




GREGORY LEIGHTON\*

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

THE RELICS OF ST BARBARA AT ALTHAUS KULM:  
HISTORY, PATRONAGES, AND INSIGHT INTO THE TEUTONIC ORDER  
AND THE CHRISTIAN POPULATION IN PRUSSIA  
(THIRTEENTH–FIFTEENTH CENTURIES)

**Abstract**

This article summarizes the history of the relics of St Barbara in Althaus Kulm (Starogród Chełmiński), a topic with extensive research in Polish and German circles, but only recently addressed by scholarship in English. It begins with an overview of the relics' history and a summary of St Barbara's *vita*, pointing out the quick rise in her cult in the Teutonic Order's Prussian territory (*Ordensland*). Following this, it assesses the function of the relics through three lenses: warfare, daily life, and as a symbol of the Order's power using three methodological frameworks. These are *hierophany* (manifestations of the sacred) for warfare, naming practices for studying the impact of St Barbara on the local population, and as a reflection of the Order's territorial power (*Landesherrschaft*). The article ultimately demonstrates that the relics were a significant element of the multifaceted structure of religious life in medieval Prussia, both within and outside of the Teutonic Order. Appended to the text are two previously unpublished accounts of the relics of St Barbara and their arrival in Althaus, demonstrating the reputation of the shrine not just in the *Ordensland*, but within Christendom. It concludes with a summary of the research findings, and a consideration of these findings in light of more 'recent' interpretations of the Teutonic Order and the Prussian Crusades.

**Keywords:** Teutonic Order; Prussia; relics; St Barbara; cult of saints; warfare; local Christianity

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\* Independent Researcher,  
 [gregjleighton@gmail.com](mailto:gregjleighton@gmail.com)

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## INTRODUCTION

Inside the castle chapel of the Teutonic Order commandery at Althaus Kulm (Starogród Chełmiński) lay the relics of St Barbara, specifically her head and a braid of her hair<sup>1</sup>. By the fifteenth century, these had been enshrined in a silver reliquary, with golden hair, and an inscription on the base reading 'Pray for us, St Barbara.' The relics remained in the castle chapel until the Thirteen Years' War (1454–1466) and are now housed in the Diocesan Museum in Płock. At that time, when the Prussian Federation allied with the Kingdom of Poland and rebelled against the Teutonic Order, the relics were moved to Graudenz (Grudziądz), before going to Marienburg (Malbork)<sup>2</sup>. Prior to this, though, Althaus was one of the most important pilgrimage destinations in medieval Prussia after the castle complex at Marienburg<sup>3</sup>, and alongside centres such as Elbing (Elbląg)<sup>4</sup>, Thorn (Toruń)<sup>5</sup>, and the local shrines around Königsberg (Kaliningrad), such as Juditten (Mendeleyevo), Arnau (Rodniki), and Brandenburg (Ushakovo)<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For context on the castle of Althaus, see *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Kulmerlandes und der Löbau*, hrsg. v. Johannes HEISE (*Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Westpreußen*, Bd. 2), Danzig 1895, p. 16; Tomasz TORBUS, *Die Konventsburgen im Deutschordensland Preußen* (Schriften des Bundesinstituts für Ostdeutsche Kultur und Geschichte, Bd. 11), München 1998, pp. 70–72, 336.

<sup>2</sup> Juliusz RACZKOWSKI, *Not Only the Golden Gate? A Newly-Discovered Fragment from the Decoration of the Castle Chapel Portal in Althaus (Starogród) as a Contribution to the Identification of Ceramic Sculpture in the Teutonic Order's State in Prussia*, *Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders*, vol. 23: 2018, pp. 339–357. For the location of the chapel, see *ibid.*, pp. 342–343. For context on the Thirteen Years' War and the Prussian Federation, see Jürgen SARNOWSKY, *Der Deutsche Orden*, München 1998, pp. 98–102.

<sup>3</sup> Rainer ZACHARIAS, *Marienburg. Wallfahrtsort zwischen Spiritualität und Herrschaft*, [in:] *Sztuka w kregu zakonu krzyzackiego w Prusach i Inflantach*, ed. Agnieszka BOJARSKA (*Studia Borussico-Baltica Torunensia Historiae Artium*, vol. 2), Toruń 1995, pp. 67–91, especially 74–77; *idem*, *Die Marienburg als Wallfahrtsstätte*, [in:] *Burgen kirchlicher Bauherren*, hrsg. v. Thomas BILLER (*Forschungen zur Burgen und Schlössern*, Bd. 6), Berlin 2001, pp. 49–60; *idem*, *Die Reliquienwallfahrt zur Hochmeisterresidenz Marienburg*, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands*, Bd. 50: 2001, pp. 1–35.

<sup>4</sup> Max TÖPPEN, *Historisch-comparative Geographie von Preußen. Nach den Quellen, namentlich auch archivalistischen, dargestellt. Mit Atlas*, Gotha 1858, pp. 187–195; *idem*, *Elbinger Antiquitäten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des städtischen Lebens im Mittelalter*, H. 2, Danzig 1872, pp. 147, 150.

<sup>5</sup> Andrzej RADZIMIŃSKI, *Die Pfarrkirche St. Johannes des Täufers und St. Johannes des Evangelisten in der Sakraltopographie der Stadt Thorn im Mittelalter*, *Biuletyn Polskiej Misji Historycznej*, vol. 12: 2017, pp. 51–73.

<sup>6</sup> For pilgrimage shrines surrounding Königsberg, see Ernst L. STORCH, *Die Kirche und das Kirchspiel Juditten im Landkreise Königsberg. Ein Beitrag zur vaterländischen, Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Preußens*, Königsberg 1861, pp. 9–13; *Handbuch der historischen Stätten Ost- und Westpreußens*, hrsg. v. Erich WEISE (Kröners Taschenausgabe, Bd. 317), Stuttgart 1981, pp. 5–6,

The shrine and the relics have been subject to extensive investigations by Polish scholars, namely Waldemar Rozykowski, Agnieszka Błażewicz, and Maria Starnawska<sup>7</sup>. These works have laid the foundations for a variety of aspects of the relic, ranging from its place in the religious topography of the *Ordensland*, to its general function in medieval communities such as the Teutonic Order, and the local Christian population thus linking this often misunderstood region of the medieval world by scholars who do not investigate it. Only few articles in English have been published recently that discuss its significance to religious life in the *Ordensland*, though scholars from both England and America have been investigating the spread of crusading and the military orders to the Baltic since the mid-1970s<sup>8</sup>.

In this context, the present article will discuss the history of the relics and their arrival in Prussia, their significance to the corporate identity of the Teu-

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21–22, 93; Werner PARAVICINI, *Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels*, Bd. 1 (Beihefte der Francia, Bd. 17, H. 1), Sigmaringen 1989, pp. 305–309; Christofer HERRMANN, *Mittelalterliche Architektur in Preußenland. Untersuchungen zur Kunstlandschaft und -geographie* (Studien zur internationalen Architektur- und Kulturgeschichte, Bd. 56), Petersberg 2007, p. 127. Also see Gregory LEIGHTON, *Did the Teutonic Order create a Sacred Landscape in Thirteenth-Century Prussia?*, *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 44: 2018, no. 4, p. 475.

<sup>7</sup> Waldemar ROZYKOWSKI, *Św. Barbara – święta „od wody”*. O patroniach św. Barbary w średniowiecznej Polsce, [in:] *Město a voda. Praha, město u vody. Sborník příspěvků z 22. Vředecké konferencie Archivu hlavního města Prahy, uspořádané ve spolupráci s Institutem mexinárrodních studií Fakulty sociálních věd Univerzity Karlovy ve dnech 7. a 8. října 2003 v Clam-Gallasově paláci v Praze*, ed. Olga FEJTOVÁ, Václav LEDVINKA, Jiří PEŠEK, Praha 2005, pp. 231–242; idem, *Święci na pograniczu. O świętych w państwie Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach*, *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie*, 2006, no. 2, pp. 187–193, here pp. 187–188; idem, *Św. Barbara i Barbarka – wokół początków kultu świętej męczennicy*, [in:] *Św. Barbara i Barbarka*, ed. Waldemar ROZYKOWSKI, Wojciech MISZEWSKI, Toruń 2005, pp. 9–21; Agnieszka BŁAŻEWICZ, *Skarb relikwiarzy z kościoła zamkowego w czasach krzyżackich. Dzieje relikwii św. Barbary*, [in:] *Spotkania malborskie im. Macieja Kilarskiego*, vol. 1–3, ed. Artur DOBRY, Malbork 2010, pp. 93–111; eadem, *Kult świętej Barbary w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach*, [in:] *Z dziejów średniowiecza. Pamięci profesora Jana Powierskiego (1940–1999)*, ed. Wiesław DŁUGOKĘCKI, Gdańsk 2010, pp. 11–32.

<sup>8</sup> See Edgar N. JOHNSON, *The German Crusade on the Baltic*, [in:] *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3: *The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Kenneth M. SETTEN, Harry W. HAZARD, Madison 1975, pp. 545–585; Eric CHRISTIANSEN, *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier, 1100–1525*, London–New York 1997; Mary FISCHER, *Biblical Heroes and the Uses of Literature: The Teutonic Order in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, [in:] *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150–1500*, ed. Alan V. MURRAY, Farnham 2001, pp. 261–275, here p. 267 for a discussion of Barbara. Detailed discussions of the relic can be found in the work of Aleksander PLUSKOWSKI, *The Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade: Holy War and Colonisation*, London–New York 2013, pp. 278–279; Maria STARNAWSKA, *The Role of the Legend of Saint Barbara's Head in the Conflict of the Teutonic Order and Świętopelk, the Duke of Pomerania*, [in:] *The Military Orders*, vol. 6, part 2: *Culture and Conflict*, ed. Mike CARR, Jochen G. SCHENK, Farnham 2016, pp. 203–212.

tonic Order and that of Christians in the region. In doing so, it will highlight the significance of the relics as an indicator of how contemporaries perceived this last religious frontier as a place of pilgrimage, namely through studying the manifestations and perceptions of St Barbara's relic. Such approaches have only recently been addressed in English-language scholarship on the crusading movement and the study of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, which has until recently described the crusades into Prussia as representative of 'a cruel process of ethnic cleansing' and 'state building'<sup>9</sup>. An analysis of St Barbara's shrine and its history, alongside her reception both within and outside of the Teutonic Order, dismantles this approach by providing an in-depth account of the primary sources and secondary scholarship available for one of the most important Christian shrines in the southern Baltic region.

#### ST BARBARA AND HER ARRIVAL IN THE ORDENSLAND

##### HISTORY

This section will outline the history of the relic of St Barbara at Althaus from the thirteenth century and into the fifteenth, highlighting the rich tradition and significance to the Order and the local Christian population of Prussia that arose around it at this time. The story of St Barbara comes primarily from Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (composed c. 1275–1280) a collection of the lives of the saints that was one of the most popular texts of the Middle Ages. With respect to the Teutonic Order, though, the story does not appear to have been transferred over to earliest versions of the *Passional*. This was a Middle High German translation of the *Legenda aurea* produced within the Order at the end of the thirteenth century, likely in the region of Elbing<sup>10</sup>. The corpus begins with the feast of St Nicholas of Myra (6 December) and

<sup>9</sup> This sentiment has been expressed in the work of Christopher TYERMAN, *The Crusades: A Short Introduction*, Oxford 2004, p. 47; idem, *Henry of Livonia and the Ideology of Crusading*, [in:] *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier: A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, ed. Marek TAMM, Linda KALJUNDI, Carsten S. JENSEN, Farnham 2011, pp. 23–44, here p. 44.

<sup>10</sup> See Karl HELM, Walther ZIESEMER, *Die Literatur des Deutschen Ritterordens* (Gießener Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie, Bd. 94), Gießen 1951, p. 68, for the association of the text with the region of Elbing. For context of the Order's literary programme and the *Passional*, see Jaroslaw WENTA, *Studien über die Ordensgeschichtsschreibung am Beispiel Preussens* (Subsidia Historiographica, vol. 2), Toruń 2000, p. 143; Arno MENTZEL-REUTERS, *Arma Spiritualia. Bibliotheken, Bücher und Bildung im Deutschen Ordens* (Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen, Bd. 47), Wiesbaden 2003, p. 81; idem, „Gote, Marien und dem meistir“. *Der Deutsche Orden und die Anfänge der preußischen Literaturgeschichte*, [in:] *Ostpreußen, Westpreußen, Danzig. Eine historische Literaturlandschaft*, hrsg. v. Jans STÜBEN (Schriften des Bundesinstituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa, Bd. 30), München 2007, pp. 137–154, here pp. 144–145; idem, „Deutschordensliteratur“ im literarischen Kontext, [in:] *Mittelalterliche*

ends with the feast of St Catherine of Alexandria (25 November)<sup>11</sup>. This is quite a strange fact, since the text was key to the literary production of the Order and represents one of its earliest pieces of literature associated with Prussia<sup>12</sup>. This might be seen as a reflection of her diminished status within the Order during the thirteenth century. The elevation of her liturgy to *semiduplex*<sup>13</sup>, the subsequent tradition that developed around her relics within the Order's Prussian branch, and function of her relics in a military context by the fifteenth century demonstrate that the opposite appears to have been the case.

According to the *Legenda aurea*, St Barbara was the daughter of a man named Dioscurus, who lived under the reign of Emperor Maximian (d. 310). A later version of her *vita*, c. 1450, housed in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart, states that her father lived in Heliopolis ('der statt der sonnen'), the same city in which Joseph and Mary stopped while they were fleeing the persecution of Herod, as told in the Gospel of Matthew<sup>14</sup>. The significance of this scene, the Flight from Egypt, formed part of the early visual expression of the Order's power in the Vistula region. It was on the seal of Hermann Balk, Prussia's first Land Master (*Landmeister*) (1230–1236)<sup>15</sup>. Barbara's father was a rich man, but he was a pagan, who worshiped idols ('bette an die apgotte')<sup>16</sup>. Upon finding that his daughter was a Christian, he had her locked in a tower with two windows. Barbara was visited by an angel, and received training in Christianity from a priest, named Valentinus. While her

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*Kultur im Deutschordensstaat Preußen. Leben und Nachleben*, hrsg. v. Jarosław WENTA, Sieglinde HARTMANN (Sacra Bella Septentrionalia, vol. 1), Toruń 2008, pp. 355–368.

<sup>11</sup> This is according to the edition of Karl KÖPKE, *Das Passional. Eine Legenden-Sammlung des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* (Bibliothek der gesamten deutschen National-Literatur von der ältesten bis auf die neuere Zeit, Bd. 32), Leipzig 1852. Also see K. HELM, W. ZIESEMER, op.cit., pp. 54–55.

<sup>12</sup> K. HELM, W. ZIESEMER, op.cit., pp. 67–68; J. WENTA, op.cit., pp. 143–144; A. MENTZEL-REUTERS, „Deutschordensliteratur“, p. 363.

<sup>13</sup> *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften*, hrsg. v. Max PERLBACH, Halle 1890 (further cit. SDO), p. 12, note 1.

<sup>14</sup> Matthew 2: 13–23. For the manuscript description referencing the Flight into Egypt, see Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Theologische Sammelhandschrift, Cod. Theol. et. Phil. qt. 81, fol. 228r: 'In der selben ziiit was by Egypten ein durchlüchter edeler herzog oder lantsherre der hiesz Dioscorus von was gar ser ryche, der wonet in der statt der sonnen also genant, zu der Ioseph mit den kinde Ihesu von mit siner mutter floch durch vorcht dess koniges Herodes, als die alten hystorien sagen.'

