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THE COMMUNICATION OF THE MASTER OF THE LIVONIAN BRANCH OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER WITH THE KING OF DENMARK AND THE GRAND DUKE OF LITHUANIA DURING THE 15TH CENTURY**

KEYWORDS

history; the Middle Ages; military orders; Teutonic Order; communication; diplomacy; Livonia; Denmark

ABSTRACT

This study of the communication of the Livonian Branch of the Teutonic Order with the king of Denmark and the Grand Duke of Lithuania focuses on diplomatic cooperation between the Order's Livonian and Prussian branches. Though the Grand Master largely represented the Livonian Master in communication with the Danish king during the first half of the fifteenth century, this took place because the Danish king preferred to communicate Livonian matters to the Grand Master. In the second half of the century, the king addressed the Livonian Master directly and the Grand Master lost his role as a mediator of communication between the king and the Livonian Master. The communication with the Grand Duke of Lithuania can be described as forming a triangle, where both the Grand Master and the Livonian Master were in frequent correspondence with the Grand Duke and would represent each other if needed. The second half of the fifteenth century saw a ten-

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** Funding and Acknowledgements: Research for this article was funded by the Carlsberg Foundation, "HM Queen Margarethe II distinguished research fellowship on Danish-Estonian common history." I would like to thank Stefan Pajung and Madis Maasing for their helpful comments.



dency toward excluding the Grand Master from communication between the Livonian Master and the Grand Duke, probably due to the diverging political goals of the Prussian and the Livonian branches of the Order. As a concluding generalization, one can say that cooperation between these two branches of the Teutonic Order in diplomatic correspondence was largely determined by the preferences of their partners in communication as well as by the compatibility of their respective political stances.

1. INTRODUCTION

Research on the communication practices of the Teutonic Order has focused on the Grand Master and the Teutonic Knights in Prussia.¹ The communication of the Livonian Branch of the Teutonic Order with kings and princes has rarely been an object of study on its own. The few studies that do exist focus on the correspondence with the Holy Roman Empire.² They emphasize

¹ For example, Klaus Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen, 1230–1449: Studien zur Diplomatie eines spätmittelalterlichen deutschen Territorialstaates*, Neue Forschungen zur brandenburg-preußischen Geschichte 6 (Köln–Wien: Böhlau, 1986); Hartmut Boockmann, “Die Briefe des Deutschordenshochmeisters,” in *Kommunikationspraxis und Korrespondenzwesen im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance*, ed. Heinz-Dieter Heimann and Ivan Hlaváček (Paderborn–München–Wien–Zürich: Schöningh, 1998), 103–111; Stephen C. Rowell, “Social Developments in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Mid- to Late-Fifteenth Century as Reflected in Lithuanian Correspondence with the Grand Master in Prussia,” in *Kancelarie Krzyżackie. Stan Badań i Perspektywy Badaucze. Materiały z Międzynarodowej Konferencji Naukowej Malbork 18–19 X 2001*, ed. Janusz Trupinda (Malbork: Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku, 2002), 211–223; Ivan Hlaváček, “Das Alltägliche in den Beziehungen des Deutschen Ordens mit den Luxemburgern, besonders mit Wenzel IV., sowie mit der Böhmi-schen Krone um das Jahr 1400 den ‘Ordensfolianten’ nach,” in *Kancelaria wielkich mistrzów i Polska kancelaria królewska w XV wieku. Materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej, Malbork 2–3 IX 2004*, ed. Janusz Trupinda (Malbork: Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku, 2006), 95–126; Lidia Korczak, “Listy wielkich książąt litewskich do wielkich mistrzów jako źródło do stosunków Litwy z zakonem krzyżackim w późnym średniowieczu (1430–1454),” in *Epistolografia w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. I, ed. Piotr Borek and Marceli Olma (Kraków: Collegium Columbinum, 2011), 29–39; Adam Szweda, “Polen und der Deutsche Orden – Botenwesen und friedliche Verhandlungen,” in *Tannenberg – Żalgris 1410: Krieg und Frieden im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Werner Paravicini and Rimvydas Petrauskas, Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau. Quellen und Studien 26 (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2012), 223–236; Adam Szweda, “Die Rolle der Könige von Polen und ihrer Räte in der Gestaltung der Beziehungen mit dem Deutschen Orden von 1333 bis 1453,” in *Akteure mittelalterlicher Außenpolitik: das Beispiel Ostmitteleuropas*, ed. Stephan Flemming and Norbert Kersken, Tagungen zur Ostmitteleuropaforschung 35 (Marburg: Verlag Herder-Institut, 2017), 311–325.

² Bernhard Demel, “Zur Reichspolitik des livländischen Ordenszweiges in den Jahren 1521 bis 1561/1562,” *Ordines Militares Colloquia Torunensia Historica. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders* 20 (2015): 145–172; Mihkel Mäesalu, *Liivimaa ja Püha Rooma keisririik 1199–1486*, *Dissertationes historiae Universitatis Tartuensis* 42 (Tartu: University of Tartu

how intertwined the communication of the Master of Livonia was with that of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. Before the secularization of the Order's Prussian branch in 1525, it was usually the Grand Master who corresponded with the emperor and the prince electors on behalf of the Livonian Master, even though the latter did occasionally send envoys and letters to the imperial court. To an extent, the same generalization applies to communication with the papal curia.³ At the same time, the Master and the higher dignitaries of the Teutonic Order in Livonia corresponded with their eastern neighbours – Novgorod, Pskov, the Grand Prince of Muscovy, etc. – without any involvement of the Grand Master.⁴

The land route from Livonia to the west went through Prussia, which was under the administration of the Grand Master. The alternative was to sail over the Baltic Sea. Due to freezing of the sea near the Livonian coast during winter and other unfavorable weather conditions, the sea route was usually accessible only between April and November, and the time of travel could fluctuate between one

Press, 2017), 106–113 and 135–148; Juhan Kreem, “Die Lübecker in der Kommunikation des Deutschen Ordens im 16. Jahrhundert,” in *“Hansisch” oder “nicht-hansisch”: das Beispiel der kleinen Städte und Livlands in der Hanse*, ed. Juhan Kreem and Jürgen Sarnowsky, *Hansische Studien* 27 (Wismar: Callidus, 2019), 97–110. See also: Mihkel Mäesalu, “Der Kaiser und die Landesherrn Livlands in den Jahren von 1199 bis 1486,” in *Das mittelalterliche Livland und sein historisches Erbe*, ed. Andris Levans, Ilgvars Misāns, and Gustavs Strenge (Marburg: Verlag Herder-Institut, in print).

- 3 Kurt Forstreuter, *Die Berichte der Generalprokuratoren des Deutschen Ordens an der Kurie*, vol. I, *Die Geschichte der Generalprokuratoren von den Anfängen bis 1403*, Veröffentlichungen der niedersächsischen Archivverwaltung 12 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961); Jan-Erik Beuttel, *Der Generalprokurator des Deutschen Ordens an der Römischen Kurie: Amt, Funktionen, personelles Umfeld und Finanzierung*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 55 (Marburg: Elwert, 1999).
- 4 Norbert Angermann, “Livländisch-russische Beziehungen im Mittelalter,” in *Wolter von Plettenberg und das mittelalterliche Livland*, ed. Norbert Angermann and Ilgvars Misāns, *Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission* 7 (Lüneburg: Verlag Nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk, 2001), 129–143; Maïke Sach, *Hochmeister und Großfürst: die Beziehungen zwischen dem Deutschen Orden in Preussen und dem Moskauer Staat um die Wende zur Neuzeit*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa 62 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2002), 91–118; Anti Selart, “Der livländische Deutsche Orden und Russland,” in *L'Ordine Teutonico tra Mediterraneo e Baltico. Incontri e scontri tra religioni, popoli, e culture. Atti del convegno internazionale (Bari – Lecce – Brindisi, 14–16 settembre 2006)*, ed. Hubert Houben and Kristjan Toomaspoeg, *Acta Theutonica* 5 (Galatina: Congedo, 2008), 253–287; Alexander Baranov, “Zwischen Bündnis und Konfrontation. Der livländische Ordensmeister Bernd von der Borch und Großfürst Ivan III. von Moskau (1471–1483),” in *Akteure mittelalterlicher Außenpolitik: das Beispiel Ostmitteleuropas*, ed. Stephan Flemming and Norbert Kersken, *Tagungen zur Ostmitteleuropaforschung* 35 (Marburg: Verlag Herder-Institut, 2017), 127–144.

week and several months.⁵ The land route through Prussia was clearly more reliable, but this does not mean that the sea route was not a viable alternative, though only seasonally accessible. Therefore, this difference in communication practices cannot be considered to have been purely geographical.

The intertwining of communication of the Livonian Master with that of the Grand Master was surely an important element of the interconnectedness between the Prussian and Livonian branches of the Order,⁶ but one must not overestimate the internal relations of the two branches. First of all, this intertwining could only take place when both masters communicated with the same king or prince. The Grand Master simply did not correspond with Novgorod, Pskov, and the Grand Prince of Muscovy before the end of the fifteenth century.⁷ At the same time, he played an active and important role in the foreign politics of the royal and princely dynasties of East-Central and Northern Europe. Additionally, it was also a matter of choice for the kings and princes corresponding with the Teutonic Knights as to whether they would send their envoys and letters regarding Livonian affairs to the Grand Master or to the Livonian Master, or simultaneously to both.

This paper aims to address these problems with a study of the communication of the Livonian Branch of the Teutonic Order with two rulers of Latin Christendom – the King of Denmark and the Grand Duke of Lithuania – during the fifteenth century. Both monarchs had political relations with the Teutonic Order, both in Livonia and in Prussia throughout the fifteenth century, but the realm of one – the

⁵ Juhan Kreem, “Seasonality of Transport Networks in the Eastern Baltic,” in *Towns and Communication*, vol. 2, *Communication between Towns. Proceedings of the Meetings of the International Commission for the History of Towns (ICHT), London 2007 – Lecce 2008*, ed. Hubert Houben and Kristjan Toomaspoeg (Galatina: Congedo, 2011), 259–270; Juhan Kreem, “Seasonal Isolation in the Communication in Livonia,” in *Isolated Islands in Medieval Nature, Culture and Mind*, ed. Torstein Jørgensen and Gerhard Jaritz, CEU Medievalia 14 (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011), 120–127; Madlena Mahling, “Raum und Zeit im Briefverkehr der livländischen Hansestädte mit Lübeck (1450–1500),” in *Livland – eine Region am Ende der Welt? Forschungen zum Verhältnis zwischen Zentrum und Peripherie im späten Mittelalter / Livonia – a region at the end of the world? Studies on the relations between centre and periphery in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Anti Selart and Matthias Thumser, Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte 27 (Köln–Weimar–Wien: Böhlau, 2017), 91–139.

⁶ Johannes Götz, “Verbunden mit der Marienburg. Livländischer und preußischer Deutschordenszweig bis zum Ausbruch des Zungenstreits 1438,” in *Livland – eine Region am Ende der Welt? Forschungen zum Verhältnis zwischen Zentrum und Peripherie im späten Mittelalter / Livonia – a region at the end of the world? Studies on the relations between centre and periphery in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Anti Selart and Matthias Thumser, Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte 27 (Köln–Weimar–Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2017), 371–414, especially 395–407.

