discussed in relation to the Durand text or the earlier ordo from Cambrai. The only noteworthy innovation is that the text of one of the imperial rites for blessing the sword, in which it was called on to be 'defensor ecclesiarum et viduarum, orphanorum et omnium tibi servencium', is now applied to the knight himself, indicating the extent to which that part of the imperial duties symbolised by the sword had now

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11. See Das Ordensbuch der Brüder vom Deutschen Hause St Marien zu Jerusalem, edited by Ottmar Friedrich Heinrich Schönhuth (Heilbronn, 1847), pp. 81-82.

12. Schönhuth, pp. vi-vii.

become in the church's eyes the function of the whole warrior stratum in society. The secular elements of the ceremony, the dubbing and putting on of spurs, are also absent. Instead the new knight undergoes a form of baptism : 'Deinde aspergatur aqua benedicta et submergatur'.<sup>13</sup> This emphasis in this form of the liturgy on the conversio morum aspect of the ceremony reflects its use by a monastic order, but the text gives no indication of any new contribution to the idea of chivalry by the Order. The task of giving expression to the Order's conception of knighthood was given instead to the authors of the Krônike von Prûzinlant, who attempted to reinterpret church teaching in a form accessible to knights. However, before discussing the chronicle, an examination of the extent to which the ideas presented by the church in the liturgy are reflected in contemporary literature will give an indication of the degree to which these ideas found acceptance in lay chivalric society.

The success of the church's attempts to synthesise religious and military values for lay society is difficult to assess. In his discussion of the metamorphosis of the term ritter

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13. Ritual purification by water also forms a part of a papal liturgy dating from the fourteenth century (Flori, p. 442, no. 13). Here it takes the form of a ritual bath on the eve of the ceremony and is said to be a Romance custom.

from a word denoting a position of service to an honorific title willingly accepted by kings and princes, Joachim Bumke holds that this process was made possible by the association of the term, and hence the way of life it represented, with the miles Christi of crusading propaganda, and contends that the word ritter included the connotation of service of God from the end of the eleventh century : ' wenn ein adliger Herr seit dem Ende des elften Jahrhunderts miles, 'Ritter' genannt wird, so steht dahinter bewusst oder unbewusst das cristliche Ritterbild der Reform- und Kreuzzugsbewegung'.<sup>14</sup> However Jeffrey Ashcroft has challenged this view.<sup>15</sup> He shows that the older, heroic vocabulary, used by the church to depict spiritual warfare, tended to persist in crusading contexts, while the word ritter, although gaining in currency in religious contexts in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, retained secular overtones in its literal sense which prevented it from ever being fully synonymous with the religious values which the church was trying to propagate. He quotes Rudolf of Ems's Barlââm und Jôsaphât to demonstrate the extent to which ritterschaft is still felt to be identified with the worldly values of the militia saecularis with which it is associated here :

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14. Bumke, Chapter 5, p. 99ff. and p. 113.

15. See Jeffrey Ashcroft, 'Miles Dei - Gotes Ritter. Konrad's Rolandslied and the evolution of the concept of Christian chivalry', Forum for Modern Language Studies, XVII,2 (1981), 146-166.

diz maere ist niht von ritterschaft,  
 noch von minnen diu mit kraft  
 an zwein gelieben geschiht;  
 ez ist von aventiure niht  
 noch von der lieben sumerzît  
 ez ist der welte widerstrît  
 mit ganzer wârheit, âne lûge. (BuJ 16105-111)

However, the adaptations which the Stricker made to Konrad's Rolandslied demonstrate the extent to which religious ideas began to inform the idea of chivalry during the thirteenth century. While Konrad does begin to associate the term ritter with Christian values, the overwhelming majority of the occurrences of the terms ritter and ritterlich apply to the heathens.<sup>16</sup> Stricker's Karl does not take the idea of the militia Dei significantly further. However, he does testify to the greatly enhanced status of ritter terminology and shows how the adversative relationship of crusading terminology and secular chivalry is relatively less acute than for Konrad.

In his exhortation at the beginning of the wars Karl presents the campaign as an opportunity for the warriors to demonstrate their gratitude to God, not as individuals, but as representatives of their divinely ordained calling :

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16. See Ashcroft, p. 160.



got hât iuch vil schône  
 ze dirre werlt geêret  
 und hât an iuch gekêret  
 swaz man an rittern loben sol;  
 des sît ir vollekomen wol.  
 Nu sult ir gote sin gereit  
 daz er iwer werdekeit  
 ze der mâze genieze  
 daz ir in iht bedrieze.

(SK 532-40)

The same ideas are expressed in Roland's speech to the warriors :

im muotet unser herre got  
 daz er ritterlîche tuo  
 swem er gehilfe dar zuo  
 daz er ritterlîche mac leben  
 und wil im ouch den lon geben  
 den er ritterlîche erwerben sol

(SK 4880-85)

Here the warrior's reward in battle is directly related to his prowess as a knight. Similarly the spiritual devotion expected of crusaders in the Rolandslied is now made part of the knight's ethos. An observer watching Roland's army notes :

daz si an ir venje lâgen  
 und got genâden baten  
 und sich bereitet hâten  
 als guote ritter solten

(SK 4290-94)

The idea of ritterschaft is also associated with the armatura Dei which characterised the crusader and the knight of St Bernard's nova militia. It is said of Hatte's troops 'die waren ritterliche gar' (SK 5882) and this statement is then qualified by a description of the double armour of the Christian warrior :

sî wâren ûzen und innen  
 gewâfent wol mit sinnen.  
 in was daz vleisch beslozen gar  
 mit stahel, daz in niht enwar.  
 doch bewarte sî daz allermeist  
 in beschirmet innen den geist  
 der geloube und der minne  
 di ir herze und ir sinne  
 ze gote vil sêre hâten. (SK 5883-91)

The same ideas are implicit in Turpin's dismissal of the heathens' weapons as inadequate (SK 5415ff.). However, Ashcroft's comment that the 'rhetorical insistence' of these passages 'smacks of apologia for the secular overtones of ritterschaft<sup>17</sup> is borne out by the fact that chivalric terminology is applied equally positively to the heathen warriors in the epic, in association with specifically non-Christian attributes :

dô quam vermezzenlîche

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17. Ashcroft, p. 160.

der kûnc Alrich von Banden.  
 der brahte ûz sînen landen  
 maneger ritterlîchen helt  
 die er im selbe hâte erwelt  
 zwenzic tûsent ritter guot;  
 die hatten ritterlîchen muot. (SK 3070-76)

At the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the religious duties of knights are still being stressed by the clerical author of Landgraf Ludwig, and knighthood in its highest form is still seen by him as a divinely ordained ordo, requiring the true knight, the gotes ritter to undergo a conversio morum :

âne gotes liebe die ritterschaft  
 het hie deheiner wurde craft,  
 wie mac gût ritter er gesîn  
 der niht lebet noch ensûchet in  
 den herren, der im die ritterschaft  
 angeordent hât. (LL 1121-26)

The necessity for such an explicit statement at such a late date indicates how little effect centuries of church policy had had. The more cynical author of Reinfrid von Braunschweig suggests that even in a crusading context, Christian motivation is merely an empty form for the majority of the knights participating and that worldly motivation predominates :

einre an die heidenschaft  
 fuor durch frîgen muotgelust;  
 der ander ritterlîchen just  
 suocht, der dritte schouwen  
 der vierde sîner frouwen  
 wolt dienen umb ir minne.  
 sô wân des fünften sinne  
 gerihtet sunder valschen spot  
 daz er lûterlîchen got  
 diende mit der verte sîn.  
 sô wolt der sehste lîden pîn  
 durch sînen rehten herren.  
 der sibende wolte verren  
 siner armeclîcher habe  
 und wolt der heidinschefte abe  
 brechen ritterlichen guot.  
 so stuont vil lîht des ahten muot  
 daz er durch kurzewîle  
 fuor, des niunden île  
 was durch ruon hin über mer.

(RvB 13616-13635)

The author of Landgraf Ludwig admits implicitly in the epic, that with the exception of Ludwig, the lay knights do not embody the highest standards of chivalry, by the special role he accords to the military orders. St George's interventions during the final battle are witnessed, not by the army as a whole, but by Walther of Spelten, Master of the Templars, who is singled out for this role by the purity of his life :



ûz allen ez ein ritter sach  
 als der het ein heilic leben  
 er was ein sâlic man begeben. (LL 6884-86)

He witnesses the overthrow of Mohammed's standard by Ludwig  
 and St George (LL 6913-20) and St George's feats in battle :

âne erbarmde die Christen nider  
 die heiden slûgen. vor si alle mê  
 tet in der wîze ritter wê  
 dan nieman den der brûder sach. (LL 6958-61)

He alone sees St George fighting with a troop of knights  
 (LL 7198ff., 7208ff.). When only Ludwig is able to pull  
 the saint's banner out of the ground Walther of Spelten explains  
 the significance of the event to the army.<sup>18</sup> He is therefore  
 presented as the intermediary through whom the Christian ideals  
 of chivalry, symbolised by St George, are passed on to the  
 body of knights as a whole, who are, by implication, unworthy  
 to see the vision themselves. The author of the epic evidently  
 wished to promote the view of the military orders as the body  
 in which the highest ideals of knighthood were embodied and  
 passed on to the army as a whole. Ludwig's connections  
 with the Teutonic Order and with St Elisabeth, who was closely

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18. A similar device is used in Stricker's Karl 3930-49 to  
 establish Roland's credentials as divinely approved representative  
 of the Emperor.

associated with the Order, are stressed in order to enhance his prestige as a Christian knight. In fact the Order was not created until after the crusade in question, although it did subsequently have close links with the House of Thuringia,<sup>19</sup> and references to St Elizabeth are also historically incorrect, since she was the wife not of Ludwig III, 'der Fromme', but of Ludwig IV, 'der Heilige'. Rüdiger Schnell notes that the same device is used by the Stricker when he makes Gertrud, a Frankish saint who died eighty-three years before Karl's birth, into Karl's sister in order to make his credentials as a Christian ruler more imposing.<sup>20</sup>

At the turn of the century, therefore, the Teutonic Order is a representative of an ethos which had failed to establish itself fully among lay knights, and which had always been regarded with mistrust by sections of the church. Passages in the first section of the Krönike von Prûzinlant set out the Order's vision of Christian chivalry and its attempts to give it meaning for listeners to the chronicle. The account of the Order's origins (KvP 331-900) ends with a passage

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19. Hartmut Boockmann, Der Deutsche Orden (Munich, 1981), pp. 45-55, discusses the Order's links with the House of Thuringia and its place in imperial policy at the time of the canonisation of St Elizabeth.

20. Rüdiger Schnell, 'Strickers Karl der Grosse. Literarische Tradition und politische Wirklichkeit', Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie, 93 (1974), Sonderheft, pp. 58-59.

based on the Order's statutes which ascribes the Order's right to exist not only to the sanction of princes, but to divine approval, as demonstrated in the biblical prefigurations of the Order :

Dise werde ritterschaft  
 der bestêtigunge craft  
 nicht allein intpfangin hât  
 ûf erdin von der lûte rât,  
 sundir got der rîche  
 hat ouch in himelrîche  
 sî bestêtigit und geprîst  
 und an figûren vil bewîst. (KvP 607-614)

The historical models mentioned are familiar from crusading propaganda : Abraham, Moses and Joshua, David, the Maccabees and the Apocalypse,<sup>21</sup> but here they are reinterpreted for their significance for institutionalised religious warfare rather than as models for the individual crusader. The origins of chivalric warfare against the heathen are seen

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21. See Valmar Cramer, 'Kreuzzugspredigt und Kreuzzugs-  
 -gedanke von Bernard von Clairvaux bis Humbert von Romans',  
Palästinahefte, 17-20 (1939), 43-204, for their use in  
 earlier crusading propaganda. Moses, Joshua, David and the  
 Maccabees are used throughout the period of the crusades, while  
 Abraham gained in importance in the thirteenth century. The  
 Apocalypse is associated with ideas of the Last Judgement  
 which gained in importance during the pontificate of Innocent  
 III.



in Melchisedech's sanctioning of Abraham's wars against his enemies. Melchisedech, 'der als ich las / ein kunic und ein prîstir was' (KvP 631-32), represents both the spiritual and temporal powers, and it is his blessing which sets the seal on the wars :

und alsus von der selbin zît  
 begondin ritterlîchin strît  
 dî geloubindin mit vreidin  
 zu ûbne kên den heidin (KvP 639-42)

These events parallel the Order's own institution by both the spiritual and temporal powers and fulfil the tenet of medieval theories of just war which required that wars be waged on the authority of a prince. The chroniclers also use the passage to remind the ecclesiastical authorities of their responsibilities towards the knights :

Ouch kuntte dô der heilige geist  
 mit welchir gunste volleist  
 der, der dî obirste stat  
 inder gots ecclêsien hât  
 lîb dî rittre sulle hân  
 und mit der segne sî intpfân  
 zu der ecclêsien schirme. (KvP 643-49)

Finally, Abraham's and the Order's wars are exemplary because they aim to avenge Christ's sufferings and recover the Holy



Land, which is presented as the highest function of chivalry :

dise rittirschafft ouch ist  
 dî genemste alle vrist  
 und sal iz billich hân zuvorn  
 want sî sich darzû hat gesworn  
 daz sî gots vorsmênisse  
 und sînes crûzis gewisse  
 rechin wolle mittir hant  
 und vechtin umb daz heilge lant. (KvP 655-62)

The parallels with the Old Testament are maintained in references to divinely-ordained wars during the time of Moses and Joshua :

bei der richtêre jârin  
 gotis rittere wârin  
 di strittin als dî helde  
 strîte, dî got irwelde  
 und wol gevîlen im. (KvP 727-33)

King David is mentioned not for his own sake, but for having instituted a personal body-guard from two groups of chosen people, the Cherethites and the Pelethites,<sup>22</sup> whose twin functions were the protection of the King and the healing of his people. These groups are presented as a specific

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22. See I Samuel 30. 14, I Kings 1. 38, II Samuel 15..18 and 20. 7.

prefiguration of the Order :

... ein grôz prophête  
 was er, dâ von er hête  
 kunftigir dinge kuntschaft.  
 Des west er dise rittirschafft  
 kunftic in disen stundin  
 und wolde sî vorkundin  
 nâch irme wesin rechte.

(KvP 727-33)

The explanation of the groups' functions derives from the interpretation of the name Cherethite as vortigêre and Pelethite as wundirlîch heilêre. The two peoples do not appear in the functions ascribed to them by the Order in the Bible, although they are among the group sent for by Solomon when David is on his deathbed. The origins of the ideas may have lain in St Jerome's explanation of the names as interficientes and mirabilis respectively.<sup>23</sup> The activities of these warriors are explicitly related to those of the Teutonic Knights :

Wol zût sich der geschichte sîn  
 ûf dise rittirlîche schar  
 dî sich vlîzit des vorwâr  
 in unvorvêrtim mûte

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23. St Jerome, De nominibus Hebraicis. See Strehlke, SRP I, p. 311, footnote 1.

wî sî gepfleg der hûte  
 der kunge der dâ heizit Christ  
 und ein wâriz houbit ist  
 der heiligin cristinheit. (KvP 754-61)

The last of the Old Testament models is the Maccabees, who as a race of warrior-priests offered obvious parallels with the crusading orders. Their wars prefigure not only the struggle against the heathen, but the personal hardships endured by the warriors (KvP 786-92) and the achievement of peaceful rule by the paradox of war : '[si] macht in mit stritender hant / vride ubir al ir lant' (KvP 823-24).