<sup>15</sup> *800 Jahre Deutscher Orden. Ausstellung des Germanischen Nationalmuseums Nürnberg in Zusammenarbeit mit der Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens*, hrsg. v. Udo ARNOLD, München 1990, p. 377.

<sup>16</sup> Elsass *Legenda Aurea* (c. 1450), Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe, Codex Lichtenthal 66, fol. 21r: 'In den zyten des keyzers maximiani da was ein man, des man was geheissen Dyoscorus zu male riche, derselbe bette an die apgotte und hatt ein tochter Barbara genant.'



father was away (the Stuttgart version and a version in Klosterneuburg, Austria, say he was on a pilgrimage – *bilgrimgart*), Barbara had his workmen furnish a third window in the tower to represent the Trinity, also destroying her father's idols<sup>17</sup>. When her father returned, and she refused to renounce her faith in Jesus Christ, she was subsequently tortured and beheaded, later being buried by the same Valentinus. The image of the tower, and the martyr's palm, became part of Barbara's iconography throughout Europe in the High and Late Middle Ages<sup>18</sup>. This can be seen in various examples of St Barbara depicted in the *Ordensland*, too, including Marienburg, Strasburg (Brodnic), the altar from the pilgrimage church at Tenkitten (see below), and statues recorded in inventories of Teutonic Order commanderies<sup>19</sup>.

The tradition surrounding Barbara states that her martyrdom occurred sometime in the fourth century, though Barbara's legend arrived in the Order's tradition much later<sup>20</sup>. The oldest reference to the relics in the Order's historical canon can be found in the so-called *Hermann von Salza's Bericht über die Eroberung Preußens*, housed in the Deutschordenszentralarchiv in Vienna, and edited in 1874 by Theodor Hirsch<sup>21</sup>. This letter narrates the discovery of the relics at a nearby fort called Sartowitz (Sartowice), on the night of 3–4 December in 1242, by a company of Teutonic Knights under the leadership of Dietrich von Bernheim, Marshal of the Teutonic Order (1228–1244)<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Theologische Sammelhandschrift, Cod. Theol. et. Phil. qt. 81, fol. 231v: 'Do sich nu etlich ziit verlauffen hatt, do kam ir vatter widerheym von der bilgrimgart, und richtet zu aller erst sinen weg, zu den wercklütten des turnes. Und do er in der höhe des turnes sach drii fenster, do straffet er die werkmeister und sprach: "Warumb hant ir drii fenster gemacht?"'. Also see Augustiner Stiftsbibliothek, Klosterneuburg, Cod. 1079, fol. 72v: 'Das gab er [Dioscorus – G.L.] dem maÿster sündler eÿn / und raist dor noch alzwhant / vil gar vor in frönden lant'.

<sup>18</sup> See Gaston DUCHET-SUCHAUX, Michel PASTOREAU, *The Bible and the Saints*, New York–Paris 1994, pp. 56–57.

<sup>19</sup> Juliusz RACZKOWSKI, *Monumentalne zespoły Kolegium Apostolskiego na terenie dawnego państwa zakonnego w Prusach*, Pelplin 2013, pp. 101 (possible sculpture of St Barbara), 172–173. Also see *Das Grosse Ämterbuch des Deutschen Ordens*, hrsg. v. Walther ZIESEMER, Danzig 1921 (further cit. GÄB), p. 511: '1 bornsteinbilde in eynem bornsten thorme mit solber belet, 1 bornstein Barbara mit eyner solbern crone, thorme und solbern palme'. This inventory was taken on 23 April, 1441.

<sup>20</sup> A. BEAŻEWICZ, *Skarb relikwiarzowy*, pp. 99–100, on the versions of St Barbara's *vita*. For the dating of her martyrdom: W. ROZYNKOWSKI, *Św. Barbara i Barbarka*, pp. 11–12.

<sup>21</sup> Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Vienna, Hs. 205, fol. 108r–118v.

<sup>22</sup> Johannes VOIGT, *Geschichte Preußens von den ältesten Zeit bis zum Untergange der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, Bd. 2: *Die Zeit von der Ankunft des Ordens bis zum Frieden 1249*, Königsberg 1827, pp. 180–181. For Dietrich von Bernheim, see Johannes VOIGT, *Namen-Codex der Deutschen Ordens-Beamten, Hochmeister, Landmeister, Großgebietiger, Komthure, Vögte, Pfleger, Hochmeister-Kompane, Kreuzfahrer und Söldner-Hauptleute in Preußen*, Königsberg 1843, p. 5.

Und sprach man das si das land nicht erhalten mochte si  
 wuente den Ogerontenpöbel ein bruch an und si sollen si se  
 frage von si was städte die Teufelsbrunn und die St. Barbara  
 dinst und si ist das man nicht wissen den ein bruch  
 di ihm hilfe mit wolbedachte mitte bestriden si im for  
 ginn und das was an der heilige Brunnbrunn samt der  
 baron in nach di do im Antiochia gemachtet wort der  
 und die Teufelsbrunn groß was gebrach wart an ym  
 Hagen im Otzite demontschaffe si das in ein gebrach geft  
 in solle ein jere nachst also verhalten und richte das man  
 mit ein man und findt wol si man off die bruch  
 do stünde si sich also demontschaffe di sein ein demontschaffe  
 stundt mit gottes hilff und stundt verbrachte mit und  
 die heilige Brunnbrunn samt Barbaram was alles  
 verbrachte das off dem hause was nach dem reise di bruch  
 nicht was yre bruchstimm was samt der do stundt man  
 di stunde off dem bruch do gannen di bruch in ein sol  
 der do stunde so eine bruch verbrachte mit in stoffen  
 und was verbrachte mit ein Ogerontenpöbel in stoff do  
 man di bruch verbrachte do sent man ein bruch stundt mit  
 Silber bruchstunde do man so off tet do sent man ein bruch  
 mit ein man groß verbrachte und einen bruch dar by do man  
 stundt verbrachte das was das hause tet dar do stundt  
 di bruch off der bruch und demontschaffe gatte der groß man  
 do di bruch stundt das di bruch so so was das das si  
 di bar bruchstimm finden do was mit alle from verbr  
 zinn di sprach do man nicht mit wol verbrachte von allen  
 di so gattet di gatte von der heilige Brunnbrunn do  
 wart si verbrachte wo von si das verbrachte do antwort si in  
 sprach verbrachte si im bruch mit ein man so st do quid  
 si stundt die in mit in mal in diese nachst die gebrachte  
 also was schon pilgeram Brunnbrunn di do wandern wol  
 der und si haben oclamp von ihre tid sprach mit verbrachte  
 stundt die bruch Brunnbrunn wo nicht in man mit mit

110  
 Off die bruch  
 gebrachte  
 die Barbara  
 gemachtet

Figure 1. Hermann von Salza's Bericht über die Eroberung Preussens, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Vienna, Hs. 205, fol. 110r, describing the discovery of St Barbara's relics

After successfully taking the castle from the possession of Świętopełk, Duke of Pomerania (d. 1266), the knights went into the fort and discovered a gilded box, with Świętopełk's seal, which contained a head and a braid of hair. According to the tradition emphasized in the Teutonic Order's historical texts, a letter accompanying the relics indicated to the company that these were, in fact, the relics of St Barbara. A woman from Sartowitz who was captured during the siege informed the party that the saint had appeared to her three times on the previous night, stating that she wished to go to Kulm (i.e. Althaus), and hear a mass there. The party of knights then took the relics to Althaus, where they were placed in the castle church with songs of praise<sup>23</sup>.

However, the *Hermann von Salza's Bericht* is a problematic source. It survives only in a copy, dated to 1514, and written by Johann Melhorn von Weisbach<sup>24</sup>. Moreover, there is no evidence to date this specific letter directly to the thirteenth century<sup>25</sup>. Scholars have long suggested that the author of the *Bericht* and the author of the *Translacio et miracula sanctae Barbarae*, discussed shortly, both used a text from the conquest period which has since been lost<sup>26</sup>. The same is true for Peter von Dusburg and Nicolaus von Jeroschin, both of whom included the discovery narrative in their chronicles from 1326 and 1331, respectively, with little differentiation in the narrative save for a meditation by Nicolaus on St Barbara. This is connected to her increased veneration under the tenure of Luther von Braunschweig (d. 1335), which is discussed at greater length below<sup>27</sup>.

However, the Order's historical texts do not provide a reason as to *how* the relics of St Barbara came to Pomerania and, subsequently, the *Ordensland*. Here, one must consult the *Translatio et miracula sanctae Barbarae*, a series of

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<sup>23</sup> *Hermann von Salza's Bericht über die Eroberung Preussens*, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, Bd. 5, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, Max TÖPPEN, Ernst STREHLKE, Leipzig 1874 (further cit. HvSB), pp. 153–168, here p. 160: 'do fant man eyne buchsse schon mit silber beschlagen. Do man sy ufftet, do fanth man eyn heupt mith eynem zcopf geflochten und eynen briff dorbey, dorinne stunt geschriben, des es war des heupth s. Bar[baren]. Do filen dy bruder uff yre kny und danckten Gotte der grossen gnaden'. Dietrich was killed at the Battle of Rensen (June, 1244).

<sup>24</sup> J. WENTA, op.cit., pp. 169, 240–241.

<sup>25</sup> For the historiography of the source, see Max TÖPPEN, *Geschichte der preussischen Historiographie von P. v. Dusburg bis auf K. Schütz, oder, Nachweisung und Kritik der gedruckten und ungedruckten Chroniken zur Geschichte Preussens unter der Herrschaft des deutschen Ordens*, Berlin 1853, pp. 2–3; K. HELM, W. ZIESEMER, op.cit., pp. 145–146; Gerard LABUDA, *O źródłach „Kroniki pruskiej” Piotra z Dusburga (na marginesie pracy Marzeny Pollakówny, „Kronika Piotra z Dusburga”)*, *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie*, 1971, no. 2–3, pp. 217–243; Marcus WÜST, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, Bd. 73), Weimar 2013, p. 67.

<sup>26</sup> J. WENTA, op.cit., p. 244.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 240–244.



texts compiled and edited in the second volume of the *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum* (1863) by Max Töppen. These texts shed light on to the historical tradition surrounding the relics of St Barbara at Althaus, and how they came to arrive in Prussia, which includes various texts compiled from the end of the fourteenth century and into the fifteenth century<sup>28</sup>. One of earliest traditions surrounding the relics in Prussia is that they were brought to the region by ‘pilgrims from remote lands who had gone to Rome for the sake of obtaining relics of the saints’<sup>29</sup>. Another narrative suggests that ‘When the Pomeranians were newly-converted, their prince visited Rome for spiritual consolation.’ While there, he received as a gift the head of St Barbara, and brought it back to his land<sup>30</sup>. A third version concerned a bishop from Denmark, on his way to Rome, when a strong wind (‘ventus validus’) blew them off course to the region of Danzig (Gdańsk)<sup>31</sup>. After trading and bargaining for their freedom, the relics were found, and sold as a means to buy their safe passage through the pagan lands. The relics were later given to the monastery of Oliwa by the wife of Świętopełk of Pomerania, probably Eufrozyna the daughter of Odon, Duke of Poznań (d. 1192)<sup>32</sup>. The *ältere Chronik von Oliva* (c. 1350) has an account of the discovery of St Barbara’s relics, but it is still silent as to how the relics came to Prussia and when they did<sup>33</sup>.

In any case, the relics formed a crucial element of the Teutonic Order’s corporate identity in Prussia as an institution responsible for heading the holy wars against the Prussians and, later in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, the Lithuanians. As demonstrated below, the relics of St Barbara also appear

<sup>28</sup> *Translatio et miracula Sanctae Barbarae*, hrsg. v. Max TÖPPEN, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, Bd. 2, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, Max TÖPPEN, Ernst STREHLKE, Leipzig 1863 (further cit. *Translatio*), pp. 397–411, here pp. 397–399, for manuscript history. Also see J. WENTA, op.cit., pp. 197–199; A. MENTZEL-REUTERS, „*Deutschordensliteratur*“, p. 363.

<sup>29</sup> *Translatio*, pp. 399–400: ‘Quidam dicunt, quod fuerunt peregrini de remotis valde partibus, qui causa devocionis visitando limina beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli Romam venerunt, cupientes eiam ibidem aliquas sanctorum reliquias obtinere.’

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 400: ‘Alii dicunt, quod, cum Pomerani de novo fuissent conversi ad fidem Christi, princeps ipsorum causa devocionis limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli visitans papam pro benedictione et spirituali consolacione adiit. Qui eum paterne suscipiens et in fide confirmans, sibi inter cetera capud beate Barbare pro magno munere presentavit. Quod accipiens ad terram suam letus detulit, suisque posteris quasi jure hereditario custodiendum commisit.’

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 400: ‘ventus Validus se opponens ipsum versus terram Pomeranie ad portum Gdanensem impulit violenter.’

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 401. For Odon, son of Mieszko III the Old (d. 1202), see Darius VON GÜTTNER-SPORZYŃSKI, *Poland, Holy War, and the Piast Monarchy 1100–1230* (Europa Sacra, vol. 14), Turnhout 2014, p. 227.

<sup>33</sup> *Die ältere Chronik von Oliva*, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, Bd. 5, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, Max TÖPPEN, Ernst STREHLKE, Leipzig 1874, pp. 591–624, here p. 599.

to have taken on a more-nuanced function in the period of the Thirteen Years' War, where they are mentioned in the edited source material with greater frequency. As stated above, they were moved to avoid capture by the armies of Poland and the Prussian Federation, in addition to being used in association with military rituals<sup>34</sup>. Later, into the sixteenth century, Paul Pole, a priest in Königsberg, meditated on the arrival of the relics, too<sup>35</sup>.

#### ST BARBARA AND PILGRIMAGE IN THE *ORDENSLAND*

The region of Althaus (and southern Prussia in general) had no prior existing shrines to associate with Christianity at the time of the Order's arrival. As demonstrated in the work of Krystyna Zielińska-Melkowska and Aleksander Pluskowski, namely in the use of pre-Christian sites associated with lime trees (*Tilia*), early shrines arrived with the Teutonic Order<sup>36</sup>. The first relic to come to Prussia was a piece of the True Cross, kept at Elbing castle, as a gift of Emperor Frederick II (d. 1250). In October of 1233, Gregory IX (d. 1241) exhorted the Christians in Prussia to visit the relic for an indulgence of ten days<sup>37</sup>. The main histories of the Order likewise commemorated the True Cross<sup>38</sup>, and from the late thirteenth century, the general chapter meetings were held on

<sup>34</sup> For a background to these events, see J. SARNOWSKY, op.cit., pp. 98–102.

<sup>35</sup> *Paul Pole's Preussische Chronik*, hrsg. v. Max TÖPPEN, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, Bd. 5, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, Max TÖPPEN, Ernst STREHLKE, Leipzig 1874, p. 178.

