



GREGORY LEIGHTON*
Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku
Centrum Badań nad Dziedzictwem Pokrzyżackim
ul. Starościńska 1
PL-82200 Malbork
Poland
g.leighton@zamek.malbork.pl

BETWEEN HISTORY AND MEMORY: A SOURCE CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL TRADITION OF THE TEUTONIC KNIGHTS c. 1500, PART I.

KEYWORDS

history; the Middle Ages; military orders; Teutonic Order; historiography; conquest of Prussia; humanism; chronicle tradition

ABSTRACT

The present article is the first of two pieces concerning historiography and memory within the Prussian Branch of the Teutonic Order c. 1500. Its subject is an unpublished text written in Prussia around 1500 and kept in the archives of the Teutonic Order in Berlin (Berlin, GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, no. 29077). It will provide some possible explanations for the background of the source, its contents, in addition to noting the most interesting elements in its recounting of the conquest of Prussia. While the text under study largely conforms to the traditional representations of the conquest of Prussia in the Teutonic Order's chronicles, there are digressions and changes which deserve attention. As such, the article presents a new source for future research on the historiographical tradition of the Teutonic Order and the ways in which it was changing on the eve of the secularization of Prussia in 1525.

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

INTRODUCTION

Kept in the archive of the Teutonic Order in Berlin is a small, anonymous text written in Latin and dated to around 1500 under the signature: Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (GStA PK), XX. Hauptabteilung (HA.), Ordensbriefarchiv (OBA), no. 29077. It narrates the thirteenth-century conquest of Prussia. Such a dating of the source means that it should be placed within the greater context of the changes occurring within the Teutonic Order during the later fifteenth century. The origin of many of these changes can be traced to the terms of the Second Peace of Toruń (19 October 1466). In addition to relinquishing many territories in the western part of Prussia, the Grand Masters moved their residence to Königsberg Castle in 1457 and were obliged to perform homage to the Polish kings. These were all significant blows to the self-image and legitimacy of the Teutonic Order not only as a territorial ruler (*Landesherr*), but as a religious institution who fought against the “enemies of the Christian faith” in Prussia, Livonia and, indeed, on the edges of the Latin Christian world as a “bulwark of Christianity” (*antemurale Christianitatis*).¹

As a result of these territorial and ideological changes, the nature of the office of Grand Master also changed. This change is personified in the figures of Friedrich

¹ For example, see Udo Arnold *Studien zur preußischen Historiographie des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Bonn: Rotaprint Universität Bonn, 1967), 11–27; Marcus Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 73 (Weimar: VDG, 2013), 122–127, esp. 127, and 292–293 for the general ways in which the Order shifted its ideological focus. For the content of the Second Peace of Toruń, see *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen im 15. Jahrhundert*, vol. 2, 1438–1467, ed. Erich Weise (Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 1955), 262–288 no. 403. Also see Kurt Forstreuter, *Das preußisches Staatsarchiv Königsberg. Ein geschichtlicher Rückblick mit einer Übersicht seiner Bestände*, Veröffentlichungen der Niedersächsischen Archivverwaltung 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1955), 15–18. For the bulwark rhetoric employed by the Order in the fifteenth century and in the aftermath of the Second Peace of Toruń, see Matthias Thumser, “Ein neue Aufgabe im Heidenkampf? Pläne mit dem Deutschen Orden als Vorposten gegen die Türken,” in *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, ed. Bodo Guthmüller and Wilhelm Kühlmann, Frühe Neuzeit 54 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000), 139–176, here 174.

of Saxony (r. 1498–1510)² and Albrecht of Brandenburg-Ansbach (r. 1511–1525).³ Beginning with Friedrich and continued by Albrecht, there were reforms in the court of the Grand Master in Königsberg that transformed the office to something more resembling that of a secular prince.⁴ Among these changes were also important transformations within the Order's chancery, above all the recruitment of men who were educated in the humanist tradition.⁵ Due to the political situation of the Teutonic Order after 1466, a distinct focus on its historical origins in Prussia can be observed in the Order's chancery, which were produced as a means of protesting against the conditions of the Second Peace of Toruń and the obligation of the Grand Master to perform a homage.⁶ At the centre of these disputes were the origins of the Order in Prussia and its legal rights to the territories ceded to the Kingdom of Poland. The history of the Order's conquests were thus important areas for revision and revisitation in developing arguments for why the Order should not be obligated to the terms of the Second Peace of Toruń.

The present article is the first of two parts concerning this small text, which demonstrates a firm grounding in the historiographical tradition of the Teutonic Knights, while borrowing and adapting this tradition to fit contemporary aspects of historical writing at the turn of the sixteenth century. Following an overview of the contents and remarks on the authorship of the text, this article presents a full

² See Kurt Forstreuter, *Vom Ordensstaat zum Fürstentum. Geistige und politische Wandlungen im Deutschordensstaate Preußen unter den Hochmeistern Friedrich und Albrecht (1498–1525)* (Kitzingen: Holzner Verlag, 1951), 12–16; Marian Biskup, "Friedrich von Sachsen 1498–1510," in *Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1190–2012*, ed. Udo Arnold, *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* 40 (Weimar: VDG, 2014), 159–163.

³ Erich Joachim, *Die Politik des letzten Hochmeisters in Preußen, Albrecht von Brandenburg*, 3 vols., *Publikationen aus den königlich-preußischen Staatsarchiven* 50, 58, 61 (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1892, 1894, 1895); Walther Hubatsch, *Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach. Deutschordens-Hochmeister und Herzog in Preußen*, *Studien zur Geschichte Preussens* 8 (Köln–Berlin: Grote, 1960); Peter G. Thielen, "Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach 1511–1525," in *Die Hochmeister*, ed. Arnold, 164–168.

⁴ Forstreuter, *Ordensstaat*, 16–23, esp. 18–19; Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 293.

⁵ See Arno Mentzel-Reuters, "Reformschrifttum und Humanismus – Der Deutsche Orden am Vorabend der Reformation," in *Die Rolle der Schriftlichkeit in den Geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters: innere Organisation, Sozialstruktur, Politik*, ed. Roman Czaja and Jürgen Sarnowsky, *Ordines Militares Colloquia Torunensia Historica* XV (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2009), 53–83, here 69.

⁶ Dieter Heckmann, "Aspekte der Neuordnung des Kanzleiwesens im preußischen Ordensland nach dem 2. Thorner Friedensschloss," *Zapiski Historyczne* 81, no. 4 (2016): 101–116, here 113–115 for general changes in the chancery after 1466. For the negotiations, see Adam Szweđa, "The Negotiations Leading to the Second Peace of Toruń," *Zapiski Historyczne* 81, no. 4 (2016): 31–46.

edition of the text with commentary. The main goal of this part of the study is to provide the groundwork for further research on the historiographical tradition of the Teutonic Order and the ways in which it developed and was used on the eve of the secularization of Prussia. The second article will consider the ways that the text is an important example of how the conquest of Prussia, a crucial part of the Teutonic Order's self-image, was remembered and revised almost three centuries after it occurred.

CONTENTS

Our text is comprised of 8 *folia*, with the heading of *Litteralien* on the outer cover of the document. It was at one point kept in Schieblade Nr. 62.⁷ The contents of the document are summarized in a nineteenth-century hand: *Vier Lagen, welche den Anfang einer Geschichte von Porussen ungefähr in J. 1500 in Lateinischer Sprache geschrieben, enthalten*. It was not indexed in the register of the Order's archives published by Erich Joachim and Walther Hubatsch.⁸

The subject matter of OBA, no. 29077 concerns the conquest of Prussia specifically. It begins with the foundation of the Order in Acre (*Ptolomaida*) before describing the situation in the region of Prussia before Conrad, Duke of Mazovia summoned the knights (fol. 1r). From here, it discusses the arrival of the first knights in Prussia under the leadership of Heinrich Berge (fol. 1v). Particularly interesting is that the author echoes a similar description to the devastation of Conrad of Mazovia's land by the Prussians which can be traced back to the earliest pieces of historical writing in Prussia – namely, the burning of churches, cities,

⁷ Berlin, GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, no. 29077. On the top left of the covering of the document is written, in nineteenth century hand, *Schiebl. LXII* with *Nr. 26* below it. See Forstreuter, *Das preußisches Staatsarchiv*, 54. Several pieces of information about this collection can also be found in the footnotes to Johannes Voigt, *Die Geschichte Preußens von den ältesten Zeit bis zum Untergange der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, vol. IX, *Die Zeit vom Tode des Hochmeisters Ludwig von Erlichshausen 1467 bis zum Untergange der Herrschaft des Ordens unter dem Hochmeister Albrecht von Brandenburg 1525* (Königsberg: Bornträger, 1839), 2, 267, 298, 520, 529, 530. Other pieces of *Litteralien* can be seen in Berlin, GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, nos. 28855, 2903, 29084. See *Regesta Historico-Diplomatica Ordinis Sanctae Mariae Theutonicorum 1198–1525*, vol. 1–3, ed. Erich Joachim and Walther Hubatsch (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1948, 1950, 1973), here 3: 540: Nr. 29070. Zwei Kästen „Litteralien“. Unverzeichnet. (Nr. 356–357).

⁸ *Regesta Historico-Diplomatica*, ed. Joachim and Hubatsch. I thank Dr. Johannes Götz (Berlin) for his assistance in using the *Regesta*.

castles and monasteries.⁹ The remaining 7 fol. concern the conquests made by the knights in the region and include several interesting additions on the part of the author which will be discussed below (in addition to a separate article). The *folia* of OBA, no. 29077 correspond (roughly) to the following books of Peter of Dusburg's *Chronicon terrae Prussiae* (c. 1326), tabulated below:

Nr.	OBA, no. 29077	Dusburg, page (book number, chapter number, chapter title)
1	fol. 1r	Dusburg, 11 (<i>Prologus</i>)
2	-	Dusburg, 24 (<i>De vastatione terrae Poloniae</i>)
3	fol. 1v	Dusburg, 47 (II, 11 – <i>De adventu plurimum fratrum domus Theutonicae et aedificatione castri Nessouiae</i>)
4	fol. 2r	Dusburg, 49 (III, 1 – <i>De bellis fratrum domus Theutonicae contra Pruthenos et primo de bello contra habitatores terrae Culmensis</i>)
5	fol. 2v	Dusburg, 55 (III, 7 – <i>De destructione duorum castrorum et morte Pippini</i>)
6	fol. 3r	Dusburg, 48 (II, 13 – <i>De cruce et indulgentia cruce signatorum terrae Prussiae et Liunioniae</i>)?
7	-	Dusburg, 56 (III, 8 – <i>De peregrinis et de aedificatione castri et civitas Culmensis</i>)
8	-	Dusburg, 56–57 (III, 9 – <i>De bello fratrum contra Pomesanos et de aedificatione castri Insulae Sanctae Mariae</i>)
9	fol. 3v	Dusburg, 57 (III, 10 – <i>De aedificatione civitatis Insulae Sanctae Mariae</i>)
10	fol. 4v	Dusburg, 58 (III, 11 – <i>De victoria Christianorum, ubi quinque milia Pruthenorum sunt occisa</i>)
11	fol. 5r	Dusburg, 59 (III, 12 – <i>De aedificatione castri de Redino et visione mirabili cuiusdam fratris ibidem</i>)
12	fol. 5v	Dusburg, 60–61 (III, 14 – <i>De destructione plurimum castrorum et subiugatione Pomesanorum</i>)
13	fol. 6r	Dusburg, 62 (III, 17 – <i>De quodam miraculo</i>)?
14	fol. 6v	Dusburg, 62–63 (III, 18 – <i>De bello fratrum contra Warmienses, Barthos et Nattangos et morte plurimum fratrum et Christianorum</i>)
15	-	Dusburg, 63 (III, 19 – <i>De castro Balga</i>)
16	-	Dusburg, 64 (III, 21 – <i>De aedificatione molendini et destructione ipsius</i>)