From the New Testament the chroniclers take the example of the Horsemen of the Apocalypse as a prefiguration of a body of knights who will defend the church against visible enemies as the angels defend it against invisible ones :

[ez] ist uns bewîsit daran  
 daz dî ecclêsie solde hân  
 sidir dise rittirschafft  
 dî dâ mit mechtigir craft  
 von ir zu pflege tû vorschalt  
 der ungeloubigin gewalt  
 und alle sichtliche plâge  
 von ir nâch irre macht vorjage (KvP 677-84)

The conclusion of this section presents the Order as the successor of all these models :

Disen strîtin ebin hât  
 gevolgit nâch mit vrechir tât  
 der heilige ordin ritterlîch  
 des dutschin hûsis. (KvP 825-8)

It summarises the contents of the discussions of biblical models by stressing that their status as exemplary knights derives from the fact that they pursue their profession in the service of God in warfare against His enemies :

Rittre sind sî gewêre  
 und irwelte strîtêre  
 dî sich in des tôdis wê  
 wâgin durch dî gotis ê (KvP 835-8)

While this legitimises the existence and function of the Order by a combination of themes familiar from crusading propaganda and others developed specifically to sanction the existence of a body of knights under the aegis of the church, a second long passage attempts to justify knightly warfare as a tool of the church.

The main thrust of the argument derives from ideas which are present in St Bernard's De laude novae militiae and reappear in literature and church liturgies as the characteristic feature of the Christian warrior : that he fights not only on the physical, but also on the spiritual plane :



want nicht alleine mit lîblîchin  
 sundir ouch mit den geistlîchin  
 wâpenen wirt ubirwundin  
 der vîent in manchin stundin. (KvP 2178-81)

The chronicle pursues this theme by the use of Old Testament examples and by the development of a theology of weaponry, similar to that already discussed in relation to the dubbing rituals, but far more comprehensive and in much greater detail.

According to the text the two exclusively spiritual weapons at the disposal of Christian warriors are prayer and patience. The chronicle uses the examples of Moses (KvP 2183-2207) and the Maccabees (KvP 2208-2235) to demonstrate that without the correct attitude even the most powerful warriors can be defeated :

Ouch lese wir von den Machabên  
 daz sî in gebete schrên  
 dâ von irre vîende trucht  
 zegelichin nam dî vlucht;  
 unde lesin ouch alsô  
 von Judâ Machabêô  
 daz der zu gote sîn gebet  
 in zwein strîten nicht intet  
 in den iz ubil im irginc. (KvP 2208-2216)<sup>24</sup>

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24. The two passages referred to are II Maccabees 4. 10ff. and II Maccabees 6 and 9.

The authority of St Gregory (KvP 2256-61) and St Jerome (KvP 2262-64) and an unnamed poet (KvP 2245-55) is quoted to demonstrate the power of patience : 'swer da dult, der vint den sic / wiltû gesigin, duldin pflic!' (KvP 2248-49).

There follows a long passage - Von vleischlîchen und von geistlîchen wâpenen (KvP 2274ff.) - in which the chroniclers relate each of the weapons and some of the armour which would have been used in Prussia to a theological virtue and illustrate the allegories with biblical models and quotations from the church fathers. The necessity of both kinds of weapons is established in a preamble in which the legitimacy of physical weapons is demonstrated by references to verses in the Song of Songs (chapters 4. 4 and 3. 7 and 8), which refer to David's armoury and the armed men who defended King Solomon's bed :

ir iclîchir hette  
 sîn swert ûf sîne huf vorwâr  
 gebundin durch der nachte vâr  
 daran uns ouch bezeichint ist  
 daz dî hûtêre alle vrist  
 des houbtis Jhêsûs Christî  
 wâpin sullin hân. (KvP 2287-93)

Conversely the example of Judith, who defeated Holofernes by her virtue, shows that physical weapons alone are not enough :

wer hoffit dann, daz in genûc  
 bewar sîn boge und sîn swert;  
 odir welche sîn sô wert  
 gewesin und so vôrmezzin  
 daz sî han besezzin  
 mit ir swerte dî erdin?

(KvP 2309-14, Psalms 44. 6)

This passage ends with a reference to St Paul's armatura Dei :

darum sol wir des werdin  
 Sente Paulus lêre intpfân  
 und dî wâpin legin an  
 gotis, daz sint tugint

(KvP 2215-18)

The first four weapons the chronicle deals with, the buckler, sword, spear and shield are the most typical chivalric weapons and the ones which feature in the first known liturgy for knights, which is discussed above. The treatment of the sword is of most interest, since it is the weapon most heavily imbued with Christian symbolism during the Middle Ages (KvP 2461-2505). There are obvious parallels with the benedictio ensis of the coronation rites and the Schwertleite vows. The discussion of the sword opens with an account of the vision of Judas Machabeus (II Maccabees 15. 16), in which he is presented with a sword by Jeremiah and entrusted with the leadership of the warfare against the enemies of Israel. Although there is no direct link made in the text, the scene can be seen as a prefiguration of the investiture of the emperor with temporal

power by the church, and later of the church's entrusting of the defence of Christendom to individual warriors, in the consecratio ensis of the coronation and Schwertleite rituals. The role of Judas in this justification of the sword adds to the significance of the Maccabees as a prefiguration of the Order. Saul and Gideon are named as two other exemplary swordsmen, and Gideon's sword is characterised as 'des getwangis craft / cristinlîchir ritterschaft' (KvP 2488-89). The spiritual equivalent of the sword is said to be good works : 'want der geloube ist lebins mat / der der werke nicht inhât' (KvP 2491-92). This conforms to the theory of the two swords, by which the emperor was entrusted with the physical defence of Christendom, while the pope wielded the spiritual sword.

The equation of the buckler (pukelêre) with faith (KvP 2340ff.) is familiar from Paul's letter to the Ephesians (Ephesians 6. 16) and the weapon's spiritual pedigree is further reinforced by extensive references to the Old Testament. The shield (schild) is equated with the related concept of God's word (KvP 2542ff.) and is equally justified by biblical references. The spear is paralleled with just intentions (KvP 2506ff.) and underlines the contention that service of God is the highest form of chivalry :

swaz ir tût zu allir zît  
daz daz allentsamen



geschê in gotis namen  
 iz sî an wortin odir an tât (KvP 2523-26, Coloss. 3. 17)

The remaining weapons are chosen as much for their ability to convey spiritual values as their usefulness to knights. The bow, arrow and quiver would not have been carried by the knights themselves, but are used to symbolise obedience (KvP 2684ff.), chastity (KvP 2720ff) and poverty (KvP 2804ff) respectively, qualities central to the Order's monastic rule. The weapons David used against Goliath, the sling, five stones and a staff, convey, as well as the theme that Christian knighthood is able to overcome apparently insuperable odds, the idea of the psychomachia. Goliath symbolises the devil (KvP 2932ff.), while the staff represents the cross (KvP 2942ff.), the five stones the wounds of Christ (KvP 2947ff.) and the sling devotion (KvP 2953ff.). By constantly remembering Christ's redemptive suffering the Christian warrior is able to overcome the devil :

sust soltû widir im wesin  
 und wiltû wol genesin  
 und gesigin an im, sô hab  
 des heiligin crûzis stab  
 bî dir zu allin stundin  
 und dî vumf scharfe wundin  
 Cristî des vil reinen  
 dî dî vumf steine meinen  
 dî er leit in strengin pîn;

dî lege in dî tasche dîn  
 ich meine dînes herzin.  
 Dî wundin mit iren smerzin  
 saltû recht bedenkin  
 und alumme swenkin  
 mit andacht in der sêlin.  
 sô trifstû ane vêlin  
 den tûvil, daz er stirbit. (KvP 2942-58)

The breastplate, representing justice (KvP 2607ff.), and the helmet, which symbolises salvation (KvP 2986ff.), complete the list of the Christian warrior's equipment. Both of these are taken from St Paul's epistle to the Ephesians, from which the whole idea of the armatura Dei ultimately derives, and are also reinforced by references to the Old Testament. The section ends with an exhortation to the knights to arm themselves and avenge the wrongs done to the crucified God (KvP 3028-57) and an assurance that their reward is secure.

The final part of this reappraisal of Christian chivalry consists of a list of the situations in which the use of arms is permissible - Diz ist von den sachen der ûbunge vleischlîcher und geistlîcher wâpene (KvP 3058ff.). The six occasions are : 1) for practice (KvP 3062ff.), 2) to be ready for the traps of the enemy (KvP 3124ff.), 3) for defensive war (KvP 3160ff.), which according to the chronicle was the Order's role in Prussia (KvP 3202ff.), 4) for upholding the peace and defending property (KvP 3254ff.),

5) for the recovery of lost land and property (KvP 3286ff.), and 6) as a deterrent to the enemy (KvP 3316ff.). Many of these conditions, in particular the third, fourth and fifth, reflect commonly held theological views on the just causes of war<sup>25</sup> and the need to practise and be in readiness for attack follows logically from these. The sixth condition may reflect the mystique which the Order's weaponry exercised on its heathen opponents.<sup>26</sup> It is notable, as has been discussed above, that conversion does not feature as one of the licit uses of force. All six conditions are justified by reference to the Bible in the same way as the weapon allegories. The examples are largely the familiar ones of the Maccabees, Judas and the epistle of St Paul. This formulation of the uses of war does not appear to exist elsewhere in the same form and may therefore be seen as the Order's own attempt at creating a framework for its activities based on the prevailing theories of just war.

The theoretical framework the Order provides itself with has been adapted from the attitudes to chivalry developed by the church since the need to defend Christendom became apparent. While St Bernard laid down the guidelines along

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25. See Frederick H. Russell, The Just War in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1975), p. 231.

26. See KvP 11833ff., and above, in the chapter on the depiction of the heathen.



which all the military orders developed, the chroniclers follow the pattern set by early chroniclers of crusades and in papal crusading bulls by providing themselves with specific biblical models and precedents. The growing importance of individual warriors is attested to by the emergence of liturgies created specifically for him and his weapons. The Order carries this idea further by providing a complete theology of weapons and hence sanctifying their use. Finally it establishes the right of the warrior to bear arms in the community by reference to prevailing theories. That such a detailed and extensive justification of the Order was still necessary is a measure of the extent to which Christian thought was still suspicious of armed warfare on its behalf, even after two centuries of crusades, and equally of the degree to which it was still felt necessary to elaborate for lay chivalry the basis of its religious calling.

The Order responded to the threat posed by criticism at the beginning of the fourteenth century first by a restatement of early crusading propaganda and ideology, and secondly by the development of specific themes and ideas which were perceived as the most suitable vehicles for its own ethos, in the situation in which it found itself.

The treatment of the heathen in the chronicle corresponds



to traditional church teachings and revives the zealousness with which these ideas were propagated during the early crusading period. Similarly all the main features of propaganda relating to the crusades to Palestine, the idea of rewards and indulgences, the typological link with the Children of Israel and the idea of the divinely ordained war are retained, thus maintaining a sense of continuity from the beginning of the crusading period.

New ideas and adaptations of older ones were formulated for their specific usefulness. The precedent of the Maccabees was suited in all its particulars to be the model for a crusading order. The explicit emphasis on the literal sense of the material provided legitimisation for the existence of the Order and is unique to the Order. The dilution in the ideal of Christian chivalry which is indicated in the secular literature and with which the Order itself had been charged, is countered by a detailed and explicit guide to a Christian knight's duties and responsibilities, drawn and developed from existing church doctrine. This part of the chronicle is broadly reminiscent of St Bernard's De laude novae militiae, but its greater emphasis on practical detail reflects the Order's involvement in the realities of war and politics. Finally accusations of secularisation are partly countered by the emphasis on religious qualities, which imbues the whole chronicle, and partly by an explicit counter

attack, in which secular conventions, in particular the idea of minnedienst, are taken over and imbued with Christian values.

Part Two

The above discussion is based almost entirely on the Chronicon Terre Prussie and the Kronike von Pruzinlant. However the Order produced two other vernacular chronicles describing the wars. The first, the Livländische Reimchronik, was written in the 1290s, at the beginning of the surge of literary production in the Order. The second, the chronicle of Wigand of Marburg, was written almost exactly one hundred years later and completed in 1394. The following three chapters will attempt to trace any developments or changes in the Order's literary description of its wars and its underlying ethos during this period, and relate them to the ethical structure which emerged in the first section of the thesis. While it is likely that Dusburg knew of the existence of the Livländische Reimchronik, the material of the two chronicles barely overlaps and he does not appear to have used it. The relationship between the Chronicon Terre Prussie and the Krônike von Prûzinlant has hitherto been examined only in the light of historical fact and stylistic influence. The chapter on Jeroschin's chronicle here will attempt to focus on and account for differences of style, content and emphasis in his translation of the Latin text. Finally the chronicle of Wigand of Marburg may provide a guide to the extent to which the ideals established by Dusburg and Jeroschin influenced the Order's thinking during the later part of the fourteenth century.



Chapter Six - The Livländische Reimchronik

The Livländische Reimchronik<sup>1</sup> was written between 1290 and 1297. Its theme is the Christianisation of Livonia - 'wie der kristentûm ist komen zû Nîflant' (LR 120). It opens with the period which saw the arrival of German merchants and settlers at the beginning of the thirteenth century and describes the creation of the Schwertbrüderorden and its assimilation into the Deutschorden after the battle of Saule in 1236. The bulk of the chronicle deals with the exploits of the Teutonic Knights and their wars in Livonia.

The chronicle was evidently written to be read aloud at meal times. There are frequent occurrences of phrases such as 'als ir hie vôr hat vernomen', 'als ich wil ûch sagen'.<sup>2</sup>

The author made use of several sources and linguistic inconsistencies and inconsistencies in the text itself suggest that he was more concerned with producing a record of events than a carefully constructed work of literature, and have led to speculation that there may have been more than one author. There is certainly no overall coherent structure as is found in the Krônike von Prûzinlant and no apparent educational purpose beyond that inherent in the description of the Order's successes and some proverbial asides. Low German linguistic

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1. Edited by Leo Meyer (Paderborn, 1876). Hereafter LR.