⁷ Sach, *Hochmeister*, 114–118.

Grand Duchy of Lithuania – shared a land-border with Livonia, whereas the other's – the Kingdom of Denmark – could only be reached over the Baltic Sea.

Instead of a detailed analysis of a short period of time, this paper will focus on changes that took place during a longer period. The interconnectedness of the Livonian and Prussian branches of the Order lessened during the second half of the fifteenth century,⁸ which could have affected their cooperation in communication. As previous studies have shown a significant rise in the exchange of letters and envoys between the Master in Livonia and the Holy Roman Emperor in the 1470s and 1480s,⁹ it was deemed necessary to determine if this was an exceptional anomaly or an example of a more general change in the communication practices of the Teutonic Order. Therefore, this paper does not present a detailed analysis of the communication of the Livonian Teutonic Knights with the Grand Duke of Lithuania and the King of Denmark during the fifteenth century; rather, it is a general overview with an emphasis on the question of whether and under which circumstances the Livonian Master corresponded directly with those two secular rulers or he was represented by the Grand Master.

⁸ Udo Arnold, "Livland als Glied des Deutschen Ordens in der Epoche Wolters von Plettenberg," in *Wolter von Plettenberg. Der grösste Ordensmeister Livlands*, ed. Norbert Angermann, Schriftenreihe Nordost-Archiv 21 (Lüneburg: Verlag Nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk, 1985), 23–45; Sonja Neitmann, *Von der Grafschaft Mark nach Livland. Ritterbrüder aus Westfalen im livländischen Deutschen Orden*, Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Beihefte 3 (Köln–Weimar–Wien: Böhlau, 1993), 131–170; Marian Biskup, "Livland als politischer Faktor im Ostseeraum zur Zeit der Kalmarer Union (1397–1521)," in *Der Deutsche Orden in der Zeit der Kalmarer Union, 1397–1521*, ed. Zenon Hubert Nowak and Roman Czaja, Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica X (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1999), 99–134; Johannes Götz, "Die Wahl des livländischen Meisters: ein Indikator für das Verhältnis zwischen Zentrum und Provinz im Deutschen Orden," *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 14 (2019): 11–70.

⁹ Klaus Neitmann, "Um die Einheit Livlands. Der Griff des Ordensmeisters Bernd von Borch nach dem Erzstift Riga um 1480," in *Deutsche im Nordosten Europas*, ed. Hans Rothne, Studien zum Deutschtum im Osten 22 (Köln–Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1991), 109–137; Jörg Schwarz, "Zwischen Kaiser und Papst. Der Rigaer Erzbistumsstreit 1480–1483," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 34 (2007): 373–402; Mäesalu, *Lüvimaa*, 143–147; Jaron Sternheim, "Vācu ordeņa Livonijas atzars un ārējā politika tā dēvētajā strīdā par Rīgas arhibīskapiju (1480–1483)," in *Viduslaiku Livonija un tās vēsturiskais mantojums*, ed. Andris Levans, Ilgvars Misāns, and Gustavs Strenga (Rīga: Latvijas Nacionālā bibliotēka, 2019), 182–197.

2. SOURCES

The archives of the Teutonic Order in Livonia were scattered after the secularization of the Livonian branch in 1562 and have largely perished. Their remains are housed in several archives in Latvia, Estonia, and Germany, but the largest part is a collection of mostly sixteenth-century material in the Swedish National Archives.¹⁰ The communication practices of the Teutonic Knights in Livonia in the fifteenth century can therefore only be studied on the basis of the archives of others. The Danish royal archives incurred huge losses of medieval documents during the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries,¹¹ and the archives of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania have also been scattered and largely lost during the Early Modern period.¹² However, the Livonian Master was in lively correspondence with the Grand Master in Prussia, whose archives now serve as the largest collection of sources for the history of the Teutonic Order in Livonia. The study of the topic at hand would demand visits to numerous archives, if it were not for the publications of documentary and epistolary sources of Livonian history which cover almost the whole fifteenth century.¹³

¹⁰ Juhan Kreem, "The Archives of the Teutonic Order in Livonia: Past and Present," in *Entre Deus e o Rei. O Mundo Das Ordens Militares*, vol. I, ed. Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes, Coleção Ordens Militares 8 (Palmela: GEsOS, 2018), 57–65; Johannes Götz, "Das Archiv des livländischen Deutschordenszweiges: eine archivgeschichtliche Untersuchung," in *Die Kirche im mittelalterlichen Livland*, ed. Radosław Biskup, Johannes Götz, and Andrzej Radzimiński, *Ecclesia clerusque temporibus medii aevi 5* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2019), 9–77.

¹¹ Carl Ferdinand Allen, "Om Christiern den Andens udenlandske Arkiv," in *Breve og Aktstykker til Oplysning af Christien den Andens og Frederik den Førstes Historie*, vol. 1, ed. Carl Ferdinand Allen (Kjøbenhavn: Reitzel 1854), vii–xxxviii; Jan Öberg, *Das Urkundenmaterial Skandinaviens. Bestände, Editionsvoorhaben, Erforschung*, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vorträge G 219 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag 1977), 18–19; Jens E. Olesen, "Mittelalterliche deutschsprachige Quellen in Skandinavien," in *Edition deutschsprachiger Quellen aus dem Ostseeraum (14.–16. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Matthias Thumser, Janusz Tandecki, and Dieter Heckmann, Publikationen des Deutsch-Polnischen Gesprächskreises für Quellenedition 1 (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2001), 229–246.

¹² Kennedy Patricia Grimsted, "The Archival Legacy of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: The Fate of Early Historical Archives in Vilnius," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 57, no. 4 (1979): 552–571.

¹³ *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten*, vol. IV, ed. Friedrich Georg von Bunge (Reval: Kluge und Ströhm, 1859); *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten*, vol. V, ed. Friedrich Georg von Bunge (Riga: Nikolai Kymmell, 1867); *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten*, vol. VI, ed. Friedrich Georg von Bunge (Riga: Nikolai Kymmell, 1873); *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. VII, 1423 Mai – 1429 Mai, ed. Hermann Hildebrand (Riga–Moskau: Deubner, 1881); *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches*

Thus, information on the acts of communication of the Teutonic Order's Master in Livonia with the King of Denmark and the Grand Duke of Lithuania is to a large part preserved only in the archives of the Grand Master. The Master in Livonia surely did not report all of his acts of communication to the Grand Master, at least not in writing. This means that there could have been acts of correspondence for which there is no information in records preserved to this day. It is very difficult to say how great a share of the communication is completely unknown. The Livonian Master usually did not keep important aspects of foreign relations secret from the Grand Master. In this respect, the number of unknown acts of correspondence should not be very large. But information regarding communication on minor issues – such as, for example, letters of recommendation, etc. – could be seriously lacking.

Since both the Grand Master and the Livonian Master corresponded with the King of Denmark and the Grand Duke of Lithuania, this difference in the preservation of their archives certainly distorts the proportions of direct communication of the Livonian Master in relation to his representation by the Grand Master. This is the reason why an exact quantitative analysis has not been attempted in this study. The sources do, however, allow discernment of whether the role of the Grand Master in the correspondence was dominant, minor, or somewhere in between.

Urkundenbuch, vol. VIII, 1429 Mai – 1435, ed. Hermann Hildebrand (Riga–Moskau: Deubner, 1884); *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. IX, 1436–1443, ed. Hermann Hildebrand (Riga–Moskau: Deubner, 1889); *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. X, 1444–1449, ed. Philipp Schwartz (Riga–Moskau: Deubner, 1896); *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, vol. XI, 1450–1459, ed. Philipp Schwartz (Riga–Moskau: Deubner, 1905); *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, vol. XII, 1460–1472, ed. Philipp Schwartz and August von Blumerincq (Riga–Moskau: Deubner, 1910); *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, vol. XIII, 1472–1479, ed. Madlena Mahling, Klaus Neitmann, and Matthias Thumser (Köln–Weimar–Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2018); *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch Erste Abteilung*, vol. XIV, 1480–1483, ed. Christian Gahlbeck, Madlena Mahling, Klaus Neitmann, and Matthias Thumser (Wien–Köln–Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2020); *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Zweite Abteilung*, vol. I, 1494 Ende Mai – 1500, ed. Leonid Arbusow (Riga–Moskau: Deubner, 1900); *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Zweite Abteilung*, vol. II, 1501–1505, ed. Leonid Arbusow (Riga–Moskau: Deubner, 1905); *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Zweite Abteilung*, vol. III, 1506–1510, ed. Leonid Arbusow (Riga–Moskau: Deubner, 1914); *Akten und Rezesse der Livländischen Ständetage*, vol. I, 1304–1460, ed. Oskar Stavenhagen and Leonid Arbusow jun. (Riga: Verlag von Jonck & Poliewsky, 1923 / Kommissionsverlag von E. Bruhns, Buchhandlung, 1933); *Akten und Rezesse der Livländischen Ständetage*, vol. II, 1461–1494, ed. Albert Bauer (Riga: Verlag E. Bruhns, 1934–1398); *Akten und Rezesse der Livländischen Ständetage*, vol. III, 1494–1535, ed. Leonid Arbusow (Riga: Deubner, 1910).

3. THE KING OF DENMARK

The exchange of letters and envoys between Eric of Pomerania (King of Norway 1389–1442, of Denmark 1396–1439, and of Sweden 1396–1439) and the Livonian Branch of the Teutonic Order was remarkably sparse. The king seems to have addressed the Order's Master in Livonia only when prompted by some of his officials or subjects. On 4 April 1418, Eric asked Siegfried Lander von Sponheim (Livonian Master 1415–1424) to intervene on behalf of his royal subjects, who had been wronged by the town of Tallinn (Germ. Reval).¹⁴ In response, Siegfried Lander assured Eric that the issue would be resolved peacefully and all injustice would stop.¹⁵ The issue of injustice was first raised by Eric's lord-lieutenants in Finland. It was the Lord-lieutenant of Vyborg – Krister Nilsson (Vasa) – who decided to put more pressure on the town council of Tallinn by involving King Eric and the Teutonic Order's Master in Livonia in the whole matter. The conflict was resolved in 1419 through negotiations between the town council of Tallinn and the Lord-lieutenant of Vyborg, without any further correspondence between King Eric and Siegfried Lander von Sponheim.¹⁶

In June 1425, King Eric and Queen Philippa recommended Johan Oldinkhoff for the office of the Commander of Årsta in letters addressed to the Master of Livonia. The Teutonic Order's Commandery of Årsta in Sweden was subordinate to the Livonian Branch of the Order, and its commander was appointed by the Master of Livonia.¹⁷ These letters of Eric and Philippa have not survived, but they are mentioned in the correspondence of the envoys of the towns of Tallinn and Tar-

¹⁴ *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, V, ed. Bunge, 336 no. 2215; *Diplomatarium Danicum*, no. 14180404001, last modified January 2021, accessed on 05 January 2021, <http://diplomatarium.dk/dokument/14180404001>.

¹⁵ *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, V, ed. Bunge, 383 no. 2248, 451–452 no. 2295; *Diplomatarium Danicum*, no. 14180614002, last modified January 2021, accessed on 05 January 2021, <http://diplomatarium.dk/dokument/14180614002>.