<sup>36</sup> Krystyna ZIELIŃSKA-MELKOWSKA, *Średniowieczne miejsca pielgrzymkowe w ziemiach chełmińskiej, lubawskiej i michałowskiej*, [in:] *Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy*, ed. Halina MANIKOWSKA, Hanna ZAREMSKA (Colloquia Mediaevalia Varsoviensia, vol. 2), Warszawa 1995, pp. 242–251, especially p. 243. Also see A. PLUSKOWSKI, op.cit., pp. 130–131. There were earlier attempts to investigate pilgrimage shrines prior to the arrival of the Teutonic Order, see Johannes VOIGT, *Die Geschichte Marienburgs, der Stadt und des Haupthauses des Deutschen Ritter-Ordens in Preussen*, Königsberg 1824, pp. 1–21, which refers to 'die Orte, wo nachmals die Marienburg erbaut ward, das Kirchlein gegründet worden sey, in welchem, wie die Sage lautet, ein wunderthätiges Muttergottes-Bild die nahewohenden Christen und Pilgrime aus fernen Landen zur Andacht durch seine Wunderkraft herbeizog'; idem, *Geschichte Preussens von den ältesten Zeit bis zum Untergange der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, Bd. 1: *Die Zeit des Heidenthums*, Königsberg 1827, pp. 341–346, for Christian missions to Pomerania in the twelfth century. Also see R. ZACHARIAS, *Marienburg als Wallfahrtsstätte*, p. 69; Ch. HERRMANN, op.cit., p. 128.

<sup>37</sup> *Preußisches Urkundenbuch. Politische Abtheilung*, Bd. 1, H. 1: *Die Bildung des Ordensstaats*, hrsg. v. Rudolf PHILIPPI, Königsberg 1882 (further cit. PrUB, Bd. 1, H. 1), pp. 76–77 (no. 103).

<sup>38</sup> Peter VON DUSBURG, *Chronicon terre Prussie*, hrsg. v. Max TÖPPEN, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, Bd. 1, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, Max TÖPPEN, Ernst STREHLKE, Leipzig 1861 (further cit. Peter), pp. 31–32 (Book 1, Chapter 5); Nicolaus VON JEROSCHIN, *Di Kronike von Pruzinlant*, hrsg. v. Ernst STREHLKE, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, Bd. 1, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, Max TÖPPEN, Ernst STREHLKE, Leipzig 1861 (further cit. Nicolaus), p. 316 (lines 1119–1142).

the Feast of the True Cross, at Elbing<sup>39</sup>. Subsequent fragments of this relic are documented throughout Prussia in the course of a century<sup>40</sup>. Moreover, the discovery of the True Cross by St Helena was expressed in the visual culture of the Teutonic Order by the fourteenth century, namely in the southern portal of the Chapel of St Anne at Marienburg, thus linking the relic and its history to the main administrative centre of the Order, and demonstrating the extent to which the Order applied sacral power to relics<sup>41</sup>.

In 1242, only nine years after the arrival of the True Cross in 1233, emerged the tradition surrounding St Barbara and the discovery of her relics in the Pomesanian fort of Sartowitz. According to one of the earliest pieces of historical writing associated with the Order, the so-called *Hermann von Salza's Bericht*, the relics were held in the were discovered on account of the great honor ('grosz ere') that it was to fight on her feast day (4 December)<sup>42</sup>. Aside from this, and subsequent repetitions by Peter von Dusburg<sup>43</sup>, Nicolaus von Jeroschin<sup>44</sup>, the anonymous authors of the *ältere Hochmeisterchronik* (c. 1433)<sup>45</sup> and the *jüngere Hochmeisterchronik* (1490), there are no other sources pertaining to the subsequent veneration of the shrine at Althaus<sup>46</sup>. Unlike the True Cross relic, there are not any letters of indulgence that survive to this day concerning the shrine of St Barbara. However, associations with pilgrimage are reflected in

<sup>39</sup> SDO, p. 161: 'Mandamus eciam: quolibet anno in exaltacione sancta crucis celebratis generale capitulum in Elbingo, ibidem diffinientes.'

<sup>40</sup> For example, the Order kept a piece of the relic at Thorn, see *Codex diplomaticus Warmienses, oder Regesten und Urkunden zur Geschichte Ermlands*, Bd. 1, hrsg. v. Carl P. WOELKY, Johann M. SAAGE (Monumenta Historiae Warmienses, Bd. 1, Abt. 1), Mainz 1860 (further cit. CDW, Bd. 1), pp. 82–83 (no. 45).

<sup>41</sup> Tadeusz JURKOWLANIEC, Maria POKSIŃSKA, *Die Heilig-Kreuz-Legende am Südportal der Annen-Kapelle auf der Marienburg. Zur politischen Aussage*, [in:] *Castrum sanctae Mariae. Die Marienburg als Burg, Residenz und Museum*, hrsg. v. Arno MENTZEL-REUTERS, Stefan SAMERSKI (Vestigia Prussica. Forschungen zur ost- und westpreußischen Landesgeschichte, Bd. 1), Göttingen 2019, pp. 223–250; Gregory LEIGHTON, Reysa in laudem Dei et Virginis Marie contra paganos: *The Experience of Crusading in Prussia during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung*, Bd. 69: 2020, H. 1, pp. 8–9, on the iconography of the True Cross and its relationship to the Order's Prussian territory.

<sup>42</sup> HvSB, p. 161: 'Mith wolbedachtem mute begunde sy czu steygen, und das was an der heyligen junckfraw s. Barbaren zcu nacht, dy do zcu Antiochia gemartert wart; dorumb der cristenheit grosz ere geschehen wart an yrem tage ym streit.'

<sup>43</sup> Peter, pp. 69–70 (Book 3, Chapter 36).

<sup>44</sup> Nicolaus, pp. 375–379 (lines 6277–6670).

<sup>45</sup> *Die ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, hrsg. v. Max TÖPPEN, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, Bd. 3, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, Max TÖPPEN, Ernst STREHLKE, Leipzig 1866 (further cit. ÄH), pp. 547–548.

<sup>46</sup> *Die jüngere Hochmeisterchronik*, hrsg. v. Max TÖPPEN, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, Bd. 5, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, Max TÖPPEN, Ernst STREHLKE, Leipzig 1874, pp. 81–82. For the dating of the chronicle, see M. WÜST, op.cit., p. 132.

the *Hermann von Salza's Bericht*, where she is described as 'a beautiful pilgrim-virgin' ('eine schone pilgrams Junckfraw') in the account of her appearance to a woman living in Sartowitz when the brothers took the castle<sup>47</sup>. This association, it should be noted, is not present in the accounts of Peter<sup>48</sup>, Nicolaus<sup>49</sup>, or the *ältere Hochmeisterchronik*<sup>50</sup>, though they do emphasize that the relics wished to be moved. Regardless of the associations of pilgrimage in these texts, the subsequent accounts reflect a commemoration of the event and solidification of the discovery as crucial in the sacred history of Prussia and formation of a collective identity surrounding the destiny of the Prussia as the final resting place of the relics<sup>51</sup>.

Pilgrimage evidence for the thirteenth century is limited to one account, in which Wenceslaus I of Bohemia (d. 1253) took a vow to visit the shrine, perhaps in response to the calls aimed at crusaders in Bohemia by Innocent IV<sup>52</sup>. Already by the early fourteenth century, though, the shrine was attracting pilgrims. There was an indulgence housed in the Archiv der katholischen Pfarrkirche zu Kulm dated to 1319, but it has since been lost<sup>53</sup>. There appear to be no other surviving letters or charters referencing the relic from the conquest period (c. 1230–1283). However, it is clear that the relic held a significant place in the visual culture of late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Prussia, as shown

<sup>47</sup> HvSB, p. 161: 'Do quam sy sichtiglich zcu mir iij mol in diser nacht der gleichnisse als sine schone pilgramsjunckfraw, dy do wander wolde, und sy nham orlaup von mir'.

<sup>48</sup> Peter, pp. 69–70 (Book 3, Chapter 36), in which the woman says: 'Ego speciali devocione semper dilexi sanctam Barbaram, unde hac nocte apparuit mihi tribus vicibus succinctis vestibus, ac si parata esset ad ambulandum in via'.

<sup>49</sup> Nicolaus, p. 377 (lines 6475–6484): 'daz ich mit holder andacht / zu sente Barbren mich vlacht, / dâvon si mich bedâchte / hint in dirre nachte, / dâ ich slâfis pflac allein, / daz si dristunt mir irschein / recht als ein dirne, dî begurt / und wol ebene geschurt / hette sich in ire cleit / und zu wandrine gereit'. Also see *The Chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin: A History of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, 1190–1331*, ed. and trans. Mary FISCHER (Crusade Texts in Translation, vol. 20), Farnham 2010, p. 94, which describes Barbara as 'belted and with her skirts hitched up like a girl who was about to go on a journey'.

<sup>50</sup> ÄH, p. 548: 'Ich habe yr gedeynet mit andacht manche czeit yn dem kellyr; dorum yr-scheyn sy myr drey stunt yn desyr nacht; sy hatte yr cleidyr geschorczt und wolde wandirn'. Also see *Die jüngere Hochmeisterchronik*, p. 82: 'ende sy quam drie malen in deser nacht tot my ende apenbaerden my in ghelikenisse als ene scone joncfrouwe, die wander wilde'.

<sup>51</sup> See Patrick GEARY, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, Princeton 1990, pp. 125–126. Also see Arnold ANGENENDT, *Grundformen der Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter*, H. 2: *Durchgesehene Auflage* (Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte, Bd. 68), München 2004, p. 112.

<sup>52</sup> T. TORBUS, op.cit., p. 71. For increased calls in crusades against the Prussians directed to the Dominicans in Bohemia in the time of Wenceslaus' reign, see PrUB, Bd. 1, H. 1, pp. 113 (no. 148), 115 (no. 151), 118–119 (no. 157), 195 (no. 256).

<sup>53</sup> J. HEISE, op.cit., p. 16, note 41. Also see A. BŁAŻEWICZ, *Skarb relikwiarzowy*, p. 101, note 57: 'Dokument ten nie zachował się do czasów dzisiejszych, a wówczas znajdował się w archiwum kościoła parafialnego w Chelmnie'.



in the 2018 excavation reports from Althaus discussed by Juliusz Raczkowski<sup>54</sup>. He dated the fragment to c. 1280, the same time of the construction of the conventual Chapel of St Anne at Marienburg<sup>55</sup>. Barbara's visual expression in the *Ordensland* is discussed at greater length below, but the present examples are simply to demonstrate the quick associations with pilgrimage and St Barbara by the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century.

By the early fifteenth century, the source evidence becomes clearer with respect to the history of St Barbara at Althaus and its status as a pilgrimage shrine. For example, Johann von Posilge, an official of the Bishop of Pomesania (d. 1416?), describes two instances of a pilgrimage procession and a miraculous event involving the relics of St Barbara in his *Cronik des landes von Pruszin* (c. 1360–1419)<sup>56</sup>. The first of these involves one of the most important diplomatic missions following the conversion of Lithuania in 1386, namely the pilgrimage (*betefart*) in 1400 of Princess Anna of Lithuania (d. 1418), wife of Vytautas the Great (d. 1418). The entry reads that Anna visited not just the shrine of St Barbara at Althaus, but also Brandenburg (where there was a shrine dedicated to St Katherine of Alexandria), and the cathedral of Marienwerder (Kwidzyn), where she visited the shrine of Dorothea of Montau, an anchoress who lived in a cell attached to the castle until her death in 1394<sup>57</sup>. In this light, we see that at the time of Anna's visit, Marienwerder and the Kulmerland were a significant place for local pilgrimages. As demonstrated by Sven Ekdahl<sup>58</sup>, Werner Paravicini<sup>59</sup>, and Marcus Wüst<sup>60</sup>, chroniclers in the

<sup>54</sup> J. RACZKOWSKI, *Not Only the Golden Gate?*, pp. 343–348 for the relationship of the find to the Golden Gate at Marienburg.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 343–348.

<sup>56</sup> J. WENTA, *op.cit.*, pp. 237–238.

<sup>57</sup> *Das Leben der heiligen Dorothea von Johannes Marienwerder*, hrsg. v. Max TÖPPEN, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, Bd. 2, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, Max TÖPPEN, Ernst STREHLKE, Leipzig 1863, pp. 197–350. Dorothea's confessor, Johannes von Marienwerder, and Conrad von Jungingen, Grand Master of the Order from 1393 to 1407, wrote a series of appeals to the Pope to have her canonized. See *Codex diplomaticus Prussicus. Urkunden-Sammlung zur ältern Geschichte Preußens aus dem Königl. Geheim Archiv zu Königsberg nebst Regesten*, Bd. 5, hrsg. v. Johannes VOIGT, Königsberg 1857, pp. 74 (no. 62), 76 (no. 63), 78 (no. 64), 80 (no. 65), 81 (no. 66), 82 (no. 67), 84 (no. 68).

<sup>58</sup> Sven EKDAHL, *Die „Banderia Prutenorum“ des Jan Długosz, eine Quelle zur Schlacht bei Tannenberg 1410. Untersuchungen zu Aufbau, Entstehung und Quellenwert der Handschrift* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologische-Historische Klasse, F. 3, Nr. 104), Göttingen 1976, pp. 8–30, especially pp. 23–30.

<sup>59</sup> Werner PARAVICINI, *Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels*, Bd. 2 (Beihefte der Francia, Bd. 17, H. 2), Sigmaringen 1995, pp. 139–152, especially p. 150 on the significance of the banners of St George and St Mary; idem, *Die ritterlich-höfische Kultur des Mittelalters* (Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte, Bd. 32), München 2011, pp. 14–15.

<sup>60</sup> M. Wüst, *op.cit.*, pp. 234–238.

*Ordensland* placed particular order on elements in their texts (especially warfare) as a means to discern individual identity, the corporate identity of the Order, and the perception of the wars against the Lithuanians as holy causes, with the banner of the Virgin coming last in most references to it.

Given Johann's allegiance to the Order as territorial ruler<sup>61</sup>, his perception of the wars against the Lithuanians as God's work<sup>62</sup>, and his ecclesiastical training, his account also reflects the significance of the shrine of St Barbara beyond the land of Prussia. He tells us that Princess Anna and her company were taken 'with great honour from house to house' ('und der ordin tat ir grose erbarkeit von huse zcu huse'), indicating that they took part in a procession, which are mentioned frequently in Johann's chronicle and throughout the fifteenth century<sup>63</sup>. Heinrich von Plauen, Grand Master (*Hochmeister*) of the Order (1410–1413), was commemorated by Johann von Posilge for instituting chants and processions to be done throughout the *Ordensland* following the defeat at the Battle of Tannenberg (25 July, 1410)<sup>64</sup>. It is very likely that he would have decreed the relics of St Barbara to be displayed in this same way, for chronicles written later in the century refer regularly to processions of the relic. In the summer of 1413, the Flemish knight, diplomat, and servant of the Duke of Burgundy, Guillebert de Lannoy (d. 1462), wrote an account of his journey to Lithuania, where he was journeying to participate in a *Reise* against the Lithuanians ('me party de l'Escluse pour aler en Prusse contre les meszcreans')<sup>65</sup>. Before arriving in Königsberg, the main point of departure for

<sup>61</sup> Johann was not a member of the Order, but was linked to the Diocese of Pomesania, which was under the Order's governance since the Treaty of Christburg (2 February, 1249), which would explain his support for the Order's mission. See Hartmut BOOCKMANN, *Die Geschichtsschreibung des Deutschen Ordens. Gattungsfragen und „Gebrauchssituationen“*, [in:] *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewusstsein im späten Mittelalter*, hrsg. v. Hans PATZE (Vorträge und Forschungen, Bd. 31), Sigmaringen 1987, pp. 460–462; M. WÜST, *op.cit.*, pp. 112–117.