2. See also LR 3724, 9664, 12007, 6842, 11092, 11504, 10366, 4528, 6242, 7810, 10100, 5814, 6036, 8820, 6338, 9778, 10441, 6060, 6908, 7122, 9831, 9849.

influence is evident until line 1894 and points to a source deriving from the Schwertbrüderorden. The author also appears to have used letters, obituaries, the texts of treaties and even an account of the Papal Legate William of Modena. Oral tradition was evidently also an important source.<sup>3</sup> Much of this material was not fully integrated into the text, and several inconsistencies arise. Three heathen brothers who fight on the side of the Order are mentioned twice in the chronicle and on the second occasion they are described as if they are being introduced for the first time. More surprisingly the same fate befalls the Master Anno of Sangershausen, who is introduced to the listener in lines 4338ff. although he has already played a large part in preceding events. Several comments which apparently relate to the author or the time at which he is writing have obviously been taken from older sources. If the comment 'si hant mîn dicke wol geflegen' (LR 800) concerning the heathen couple Emme and Viliemes refers to an episode which dates from the period before the Teutonic Order had entered Livonia, then mîn cannot refer to the author. Similarly if the pilgrims referred to in line 1727f. : 'helfe ir sêle ûz aller nôt, / si sîn lebende oder

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3. References to the author's source material are found in lines 394, 1320, and 1974 (letters), 2281-88 and 5679-86 (obituaries), 2061, 2958, 2048, 4600 and 6687 (treaties), 1319-21 (William of Modena's report) and 122-23 (oral tradition).

tôt' were still alive at the time of writing, they would be at least a hundred years old. A reference near the beginning of the chronicle to bones still being visible on a battlefield (LR 1212) also seems unlikely. Despite these inconsistencies, stylistic evidence suggests that the chronicle was compiled by a single author. Several stock formulae and phrases are repeated throughout the work and particular use is made of set formulae in order to force a rhyme, most frequently 'waz sol ich dâ von sagen mē' (LR 138), 'daz ich iu sage daz ist war' (LR 295) or 'daz ist wâr' (LR 2180).<sup>4</sup>

Although the author gives no indication of his identity, the work has always been closely associated with the Teutonic Order. Lutz Mackensen argues convincingly on the basis of the contents of the chronicle and the author's attitudes and his detailed knowledge of the practical details of warfare and the life of soldiers, that he was a knight member of the Teutonic Order.<sup>5</sup> In contrast to the Krônike von Prûzinlant the depiction of warfare in the chronicle is detailed and precise. In a description of an army on the march he describes the advance guard setting out with scouts, followed by the main body of pilgrims under the protection of knights of the Order (LR 1022ff.)

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4. See Lutz Mackensen, Zur Literatur Altlivlands, Ostdeutsche Beiträge aus dem Göttinger Arbeitskreis, 18 (Würzburg, 1961), 21-58 (pp. 32-34)

5. Mackensen, pp. 31-52.



The garrisoning of a newly-built castle is described in detail (LR 5409ff.). Food supplies are provided for, knights and foot soldiers chosen for the garrison and exhorted to do their duty well, and arms and defences provided for :

armbruste unde p<sup>h</sup>ile  
 wart in kurtzer w<sup>h</sup>ile  
 ûf die burg gebracht als<sup>h</sup>  
 daz sie daz alle wurden vr<sup>h</sup>  
 dâ wurden graben ouch gegraben  
 unde rinneboume erhaben.  
 dâ mite der meister vûr von dan. (LR 5425-31)

Conversely he draws the obvious conclusions from the loss of the castle of Pleczouwe :

der gûte lant betwungen hât  
 und der nicht wol besetzt hât  
 der claget wenn er den schaden hât  
 wan iz im vil lîchte missegât. (LR 2199-2202)

The author displays a detailed knowledge of siege warfare and distinguishes carefully between the various types of siege engine. The precision of one passage which describes preparations for a siege suggests that it may derive from an eye-witness account. Heathen warriors are sent to the woods to gather the material for the building of siege engines and their activities are described by the knights in the castle :

sie brâchten holtz und delen wider  
 und legeten ûf dem velde nider.  
 sie bûweten ribalde grôz.  
 daz velt was lanc und blôz,  
 daz man al ir tûn wol sach. (LR 10023-27)

The knights respond accordingly :

vil kleiner rûwe ir keiner pflac  
 beide nacht und ouch den tac :  
 sie machten bolewerce und graben.  
 ein ebenhõe wart ûf gehalten. (LR 10029-32)

Many of the procedures described show knowledge of the customs of the Order which are verified in later documents. The manoeuvre called sprengen in which the Marshall must open the attack as flag-bearer is later set down in the Gewohnheiten. The procedures for the election of a new master or the retirement of an old one are also reported in detail (LR 3143ff., 9684ff.). The frequent allusions to the Brûderrat give an insight into the way decisions were taken in the Order (LR 3143ff. 6250ff., 11155ff., 11187ff.) and reflect the importance attached to this convention in the Order's statutes, which refer to scenes in the New Testament where Jesus learned from the scribes in the Temple, and advise commanders to look for and accept good advice.<sup>6</sup>

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6. See Mackensen, p. 29. The texts of the Gewohnheiten

Alongside his predilection for describing battles and the customs of the Order, the author displays marked anti-clerical leanings, which are particularly vividly demonstrated in an ironic aside in the description of a battle against the Russians :

die pfaffen vurchten sêre den tôt.  
 daz was ie ir alder site  
 und wonet in noch vil vaste mite.  
 sie jehen, man sulle sich vaste wern :  
 mit vlîhen sie sich gerne nern. (LR 6632-36)

However he stresses the Order's good relations with the church (LR 9649ff., 9411ff.). This reflects the existing political situation at the time the chronicle was written. Relations with the local bishoprics did not deteriorate until the fourteenth century, when Jeroschin accuses the citizens of Riga of being inflamed by the devil with hatred for the Order.<sup>7</sup>

The author's partisanship for the Order is marked. In particular he feels the need to clear it of any suspicion of implication in the murder of the Master of the Sword Brothers,

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No. 59, 'Von dem sprengen des marschalkes' and No. 7, 'Wie der meister unt di commendure sullen gutes rates volgen' are printed in Das Ordensbuch der Brüder vom Deutschen Hause St. Marien zu Jerusalem, edited by Ottmar Friedrich Heinrich Schönhuth (Heilbronn, 1847), pp. 76 and 59 respectively.

7. KvP 20914ff..

Winne, by his own knights :

die brüdere von dem dûtschen hûs  
 die en hatten kirchen odir clûs  
 dannoch in dem lande ;  
 die sint des âne schande. (LR 717-20)

Later he demonstrates the superior political acumen of the Master to the lay knights and the clergy of Riga by the former's unwillingness to enter into a truce with the heathen (LR 9604ff.). The truce is signed, but later broken by the heathen.

Wilhelm Brauns speculates on the basis of the author's wide knowledge of places, events and customs that he had travelled widely throughout the area and may have been a courier in the service of the Master, or like Wigand of Marburg, a weapon herald in the Order.<sup>8</sup> Mackensen attempts to identify him as one of the knights described as arriving in Livonia on St Margaret's day in 1279 with the new Master Conrad of Feuchtwangen, since the dating of this episode is uncharacteristically precise and the chronicle becomes more detailed and better informed after this date.<sup>9</sup> He points to several occasions

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8. Wilhelm Brauns, 'Die Livländische Reimchronik' in Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters : Verfasserlexikon, edited by W. Stammler and K. Langosch, 5 vols (Berlin 1933-55) V, Nachträge, pp. 956-67.

9. See Mackensen, p. 52.



where a particular knight is singled out for praise in this final section, but not named. On one occasion he is given the honour of carrying the flag :

ir einer wart dar zû erwelt  
 dem der vane bevolen was.  
 iz was, dâ ich ûch êr von las,  
 der menlîchen in deme strîte streit  
 und erlichen von dannen reit  
 dô meister Willekîn wart geschlagen. (LR 11242-47)

His gallantry is described in detail :

der brûder, der den vanen trûg,  
 mit einer hant er nider slûc  
 was vor im ûf dem wege was ;  
 swaz er erreichte, des nicht genas.  
 Sîn andere hant, die trûc den vanen. (LR 11263-67)

In view of the frequency with which individual knights are named in the final section, it is plausible that these references to an unnamed hero describe the author himself.

Besides the interest in the detail of warfare, discussed above, several writers have pointed to the influence of epic poetry, and in particular of the Spielmannspos and of Wolfram of Eschenbach on the work, as one of its main characteristics. While Helm and Ziesemer simply state that Wolfram's influence

is unmistakable,<sup>10</sup> Wilhelm Brauns lists several aspects of the author's style which conform to these models : his use of the adjectives balt, gût, stoltz and vrom in conjunction with helt and degen, his use of antithetical phrases, of proverbs and aphorisms and the formulaic nature of much of his description.<sup>11</sup>

The epic influence is most evident in the depiction of armies and battles, in the constantly recurring formulaic descriptions of helmets and breastplates glinting in the sun :

man sach helme und schilde  
glîtzen ûf dem gevilde  
die brunjen blenken sam ein glas  
der dâ vil sunder zal was (LR 3281-84)

Such descriptions refer most frequently to heathen armies, but both heathen and Christian armies are described in the same terms without distinction.<sup>12</sup>

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10. K. Helm and W. Zieseimer, Die Literatur des Deutschen Ritterordens (Giessen, 1951), p. 149.

11. Brauns, 'Die Livländische Reimchronik', p. 963.

12. The Christian army is described in lines 2374ff., 3281ff., 7178f., 10410f.. The heathen armies are described in lines 1084ff., 1578ff., 1594ff., 2107ff., 4752ff., 5016ff., 5450ff., and 8340ff..

Descriptions of battles are similarly formulaic and the same images are repeated constantly throughout the chronicle. The sound of swords clashing and the sight of blood oozing through chain-mail are constant features of the descriptions :

man sach dâ howen manche hant  
dâ hôte man swerte clingen  
daz blût sach man dringen  
durch vil manche brunje gut. (LR 4048-51)

The sight of blood on snow constitutes a frequent variant on the theme, characteristic of battles in north European winters (LR 7883-7907 and 8417-21). Livelier stylised passages also show the influence of the epic tradition in the use of exclamation and antithesis :

hui wie schutten sie die sper  
dô si einander sahen!  
sie schuzzen vitzern und sper,  
die cristen hin, die heiden her,  
sie wurfen gegen widerstrît. (LR 1098-99, 1107-09)

A direct reference to the Eckenlied points to familiarity with popular contemporary narrative and the genre of the heroic epic.<sup>13</sup> The author's style is characterised by the

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13. LR 10174-76 : 'haet ez her Ecke hie vor getan / und von Berne her Dieterîch / sie waeren von rechte lobes rîch.'

use of irony, of frequent euphemistic circumlocutions for the death of warriors, and by a predilection for proverbs and aphorisms. The capture of the heathen leader Lengewin is described with detached amusement :

dô was Lengewîn so clûc  
daz er ûf dem rucke trûc  
sîne hande beide :  
des dâchte er im vil leide. (LR 2877-80)

Like the descriptions of the battles themselves, the description of the deaths of the heathen follows a set formulaic pattern. Often the author uses the image of the warrior leaving his body as security on the field of battle :

und wer dar under wart begân  
der mûste dâ zû pfande lân  
den hals, daz was in ungemach. (LR 3379-81)<sup>14</sup>

Most frequently death is stylised as a state of oblivion :

dâ wart sumelîcher wunt,  
daz er ûf die erden saz  
und strîtes immer vergaz. (LR 6210-12)

This scene is repeated with variations throughout the chronicle,

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14. See also LR 2265ff. and 3860ff..



but it does not necessarily preclude vivid description of the battles, as in the scene described towards the end of the chronicle.<sup>15</sup>

The author's comments on the action are largely confined to proverbs or aphoristic asides. He notes that a poor man's good fortune attracts the envy of the powerful (LR 1553ff.) and that misfortunes always come in threes (LR 6099ff.). His advice always to garrison adequately captured land (LR 2198ff.) and the comment 'gewalt brichet muren' (LR 3088) reflect his military background. Other comments are formulaic in nature. 'Wem daz leit sie, der mac iz clagen' occurs twice (LR 3046, 4504) and the same sentiment is expressed in different words in line 1544 - 'mir ist ein bast wer drumbe grein!'.

Perhaps the most striking evidence of the influence of secular literature on the work is the passage describing Mindauge's apostasy and the role of his wife Martha in attempting to persuade him to remain loyal to his vow to the

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15. LR 10061-67 : 'die heiden man holtz werfen sach / vil manigem doch also geschach / wan er sich wolde bucken nider / daz im entwichen gar die lider / daz er uf die erden saz / und des werfens gar vergaz; / daz quam von der pfile not.' See also lines 2642-43, 2656-57, 6210-11, 1128ff., 10086ff., and 10014-15.

Order (LR 6517ff.). The language and structure of the dialogue both point to its having been modelled on scenes from the courtly epic. The representative of the Order at the court is called Martha's 'friunt' (LR 6433), and she intercedes on his behalf so that he can escape safely. At the end of Mindaugė's abortive campaign against the Order Martha takes him aside to question him. The detail and vividness of the scene far exceed its importance to the chronicle as a whole :

sîn vrowe in lieblichen nam  
 - ûf ein ende unde sprach :  
 'dô ich mit ougen dich gesach  
 komen von der herevart,  
 dô sach ich, daz dîn lîb vil zart  
 was betrûbet harte ;  
 nû weste ich gerne, arme Marthe  
 wie diz heren wêre ergân  
 daz lâz mich, hertzeliēb, verstân'. (LR 6517-25)

The fact that she acts as his conscience in reminding him of his debts and obligations to the Order also conforms to this courtly model.

Secular influences are also discernible in the treatment of the heathen, which diverges greatly from the traditional church standpoint restated unequivocally by Dusburg thirty years later, and reveals the professional soldier's respect for his opponent. Elements of the traditional clerical attitude

remain. The heathen warriors are characterised by pride and this is the cause of their inevitable downfall : 'Lengewin betrouc sîn ubermût / alsô noch vil manchen tût' (LR 2735-36). They are motivated solely by a desire to enhance their reputations : they fight 'durch irn rûm' (LR 534, 1564) and 'durch prîs' (LR 1122). The battle is still seen to some extent as the psychomachia , although not nearly so markedly as in the Krônike von Prûzinlant. The heathen are twice depicted as the allies of the devil (LR 2659ff., 1790ff.), while the armies under the control of the Order are the tools of divine retribution (LR 5218). Hermann Balke brings the Order into Livonia in order to fight 'gotes vinde' (LR 2286). However there is no sense of the heathen being embodiments of the devil. The predominant characteristic of the portrayal of the heathen is the knight's respect for the fighting abilities of the enemy. The description of Lengewin's campaign begins with a long eulogy on his fame and prowess :

sîn name ist manchem wol bekant  
 von alder her, ich sage ûch wie.  
 bie sîner zît er nie gelie,  
 sîn hertze was ie sturmes vol;  
 sîn nâkebûr iz dicke wol  
 befunden. daz was in vil leit.  
 er brâchte maniger hande arbeit  
 den cristen und den heiden zû. (LR 2722-29)

The heathen are often called 'rische helde' (LR 3731ff., 8992,

9197) and their achievements in battle are praised in the same terms as those of the Christian armies :

des sach man von in beiden  
 von cristen und von heiden  
 manchen unverzageten helt,  
 beide rasch und ûz erwelt  
 sturtzen in den grimmen tât. (LR 8397-8401)

The exploits of individual heathens are often recorded in a positive light, as in the case of 'ein rischer helt' who is sent out to find the Brothers' fortress on the Memel (LR 3731-82).