¹⁶ *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, VI, ed. Bunge, 120–122 no. 2650 of the *Regesten*; Juhan Kroom, *The Town and Its Lord: Reval and the Teutonic Order (in the Fifteenth Century)*, Tallinna Linnaarhiivi Toimetised 6 (Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, 2002), 166–167.

¹⁷ Brigitta Eimer, *Gotland unter dem Deutschen Orden und die Komturei Schweden zu Årsta* (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1966), 53–118; Friedrich Benninghoven, "Gotland, Årsta und der Deutsche Orden. Kritische Betrachtungen zu einem Buch von Birgitta Eimer," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 16, no. 2 (1967): 354–366; Christer Carlsson, "The Religious Orders of Knighthood in Medieval Scandinavia: Historical and Archaeological Approaches," *Crusades* 5 (2006): 131–142; id., "A New Chronology for the Scandinavian Branches of the Military Orders," in *The Military Orders*, vol. 3, *On Land and by Sea*, ed. Judith M. Upton-Ward (Aldershot–Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 57–62; Mihkel Mäesalu, "Missed Patronage? Princely Support for Church Institutions and Military Religious Orders in Livonia," in *Changing Aliens*,

tu (Germ. Dorpat) at King Eric's court, because Johann Oldinkhoff had requested a letter of recommendation also from the town council of Tallinn.¹⁸

This is all that we know of Eric's letters to the Master of Livonia. Usually, Eric of Pomerania communicated his affairs concerning the Livonian Branch of the Order to the Grand Master of the Order. It was to the latter that Eric and his adoptive mother, Queen Margaret of Denmark (1387–1412), Norway (1387–1412), and Sweden (1389–1412), presented their demands for the recuperation of the former Duchy of Estonia.¹⁹ Since King Waldemar IV of Denmark (1340–1375) had sold the duchy to the Grand Master, it is understandable that Margaret and Eric had to involve the Grand Master in diplomatic discussions on the possibility of getting the duchy back from the Teutonic Order. Besides, even though the area was administrated by the Livonian Branch of the Order, it was formally under the lordship of the Grand Master.²⁰ What stands out is how Margaret and Eric abstained from corresponding with the Master of Livonia in this matter. Similarly, when Eric sponsored the reconciliation of Teutonic Knight Evert Overlacker with the Livonian Master in 1424, he did so in a letter addressed to the Grand Master.²¹ Furthermore, in 1435 the king requested the Grand Master to send one Teutonic Order official (*Gebietiger*) from Prussia, along with a learned jurist, and to ask the Livonian Master to also send one official (*Gebietiger*) to mediate the conflict between Eric and the Privy Council of Sweden.²² Once again, it is notable that he did not send such a request to the Livonian Master.

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¹⁸ *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, V, ed. Bunge, 377–378 no. 2243; *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, VII, ed. Hildebrand, 211–212 no. 298; Eimer, *Gotland*, 100.

¹⁹ Juhan Vasar, *Taani püüded Eestimaa taasvallutamiseks 1411–1422*, Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis (Dorpatensis) B XVIII 1 (Tartu: Mattiesen, 1930), 103–107 (Source edition no. 1, Eric of Pomerania's letter to Sigismund, King of the Romans, ca 1414); Vasar, *Taani püüded*, 73–82 for the dating of the letter and 10–15 for the historical background; Mikael K. Hansen, "Die Kalmarer Union und der Deutsche Orden 1410–1423: Die Estlandfrage," *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 4 (2009): 11–39, here 18–23.

²⁰ Kreem, *The Town*, 28–38; Götz, "Verbunden," 385–389.

²¹ *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, VII, ed. Hildebrand, 53 no. 66; *Die Berichte der Generalprokuratoren des Deutschen Ordens an der Kurie*, vol. III, *Johann Tiergart (1419–1428)*, ed. Hans Koeppen, Veröffentlichungen der niedersächsischen Archivverwaltung 21 and 29 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966–1971), 371–373 no. 172; Holger S. Brünjes, *Die Deutschordenskomturei in Bremen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Ordens in Livland*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 53 (Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 1997), 72–73; cf. Eimer, *Gotland*, 99–100.

²² *Bidrag till Skandinaviens Historia ur utländska arkiver*, vol. 2, *Förhandlingar med Tyskland och Sverige under Unionstiden 1395–1448*, ed. Carl Gustaf Styffe (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt &

The Master of the Livonian Branch of the Teutonic Order also preferred to let the Grand Master represent him in communication with King Eric. As fears of a Scandinavian attempt to reconquer the former Duchy of Estonia were felt in Livonia in the years 1411–1423,²³ the Master of Livonia asked the Grand Master to approach Eric on his behalf.²⁴ Only when Eric, King Władysław II Jagiełło of Poland (1386–1434), and Grand Duke Vytautas of Lithuania (1392–1430) made an alliance with the goal of conquering the Teutonic Order's lands in Prussia and Livonia in June 1419²⁵ did Master Siegfried Lander von Sponheim finally decide to send his own ambassadors to King Eric. The king declined to accept his gifts and dismissed his ambassadors without agreeing to further negotiations.²⁶ A year later, the Bishop of Lübeck spoke with the king on the Teutonic Order's behalf,²⁷ and in 1421 the Archbishop of Riga agreed to address Eric in the name of Siegfried Lander von Sponheim.²⁸ The Master even asked a Danish noblewoman, Elisebet

söner, 1864), 268–270 no. 108; *Diplomatarium Danicum*, no. 14350518001, last modified January 2021, accessed on 05 January 2021, <http://diplomatarium.dk/dokument/14350518001>.

- ²³ William Mollerup, *Daenemark's Beziehungen zu Livland vom Verkauf Estland's bis zur Auflösung des Ordensstaats (1346–1561)* (Berlin: Franz Siemenroth, 1884), 7–12; Vasar, *Taani püüded*, 16–71; Hansen, “Die Kalmarer Union,” 14–35; Jens E. Olesen, “Nordosteuropa in der Zeit der Kalmarer Union – Dänische Versuche zur Revindikation Estlands,” in *Denmark and Estonia 1219–2019 – Selected Studies on common Relations*, ed. Jens E. Olesen, Studien zur Geschichte der Ostseeregion 1 (Greifswald: s.n., 2019), 103–122, here 107–111.
- ²⁴ *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, V, ed. Bunge, 107–108 no. 2047, 135–136 no. 2072, 145–147, no. 2080; *Regesta historico-diplomatica Ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum 1198–1525*, Part I, *Index Tabularii Ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum. Regesten zum Ordensbriefarchiv*, vol. 1, 1198–1454, ed. Erich Joachim and Walter Hubatsch (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1948), 143 no. 2305. Cf. Vilho Niitemaa, *Der Kaiser und die Nordische Union bis zu den Burgundenkriegen*, *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, ser. B 116 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Kirjapaino Oy, 1960), 133–135.
- ²⁵ Thomas Riis, “Der polnisch-dänische Vertrag 1419 und die Vormachtsstellung im Ostseegebiet,” in *Studien zur Geschichte des Ostseeraumes*, vol. I, ed. Thomas Riis (Odense: Odense University Press, 1995), 67–78; Zenon Hubert Nowak, “Die politischen Verhältnisse zwischen dem Deutschen Orden und den Staaten der Kalmarer Union,” in *Der Deutsche Orden in der Zeit der Kalmarer Union, 1397–1521*, ed. Zenon Hubert Nowak and Roman Czaja, *Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunesia Historica X* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja, 1999), 33–46, here 38–39; Hansen, “Die Kalmarer Union,” 29–32; Olesen, “Nordosteuropa,” 109–110.
- ²⁶ *Akten und Rezesse*, I, ed. Stavenhagen and Arbusow jun., 208–209 nos. 244–245; *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, V, ed. Bunge, 521 no. 2355; 616–617 no. 2456.
- ²⁷ *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, V, ed. Bunge, 701–702 no. 2520.
- ²⁸ *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, V, ed. Bunge, 741–743 nos. 2548–2549; *Akten und Rezesse*, I, ed. Stavenhagen and Arbusow jun., 239–241 nos. 276–278.

von Putbus to plead for him before the king.²⁹ Starting from 1422, the negotiations with King Eric were again held by the envoys of the Grand Master, who in March 1423 asked the Livonian Master to provide an envoy to take part in the Grand Master's embassy to King Eric.³⁰ This embassy was delayed, and Grand Master Paul von Rusdorf (1422–1441) personally met with Eric instead in September 1423 in Stettin, where he entered into an alliance with the king and the Dukes of Pomerania also in the name of the Livonian Branch of the Order without the presence of any representative from Livonia.³¹

The only extant letter by a Master of Livonia addressed to King Eric dates from 28 July 1429.³² It was written as a reaction to a message the Grand Master had received from his envoys at Eric's court – that the Bishop of Osilia had raised complaints against the Livonian Branch of the Order before King Eric. This letter of the Livonian Master was probably forwarded to Denmark by the Grand Master. Rusdorf corresponded actively with King Eric at the time, also on Livonian issues.³³ A fitting example of this mode of communication is Rusdorf's request to the Livonian Master Cisse von Rutenberg (1424–1433) to decide whether to request King Eric to mediate the quarrel between Rutenberg and the Bishops of Riga, Osilia, and Tartu, or not. As soon as Rutenberg had let Rusdorf know of his decision, Rusdorf would inform King Eric of it.³⁴

The communication between the Livonian Master and Eric of Pomerania functioned in a sort of uneven triangle, leaning heavily on the relations between the king and the Grand Master. The common practice was for the Grand Master

²⁹ *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, V, ed. Bunge, 743 no. 2549; Juhan Kreem and Kersti Markus, "Kes asutas Piritä kloostri?" *Kunstiteaduslikke uurimusi* 16, no. 4 (2007): 60–75, here 68–69.

³⁰ *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, V, ed. Bunge, 967–970 nos. 2696–2697; 987–988 nos. 2706; Vasar, *Taani püüded*, 66–71; Hansen, "Die Kalmarer Union," 31–32.

³¹ *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, VII, ed. Hildebrand, 20–24 nos. 33–34. The alliance was never ratified, see: Carl A. Lückerrath, *Paul von Rusdorf. Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1422–1441*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 15 (Bad Godesberg: Wissenschaftliches Archiv, 1969), 91; Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge*, 224–225; Nowak, "Die politischen Verhältnisse," 39–40.

³² *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, VIII, ed. Hildebrand, 32 no. 42.

³³ *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, VII, ed. Hildebrand, 26 no. 42, 33–34 no. 51, 45–46 no. 61, 53 no. 66, 56–57 no. 71, 80–81 no. 98, 96–97 no. 127, 154 no. 220, 169–170 no. 243, 193–195 nos. 268–269, 235–236 no. 334, 415–417 no. 598, 462 no. 676, 470 no. 689, 502–503 no. 710, 508–509 no. 712; *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, VIII, ed. Hildebrand, 13–15 nos. 22 and 25, 298–299 no. 503, 317–319 no. 533, 339–341 nos. 572–573, 358, no. 608.