⁹ See edition below, p. 219: *Ex eis hominum pediumque ingentem predam sepe numero abegissent, / agros vastassent, / villas incendissent, / opida et castella diripissent / et subvertissent, / edes sacras et cenobia nonsolum spolliassent, / verum igne et flamma in cinerem rede gissent.*

draws on the tradition of identifying Prussia with the *Borussi* and *Hulmigeri*, identifications first made in Jordanes' *Getica* (551 A.D.) and repeated in subsequent historical texts concerning the history of Prussia. Examples include Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's *De situ et origine Pruthenorum* (1450–1456)¹³ and Erasmus Stella's *De Borussiae antiquitatibus libri duo* (printed in 1517).¹⁴ Moreover, he uses similar vocabulary to both authors (i.e., the use of the term *amnis* for "river", *arx* for castles and towns, etc.). In the case of Stella's text, the reason for this was to provide historical evidence for avoiding the obligation of the Grand Masters of the Teutonic Order to perform homage to the Polish king – this explains the panegyrical tone of Stella's chronicle.¹⁵ The author of OBA, no. 29077 may have written his text for similar reasons, which will be discussed shortly.

Further evidence of the humanistic style of the chronicle appears in the author's attempts to incorporate elements from Classical tradition into his text. An obvious indication is his narration of the foundation of Toruń – *prima urbs*

0%2520%2520%2520%2520%2520%2520%2520&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=2&cHash=c9558857d-2892fa03edb074f122c105a.

¹³ Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, "De situ et origine Pruthenorum," ed. Theodor Hirsch, in: *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit*, ed. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, and Ernst Strehlke, vol. IV (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1870), 218–231. For context, see Arno Mentzel-Reuters, "Von der Ordenschronik zur Landesgeschichte – Die Herausbildung der alt-preussischen Landeshistoriographie im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Kulturgeschichte Ostpreußens in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Klaus Garber, Manfred Komorowski, and Axel E. Walter, Frühe Neuzeit 56 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2001), 581–637. Also crucial in this development of humanist historiography was Laurentius Blumenau (see 598–600). For the origins of the Prussians as a topic for humanist historiographers, see Jörg Hackmann, "Preußische Ursprungsmythen. Entstehung und Transformation vom 15. bis 20. Jahrhundert," in *Preußen in Ostmitteleuropa: Geschichte und Verstehensgeschichte*, ed. Matthias Weber (München: Oldenbourg, 2003), 143–171; id., "Origo Borussorum. Preußische Ursprungsmythen zwischen Germanen, Goten und Sarmaten," in *Abstammungsmythen und Völkergenealogien im frühneuzeitlichen Ostseeraum*, ed. Stefan Donecker and Jens E. Olesen (Greifswald: Universität Greifswald, 2020), 39–60. Piccolomini had found a manuscript of the *Getica* in the library of the cloister in Götting, which informed his construction of the history of Prussia prior to the arrival of the Teutonic Knights. Also see Norbert Kersken, "Aspekte des preußischen Geschichtsdenkens im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Preußische Landesgeschichte. Festschrift für Bernhart Jähnig zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Udo Arnold, Mario Glauert and Jürgen Sarnowsky, Einzelschriften der Historischen Kommission für ost- und westpreussische Landesforschung 22 (Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 2001), 440–443.

¹⁴ Erasmus Stella, "De Borussiae antiquitatibus libri duo," ed. Theodor Hirsch, in *Scriptores*, ed. Hirsch, Töppen, Strehlke, IV: 285: *Nam ut Gordanus Gotthus scribit, nuper Hulmigerii Germani eam tenere, a quibus aliquamdiu Hulmigeria dicta, hodieque ea pars, quae Vistulae accolit, Culmigeria pro Hulmigeria vocitatur. Sed hi per Gotthos, quam primum ex Scandania in contentem descendissent, inde pulsi eam, ut is ait, occupavere.*

¹⁵ Mentzel-Reuters, "Von der Ordenschronik zur Landesgeschichte," 608–609.

in ea regione a theutonica milicia condita (an echo of Livy).¹⁶ In narrating a retreat of the Prussians from the knights of the Teutonic Order, he appears to refer to Ovid's *Tristia* – *territi Barbari ob insolitam armorum faciem terga dedere*.¹⁷ He refers to the *furor Barbaricus* (an alteration of Lucian's *furor Teutonicus*) when relating the attacks of the Prussian tribes on the castle of Balga (roughly equivalent to Dusburg's account, Book III, 20–22).¹⁸ He also mentions a certain *Aniciniana*, a place which appears nowhere in the Order's earlier chronicles but, according to the author of OBA, no. 29077, was in the vicinity of Riesenburg (Pol. Prabuty).¹⁹ Pliny the Elder referred the *anician stones* as the best type for making monuments. His use of the term *Libonotriæ* to denote Henry, Margrave of Meißen, also reflects a familiarity with the work of the Italian humanist Giovanni Garzo (d. 1505), professor of medicine at the University of Bologna and teacher to Erasmus Stella (see below).²⁰ A final interesting example is his use of the term *Hermienses* to describe the inhabitants of Warmia.²¹

Significant diversions from the Teutonic Order's chronicle tradition appear in OBA, no. 29077 that deserve mention here. For one, following a brief mention of the Siege of Acre, the author immediately summarizes the situation in Prussia faced by Conrad of Masovia, stating that the Prussians "infested" (*infestassent*) his lands looted it of its possessions. This suggests that the author was more in line with the *memoranda* produced in the Teutonic Order's chancery after the Second Peace of Toruń, which focused exclusively on the initial wave of conquests in Prussia.²² Another example of this tone can be observed in what appears to be an echo of the argument employed by historical texts commissioned by the Teutonic Knights in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, which rested on the claim that Conrad of Mazovia and his people donated the Kulmerland to the Order in perpetuity (*annuerent terram Hulmigerorum cum debitam tum semper habitatam*). Another instance in the text appears in the claim that the Poles never had a claim to Prussia, and so Frederick confirmed the donation of the land to the brothers:

¹⁶ See source edition below, p. 225.

¹⁷ See source edition below, p. 221.

¹⁸ Florin Curta, "Furor Teutonicus. A Note on Ethnic Stereotypes in Suger's *Deeds of Louis the Fat*," *The Haskins Society Journal* 16 (2005): 62–76, here 69–70. I thank Professor Curta for providing me with a copy of this article.

¹⁹ Berlin, GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, no. 29077, fol. 1r.

²⁰ Forstreuter, *Ordensstaat*, 27.

²¹ See edition below, pp. 230, 231. There is also the possibility that the author simply corrupted the term *Warmienses*.

²² Forstreuter, *Ordensstaat*, 45–53.

Borussiam quoque, quia in ea nichil iuris Poloni haberent, cesar Fridericus fratribus sub aurea bulla concessit. This also suggests that the author was more in line with the legal arguments proposed by the Order after the Second Peace of Toruń.

Moving on, the author's narratives of town and castle foundations, and the etymologies of their names are quite intriguing. The story of the foundation of Toruń appears to be the only example so far encountered in the Order's historiography where the name of Toruń is connected to the early castle of the Order in the Holy Land: Toron des Chevaliers.²³ It appears to refer to an oral tradition connecting the Order's Prussian castle to the Holy Land, demonstrated in the author's use of the phrase *alii dicunt*. By contrast, the roughly contemporary *jüngere Hochmeisterchronik* (c. 1490) states that the name "Thorn" was derived from the construction of the castle "to be a thorn in the side of the Prussians" (*ende dit werr genoemt Toren om den prusenaers dair tornich off the maken*)²⁴ while the *Chronik der Vier Orden von Jerusalem* (1490) provides no etymology of the name at all.²⁵

A parallel can be seen in later regional histories of Prussia that reflect the impact of humanistic thought on the writing of historical texts (as Arno Mentzel-Reuters aptly put it, the transformation from Teutonic Order histories to regional histories).²⁶ Caspar Henneberger's *Erklärung der Preussischen grössern Landtaffel* (1584) connected the name Thorn to the fact that from this place (*daran*), many campaigns against the Prussians were made.²⁷ That these etymologies are echoed in OBA, no. 29077 suggests that the author knew of different traditions regard-

²³ See edition below, p. 225.

²⁴ *The Utrecht Chronicle of the Teutonic Order: A History of the Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land, Prussia and Livonia*, ed. and trans. Rombert Stapel (London: Routledge, 2024), 174: *Ende doe sy ouer die wissel waren soe vant die meister mit synen broederen dear enen berch ander wissel dair op stont enen alten groten eykenboem wel op gewassen mit groten wyden tacken [...] ende dit werr genoemt Toren om den prusenaers dair tornich off the maken.*

²⁵ "Chronik der Vier Orden von Jerusalem," ed. Robert Toeppen, in *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preußischen Vorzeit*, vol. VI, ed. Walther Hubatsch and Udo Arnold (Frankfurt/Main: Minerva, 1968), 129–130.

²⁶ Mentzel-Reuters, "Von der Ordenschronik zur Landesgeschichte," 582–597; id., "Humanistische Mythogramme in der altpreußischen Historiographie vor und nach der Aufhebung des Ordensstaates (1450–1550)," *Ordines Militares Colloquia Torunensia Historica. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders* 22 (2017): 55–92; id., "Identitätsmodelle in der preußischen Landeshistoriographie 1466–1525," *Zapiski Historyczne* 82, no. 1 (2017): 5–19.