<sup>62</sup> For example, *Johanns von Posilge, Officials von Pomesanien, Chronik des Landes Preussen (von 1360 an, bis 1419)*, hrsg. v. Ernst STREHLKE, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, Bd. 3, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, Max TÖPPEN, Ernst STREHLKE, Leipzig 1866 (further cit. Johannes), p. 82, describing the siege of Kaunas (16 April, 1362): 'Unde mit der hulfe unsers herren off den osterobent gewonnen sie das hues [Kaunas – G.L.];' *ibid.*, p. 90 describing the Battle of Rudau (3 February, 1370): 'doch gewonnen sie [the Order and the guests – G.L.] den strit mit der hulfe unsers herren.'

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238: 'Item noch Margarethe qwam die grosmechtige herczogynne, Wytowtes frouwe, von Littowin in das lant zcu Pruszyn wol mit III<sup>c</sup> pferdin und mit vil volkes und gar kostlich, und czoch betefart czu sinte Katherinen czu Brandenburg, und czu Marienwerder, und czu sinthe Barbaran czum Aldenhuse. Und der ordin tat ir grose erbarkeit von huse zcu huse; wohin sie czoch adir qwam, wart sie erbarlichin empfangen.'

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 333–334.

<sup>65</sup> *Aus den Voyages de Guillebert de Lannoy*, hrsg. v. Ernst STREHLKE, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, Bd. 3, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, Max TÖPPEN, Ernst STREHLKE, Leipzig 1866 (further cit. Guillebert), pp. 443–452, here p. 444.

the Order's campaigns against the Lithuanians<sup>66</sup>, he visited Kraków, Elbing, Marienburg ('a strong village and castle'), and many other commanderies of the Order<sup>67</sup>. After his time in Lithuania, he returned via Ragnit (Ragneta), visiting Königsberg, Marienburg, and Thorn again. From here, he took special care to visit Althaus. Based on his account, his main purpose was to visit the shrine of St Barbara. Guillebert saw the head and arm of the saint, and concluded he had 'a very lovely pilgrimage' ('un moult beau pelerinaige')<sup>68</sup>. Already in the time of Peter von Dusburg's transmission of the story of St Barbara's relics at Althaus, he took care to note that even in his day (i.e. 80 years after the relics were placed there), the relics were held to have miraculous properties by the local population<sup>69</sup>. Johannes von Posilge also records a miracle that occurred in 1415, this time at Marienburg, which involved the relics of St Barbara. Johannes states that this miracle happened on account of the power of Barbara's relics. This account also provides insight into the function of the relics as intercessors<sup>70</sup>. Specifically, the relics ended a period of significant draught ('off den selbigen tag gab der herre eyngenedigin reyn') following the procession of the relics outside of Marienburg<sup>71</sup>. This particularly instance solidifies her patronage to water and role as an intercessor in the natural world, as well as tendencies to associate her with lightning<sup>72</sup>.

By the middle of the fifteenth century, the shrine at Althaus was at the centre of a thriving pilgrimage tradition. The shrine's significance is also at-

<sup>66</sup> W. PARAVICINI, *Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels*, Bd. 1, p. 275.

<sup>67</sup> Guillebert, pp. 445–449.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 449: 'Et de la m'en alay a ung chastel et commanderie nommee Aldenhoux, ou on aoure sainte Barbe; et y a l'un des bras et une partie du chief de la benoite vierge et y a moult beau pelerinaige.'

<sup>69</sup> Peter, p. 70 (Book 3, Chapter 36).

<sup>70</sup> Johannes, p. 357: 'Eyn sunderlich wonder geschach: in desin czitin was das heilgethum senthe Barbaran bilde zcu Marienburg off dem huse, das man dar geflochint hatte dorch des krigis willin des vorgangin jares. Das bilde trug man mit grosser achtbarkeit yn das velt und ken Wildinberg zcwer mit eynir schonen procession, und songin dy pristerschaft do eyne messe gote zcu lobe und der heylygin juncfrowin.'

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 357: 'und also dicke das geschach, off den selbigen tag gab der herre einen genedigen reyn; und yn der erstin procession, also man das heilighum und bilder der lybin juncfrowin trug von dem huse, zcuhand begunde is zcu reinen, das man der besten korcappin nicht mochte ustragin; und der reyn lys doch zcuhand weder abe, also lange bys dy procession was gescheen. Dornoch reynte is den halbin tag und dy nacht dorczu, noch den willin des herrin den armen czu grosim troste.'

<sup>72</sup> Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe, Codex Lichtenthal 66, fol. 22v: 'Und als der vater hingaeng von dem berg, da fiel ein fuer von dem himel und verbrant ine'. Also Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Theologische Sammelhandschrift, Cod. Theol. et. Phil. qt. 81, fol. 236v: 'Aber dioscorus do er abging von dem berge, do viel das für von dem himmel und verbrant in also gar das man auch sin pulver mit do kunt gespüren.'

tested to in the records of priests responsible for maintaining it. In 1408, there is an entry in the *Marienburger Tresslerbuch* that records one 'William, priest brother of Althaus' ('herr Willelm eyn pristerherren von Aldenhuse'), who was responsible overseeing mass in the commandery and, presumably, oversaw the custody of the shrine and the pilgrims visiting it<sup>73</sup>. In 1441, the tax book for the Althaus commandery refers to the collections of wax around the shrine<sup>74</sup>. Inventories taken at the relic shrine in Althaus at that time for the years 1441<sup>75</sup>, and 1452, provide with great detail the furnishings of the reliquary and its appearance<sup>76</sup>. It was a head, adorned with crucifixes and badges with fish, herrings, bees, and other engraved images<sup>77</sup>. There was also a golden crown, 'a pearl braid on the head of the reliquary' ('eyn perlyn borthen uffim howbte des heiligthums'), a small belt with buckles that would drape the reliquary, and a total of eleven coral rosaries recorded in the inventory<sup>78</sup>. With respect to the pilgrimage donations to the shrine, the 1452 inventory states that one silver mark was given for the braid of pearls ('eyne lotige m. sylbers am vadem'), two marks for the silver image ('czwu lotige m. hat das sylberen bilde'), and

<sup>73</sup> *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch der Jahre 1399–1409*, hrsg. v. Erich JOACHIM, Königsberg 1896, p. 473. Also see A. BŁAŻEWICZ, *Skarb relikwiarzowy*, p. 107; *Geschichte von wegen eines Bundes*, hrsg. v. Max TÖPPEN, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, Bd. 4, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, Max TÖPPEN, Ernst STREHLKE, Leipzig 1870, p. 180, which refers to 'her Niclaus Lesen, der sanct Barbaren bilde waret'.

<sup>74</sup> Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. Hauptabteilung – Historisches Staatsarchiv Königsberg, Ordensbriefarchiv (further cit. GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA), Nr. 10495, fol. 5v: 'Von sendte Barbaren gelde: Summa iiiij<sup>c</sup> marck xxxvij marck ger[inge] Gerechint mit deme wachse, idoch so kan mans eygentlich nicht gewissen went is lawfft eyn jor hogor mit der summe dem das andir'.

<sup>75</sup> GÄB, p. 512.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 514–515.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 515: 'Item boben dem howbte Sente Barbare eyn snüre vol czeichen von sylbern gebylde von heringen, awgen, herczen, satele, fyssche, schiffe, behne, ingegraben bilde mit derglich und etliche gulden mit czweyn obergulden vorspannen.'

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 514–515: '[...] Czum ersteneyn schone guldene krone von clarem golde mit vil groszen und kleynen edelem gesteyne und groszen perlyn umbelang die gancze crone benedene. Item eyn perlyn borthen uffim howbte des heiligthums Item eyn ander silbern jortel mit sprangen obergold ane glocken ouch ummegeet dem bilde Item an halsze des bildes czwey lawter korallen paternoster kurz numme den hals gewunden Item 1 lawter karallen paternoster mit eyne silbern crucifix voran hengende [...] Item eyn karallen paternoster mit ungemischten silbern knoffelin Item eyn karallen paternoster mit silbern knoffelin, swartz agtsteyne und wyszen bornsteyne und eyn mit silbern knoffelyn und eyne cristallo hengen ouch am halsze des bildes vorn herabe. Item eyn klein lawter corallen paternoster und eyn lang korallen paternoster mit sylberen knoffelyn und swartzem agtsteyne mit eyne kleynen vorspanne und eyne kleynen crewcze obergoldet und eyn lang karallen paternoster mit swartzem agtsteyne, ouch klein korallen paternoster mit swartzem agstein und ander bornstein paternoster und ouch eyn ytel swartz agtsteyn kleyn paternoster seyn hinden dem bylde an die wand angehangen.'



51 golden brooches ('rincke'), 'which the Grand Master took 20 of the best' ('von dem nam der here homeister 20 rincke der besten')<sup>79</sup>. These *rincke* likely refer to penannular brooches donated to the shrine by pilgrims, indicating the popularity of the shrine in the 1450s and its use by the local population. Moreover, such badges appear to have been popular in the Baltic region, as demonstrated by the work of Teresa Dunin-Wąsowicz<sup>80</sup>. We know, for example, of such finds in other important pilgrimage centers in the southern Baltic region, such as Danzig, which experienced considerable pilgrimage traffic in the fifteenth century, in addition to serving as a destination for pilgrims throughout Europe<sup>81</sup>. Determining the people who donated these objects to the shrine still remains unclear, as there are no surviving materials to document with any further clarity the pilgrimage phenomenon that developed around the shrine at Althaus except for the fragmented evidence of pilgrims such as Guillebert de Lannoy, and others.

From the obscure arrival of the relic of St Barbara in Prussia sometime before 1242, the shrine at Althaus became linked with the Order's territory by the fifteenth century. In fact, the reputation of the shrine spread to other places throughout Europe, particularly the lands of the Empire. Two previously unpublished accounts (edited in the Appendix below), now housed in Köln and Stuttgart make a specific reference to the discover of St Barbara's relics, and the translation of those relics from the Holy Land to Poland, before expressing to a woman in the castle: 'I am leaving from here, and going to Althaus in Prussia, where more honour and worthiness will be shown to me there than here' ('Ich scheide von hyrinne und gen zu althusen in prüssen, do mir ere und werdikeit wirt erbotten mer dann hie')<sup>82</sup>. Though originally connected to the wars against Świętopełk of Pomerania and the subjugation of the Prussians in the thirteenth century, it is clear that the relics acquired a significant status among

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid., p. 515.

<sup>80</sup> Teresa DUNIN-WĄSOWICZ, *Drogami średniowiecznej Polski. Studia z dziejów osadnictwa i kultury*, Warszawa 2011. I am thankful to Dr. Piotr Pranke at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń for pointing me to this resource.

<sup>81</sup> For example, see Beata MOŻEJKO, *Spätmittelalterliche Wallfahrten im Licht Danziger Quellen*, [in:] *Wallfahrer aus dem Osten. Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen zwischen Ostsee, Donau und Seine. Beiträge der Tagung Perspektiven der europäischen Pilgerzeichenforschung 21. bis 24. April 2010 in Prag*, hrsg. v. Hartmut KÜHNE, Lothar LAMBACHER, Jan HRDINA (Europäische Wallfahrtsstudien, Bd. 10), Frankfurt am Main 2013, pp. 69–80. Also see Henryk PANER, *Średniowieczne znaki pielgrzymie z Einsiedeln w zbiorach Muzeum Archeologicznego w Gdańsku*, *Archaeologia Historica Polona*, vol. 21: 2013, pp. 171–185, especially pp. 179–181 for the place of Danzig in the broader European pilgrimage framework.

<sup>82</sup> Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, Bestandbezeichnung 7008 (= Handschriften GB Oktav 3), fol. 243v–244v (c. 1425–1455); Württembergische Landbibliothek, Stuttgart, Theologische Sammelhandschrift, Cod. Theol. et. Phil. qt. 81, fol. 236r–237v (c. 1475).

the local Christian population of the region and beyond. This speaks to the significant level of contact between the *Ordensland* and Latin Christendom in the fifteenth century, and a high level of internationalization of the reputation of the southern Baltic region as not just a land of armed pilgrimage against the Lithuanians or, later, the Samogitians, but also a place with shrines significant to Christianity.

A MILITARY PATRONESS?  
ST BARBARA AND THE TEUTONIC ORDER'S  
IDEOLOGICAL PROGRAMME

As stated above, Barbara's *vita* was not included in the *Passional* until much later. However, with respect to the Teutonic Order as an institution waging war on behalf of the Church, Barbara still became an important patron saint. Similar gaps can be seen in the veneration of St Barbara in Scandinavia, where her cult developed in the region despite no relics existing there<sup>83</sup>. While neither the so-called *Hermann von Salza's Bericht* nor the chronicles of the fourteenth century reflect on how or why the relics were housed in Sartowitz, they do point to the significance of Barbara to the Teutonic Order's identity in Prussia as an institution engaged in holy war against enemies of the Church. This emphasis on St Barbara was due to the connection of key concepts in her story to the Teutonic Order's crusading ideology, particularly martyrdom, which will be the focus of the present section. It begins with an overview of the question of martyrdom within the Order, or at least the perception amongst brethren that those who died in Prussia were martyrs. It will then continue to the role of Barbara's relics and their association with warfare in the *Ordensland* throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Biblical models within the Teutonic Order's literary tradition and their significance to the corporate identity of the brethren has an extensive scholarly foundation<sup>84</sup>. One of the most important components to the Order's worldly and spiritual literature written throughout the fourteenth century is martyrdom, in addition to models of piety and the fight against God's enemies.

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<sup>83</sup> *The Old Norse-Icelandic Legend of Saint Barbara*, ed. Kirsten WOLF (Studies and Texts, vol. 134), Toronto 2000, pp. 45–77.

<sup>84</sup> This is true with respect to English and German scholarship. See K. HELM, W. ZIESEMER, *op.cit.*, pp. 40–41; Mary FISCHER, *Di Himels Rote: Ideas of Christian Chivalry in the Chronicles of the Teutonic Order* (Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, Bd. 525), Göppingen 1991; eadem, *Biblical Heroes*, pp. 264–270; Ralf G. PÄSLER, *Deutschsprachige Sachliteratur im Preußenland. Untersuchungen zu ihrer Überlieferung* (Aus Archiven, Bibliotheken und Museen Mittel- und Osteuropas, Bd. 2), Köln–Weimar–Wien 2003, pp. 30–31; A. MENTZEL-REUTERS, *Arma Spiritualia*, pp. 17–22; Mary FISCHER, *Winning Hearts and Minds: The Role of the Written Word in the Crusades in North-Eastern Europe in the Fourteenth Century*, [in:] *The Book in Germany*, ed. Mary C. FISCHER, William A. KELLY, Edinburgh 2010, pp. 1–16; M. WÜST, *op.cit.*, pp. 149–169.