Similarly the description of the Christian combatants is not as one-sided as strict adherence to the church's doctrine would have required. More prominence is given than in the Krônike von Prûzinlant to the lay pilgrims who fought alongside the Order, hence the formulaic description of the splendour of the Christian army, a feature totally lacking in Jeroschin's chronicle. The knights' motives are the traditional ones for crusaders. They fight 'durch got' (LR 821, 5491, 5562, 7908, 1882), for forgiveness of sins (LR 1336, 821) and for divine reward (LR 918) and to spread 'den gelouben und die rechte ê' (LR 2595). More mundane motives, however, reflect other aspects of a knight's calling. The crusades offer an opportunity to promote their wealth and reputation without



incurring the wrath of the secular or ecclesiastical authorities. Bishop Albrecht presents this as an added incentive when persuading friends to return with him to Livonia :

vil tûre er sîne vrûnt beswûr  
 daz sie mit im wolden varn  
 und ir sêle wol bewarn  
 in deme selben lande :  
 sie mochten ane schande  
 , irwerben êre unde gût. (LR 608-13)

Success in battle could also lead to material rewards from a knight's secular overlord, as well as the heavenly reward they had already been promised : 'manich ritter und knecht / vordienten wol ir lêhenrecht' (LR 672-76). Secular elements in the chronicle also include the use of falcon imagery. The knights are said to be keen for battle 'reht als ein hungeric vedirspil' (LR 1825). The theme of hunting is also introduced by Jeroschin to engage the interest of lay listeners.

The chronicle provides an interesting gauge of the extent to which the corpus of crusading propaganda built up by the church over the last two centuries still informed crusaders' thinking. Bernard of Clairvaux's analogy of the astute merchant is echoed twice at the beginning of the chronicle : the baptism of converts is 'der sêle ein hôher kouf' (LR 102 and 276). The theme of the imitatio Christi also appears in the

account of the death of the convert Kope :

er hatte vier wunden  
und sprach zû manchen stunden :  
vumf wunden got durch mich entpfienec.  
daz ez mir nicht als im irgienc,  
daz ist mîn clage nûwe. (LR 517-21)

The necessity of imitating Christ's suffering is also the theme of two sermons reported in the chronicle : Bishop Bertolt's sermon to potential crusaders near the beginning of the work (LR 539-54) and his successor Albrecht's sermon during his search for crusaders in Saxony (LR 856ff.). Similarly the attitude to death of the Christian warriors reveals the widely-held belief that death on crusade was a form of martyrdom and elevated the soldier to direct access to eternal life (LR 1163ff., 4519ff., 5800ff.).

As might be expected from a lay author whose main business was warfare, there is little evidence of biblical influences on the chronicle. The only direct quotation deals with the Order's charitable function rather than its military one (LR 479-80, Math. 25. 40). None of the biblical models which play such a prominent role in the Krônike von Prûzinlant are mentioned in this earlier chronicle. The much used quotation from I Maccabees 3. 59 is echoed on one occasion in a speech exhorting the men to battle : ' ez ist bezzer hie gelegen tôt /

wir enhelfen in von dirre nôt' (LR 1525-6). However the same sentiments similarly worded also appear in a speech by a heathen leader urging his men to avenge their people (LR 10531ff.), indicating perhaps that such phrases had become part of the familiar vocabulary of crusading warfare, but that in the process their original meaning and significance had been forgotten. Such a trend has already been noted in Reinfrid von Braunschweig. A similar development can be seen in the implicit references to the Schwertleite vow. The protection of widows and orphans is once mentioned as part of a knight's duty (LR 4142-46). However on two other occasions the knights are said to be motivated by a desire to create widows and orphans among the heathen :

... sie wolden reisen  
wittewen und weisen  
machen mit der gotes craft. (LR 3929-31, also 660ff..)

The familiarity of the phrase enabled it to be used in a context almost directly opposed to the original Schwertleite vow.

Besides this remarkably sparse and inconsistent evidence for the influence of crusading propaganda, there is also evidence of the continuing influence of the older Germanic tradition that the power of a god was judged in direct proportion to the success of his people in battle :

got was vil wol ir lobes wert :  
 vûmf und zwenzic hundert pfert  
 sie den heiden namen. (LR 1841-43)

Such a direct correlation of God's praiseworthiness with material gain is totally alien to Dusburg's or Jeroschin's chronicles.

Finally, there is considerable evidence of the importance of the cult of the Virgin within the Order. Much of it reflects the formal role that the Virgin played in the day to day life of the Order. The Virgin's standard is the rallying-point of the army :

der gûte meister Volkewîn bat  
 die pilgerîne ubir al  
 sô sie den grôzen glocken schal  
 driestunt vernêmen  
 daz sie zû velde quêmen  
 und unser vrouwen vanen war  
 nêmen. (LR 1008-14)

Much significance is attached to the importance of protecting it in battle, and to be entrusted with the protection of the standard is a particular honour reserved for the best knights.<sup>16</sup>  
 In warfare she was also the subject of the battle cries of the

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16. See LR 1029 and 10422ff..



army :

von got ein sanc wart genomen :

'hilf uns Sancta Mariâ zû vromen!'

(LR 11946-7)

Alongside this factual description there are also indications of the role the Virgin played in the ideology and devotional life of the Order. The idea that the land that the Order was fighting for belonged to the Virgin and was given to it as its Christian inheritance, an extension of the haereditas theme of earlier crusading propaganda, appears to have been widespread throughout the Order, since it appears here as well as in the Krônike von Prûzinlant :<sup>17</sup>

wan uns got hât her gesant

in sîner lieben mûter lant,

daz sulen wir breiten mit unser macht. (LR 3261-63)

In this chronicle too, the Virgin is shown to intervene on behalf of the Order, although these ideas are far less fully developed than in the Krônike von Prûzinlant. She helps by sending cold winters to distress the heathen (LR 6150ff.) and by inspiring pilgrims to help the Order in Livonia :

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17. This theme is discussed above in Chapter 4. See KvP 27494ff..

die half dem lande sider wol  
 als ich ûch nû sagen sol,  
 mit pilgrîmen manche schar  
 die durch ir liebe kâmen dar  
 und betwungen daz lant. (LR 447-451)

The knights of the Order ride out to battle 'in dienste unser vrouwen' (LR 8336) and one particular knight, in a self-contained episode whose form appears to have been influenced by the Marian legends, predicts his own death in battle and his reunion with his lady :

ich wil hûte zû nône  
 vor dem himelthrône  
 bie unser vrowen nâhen  
 mîne spîse enpfâhen (LR 9345-48)

The virgin's association with converted heathen, evident in the Krônike von Prûzinlant, is apparent in the prayer mourning the death of the convert Suxe :

mûter, Maget Mariê  
 edele unde vrîe  
 hilf sîner sêle ûz aller nôt,  
 er blieb in dîme dienste têt. (LR 8117-20)

There is no indication that the Livländische Reimchronik was used as a source for the Krônike von Prûzinlant. The two chronicles have only one episode in common: the absorption

of the Schwertbrüderorden into the Teutonic Order,<sup>18</sup> which resulted in Hermann Balke's mission to Livonia as the first Master, and the Battle of Durbe, at which a combined Prussian-Livonian army was crushingly defeated by the Lithuanians in 1260.<sup>19</sup> Both of these episodes are of relatively little importance in the context of the Prussian chronicle, and although both accounts agree in their presentation of the facts, there are no striking similarities in the texts or in the interpretation of the events.

Because of the inconsistencies inherent in the text and the uncritical use of a wide range of sources, it is not possible to regard the Livländische Reimchronik as a coherent expression of the ethos of the knights in the Order. Nonetheless, several aspects of the chronicle are remarkable in view of the environment in which it was produced. Secular literary forms are used without modification or apparent awareness of the conflict with monastic values which they represent. While there is evidence of the influence of church teaching, particularly of the cult of the Virgin, which might be

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18. KvP 5604ff. 'Diz ist wî Lîflant quam an dî brûdre des dûtschin hûsis'. Compare LR 1843ff..

19. KvP 10513ff.. Compare LR 5583ff..

expected to exercise particular appeal over non-clerics, there is little apparent understanding of the concept of the militia Christi and little distinction is made between the opposing groups of warriors. The complete absence of biblical models and the almost total lack of biblical references is also striking. It might be argued that the fact that the chronicle was produced in a military order made the explicit statement of religious values superfluous, were it not that where references to aspects of Christian chivalry do occur, they are often garbled and inconsistent, as in the case of the references to the Schwertleite vow.

It appears that the Livländische Reimchronik does reflect to a considerable degree the extent to which Christian chivalric values had become subordinate to the conventional military values of lay society during the long period of warfare throughout the thirteenth century. With the completion of the conquest of Prussia and Livonia in 1283 the Order was able to turn its attention to other matters. Indeed, as was seen in the introduction, it was compelled to do so by the controversy and criticism which surrounded the orders at this time. The pietistic movement and the official chronicles with their rigorous ethical programme for the knights, sponsored by later Grand Masters, were undoubtedly intended to redeem the situation and make the knights more fully aware of their mission and their heritage.



Chapter Seven - The relation of Jeroschin's Krônike von Prûzinlant  
to the Chronicon Terre Prussie of Peter of Dusburg

Jeroschin's translation of the Chronicon Terre Prussie was commissioned by the Grand Master Luder of Brunswick in order to make the Order's history more accessible to the non Latin-speaking members of the Order and to a wider German public.<sup>1</sup> His intended audience was therefore the group whose interests are most prominent in the Livländische Reimchronik and it will be useful to examine his approach to the material in the light of the picture of this group which emerged from the earlier chronicle. The popularity of the vernacular version of the chronicle quickly eclipsed that of the Latin original, which did not achieve widespread dissemination at any time. Dusburg's chronicle was completed in 1326 and Jeroschin's translation about fourteen years later.

As has been noted above, the editors of the two chronicles in the Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum concentrated on their importance as historical documents.<sup>2</sup> Dusburg's chronicle is regarded as the single most important source for the early history of Prussia, and in view of this Jeroschin's many additions and alterations have been evaluated mainly for the light they shed on the historical events described in the chronicle. Strehlke makes passing reference to Jeroschin's qualities as a poet,<sup>3</sup> but the first detailed criticism of

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1. See below, and KvP 142-220.

2. See above, pp. 26-28.

3. Strehlke, SRP I, p. 292.

Jeroschin's work in its own right was made by Franz Pfeiffer, who published extracts from the chronicle along with a detailed survey of Jeroschin's language and poetic technique.<sup>4</sup> The most complete literary survey of the Krönike von Prûzinlant was written at the beginning of the century by Walther Zieseemer and this work has become the standard reference for all subsequent discussions of the chronicle.<sup>5</sup> Zieseemer enumerates specific changes and trends in the translation and demonstrates Jeroschin's superior imaginative powers and poetic talent by means of exhaustive examples from the text. He sees in Jeroschin a trend towards the secularisation of the material - 'er bedeutet eine Bereicherung, aber mehr der profanen Seite zu'<sup>6</sup> - but he gives no detailed analyses of any passages as a whole and no indication of the extent to which Jeroschin's overall concept of the chronicle differed from Dusburg's, if at all.

Jeroschin made significant alterations and omissions when translating the opening sections of Dusburg's chronicle. Some of the omissions, such as the dedicatory address to Werner of Orseln, are self explanatory. Others, however,

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4. Franz Pfeiffer, Die Deutschordenschronik von Nicolaus von Jeroschin (Stuttgart, 1854).

5. Walther Zieseemer, Nicolaus von Jeroschin und seine Quelle (Berlin, 1907).

6. Zieseemer, p. 133.

shed light on more fundamental differences of approach between Dusburg and Jeroschin. The passages of the opening section of Dusburg's version which Jeroschin does not translate are the Epistola, the Prologus, De modo agendi huius libri and the Prefacio ad institutionem ordinis domus Theutonice. He uses and develops only one idea which comes from this material, the quotation from Daniel, Chapter 3, which opens Dusburg's prologue. He replaces these sections with original material of his own : a hymn to the Trinity (KvP 1-86), his discussion of the passage from Daniel, Chapter 3 (KvP 87-142), acknowledgements to his patrons Luder of Brunswick and Dietrich of Aldenburg (KvP 143-220) and a discussion of versification and his approach to the arrangement of Dusburg's material (KvP 221-330).

Jeroschin opens the chronicle with a discussion of the Trinity and its relation to creation and creativity. The first section of the prologue (KvP 1-40) develops traditional church teachings on the characteristics of the separate elements of the Trinity and their relationship to each other. His attribution of the qualities of power, wisdom and goodness to the Trinity (KvP 1-3) derives from a tradition which has its basis in Augustine<sup>7</sup> and is expanded later in the writings

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7. See 'De doctrina christiana', c. 5, in PL 34. 21 and 'De trinitate', vi, 10, in PL 34. 931.



of Hugh of St Victor,<sup>8</sup> Thomas Aquinas<sup>9</sup> and Bonaventura.<sup>10</sup> The formula is also widely found in vernacular theological writing. The early Middle High German Summa Theologiae describes the Trinity in terms of macht, gûte and wîsheit,<sup>11</sup> as does the author of Das Anegenge<sup>12</sup> and the St Trudperter Hohelied.<sup>13</sup> In the subsequent lines of the prologue (KvP 5-40) Jeroschin develops the theme of the creation as elaborated in the first chapter of Genesis and here ascribes to the elements of the Trinity a role which corresponds to traditional church teachings on their relationship to each other. The Father is the source of life, the Son the being and the Holy Ghost the spirit which informs it :

swaz ot ist creatûre

.....

dem hât dîn trinitas gegeben

urhap, wesin unde lebin. (KvP 15, 19-20)

The same idea is expressed slightly later when he talks of God -

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8. See 'De sacramenta' 1 p. 2, c. 5, in PL 176. 208 - 'fides catholica ... assignavit potestatem Patri, sapientiam Filio, bonitatem Spiritui Sancto'.

9. Summa Theologica I, 39, a. 7 and 8.

10. Brev. I c. 6 ; 'De tripl. via III, 12.

11. In Kleinere Deutsche Gedichte des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts, edited by H. J. Gernentz, vols 3 and 4.

12. In Gedichte des XII. und XIII. Jahrhunderts, edited by K.A. Hahn (1839), 2, 60-76.

13. Edited by J. Haupt (Vienna, 1864), 2, 18-21.

'ûz dem, durch den, in dem ursprinc / genomin habin alle  
dinc' (KvP 27-28). In the final lines of this section he  
combines all the elements of this theological construct to  
describe the process of creation :

Got vatir mit gewalt urhap  
allin créatûren gab ;  
got sun in gotlîchir wîsheit  
mit wundirlîchir undirscheit  
sî bildit unde formit ;  
got heiliger geist sî normit  
in der nâtûren grûte (KvP 29-35)

In the second section the focus narrows to the creation  
of man and to the poet himself (KvP 41-86). Man's intellectual  
gifts and capacities were seen in the Middle Ages as the gift  
of the Holy Ghost, and hence sinfulness, or the absence of  
God's grace, and artistic inadequacy were causally linked in  
the medieval mind. Jeroschin's lament on his own sinfulness  
reflects the traditional humility of clerics and writers on  
theological matters.<sup>14</sup> A confession of sin was the necessary  
prerequisite for an appeal to God for grace and inspiration.:

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14. This phenomenon is discussed fully by J. Schwietering,  
'Die Demutsformel mittelhochdeutscher Dichter' in Julius  
Schwietering, Philologische Schriften, edited by F. Ohly and  
M. Wehrli (Munich, 1969), pp. 140-215.