²⁷ Caspar Henneberger, *Erklärung der preußischen grössern Landtaffel oder Mappen* (Königsberg, 1595), 452: *Alt thorn ist gebawet anno 1231 [...] und hiessens Thor an, das sie die Preussen darmit wolten reizen, sich daran zumachen.*

ing the origins of the town's name.²⁸ However, the connection of the author of this text to the castle of the Order in the Holy Land might simply reflect an attempt at providing a different origin myth of the name of a castle in Prussia.²⁹ His description of the foundation of Frauenburg, mentioned above, suggests that he also knew of the chronicle of Johannes Plastwich, which was also echoed in the chronicle of Simon Grunau.³⁰ Completely novel is his etymology of the name for Braunsberg (Pol. Braniewo), which he links to the campaign of Otto, the duke of Braunschweig.³¹

The author continues to add other events which are quite different to those of the Order's chronicle tradition. For example, he states that the first place established by the Order in Prussia, Nessau (Pol. Mała Nieszawka) was the site of a large oak tree, reminiscent of the traditional connection of Toruń to an oak tree castle. By contrast, Peter of Dusburg and Nicolaus of Jeroschin only state that the castle was built down the river from Vogelsang.³² He also refers to a stone cross (*crux lapidea*) apparently connected to an early battle between Świętopelk II, Duke of Pomerania and the Teutonic Order in 1233/1234. This is perhaps the same battle

²⁸ Henneberger included information that others derived the name from the word for 'tower' (*Tor*), citing Albert Krantz (1518) and the *Mores* of Joannes Boemus (1520). Ibid: *Etzliche wol-len es solle den namen à Turre vom Thurme haben [...]* Alb: *Krantz nent es Turream [...]* Ioannes Boemus *Aubanus meinet es sey Marienburg, kan aber nicht sein*. These citations refer to Albert Krantz, *Wandalia. De Wandalarum verua origine, variis gentibus, crebris e patria tria migrationibus, regnis item, quorum vel autores vel euersores fuerunt* (Frankfurt: Andreas Wecehlus, 1575), 131–132; Johann Boemus Albanus, *Mores, leges, et ritus omnium gentium* (Augsburg, 1520), fol. 48r. It should be noted here that Boemus was a priest brother of the Teutonic Order and was based in Ulm: Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma spiritualia*, 43.

²⁹ Cf. Mentzel-Reuters, "Humanistische Mythogramme," 62.

³⁰ "Johannes Plastwici, Decani Warmiensis, Chronicon de vitis Episcoporum Warmiensis," ed. Carl Peter Woelky, in *Scriptores rerum Warmiensium oder Quellenschriften zur Geschichte Ermlands*, vol. I, ed. Carl Peter Woelky and Johann Martin Saage, Monumenta Historiae Warmiensis III (Braunsberg: Edward Peter, 1866), 53; Simon Grunau, *Preußische Chronik*, vol. 1, ed. Max Töppen, Die preußischen Geschichtsschreiber des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts I (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1876), 340: *Die thumkirch disses bishumbs* (Frombork – G. L.) *ist genant Frauenborgk, wen ein edle frau noch von den alten kongos, das ist von koniglichem geschlechte, ire wonung zcu einer kirchen gab*. For Grunau's use of Plastwich's chronicle, see Sławomir Zonenberg, *Kronika Szymona Grunaua* (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2009), 62.

³¹ See edition below, p. 233: *Utpote in Hermensium solo Brunsbergum, quod ex illustri eius domo ita nuncupari*.

³² Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Jarosław Wenta and Sławomir Wyszomirski, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, n.s. 13 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2007), 47 (II, 11): *aedificaverunt castrum Nessouiam in descensu Wissele*. The location for Vogelsang Castle has not been precisely identified.

narrated by Dusburg where an army of crusaders defeated 5000 Prussians in the area around Riesenburg, somewhere near the Sirgune River.³³ In contrast to the historiography of the Teutonic Order, our author states that a brother, Berthold, perished in the battle and that a monument was erected to commemorate the victory, which remained for many years – *qui posthac multos annos permansit*.

Neither Dusburg, Jeroschin, nor later chroniclers writing histories of the conquest of Prussia connect the battle to a monument in the landscape or any other kind of commemorative activity on the part of the Teutonic Order (i.e., the naming of a brother who died). This only occurs later in the historiographical texts, such as the Order's victory at the Battle of Rudau in February of 1370. A stone cross was erected to commemorate the death of the Marshal of the Order, Henning Schindekopf, which was described in regional histories of Prussia from the sixteenth century.³⁴ That the author of OBA, no. 29077 refers to a similar object in the context of an earlier battle begs the question as to why he would include this. Perhaps he wished to show continuity with the description of such practices in later regional chronicles; or he wished to highlight the antiquity of the region of Pomesania and the long struggle of the Order there with the non-Christians. Ultimately the reason is not clear. That there is no reference to such a practice in the chronicles of the Teutonic Knights concerning the conquest of Prussia and the subsequent wars against Lithuania suggests that the description of the monument is merely an invention on the part of the author. As noted by Marcus Wüst, in the later chronicle tradition of the Order there appears to be more of a focus on the origins of the knights in the Holy Land, reflecting the crisis faced by the Teutonic Knights as their legitimacy in Prussia was called into question at the end of the fifteenth century.³⁵ The contents of OBA, no. 29077 suggest that trends in the writing of institutional histories within the Teutonic Order were not static on the eve of the secularisation of the Prussian territories.³⁶ Rather, they were subject to change and adaptation.

³³ The present-day Dzierzgoń River. Historically this was the border between the Kulmerland (Pol. ziemia chełmińska) and Pomesania (Pol. Pomezania). See Max Toeppen, *Historisch-comparative Geographie von Preussen. Nach den Quellen, namentlich auch archivalischen, dargestellt* (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1858), 12.

³⁴ See Kurt Hecht, *Die Schlacht bei Rudau 1370* (Osterode/Opr.: F. Albrecht, 1914), 62–63. A depiction of the monument was provided in Henneberger, *Erklärung der Preussischen grossern Landtaffel*, 403.

³⁵ Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 139.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 293.

AUTHORSHIP

We cannot conclude with any certainty who is the author of OBA, no. 29077. The noticeable focus in the text on the history of the Teutonic Order, its foundation, and its conquests supports the claim that it was composed by a member of the Order (or someone loyal to its cause).³⁷ His description of several key figures in the early conquest support this. For example, he portrays Hermann of Salza as *ex illustri in Thuringia domo, progenitus vir magni animi et in arcesse virtutis*.³⁸ Hermann Balk, *prothomagister Borussie*, is another prominent figure in the text. The author's depiction of members of the Order itself, *viri de sacrosancti militia*, reaffirms the continuity of this aspect of the Order's self-image as *milites Christi*.³⁹ Finally, the author also points out the connection of the Order to the Virgin Mary in his reference to *sacrosancta militia dive virginis*. His description of the Prussians as *ingentes, barbari*, and *Christiani nominis inimici*, reflects his affiliation with the Order (or, at least, his preference for the historical events presented in the Teutonic Order's chronicle tradition). The author does not present any negative references to Polish rulers. Conrad of Mazovia is merely referred to as *Massoviorum dux*. The description of the summoning of the brothers to the land of Prussia appears in line with the official historiography of the Teutonic Order (i.e., Conrad was suffering from raids of the Prussians and needed assistance).⁴⁰ However, it should be remembered that the text is incomplete. This makes any identification of the author and his affiliation tentative, but we might associate it with the genre of writing meant to legitimize the Teutonic Order as loyal to the papacy and the Empire (i.e., memoranda) in the aftermath of the Second Peace of Toruń.

In terms of the religious imagery common to the early chronicle tradition of the Teutonic Order, the author of this text is not as elaborate. He does not include any identifiable references to the Bible. His description of Hermann Balk's arrival in Prussia with the first brothers of the Order, an important opportunity for Dusburg to remind his audience of the parallels between the knights of the Order in Prussia and their predecessors in the Old Testament (Deuteronomy

³⁷ Arno Mentzel-Reuters, "Deutschordenshistoriographie," in *Handbuch Chroniken des Mittelalters*, ed. Gerhard Wolf and Norbert H. Ott (Berlin & Boston: DeGruyter, 2016), 304.

³⁸ See source edition below, p. 220.

³⁹ Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 85–87.

⁴⁰ See source edition below, p. 219.

31:23), is a case in point.⁴¹ The author of our text, by contrast, states Balk and his men *cum festinatione iter in Borussiam fecerunt*.⁴² Moreover, when he does use such imagery, it is rather general in tone. The author's references to the Prussians as "enemies of the Christian name" (*Christiani nominis inimici*) and his depiction of the preaching campaign in Germany of Hermann von Salza presents an instance of what we could describe as glossed religiosity in the text – according to the author, he implored the princes and primates of the cities (*urbium primates*) to remember how they might advance the Christian faith by supporting the Order.⁴³ OBA, no. 29077 therefore appears to keep in line with emerging trends of writing about the early history of the Teutonic Order that can be observed in letters from the chancery of the Grand Masters to the Holy Roman Empire in the late fifteenth century. These often drew on the early support of the Holy Roman Emperors in the first conquests of the Teutonic Order.⁴⁴

A roughly contemporary text associated with the Teutonic Order's Livonian Branch provides further context for the imagery presented in OBA, no. 29077 – the so-called *Schonne bysthorie van vunderlyken geschefften der heren tho lyffflanth myth den Rüssen vnde tartaren* (~ 1508). This text was written by Christian Bomhower, secretary to the Livonian Master Wolter von Plettenberg, in connection

⁴¹ Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 46–47 (II, 11). For the imagery of Joshua and other Old Testament figures in Dusburg's text, see Marzena Polakówna, *Kronika Piotra z Dusburga* (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1968); Janusz Trupinda, *Ideologia krucjatowa w kronice Piotra z Dusburga*, *Peribalticum Meridionale* 1 (Gdańsk: Oficyna Ferberiana, 1999), 99–121; Torben K. Nielsen, "Providential History in the Chronicles of the Baltic Crusades," in *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2017), 361–403, here 379–396 for Peter.

⁴² See source edition below, p. 221. The use of the term *iter* might suggest a level of depicting the crusades to Prussia in a more spiritual light. See Giles Constable, "The Historiography of the Crusades," in *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (London: Routledge, 2008), 18.