Early battles throughout the Prussian Uprisings (1260–1274), and the Battle of Durben (13 July, 1260), were commemorated as instances of martyrdom both in the Order's houses in the Empire, and likely in Livonia and Prussia as well<sup>85</sup>. Moreover, with respect to the Prussian chroniclers such as Peter von Dusburg and Nicolaus von Jeroschin, the death of brothers fighting the pagans was part of the framework in which the chronicle was composed: to reveal the signs and wonders (*signa et mirabilia*) of God that took place in Prussia<sup>86</sup>. In this sense, the image of martyr saints provided a reinforcing element of the importance of martyrdom amongst the brothers, and St Barbara was no exception. This would explain the proliferation of martyr saints in the Order's monastic calendar, their role in the liturgy of the Order, and the high concentration of relics associated with martyr saints throughout the *Ordensland*<sup>87</sup>. Nicolaus von Jeroschin links Luther von Braunschweig, Grand Master of the Order, to the veneration of the saint by writing that he produced an account of her life in Middle High German in the fourteenth century<sup>88</sup>. This text has since been lost, though Luther produced other works associated with the Order's self-image and biblical antecedents, namely a translation of the *Book of the Maccabees* (*Das Makkabaerbuch*), now housed in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart<sup>89</sup>. Luther also decreed in his additions to the Order's *Rule* that

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<sup>85</sup> M. Wüst, op.cit., pp. 64–65, 104; G. LEIGHTON, *Did the Teutonic Order create a Sacred Landscape?*, pp. 472–473. For the Battle of Durben and its commemoration in the Order's houses throughout Germany, see Gustavs STRENGA, *Remembering the Common Past: Livonia as a lieu de mémoire of the Teutonic Order in the Empire*, [in:] *Livland – eine Region am Ende der Welt? Forschungen zum Verhältnis zwischen Zentrum und Peripherie im späten Mittelalter*, hrsg. v. Anti SELART, Matthias THUMSER (Quellen und Studien zur Baltischen Geschichte, Bd. 27), Köln–Weimar–Wien 2017, pp. 347–370, here pp. 356–360 for Durben.

<sup>86</sup> Peter, p. 21; Nicolaus, p. 305. Also see Marcus Wüst, *Zur Entstehung und Rezeption der „Chronik des Preußenlandes“ Peters von Dusburg*, [in:] *Neue Studien zur Literatur im Deutschen Orden*, hrsg. v. Bernhart JÄHNIG, Arno MENTZEL-REUTERS (Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur, Beiheft, H. 19), Stuttgart 2014, pp. 197–210, for the framework of Peter's chronicle.

<sup>87</sup> Waldemar ROZYNKOWSKI, *Omnes Sancti et Sanctae Dei. Studium nad kultem świętych w diecezzjach pruskich państwa zakonu krzyżackiego*, Malbork 2006, pp. 206–228. For the liturgy of the Order, see Anette LÖFFLER, *Die Liturgie des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen*, [in:] *Cura animarum. Seelsorge im Deutschordensland Preußen*, hrsg. v. Stefan SAMERSKI (Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands im Auftrage des Institutes für Ostdeutsche Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte, Bd. 45), Köln–Weimar–Wien 2013, pp. 161–184.

<sup>88</sup> Nicolaus, p. 377. See Simon HELMS, *Luther von Braunschweig. Der Deutscher Orden in Preußen zwischen Krise und Stabilisierung und das Wirken eines Fürsten in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, Bd. 67), Marburg 2016, pp. 118–125, for Luther's life of St Barbara (*Barbarabuch*).

<sup>89</sup> Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Deutsche Bibeldichtungen, HB XIII 11, fol. 52r–96r. See S. HELMS, op.cit., pp. 125–141 for the *Makkabaerbuch*. For the *Book of the*

the veneration of St Barbara be increased, noting that the mass for Barbara begin with the hymn, *Gratulemur regi digna*<sup>90</sup>.

Beyond the chronicles, various calls for increased campaigns to Prussia, frame the conflicts in language focused on martyrdom. This is evident in a series of letters of Popes Gregory IX, Alexander IV, and Innocent IV highlighting the struggling of the brothers in Prussia and their cruel deaths at the hands of the Prussians throughout the thirteenth century, particularly in the 1250s and 1260s. In these texts, the brothers are described with primarily the following terms and phrases: 'athleta Christi', 'Christi pugiles et martires triumphales', 'fratres qui sub frequentis experientia martirii prosequuntur', and 'fratres qui sub continua expectatione martirii frequentissime patiuntur'<sup>91</sup>. Decrees were issued by the Teutonic Order aimed at the religious persons of Prussia, specifically as abbots and abbesses, requesting prayers for crusaders. This is particularly the case with Grand Master Conrad von Jungingen (d. 1407), who asked that the abbots and abbesses pray for the brothers in the Order and guest crusaders on the *Reisen*<sup>92</sup>. While this example does not explicitly reference martyrdom, it reflects clearly that death in these campaigns would be death in a pious cause, and prayers would intercede on behalf of the fallen crusaders, for the army itself would be under God's protection ('dis her sie beschirme und bewaere')<sup>93</sup>.

Alongside the ideas expressed in the chronicles and the rituals of the liturgy carried out in Prussian churches, the relics of martyrs played an important role in the spiritual landscape of the Order's Prussian territory from the thirteenth century onward. The physical presence of their relics also aided in the creation of pilgrimage shrines in the region of Prussia, and Barbara's shrine at Althaus is perhaps the strongest example of this. The only place associated

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*Maccabees*, see *Das Buch der Maccabäer in mitteldeutscher Bearbeitung*, hrsg. v. Karl HELM (Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, Bd. 233), Tübingen 1904, pp. XCIII–XCIV.

<sup>90</sup> SDO, p. 148. Luther also increased the veneration of St Anne to the level of *semiduplex*.

<sup>91</sup> For example, PrUB, Bd. 1, H. 1, pp. 66–67 (no. 87), 195 (no. 255); *Preußisches Urkundenbuch. Politische Abtheilung*, Bd. 1, H. 2, hrsg. v. Rudolf PHILIPPI, Königsberg 1909 (further cit. PrUB, Bd. 1, H. 2), pp. 21–22 (no. 28), 27–28 (no. 33), 55 (no. 61), 101 (no. 111), 155–156 (no. 201), 195 (no. 255).

<sup>92</sup> „Formularz z Uppsali”. *Późnośredniowieczna księga formularzowa biskupstw pruskich*, ed. Radosław BISKUP (Fontes TNT, vol. 109), Toruń 2016 (further cit. *Formularz*), pp. 252–258 (nos. 322–326).

<sup>93</sup> Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. Hauptabteilung – Historisches Staatsarchiv Königsberg, Ordensfolianten (further cit. GStA PK, XX. HA, OF), Nr. 3, p. 18: '[...] hirurgbe bitten wir euwir Ersamkeit mit begerlichim fleisse Das Ir got unsern herre, mitsampt euwir samenunge anrufet, und In vor die unsern bittet, dis her sie beschirme und bewaere. I am thankful to Prof. Dr. hab. Krzysztof Kwiatkowski at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń for sharing this document with me.



with martyrdom prior to the arrival of the Teutonic Order was not in Althaus, but further to the north, in Sambia. It was here that St Adalbert of Prague was killed while evangelizing to the Prussians in April of 997. Roughly 430 years later, in 1422, Ludwig von Lanse (d. 1451), Grand Marshal of the Order, constructed a chapel to St Adalbert at Tenkitten<sup>94</sup>. In 1431, Eugene IV issued an indulgence for the shrine, which was 'near to the castle of Lochstedt' ('prope castrum Lochstete'), referencing the miracles that occurred there<sup>95</sup>. The triptych altarpiece of the church, commissioned by Grand Master Friedrich von Sachsen (r. 1498–1510) in 1504<sup>96</sup>, depicts the Virgin Mary, St James the Great, and St Barbara (holding a chalice). It also shows the story of Adalbert's martyrdom on the outer panels. It is kept today in the Chapel of the Virgin at the Malbork Castle Museum, pictured below<sup>97</sup>. The example of Adalbert, a saint not very well-attested in the texts from the Order's early history in Prussia, demonstrates here that martyr saints held a considerable status in the how the Order expressed itself and dictated worship in its territory. That Adalbert was not commemorated at the same level could be due to the fact that he shared the same feast day as St George, whom the Order venerated heavily<sup>98</sup>. It should

<sup>94</sup> GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nr. 04036: 'In dieser nachgeschriebenen weise hat der herr marschalk willen es czu bestellen mit der kirche czu sent Albrechte'. For context on the chapel, see Johannes VOIGT, *Geschichte Preußens*, Bd. 1: *Der Zeit des Heidentums*, Königsberg 1827, pp. 663–666; August HAGEN, *Ueber die St. Adalberts-Kapelle in Tenkitten*, Neue Preußische Provinzial-Blätter, Bd. 5: 1848, pp. 256–276, here pp. 262–263 for the foundation of the chapel and its attraction as a pilgrimage shrine; Adolf BOETTICHER, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Samlandes* (Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Ostpreußen, H. 1), Königsberg 1891, pp. 155–156; Conrad STEINBRECHT, *Die Baukunst des Deutschen Ritterordens in Preussen*, Bd. 3: *Schloss Lochstedt und seine Malereien. Ein Denkmal aus den Deutschen Ritterordens Blütezeit*, Berlin 1910, pp. 2–8; Ch. HERRMANN, op.cit., pp. 124, 748–749.

<sup>95</sup> Augustin KOLBERG, *Ein preußisches Formelbuch des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands, Bd. 10: 1891, pp. 273–329, here pp. 288–289.

<sup>96</sup> J. VOIGT, *Namen-Codex*, p. 2.

<sup>97</sup> I would like to thank Dr. hab. Janusz Trupinda, Director of the Malbork Castle Museum, for allowing me to reproduce the image of the altarpiece.

<sup>98</sup> Adalbert was not listed in the Order's calendar, see SDO, p. 4. However, the foundation of the chapel does state that his feast day was to be observed with a mass, see GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nr. 04036: 'Item die sullen die kirche mit gesange und gotes dinste also halden das sie durchs jor sullen singen die czeite von unsir frauwen und sullen die metten anheben des morgens czu vier stunden ufgnommen die fest als den ostertag den pfingstag d[en] sent albrechts tag des heiligenleichnam tag[en] dedicatonis und des heiligen crists tag[en] in den tagen sal man singen den sang von den tagen'. For the veneration of George, see Udo ARNOLD, *Georg und Elisabeth – Deutschordensheilige als Patrone in Preußen*, [in:] *Die Rolle der Ritterorden in der Christianisierung und Kolonisierung des Ostseegebietes*, hrsg. v. Zenon H. NOWAK (Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica, Bd. 1), Toruń 1983, pp. 69–78; Bernhart JÄHNIG, *Festkalender und Heiligenverehrung beim Deutschen Orden in Preußen*, [in:] *Die Spiritualität der Ritterorden im Mittelalter*, hrsg. v. Zenon H. NOWAK (Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica,

be noted, though, that Nicolaus von Jeroschin wrote a *vita* of St Adalbert at some point in the fourteenth century, indicating an early awareness of the saint's importance to the Christianization of Prussia within the Order's canon of texts<sup>99</sup>.



Figure 2. Altar triptych of Tenkitten Church, c. 1504.  
Today housed in the Malbork Castle Museum. Image: G. Leighton

Bd. 7), Toruń 1993, pp. 177–187; W. PARAVICINI, *Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels*, Bd. 1, p. 307; idem, *Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels*, Bd. 2, pp. 139–152; W. ROZYNKOWSKI, *Omnes Sancti*, pp. 230–233, for both the cults of St Adalbert and St George; M. WÜST, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, pp. 22–26.

<sup>99</sup> Nicolaus von JEROSCHIN, *Leben des heiligen Adalbert. Fragment*, hrsg. v. Ernst STREHLKE, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, Bd. 2, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, Max TÖPPEN, Ernst STREHLKE, Leipzig 1863, pp. 423–428. For context of the source, see Johannes VOIGT, *Ueber eine bisher unbekannt dichterische Bearbeitung der Lebensbeschreibung des Heiligen Adalberts vom Ordenskaplan Nicolaus von Jeroschin*, *Neue Preußische Provinzial-Blätter*, Bd. 7: 1861, H. 3, pp. 329–336; J. WENTA, op.cit., pp. 219–221.

The above examples dovetail with the message of St Barbara's *vita*, particularly with respect to death at the hand of pagans. However, Barbara's story focused on a different form of death, as it did not involve fighting back, and this is the case for all of the early martyrs in Christian history. Therefore, this is the likely reason as to why she was not more representative of the Teutonic Order's mission in Prussia. Other parallels with this can be seen in the figure of St Christopher, who was depicted on the walls of the private rooms of the *Ambermeister* at Lochstedt<sup>100</sup>.

It is clear that already in the thirteenth century, St Barbara's relic was associated with warfare. The so-called *Hermann von Salza's Bericht* reports that to fight on her feast day was of great honour to Christianity ('dorumb der cristenheit grosz ere geschehen wart an yrem tage ym streit'), and it was hoped that she would intercede on behalf of the company in the battle at Sartowitz<sup>101</sup>. This continued into the fourteenth century, particularly in Nicolaus von Jeroschin's excursion on the saint as a protector of the Order, such as the phrases that St Barbara would never desert those who venerate her ('daz sî ich nimmer wil vorlân') and the appeal for the saint to stay by the brothers in the Order ('nû blîb bî uns / und von uns trîb'). Moreover, it was because of her death as a martyr ('waz dû uns weist widir sîn / durch dî bittir martîr dîn') that the brothers were protected, and we can place this in the context of warfare as well<sup>102</sup>. Nicolaus' expressions here are certainly due to the Luther's devotion to the saint and his decrees that her veneration be increased<sup>103</sup>.

St Barbara's association with war continued into the fifteenth century, particularly in the context of the Thirteen Years' War and the rise of the Prussian Federation. A letter from October of 1453, exchanged between the commander of Rehden, Dietrich von Werdenau, and the Grand Master, Ludwig von Erlichshausen (d. 1467), also reflects the importance of the relics to another group of people in the *Ordensland* – gunners (*bochsenschotzen*)<sup>104</sup>. The link between Barbara and gunners comes from the role played by lightning in her *vita*, as the 'fire from the sky' ('fuer von den himel') that killed her father following her martyrdom would certainly parallel gunfire<sup>105</sup>. Her relationship to gunners and tunnellers makes sense, considering the introduction of gunpow-

<sup>100</sup> C. STEINBRECHT, *op.cit.*, pp. 20–26, for the paintings. For the context of this image within the visual programme of the private room of the *Ambermeister*, see Florin CURTA, Gregory LEIGHTON, *Teutonic Hierotopy: St Christopher at Lochstedt*, *Ephemeris Napociensis. Academia Română Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei*, vol. 30: 2020 [forthcoming].

<sup>101</sup> HvSB, p. 161: 'Davon hoffen sy, das yn eyn gelucke gescheen an yrer nacht'.

<sup>102</sup> Nicolaus, p. 379 (lines 6630–6670).

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nr. 12286.

<sup>105</sup> See note 72 above. Also see G. DUCHET-SUCHAUX, M. PASTOREAU, *op.cit.*, p. 56.

der and canons to Prussia, one example of which can still be seen in the wall of the Grand Master's Palace at Marienburg, dating from the siege of the castle in the summer of 1410<sup>106</sup>.

By the fifteenth century, St Barbara is mentioned in the chronicles as appearing before the Order's army alongside the Virgin Mary. This is likely due to her associations with gunners and her status as one of the Fourteen Holy Helpers. As a member of this group, Barbara's apparition ensured salvation at the hour of death or delivery from an unexpected death<sup>107</sup>. For example, the first continuation to the *ältere Hochmeisterchronik* records two instances invoking St Barbara. The first is in the account of the Order's victory at the Battle of Konitz (Chojnice) on 18 September, 1454<sup>108</sup>. Following the description of the battle, the author writes that 'God gave to them [the army of the Order – G.L.] victory from his endless mercy and his blessed victory from Heaven, that the Order's mercenaries won the battle with the help and blessing of the worthy Virgin Mary and the loving virgin, St Barbara'<sup>109</sup>. The author also notes that many of the captured soldiers of the Polish army who had witnessed both saints in the sky, above the German army<sup>110</sup>.