³⁴ *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, VIII, ed. Hildebrand, 22–24 no. 30, 31–32 no. 40, 43–44 no. 65.

to represent both the Prussian and Livonian branches of the Teutonic Order. Direct communication between Eric and the Livonian Master took place only in certain situations. At the same time, the Master of Livonia was engaged in communication with the royal officials in Finland,³⁵ and to a lesser degree to those in Sweden.³⁶ Sometimes, however, the Grand Master intervened even in the resolution of differences between the Livonian Branch of the Order, Tallinn, and the royal officials in Finland.³⁷

Internal conflicts rose in the Kalmar Union during the final years of Eric's reign and a new king – Christopher of Bavaria (1440–1448) – was chosen in his stead, first in Denmark and thereafter in Sweden and Norway. Eric held on to his claims to the three Scandinavian kingdoms until the year 1449. He based himself on Gotland, resorting to piracy and seeking ways to regain his throne.³⁸ The Grand Master held diplomatic relations with both kings and was engaged in attempts to achieve a peaceful resolution of their conflict.³⁹

There is a curious lack of info on any kind of correspondence – direct or mediated – between the Livonian Branch of the Order and kings Eric and Christopher during the years 1436–1443. At the same time, the Master was communicating both with the royal officials in Finland as well as with some Danish noblemen and the canons of Ribe Cathedral, who had claims to landed goods in northern Estonia.⁴⁰ The Teutonic Order also suffered an internal crisis during the years

³⁵ Kreem, *The Town*, 166–178.

³⁶ The fact that Siegfried Lander von Spanheim asked the Commander of Årsta in Sweden to forward two letters to the Lord-lieutenant of Nyköping in 1416 shows that he was also corresponding with royal officials in Sweden. *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, V, ed. Bunge, 109 no. 2048.

³⁷ *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, VII, ed. Hildebrand, 397–398 no. 574, 404–408 nos. 585 and 590.

³⁸ Niitemaa, *Kaiser*, 205–218; Jens E. Olesen, *Rigsråd – Kongemagt – Union. Studier over det danske rigsråd og den nordiske kongemagts politik 1434–1449* (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget i Aarhus, 1980); Jens E. Olesen, “Eric of Pomerania, Gotland and the Kalmar Union, 1436–1440,” in *Medieval Spirituality in Scandinavia and Europe. A Collection of Essays in Honour of Tore Nyberg*, ed. Lars Bisgaard (Odense: Odense University Press, 2011), 179–193; Olesen, “Nordosteuropa,” 111–115.

³⁹ Klaus Eberhard Murawski, *Zwischen Tannenberg und Thorn. Die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens unter dem Hochmeister Konrad von Erlichshausen 1441–1449*, Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft 10/11 (Göttingen: Mustersmidt, 1953), 266–304; Lückerkath, *Paul von Rusdorf*, 100–102; Nowak, “Die politischen Verhältnisse,” 40–41.

⁴⁰ Olesen, *Rigsråd*, 339–343; Poul Enemark, *Kriseår 1448–1451. En epoke i nordisk unionshistorie* (København: Akademisk forlag, 1981), 65–66; Hain Rebas, “The Post-Scriptum of Danish Estonia – the End of Danish Aspirations in Estonia/Livonia in the 15th Century,” in *Denmark and Estonia 1219–2019 – Selected Studies on Common Relations*, ed. Jens E. Olesen, Studien zur Geschichte der Ostseeregion 1 (Greifswald: s.n., 2019), 123–138, here 132–136.

1437–1441, which led to slightly increased emancipation of the Livonian Branch of the Order from the Grand Master.⁴¹ Thus, we are faced with a conundrum. Did the Livonian Master avoid corresponding with Eric and Christopher so as not to get involved in their conflict? Or does this hiatus in communication simply stem from our lack of sources?

Whichever the case, during the Teutonic Order's war against Novgorod (1443–1448),⁴² the Livonian Master Eberhard Vincke von Overberg (1439–1450) corresponded with King Christopher both directly as well as through the mediation of Grand Master Konrad von Erlichshausen (1441–1449). In 1444, Vincke von Overberg sent an embassy to Christopher and asked the king to ban all trade with Novgorod as well as not to renew his peace agreement with them.⁴³ The king used this opportunity to draw the Teutonic Order closer to his side and proposed to make an alliance against Novgorod – an idea supported by the Livonian Master but opposed by the Grand Master. During 1445 and the first half of 1446, correspondence between the Livonian Master and Christopher seems to have again been mediated by the Grand Master, until another embassy from Livonia was sent to Christopher in the summer of 1446.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, there must have been some sort of correspondence, which is not mentioned in the sources available to historians today, between Christopher and the Livonian Master regarding preparations for this embassy.

The ambassadors of the Livonian Master met with King Christopher in Stockholm on 24 June 1446 and took part in the king's negotiations with the envoys of Novgorod. They stayed in Sweden until August, when they accompanied the king to Gotland, where Christopher negotiated with the deposed King Eric of Pomerania. The Livonian ambassadors witnessed a truce agreement between the two

⁴¹ Lückcrath, *Paul von Rusdorf*, 173–205; Neitmann, *Ritterbrüder*, 138–151 and 168–169; Götz, "Die Wahl," 44–46.

⁴² Gerhard Dircks, "Der Krieg des Deutschen Ordens gegen Novgorod 1443–1448," in *Deutschland – Livland – Russland. Ihre Beziehungen vom 15. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert. Beiträge aus dem Historischen Seminar der Universität Hamburg*, ed. Norbert Angermann (Lüneburg: Verlag Nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk, 1988), 29–52; Anti Selart, "Ein westfälisch-russischer Krieg 1443–1448? Bemerkungen zum Krieg des livländischen Deutschen Ordens gegen Novgorod," *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 61, no. 2 (2012): 247–262.

⁴³ Gustav A. Lögdberg, *De nordiska konungarna och Tyska orden 1441–1457* (Uppsala: Appelbergs boktryckeriaktiebolag, 1935), 59–61; Murawski, *Zwischen Tannenberg und Thorn*, 274–275; Olesen, *Rigsråd*, 298–300; Olesen, "Nordosteuropa," 112–113.

⁴⁴ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, X, ed. Schwartz, 105–106 no. 166, 134–135 nos. 200–201, 142–144 nos. 211–213, 155–157 nos. 232 and 235, 161–163 no. 239.

kings, visited Eric in Visby, and left for Livonia in September 1446.⁴⁵ The result of the embassy was a preliminary agreement on an offensive alliance against Novgorod, which was to begin on 28 May 1447. Eberhard Vincke von Overberg made a draft of the alliance agreement on 6 January 1447, but no such draft was made by King Christopher and the alliance was never signed.⁴⁶

King Christopher was interested in drawing the Grand Master into this alliance. He had asked Konrad von Erlichshausen to send envoys to Stockholm for 24 June 1446, but Erlichshausen excused himself.⁴⁷ At the end of the year, Christopher sent an envoy to Prussia to convince the Grand Master to enter this alliance, but again to no avail.⁴⁸ Erlichshausen was clearly opposed to an alliance with Christopher. Perhaps he wanted to retain a neutral position in the conflict between Christopher and Eric.

These negotiations between the Livonian Master and King Christopher in the years 1444 and 1446 can be considered an exceptional break in the common practice of communication. Starting from 1447, the Grand Master was again corresponding with Kings Eric of Pomerania,⁴⁹ Christopher of Bavaria⁵⁰ and the latter's successor, Christian I (King of Denmark 1448–1481, Norway 1450–1481, and Sweden 1457–1464)⁵¹ on the Livonian Master's behalf, whereas the latter seems to have had no direct contact with these kings.

A radical change took place during the first years of the Thirteen Years War (1454–1466), which the Teutonic Order fought against the Prussian Confederation and the King of Poland. In September 1454, Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen (1450–1467) negotiated a treaty of military assistance to Prussia with King Christian I. Erlichshausen had agreed to Christian's demand to relinquish certain castles in Livonia to the king, but the consent of the Livonian

⁴⁵ Ibid., 173–179 nos. 261, 264, 266 and 269; *Bidrag till Skandinaviens Historia*, 2, ed. Styffe, 310–312, no. 130; *Hanserecesse. Zweite Abteilung. Hanserecesse von 1431–1476*, vol. III, ed. Goswin von der Ropp (Leipzig: Dunker & Humblot, 1881), 143 no. 253, footnote 1; *Regesta historico-diplomatica*, I, 1, ed. Joachim and Hubatsch, 596 nos. 9178 and 9180.

⁴⁶ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, X, ed. Schwartz, 178–179 no. 268, 182–184 no. 275, 193–195, no. 290; *Akten und Rezesse*, I, ed. Stavenhagen and Arbusow jun., 473–474 nos. 509–510; Murawski, *Zwischen Tannenberg und Thorn*, 280–281; Niitemaa, *Kaiser und die Nordische Union*, 215–218; Olesen, *Rigsråd*, 343; Enemark, *Kriseår*, 67–69; Olesen, “Nordosteuropa,” 113–114; Rebas, “The Post-Scriptum,” 129.

⁴⁷ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, X, ed. Schwartz, 155–156 no. 232.

⁴⁸ Olesen, *Rigsråd*, 343–345.

⁴⁹ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, X, ed. Schwartz, 247–248 nos. 358–359.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 218–219 nos. 314 and 318, 252 no. 369, 312–314 no. 446.

⁵¹ Ibid., 378 no. 518, 453–454 no. 612, 459 no. 620, 579 no. 637; *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XI, ed. Schwartz, 105–108 nos. 131–132, 149–161 no. 188.

Master, Johann von Mengede (1450–1469), was needed for this to take effect.⁵² The king had informed Mengede of his negotiations with the Grand Master already in the summer of 1454.⁵³ Mengede sent an envoy named Hans von Jarsdorf to the Elector of Brandenburg⁵⁴ – to ask for his advice in the matter – and to the Danish king in the winter of 1454–1455.⁵⁵

Ludwig von Erlichshausen was unable to uphold his agreement with Christian I. He simply did not have the funds to pay the 60 000 Hungarian guilders he had promised the king. Therefore, in March 1455, Elector Friedrich II of Brandenburg (1440–1471) and the envoys of the Grand Master, after consulting with the envoys of king Christian I and the envoy of the Livonian Master, decided to ask Johann von Mengede to fill the financial obligations of the Grand Master before the Danish king.⁵⁶

Hans von Jarsdorf returned to Riga in May 1455, and soon thereafter Mengede dispatched him to go first to King Christian I⁵⁷ and thereafter to Elector Friedrich II of Brandenburg.⁵⁸ In September, Christian informed the Grand Master that upon Mengede's request he had annulled his agreement with the Grand Master,⁵⁹ and in October the king signed a new treaty on providing military aid to the Teutonic Order, now with the Livonian Master.⁶⁰ Hans von Jarsdorf had returned to Christian's court by that time. Mengede's ambassadors sent Jarsdorf back to Berlin with letters to the Grand Master, informing him about the alliance and the promised royal aid to the Teutonic Knights in Prussia.⁶¹ Jarsdorf seems to have functioned as some sort of a middleman between the Grand Master, the Danish king, the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Livonian Master in the years 1455–

⁵² Mollerup, *Daenemark's Beziehungen*, 17–20; Lögberg, *De nordiska konungarna*, 246–250; Biskup, "Livand," 117–118; Olesen, "Nordosteuropa," 116.