⁴³ See edition below, p. 223: *Prothomagister quoque Hermannus ad principes Germanie, ad urbium primates, adoritur, eos nunc hortando nun monento, ut memores, quam profiterentur Christiane religionis.*

⁴⁴ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, part 2, vol. 2, 1494–1500, ed. Leonid Arbusow (Riga–Moskwa: J. Deubner, 1914), 437 no. 605, 458–460 no. 629): *der heiligen orden [...] die wedir die ungeloubigen zcu fechten gestiftt sein, [...] so denn uwer gnad wol weisz, wie der hoewirdige orden unser liben frauwen in vergangen zzeiten durch hulff cristlicher fursten, herrn, ritter un knecht die lande zcu Prewszen usz der gewalt der heiden gedrocht, die lande besaczt und cristlichen gloubin dorinn gepflanczet, der heiligen cristlichen kirchen durch ir blutvergieszen vil erworben und erlichen standt gefurt haben und nach irem vermögen teglich wedir dir ungloubigen arbeiten.*

with the indulgence campaign against the Grand Duchy of Moscow.⁴⁵ As Juhan Kreem demonstrates, while the general idea of the crusade and the memory of the Teutonic Order's core mission as fighting the enemies of the faith can be discerned in the text, there was also a shift to reflect the increasingly secular characteristics of knights in the Order.⁴⁶ OBA, no. 29077 appears to support the interpretation of Kreem about how the ideas around crusading were undergoing considerable change at the beginning of the sixteenth century. This is evident in the lack of religious imagery in the text, in addition to the styling of important leaders in the history of the Teutonic Order (discussed above). That it concerns Prussia is particularly interesting, for there were not any active efforts to continue a crusade there as there was in Livonia with the threat of Moscow.⁴⁷ Rather, as stated above, the main conflicts faced by the Order were legal disputes with the King of Poland concerning the homage and participation in military campaigns for the Polish crown against the Turks.

Several other aspects of the text indicate that the author, whoever he was, was clearly influenced by rising trends in Humanism. As such, he would have been associated with the chancery (either of the Grand Master or the Bishop of Pomesania, Hiob of Dobeneck).⁴⁸ Many men active in both circles were educated abroad and were responsible for drafting documents outlining the history of the Order's Prussian conquests in the thirteenth century. Dr. Paul Watt (d. 1503)⁴⁹ was responsible for major changes in administration and organization of the chancery⁵⁰ and was associated with several texts that focused on the history of the Teutonic Order

⁴⁵ Juhan Kreem, "Crusading Traditions and Chivalric Ideals: The Mentality of the Teutonic Order in Livonia at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century," *Crusades* 12 (2013): 233–250; Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 137–39. For the only edition of the text, see "Eyne Schonne hysthorie van vunderlyken gescheffthen der heren tho lyfflanth myth den Rüssen unde tartaren," ed. Carl Schirren, *Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Curlands* 8 (1861): 113–265.

⁴⁶ Kreem, "Crusading Traditions," 243–250.

⁴⁷ See Matthias Thumser, "Antirussische Propaganda in der 'Schönen Historie von wunderbaren Geschäften der Herren zu Livland mit den Russen und Tataren,'" in *Geschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Livland*, ed. Matthias Thumser, *Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission* 18 (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2011), 133–154.

⁴⁸ Such figures at the time of the source's production are known to have written historical texts, one example being Andreas Santberg (d. 1457), head of the chancery under Paul of Rusdorf.

⁴⁹ Forstreuter, *Ordensstaat*, 23–25.

⁵⁰ One example is Watt's so-called *Ratbuch* (OF 23). See Bernhart Jähnig, "Paul von Watt. Kanzler des Hochmeisters des Deutschen Ordens, Bischof von Samland," *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 20 (2001). Online accessed 4 November 2025, <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd1041905696.html#ndbcontent>.

and its early conquests of Prussia. One of them is Ordensfoliant (OF) 30.⁵¹ Some imagery present in this text appears in these short briefings, one example being a reference to the destruction of the Kulmerland by the Prussians by means of idolatry: *pruteni idolatrie terram culmensis [...] devastassent iamque masoviam et adiecentes terras oppugnarent*.⁵² There are also echoes of the chronicle tradition of the Order in Watt's presentation of how Conrad could no longer secure his lands, and so called in the Teutonic Order.⁵³ However, the text primarily focused on the legal basis of the conflict between the Teutonic Order and Poland and listed in a series of points (*etzlicher privilegien*), refuting the conditions of the Second Peace of Toruń.

Other examples of this kind of text include the prologue to the *Denkschrift* of the secretary to the Grand Master, Dr. Michael Scultetus (written in 1497)⁵⁴ and Ordensfoliant (OF) 24b – a compilation and overview of the Teutonic Order's relations with the Kingdom of Poland to the year 1507 and prepared for Friedrich of Saxony. Scultetus' memorandum to Wilhelm of Isenburg was written in the context of reform, but begins with the admonition to remember the the initial conquest and success of the Order and the help of the German nobility in conquering Prussia.⁵⁵ Among the contents in OF 24b⁵⁶ is a text associated with Dr. George

⁵¹ Forstreuter, *Ordensstaat*, 24. Also see Voigt, *Geschichte Preussens*, IX: 380–386. See Berlin, GStA PK, XX. HA, OF 30, pp. 481–497. This is an overview of the early donations to the Teutonic Knights by Conrad of Mazovia and subsequent conflicts leading up to the Treaty of Brest (Brześć Kujawski) signed in 1435.

⁵² Berlin, GStA PK, XX. HA, OF 30, p. 485. Watt overviews the key dates from 1222 (!) to 1230, when Conrad granted *castrum Nissue cum 4 villas* to the Order. He appears to have consulted *Preußisches Urkundenbuch. Politisches Abtheilung*, vol. I, inst. 1, ed. Rudolf Philippi (Königsberg/Pr.: Hartnungs Verlagsdruckerei, 1882), 56 no. 76. See Tomasz Jasiński, *Kruschwitz, Rimini und die Grundlagen des preussischen Ordenslandes. Urkundenstudien zur Frühzeit des Deutschen Ordens im Ostseeraum*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 63 = Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens 8 (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 2008), 23.

⁵³ Berlin, GStA PK, XX. HA, OF 30, p. 481.

⁵⁴ Berlin, GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, no. 18000, here p. 1–2. For Scultetus, see Forstreuter, *Ordensstaat*, 19; Arno Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma Spirituality. Bibliotheken, Bücher und Bildung im Deutschen Ordens*, Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen 47 (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2003), 352.

⁵⁵ Berlin, GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA, no. 18000, p. 2: *manchfaldig von den Cristlichenn furstenn, herrn unnd adel habe zu hulfe gehaft, daß nach wol anzeiget daß gantze land zw preußen daß of dy zeith durch unsir ordentlich weßen mit irer hulfe auß der gawmen der ungelobigen gewonnen ist.*

⁵⁶ Berlin, GStA PK, XX. HA, OF 24b. Link to summary of contents, accessed 4 November 2025, <https://archive.spk-berlin.de/actaproweb/archive.xhtml?id=Vz+++++dc5a63cf-7a15->

Prang, assistant to the Order's Proctor in Rome, George of Eltz.⁵⁷ Prang's text concerns the conquest of Prussia and the status of the Teutonic Order as an institution engaged in the defence of the Christian faith (in addition to the legal evidence of the donation of Prussia to the Order by Conrad of Mazovia).

If we accept at least the potential link of the text to Pomesania as proposed above and, therefore, the circle of humanists set up by Hiob of Dobeneck, the fragmented chronicle of the conquest of Prussia might be a remnant of the episcopal archive kept in Marienwerder and eventually moved to the library at Tapiau (Rus. Gvardeysk) by 1540–1541.⁵⁸ The majority documents for Dobeneck's archive perhaps kept in Riesenburg have long since been lost.⁵⁹ However, there are quite a few examples of documents re-issued by the bishop kept in Berlin which might suggest a potential author, namely the secretary Jacob Hoppe. Hoppe was active in the chancery of Dobeneck and his signature appears on at least seven documents issued by Hiob, primarily copies of earlier papal privileges,⁶⁰ which might allow us to associate him with the production of this text. While the handwriting styles in both Hoppe's documents and OBA, no. 29077 show several similarities, it is ultimately not possible to definitively link the text to Hoppe.

Compounding the issue of authorship, OBA, no. 29077 does not completely fit the prototype of the available sources coming from the chancery of the Order around 1500. As stated above, these were primarily legal points to be used in court, memoranda, or pieces meant to be read aloud to audiences in the Reich or to the Papal curia. Our small text also does not readily conform to the other contemporary examples of chronicle writing in Prussia, which appear to have embraced a focus on describing the history of the region and its prehistory, with the Teutonic Order's conquests playing a secondary role. One contemporary text that might align with it could be the so-called *Schonne hysthorie* (~ 1508). This text was perhaps composed as a means of publicizing the indulgence campaign of the Livonian

-5fdo-9e42-5a4e2db4db7e&parent_id=#Vz_____dc5a63cf-7a15-5fdo-9e42-5a4e2db4db7e. The collection is a compilation and overview of the Teutonic Order's relations with the Kingdom of Poland to the year 1507 and prepared for Friedrich of Saxony.

⁵⁷ Berlin, GStA PK, XX. HA, OF 24b, pp. 42–51. For Prang, see Forstreuter, *Ordensstaat*, 50–53.

⁵⁸ Eckehard Grunewald, "Das Register der Ordensliberei Tapiau aus den Jahren 1541–1543. Eine Quelle zur Frühgeschichte der ehem. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Königsberg," *Berichte und Forschungen. Jahrbuch des Bundesinstituts für Ostdeutsche Kultur und Geschichte* 1 (1993): 59–91. Grunewald states that the first mention of a 'library' (*liberie*) at Tapiau was in 1474.

⁵⁹ Forstreuter, *Ordensstaat*, 54. Also see Mario Glauert, *Das Domkapitel von Pomesanien (1284–1527)*, Prussica Sacra 1 (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2003), here 116–123 at 120.

⁶⁰ E.g., Berlin, GStA PK, XX. HA, Perg.-Urk., Schiebl. 65, Nr. 56 (16 October 1506).

Branch of the Teutonic Order against Muscovy. However, it was perhaps aimed at an external audience in northern Germany and meant to garner financial support for the crusade (*cruciate [...] contra Ruthenos hereticos et scismaticos Tartarorum infidelium*).⁶¹

This suggests that OBA, no. 29077 may have been more for internal use, as opposed to the goals of the writings of other members of the chancellery whose duty it was to provide legal basis for the Order's territorial holdings and losses after the Second Peace of Toruń. Perhaps it could be an example of the historical texts referred to in correspondence between higher officials of the Order, to be used in the edification of new brethren. We know of such texts thanks to a letter composed by Wilhelm of Isenburg Wolter of Plettenberg in October of 1497, which suggests the preparation of a historical text to be used in the edification of new brothers.⁶² Ultimately, there remains an important question as to why this text was produced in the first place, and its reflection of historiographical changes in sixteenth-century Prussia, which will be the subject of a second article.

CONCLUSION

This article has attempted to present the contents, context, and potential authorship of a small, fragmented chronicle composed in the sixteenth century documenting the Teutonic Order's conquest of Prussia. It began with a general overview of the source and its archival information, before providing a summary of its contents. While the author generally conformed to the content of the primary chronicle histories of the Teutonic Order, namely those of Peter of Dusburg and Nicolaus of Jeroschin, the anonymous author of this text added several interesting elements concerning the foundation of the Teutonic Order and its first wave of conquests in Prussia. These do not appear anywhere else in the historiographical canon of the Order.