The second instance of St Barbara in a military context is, again, in the first continuation of the *Hochmeisterchronik*, this time in the account of the Battle of Deutsch Eylau (Iława), on 25 May, 1455. The author writes that, after heading from Königsberg with a group of Bohemian mercenaries, Heinrich Reuß von Plauen headed toward Deutsch Eylau<sup>111</sup>. Once there, the army formed a *wagenburg* and prepared to meet the Polish forces. The author takes care to

<sup>106</sup> See Christofer HERRMANN, *Der Hochmeisterpalast auf der Marienburg. Konzeption, Bau und Nutzung der modernsten europäischen Fürstenresidenz um 1400* (Berliner Beiträge zur Bauforschung und Denkmalpflege, Bd. 17), Petersberg 2019, pp. 90–91.

<sup>107</sup> Ottó GECSER, *Holy Helpers and the Transformation of Sainly Patronage at the End of the Middle Ages*, *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, vol. 22: 2016, pp. 174–201, outlines the nature of the Holy Helpers as intercessors. For St Barbara as a member of the Holy Helpers, see Megan CASSIDY-WELCH, *Prison and Sacrament in the Cult of Saints: Images of St Barbara in Medieval Art*, *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 35: 2009, pp. 371–384, here pp. 380–384.

<sup>108</sup> *ÄH*, pp. 679–680.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 680: 'Do gab got von hymell seyn gruntlosze barmhertzigkeit und seynen gnedlichen syeg, das des ordens geste den streytt gewonnen mit hulffe und bethe der warden junckfrawen Marien und der liben junckfrawen sant Barbara, als man manchmall von den gefangen Polen hort sagen, sy heten dy muter gotes in eynen weyssen kleytt sehen sweben ober dem tewtschen heer.'

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 679–680: '[...] als man manchmall von den gefangen Polen hort sagen, sy heten dy muter gotes in eynen weyssen kleytt sehen sweben ober dem tewtschen heer.'

<sup>111</sup> J. VOIGT, *Namen-Codex*, p. 11. Also see Erich WEISE, *Heinrich Reuß von Plauen, Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens (seit 1469)*, [in:] *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 8, Berlin 1969, pp. 379–380.



note 'the army sprang forth upon the enemy, with the help of God, the Virgin Mary, and the holy virgin, St Barbara, who worked great wonders for the Teutonic Order'<sup>112</sup>. The victory of the outnumbered knights and mercenaries was likewise praised as a miracle ('das was ein gros zezichen und gnadt von got')<sup>113</sup>.

Such visions such as these were recorded already in the chronicles of Peter von Dusburg and Nicolaus von Jeroschin, thus placing the veneration of St Barbara within a wider regional context of connecting saints to war. In the context of war against the pagans, a particular one deserves mention here. This was an apparition of the Virgin fighting before the army of crusaders at the Battle of the Streba River (2 February, 1348). It was recorded in an anonymous contemporary letter from 1348<sup>114</sup>, and commemorated in the chronicle of the herald, Wigand von Marburg (1394)<sup>115</sup>. The impact of the vision was such that it resulted in the foundation of a Cistercian nunnery at Löbenicht (Lipnik) in Königsberg in 1349 by Grand Master, Heinrich Dusemer (d. 1353), in honour of God and 'especially of the Virgin, who showed herself to us at the Battle of the Streba'<sup>116</sup>. The parish church at Löbenicht, founded in 1334, was also dedicated to St Barbara<sup>117</sup>. In the 1360s, an indulgence of seven years and seven

<sup>112</sup> ÄH, p. 697: 'also sprengten dy an sy mit der hulffe gotes, der muter Maria und der heyligen junckfrawen sandt Barbara, dy da vyll groser zeichen bay dem orden in des ordens sachen gethan haben, al do an dem tag auch geschach, und und slugen an dy feyned und dy feinde werthen sich gar menlichen'.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., p. 697: 'Das was ein gros zeichen und gnadt von got, das vj<sup>e</sup> mher wenn ii<sup>m</sup> tott slugen und fingen'.

<sup>114</sup> For example, see *Codex diplomaticus Prussicus. Urkunden-Sammlung zur ältern Geschichte Preussens aus dem Königl. Geheimen Archiv zu Königsberg nebst Regesten*, Bd. 3, hrsg. v. Johannes VOIGT, Königsberg 1848 (further cit. CDP, Bd. 3), pp. 80–81 (no. 58): 'der herre und seine gebenedeite gepererin die Jungfrau Marie vor sie fechtende, haben sie [the crusader army – G.L.] zehentausent der ungläubigen und mehr erschlagen'.

<sup>115</sup> The version occurs in the original, Middle High German version of the chronicle, in addition to the Latin translation done by Konrad Gesseln in 1464. See Wigand von MARBURG, *Chronica nova Prutenica*, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, Bd. 2, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, Max TÖPPEN, Ernst STREHLKE, Leipzig 1863, p. 512 (Fragment IV): 'Unser vrouwen bilde / di in der zit gar milde / vor den ougen hin und her / was den cristen ein güt wer'. Also see Wigand von MARBURG, *Nowa kronika pruska*, ed. Sławomir ZONENBERG, Krzysztof KWIATKOWSKI, Toruń 2017, pp. 242–244.

<sup>116</sup> *Das Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Samland*, H. 3, hrsg. v. Carl P. WOELKY, Hans MENDTHAL (Neues preussisches Urkundenbuch. Ostpreussischer Theil, Bd. 2), Leipzig 1905, pp. 268–269 (no. 383): 'Wissentlich sey allen gotesgeloubigen, das wir, bruder Hinrich Duzemer [...] mit rate der gebietiger gote unserm herren zu loube und seiner muter Marien sunderlich zcu gedechtnisse der gnaden, die uns got bewesete in dem streite an dem Streben wider seine viende, haben gestiftt ein frawen closter'.

<sup>117</sup> Adolf BOETTICHER, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler in Königsberg* (Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Ostpreußen, H. 7), Königsberg 1897, pp. 259–260.

*quadrage* was issued to crusaders ('plures nobiles pro expedicione contra infideles facienda consueverint congregari') visiting the nunnery, further linking the event and patron saints to warfare in the fourteenth century<sup>118</sup>.

This example provides a powerful link in the perception of the saint (and, by extension, its relics) as an intercessor in battle at this time and places the veneration of St Barbara in Prussia within a broader European context. Such a phenomenon was common throughout Europe in the Middle Ages, thus linking this frontier region to more common element of Christendom<sup>119</sup>. As demonstrated by Alan Murray, these instances, termed *hierophanies* (defined as 'manifestations of the sacred'), were significant in the many chronicles from the crusades to the Holy Land, particularly surrounding the True Cross<sup>120</sup>. However, outside of the emphasis placed on the 'signs and wonders' which framed Peter von Dusburg's *Chronicle of the Land of Prussia*, the degree to which this tradition and function of relics carried over into the fifteenth century, when the Order shifted its mission following the conversion of Lithuania in 1386, has not yet been considered fully<sup>121</sup>. It is clear, though,

<sup>118</sup> *Avignonesische Quellen zur Geschichte des Ordenslandes (1342–1366)*, hrsg. v. Arthur MOTZKI, Braunsberg 1914, p. 44 (no. 85): '[...] omnibus et singulis devote visitantibus monasterium Sancti monialium Ordinis Cistercien. in civitate Coningsberg, noviter per ipsum magistrum [Winrich von Kniprode – G.L.] fundatum in honore beate Virginis et sufficientibus redditibus dotatum, VII. annos et VII. quadragenas Indulgentie concedere dignemini in singulis festivitibus principalibus et beate Virginis [...] et dedicacionis dicti monasterii, cum in ipsa civitate plures nobiles pro expedicione contra infidels facienda consueverint congregari, ut ipsorum et aliorum fidelium devocio per ipsas Indulgentias possit augeri, ut in forma'.

<sup>119</sup> For example, Heinrich FICHTENAU, *Zum Reliquienswesen im früheren Mittelalter*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Bd. 60: 1952, pp. 60–89, here 70–71; Berent SCHWINEKÖPER, *Christus-Reliquien-Verehrung und Politik. Studien über die Mentalität der Menschen des früheren Mittelalters, insbesondere über die religiöse Haltung und sakrale Stellung der früh- und hochmittelalterlichen deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte, Bd. 117: 1981, pp. 183–281; Alan V. MURRAY, *Might Against the Enemies of Christ: The Relic of the True Cross in the Armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, [in:] *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. John FRANCE, William G. ZAJAC, London 1998, pp. 217–238; Jonathan RILEY-SMITH, *Aspects of Templar and Hospitaller Memory*, [in:] *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, Identity*, ed. Nicholas PAUL, Susan YEAGER, Baltimore 2012, pp. 233–251, here p. 234; Arnold ANGENENDT, *Die Revolution des Geistigen Opfers. Blut – Sündenbock – Eucharistie*, Freiburg 2016; Tomasz BOROWSKI, Christopher GERRARD, *Constructing Identity in the Middle Ages: Relics, Religiosity, and the Military Orders*, *Speculum*, vol. 92: 2017, no. 4, pp. 1060, 1099–1100.

<sup>120</sup> Alan V. MURRAY, *Sacred Space and Strategic Geography in Twelfth-Century Palestine*, [in:] *Sacred Space in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia*, ed. Jarosław WENTA (*Sacra Bella Septentrionalia*, vol. 2), Toruń 2013, pp. 12–38.

<sup>121</sup> The most important summaries of this field of research in studies of the military orders remain Jürgen SARNOWSKY, *Identität und Selbstgefühl der geistlichen Ritterordens*, [in:] *Ständische und religiöse Identitäten im Mittelalter und früherer Neuzeit*, hrsg. v. Stefan KWIATKOWSKI,

that the Order did shift its ideology to other fronts at that time, namely against Russian schismatics and Turks, even if this was primarily through the use of language, as opposed to actual campaigns<sup>122</sup>. Further research is needed into the role played by relics as elements of warfare in fifteenth-century Prussia, but it is clear that the relic of St Barbara had developed alongside the changing attitudes and adjustments that took place throughout the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, from a patroness of an unexpected death to a patroness of victorious armies of the Order.

#### OFF THE BATTLEFIELD:

#### ST BARBARA AND EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE ORDENSLAND

Barbara's other patronages made her a venerated figure in Prussia among the local Christian population, particularly her association with miners, builders, and sailors<sup>123</sup>. For example, the depiction of St Barbara by Jan van Eyck (1437) with the detailed scenes illustrating the construction of her tower in stone, shows her relationship to miners, as can the frescoes in the Church of St Barbara at Kutná Hora, in the Kingdom of Bohemia, dating from the fourteenth century<sup>124</sup>. A majority of the churches dedicated to Barbara in the *Ordensland* were in close proximity to rivers and other bodies of water, as demonstrated in the work of Waldemar Rozykowski, has been used to reveal

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Janusz MAŁEK, Toruń 1998, pp. 114–115; Roman CZAJA, *Das Selbstverständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden im Mittelalter. Bilanz und Forschungsperspektive*, [in:] *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden*, hrsg. v. Jürgen SARNOWSKY, Roman CZAJA (Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica, Bd. 13), Toruń 2005, pp. 7–22, especially p. 13; J. SARNOWSKY, *Der Deutsche Orden*, pp. 87–102, for the Order's self-image after 1386; M. WÜST, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, pp. 270–274.

<sup>122</sup> For *signa et mirabilia*, see M. WÜST, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, p. 73; idem, *Zu Entstehung und Rezeption*, pp. 202–203; Grischa VERCAMER, *Zeit in Peters von Dusburg Chronica terre Prussie (1326). Chronologische Ordnung oder Mittel zum Zweck?*, *Zapiski Historyczne*, vol. 76: 2011, no. 4, p. 14. For the Order against Turks and Russians, see Matthias THUMSER, *Ein neue Aufgabe im Heidenkampf? Pläne mit dem Deutschen Orden als Vorposten gegen die Türken*, [in:] *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, hrsg. v. Bodo GUTHMÜLLER, Wilhem KÜHLMANN (Frühe Neuzeit, Bd. 54), Tübingen 2000, pp. 139–176; Madis MAASING, *Infidel Turks and Schismatic Russians in Late Medieval Livonia*, [in:] *Fear and Loathing in the North: Jews and Muslims in Medieval Scandinavia and the Baltic Region*, ed. Cordelia HESS, Jonathan ADAMS, Berlin 2015, pp. 347–388.

<sup>123</sup> Jürgen SARNOWSKY, *Die Wirtschaftsführung des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen (1382–1454)* (Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Bd. 34), Köln 1993.

<sup>124</sup> The drawing is housed in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Antwerp, Belgium. I thank the anonymous reviewer of this article for directing me to consider this depiction of the saint. For Kutná Hora, see Josef BRANIŠ, *Chrám svaté Barbory v Hoře Kutné. Dějiny a popis původní stavby až do roku 1620*, Kutná Hora 1891; Zdeněk WIRTH, *Kutná Hora – město a jeho umění. 91 fotografií architektury, maleb a plastik*, Praha 1912, p. 49.

the importance of the saint to sailors and merchants<sup>125</sup>. Water also plays a significant role in St Barbara's *vita*, namely through references to the bathhouse in which St Barbara was baptized<sup>126</sup>.

Moreover, Barbara was a popular female name in Prussia, evinced in a variety of documents issued throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Taking a name was a fundamental element of joining the Christian community in the Middle Ages, and in Prussia this appears to have been no different<sup>127</sup>. In the Kulmerland, though there are numerous instances of women named 'Barbara' in the city of Königsberg throughout the fifteenth century<sup>128</sup>. Sambia was also a region associated with the name 'Barbara'. This is particularly the case for the so-called *Löbenichtsche Stadtbuch*, which covers the years 1469–1525. The examples here demonstrate the importance of Barbara's patronage to women as well, in addition to solidifying the influence of the St Barbara church at Löbenicht within the mental geography of the city of Königsberg, as this church was linked to one of the most significant saints' names in the region<sup>129</sup>. The table below shows compiled data from collections of edited and unedited documents, primarily charters, grants of land, and some excerpts from later chronicles documenting the history of Danzig<sup>130</sup>. One of the most significant observations to be taken from the available data is that there appears to have also been a connection between the name of Barbara and the occupation of a nun or abbess ('virgo consecrata, nonne, priorin'), of which there are some significant examples, in addition to noblewomen having the name as well.

<sup>125</sup> W. ROZYNKOWSKI, *Św. Barbara – święta „od wody”*, pp. 241–242.

<sup>126</sup> Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Theologische Sammelhandschrift, Cod. Theol. et. Phil. qt. 81, fol. 230v: 'Und also wart die juncfrauwe gestercket von den worten des engels und enphing den heiligen dauffe in des engels gegenwürtekeit von einen erwirdigen und heiligen vatter mir den namen Valentino einen prister. In den wasser des vorgeanten lavatoriums, die liebe selige juncfrauwe ging fröhlich in den herren, und gedacht der zeichen die ir der diener Xristi in den heiligen duaffe hat in gedrucket.'