⁵³ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XI, ed. Schwartz, 306 no. 354.

⁵⁴ Elector Friedrich II of Brandenburg was involved in the negotiations between the Teutonic Order and king Christian I. As his niece Dorothea was Christian's queen, he held some influence at the Danish court.

⁵⁵ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XI, ed. Schwartz, 329–330 no. 392, 337–338 no. 402.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 328–330 nos. 391–392; Lögberg, *De nordiska konungarna*, 251–265.

⁵⁷ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XI, ed. Schwartz, 345 no. 412, 356 no. 431; Lögberg, 272–273.

⁵⁸ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XI, ed. Schwartz, 380–381 nos. 468–469.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 369–370 no. 455.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 372–375 nos. 460–461.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 374–375 no. 461, 380–382, nos. 467–469.

–1457, traveling between Brandenburg, Denmark, Livonia, and Prussia.⁶² That this role fell to a diplomat in the service of the Livonian Master is illustrative of the increased involvement of the Livonian Branch of the Order in the communication of the Teutonic Order with kings and princes during the Thirteen Years War.

Mengede's treaty with Christian I brought about regular correspondence via letters and envoys. He had agreed to pay the king the sum of two thousand marks of unminted silver and 5000 Rhenish Guilders in annual payments.⁶³ After King Karl Knutsson of Sweden (1448–1457, 1464–1465, and 1467–1470) had to flee Sweden due to an uprising in early 1457, Christian was elected King of Sweden. Soon he managed to force the Livonian Branch of the Teutonic Order to place itself under his protection for 15 years and pay him a yearly sum of 1000 Rhenish Guilders, for which he promised to send soldiers to the aid of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia.⁶⁴ The regular communication between Mengede and Christian I resulting from these payments to the king between 1455 and 1469⁶⁵ was further increased by the king's active involvement in Livonia's internal affairs during the years 1455–1462.⁶⁶

During the Thirteen Years War the Livonian Master occasionally negotiated with the Danish king also in matters relating to Prussia – first of all regarding

⁶² Ibid., 381–382 no. 469, 472–473 no. 599, 508–511 nos. 637 and 640, 523 no. 652; Lögdberg, *De nordiska konungarna*, 305–307.

⁶³ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XI, ed. Schwartz, 373 no. 460, 472–473 no. 599; 498–499 no. 630.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 494–501 no. 630, 556–557 nos. 701–702, 573–574 no. 725; Lögdberg, *De nordiska konungarna*, 307–322; Biskup, “Livand,” 118–119; Olesen, “Nordosteuropa,” 117–120.

⁶⁵ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XI, ed. Schwartz, 373 no. 460, 472–473 no. 599; *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XII, ed. Schwartz and Blumerincq, 29–30 no. 61, 39 no. 82, 124 no. 211, 338–339 no. 614, 357 no. 640, 385–386 no. 692; *Repertorium diplomaticum regni Danici mediaevalis. Fortegnelse over Danmarks Breve fra Middelalderen med Udtog af de hidtil utrykte*, 2. Række, vol. VII, 1511–1513 Febr. 20. *Udaterede Breve. Tilføjelser og Rettelser*, ed. William Christensen (København: G. E. C. Gad, 1935), 276 no. 12558.

⁶⁶ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XI, ed. Schwartz, 554–555 no. 698, 558–560 nos. 703–704, 595–596 no. 771, 655 no. 839; *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XII, ed. Schwartz and Blumerincq, 47–48 no. 95, 50–52 no. 102, 57 no. 111; Mollerup, *Daenemark's Beziehungen*, 21–28; Hain Rebas, *Infiltration och handel. Studier i senmedeltida nordisk Balticumpolitik*, vol. I, *Tiden omkring 1440–1479*, Meddelanden från Historiska institutionen i Göteborg 11 (Göteborg: Historiska institutionen vid Göteborgs universitet, 1976), 33–46 and 120–144; id., “Die Baltikumspolitik der skandinavischen Monarchen 1346–1462,” in *Austausch und Verbindungen in der Kunstgeschichte des Ostseeraums*, ed. Lars Olof Larsson and Jan von Bonsdorff, *Homburger Gespräche* 9 (Kiel: Martin-Carl-Adolf-Böckler-Stiftung, 1988), 7–33, here 13–28; Olesen, “Nordosteuropa,” 116–120; Rebas, “The Post-Scriptum,” 129–132.

Christian I's military aid, which largely failed to materialize.⁶⁷ As the Grand Master's direct communication with Christian decreased during the war, Mengede at times filled the role of a mediator. For example, Christian I had sent an envoy to Prussia in the summer of 1458,⁶⁸ but when he wrote a letter to the Grand Master on 21 September 1458,⁶⁹ he dispatched it with Werner Parsberg, his envoy to the Livonian Master,⁷⁰ who forwarded the letter to the Grand Master in the beginning of 1459.⁷¹ In 1463 Christian confronted Johann von Mengede with demands for the return of his goods, which some pirates had robbed from a ship and taken to Memel (Klaipeda) and Königsberg (Kaliningrad) in Prussia.⁷² One would have expected the king to address such demands directly to the Grand Master. Nevertheless, the role of the Livonian Master in mediating communication between the Danish king and the Grand Master ended with the war.

The exchange of letters by the Grand Master decreased drastically during later course of the Thirteen Years War. The *Ordensbriefarchiv* housed at the Prussian Secret State Archives in Berlin, Germany holds 5273 letters received by the Grand Master from the 1450s and only 780 from the 1460s.⁷³ This decrease can also be found in the correspondence between the Grand Master and the Danish king,

⁶⁷ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XI, ed. Schwartz, 428–429 no. 536, 482 no. 618, 494–501 no. 630, 523 no. 652, 557–558 no. 702, 560–561 no. 706; Biskup, “Livand,” 117–119.

⁶⁸ *Missiver fra kongerne Christiern I.s og Hans's tid*, vol. 1, *Missiver fra den Danske kongefamilie*, ed. William Christensen (København: G. E. C. Gad, 1912–1914), 16 no. 25.

⁶⁹ *Regesta diplomatica historiæ Danicæ. Chronologisk fortegnelse over hidtil trykte diplomer og andre brevskeber til oplysning af den danske historie fra de ældste tider indtil aar 1660. Anden række*, vol. I, inst. 2, *fra aar 1448 til Aar 1436*, ed. Der Kongelig Danske Videnskabernes Selskab (Kjøbenhavn, 1889), 759–780 no. 6131; *Regesta historico-diplomatica Ordinis S. Mariæ Theutonicorum 1198–1525*, part I, *Index Tabularii Ordinis S. Mariæ Theutonicorum. Regesten zum Ordensbriefarchiv*, vol. 2, 1455–1510, ed. Erich Joachim and Walter Hubatsch (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1950), 126 no. 15161.

⁷⁰ On Werner Parsberg's mission to Livonia 1458–1459 see: *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XI, ed. Schwartz 639 no. 808. The same man was the envoy of Christian I to Livonia also in the years 1476–1477, see: *Bidrag till Skandinaviens Historia ur utländska arkiver*, vol. 4, *Sverige i Sten Sture den äldres tid, 1470–1503*, ed. Carl Gustaf Styffe (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & söner, 1875), 48–50 no. 32; *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XIII, ed. Mahling, Neitmann, and Thumser, 470–471 no. 507, 494 no. 538, 584–585 no. 636.

⁷¹ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XI, ed. Schwartz, 633–634 no. 801.

⁷² *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XII, ed. Schwartz and Blumerincq, 131–132 nos. 223–225.

⁷³ Boockmann, “Die Briefe,” 108.

which remained rather modest up until the end of the fifteenth century.⁷⁴ It seems as though Christian was no longer interested in communicating with the Grand Master, at least not to the same degree as before the Thirteen Years War. For example, when Johann von Mengede ended his payments to King Christian I in 1466, in breach of their agreement from 1457, the king did not raise complaints before the Grand Master. Instead, he turned to the city council of Lübeck and asked them to write to Mengede on his behalf.⁷⁵ The Livonian Master made his final payments to Christian I in September 1468 and April 1469, after which the king declared the Teutonic Knights free from of any further financial obligations resulting from the treaty of 1457.⁷⁶ In a situation where the Danish king preferred to approach the Livonian Master directly, and the Grand Master was at the same time no longer in regular correspondence with the king, the Livonian Master simply had no other choice than to correspond directly with him.

The Grand Master was nevertheless not completely locked out of the communication between the Danish king and the Livonian Master. As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, there were two main routes from Livonia to Denmark. It was not possible to sail over the Baltic Sea during the winter months and unpredictable weather conditions could delay communications in other seasons. Johann von Mengede's ambassadors took eight weeks to sail to Copenhagen in August and September 1455,⁷⁷ for example. The land route through Prussia was accessible all year round and enabled better planning of time. We know of two occasions (one in 1476, the other in 1499) when the Livonian Master sent his envoys to the Danish king via the land route through Prussia. In both cases, the envoys were to inform the Grand Master of the details of their mission and ask him for advice.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ *Regesta historico-diplomatica*, I, 2, ed. Joachim and Hubatsch lists only one letter of the Danish king addressed to the Grand Master for the whole period between 1459 and 1500, see: page 198 no. 16256. Published in *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XII, ed. Schwartz and Blumerincq, 454–455 no. 789. There was certainly more correspondence between the king and the Grand Master during these years. For example, *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Zweite Abteilung*, I, ed. Arbusow, 375–376 no. 513 from April 1497 mentions an exchange of letters between the Danish king and the Grand Master. Nevertheless, their correspondence must have been on a significantly smaller scale than during the first half of the fifteenth century.

⁷⁵ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XII, ed. Schwartz and Blumerincq, 232–233 no. 422, 240–241 no. 436.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 338–339 no. 614, 357 no. 640, 385–386 no. 692.

⁷⁷ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XI, ed. Schwartz, 374–375, no. 461.

⁷⁸ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XIII, ed. Mahling, Neitmann and Thumser, 406 no. 426; *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Zweite Abteilung*, I, ed. Arbusow, 645–648 no. 848, 661–664 nos. 867–868 and 871.

The ambassadors returning from the court of King John of Denmark, Norway (1481–1513), and Sweden (1497–1501) in early 1500 discussed with the Grand Master the negotiations they had had with John in Flensburg and asked for his advice on how to react to the king's proposal of an alliance with the Livonian Master.⁷⁹

The Danish king had shown somewhat less interest towards the Teutonic Order in Livonia during the 1470s and the 1480s, than in the previous two decades. In the final decade of the fifteenth century, when King John opened diplomatic relations with Grand Prince Ivan III of Muscovy (1462–1505), Livonia returned to the Danish king's sphere of political interests.⁸⁰ It was especially during his war against Sweden (1497), which John fought in an alliance with Ivan III, that his correspondence with the Livonian Master increased significantly. Not only did he hire mercenaries in Livonia, he also asked the Livonian Master Wolter von Plettenberg (1494–1535) not to allow the Swedes to hire mercenaries there and called for Plettenberg to assist him in his war against Sweden.⁸¹ The prospect of John attaining the Swedish crown caused alarm in the Teutonic Order, due to fears of renewed Danish claims for the return of the former Duchy of Estonia, coupled with tensions between Livonia and the Grand Prince of Muscovy. The provisional Grand Master Count Wilhelm of Isenburg (1497–1498) and the Livonian Master made plans to have Plettenberg mediate peace between King John and Sweden in hopes of forming an alliance between the Teutonic Order and the Scandinavian kingdoms against Ivan III, even though the latter was allied with John at the moment.⁸² As part of these endeavors, Wilhelm of Isenburg requested assistance from King Maximilian I of the Romans (1486–1520, Holy Roman Emperor 1508–1520)⁸³ and planned to send his chaplain as a representative of both the Prussian and the Livonian Branches of the Order to Regent of Sweden Sten Sture the Elder (1471–1497).⁸⁴ The plans were abandoned after John was crowned King of Sweden on 26 November 1497.