The question still remains unanswered regarding who authored the text. The several references to Pomesania, in addition to the marginalia and parallels to documents written by Jacob Hoppe (a public notary in the service of Hiob of Dobeneck) suggest that OBA, no. 29077 was produced there. As such, we might

⁶¹ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, part 2, vol. III, 1506–1510, ed. Leonid Arbusow (Riga–Moskwa: J. Deubner, 1914), 78 no. 122.

⁶² *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. Arbusow, 2/II: 438–441 no. 606.

tentatively associate it with the circle of humanists active in Dobeneck's court in Riesenburg at the turn of the sixteenth century. However, the text is not nearly as eloquent or stylistic as those associated with this court. Ultimately, we can only conclude with certainty that the author was loyal to the Teutonic Order and was aware of its general historiographical material. This will be expanded upon a second article.

The above analysis demonstrates that around 1500, a time when several important changes were occurring not only within the structure of the Order, but also the ways in which it expressed itself, there remained a strong focus on historical origins and traditions. Several aspects of the text require future research, one avenue being the ways in which OBA, no. 29077 can be viewed as an example of cultural memory among the Order's members – a set of specific methods of recalling and recording the past. The author's unique additions and alterations of this tradition demonstrate that cultural memory could be subject to change. As such, this article proposes that further research into the activities of the Order's chancery members around 1500 be subject to further investigation by historians, which will be the subject of a separate study.

APPENDIX: SOURCE TEXT

The Beginning of a History of Prussia, in Latin. Handwriting from c. 1500 with marginalia from the sixteenth century. One bound quire, eight pages.

Original:

Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. Hauptabteilung (Historisches Staatsarchiv Königsberg), Ordensbriefarchiv, no. 29077 (old signature: Schiebl. LXII 26). Material: Paper.

Dimensions: 215 mm × 316 mm. 8 folia.

Regest:

None.

Tempore quo fridericus secundus Romanum gubernaret imperium¹ / Ptolomaida² que et Acona, alieque civitates in Asia³ ex manibus cristianorum per Sarracenos recepte sunt⁴ dum cristiana milicia Italiam Germaniam Galliasque repetit, fratres theutonici, qui illic sacramento religio milicie addicti asserit, ob preklara eorum facinora / a Conrado Massoviorum duce⁵ magnis invitantur precibus / ut rebus afflictis sui populi succurrerent et fessi Barbaris opponerent / qui iam diuturno latrocinio Poloniam et Mossoviam infestassent. / Ex eis hominum pediumque ingentem predam sepe numero abegissent, / agros vastassent, / villas incendissent, / opida et castella diripuissent / et subvertissent, / edes sacras et cenobia nonsolum spolliassent, / verum igne et flamma in cinerem rede-gissent.⁶ Tandem se et liberos coniugemque suam fugassent, quum nichil sibi quamque unica domus in his finibus superesset,⁷ ut bellum contra cristiani nominis inimicos susciperent, non minus iustum quamque pium hortatur, et reliquias cristiane gentis que ad h[...]^a portenues extarent, tuerentur. Illatamque iniuriam armis vindicarent. Quo autem facilius petitioni annuerent terram Hulmigerorum⁸ populis germanis tum debitam

^a Document is damaged here.

¹ Frederick VI, Duke of Swabia, son of Frederick Barbarossa and early patron of the Teutonic Order. See *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens*, ed. Max Perlach (Halle/Saale: Niemeyer, 1890), 22 (Prologus). Also see "De primordiis ordinis Theutonici narratio," ed. Udo Arnold, in *Scriptores*, ed. Hubatsch and Arnold, VI: 24; Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 11–13, here 11. I thank PD dr. Marie-Luise Heckmann (Werder), Dr. Dieter Heckmann (Werder), prof. dr hab. Arno Mentzel-Reuters (Munich), prof. dr hab. Mathias Thumser (Berlin), and prof. dr hab. Sławomir Zonenberg (Bydgoszcz) for their extensive help concerning the editing and background of this text.

² "Chronik der Vier Orden von Jerusalem," ed. Toeppen, 121. Also see Stella, "De Borussiae antiquitatibus," ed. Hirsch, 297.

³ "Die jüngere Hochmeisterchronik," ed. Theodor Hirsch, in *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preußischen Vorzeit*, ed. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, and Ernst Strehlke, vol. V (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1874), 52.

⁴ Reference to the conquest of Acre and other cities during the Third Crusade. See "De primordiis ordinis Theutonici narratio," ed. Arnold, 24.

⁵ Conrad of Masovia (1188–1247).

⁶ "Hermann von Salza's Bericht über die Eroberung Preußens," ed. Theodor Hirsch, in *Scriptores*, Hirsch, Töppen, and Strehlke, V: 159; Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 24 (*De vastatione terrae Poloniae*).

⁷ Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 24, identifies this castle as Płock: *Sicque terram adeo vastaverunt, quod de omnibus muinationibus et castris ducatis sui non remansit ei nisi unicum castrum situm super fluvium Wisel, quod Plotzke dicebatur*.

⁸ A term used in Piccolomini and others to refer to the inhabitants of the historical Kulmerland (ziemia chełmińska). Its origins can be found in Jordanes' *Getica* (c. 551 AD). See footnote 13 above.

tum semper habitatam verum ea tempestate cultoribus pene vacuam, quam sui iuris asseveravit eis perpetuo possidendam, et libere administrandam pro conditione obtulit id fratribus Theutonicis per legationem exposuit. Simulque Romanum pontificem Gregorium nonum,⁹ et imperatorem Fridericum¹⁰ ac Germanie principes^b ambiri fecit, ut eorum interventu et decreto fratribus id bellum decerneretur. Legatis ea de re ultro citroque missis Hermannus de Saltza¹¹ ex illustri in Thuringia domo [fol. iv] progenitus vir magni animi et in arcesse virtutis, qui sub id tempus fratribus prefuit, et condicionem et bellum acceptat, quod ipsum sue professioni ydoneum ratus, et ne fratres in Asia bellis assuetos, ocio torpere sineret. / Fit itaque per Conradum donacio terre ad Vistulam site, que Culmensis hodie nuncupatur [*sic*], cunctis sue dicionis proceribus et primoribus astipulantibus, / que tamen summi pontificis tum Imperatoris dyplomatibus roboratur. / Borussiam¹² quoque, quia in ea nichil iuris poloni haberent, cesar^c Fridericus fratribus sub aurea bulla concessit,¹³ ut eam ex manibus paganorum¹⁴ vendicarent. Hermannus, quo rebus perditis cum festinatione subveniret, collecto tumultuario exercitu, quem in Poloniam premisit, cui fratrem Henricum ex Thuringia¹⁵ natum prefuerit, qui locorum situs accesumque perspecularetur. Dum is ad Vistulam pervenisset, non prius omnem transmisit, quam castra in citeriori ripa, que perfugij loco essent firmasset, que postea aniciniana¹⁶ d[ic]ta^d sunt, dein omne traiecto loca a barbaris devastata ingressus, que, ubi diligentius explorasset, habitatores undique pulsos vidit dum in his longius progrediretur. Multitudinem ingentem Barbarorum ad esse sensit, quorum vestigijs inherens, eos subsequutus

^b Before *principes* is an apparent error from the author of the manuscript, namely the word *princeps* with a line through it.

^c In the left margin of the manuscript: A cross.

^d Document is damaged here.

⁹ Gregory IX (19 March 1227 – 22 August 1241).

¹⁰ Frederick II.

¹¹ Hermann of Salza (1210–1239).

¹² I.e., Prussia.

¹³ The Golden Bull of Rimini (1226/1235). See Jasiński, *Kruschwitz*, 71–131.

¹⁴ See *Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. Philippi, I/1: 41–43 no. 56, for the text of the treaty.

¹⁵ Heinrich Berge. See Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 47 (II, 11): *frater Henricum de Berge Thuringum*; Maciej Dorna, *Bracia zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w latach 1228 – 1309. Studium prosopograficzne*, Poznańskie studia historyczne 6 (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2004), 195 (no. 184).

¹⁶ Cf. the Gdańsk-born antiquarian, Phillip Clüver, who refers to *lapicidinae Anictianae* in his *Italiae Antiquae* (published in 1624). Clüver connects this to Pliny's description of *Statonia* in the *Historia Naturalis*.

est (nec barbari mangnopere [*sic*] accelerarent eos Polonos arbitrate, quia predam ex Polonia tunc egissent) eum sub conspectu mutuitum ventum esset, territi barbari ob insolitam armorum faciem terga dedere.¹⁷ Quos Henricus cedere videns urgere cepit, ex eis aliquos trucidans, aliquos capiens simul et predam, quam egerant relinquere cogens, non tamen sibi ac suis incruentum id certamen fuit Henricus enim atque sui omnes consauciati [fol. 2r] sunt. Audientes posthac Barbari e captivo polono eos esse viros fortes, et sacramento religionis reibellire addictos, inprobe canerent, brevi eorum virtute ipsos interituros ingenti formidine perculsi sunt, et se, aliquamdiu intra silvas occuluerunt. Interim Hermannus milicie prothomagister, contractis uniuersaque per Germaniam auxiliaribus copijs, maxime ex Thuringijs. Nam spe precipua istius gentis hoc bellum desumpsit. Has subsequi iussit dato eis imperatore Hermannno de Balcka,^{18 e} penes quem summa rerum esset eum^f namque magistrum Borussie dixit, additis et alijs de sacro sancta milicia viris illustribus, qui a primis annis in castris asueti multaue preclara stipendia fecissent. Theodorico ex Bernheym¹⁹ eo pro tribuno celerum usus est Conrado ex Totile²⁰ domo illustri originem trahente nuper sancte Elizabeth,²¹ architriclino Henrico de Bergo²² et Henrico de Citzca Thuringis,²³ qui quantalacumque multitudine stipati, cum festinatione iter in Borussiam fecerunt, quamprimum ad Vistulam pervenire tumultuose in citeriori ripa consederant. Deinde transmissa amne penitioem ripam obtinere Hermannus penes, quem summa rerum erat, reibellire ignarus, ne in hostico solo absque presidio esset,

^e In the left margin of the manuscript (in a later hand): *H Bulke primus magister Prussie*.

^f Crossed out on the edge of *eum*: q(ue).

¹⁷ Perhaps a reference to Ovid's Tristia Book 1.9: *at simul impulsa est, omnes timuere ruinam, cauatque communi terga dedere fugae*.

¹⁸ Hermann Balk.

¹⁹ Dietrich of Bernheim. See Dorna, *Bracia*, 127–128 no. 63.

²⁰ Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 47 (II, 11). Conrad may be the *Benedictus Cunradus frater domus Theutonice in Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. Philippi, I/1: 71 no. 95, issued in January of 1233 by Kazimierz, Duke of Kuyavia (d. 1267). See Dorna, *Bracia*, 266 no. 311.