<sup>127</sup> W. ROZYNKOWSKI, *Omnes sancti*, pp. 10, 232.

<sup>128</sup> *Quellen-Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Königsberg im Mittelalter*, hrsg. v. Max PERLBACH, Göttingen 1878.

<sup>129</sup> See A. PLUSKOWSKI, op.cit., p. 254, for a similar approach to mental geography.

<sup>130</sup> Materials taken from *Das Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Culm*, Th. 1: *Das Bisthum Culm unter dem Deutschen Orden, 1243–1466*, hrsg. v. Carl P. WOELKY (Neues Preussisches Urkundenbuch. Westpreussischer Theil, Bd. 1), Danzig 1884; *Codex diplomaticus Warmiensis, oder Regesten und Urkunden zur Geschichte Ermlands*, Bd. 5, hrsg. v. Carl P. WOELKY (Monumenta Historiae Warmiensis, Bd. 5, Abt. 1), Braunsberg 1874; GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nrs. 4665, 6899, 7132, 7577, 8776, 9153, 9249, 10039, 10229, 10274, 12143, 12149, 17828, 17891, 17972; *Die Danziger Chroniken*, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, Bd. 4, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, Max TÖPPEN, Ernst STREHLKE, Leipzig 1870, pp. 694–724.



Nr	Date	Place	Name	Description	Source
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	2 July, 1376	Culmsee	Barbara	<i>filia Alberti dicti Borech</i>	UB Culm, Bd. 1, p. 266 (no. 345)
2.	1400?	Marienwerder	Barbara	<i>uxor Nicolaus Heyne carnificis</i>	SRP, Bd. 2, p. 219 (no. 4)
3.	5 July, 1407	Wormditt	Barbara	<i>kynder Hannus Flemyngs</i>	CDW, Bd. 5, p. 440 (no. 432)
4.	19 November, 1426	Elbing	Barbara	<i>priorin der Konvent zu Sarnowitz</i>	GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nr. 4665
5.	10 November, 1434	?	Barbara	<i>Kind des Otto Sparrow</i>	GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nr. 6899
6.	c. 1435	?	Barbara Gleser	<i>Edelfrau</i>	GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nr. 7132
7.	23 April, 1437	Thorn	Barbara Rwdolfynne	<i>virgo consecrata de sanctimonialium de Thorun</i>	UB Culm, Bd. 1, p. 449 (no. 552)
8.	23 April, 1437	Thorn	Barbara de Allen	<i>virgo consecrata de sanctimonialium de Thorun</i>	UB Culm, Bd. 1, p. 449 (no. 552)
9.	2 June, 1439	Leyszaw	Barbara	<i>Stieftochter Clara von Conyad</i>	GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nr. 7577
10.	21 May, 1445	Zuckau	Barbara von Russicin	<i>Nonne von Kloster Zuckau</i>	GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nr. 8776
11.	1 August, 1446	Zuckau	Barbara von Königsberg	<i>Nonne von Kloster Zuckau</i>	GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nr. 9153
12.	1 August, 1446	Zuckau	Barbara Trutenow	<i>Nonne von Kloster Zuckau</i>	GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nr. 9153
13.	c. 1446	?	Barbara	<i>Niclos' Tochter von Leskewitz</i>	GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nr. 9249
14.	27 August, 1449	Rotenhaus	Barbara Krebsynn	?	GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nr. 10039

1	2	3	4	5	6
15.	12 May, 1450	Marienburg	Frau Barbara	?	GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nr. 10229
16.	7 July, 1450	Marienburg	Barbara	<i>freunde Elisabeth Capszigs (Stifter des Elizabeths Spital in Danzig)</i>	GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nr. 10274
17.	23 June, 1453	?	Barbara von Erlichshussen	<i>Klosterfrau vom Predigerorden zu Rotenburg</i>	GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nr. 12143
18.	c. 1454?	Danzig	fraw Barbara	<i>Klosterfrau vom Predigerorden zu Danzig</i>	Danziger Chroniken, SRP, Bd. 4, pp. 696–697
19.	24 June, 1453	Thorn	Barbara Witynne	<i>priorin der nonnekloster zcu Culm</i>	GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nr. 12149
20.	8 April, 1461	Culm	Barbara	<i>Epptisschynne czum Culmen</i>	UB Culm, Bd. 1, pp. 413–414 (no. 637)
21.	1475	Danzig	Barbara	?	Danziger Chroniken, SRP, Bd. 4, p. 721
22.	17 April, 1479	Danzig?	Barbara	?	Danziger Chroniken, SRP, Bd. 4, pp. 716–717
23.	18 November, 1494	Königsberg	Barbara	<i>Witwe des Nickel Hungar</i>	GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nr. 17828
24.	8 March, 1496	Königsberg	Barbara	<i>schwester Schwager Nickel von Sargiten</i>	GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nr. 17891
25.	9 May, 1497	Königsberg	Barbara	<i>Witwe Hans Nawendorff</i>	GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nr. 17972

Table 1. List of women named Barbara in Prussia from manuscript and edited sources, 1376–1497. Abbreviations: CDW (*Codex diplomaticus Warmiensis*); GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. Hauptabteilung – Historisches Staatsarchiv Königsberg, Ordensbriefarchiv); SRP (*Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*); UB Culm (*Das Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Culm*)

In this context, we have the opportunity to look beyond the significance of St Barbara to the Teutonic Order through considering her veneration by the local Christian population. Equally as illuminating is the prominence of Barbara as a female name in the region, providing deeper insight into not just the veneration of saints, but the relationship of the saint's name to various positions throughout Christian society in medieval Prussia, in secular as well as religious contexts. The same can be said for other saints venerated within the Order, particularly the names Anne and Katherine, which appear with similar frequency in donations of land, wills and testaments.

*TERRA PRUSSIAE AS TERRA BARBARAE?*

*ST BARBARA'S RELIC AS A SYMBOL OF LANDESHERRSCHAFT*

The Teutonic Order was firmly grounded in a broader ideological tradition reflected by the military orders on both a regional and international level. They expressed themselves and their mission on earth as in line with a long line of predecessors from the Bible, particularly the imagery of the Maccabees and the defense of the Holy Land. They applied this lineage to their defense of Christians on different frontiers, emphasizing a strong link between this ideology and rule of the land<sup>131</sup>. Relics were a more tangible way to express these concepts, and in Prussia they formed a crucial element of the Teutonic Order's corporate identity. This was solidified not just through a framework of historical and religious texts, but through distinct rituals on and off the battlefield. These primarily involved holding mass and participating in the liturgy amongst the brethren and the local population<sup>132</sup>. As demonstrated in the work of Tomasz Borowski and Christopher Gerrard, and especially Maria Starnawska, relics were also important elements in the solidification of a distinct corporate identity amongst the members of the Order, and guest crusaders, expressing

<sup>131</sup> J. SARNOWSKY, *Identität und Selbstgefühl*, pp. 109–130. Also see M. WÜST, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, pp. 1–12.

<sup>132</sup> Krzysztof KWIATKOWSKI, Prolog und Epilog temporis sanctis. *Die Belagerung Kauens 1362 in der Beschreibung Wigands von Marburg*, *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung*, Bd. 57: 2008, H. 2, pp. 238–254; idem, *Zakon niemiecki jako „Corporatio Militaris”*, vol. 1: *Korporacja i krąg przynależących do niej. Kulturowe i społeczne podstawy działalności militarnej zakonu w Prusach (do początku XV wieku)* (*Dzieje Zakonu Niemieckiego*, vol. 1), Toruń 2012, pp. 49, 100; idem, *Christ ist erstanden... and Christians Win! Liturgy and the Sacralisation of Armed Fight against the Pagans as Determinants of Identity of Members of the Teutonic Order in Prussia*, [in:] *Sacred Space in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia*, ed. Jarosław WENTA (*Sacra Bella Septentrionalia*, vol. 2), Toruń 2013, pp. 101–127. For the use of portable altars on campaign, see CDP, Bd. 3, pp. 71 (no. 48), 126–127 (no. 96), both of which refer to the use of portable altars when 'Preceptores aut Capitaneos exercitus Hospitalis predicti, contra paganos et scismaticos fidei Christiane inimicos, pro defensione ac dilatatione ipsius fidei proficisci'.

a variety of understandings concerning their mission in Prussia from concepts of group identity to the sacral nature of warfare against the pagans<sup>133</sup>.

Discussed above, relics of the martyrs were a significant element of the Teutonic Order's ideological program in Prussia<sup>134</sup>. They served as distinct elements of the campaigns of the Teutonic Order and, like the True Cross, reinforced the status of its territory in Prussia as a *nova terra sancta*. Relics also served as objects for the Christian population of that region to participate in worship. This is evinced in the various bulls and indulgence letters aimed at the local Christian population in Prussia from the thirteenth to fifteenth century to visit relics<sup>135</sup>. For the Kulmerland, one of the main regions associated with Barbara's patronage, indulgences issued by Bishop of Kulm (and member of the Order), Arnold Stapel (r. 1402–1416), reveal a significant connection between the veneration of relics and their connection of power to the landscape in which they reside. Indulgences issued for visiting a relic of the True Cross and the relics of the saints at Lemberg, and the relic of the True Cross at Kulm (Chelmno), meditate on the connection of those points in the landscape as connected to Heaven itself. After addressing the recipients of the letter Arnold reminds them that worshipping relics of the saints on earth is a direct line to communicating to Heaven<sup>136</sup>.

<sup>133</sup> See T. BOROWSKI, Ch. GERRARD, op.cit., pp. 1056–1100; Maria STARNAWSKA, *Das Phänomen der Pilgerfahrten in der deutschen und polnischen Kultur des Mittelalters und Frühen Neuzeit*, Biuletyn Polskiej Misji Historycznej, vol. 10: 2015, pp. 25–62.

<sup>134</sup> For example, see Erika TIDICK, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchen-Patrozinien im Deutschordenslandes Preußen bis 1525*, Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands, Bd. 22: 1926, H. 3, pp. 343–464, especially pp. 380–381 on martyr saints and their significance to the Teutonic Order. Also see W. ROZYNKOWSKI, *Św. Barbara i Barbarka*, p. 16.

<sup>135</sup> CDW, Bd. 1, pp. 82–83 (no. 45), an indulgence issued by Anselm, Bishop of Ermland (r. 1250–1274) 'universis christi fidelibus in eisdem prouinciis et diocesibus constitutis' (i.e. Gniezno, Salzburg, Riga, and Ermland) to help build a chapel of the True Cross at Thorn, in 1263. For the fourteenth century, see CDW, Bd. 1, p. 372 (no. 218), issued by Otto, Bishop of Kulm (r. 1323–1349), 'omnibus christi fidelibus' of 40 days for visiting the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Elbing, in 1324; *Formularz*, p. 122 (no. 186), Otto, Bishop of Kulm, 'unversis christifidelibus' issues an indulgence for those visiting relics of the martyrs ('martires reverenciis venerantur') in the Kulmerland around 1349; *ibid.*, p. 123 (no. 187); *Codex diplomaticus Prussicus. Urkunden-Sammlung zur ältern Geschichte Preussens aus dem Königl. Geheimen Archiv zu Königsberg nebst Regesten*, Bd. 4, hrsg. v. Johannes VOIGT, Königsberg 1853, p. 78 (no. 57), Pope Urban V (r. 1362–1370) decrees that relics in Marienburg be displayed every five years, in 1389. For the fifteenth century, see *Formularz*, p. 123 (no. 187), Arnold Stapel, Bishop of Kulm (r. 1402–1416) issues a 40-day indulgence for visiting the relics of the True Cross and other saints in the parish church of Lemberg (Lembark); *ibid.*, p. 124 (no. 188), Arnold of Kulm issues an indulgence of 40 days to those who pray in the presence of the image of the Virgin Mary in the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Kulm ('in ecclesia hospitali Sancti Spiritus in Culmen coram ymagine lapidea Beate Marie Virginis'). Also see *ibid.*, pp. 125 (no. 189), 128–131 (nos. 193–195).

<sup>136</sup> For example, see *Formularz*, pp. 123 (no. 187), 125 (no. 189).



Such an understanding was universal throughout the Christian world in the Middle Ages and served to legitimize divine approval over the place where the relics rested<sup>137</sup>. In the context of the relic of St Barbara, the Order was in line with this tradition, for the relics were part of a multifaceted process which served as a means for the Order to express its territorial (and spiritual) sovereignty in Prussia. The concepts associated with this expression of territorial lordship (*Landesherrschaft*) has been studied extensively and has been linked with various other examples throughout Europe, as evinced in the work of Marian Dygo, Roman Czaja, Marie-Luise Heckmann, and others<sup>138</sup>. In the late fourteenth century, already, one can see the connection of St Barbara to a reflection of micro regional power and patronage in the form of document signatures, such as that of the Pomesanian notary, Johannes Czadeler, in a letter from 1383<sup>139</sup>. In the letter discussed above from 1453, there is a remark on the status of the relic of St Barbara, which Ludwig von Erlichshausen had requested to know whether or not the relic should be brought to Marienburg for protection against the Poles. A small attachment reveals the significance of the relics of St Barbara to the Kulmerland. In it, the commander of Rheden,

<sup>137</sup> Hans-Jürgen BECKER, *Defensor et patronus. Stadtheilige als Repräsentanten einer mittelalterlichen Stadt*, [in:] *Repräsentationen der mittelalterlichen Stadt*, hrsg. v. Jörg OBERSTE, Regensburg 2008, pp. 45–63, here pp. 53–54.

<sup>138</sup> Marian DYGO, *The Political Role of the Cult of the Virgin Mary in Teutonic Prussia in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 15: 1989, pp. 63–81; idem, *Studia nad początkami władztwa zakonu niemieckiego w Prusach (1226–1259)*, Warszawa 1992, pp. 159–188; R. CZAJA, op.cit., pp. 13–15. As demonstrated by the work of Marie-Luise Heckmann, there are significant parallels to other examples in Europe. See Marie-Luise HECKMANN, *Herrschaft im Spätmittelalter – am Beispiel des Deutschen Ordens*, [in:] *Die Ritterorden als Träger der Herrschaft. Territorien, Grundbesitz und Kirche*, hrsg. v. Roman CZAJA, Jürgen SARNOWSKY (*Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica*, Bd. 14), Toruń 2008, pp. 9–28, here pp. 17–18; Roman CZAJA, *Gesellschaft und Landesherr im Ordensland Preußen zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts*, *Zapiski Historyczne*, vol. 75: 2010, no. 4, pp. 554–565; idem, *Das Phänomen des Deutschordensstaates*, *Jahrbuch des Wissenschaftlichen Zentrums der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Bd. 2: 2009, pp. 163–172, here p. 165.

<sup>139</sup> GStA PK, XX. HA, OF, Nr. 281, fol. 73, shows a diamond shape on a cross with a banner reading 'Sancta Barbara'. This was described in Dr. Dieter Heckmann's (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz) recent talk at 'Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica' (Toruń, 27 September, 2019), titled 'Preußisches Landesbewusstsein in Beglaubigungsmerkmalen öffentlicher Notare des 14. Jahrhunderts': 'Eine besondere Spielart der Verknüpfung zwischen Land und Landespatronin bietet das Signet des pomesanischen Notars Johannes Czadeler aus dem Jahr 1383, weil der Notar nicht die Verbindung zur Gottesmutter Maria und damit zum Marienland Preußen, sondern zur Heiligen Barbara gezogen hat. Die Verehrung dieser Heiligen war besonders im Kulmerland, das im Süden an Pomesanien grenzt, verbreitet. Czadeler's Beglaubigungsmerkmale mögen in gewisser Weise die provinzielle Eigenständigkeit im Ordensland vertreten'. I am very grateful to Dr. Heckmann for making me aware of this document and allowing me to quote from his talk.