Ôwê, nû hât der sundin eiz  
 bevlochtin mîner sêle gadim  
 daz des sûzin geistis âdim  
 von mir lenkit sîne kumft,  
 dâ von ich stumf bin an vornumft  
 unde tummir denn ein vî. (KvP 54-59)

The confession of sinfulness and inadequacy was also a feature of prologues written in the vernacular by lay writers, and the traditional expressions of humility were adopted by the courtly epic poets. Jeroschin's use of the set formulaic vocabulary, such as 'mine kranken sinne' (KvP 71), 'tumme sinne' (KvP 302) and mention of his being 'meisterlichir kunste wan' (KvP 303) and 'tummir denn ein vî' (KvP 59) indicates his awareness of this tradion in vernacular literature.<sup>15</sup>

The prologue then returns to the first theme of the gewalt, wîsheit and gûte of the Trinity and ends with a prayer to God, the source of all creation, for forgiveness so that the poet can aspire to his own creative activity :

der vatir sende mir dî macht  
 daz iz werde vollinbrâcht  
 des ich hî gedenke ;  
 des sunis wisheit lenke

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15. See Schwietering, Demutsformel, for the use of these terms in vernacular literature.



mîne kranken sinne  
 daz ich vornumft gewinne  
 ô sûzir geist, dîn gûte  
 dî sêle mîn durchvlûte  
 ....  
 daz ich dir ein herberge  
 muge sîn nâch dînre lust (KvP 67-74, 76-77)

The separate components which go to make up Jeroschin's prologue were common in medieval theological writings, as has been indicated above. However the specific form of the prologue shows close parallels with the prologue of Wolfram's Willehalm. This too opens with a celebration of the Trinity as the source of all creation and identifies the elements of the Trinity as kraft (1, 4), wîsheit (1, 27) and gûete (2, 23). Wolfram also lists the sequence of the creation in the same way that Jeroschin does (Willehalm 2, 2- 2, 15, KvP 6-20) and concludes with a prayer for divine inspiration (2, 23-26). Wolfram's prologue was widely disseminated and used to some extent as a model. It was copied in its essentials by Rudolf of Ems in Der guote Gêrhart<sup>16</sup> and by Reinbot of Durne in Der Heilige Georg<sup>17</sup> and is likely to have been familiar to contemporary listeners.

16. Edited by J. Asher (Tübingen, 1962), lines 300-484, especially lines 313-319.

17. Edited by C. v Kraus, Germanische Bibliothek, Abt. 3, I (1907), lines 2550ff..



Secular poetry with a crusading theme is known to have been popular within the Order. Rudolf of Ems's Barlââm and the Stricker's Roland were present in libraries throughout Prussia.<sup>18</sup> While there is no direct evidence of the extent to which other secular epic poetry was known in Prussia, Helm and Ziesemer point to Jeroschin's knowledge of courtly and chivalric terminology as evidence of his familiarity with the genre.<sup>19</sup> The parallels between the prologues of Willehalm and the chronicle and the conventional use of language suggest that Jeroschin was aware of a tradition of a Trinitarian theme in the prologues of legend epics, and wanted to draw attention to similarities between his chronicle and the vernacular epic tradition, and crusading epics in particular.

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18. M. Zacher and E. Steffenhagen, 'Die altdeutschen Handschriften zu Königsberg' ZfdA, XIII (Berlin, 1867), pp. 501-574, describe and enumerate all the MSS found in the Königliche Bibliothek, the Universitätsbibliothek, the Königliches Geheimes Provinzial-Archiv and the Wallenrode Bibliothek.

19. Die Literatur des Deutschen Ritterordens (Giessen, 1951), p. 160 : 'Der ganze Umfang von Jeroschins literarischen Kenntnissen ist nicht festzustellen. Ofter hervortretende höfische Ausdrücke im Wortschatz z. B. Wörter wie ritterspil, just, hurdiren, turniren, vorlankeniren (v. 10379) zeigen, daß ihm die höfische Erzählliteratur nicht fremd geblieben sein kann. Es werden wie bei anderen Dichtern des Ordens, vor allem die Dichtungen Konrads von Würzburg und Rudolfs von Ems gewesen sein.'

Dusburg's prologue opens with a eulogy of the deeds of the Order. The markedly different approach to the opening of their works taken by the two authors indicates widely differing concepts of the nature of the chronicle.

The following section in Jeroschin (KvP 87-176) turns abruptly to the story of the young men in the fiery furnace which opens Dusburg's work (Daniel 3. 19 - 4. 2). This story had become popular in the twelfth century in the light of contemporary crusading experience,<sup>20</sup> and both Jeroschin and Dusburg use it to draw parallels between the plight of the young men in the furnace and God's 'children' in Prussia. The Order is presented as the instrument of God's purpose in Prussia. Jeroschin departs from his model by developing the analogy more fully. As in the Old Testament the furnace is heated to seven times its normal temperature, so in Prussia, the scene of the knights' martyrdom, the knights are afflicted 'mit sibinvaldir jamirkeit' (KvP 133) in their efforts to fulfil God's will :

Hitze, vrost, durst, hungirsnôt,  
wundin, bant, den bittrin tô  
dem oven sî inmitten  
durch got mit willen litten (KvP 134-37)

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20. See D. H. Green, The Millstätter Exodus (Cambridge, 1966), p. 224.

Nebuchadnezzar's reaction to the miracle is to tell the world about it (KvP 87-93). Similarly the Grand Master Dietrich of Aldenburg wishes God's deeds through the Teutonic Order to be known to the world as a source of praise to God and honour to the Order :

Ich wil gotis wundir  
predgen unde machin kunt  
durch mînes capellânis munt  
want gotis wundirbêre were  
sol man nicht legen in vorberc. (KvP 146-165)

Jeroschin's commission to translate the chronicle is the fulfilment of this plan to make the history of the Order known to a wider audience :

ûf daz er suz beduten  
mug allen dûtschin luten  
dî wundir unde zeichin gots  
dî nâch gûte sîns gebots  
in Prûzinlande sîn geschên. (KvP 161-165)

The aim of this publicity, the desire to confute the critics of the Order, remains unspoken but is implicit in the presentation of the chronicle.

The passage based on Daniel is the only section of the introduction in which Jeroschin discusses the Order's role



in Prussia. By developing the analogy with the Old Testament he is able to lend authority to the knights' work in Prussia and stress the hardships and martyrdom they endured. He establishes the Order's history as the history of the deeds of God on behalf of His people, the Gesta Dei of earlier crusading chronicles, and the use of the story from Daniel and the Trinitarian theme of the prologue link the Order's history to earlier traditions of crusading literature. None of this is at odds with the contents of Dusburg's Prefacio. However while Jeroschin sees the chronicle as a means of recording and publicising the deeds of God through the Order, for Dusburg it obviously had a further purpose. Having mentioned the analogy with Daniel Chapter 3 and described the Order's achievements in Prussia, he goes on to describe, in terms reminiscent of St Bernard's De laude novae militiae, the necessary spiritual attitude which made these achievements possible. In an analogy based on Psalm 107. 9 he discusses the doomed efforts of those who strive for worldly values, St Bernard's militia saeculari :

fratres in primitivo, ut inimicos fidei facilius expugnarent, toto cordis desiderio laborabant pro fortibus equis, armis validis et castris firmis, et nemo illis dabat.<sup>21</sup>

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21. Chronicon Terre Prussie, SRP I, p.22.



Using terminology widely found in crusading propaganda, he compares them with those who have achieved the Order's successes in Prussia : they have surrendered their own will and taken up the cross in imitation of Christ. He goes on to describe the life-style required of the militia Christi and exemplified by the sufferings and martyrdom of the members of the Order during the conquest of Prussia. The typological link between the crusaders and the Old Testament heroes is made clear by the use of the words of St Paul (Hebrews 11. 35ff.) describing the suffering of the Old Testament heroes, to describe the knights in Prussia :

in eis completa fuerunt, que apostolus de sanctis martiribus scribens ad Hebreos ait : alii distenti sunt, alii ludibria et verbera experti, insuper et vincula ey carceres; lapidati sunt, secti sunt, temptati sunt, in occisione gladii mortui sunt, circuierunt in melotis, in pelliibus caprinis, egentes, angustiat, afflicti, quibus non dignus erat mundus, in solitudinibus errantes et in montibus et in speluncis et in cavernis terrae.<sup>22</sup>

At the end of the preface he alludes again to the words which open it : 'signa et mirabilia fecit apud me dominus excelsus', but now with a prayer to God to renew the signs of His grace to Prussia : 'innova signa et immuta mirabilia'. He implies

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22. As note 21, p.23.

that the heroic deeds of the conquest of Prussia are now in the past and that the spirit which inspired them is in decline :

... in novissimis diebus instabunt tempora periculosa, et erunt homines se ipsos amantes, querentes que sua sunt, non que Jesu Christi, habundabit iniquitas et multorum caritas refrigescet.<sup>23</sup>

Helmut Bauer discusses the signs of decline within the Order after the conquest of Prussia and traces the enactment of laws to combat indiscipline and laxness.<sup>24</sup> Dusburg here reflects the intention of the spiritual leaders who commissioned the work that it should not only be a record of achievements, but an inspiration and guide to contemporary members of the Order who fell short of its original ideals. He returns briefly to this theme in the Prefacio ad institutionem ordinis domus Theutonice. The Order is founded on the rock of Christ, 'ita quod si avaricie pluvia descendant et flumina luxurie et venti superbie flent et irruant in illam non possit cadere'.<sup>25</sup>

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23. As note 22.

24. See H. Bauer, Peter von Dusburg und die Geschichtsschreibung des Deutschen Ordens im 14. Jahrhundert in Preussen (Berlin, 1935), pp. 17-20, and above, Chapter 1.

25. Chronicon Terre Prussie, SRP I, p. 24.

It is unlikely that the few years intervening between Dusburg writing his preface and Jeroschin beginning his translation saw any significant change in the state of the Order.

Jeroschin may have omitted the material because of the implicit criticism of the Order, but he had no such reservations in this respect later in the chronicle.<sup>26</sup> It is more likely that these omissions at the beginning of the chronicle derive from Jeroschin's different view of the chronicle and the purpose for which it was intended. If it was not written solely for internal consumption, but as noted above, also as a means of publicising the Order's work throughout the whole of German-speaking Europe, then strictures about declining standards within the Order are irrelevant and damaging. The relative secularisation of the material which Jeroschin's attempts to present it to a lay public entailed and which has been noted by Zieseimer, appears to have had opponents within the Order. Jeroschin records that his first draft of the beginning of the chronicle - 'quinternen mê wen vîre',<sup>27</sup> (KvP 189) written for Luder of Brunswick was destroyed 'von dem argen tîre, daz Josêphis roc zureiz' (KvP 195) - presumably disapproving fellow members of the Order.<sup>28</sup> The translation

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26. Compare for example his discussion of the careers of Burchard of Swanden (KvP 18192ff.) and Bertolt of Northausen (KvP 16541ff.).

27. Approximately 6000 lines.

28. This motif is a common one in the works of the authors connected with the Order. Compare Passional, edited by K.A.



was resumed and successfully completed under the patronage of Dietrich of Aldenburg.

The different tone of the translation, established in the opening lines, is sustained throughout the chronicle. Jeroschin's approach is often livelier and more colourful than Dusburg's. He frequently uses vivid concrete imagery where there is none in Dusburg as a means of enlivening the narrative. Drowning Poles are depicted as fish-traps :

Dô sach man wischen ûf den grunt  
vil manchin Polen in der stunt  
des bûch in dem geprûse  
wart eine quappinrûse. (KvP 7983-86)

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Hahn (Frankfurt, 1845), 333, 61 and Hesler, Apokalypse, edited by K. Helm (Berlin, 1907), v. 16549ff.. Schwietering, Demutsformel, in his discussion of this theme (p. 166-67), attributes this opposition to the Order's attempts to make theological writing accessible to laymen : 'Unter den geistlichen Dichtern scheint das Motiv vor allem bei den Übersetzern biblischer Bücher zu Hause, die sich in die gleiche Situation des grossen Bibelübersetzers versetzt fühlten und darüber hinaus durch die popularisierende Tendenz der Laiensprache neuen Grund zu Anfeindungen boten. Das ist der Fall bei den Deutschordensdichtern, deren Neider wir in klerikal orthodoxen Kreisen zu suchen haben, die die Beschäftigung der Laien mit der Schrift nur ungern sahen'. Jeroschin's popularisation of the Order's history was evidently regarded in the same light.



He abuses the citizens of Riga, calling them 'di welligen statvarrin' (KvP 21048), while Bertolt of Northausen, a commander in the Order who neglected his duties in order to further his personal ambitions, is compared with a fox :

der durch snôdir weide pflicht  
 ofte schadin groz vorsicht  
 dî wîl er schirrit in dem molt  
 und in irsleichit hetzebolt. (KvP 16549-52)

Legitimate enemies of the Order are often compared to dogs, the conventional term of abuse for the heathen.<sup>29</sup> Duke Swantopelk is 'der tobinde unreine hund' (KvP 6167) or 'der arge hund' (KvP 6148), while the devil is 'der hellehund' (KvP 5927). He describes with relish the defeats the Order inflicted on its enemies. He talks of 'des vûris zorn' devouring Lithuanian buildings and corn (KvP 23168), and describes at length the spectacle of a dog gnawing out the heart of its master (KvP 18463-483).

The sufferings of members of the Order are described with compassion and imagination. He greatly extends a passage in Dusburg describing the trials undergone by brothers stranded in the wilderness without food and reveals considerable psychological insight and dramatic powers in the way in which he describes their suffering :

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29. See S. Stein, Die Ungläubigen in der mittelhochdeutschen Literatur von 1050-1250 (Darmstadt, 1963), p. 15.

sî westin nicht was anevân  
 sundir sân einandir an  
 in bermelîchim blicke  
 dâvon ouch schrie zu schricke  
 sich eime von den andrin bôt  
 want ir antlitze, dî ê rô  
 vollio schînen unde clar,  
 nû vorvallen und ertvar  
 wâr von grôzim mangle. (KvP 24470-478)

The same compassion is shown in describing the work of the Grand Master as 'ein schwêrir burde' (KvP 5694) and in the scene of rejoicing at a Christian victory :

... vroide grôz,  
 sô grôz, daz joch aldâ begôz  
 manch ouge manchin bart vil grîs ;  
 want als dî hitze tût daz eis  
 zusmelzin und zuvlizin  
 sust mûste sich irgîzin  
 nach so bittrin smerzin  
 ûz den irsûftin herzin  
 von grôzin vroidin manic trân. (KvP 19472-480)

The ice metaphor is a traditional one, but particularly apposite in Prussia. The chronicle relates several anecdotes concerning battles on ice-covered lakes and miraculous escapes when the ice was not strong enough to bear the weight of the armies.