²¹ The *Elisabethkirche* in Marburg. See Udo Arnold, "Elisabeth und Georg als Pfarrpatrone im Deutschordensland Preußen. Zum Selbstverständnis des Deutschen Ordens," in *Elisabeth, der Deutsche Orden und ihre Kirche. Festschrift zur 700-jährigen Wiederkehr der Weihe der Elisabethkirche Marburg 1983*, ed. Udo Arnold and Heinz Liebing, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 18 (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1983), 163–185.

²² Dorna, *Bracia*, 195 no. 184.

²³ Ibid., 220 no. 226.

quercum proceram et amplam²⁴ ad Vistulam ita comunivit, ut omnem oppugnationem facile esset frustratura. Non parum ad id natura loci cooperante, ex ea munitione audent Theutonici Borussias non solum ultro iacessere, sed etiam aperto Marte quotiens hostis in pugnam descendere voluit aggredi, quos, cum idenitidem^g fugassent, trucidassent, armis et equis exuissent, [fol. 2v] Borussij animo consternati primum Theutonica arma formidare ceperant. Sicque, quum de presidij oppugnatione, quia nec tuto aliqua parte adiri posset desperarent, bina castra ad Vistulam ab eis firmata sunt eorum que sursum sunt Rugana,²⁵ que infra vetera (forte, quia antea ij illic castra fuere) nunccupata, media autem Popiniana²⁶ arx erat, a Popino duce Pomesanorum nomen sortita.²⁷ Hiis quoque presidijs impositis Theutonicis transitum per omnem prohibere conati sunt. Id egre ferentes nostri cum hoste in medio fluminis concurrebant dum per occasionem cum hijs, ex Ruganis castris pugnatum esset, diuque ancipiti prelio, concertatum: tandem cesis barbaris captoque profecto presidij equi et sese servaret castra cum presidio in fratrum potestatem tradidit, que ipsi vallo et fossa novoque presidio munuerunt. Nec multi intercessere dies, quam hij, qui vetera castra tenerent, dum potu obruti iacerent, idque fratribus innotuisset: ab ipsis oppressi sunt, castra quoque occupata, que statim de molita subinde Pipinus dux²⁸ a prefecto Ruganorum castrorum Theutonicis traditur, quia multa usus sevitia in suos semper fuisset, qui cauda equi

^g *Idenitidem?*

²⁴ Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 46–47 (II, 11), concerns the foundation of Nessau. The author of this text, however, appears to confuse it with the foundation of Toruń, which is traditionally connected to “the great oak tree” in the Teutonic Order’s historiography. See *ibid.*, 49 (III, 1); Piccolomini, “De situ et origine Pruthenorum,” ed. Hirsch, 232; *The Utrecht Chronicle of the Teutonic Order*, ed. and trans. Stapel, 174.

²⁵ Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 55 (III, 7). Older literature identifies this with Rogow: Christofer Herrmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur in Preußenland: Untersuchungen zur Frage der Kunstlandschaft und -geographie*, Studien zur internationalen Architektur- und Kulturgeschichte 56 (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2007), 687. However, in his edition of Dusburg, Wenta proposed another location in the vicinity of Dzierzgoń (see Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 55 footnote 1).

²⁶ A Latinization of the local ruler of this territory, *Pippin/Popin*.

²⁷ Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 55 (III, 7). For this nobleman, see Jarosław Wenta, “Pipin,” in *Słownik biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego*, vol. 3, *L – P*, ed. Stanisław Gierszewski, (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Gdańskie, 1997): 431.

²⁸ See note 26 above.

tractus, deinde arborj suspensus, infelicem animam miserabiliter exalavit.²⁹ Nam is omnis latrocinij in Cristianios semper dux extitit, Exinde et pipiniana arx in fratrum dicionem venit, que igne iniecta momento temporis perijt, qui illic in presidio erant (qui fidem Christi amplecti pollicebantur), salvi permansere. Dum hec in Borussia geruntur, Hermannus sacro sancte milicie prothomagister nullum laboris genus pretermisit: que rem bene ceptam, non feliciter non proheveret. Hinc summum pontificem Gregorium,³⁰ ^h apud quem multum valuit, auctoritate et gratia ambire non destitit, ut pugnantibus cristianis contra Borussios paganos aut ad id stipem conferentibus apostolico [fol. 3r] auctoramento concederet, quo eisdem reatum indultis demerent, quibus hij, qui in Azia contra Sarracenos depugnarent hec patres Gregorium, Innocentius quartusⁱ roboravit³¹ id. Cum per Germaniam declamatum fuisset, multorum focia cordia contra cristiani inimicos arma sumenda excitantur.³² Prothomagister quoque Hermannus ad principes Germanie, ad urbium primates, adoritur, eos nunc hortando nunc monendo, ut memores quam profiterentur Christiane religionis. Huic tam pio cepto ad esse non desinant, iunctisque viribus rem Christianam adiuvent ad bellum plurimum glorie et meriti habiturum fortissimum quemque sollicitando. Nec id ipsum privatum esse, sed universe reipublice Christiane edocet. Nequaquam enim Barbarorum ferociam quieturam commemorat, que iam Poloniam et per eam et partem Germanie, que ultra rupam Vistule adiacet grassata esset, quam et infinitis affecisset incomodis, nisi potenti manu ipsorum conatibus obsisteretur Vistula, namque superata facile fore et Oderum et Albim transmittere, deinceps et per medium Germanie eos pro libidine debachaturos. Quam ipsorum audaciam potenti brachio dei sacrosancta milicia dive virginis arcere cepisset, Poloniam, que iam a metu

^h In the margin of the manuscript, in a later hand: *gregorius*.

ⁱ In the margin of the manuscript, in a later hand: *Innocentus 4*.

²⁹ Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 55 (III, 7), for the execution of Pippin at Toruń: *eum ligatum ad caudam equi traxerunt usque ad Thorun et ad arborem suspendunt*.

³⁰ Gregory IX. This is not mentioned in Dusburg and appears to be an addition of the author of the chronicle. It could be in reference to Dusburg's description of the preaching of the cross and the indulgence for Prussia and Livonia, cf. Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 48 (II, 13).

³¹ *Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. Philippi, I/1: 125 no. 169, dated 13 September 1245. Innocent IV encouraged preachers to grant the same indulgence to those going to Prussia as those going to the Holy Land.

³² Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 56 (III, 8): *De peregrinis et de aedificatione castri et civitas colmensis*.

barbarico liberasset, Cristianum populum illic liberti pristinae restituisset. Ipsi modo adiumento forent, ne pauci quamquam fortes inter tot milia efferarum gentium perirent fidem Cristi, quam ore et labris profiterentur, eciam manu tueri velint. Hostem, que ipsius sempiternum secum debellare rogat, multis in eam sententiam dictis exemit. Imprimis illustrem principem Henricum Romani Imperij Magdeburgij^j ³³ prefectum plurimosque ex Saxonia, Thuringia [fol. 3v] et Rheni accolles nobiles viros, qui haud contemniti manu congregati, Borussiam peciere³⁴ iungit. Se eis ingens multitudo peregrinorum (nam eo se nomine totus exercitus, qui promulgatione indulgentiarum, pia arma sumpsit), nuncupabat summa rerum apud Henricum principem fuit. Cum primum vistulam superassent, non longe a loco, quo presidio fratres habuere,³⁵ castrametati sunt, ubi, quum triduum statina habuissent, erit valida acies Barbarorum occurrit, in quam fortissimus princeps ferociter invectus tantam stragem hostibus intulit,³⁶ ut paucissimi evaderent qui suorum cedem nunciarent. Hac clade accepta, Barbari fines Hulmigerorum (quos hodie Culmensium dicimus) reliquere, licet hos aliquos annos iam occupaverant. Post hac castra Quedana³⁷ expugnavit, ibique arcem quam Mariewerderam vocitavit,^k constringit. Summota hac pacto, colluvie paganorum, quo Cristiani tuciores permanerent, eis arcium et urbium condendarum auctor fuit constans.³⁸ Fama est sub id tempus, arcem ad Vistulam conditam in ea loca, ubi vetera castra fuere, tamque militari opere conunitam esse. Sub ipsaque opidum veterum colonum nomen³⁹ representans deductum, quod nunc vulgo Culmerium pro Hulmerio vocitatur.⁴⁰ In quod ex victrici exercitu magnum numerum suorum ipsum misisse volunt. Fiebat eciam undique ex

^j Crossed out at the end: *ises*.

^k In the margins of the manuscript: *Mergenwerder territ(o)r(iu)m pomezan(i)*.

³³ The identity of this figure is not entirely clear. As it pertains to summoning warriors for a crusade, it could be Burchard of Querfurt, the Burgrave of Magdeburg. See Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 57 (III, 10).

³⁴ Perhaps referring to Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 57–58 (III, 8–10)? These passages describe the arrival of crusaders and the construction of Marienwerder (Pol. Kwidzyn).

³⁵ Perhaps Kulm (Pol. Chełmno).

³⁶ Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 57 (III, 9).

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Perhaps a reference to the Burgrave of Magdeburg, credited with the foundation of the castle.

³⁹ This appears to connect the foundation of Marienwerder with a certain old settler (*veterum colonum*). It deviates from Dusburg's narrative significantly.

⁴⁰ This is the foundation of Kulm (Pol. Chełmno). Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 56 (III, 8).

Germania in eundem locum concursus, tamquam vocati essent cum liberis et copiosa suppellectile, ut brevi populosissimo urbs fieret [...] Assignavit et nobilibus viris affatim agros, in quibus latifundia instituerunt, quorum proventu sub fratribus aliquandiu stipendia fecerunt. Id actum esse anno XXXIJ supra M CC Annales⁴¹ ¹ habent hanc primam urbem⁴² in [fol. 4r] ea regione a theutonica milicia conditam volunt, quamquam ceteri dicant Turritam precessisse anno,⁴³ utpote uno in eo scilicet loco, quo Hermannus magister Borussiae⁴⁴ presidia in quercina arbore habuerat,⁴⁵ et a turri, quam ibi primum eregerant, Turritam nominatam.⁴⁶ Alii volunt eam non turritam, sed Thoronum dictam a Thorono⁴⁷ Asie monticulo Accone urbi inminente,⁴⁸ quem fratres, dum illic belligerarent castris, occupaverant. Ex eoque urbem ad dedicionem plurimum coegissent, utrum verius sit ceteris relinquo. Hoc satis constat neutram earum urbium in eo, ubi nunc situatur loco primum conditam fuisse, trex ere et fanum decentissimum dive virgini in loco non longe a veteribus castris lacubus circumfluo. Ipsumque ea de re Culmezee,⁴⁹ quasi lacum Hulmegeeriorum vocitarunt. Ibique sedem episcopalem statuere, cui terciam partem totius regionis Hulmegeeriorum indicionem addigere.⁵⁰ In ea primus sedit

¹ In the margin of the manuscript, in a different hand: 1232.

⁴¹ A reference to local Prussian chronicles?