Dietrich, acknowledges that the Grand Master wished to protect the relic ('das euern gnade wol machte achtunge haben uff das heiligethum sente barbaren'). Dietrich replied that it would be better for it to go to another castle ('iz wurde gifurt uff eyn ander hawß'), such as Graudenz and that the relic should remain in the Kulmerland ('so blebe gleiwol das heiligethum im Culmisschen lande'). Based off of the architectural plans for Althaus and Graudenz, it is clear that the letter expresses a desire for the relics to remain in the region associated with Barbara's patronage, but to be moved to a stronger, better-fortified place<sup>140</sup>. However, it also reveals the importance of the relic to the region itself, for it indicates that Barbara was perceived as a protector of that area, as reflected in the significant number of shrines and depictions of her in the Kulmerland (see Map 1 below)<sup>141</sup>. This example shows the perception of the relics of St Barbara as linked to specific power centres, particularly in the fifteenth century, and how contemporaries perceived settlements in Prussia in relation to the Order's power<sup>142</sup>.

However, one can also study St Barbara within the greater context of religious patronage in Prussia. In the inventory of Althaus taken in 1452, mentioned above, there is a wide variety of objects that adorned the reliquary, ranging from rosaries and crucifixes, to jewels, crystals, and images of the saint. However, one of the objects in particular offers some insight into the perception of Barbara as a patron of the *Ordensland* and its Christian population, reinforcing her association with the Teutonic Order's territory: 'Item 1 thin coral rosary with a silver crucifix on it, with a golden brooch on the neck of the relic, which reads Preysland'<sup>143</sup>. Here we see a quite surprising link to

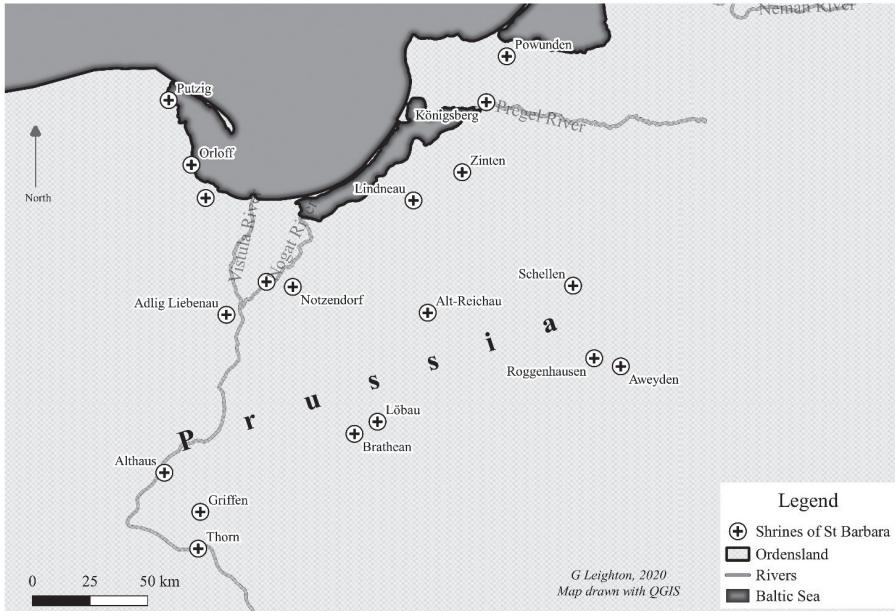
<sup>140</sup> See the website for the 'Castrum Terrae Culmensis – na rubieży chrześcijańskiego świata' project, based at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń: <http://projektumk.wixsite.com/castra-terrae/single-post/2018/08/10/Antiquum-Culmen-Stare-Che%C5%82mno-odkryte-w-Starogrodzie> [accessed online 11 February, 2020].

<sup>141</sup> GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, Nr. 12286: 'Ouch gnediger homeister so geruche euwer gnade zcu wissen wie das meyn hawßkomphthur ist gewest zcum alden hawße und Im der Komphthur gap eyn man harnissch da hat der pristerheran meynen hawßkomphthur das hi sulde an mich brengen daz ich euwer gnade schrebe das euern gnade wol machte achtunge haben uff das heiligethum sente barbaren nuw dancket mich wol gnediger homesiter gerathen wolde euwer gnade das heiligethum nicht nemen ken marienburg das is sust euwer gnade bestelte das iz wurde gifurt uff eyn ander hawß ken Grudentz da iz baz bewaret wer wen zcum alden hawße umbe weniger geschrey wolle so blebe gleiwol das heiligethum im Culmisschen lande'.

<sup>142</sup> Krzysztof KWIATKOWSKI, *Die militärische Funktion der Städte unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen (vom 13. bis zum Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts)*, [in:] *Städtelandschaften im Ostseeraum im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, hrsg. v. Roman CZAJA, Carsten JAHNKE, Toruń 2009, pp. 167–186, especially p. 170.

<sup>143</sup> GÄB, p. 515: 'Item 1 lawter karallen paternoster mit eyne silbern crucifix voran hengende und mit eyne gulden rincke hyndene am halsze des bildes, das beschyde Preysland'.

the relic shrine and the region of Prussia recorded in the inventory and a connection of the local saint to an entire geographical region of medieval Europe.



Map 1. Shrines of St Barbara in the *Ordensland*. Not displayed: Danzig and Marienburg.  
Map drawn by G. Leighton with QGIS

There exists a large body of research on the patronage of the Virgin Mary on the Teutonic Order's Prussian territories, and rightfully so, as Mary was the primary saint of the Order itself<sup>144</sup>. However, St Barbara was also a significant patron saint of the Order, in addition to the local Christian population of Prussia. To demonstrate this importance, one only need consider the visual depictions and church dedications of St Barbara throughout the *Ordensland*. In addition to the Kulmerland and Pomerania, the areas most associated with her patronage, she was depicted throughout local parish churches in Samland. These include Powunden (Chrabrowo) and Zinten (Kornevo), in addition to altars in the Königsberg Cathedral in the Kneiphof district of the city, and the nunnery in the district of Löbenicht. In West Prussia, she was also depicted at Griffen (Grzywna), Notzendorf (Krzyżanowo), Orloff (Orłowo), Roggenhausen (Rogóźno), and Danzig, with altars in the St Laurence Church at Marien-

<sup>144</sup> For example, see the recent publication Udo ARNOLD, *Maria als Patronin des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter*, [in:] *Terra sanctae Mariae. Mittelalterliche Bildwerke der Marienverehrung im Deutschordensland Preußen*, hrsg. v. Gerhard EIMER, Ernst GIERLICH, Matthias MÜLLER, Kazimierz POSPIESZNY, Bonn 2009, pp. 29–56.

burg and in the Church of the Virgin Mary in Elbing<sup>145</sup>. The map below shows the spatial distributions of shrines and churches dedicated to St Barbara from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century in Prussia. It demonstrates the findings of previous research, namely that she had a particular veneration in the Kulmerland, though it also highlights the spread of Barbara's veneration to some of the most significant centers of the Teutonic Order in Prussia.

#### CONCLUSION

The above analysis offers a summary of the history of St Barbara's relics in Prussia, outlining her martyrdom and the tradition that quickly grew around her in the *Ordensland*. In doing so, it has also brought to light some new considerations that deserve summarizing here. The first is with respect to how the relics of St Barbara can be studied as indicators of armed and unarmed pilgrimage in medieval Prussia. One product of this is that two previously unpublished accounts of the history of the shrine in Althaus have been brought to light. This contributes further to how we understand the region of Prussia and the Teutonic Order within the mindset of Christendom, particularly during the fifteenth century. In addition to highlighting Barbara's association with key concepts in the ideology of the Teutonic Order, such as warfare waged on behalf of the Church against pagans, the above also demonstrates the continued veneration of St Barbara in the wars against the Kingdom of Poland and the Prussian Federation throughout the fifteenth century. The second element involves the significance of Barbara within the local Christian population and her status among women in Prussia. After the Virgin Mary, it is clear that Barbara was venerated among the local population, demonstrated in the significant amount of evidence concerning women with her name, both in the Kulmerland and in Sambia, who exercised considerable positions of authority. This is an area that would benefit from future research. In conclusion, it is the intention of this article to show the considerable amount of potential that remains in terms of scholarship on the history of medieval Prussia and its connection to Christendom.

#### APPENDIX

The appendix below is comprised of two fragments of chronicles which mention the discovery of St Barbara's relics in 1242, in addition to her translation to Althaus. I have added modern punctuation marks in my preparation of the editions, which are not part of the original texts.

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<sup>145</sup> E. TIDICK, op.cit., p. 411. For the altar in Elbing, see Edward CARSTENN, *Ueber den Schrein des Hochaltars der Elbinger Marienkirche*, *Altpreussische Monatsschrift*, Bd. 46: 1909, p. 250.



The first, housed in the Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, dated between 1425–1455, appears to form part of the collection of the *Translacio et miracula Sanctae Barbarae*, edited by Max Töppen. However, it is not included in the edition of the sources in the second volume of *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*. The text comes as part of a collection of works on the lives of St Barbara and St Katherine of Alexandria, in addition to sermons on the two saints. The edition here (fol. 243v–244v), follows the *vita* of St Barbara, and a description of the miracles attributed to her (fol. 243r–243v). Our text follows the version present in the so-called *Hermann von Salza's Bericht*. The script is a fifteenth-century miniscule, with various abbreviations.

The second text is an excerpt of a broader collection of devotional works, housed in Württembergische Staatbibliothek in Stuttgart, dated to c. 1475. The text is composed in Middle High German, and tells the story of St Barbara in considerable detail, taking up 11 folia (fol. 228r–239v). One interesting element is the emphasis on Barbara's age at the time of her martyrdom, which the text states took place at age 11. The story of the translation of the relics to Althaus comes in the final lines of the story (edited below). Of note is the continuation of key elements of the story of how St Barbara's relics were discovered, particularly that of the chest ('verseten kisten') in which her head was kept. It also continues many other elements of the tradition developed within Prussia. These include how St Barbara appeared to a woman who lived in Sartowitz, and expressed her desire to be taken to Althaus, in addition to her desire to hear a mass there. Unlike the other version of the discovery of the relics, this version states that the relics were taken first to the region of Silesia and the Kingdom of Poland ('ryche pollant'). The text is a strong example of how the reputation of St Barbara's shrine at Althaus spread outside of the *Ordensland*, and made its way into one of the most popular devotional texts of the late Middle Ages. The text ends abruptly, at which point begins the bride-quest *Brautfahrterzählung* from the legend of Wolfdietrich. The script is fifteenth-century, with few abbreviations and some commentary notes.

Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, Bestandbezeichnung 7008  
(= Handschriften GB Oktav 3), fol. 243v–244v (c. 1425–1455)<sup>146</sup>

[243v] Fuit in Pruscia marscallus quidam frater Theoericus nomine ordinis fratrum theutonicorum religiosus valde et in persecutione hostium crucis industrius, et eo tempore cum Swandeboldus quidam dux Pomerancie, pronus

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<sup>146</sup> I offer my thanks to Apl. Prof. Dr. Marie-Luise Heckmann at the University of Potsdam, and Dr. Alexandr Baranov at the Freie Universität in Berlin for assisting me in transcribing difficult elements of this text.

ad sediciones et ad bella contra fideles, et ita ut vexillis erectis cum Sarraceno-  
rum committiva expeditione armorum solemniter expedita, dampna quam-  
plurima inferret, ipsorum sanguinem effundendo. Cognita

<sup>[243r]</sup> tandem ipsius malicia et omnia qui commiserat contra fideles pre-  
sentie sedis apostolice deferendo, signum salvatoris contra ipsum publice  
predicatum est: quod quidam ex fidelibus in remissionem peccatorum suo-  
rum sumentes, ad bellandum viriliter egressi sunt. Iam dictus vero marscallus  
assumptis secum viris fidelibus et industribus, et venit in vigilia noctis beate  
Barbare virginis, et expugnavit castrum quoddam ipsius Swandeboldi: quam  
plurimos sediciosos intus perdens et quosdam capiens: multa reperit spolia.  
Et cum sociis ad quoddam festinantes cellarium, et sperans se intus invenire  
thesaurus: irruit in illud et invenit quoddam scrinium ferramentis artificiossi-  
sime circumfabricatum: servis forititer observatum et forinsecus ducis anulo  
signatum: quod aperiens, invenit caput beate barbare membrana appensa. Et  
ille cum sociis audientes nostri barbare et pre gaudio lacrimantes, prostrati in  
terram: deo gratias ageruntur. Quid cum quedam ex captivis

<sup>[244v]</sup> videret mulier: dixit marscallo cunctis audientibus: Bene gaudium et  
exultacio sit vobis et que omnia quam ad effectum iam perducta sunt, et hac  
nocte in sompnis visa mihi sunt. Beata enim Barbara ter michi se obtulit: di-  
cens ab huic se recessiorum ira. Tercio questo cum se mihi offerret, tanquam in  
enigmatis specie et diligenter ab illa didici quo vellet. Ital illa respondit: audire  
missam in culmen sum irrita. Illi autem cum honore et reverentia capud beate  
Barbare virginis in culmen prostrate Domino direxerunt.

Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Theologische Sammelhand-  
schrift, Cod. Theol. et. Phil. qt. 81, fol. 237r–237v (c. 1475)

<sup>[237r]</sup> Nach vil ziites, do beruffte der keiser der kriechen vil cristlicher hert-  
zogen zu hillf zu stryten wider die heiden. Do si nu den sig hatten gewonnen,  
do kamen sie zu der statt der sonnen und besassen sie, zu leste gewonnen sie  
die stat auch und lieffen die cristen in den tempel das sie die aptgött zurstörten  
und die heiden die nit glauben wolten erdöten und den tempel beraubten. Und  
do sie in den tempel kamen alle die cristen die verwondet waren di wurden  
gesunt. Sie verwonderten sich der sachen der grsuntheit, wann sie westen wol  
das die dauben und sturmen aptgött keim hillf mochten verlyhen, zu lest sahen  
sie in einen winckel in den tempel ein grabe und einen prister der aptgöt hin-  
der den grabe verborgen. Do fiengen den prister und fragten in wess das grab  
were, und do sie in des lebens versicherten, do sangen sie in daz leben und  
das lyden ders seligen juncfrauwen sant Barbaren. Do die cristen das horten  
do lopten sie die gnedikeit gottes, und namen daz meist teile des heiltums von  
brachten est mit in in sahsen und in pollant, also daz ir haubt wart bestattet in  
ein sloss in dem ryche pollant. Und do der here dess slosses dess schatzes

[237v] so wenig achtet und hatt es beslossen in einer verseten kisten. Do erschein die libe juncfrauwe sant Barbara einer ersamen matronen und sprach: 'Ich scheid von hyrinne und gen zu althusen in prüssen, do mir ere und wurdikeit wirt erbotten me dann hie.' Die matrone die erwachet und sach hindenzu am rücke ein junge jungfrauwe in der forme als von eilff jaren hin weg scheiden. [...]

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