⁷⁹ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Zweite Abteilung*, I, ed. Arbusow, 690–691 no. 905.

⁸⁰ Mollerup, *Daenemark's Beziehungen*, 30–34; Biskup, "Livand," 123–124. See also Erik Tiberg, *Moscow, Livonia and the Hanseatic League, 1487–1550*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis 15 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1995), 67–72.

⁸¹ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Zweite Abteilung*, I, ed. Arbusow, 341–342 no. 462, 397 no. 543; 407–408 no. 557, 438–443 nos. 606 and 610; Kreem, *The Town*, 85–86.

⁸² *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Zweite Abteilung*, I, ed. Arbusow, 438–443 nos. 606 and 610; Mollerup, *Daenemark's Beziehungen*, 30–31; Biskup, "Livand," 124.

⁸³ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Zweite Abteilung*, I, ed. Arbusow, 443–444 no. 611.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 458–460 no. 629.

Between the years 1498 and 1500, the provisional Grand Master Count Wilhelm of Isenburg and Grand Master Duke Friedrich of Saxony (1498–1510) sought to employ the latter's father, Duke Albrecht of Saxony (1464–1500), to influence King John to be more favorable toward the Livonian Branch of the Teutonic Order.⁸⁵ This never took place, because Livonian Master Wolter von Plettenberg was against involving the dukes of Saxony in his relations with King John.⁸⁶ He preferred to negotiate with the king on his own without outside help.

At the end of April 1499, King John wrote to Wolter von Plettenberg and asked him to send two of his advisors to Stockholm to discuss matters beneficial to both.⁸⁷ This request started a series of negotiations between the two on the prospect of making an alliance. Plettenberg sent several embassies and letters to John during the years 1499–1500, but the king remained quite passive in terms of communication. He expected the Livonian Master to contact him and not vice versa.⁸⁸ The negotiations ended without a result, as John's demands of a mutual alliance against anyone, the acceptance of his overlordship over the Livonian Branch of the Order, as well as of yearly payments to him, were unacceptable to Plettenberg.⁸⁹ Although the Grand Master took no part in these negotiations, Plettenberg kept him informed of their course and regularly asked for his advice.⁹⁰

4. THE GRAND DUKE OF LITHUANIA

The communication of the Grand Duke of Lithuania with the Teutonic Order during the fifteenth century was much more intensive and diverse than with the kings of Denmark. The Grand Duke corresponded with both the Prussian and the Livonian branches of the Teutonic Order. As the latter two were in regular communication with each other, the Grand Duke could either send a message or

⁸⁵ Ibid., 524–525 no. 701, 578 no 773. See also, 807–809 no. 1082.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 588–589 no. 783, 592–593, no. 789, 645–648 no. 848, 650–651 no. 854, 732–735 no. 966, 751 no. 991.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 600–601 no. 800.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 612–614 no. 813, 633–636 no. 835, 645–648 no. 848, 661–664 nos. 867–868 and 871, 675–676 no. 885; 799–801 no. 1072; *Akten und Rezesse*, III, ed. Arbusow, 16–25 no 12.

⁸⁹ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Zweite Abteilung*, I, ed. Arbusow, 701–705 no. 923; Elke Wimmer, "Die Rußlandpolitik Wolters von Plettenberg", in *Wolter von Plettenberg. Der grösste Ordensmeister Livlands*, ed. Norbert Angermann, Schriftenreihe Nordost-Archiv 21 (Lüneburg: Verlag Nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk, 1985), 71–99, here 85–86.

⁹⁰ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Zweite Abteilung*, I, ed. Arbusow, 607–608 no. 808, 645–648 no. 848; 650–651 no. 854, 661 no. 867, 690–691 no. 905, 701–705 no. 923, 732–735 no. 966.

a letter to Livonia directly or ask the Grand Master to forward it to the Livonian Master. Similarly, the Livonian Master could relay messages and letters from the Grand Duke to the Grand Master. There were even occasions, though rare, when the Grand Duke transmitted a message from one branch of the order to other.⁹¹ The Grand Master and the Livonian Master would at times send joint embassies to the Grand Duke or his representatives. There were occasions when all three would meet personally, along with the King of Poland. We can therefore imagine the communication between the Grand Duke, the Grand Master, and the Livonian Master as forming a triangle. The role of the Livonian Master in this triangle varied in time and was dependent not only on his own political stance, but also that of the Grand Master's and the Grand Duke's.

Even though the Livonian Master was corresponding intensively and regularly with the Grand Duke of Lithuania, the latter considered him a subordinate to the Grand Master and would at times use him to influence the Grand Master. For example, in June 1415, Livonian Master Dietrich Torck (1413–1415) and the Commander of Daugavpils (Germ Dünaburg) traveled to Lithuania to negotiate with Grand Duke Vytautas (1392–1430) the release of Livonian captives taken during the Hunger War of 1414.⁹² During these negotiations, Vytautas and Torck agreed to organize a meeting of both masters of the Order, King Władysław II Jagiełło of Poland and Vytautas at Pentecost in the following year.⁹³ Thereafter, Torck sent the Commander of Daugavpils to Grand Master Michael Kuchmeister (1414–1422). For a while, the Commander of Daugavpils was the envoy running the correspondence between Kuchmeister and Vytautas.⁹⁴ The Grand Master eventually declined to take part in the quadripartite negotiations with Vytautas and Władysław II, and the meeting was called off.⁹⁵

⁹¹ *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi magni ducis Lithuaniae 1376–1430*, pars I, ed. Anton Prochaska, *Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia* 6 (Kraków: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1882), 420 nos. 795–796.

⁹² *Codex*, I, ed. Prochaska, 318–319 no. 635.

⁹³ *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, V, ed. Bunge, 61–62 no. 2009; *Codex*, I, ed. Prochaska, 319, no. 636. Vytautas later claimed that the idea to organize the meeting came from Dietrich Torck: *Codex*, I, ed. Prochaska, 326–327 no. 643, 344–345 no. 671.

⁹⁴ *Codex*, I, ed. Prochaska, 319–321 no. 637–639, 327–328 no. 645.

⁹⁵ *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, V, ed. Bunge, 80–82 no. 2026; Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge*, 127–129; Dieter Heckmann, “Zum Leben und Wirken des livländischen Meisters des Deutschen Ordens Dietrich Torck (1413–1415),” *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* 139 (1997): 169–198, here 194.

In March 1416 the Grand Duke asked the new Livonian Master Siegfried Lander von Sponheim to arrange a personal meeting with Kűchmeister.⁹⁶ The latter was reluctant at first, but then tasked the Livonian Master with discussing organization of a meeting of both masters with King Władysław II and Grand Duke Vytautas.⁹⁷ As part of his role as mediator between Vytautas and Kűchmeister, Siegfried Lander went to Lithuania to meet with Vytautas in July 1416.⁹⁸ Kűchmeister also communicated directly with Vytautas on the matter. In August 1416 he wrote to the Grand Duke that he would only attend the meeting if Władysław II were present, otherwise he would ask the Livonian Master to represent him before Vytautas.⁹⁹ The Grand Duke took this as a personal insult, as this would put him on the same level as a subordinate of the Grand Master.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, when the four finally arrived to Veliuona in October 1416, Kűchmeister did not meet with the Grand Duke and the king, asking the Livonian Master to represent him instead.¹⁰¹

This example demonstrates how acting as a mediator between Vytautas and Kűchmeister, and representing the latter before the Grand Duke of Lithuania and the King of Poland, would actually emphasize the status of the Master of Livonia as subordinate to the Grand Master. At the same time, it also shows how this communication triangle between Lithuania, Livonia, and Prussia offered diplomatic advantages to the Grand Master, which he would not have otherwise had if he had been representing the Livonian Branch in communications with the Grand Duke. In addition, the decision was not up to him or the Livonian Master: it was the Grand Duke who decided with whom he chose to communicate.

For example, during the first ten years of his reign, Grand Duke of Lithuania Casimir Jagiellon (1440–1492, King of Poland 1447–1492) chose to communicate his Livonian issues exclusively to the Grand Master. He held a distrustful stance towards the Teutonic Knights in Livonia and presented various complaints

⁹⁶ *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, V, ed. Bunge, 120–122 no. 2059; *Codex*, I, ed. Prochaska, 343 no. 668.

⁹⁷ *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, V, ed. Bunge, 135–138 nos. 2072 and 2078, 148–150 no. 2082, 152–156 nos. 2084 and 2086; *Codex*, I, ed. Prochaska, 356–357 no. 689.

⁹⁸ *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, V, ed. Bunge, 135–136 no. 2072, 143–145 no. 2079; *Codex*, I, ed. Prochaska, 352–353 no. 683.

⁹⁹ *Codex*, I, ed. Prochaska, 358–359 no. 692. It was up to Vytautas to persuade Władysław II to come to the meeting: *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, V, ed. Bunge, 148–150 no. 2082, 152–256 nos. 2084 and 2086; *Codex*, I, ed. Prochaska, 355–357 nos. 688–689, 359–360 no. 694.

¹⁰⁰ *Codex*, I, ed. Prochaska, 360–362 no. 696.

¹⁰¹ *Id.*, 367–373 nos. 704, 706 and 708–709, 375–377 no. 713.

about them to the Grand Master.¹⁰² Thus, when Grand Master Konrad von Erlichshausen and Livonian Master Eberhard Vincke von Overberg sent a joint embassy to Casimir in Autumn 1441, he responded by sending his ambassadors solely to the Grand Master.¹⁰³

The outbreak of war between the Teutonic Order in Livonia and Novgorod in the autumn of 1443 gave Casimir a reason for the temporary relaxation of his communication policies. As a reaction to an embassy from the Master of Livonia, Casimir sent his scribe to Livonia in the winter of 1443–1444. He presented himself as an overlord and protector of Novgorod and proposed to mediate peace between Novgorod and Eberhard Vincke von Overberg.¹⁰⁴ Soon thereafter, the Livonian Master addressed the Grand Master as his superior and head of the whole Order, and he asked him to send envoys to talk with Casimir about the Grand Duke's stance toward Livonia and his issues regarding Novgorod.¹⁰⁵

Konrad von Erlichshausen and Casimir had been corresponding with regard to these problems in the winter of 1443–1444 and finally agreed to hold a personal meeting in Christmemel in May 1444, where the Livonian Master was represented only by his scribe, Paul Einwalt.¹⁰⁶ During the following years, Konrad von Erlichshausen organized further trilateral negotiations: in September 1445¹⁰⁷ and June 1447,¹⁰⁸ the envoys of the Casimir and Eberhard Vincke von Overberg met on the border between Lithuania and Livonia for talks mediated by the envoys of the Grand Master, whereas in April 1446 the Grand Master and the Livonian Master sent their embassies to Vilnius for discussions with Casimir.¹⁰⁹

Casimir's coronation as King of Poland in 1447 and the grave accusations against the Livonian Branch of the Order that he gave to the envoys of the Grand Master when swearing the Peace of Brześć Kujawski (1435) at the end of the year made Konrad von Erlichshausen concerned about the possibility of an outbreak of

¹⁰² *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, IX, ed. Hildebrand, 620–621 nos. 925–926, 660–661 no. 1005; *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, X, ed. Schwartz, 72–74 no. 109, 127–129 nos. 193–194, 200–201 no. 296; 270–277 nos. 401–402 and 405–406.