⁴² "Annales Pelplinensis," ed. Max Töppen, in *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preußischen Vorzeit*, ed. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, and Ernst Strehlke, vol. I (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1861), 247; "Epitome gestorum Prussie," ed. Max Töppen, in *Scriptores*, ed. Hirsch, Töppen, and Strehlke, I: 280; "Franciscani Thorunensis Annales Prussici (941–1410)," ed. Ernst Strehlke, in *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preußischen Vorzeit*, ed. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, and Ernst Strehlke, vol. III (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1866), 58.

⁴³ 1231.

⁴⁴ Hermann Balk. See above, footnote 18.

⁴⁵ Petrus de Dusburg, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 49 (III, 1).

⁴⁶ See above, where a similar etymology was presented in sixteenth-century chronicles.

⁴⁷ Toron des Chevaliers, most likely. This is the first and only connection of the placenames presented in the Teutonic Order's historiographical tradition.

⁴⁸ See Nicholas Morton, *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land, 1190–1291* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2009), 10, discussing the 'Toron de Saladin' which was used in the defense of Acre in 1190. Morton connects this to the Continuation of William of Tyre, and several references to *Turon* can be found in the *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, ed. William Stubbs (London: Longman & Green, 1864). For example, *Itinerarium*, 75–76: *Supra Turonem vero, qui urbi (Acre – G. L.) vicinus incumbit, civitas Ptolemais nomine, olim sita fuerat [...] Collis autem quem Maumeriam dicunt, Turoni propinquus consurgit, ubi sepulcrum Memnonis esse testis tradit.*

⁴⁹ Kulmsee (Pol. Chelmża). The foundation of Kulmsee is not recorded in Dusburg's chronicle.

⁵⁰ *Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Culm*, part 1, *Das Bisthum Culm unter dem Deutschen Orden, 1243–1466*, ed. Carl Peter Woelky, Neues Preußisches Urkundenbuch II/1 (Danzig: Theodor Bertling, 1885), 16–19 no. 30.

qui mirifice rem ecclesie angit. Intuentibus annis iiij Heydenricus Episcopus⁵¹ nacione Saxo, qui successit, hunc locum muro circumdedit et in urbis speciem cum minibus, turribus interpositis, erexit. Hec gloriossimus princeps ut ad Ottonem revertamur, infra anni cursum in Borussia gessit, durante itaque per universam Culmigeriam adhuc eius fideli reipublicae cristiane, institutione vigili cura Hermanni prothomagister nova auxiliarum manus in Borussiam sibi successit Henricus nempe prepotens dux Slesiorum,⁵² cui et ea pars polonies, que magna nuncupatur, suberat Arma pro Christi nomine induit (fuit is Sancte Hedwigis filius), qui posthac a tartaris intra patrios fines occisus est.⁵³ Cui appendices fuere [fol. 4v] Conradus,⁵⁴ dux Cracovie,⁵⁵ et Odoes dux Gnisnensis⁵⁶ et plerique polonie reguli,⁵⁷ ex alia Sandepoldus cum Samborino fratre pomeranie duces,⁵⁸ qui ingenti congregato exercitu Vistulam traiecere, et Hermannio magistro Borussie, qui tum muniendo Culmerium una cum principe Ottone⁵⁹ occupabatur se agminatim iungentes, hi ne quid temere committerent, unia arx fines Pomesanorum irrupere, quos in loco haud longe a flumine Surguno⁶⁰ in magna multitudine conglabatos invenerunt. Erat autem circa brumam, quo omnia glacie concreta fuere: quare expeditius utrisque copijs pugnandum fuit nullis aut lacubus aut fluminibus impedimento extantibus, Barbari cognito hostium adventu arma corripiunt, et ipsis aput fluminis ripam occurrunt. Fit pugna utrimque atrox, multi capiunt ex utraque parte. Demum ubi paganorum acies inclinari visa, fugam circumspectare ceperunt. Verum Sandepoldus illic ex miram operam navasse dicitur. Cum etenim barbari inpropinquos saltus fugere temtassent [*sic*], ipse eius rei gnarus, antea omnemque viam evadendi, cesis ad hoc industrie arboribus procluit, cur statariam pugnam edere coguntur. Sed iam turbatos ordines victor exercitus in secutus, hostem undique sternit. Nemo tamen infestius hostem promebat quam Sandepoldus, qui quaciumque rumpere nitebatur occurrit, reduntur barbari ad

⁵¹ Heidenreich, the first bishop of Culm (1246–1263).

⁵² Henry II the Pious (1238–1241), Duke of Silesia.

⁵³ The Battle of Legnice (9 April 1241). His death was also recorded in the late fourteenth century Toruń annals: "Franciscani Thorunensis Annales Prussici," ed. Strehlke, in *Scriptores*, III: 58.

⁵⁴ Conrad of Masovia.

⁵⁵ Władysław III Spindleshanks (Laskonogi)?

⁵⁶ Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 57 (III, 10). This is Władysław Odonic, Duke of Kalisz (1207–1217), Duke of Poznań (1216–1217) and ruler of Greater Poland (1229–1234).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 57 (III, 10).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Otto of Braunschweig? *Ibid.*, 66 (III, 25).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 58 (III, 11). This is the Dzierżoń River.

intervitionem quinque milia fuisse numerum occisorum ex barbaris annales habent.⁶¹ Cecidit in ea pugna ex fratribus Bertholdus, vir rei militaris peritus.⁶² Eodem quo pugnatum est loco crux lapidea, in speciem trophee erecta est, que posthac ad multos annos permansit.⁶³ Sunt qui scribunt⁶⁴ Conradum, ducem Massoviorum, virum iam etate [grandenum] in eam pungnam uno dumtaxat comitatum satellite ex Coŷavia descendisse, et sese clauculum prelio immiscuisse [fol. 5r] nec prius angnitum, quam parta victoria caput casside nudasset ubi cum summa hilaritate a magistro ac principibus salitatus est Arcem Insule Marie,⁶⁵ quam nuper princeps Otto erexit,⁶⁶ nouo opera firmarunt. Ut quoque Barbarorum rerupciones, undiquaque arcerent Castellum redinam,⁶⁷ ea parte qua frequentius Borusij in Christianorum fines recupissent condidere quod aggere et vallo militari opera communiverunt.⁶⁸ Hec anno tricesimo quarto supra millesimum ducentiesimum,⁶⁹ peracta lieguntur, non destitit Hermannus prothomagister, interea alios atque alios Germanie principes sollicitare, ut bello tam pio suplementa mittant, vestigiaque recentia Henrici princeps Slesie⁷⁰ imitentur non desirant eos admonat, qui parva manu⁷¹ contra ingentem multitudinem barbarorum operam frennuas navarent. Ne multitudinem inmanium populorum semel obruti penitus terruant, unde christianitati interitus et Theutonici virtute ingnominia, quam maxime successeret is et alijs meam sententiam locutus, exivit fortissimum

⁶¹ Perhaps a reference to Dusburg's account of the battle. See *ibid.*, 58 (III, 11), on a battle near the Dzierżgoń River in 1233/1234: *De victoria Christianorum, ubi quinque milia pruthenorum sunt occisa.*

⁶² This man is not mentioned in Dusburg in connection with the battle, while the only other two people of this name mentioned in his chronicle are Berthold of Brühaven (Commander of Königsberg Castle) and Berthold of Northusen, *provincialis commendator* of the Kulmerland.

⁶³ This might be something related to the cross erected for Hennig Schindekopf at the Battle of Rudau (February 1370). See above.

⁶⁴ A reference to other sources consulted by the author of this text.

⁶⁵ Marienwerder (Pol. Kwidzyn).

⁶⁶ Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 57 (III, 11).

⁶⁷ Rehden (Pol. Radzyń Chełmiński). See *ibid.*, 59–60 (III, 12).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 59 (III, 12).

⁶⁹ 1234.

⁷⁰ Henry II the Pious, Duke of Silesia?

⁷¹ Perhaps a reference to the Burgrave of Magdeburg. See Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 57 (III, 9): *Sed dum vir ille nobilis et miles strenuus in armis de Saxonia burgravius de Magdeburg dictus cum parva manu multa stipatus milita et armigeris veniret ad castrum Culmen.*

principum Henricum Misine,⁷² ac Libonotrie liminarcham⁷³ qui laudabili emulatione, ad id bellum desumendum exarsit coacto igitur exercitu maiori, quo vis predicto (ad quingentos eum viros nobiles peritumque maximas copias in ea expeditione secum duxisse annales habent),^m omni quoque bellico apparatu instructis, iter Borussiam versus tendit, et Vistula superato in festis signis in fines Pomesanorumⁿ fertive. Erat autem eorum Regiuncula,⁷⁴ que Resorum (quasi gigantes roboris hominem nutrix esset) vulgo nuncupata est,⁷⁵ in qua asilium ijdolatrie ac omnis latrocinij semper fuerant, in ea fortissimus princeps recta contendit igne ac ferro sibi viam faciens, quicquid omnium habuit steruit, qui acie sibi occurrere audebant ignominiose fugati, [fol. 5v] reliqui sunt ac castris exiiti, fertur nunc per agros nunc per vicos horrido tempestatis more obvia, quisque strenuens atque deflagrans castra Barbarorum, que^o multa et forcia adfluenta morerana Postillina et Trusma stagna⁷⁶ habuere, cito non modo occupant, sed et diripit diruitque presidia que in eis erant trucidat, Arcem Resenburgum,⁷⁷ ^p quam munitissimam fecere solo equavit, eam etiam unio ordine valli circumdedere, que arboribus crassis atque prociris, deinde etiam virgultes ad radicandum aptis, inexplicabili nexu contextis, solo super iniecto constituere, quibus perpetuus nexibus gleba arbores solumque ipsum coherebat, superibus vero locis glebe cum gramine in quadratorum speciem^q recise, imposite eius lenore astensus facile prohiberi estimati.^r Eminentiori vero loco huic moli turres ac propugnacula e quibus abpugnantes arcerent, imposita fuere opus ita eductum erat, ut orbis

^m In the margin of the manuscript, in a later hand: !.

ⁿ In the margin of the manuscript, in a later hand: *Pomizan(ia)*.

^o Crossed out in the manuscript: *q*.

^p In the margin of the manuscript, in a later hand: *arce(m) Risenburgk*.

^q ?

⁷² Henry of Meißen (1221–1288).

⁷³ A term used to refer to the Margraves of Brandenburg. See Eduard Maria Oettinger, *Historisches Archiv: enthaltend ein systematisch-chronologisch geordnetes Verzeichniß von 17000 der brauchbarsten Quellen* (Carlsruhe: Christian Theodor Groos, 1841), 194 (no. 5791), citing Johannes Garzo (d. 1506), *De rebus Saxoniae, Thuringiae, Lobonotriae, Misniae et Lusatiae libri II* (Basil, 1541).