His ability to combine vivid description with down-to-earth practicality is often used to humorous effect, as when Martin of Golin persuades robbers not to stain his clothes with blood, since 'di varwe in vil gar ingat, / ob man si widir waschen sol' (KvP 14500-1). Ocassionally his robust humour appears to strike a jarring note in the context of the chronicle, particularly in the case of the Virgin's rebuke to a doubting knight : 'du tummir affe' (KvP 4703), but such language was evidently not felt to be innapropriate for the Virgin in the context of popular writing. In the Passional she remarks of a scholar's intention to marry : 'daz ist vil effenlich ein dinc'.<sup>30</sup>

In addition to using vivid imagery and familiar situations as a means of enlivening the chronicle, Jeroschin makes frequent use of a range of narrative devices which would have been familiar to audiences of epic poetry and which diverge greatly from the techniques of the clerical chroniclers. The narrator often intrudes directly into the chronicle to comment on the action or express a personal opinion. The most striking example of this tendency is the much-quoted passage where he expresses a wish that the miraculous cure of another brother's baldness could be extended to him (KvP 18918-930) :

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30. Marienlegenden aus dem alten Passional, edited by H. G. Richert (Tübingen, 1965), no. VII, line 67.



Â hui! So wêre ich hôchgemût  
 sô ich ir stirne sêhe blôz  
 und mîn schopfil wêre grôz  
 mit cruspelechtin endin! (KvP 18927-930)

This description of how he would mock bald friends introduces a frivolous note quite foreign to Dusburg's conception of the chronicle, but the device of using the narrator as a comic comparison with the events narrated is frequently found in secular epic poetry.<sup>31</sup> In the same tradition Jeroschin often uses the formulaic 'ich wêne' to introduce expressions of personal opinion. One such comment, on the state of church income, is a direct criticism of church authorities and demonstrates a freedom totally lacking in Dusburg :

Wêrn dî prêbindin sô  
 magir, als sî warin dô,  
 ich wêne, kein juriste  
 legiste noch artiste  
 impetrîrte darîn,  
 des wolde ich wol ein burge sîn! (KvP 13684-92)

Other such insertions include the sacriligious suggestion that the brothers would have been prepared to eat the food reserved for baptisms rather than starve : 'ich wêne daz in kindebrot /

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31. See Uwe Pörksen, Der Erzähler im mittelhochdeutschen Epos (Berlin, 1971), p. 111-2. Compare Willehalm 26, 22 ; 243, 23ff., 389, 28.



dâ vil sûze were' (KvP 12546), and an ironic comment in the defeat of a Prussian champion : 'ich wên, daz wêre den Prûzin leit' (KvP 12441). The stronger expression 'ich swûre' is used with the same ironic intent in the description of an attack on some heathens after a wedding celebration :

ich swûre wol, sold ich iz tûn  
 sî hettin dâ geslâfin vur  
 wêr iz gewest an willekur  
 des was iz nicht; sî mûstin ûf (KvP 18755-58)

Other similar expressions of opinion occur throughout the chronicle. The narrator says of a Prussian who has been tied to a tree 'des was er wert' (KvP 13385). He criticises Prussian drinking habits :

alle werdin trunkin.  
 Daz ist nâch irm gedunkin  
 kurzewîl und êre grôz,  
 doch dunkit iz mich êren blôz. (KvP 4191-94)

The phrase 'ich meine', familiar to courtly poets as a means of elaborating details, is used twice to clarify details (KvP 5285 and 12921).

Jeroschin makes frequent use of rhetorical devices to enliven the material and intensify the mood. Exclamations in the

form 'O we' are used, as might be expected, exclusively in expressions of compassion for the sufferings of the Christians. They occur in all the passages Jeroschin expands to describe the fate of Christian women prisoners<sup>32</sup> and in the poem which laments the fallen Christians before the Battle of Woplauken : 'ô wê der nôt, si ligen tât / besulwit in ir blûte rô't' (KvP 23750-52). Similar expressions occur in descriptions of Withen's earlier raids (KvP 23350), in descriptions of Swantopelk's massacre of Christians and in the account of the brothers who find themselves stranded without food.<sup>33</sup> He draws attention to descriptions of battles he has expanded from the Latin version by repeating the rhyme over several lines.<sup>34</sup>

The narrator often turns to the audience to draw them directly into the events of the chronicle. An ironic aside comments on the safe arrival of an army which had been feared lost : 'Nû mekit ob icht wurdin vrô / dî betrûbtin cristen dô' (KvP 8472-3). A similar formula is used to draw attention to the moral of a different section of the chronicle : 'nû sêt, wî wundirlich kan got ... / sîne geschefde handên' (KvP 18484-5). The more direct 'secht, dô wart ein tâtin' introduces the description of a battle (KvP 5113). The chronicle also contains direct appeals to the audience to avenge the sufferings

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32. KvP 16729ff., 15717ff., 23580ff..

33. KvP 6274 and 24465. See also 23332 and 23335.

34. Compare KvP 4801ff., 17025ff., and 23470ff..

of Christians in Prussia. After a description of Swantopelk's persecution of the Christians, the narrator continues :

Wer wêr der cristin sô ungût  
 der ôt vornumftigin mût  
 hête unde rechtin sin  
 der daz lîze strîchin hin. (6277-80)

A similar appeal is made to avenge women prisoners (KvP 6222ff.). Such appeals would have been superfluous if addressed to an audience solely composed of members of the Order and are further indications that Jeroschin's chronicle was intended for a wider public.

Jeroschin also makes use on one occasion of the traditional narrative device whereby the narrator refuses to elaborate further on a point in his story. He uses it to highlight the horrors of Withen's final raid into Prussia, the extent of which he cannot bring himself to describe : 'vil mê wen ich nû sprechin wil' (KvP 23549). This device was also widely used in secular literature.<sup>35</sup>

Jeroschin's inclination to moralise has already been touched on by Zieseemer.<sup>36</sup> It is implicit in many of the examples

35. See Eberhard Nellmann, Wolframs Erzähltechnik : Untersuchungen zur Funktion des Erzählers (Wiesbaden, 1973), p. 83.

36. Zieseemer, p. 119.



given above. It also manifests itself in a tendency to provide a moralising framework for incidents in the chronicle, giving them the nature of moral homilies. This tendency is not present to nearly the same extent in Dusburg<sup>37</sup> and reflects Jeroschin's desire to present his material in a form accessible to lay audiences. After describing a vision of dead Christians wearing the crown of martyrs, Jeroschin's final comments elevate the story to a general moral principle:

des mûze Christ gelobit sîn  
 der dî machit dort so vîn  
 dî durch in hî lîdin pîn! (KvP 12834-36)

A similar purpose is served by his conclusion to the story of a battle between a Christian woman and a heathen : 'sus wart der starke heide blas / und das kranke wîb genas' (KvP 14783-84), and by his epilogue to the description of the ministrations by the Virgin to those fallen in battle :

dî von nôtin tût intladin  
 und pflît hôhir gnadin  
 alle dî gezwîdin  
 dî icht durch sî lîdin. (KvP 7289-93)

The most notable example of this moralising tendency, the

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37. But see Chronicon Terre Prussie III, 110, SRP I, p. 108.



description of the Battle of Woplauken, is discussed in detail below. His greatly expanded accounts of the plight of Christian women prisoners may suggest that Jeroschin anticipated women as an audience of the chronicle<sup>38</sup> and also reflects in part the central role played by women in secular epics. Jeroschin's description of the embarrassment of bald men when their hats blow off 'vor der werdin vrouwin lût' (KvP 18920-26) is the only indication of social contact between the Order and women, presumably the wives and daughters of settlers and townspeople. His sympathy for these women and the dangers they faced in Prussia is expressed in a passage he added to Dusburg's chronicle which describes the fate of of prisoners captured by Swantopelk :

Dâ mochte jamir schouwen  
 an den edlin vrouwin  
 dî dâ erzogen wârin zart  
 daz dî mûstin nû so hart  
 lîdin manchis schmachtis pîn  
 und dâbî betwungen sîn  
 zu pflegelîchir arbeit.  
 Dêswâr in was wers denne wê. (KvP 6212-19)

This passage is in stark contrast to Dusburg's bleak statement :

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38. Hesler, too, appears to have anticipated women among his audience. In his Apokalypse he instructs the reader to omit certain passages if women are present (Apokalypse 3711ff.).

'Christianos ... miserabiliter occiderunt, mulieres et parvulos in captivitatem deducentes'.<sup>39</sup> Later in another passage which has no basis in Dusburg, he dramatises the plight of Christian prisoners in terms which suggest real concern and compassion :

lîb von lîbe scheidin  
 mûst in grôzin leidin  
 dî mûtir von dem kinde  
 daz sî dennoch linde  
 zôch mit der spune vûtir.  
 Dî tochtir von der mûtir  
 man da zarrete bitterlîch  
 dô sî dî heidin undir sich  
 an der buîtunge teiltin  
 und unkûchlich bemeiltin. (KvP 16719-28)

A similar passage (KvP 23580-93) describes the fate of women prisoners taken by King Withen in 1311. According to Dusburg, after their release by the Order these women turn on their captors and attack them.<sup>40</sup> Jeroschin obviously felt that such behaviour did not fit the picture of helpless suffering he was building up. Instead he describes their tearful gratitude to the knights who released them (KvP 23818-48). His depiction of the plight of women was evidently calculated, at least in part, to inspire the protective instincts of

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39. Chronicon Terre Prussie III, 34, SRP I, p. 69.

40. As above, pp. 176-7.

potential crusaders. His concern for female virtue is also reflected in his introduction into the chronicle of the story of a nun who tricks a raider into killing her rather than be raped. (KvP 26510-80).<sup>41</sup>

The ultimate embodiment of female virtue is the Virgin, who plays an important role in both versions of the chronicle. Her interventions often cast light on Dusburg's and Jeroschin's differing views of the chronicle. On two occasions she personifies the conscience of the knights, once when she appears in a dream to rebuke a knight who is disillusioned with the Order, and later when she complains to another brother of the knights' lack of piety (KvP 4655 and 10415). She regrets that they no longer talk of religious matters when they gather for meals:

Nû louft ir rede unebin  
 swen sî zusamin kumin  
 ir kosen gibt unvrumin.  
 Sî trinkin odir ezzin  
 unsir sî vorgezzin  
 unde kêrin irin sin  
 mit îtilîchin wortin hin  
 ûf wertlîchir vurstin tât.

(KvP 10440-47)

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41. Strehlke discusses the history of this legend in his footnote in SRP I, p. 610.

This admonition reflects the central purpose of Dusburg's chronicle, as set out in the prologue, to revive the Order's religious mission. While this was equally one of the purposes of Jeroschin's chronicle, he allows it to remain implicit rather than explicit in his version, because of the further aim it had of influencing opponents or potential crusaders. The inclusion of this incident in the vernacular version therefore illustrates an unresolved tension between the two versions of the work.

Jeroschin exploits to some extent the potential inherent in the less formal nature of his chronicle and his use of the vernacular. He uses direct speech far more frequently than Dusburg, and often to good dramatic effect, as in the story of the two women who both want to marry the same man (KvP 7293-62), or the discussion between the crusader who has risen from the dead, his son and a priest (KvP 8201ff.).<sup>42</sup> He evidently gave some thought to his craft as a poet. He follows the example of Heinrich Hesler in inserting into his work a discussion of rhyme schemes and the length of lines.<sup>43</sup> There is one attempt at lyricism, in which Jeroschin departs

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42. See also KvP 1023ff., 1825ff., 3589ff., 6397ff., 8201ff., 8335ff., 8645ff., 9057ff., 9994ff., 10352ff., 11038ff., 13742ff., 16950ff., 19294ff., 19803ff..

43. Hesler Apokalypse, line 1454ff.. Compare KvP 236-255.



from his self-imposed standard of lines of six to nine syllables, in order to express the intensity of the horror of the wrongs done by the heathen to Christendom (KvP 23722-55). The poem is completely self-contained and in one manuscript is separated from the rest of the chronicle by a red line.<sup>44</sup> Zieseimer suggests that it may have been introduced into the chronicle by Jeroschin at a later stage.<sup>45</sup> It takes the form of a call to revenge against the heathen. The first four stanzas list their wrong-doings : blasphemies against God, the slaughter of Christians, the destruction of churches and finally their attacks on women. The last two stanzas call on the knights to avenge these deeds without mercy :

Dâwiddir slât  
mit vrechir tât  
und ir dekeine schône hât.      (KvP 23753-755)

Heightening of tension is achieved by the increasing complexity of the stanza structure and the poem reveals flexibility of poetic technique not evident elsewhere in the chronicle.<sup>46</sup> It occurs in the section of the chronicle which represents Jeroschin's most significant original contribution to the

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44. See Strehlke's footnote, SRP I, p. 577.

45. Zieseimer, p. 93.

46. The structure of this poem is discussed in detail by Zieseimer, p. 93, footnote 18.

chronicle, the description of the Battle of Woplauken, which is discussed in detail below.

The stylistic device used most frequently by Jeroschin to draw attention to or enliven sections of the chronicle which were of particular importance to him is the repetition of a rhyme over four or even ten consecutive lines. He uses this device in his prayer to the Virgin at the beginning of the chronicle (KvP 314ff.), in several descriptions of battles (KvP 4801ff., 17025ff. and 23470ff.), at the end of the section dealing with St Barbara (KvP 6661ff.) and in his elegy on Marshall von Plotzk (KvP 25117ff.).

The above discussion has dealt largely with alterations or additions Jeroschin made to material already present in Dusburg's version of the chronicle, and the stylistic devices which he borrowed from secular authors in order to enliven the historical narrative. However Jeroschin made several lengthy independent additions from which emerge a clear view of his approach to the chronicle and the history of the Order. These longer passages which have no direct precedent in Dusburg's work fall into two main groups : accounts of subjects in which he had a particular personal interest and descriptions of events about which he was more fully informed than Dusburg.