¹⁰³ *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, IX, ed. Hildebrand, 541–542 nos. 782–783, 595 no. 874, 620–621 no. 925.

¹⁰⁴ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, X, ed. Schwartz, 9–11, no. 20; 17–18 no. 28, 73 no. 109.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 18–21 no. 29.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 9–11 no. 20, 17–18 no. 28, 29–37 nos. 43 and 45–46.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 68–70 no. 101, 72–74 nos. 109–110, 81–85 nos. 127–128, 108–116 nos. 170–171, 127–129 nos. 193–194.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 206–207 no. 299, 247–249 no. 360.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 129–135 nos. 195–198, 136–137 nos. 205–206, 144–147 no. 214.

war with Casimir.¹¹⁰ This, at least, was what he wrote to the Livonian Master. Interestingly enough, one point among Casimir's accusations was that Eberhard Vincke von Overberg had gravely insulted him in June 1447 by sending low-ranking ambassadors with limited mandates to the meeting with his envoys. When Konrad von Erlichshausen swore to uphold the Peace of Brześć Kujawski before Casimir's envoys in February 1448, he also negotiated with them on resolving Casimir's issues with Livonia.¹¹¹

After the signing of a truce between the Livonian Master and Novgorod in 1448, Casimir abandoned his reproachful stance toward Livonia. Though the Grand Master negotiated with the king on Livonian issues in 1449,¹¹² Casimir soon returned to the direct form of communication with the Order in Livonia. In 1451 he authorized the Starost of Polotsk to determine the course of the border with Livonia.¹¹³ Two years later, the Master of Livonia sent envoys to Casimir to organize a meeting of Lithuanian and Livonian ambassadors in Užpaliai with the same goal.¹¹⁴

These examples of the two extremes in the correspondence between Lithuania, Livonia, and Prussia – the Master of Livonia representing the Grand Master and vice versa – demonstrate the room for diplomatic maneuvering that this communication triangle gave to its three parties. When one party deemed it better to avoid corresponding with another party, he could use the third party to mediate his communication. However, this was limited to diplomacy between the Grand Duke and the Teutonic Order, as the Grand Master and the Livonian Master usually managed to solve their differences without involving foreign parties. Then again, during the internal conflict within the Teutonic Order in the years 1437–1441, Grand Duke Sigismund Kęstutaitis of Lithuania (1432–1440) did in fact write to Grand Master Paul von Rusdorf in January 1439 of his plans to encourage reconciliation between Rusdorf and the Westphalian or anti-Rusdorf party in the

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 270–277 nos. 401–402 and 405–406, 281–282 no. 410.

¹¹¹ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, X, ed. Schwartz, 287–291 nos. 417–418, 297–298 no. 426.

¹¹² *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, X, ed. Schwartz, 399–404 no. 546–547, 406 no. 550, 415–416 no. 560–561, 427–431 nos. 574–577, 447–448 no. 597, 456 no. 616.

¹¹³ *Lietuvos metrika. Knyga Nr. 1 (1380–1584)*, vol. 1, *Užrašymų knyga*, ed. Algirdas Baliulis and Romualdas Firkovičius (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 1998), 25 no. 13; *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XI, ed. Schwartz, 112 no. 138. This commission to the Starost of Polotsk may have been a result of negotiations between the king and an envoy of the Livonian Master. See: *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XI, ed. Schwartz, 282 no. 321.

¹¹⁴ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, X, ed. Schwartz, 261–262 no. 296, 280–282 no. 321.

Livonian Branch of the Order.¹¹⁵ Actually, Sigismund signed a defensive pact with the Livonian Master and the Archbishop of Riga in February 1439.¹¹⁶

This was one of the rare occasions of the Livonian Master making a politically significant treaty with the Grand Duke of Lithuania on his own. Important political agreements – such as the First Peace of Toruń (1411), the Truce of Melno (1422), or the Peace of Brześć Kujawski (1435) – were usually made jointly for both branches of the Order with the personal participation of the Livonian Master or some prominent officials of the Teutonic Knights from Livonia.¹¹⁷ Occasionally, the Grand Master would negotiate treaties pertaining to Livonia without involving anyone from there. For example, the alliance with Grand Duke Vytautas in the year 1404¹¹⁸ and the alliance with Grand Duke Swidrigailo (1430–1438) in 1431¹¹⁹ were both negotiated solely by the Grand Master's envoys. The alliance with Swidrigailo as well as its renewal in 1432 – also negotiated only by the Grand Master¹²⁰ – were ratified by the Livonian Branch of the Order¹²¹ and were in accordance with his political goals.¹²² The alliance of 1404, on the other hand, forced the Livonian Branch of the Order to engage in a war against Pskov (1406–1409) as an ally of Vytautas against their own judgement, simply because maintaining an alliance with the Grand Duke was important for the Grand Master at the time.¹²³

¹¹⁵ *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, IX, ed. Hildebrand, 287 no. 414.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 289 no. 416, 341–342 no. 477. This was not an alliance against Rusdorf. The Grand Duke promised to send 200 crossbowmen to garrison the Order's castles on the border, forbid passage through Lithuania for the enemies of the Teutonic Order in Livonia and the Archbishop of Riga, ban his subjects from entering the military service of these enemies and allow his subjects to serve in the armed forces of the Livonian Master and the archbishop.

¹¹⁷ *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens im Preußen im 15. Jahrhundert*, vol. I, 1398–1437, ed. Erich Weise, Marburg: Elwert, 1970, 2nd edition), 82–89 nos. 82–83, 150–164 nos. 152–154, 195–212 nos. 179–181.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 42–43 nos. 34–35.

¹¹⁹ *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, VIII, ed. Hildebrand, 271–274 nos. 462–463, 297–298 nos. 500–501.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 349–350 nos. 589–591.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 284 no. 479, 297–298 no. 500, 308–309 no. 518, 313–314 no. 524, 355 no. 603, 358 no. 608.

¹²² Lückcrath, *Paul von Rusdorf*, 123–133; Neitmann, *Ritterbrüder*, 122–130; Biskup, “Livand,” 111–114; Götz, “Verbunden mit der Marienburg,” 405–407. See also: Sergej V. Polechov, *Nasledniki Vitovta: dinasticheseskaja vojna v Velikom knjazhestve Litovskom v 30-e gody XV veka* (Moskva: Indrik, 2015), 83–409.

¹²³ Paul von der Osten-Sacken, “Livländisch-Russische Beziehungen während der Regierungszeit des Grossfürsten Witowt von Litauen (1392–1430),” *Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands* 20, no. 2 (1910): 169–294, here 208–232; Neitmann, *Ritterbrüder*, 92–94; Biskup, “Livand,” 106–107; Sebastian Kubon, *Die Außenpolitik des*

Geographical conditions played an important role in the formation of this communication triangle since both branches of the order shared a border with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The network of roads could at times still have an effect on their communication. During the years 1432–1435, when the Teutonic Order was allied with Grand Duke Swidrigailo in his war against rival Grand Duke Sigismund Kęstutaitis, the communication between Swidrigailo and Grand Master Paul von Rusdorf went through Livonia. The reason was simply that the parts of the Grand Duchy adjacent to Prussia were under the control of Sigismund. This left Swidrigailo and Paul von Rusdorf no other option than to send their letters and envoys to each other through Livonia. They allowed the Livonian Master to open their correspondence and to forward messages from one to the other. Rusdorf's envoy staying at Swidrigailo's court also had to correspond with Rusdorf through the Livonian Master.¹²⁴

The second half of the fifteenth century brought about several changes in the communication of the Grand Duke of Lithuania with the Teutonic Order in Livonia. After Grand Duke Casimir attained the Polish crown in 1447 he had to divide his time between ruling Poland and Lithuania. While he was away, he delegated the task of corresponding with the Teutonic Order to his high officials in the regions adjacent to Livonia and Prussia. Furthermore, the Lithuanian Council of the Lords began to hold diplomatic correspondence of their own with the Order in the 1450s.¹²⁵

In this situation, the correspondence of the Livonian Branch with the Grand Duke decreased significantly. The Lithuanian Council of the Lords, its individual members, the higher clergy, and ducal officials took over much of the communication with the Master of Livonia. This was especially so during the Thirteen Years

Deutschen Ordens unter Hochmeister Konrad von Jungingen (1393–1407), Nova mediaevalia 15 (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2016), 175–183.

¹²⁴ *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, VIII, ed. Hildebrand, 365–367 nos. 624 and 627, 371–376 nos. 634, 636, 639, and 642, 378–381 nos. 646–647, 649, 650–651, 389–393 nos. 657, 659 and 661, 395–396 no. 664, 398–399 no. 673, 401–405 nos. 677, 679, 681 and 685, 410 no. 693, 413–414 no. 701, 466–467 no. 797, 483 no. 828, 491 no. 846, 572 no. 947, 591–592 no. 981; Klaus Neitmann, “Ludwig von Landsee. Ein Gebietiger des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen im 15. Jh. Beobachtungen zur Außenpolitik des Ordens,” *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 36 (1988): 161–90, here 174–176; Götz, “Verbunden mit der Marienburg,” 405.

¹²⁵ Rowell, “Social Developments,” 215–222; Korczak, “Listy wielkich książąt litewskich,” 38–39; Rimvydas Petrauskas, “Litauen und der Deutsche Orden: Vom Feind zum Verbündeten,” in *Tannenberg – Grunwald – Žalgiris 1410: Krieg und Frieden im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Werner Paravicini, Rimvydas Petrauskas, and Grischa Vercaemer, Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau. Quellen und Studien 26 (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2012), 237–251, here 249–250; Szweda, “Die Rolle,” 323–324.

War, when Casimir practically did not correspond with the Master of Livonia in affairs concerning Lithuania.¹²⁶ The Grand Duchy of Lithuania did not break the peace with the Teutonic Order, which meant that only the Kingdom of Poland was at war with the Teutonic Knights. After the war, Casimir resumed communication with the Teutonic Order in Livonia, but their correspondence with each other usually took place when Casimir was staying in Lithuania.¹²⁷

Tripartite meetings of envoys from Lithuania, Livonia, and Prussia, as well as joint or simultaneous embassies from the Grand Master and the Livonian Master, no longer took place in the second half of the fifteenth century. The two branches of the Order did send joint embassies to Casimir as King of Poland to negotiate peace during the Thirteen Years War, but the Livonian Branch of the Order was not represented during the final negotiations of the Second Peace of Torun (1466) and did not acknowledge nor ratify this peace treaty.¹²⁸ An attempt to organize tripartite negotiations with members of the Lithuanian Council of the Lords in the summer of 1473 failed, because the Grand Master declined to participate after hearing that the Livonian Master would send a larger embassy than he.¹²⁹ In 1480, the Livonian Master asked the Grand Master to send his envoys to the Grand Duke simultaneously with those from Livonia, but the Grand Master refused.¹³⁰ When Alexander Jagiellon became Grand Duke of Lithuania (1492–1506, King of Poland 1501–1506), the Master of Livonia and the Grand Master already sent separate envoys to negotiate the renewal of the Peace of Brześć Kujawski (1435). Alexander swore to uphold the peace on two separate ceremonies in July and Au-

¹²⁶ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XI, ed. Schwartz, 564 no. 714, 583 no. 743, 586–587 nos. 751–752, 652–653 no. 834; *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XII, ed. Schwartz and Blumerincq, 89–90 no. 166, 95–97 no. 174.

¹²⁷ For example, *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XIII, ed. Mahling, Neitmann and Thumser, 479 no. 518, 485–486 no. 526; *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XIV, ed. Gahlbeck, Mahling, Neitmann, and Thumser, 80–81 no. 63, 83–84 no. 67.

¹²⁸ Adam Szweda, "The Negotiations Leading to the Second Peace of Toruń," *Zapiski Historyczne* 81, no. 4 (2016): 31–46; Biskup, "Livand," 119.

¹²⁹ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XIII, ed. Mahling, Neitmann, and Thumser, 133–134 no. 123, 138–139 no. 128, 142–143, no. 144, 159–162 no. 153–154.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 782–784 no. 837; *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XIV, ed. Gahlbeck, Mahling, Neitmann, and Thumser, 32 no. 15, 80–86 nos. 63, 65 and 67, 107–108 no. 94, 123–124 no. 116, 128 no. 122; Harald Cosack, "Zur Geschichte der auswärtigen Verwicklungen des Ordens in Livland 1478–1483," in *Baltische Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte. Arbeiten des Baltischen Vorbereitenden Komitees für den XVI. Archäologischen Kongress in Pleskau 1914*, ed. Der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands (Berlin: Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1914), 203–240, here 216.

gust 1493 – first in Trakai before the envoys of the Grand Master, then in Vilnius before the envoys of the Livonian Master.¹³¹

The Livonian Master still occasionally asked the Grand Master to communicate with Casimir on his behalf, but often as part of preparations for his own embassies.¹³² The Grand Master's reactions to these requests were twofold. He gladly traveled to Trakai to meet with Casimir to convince the Grand Duke not to involve himself in the conflict between the Order in Livonia and the Archbishop and town of Riga in 1483.¹³³ At the same time, the Grand Master was reluctant to assist the Livonian Master in negotiating an alliance with Casimir against Pskov and the Grand Prince of Muscovy, for he was opposed to it.¹³⁴ We can see how the increasingly diverging attitudes of both masters towards Casimir had a disruptive effect on the diplomatic cooperation between these two branches of the Teutonic Order.

An alliance between the Grand Duke of Lithuania and the Teutonic Order in Livonia, along with all of the bishops of Livonia against the Grand Prince of Muscovy, was finally signed on 21 June 1501.¹³⁵ The initiative came from Grand Duke Alexander, whose envoys to Livonia proposed such alliance in June 1500,¹³⁶ but initially the Livonian Master Wolter von Plettenberg turned him down.¹³⁷ Alexander sent another embassy with the same proposal in November, and this time Plettenberg agreed to begin negotiations.¹³⁸ At the turn of the year 1500–1501, Alexander sent envoys to Grand Master Friedrich of Saxony with pleas for help against Muscovy, but Friedrich was against taking any part in an alliance with the

¹³¹ Harald Cosack, "Livland und Rußland zur Zeit des Ordensmeisters Johann Freitag (I–III)," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 48, 51, 52 (1923, 1926, 1927): 1–60, 72–115, 82–121, here part III, 89–102.

¹³² *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XIII, ed. Mahling, Neitmann, and Thumser, 430–433 nos. 455–456, 873 no. 837.

¹³³ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XIV, ed. Gahlbeck, Mahling, Neitmann, and Thumser, 728–729 no. 802, 732–735 nos. 805 and 808, 769–770 no. 862, 777–778 no. 868, 798–802 no. 899. See also: *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, vol. III, ed. Anton Lewicki, *Monumenta mediaevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia* 14 (Kraków: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1894), 326–328 no. 307.

¹³⁴ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Erste Abteilung*, XIII, ed. Mahling, Neitmann, and Thumser, 769–771 no. 825.

¹³⁵ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Zweite Abteilung*, II, ed. Arbusow, 81–83 no. 127.

¹³⁶ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Zweite Abteilung*, I, ed. Arbusow, 753–754 no. 994, 758–759 no. 1005.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 774 no. 1025, 776–777 no. 1029, 791–792 no. 1055.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 799–801 no. 1072, 807–809 no. 1082.

Grand Duke of Lithuania.¹³⁹ It is without a doubt clear that Plettenberg's alliance with Alexander ran against the political goals of Friedrich of Saxony, who had chosen a course of confrontation with Alexander's elder brother, King Jan I Olbracht of Poland (1492–1501).¹⁴⁰ At the same time, the Grand Master did ask Plettenberg to ask Alexander to influence Jan I into being more lenient with Friedrich of Saxony.¹⁴¹ After Alexander had attained the Polish crown in 1501, Plettenberg proposed to the Grand Master that his envoys to Alexander could also address the king in matters regarding Friedrich of Saxony.¹⁴²

5. CONCLUSIONS

The communication of the Master of the Livonian Branch of the Teutonic Order with the King of Denmark and the Grand Duke of Lithuania demonstrates a high level of diplomatic cooperation between the Livonian and the Prussian branches of the Order. Both the Grand Master and the Livonian Master would represent the other in correspondence with the king or the Grand Duke if the situation called for it. The major difference was that during the first half of the fifteenth century, communication with the King of Denmark was largely dominated by the Grand Master, though the king and the Livonian Master did occasionally correspond with each other. Communication of the Livonian Master with the Grand Duke of Lithuania was, on the contrary, frequent, but did not function independently of the Grand Master. Rather, one can speak of a communication triangle between the Grand Duke and the two masters, where the latter would complement each other and often act in unison. This means that the Grand Duke could address issues regarding one master to the other master, and the masters could represent each other before the Grand Duke if needed.

This intertwining of the diplomatic correspondence of these two branches of the Teutonic Order lessened remarkably after the Thirteen Years War (1454–1466) against the King of Poland and the Prussian Confederation. The Livoni-

¹³⁹ Ibid., 3–5 no. 7; *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Zweite Abteilung*, III, ed. Arbusow, 673–676 no. 917.

¹⁴⁰ Arnold, "Livland," 30–32; Wimmer, "Die Rußlandpolitik," 85–87; Biskup, "Livland," 125; Stephan Flemming, "Der Anteil sächsischer Berater an der Außenpolitik von Hochmeister Friedrich (1498–1510)," in *Akteure mittelalterlicher Außenpolitik: das Beispiel Ostmitteleuropas*, ed. Stephan Flemming and Norbert Kersken, Tagungen zur Ostmitteleuropaforschung 35 (Marburg: Verlag Herder-Institut, 2017), 145–168.

¹⁴¹ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Zweite Abteilung*, II, ed. Arbusow, 43–44 no. 69.

¹⁴² Ibid., 232 no. 335.

an Master began to correspond directly with the King of Denmark during the war. After the war, the Grand Master no longer represented the Livonian Master before the king. The Grand Master's role in the Livonian Branches' communication with the Grand Duke of Lithuania also began to decrease after the war, but there were still moments when the Grand Master represented the Livonian Master in talks with the Grand Duke of Lithuania in the latter decades of the century.

These changes correlate with the divergence of political interests of the Livonian and Prussian Branches of the Teutonic Order as well as with the gradual decrease of the Grand Master's authority over the Livonian Branch during the last third of the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, it would be too simplistic to consider these changes as resulting solely from a pursuit of emancipation by the Livonian Master. For sure, the Livonian Master was against the Grand Master's involvement in his talks with the King of Denmark in the final years of the century, but he nevertheless discussed the negotiations with him. Furthermore, the Livonian Master still occasionally asked the Grand Master to represent him in talks with the Grand Duke of Lithuania in the 1470s and 1480s, but now it was the Grand Master who refused to fill the role of the mediator on occasions when the Livonian Master pursued political goals contrary to the Grand Master's. Therefore, one could say that both branches still sought to continue the traditions of diplomatic cooperation, but their diverging political goals began to impede them during the final three decades of the fifteenth century. The Danish king and the Lithuanian Grand Duke also had an important role in these changes in correspondence. Up until the middle of the 1450s, the King of Denmark seems to have preferred to communicate Livonian matters to the Grand Master, and contacted the Livonian Master only on rare occasions. Though it is possible that some acts of correspondence between the Danish king and the Livonian Master during this period are not recorded in the sources preserved to this day and therefore our picture of their diplomatic relations can be somewhat skewed, the Grand Master nevertheless seems to have held a more or less dominant role in these relations. At least some of the instances of direct contact between the king and the Livonian Master can be seen as connected to the king's policies toward the Grand Master. For example, it seems that King Christopher III sought, in fact, to make an alliance with both Masters of the Order in 1446, but could negotiate the matter solely with envoys of the Livonian Master, because the Grand Master was simply not interested in such an alliance.

Between the 1390s and the 1450s the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order had functioned as an arbitrator and peace-broker in the conflicts between the Scandinavian kingdoms. He lost his position of importance in Scandinavian politics during the Thirteen Years War, which resulted in a significant decrease in his correspondence with the Scandinavian kings. The decreased political importance

of the Grand Master opened up new ways for the Danish king to assert his influence over the Livonian Branch of the Order. As a result, the Danish king suddenly changed his diplomatic preferences and began to correspond directly with the Livonian Master.

The Lithuanian Grand Duke held diplomatic relations with both branches of the order for the majority of the fifteenth century. It is for this reason that the first ten years of the reign of Casimir Jagiellon stand out. During the 1440s he seems to have deliberately avoided contacting the Livonian Master and preferred to discuss Livonian issues solely with the Grand Master or in tripartite negotiations with the envoys of both masters. Starting from the 1450s Casimir, who had now also become King of Poland, began to delegate negotiating Livonian affairs to his higher officials in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and to the Lithuanian Council of the Lords. Correspondence between Casimir and the Livonian Master usually took place only when Casimir was staying in Lithuania. Furthermore, one can see how Casimir and his successor, Alexander, began to increasingly discuss Livonian affairs solely with the Livonian Master.

In conclusion, one can make a generalisation that the high level of cooperation in the diplomatic correspondence of the Livonian Master and the Grand Master was only possible if both masters were in communication with the same king or prince and had similar political goals. The decision of which master was the dominant one – i.e. who represented the other before the king or prince, forwarded letters between the two etc. – could not solely be made by the masters themselves. Ultimately it was the king or the prince who decided how and with which master he chose to correspond.

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