The first group consists mainly of passages relating to the

family of Luder of Brunswick, who first commissioned the translation of the chronicle. References to St Elizabeth, who married into the House of Brunswick, and who was the subject of special devotion in the Order, are expanded (KvP 1431ff. and 1558ff.). The account of the arrival of Duke Otto of Brunswick as a crusader in Prussia (KvP 5283-5522) was completely reworked by Jeroschin and illustrates several trends evident in the chronicle as a whole. Dusburg disposes of the Duke's arrival in five lines and goes on to give a factual description of the battle for Partegal, in which the Duke participated. The battle was won for the Order by the treachery of a Prussian convert, who according to Dusburg was inspired by Christ to betray his fellow countrymen. The plan was put into action before the Duke's arrival, but in the knowledge that he was on his way.<sup>47</sup> Jeroschin changes the sequence of events in order to gain the maximum dramatic effect from the Duke's arrival. The scene is set with a vivid description of the sufferings inflicted on the brothers

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47. The episode is described in the Chronicon Terre Prussie III, 25-26, SRP I, pp. 63-64. Section 25, De adventu Ducis de Brunswick, is brief and factual : 'Hoc tempore sicut aqua frigida scienti, et bonus nuntius de terra longinqua, ita nobilis ille deo devotus Otto illustris princeps et dux de Brunswick, qui eciam de Luneburgk dicebatur, venit cum multitudine copiosa peregrinorum ad terram Prussie in subsidium fratribus in gravi necessitas articulo constitutis.'



by the raids of the Prussians in Fartegal and the resulting shortage of supplies :

Mit trênin hôt man shrîen  
 sî ofte an den sûzin got  
 daz er durch sîner trûw gebot  
 in wolde hulfe sendin  
 und diz leit intwendin. (KvP 5314-18)

Only now is the Duke's arrival mentioned and Jeroschin further increases its dramatic impact by implying that it is unexpected and by the device of having the brothers sight his ship at sea, without knowing whose it was or why it was coming. The tension is resolved in scenes of jubilant rejoicing as a counter balance to the earlier tribulations. Although Jeroschin's intentions are clear, their expression is rather laboured :

Eiâ herre got, und ô  
 wî wunnenclich, wî rechte vrô  
 wurdin in den vristin  
 dî brûdere und dî cristin! (5333-36)

The Duke's arrival is described in elevated, spiritual terms, as befits one who comes in response to prayer. He comes :

... als ein brunne vrisch und kalt  
 kumt deme, der in durste qualte



und als ein bote, <sup>der</sup> von vern  
landin kumt mit lîbin mern.

(KvP 5337-40)

Jeroschin's desire to exalt Otto of Brunswick is also reflected in the role he ascribes to him in the capture of Partegal. Whereas Dusburg attributes the cooperation of the Prussian convert which led to the capture of the castle to divine intervention, in Jeroschin's version the Duke and not Christ is the instigator of the plan and the Prussian is won over 'mit gâbe grôz' (KvP 5383). This episode serves as a demonstration of the prince's wisdom and wealth, but also as a tribute to a notable supporter of the Order and as an indication to a lay audience of the possibilities for their own participation in a crusade in a post-crusading age. The Order was dependent on a steady stream of pilgrims in its wars against the Lithuanians.<sup>48</sup> Jeroschin's concern to establish Otto's worldly status also accounts for his lavish description of the courtly accoutrements the Duke brings with him : 'allis des genûc, des sîner herschaft was gevûc' (KvP 5363-64). He dwells at length on the splendour of the hunting equipment :

jaithunde und vedîrspil  
und jaitgezûgis vil

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48. A similar indirect appeal for lay crusaders may be seen in the greatly expanded version of the sermon of Duke Leske of Cracow to his followers (KvP 16854ff.).

des in Frûzinlande ê  
nicht enwas gewesen mê. (KvP 5355-58)

According to Jeroschin, Otto left two huntsmen and dogs and nets with the Order when he left and from this date hunting was permitted to members of the Teutonic Order, although it was forbidden to other orders (KvP 5499-5522). In his discussion of hunting Jeroschin is evidently reflecting popular practice rather than official policy. In the Rule hunting was permitted only in limited circumstances and for practical purposes, not 'durch kurzewile'. Hunting as Jeroschin describes it was expressly forbidden :

alsô getâne iagit, alsô man pfliget zu tûne mit rûfene unde mit hunden unde beizen mit vederspîle, die ensulen die brûdere nicht urboren.<sup>49</sup>

Dusburg gives no information on this subject. Such a positive acceptance of worldly pursuits would have been totally at odds with the edifying purpose of his chronicle, but for Jeroschin it provided a useful point of contact with lay courtly life and could be expected to interest potential pilgrims from the noble sections of society. Images from hunting which occur in the Livländische Reimchronik have

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49. Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften, edited by M. Perlbach (Halle, 1890), Regel 23 p. 47 - Diz ist von der iaget.

already been discussed above. Jeroschin's interest in the genealogy of one of the brothers he discusses (KvP 17906-11) is another example of his attempt to introduce information of interest to the laity.

The other major addition Jeroschin made to the chronicle in deference to Luder of Brunswick is his expanded account of the finding of the relic of St Barbara. The Grand Master wrote a poem on the event which has been lost, but which Jeroschin mentions in his chronicle (KvP 6426-41) and which he probably used as a source.<sup>50</sup> The final one hundred lines of the account describe the arrival of the relic in Kulm Cathedral and the miracles wrought by it (KvP 6572-6670), and are thought to be entirely original.<sup>51</sup> They reflect an interest in church ritual which is evident at other points in the chronicle.<sup>52</sup> The procession to the cathedral is vividly observed, probably from personal experience of similar occasions :

Darnâch in sûzim dône  
 irhûb dî pfafheit einin sanc  
 unde richtin iren ganc  
 widir kegn der stat wart

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50. See Ziesemer, pp. 36-44.

51. See Ziesemer, p. 43.

52. Ziesemer, p. 84.



mit dem heilictûme zart  
darumme wart ein michil dranc  
und ein wunneclîchir clanc.  
Dî pfaffin leise sungin  
dî glockin lûte sungen (KvP 6582-90)

St Barbara is represented as a national martyr whose relic will bring blessings on Prussia and on the Order in particular. (KvP 6646-70). The whole episode reflects Jeroschin's greater sensitivity to the popular piety in the Order, and his desire to give particular emphasis to events which were likely to fire the popular imagination.

The second group of major additions which Jeroschin made to the chronicle fall mainly towards the end of the period covered by the chronicle.<sup>53</sup> Many of these additions give more factual information than Dusburg's version and suggest that Jeroschin may have had personal knowledge of the events or have heard reports from eye-witnesses. His description of the winter of 1323 is obviously taken from personal experience :

Der selbe winter was so kalt  
daz dî vruchtboume nicht inthalt  
hattin vor dem vroste ...

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53. Toeppen, SRP I, p. 11, gives a full list of these additions.



Ir grûse so vorrôste  
 daz sî mustin werdin sôr  
 'odir vruchte gelde. (KvP 25774-77, 81-82)

The most fully thought out and revealing of these late additions is his account of the battle of Woplauken: 'Wî dî brûdre gesiget in an dem kunge von Littouwen' (KvP 23470-23879).

It illustrates most of the elements which are characteristic of Jeroschin's style. This battle put an end to a series of damaging Lithuanian raids into Prussia, at a time when the Order's motives and methods were also under attack from within Christendom.<sup>54</sup> The fact that Jeroschin singled it out for special treatment suggests that it was popularly regarded within the Order as a major turning point in their history. Jeroschin himself certainly presents it in that light.:

want wô vorlurn wêr der sic  
 sô mûste gar in jâmirs schric  
 der cristenegeloube  
 sîn gelegen toube  
 in allem Frûzinlande. (KvP 23860-64)

The account is written in the form of a popular sermon on hubris, the sin which characterises the heathen in the writings of clerics. Although he is discussing specific events, the

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54. See above, in the introduction, and Eric Christiansen, The Northern Crusades (London, 1980), Chapter 6, for a discussion of the political situation.

moral framework lends the account universal significance: King Withen in his arrogance challenges the authority of God and the Order is presented as the instrument of divine retribution. The moralising purpose of the passage and its theme are set out in the opening lines :

Gelucke machit ubirmût;  
 ubirmût ist ein ungût  
 daz ubirhoubit vichtet  
 und alle dinc vornichtet.  
 Swen ubirmût ûfsteigit  
 vil nidir er den neigit;  
 daz ist wol zu spêne  
 an kunge Witêne  
 dem hōmûtigen heidin. (KvP 23470-78)

Jeroschin goes on to compare Withen's career implicitly with that of Lucifer. His success has made him so proud, 'daz er hîlt zu spote / sînen schepfer gote' (KvP 23488-89), and this inevitably leads to his downfall. The story of the campaign and the battle are to be the illustration of this moral truth. Jeroschin opens the account with the words : 'daz in sulchir wîs geschach' (KvP 23494).

The account of Withen's initial successes follows the outline given by Dusburg, but is much elaborated and expanded by Jeroschin. Withen's men are 'helde, an manheit ûzirwelde' (KvP 23504), so that their subsequent defeat by the Order is

all the more praiseworthy. The desecration of Prussian churches by the heathen always evoked a particularly passionate response in Jeroschin,<sup>55</sup> and here too it is vividly described :

der lîchnam gots gebenedît  
 von der dît vormaledît  
 wart jêmerlich durch iren nît  
 behant, besulwit, angespît.  
 Sumeliche in vrâzen,  
 etslîche durch ir grâzen  
 in wurfin mit unwerde  
 nidir ûf dî erde  
 in traten und zuribin (KvP 23538-45)

The description of the heathens' 'ummezlichir hochvart' (KvP 23567) culminates in Withen's challenge to the Christians : 'Sagit, wâ ist ûwir got?' (KvP 23609), and his dismissal of Christianity as 'ein îtel wân' (KvP 23633). With this the turning point is reached and Jeroschin indicates this symbolically by describing the arrival of the knights 'dô dî nacht ende genam' (KvP 23654). The description of their arrival verges on theatricality. Jeroschin emphasises their common purpose by refusing to name them individually and describes them almost as if they were being introduced for the first time :

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55. See Ziesemer, p. 83.

Waz sullen sundren dî genent?  
 Iz waz der êrbêre convent  
 der brûdre samenunge,  
 hô, nidir, alde, junge. (KvP 23658-61)

The ensuing assault on the enemies' stockade is described vividly and in far greater detail than in Dusburg's version. The heathen 'wurfin kuilen unde sper ... rechte als ob es snîte' (KvP 23692, 23694). Finally the knights break through and the heathen are dispersed 'recht als eine starentrucht' (KvP 23717). The knights give chase and slaughter the fleeing heathen. The description of the carnage is characteristically vivid :

vil mange rôte bach  
 da stûnt in vreisir vlûte  
 ûf des gevilden grûte  
 von ungetouftim blûte. (KvP 23773-76)

Jeroschin stresses that the knights are not acting independently but as agents of God - 'sînes zornes rûte' (KvP 23782). In this sense it is not the Order but God himself who is punishing the enemy, who are doomed because of their sin. They are -

... [dî] veigen lûte  
 dî dô got der gûte  
 slûg in grimmer glûte  
 mit rechtir râche plâge (KvP 23779-81, 23784)



Jeroschin uses the device of having the freed women prisoners greet the triumphant knights to express the gratitude due to the Order from Christendom as a whole. They are called 'des himels rote' (KvP 23829) and 'gotis rittere' (KvP 23833) and are to be accorded the double reward traditionally due to all crusaders :

des mûze got ûch gebin  
hî ein sêlic lebin  
und dort in himelrîche vrôn  
der êwigen vroiden lôn! (KvP 23844-47)<sup>56</sup>

The knights' response emphasises the significance of the eulogy : 'dî brûdre sprachin 'Âmen'' (KvP 23848). This concern to emphasise the praise due to the Order is undoubtedly an attempt to defy the political critics of the Order.

Jeroschin emphasises the sermon nature of the whole episode at the end by his insertion of a prayer to God and a direct appeal to listeners to endorse what they had just heard :

Des sî lob und êre  
gesagit immir mêre  
sîme sûzin namen!  
Nû sprechit : Âmen! (KvP 23868-71)

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56. Exactly the same sentiments are repeated in (KvP 23834-35)

This is the only example in the chronicle of listeners being required to respond vocally to what has been read and confirms the view that Jeroschin attached great significance to this episode and that it was of great political importance to the Order as a whole.

Jeroschin's treatment of the battle of Woplauken demonstrates that his perception of the issues involved in warfare against the heathen was the same as Dusburg's and that of the propagandists of the twelfth century. His popularisation of the chronicle was evidently intended to provide the Order with a tool in its proselytisation of lay chivalric society and a weapon against the critics of the Order. The few inconsistencies in his chronicle reflect to some extent the incompatibility of these two aims. The form of his chronicle, the many stylistic devices he borrows from epic literature and his relatively greater awareness than Dusburg of the interests of lay society all indicate a recognition of the preoccupations of the warriors in the Order and those who fought alongside it. To this extent his chronicle reflects trends evident in the Livländische Reimchronik. But the Krönike von Prûzinlant differs fundamentally from the earlier chronicle in that in the former secular influences are entirely subordinate to the central purpose of providing the knights with a Christian ideology and an understanding of the aims and theory of crusading warfare. While Jeroschin altered the

form of Dusburg's chronicle and some of its emphases, the underlying convictions remain, and secular forms are exploited by the Order to convey Christian ideals.

Chapter Eight - The Chronicle of Wigand of Marburg



Had Wigand of Marburg's chronicle survived in its original form, it might have been possible to trace the influence of Dusburg's and Jeroschin's ideas on the members of the Order with more certainty than is now possible. Unfortunately, only a few short fragments remain of the original, a total of five hundred lines from a chronicle, the original length of which has been variously estimated at between 16500 and 25000 lines. The original chronicle was completed in 1394. The factual core of the chronicle has been preserved in a Latin translation made at the instigation of the Polish historian Dlugosz.<sup>1</sup> The translation was undertaken by a cleric from Geismar, and at his own admission was written hurriedly and with some difficulty :

anno vero 1464 translata est in latinum rude, ut patet legenti, et in 22 diebus completa primo aspectu exemplaris, et ideo ne miretur quis, minus bene eam esse translata et in latino corruptam propter exemplaris imperfectionem et quorundam vocabularum raritatem, que merito debent translatores excusare.

(SRP II, p. 662)

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1. The Latin translation and the most useful of the fragments of the original are published in Scriptores Rerum Frussicarum II, pp. 429-664, and Scriptores Rerum Frussicarum IV, 1-8, edited by Theodor Hirsch. Page references in brackets after quotations in the text refer to volume two of the SRP. Further short fragments of the original, edited by Herbert Thoma, are published in ZfdA, 74, 39-45, but in many cases only the first word of each line has survived. For the estimate of the chronicle's original length see K. Helm and W. Ziesemer, Die Literatur des Deutschen Ritterordens (Giessen, 1951), p. 166

Furthermore, the content of the chronicle has been arbitrarily edited by the translator, and has been, in his own words 'in multis superfluis verbis decisa'. Since the main interest of his patron was the historical content, it is reasonable to assume that much material which would have shed light on the ideological and religious concerns of the Order has been lost. The omissions, which are indicated in the text by the insertion of 'etc.' or by other means, include descriptive passages, religious observations and prayers, as well as passages assumed to be general knowledge. One such passage describes the arrival of pilgrims in Prussia : 'dux Lutzbergensis cum 300 armigeris et aliis christifidelibus in protectionem fidei etc. venit'(p. 463). Another contained eulogies on the death of Winrich of Kniprode : ' cui optat historia a Deo, sancta trinitate et per invocacionem omnium sanctorum longo sermone vitam et requiem sempiternam' (p. 616). The prayer following the death of the Grand Master Conrad of Wallenrode is similarly omitted. The omissions make it impossible to gauge the ideological content in the original and must modify any judgment of the original.

Wigand of Marburg is known to have been a herald in the service of the Order.<sup>2</sup> His concerns were therefore, like

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2. See Helm and Zieseimer, p. 166.

those of the author of the Livländische Reimchronik, primarily military rather than religious. However, despite this and the activities of the author, several indications remain of the crusading tradition propagated by Dusburg and Jeroschin. God is praised for the successful outcome of battles (pp. 455 and 456) and victories are attributed to the grace of God (p. 538) and the help of God (p. 556). The continued importance of the Virgin is reflected not only in references to the banner depicting her, which the Order carried (pp. 454, 512 and 624) and references to the institution of new Marian festivals (pp. 498 and 586), but also in a passage which attributes a victory to her assistance. This incident is contained in one of the fragments which survives of the original chronicle and it provides an opportunity to compare the varying approaches of the author and the translator. The Latin translation is factual and concentrates on externals : '[virgo Maria], cuius imago in vexillo hospitum eleganter depicta erat, de cuius intervencione venit victoria ista' (p. 512). The original passage, although the first few lines have not survived, shows a far more vivid and direct approach :

unser vrouwen bilde  
 die in der zît gar milde  
 vor den ougen hin und her  
 was den cristen ein gût wer;  
 darzû ir gnâde mit volleist  
 und ir hulfe allir meist  
 ist von Marien komen

(p. 512, Fragment IX, 1-7)



As a result of the victory the crusaders found a nunnery, and while the Latin version attributes their motivation solely to a desire to praise God : 'magister Dusemer cum preceptoribus voverat reddere Deo laudes et claustrum edificare' (p. 513), the German original reiterates the importance of the Virgin and mentions the theme of service of her which has already been discussed with reference to the Krönike von Prûzinlant and the Livländische Reimchronik :

umme daz der meister Dusemer  
und darzû alle gebîtiger  
wurden mit rate in ein,  
wi si Marien der rein  
zu lobe unde zêren tön  
ein loblich dînst machten schön.  
Ouch meister Dusemer in der zit  
von Dänvelt brüder Sîfrit  
mit aller gebîtiger vulbort  
ein juncvrouwenclôster so vort  
machten zu Königsberg in der stat. (p. 513, Fragment V)

The differences between the two versions illustrated in this incident indicate again that the original chronicle may well have had more in common with the Dusburg- Jeroschin tradition than is apparent from the translation. It also suggests that there may have been many more omissions than those formally indicated in the text.

The chronicle contains several prayers for the souls of



fallen knights (pp. 567, 579, 583 and 636), but these are either very short and formal or have been omitted by the translator. One prayer which survives in greater length than the others echoes the fervour of prayers in the Krônike von Prûzinlant :

Frater Boghardus, dum in visitatione esset in Nerbekeiten, audiens in collacione huiusmodi tribulaciones et ve christianorum, in maxima cordis afflictione manuum constrictione clamavit ad Dominum dicens : o Domine, propter mortem tuam etc. respice hanc afflictionem, quam impijssimi infideles tuis fidelibus inferunt! (p. 580)

On the whole, however, the emphasis in the chronicle is on external acts of piety, rather than the intense personal devotion which characterises the Krônike von Prûzinlant. The chronicle often reports the founding of religious institutions as acts of thanksgiving for victory in battle (pp. 482, 513 and 568), and the importance of the cult of relics in the late Middle Ages is reflected in the accounts of the recapture of the relics of Adalbert (p. 480) and the gift of a relic of St Katherine by the Emperor Charles IV to Commander Gunther of Hohenstein as a mark of honour (p. 597-98). The importance of relics as an element of popular devotion was evident from Jeroschin's version of the Krônike von Prûzinlant by his greatly extended description of the capture of the relic of St Barbara by the Order.

The influence of the church's attempts to Christianise the secular warrior ethos is also reflected in the chronicle. The eulogy of Winrich of Kniprode calls him 'witwen und weisen vater' (p. 615) in a reference to the Schwertleite vow. The importance of the cult of warrior saints, propagated in some of the rituals for creating knights discussed above in the first part of the thesis, is apparent from the many allusions to the banner of St George and the honour of carrying it into battle. Pilgrims who fought alongside the Order had traditionally fought around the banner of the Virgin. By the late fourteenth century the banner of St George, who had become generally accepted as the patron of knights, had become equally important. Many associations of knights dedicated to St George existed at this time and the Order of the Garter was founded in England by Edward III in 1346 as a Brotherhood of St George. Normally German knights took precedence in carrying the banner of St George. The international rivalry which the honour aroused is reflected in the chronicle in an incident when the Order refuses to allow English knights to carry the banner :

Anglici erecto vexillo sancti Georgii; unde de Hanow indignatus eos invadere voluit, sed fratres non permiserunt et committunt vexillum Theutono domino Kun de Hattensteyn (pp. 544-45)<sup>3</sup>

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3. See T. Hirsch, SRP II, p. 544, footnote 699, for a discussion of this problem.

These elements were evidently felt to have connotations of secular knighthood, since neither the typical knight's shorthand reference to the Schwertleite vow nor any of the warrior saints appear in the Krönike von Prûzinlant, where the biblical model of the Maccabees dominates. There is however a confused reference to 'witwen und weisen' in the Livländische Reimchronik, which is discussed above. The Livländische Reimchronik has been shown to have been written by a knight and it also reflects the soldier's interest in the banner behind which he fights.

The attitude towards the heathen in Wigand's chronicle, in as far as it can be discerned from the Latin translation, is also similar to that found in the Livländische Reimchronik and reflects the author's military interests. There are two calls for the damnation of the heathen, both translated in shortened form (pp. 611 and 661). The second in particular suggests a continued awareness of the theological gulf which separates Christian and heathen : 'et optat salutem cronica christianis, alii vero miseriam eternam' (p. 661). However, as in the Livländische Reimchronik, the warrior's respect for his opponent is also apparent. The author relates with apparent admiration an incident in which the Lithuanian Kynstut rides to an arranged meeting with the Marshall on horses he had previously stolen from the Order (p. 557). In another passage the translator notes that the poet praised the heathen for their



merciful treatment of a Christian prisoner :

Johannes Surbach dedit se captivum, quem pagani diis sacrificare voluerunt, quia ab eo multipliciter erant offensi, sed rex noluit; et in eo laudavit [auctor] huius modi acta, et demum in patria revertuntur inimici Christi (p. 596).

This depiction of the heathen, which appears to grant their ideas and actions the same validity as those of the Christians, is totally at odds with the view represented by Dusburg and Jeroschin. Even allowing for the omissions made by the translator, which may have given the chronicle a completely different character, it demonstrates that Wigand's chronicle was written in a totally different spirit and in quite different circumstances from the Krönike von Prûzinlant. This impression is borne out by other elements in the chronicle, which also underline its similarities with the Livländische Reimchronik. Like the author of the earlier chronicle, Wigand of Marburg is interested in the mechanics of warfare : the tactics, siege engines and weapons, and the details of individual campaigns. The practical discussions of the preparation of garrisons echo passages in the Livländische Reimchronik discussed above:

alium fortem domum erexit prope, in cuius propugnaculo 100 bellicosos statuit, sed et 40 animosos fratres cum totidem sagitariis ordinavit ad utilitatem domus (p. 493)



The battles themselves are described, not as Jeroschin described the Battle of Woplauken, as illustrations of theological truths, but with a soldier's practical interest :

Marschalkus ordinavit 5 vexilla, rex similiter solutis nebulis 5 armavit vexilla, et factum est crudele bellum ... Frater Otto de Luterberg, dictus Theodericus etc, hostiliter persequentes hostes ubi frater Ywan cum vexillo ordinis corruit, quia equus eius telo transfixus, nec quisquam poterat vexillum levare, quia conclavatum fuit et grave, et fit clamor pro subsidio; unde Poloni huiusmodi videntes putant exercitum fratrem debilem et circumdant fratres forti copia. (p. 481).

The details of siege warfare are described with similar interest and apparently detailed information.:

et simul veniunt in Welun, ubi steterunt x diebus fitque machina, quam marshalkus convertit in latus suburbii, commendator Elbingensis cum 4 arietis inferius et frater Ortolf impugnantes et machine transeunt sequenti nocte etc, planant suburbium dejicientes ... Tercia die, dum viderent suburbium destructum, concurrerunt celeriter et excidunt ante-murale et injiciunt ignem. Elbingenses in alio angulo succendunt partem domus et flamma ascendit cum vento et crevit in immensum (pp. 546-47).

Wigand also records the first use of cannon by the Order and the devastating effect it had on opponents (pp. 599-600) and mentions the heavily armed French knights who were a feature of fourteenth-century warfare (p. 657). The Order's

importance as a centre for European chivalry is reflected in short references to court banquets held by the author (pp. 645 and 649).

Particularly striking in comparison with the Krônike von Prûzinlant is the frequency with which individual members of the Order are singled out for mention and praise. The corporate spirit which imbued the Order as Dusburg and Jeroschin saw it precluded any individual being praised for acts of bravery in battle. In Wigand's chronicle individuals are named throughout, and even the carpenters, officials in the Order, receive recognition for their part in the battle :

tunc magister carpentarorium de Marienburg Marquardus confixit et construxit unam machinam sive arietem (vulgariter tûmler), quo mediante ejecit unum propugnaculum de acie castrî contra Mimelam. Similiter magister Matthias, faber lignorum de Königsberg, fecit omnino parem, cum quo disjecit propugnaculum usque ad fundum, quod stetit prope Nergam (p. 532).

The frequency with which individuals are named undoubtedly reflects improved record-keeping in the Order, but it is unlikely that Dusburg and Jeroschin would have used the material to this extent even if it had been available.

While it is impossible to judge the extent to which the translation changed the nature of the chronicle, there can

be no doubt that the herald Wigand's primary interests were not the theological and ideological issues which concerned Dusburg and Jeroschin, but the external trappings of warfare and chivalry. His attitude is epitomised in the first chapter, where a brief formal mention of the spiritual rewards of the crusaders is juxtaposed with a detailed description of papal and imperial gifts to the Order, the external symbols of its authority :

multi cruciferorum et alii principes et nobiles eis succurrentes pro temporali vita eternam mercati sunt. Sed et papa magnas ordini concessit indulgentias in robur fidei et augmentum. Dedit quoque ei crucem auream, et cesar arma imperii scilicet aquilam, quam fert in vexillo suo contra paganos (p. 453).

Spiritual concerns are largely taken for granted and the emphasis is on the visible grandeur of the Order as a body of knights.

Chapter Nine - Conclusion



This thesis has aimed to examine the Teutonic Order's crusading literature in both its historical and literary contexts, since only by a full examination of all the factors acting on the Order at the beginning of the fourteenth century can the nature and significance of its literary output be appreciated. As has been shown, both historians and literary critics have hitherto neglected one or other aspects of the works. This has led, on the part of historians, to a lack of understanding of many of the most important parts of the Krönike von Prûzinlant, since they do not appear to contribute directly to our historical understanding of the Order. Literary critics have been equally at a loss to account for many of the ideological and theological passages in the chronicle and have accordingly tended to ignore them or to attribute them simply to the effusions of an age more deeply imbued with religiosity than the present, and as such of little value. The lack of interest in the material shown by literary historians of the crusade can only be accounted for by a complete disregard of the central role it played in the crusading warfare of the fourteenth century, when it was almost the sole representative of the crusading idea, still engaged in constant warfare against the heathen, and enjoying the respect and patronage of the nobility of Europe. Only by combining the tools of both disciplines is it possible to achieve a clear picture of the Krönike von Prûzinlant as the exceptional product of a precise moment in the Order's

history.

That this was in fact so becomes clear from the two different approaches to the material in the thesis. The synchronic approach employed in Part One highlights the Order's specific achievements. Comparisons with contemporary literature and church documents show that the crusading ideal, which, if not in total abeyance, had become increasingly tarnished, was restated with the vigour of the early crusading period. More importantly, perhaps, the role of the individual warrior within the church is redefined in concrete terms, providing for a later generation a framework similar to that which Bernard of Clairvaux had provided for the first Templars at a time when similar doubts as to the usefulness of the military orders were being raised. A further aid for the assimilation of lay warriors into the church is provided by the exploitation of the cult of the Virgin Mary within the Order, by means of which it was able to offer the knights an acceptable alternative to the values which pertained in lay society. The Order strengthened its own position and established Prussia as a legitimate home of crusading warfare by the use of traditional biblical models and Old Testament typology. The Maccabee model in particular provided a precedent for a group of knight-priests engaged in actual physical warfare which only the Teutonic Order appears to have fully exploited and highlights their radical approach to

traditional material. The status of the Virgin was also used to establish the Order's right to existence and to build a mystique around their Prussian territories which allowed them to be viewed as the legitimate successor to the Holy Land as the goal of crusading warfare.

The diachronic approach employed in the second part of the thesis highlights the exceptional position of the Krönike von Prūzinlant in the literary output of the Order. It is undoubtedly significant that the author of the Livländische Reimchronik and Wigand of Marburg were military men, while Dusburg and Jeroschin were priests. The Livländische Reimchronik deals preponderantly and most easily with matters of warfare, while ideological ideas are confused and sparse. It also indicates the extent to which the secular tradition of crusading literature influenced the thinking of the Order's members and threatened to undermine the dogmatic ideals of the early crusading movement. The two chronicles written by priests represent the Order's attempts to restate this ideology. While Dusburg's original chronicle sets up the ideological framework, Jeroschin's translation attempts to exploit the forms and conventions developed by secular literature to convey the ideology to a German-speaking audience, whether knight-brother of the Order or lay pilgrim. By the end of the century the role of the priests has been taken over by a herald and the educative, propagandistic purpose has given



way again to vivid descriptions of warfare and battles. It is impossible to trace stylistic influences on this chronicle. Remaining references to religious matters suggest that the author recognised the importance of these issues for the warfare which formed the core of his chronicle. However, as was seen in the discussions of Landgraf Ludwig and Reinfrid of Braunschweig, the use of traditional forms of crusading propaganda in literature is not necessarily an indication that the spirit which informed them was still alive, and it seems likely from other indications in Wigand's chronicle that crusading ideology was once more, as in the Livländische Reimchronik, subordinate to the purely military enjoyment of warfare.

The Krönike von Prûzinlant occupies a unique position in the Order's literary output. Similar processes to those which shaped this chronicle can be seen at work in the Order's architecture in Prussia. Faced with a lack of their customary building material, but also with a need to create fortresses which would symbolise the superiority of the Christian way of life, the Order drew on their experiences in the Holy Land and also employed both workmen and styles of architecture from their lands in Spain to produce the distinctive style of architecture which has left their mark on the lands they held until the present day.<sup>1</sup> Without the Order's ideological

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1. See N. von Holst, Der Deutsche Ritterorden und seine Bauten von Jerusalem bis Sevilla, von Thorn bis Narwa (Berlin, 1981), pp. 93-8.



response to the events at the beginning of the fourteenth century, as formulated in the Krônike von Prûzinlant, it is debatable whether the Order's achievements would have been as extensive or as lasting as the architectural evidence suggests they were intended to be. The Krônike von Prûzinlant must therefore be seen as a considered response to a specific, critical moment in the Order's history. It demonstrates how the Order, compelled by circumstance to produce new themes from an existing broad tradition, identified those elements which could most usefully ensure the continued existence and prosperity of the Order and developed them into a broad practical and theoretical framework with which to give form to the Order's mission and identity.

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