⁷⁴ Equivalent to a small kingdom.

⁷⁵ Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 60–61 (III, 14): *In terra Pomesanie fuit quoddam territorium dictum Reysen, in quo viri famosi et bellatores strenui morabantur*.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 60–61 (III, 14). These should be identified as Lake Družno, ~ 25 km. to the south of Elbląg, and Postolin, ~ 7 km to the south of Sztum.

⁷⁷ Riesenburg (Pol. Prabuty).

[speciem] representaret. Verum fortissimus princeps multorum dierum laborem nullo obpugnacionis guerre pretermisse, intra paucos dies expugnauit atque evertit, quam postea restituit, et valido opera communivit cui et opidulum adierit, quod hodie cernitur vanum insuper eius regionis, quod in eo loco qui hodie Rysenkÿrchen⁷⁸ ^s nuncupatur habuere demonitus est tandem barbari instaurantes exercitum, ad multum maiorem prior multitudinem, cum duco ac fratribus conflugere, certi decem cum milia in aciem deduxisse fermitur, non detectavit punghnam Henricus, quamvis hostem numero maiorem cerneret. Verum quia apparebat ex desperatione potius, quam ulla spe vincendi in aciem descensum a barbaris esse, cancius conflagrandum ratus. Omnibus ergo diligenter prospectis hostem invadit, quem magno predio iterum fudit, sternit et obtruncat, ducemque exercitus [fol. 6r] Bergo ob una^t cepit, quem sub custodia servari iussit aiunt hanc punghnam in Campis Rijsenwaldanis,⁷⁹ esse commissam, ea strage accepta Pomesanorum spe deriderant, cur⁸⁰ ^u omnes indicione ducis et fratrum concedunt simulque cristi fidem accepturi datis absidibus polliciti sunt, qui benigne recepti, auspicijs fortissimi Principis primi inter Borussios relicta ijdolatRIA ad lumen fidei lavareumque baptismatis venire. Constituit ergo eis gloriosissimus princeps famum sumptuosissimum in loco nomine recenti Marienwerder dicto (arcemque in eum, ubi hodie sitam e tumulum transtulit), quod denarijs plurimis et profusissimam largitione ditavit. Id brevi in cathedralem ecclesiam sublimator,^v in ea que Ernestus,⁸¹ ordinis predicatorem et sanctitate vite integerrimus, et disciplina ecclesiastica prestantissimus, presul primus declaratus est, qui nihil eorum que ad augendam cristianam rempublicam pertinent pretermisit. Divisit insuper inter suos agros, qui preterijis ac villis in eis institutis ex antiqua singularum domo nomina eis imponentes, que hodie retinent hunc Schonbergum⁸² et alia in illa regione nominari cepta. Domita hac pacto et vere instituta pomesaniorum ora nondum manus,^w quas fortissimus heros ad aratrum misit, retraxit, sed quid supererat

^r Crossed out before estimati: *ex*.

^s In the margin of the manuscript, in a later hand: *Rise(n)kirche*.

^t ?

^u In the margin of the manuscript, in a later hand: *Pomesanij fide xpistiani accepturi*.

^v In the margin of the manuscript, in a later hand: *Marienwerde in ecclesiam cathedralem*.

^w Crossed out: *traxit sed quod supererat animo?*

⁷⁸ Riesenkirchen (Pol. Obrzynowo).

⁷⁹ Riesenwalde (Pol. Stankowo), ~ 5km to the east of Prabuty.

⁸⁰ Petrus de Dusburg, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 62 (III, 17).

⁸¹ The first bishop of Pomesania. He does not appear in the narratives of Dusburg or Jeroschin. See *Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. Philippi, I/1: 157 no. 217.

⁸² Schönberg (Pol. Szymbark). See Glauert, *Domkapitel*, 110–115.

animo, quo fuerat in victo oppressus. Singna versos hermiensos nathangorum⁸³ populos movit, in quorum fines faciliorem transitum aqua quam terra esse cognoscens, unus comperatis navibus, quibus Balticum sinum ingressus;⁸⁴ earum una, quicquid latrocum in eo fiebat, incontinententque excursatio subinovit, eius etiam rei gracia Castra Elbingia⁸⁵ in hostio annis eius nominis construit, ex quibus barbarj terra ac mari plurimum fracti sunt, que postea in eum locum⁸⁶ [fol. 6v] ubi hodie opidum cognominum est, translata fuere. Altera vero navis versus Balgana littora iter intendit, que sub ipso adventu tenuit arcemque munitissimam, quam illic barbari habuere, presidioque, ac omnis generis commeatus refertissimam oppugnare orsus, quam quum primo impetu non cepisset, subsedit parumper, et silencio noctis scalas vineas et alias bellicas machinas adduci cureavit, quas prime lucis sub ortu, menibus et vallo admoneri iubat, qui hij qui in presidio erant pro viribus repellere mittuntur, nunc hos, nunc illos deijciebant. Tandem principe inclamante suos, ne ingnanter rederent barbaris. Ipsi eo impetus in repugnantes feruntur, ut absque mora arcem e manibus ferocissimorum hominum in suam redigerent potestatem, qui in presidio errant trucidati sunt. Eius loci regulus ea codrunus captus est,⁸⁷ et in vincula coniectus. Princeps arcem fratrum dicionis ferit, quam novo presidio et munitione firmavit, eamque domum que usque hodie vetus nunccupatur extruxit.⁸⁸ Ipse cum etiam circumiacentem regionem ingne et flama vastavit, plerosque vicos, villas, et domus cepit, diripuit, et solo equavit brevique mangnam partem istius ore dicionis fratrum fecit, itidemque sui Elbingis castris impositi nonminus fortiter quam canti fecere. Nam eam porciunculam, que Pogesianiorum dicitur, fratribus subdidere Cristique fidem suscipere, coegere hec quum victoriosissimus princeps intra brevij^x decursum peregisset, inde digressus Missinam repetit multis e suis in Borussia ad tutandam recente Cristi fidem contra paganicos impetus, relictis dato eis profecto Johanne de Schonbergo.⁸⁹ Anno XXXVIJ supra MCC peracto, hoc fuisse leguntur Natangi cognita Principis Henrici

^x Corruption of *brevij*?

^y Crossed out before: *s* (sconsentientes).

⁸³ Natangians.

⁸⁴ This appears to provide the etymologies of the names for Elbing and Balga, but Dusburg offers a different account based on the ships being used to build *Pilgerim* and *Pacifica terrae*.

⁸⁵ Elbing (Pol. Elbląg).

⁸⁶ Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 62 (III, 18).

⁸⁷ Ibid., 63 (III, 19): *Codrunus capitaneus*. The identity of this figure has not been determined.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 64 (III, 21), which recounts the construction of the first castle.

⁸⁹ The identity of this figure is not clear, and he is not present in Dusburg's chronicle.

abicione, hermenses ad defectionem sollicitarunt quibus facile consentientes,^y ingenti multitudine coacta [fol. 7r] Balgam arcem obsidione iungunt. Indigne enim ferebant cristianos eum possidere locum qui natura munitissimus esset, sumi enim baltici mares accolit. Longe lateque curra ipsam ager feracissimus patet, a continentique paludi in vijs fecernitur, nec nisi ponte uno usque accessus, ubi quam aliquandam obsidionem tragissent Pyopso,⁹⁰ qui Herniansum dux fuerat, dum in cante acrcem oppugnaret, a fratribus oppressus est, et sic obsidio solute. Iacti ruina ducis Hermiensis, multi sese fratribus dedunt cristii fidem assumentes, qui comiter acceper et in fide Cristiana salubriter edocti sunt.⁹¹ Communiverunt autem fratres moletrinam ad rivolum regione pontis Balganni, in parvi castelli modum: aggere et fossa ut eo tucius habitarent, qui ex hermonsibus Cristiani effecti, binisque fratribus cum presidio valido impositis, dato ipsis negotio. Ut inde predatum, in fines hostium irent facilius eis in hostium solum fuit incursatio, qui itidem factitantes: tanta omisti preda frequentissime ad suos redeunt, ut et sibi et his, qui Balgam arcem tenebant, cibatum abinde subministrarent. Barbari, quo a se cristianorum quotidianam populacionem amoliretur, duce Gobetino⁹² homine inter ipsos potenti ac tenereario, una castra in hermiensi agro locarunt, quorum altera Parthegalia dicta sunt nomen, a campis ubi fuere sortita. Altera Scrandonia, a monte sic nuncupato, que valido imposito presidio ritu suo muniverant.⁹³ Ex his christiani non solum ab incursione repulse, verum etiam sepius fusi cesique sunt, adeoque multitudine Barbarorum obruti. Ut se intra presidia Moletrine⁹⁴ continere coacti, quociens etenim pabulandi causa [fol. 7v] in agros barbarorum destendissent, ab eis in secuti fugatique sunt, et palantes obruncati. Adultimum, dum tenere [min]is excurrissent, insidijs circumventi ad intervitiocque cesi. Insuper et castellum, cum presidio, oppressum: paucis quos fuga eripuit salvatis, qui se in Balgam arcem receperunt, Barbari longe lateque per fratrem dicionem debachantur. Omnia cede et ingne mistentes, continuebant se tunc fratres cum his, qui ad eos confugerant intra Balgana menia, quo furor

⁹⁰ Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 64 (III, 20): *Quod cum ad aures Pruthenorum deveniret, Pyopso quidam Pruthenus capitaneus Warmiensium (!) [...] dictum castrum Balgam obsedit.*

⁹¹ Ibid., 67–68 (III, 27): *De subiectione Warmiensium, Nattangorum et Barthorum et aedificatione plurium castrum.*

⁹² Ibid., 65 (III, 23), refers to a group of people called *Gobotini*: *In terra Warmiensi fuerunt quidam viri praepotentes dicti Gobotini valde infesti fratribus.* The author of OBA, no. 29077 appears to assert that Gobotini is an individual.

⁹³ Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 65 (III, 23).

⁹⁴ Unidentified.

Barbaricus⁹⁵ sedacior fieret id barbari congnoscentes insidijs agendum rati. Ala equitum parte traducta, que ante portas quitando fratres ad preliandum eliceret: ipsi loca, que ponti imminebant despositis insidijs, occupant. Verum fratres id suspicantes, prelio abstinuerent, attamen vis ingens telorum per sagittarios^z e menibus, et vallo in ipsos coniecta est, quibus multi sancji re infecta abire. Eadem ferme ferocia Elbingia castra petunt, quo adusque menia populati sunt loca circumiacencia, que a neophitis undique tenebantur depredantes, quos fratres cum pauca manu in sequenti in fugam versi predam omnes relinquentes. Ubi posthac fratres causatam sede fuge, ex captivo quem unicum abduxerant rogassent: audierunt invictam aciem eisdem armis, quibus fratres et ceteri christiani instructam eis visam, eius impetum nequaquam sustinendum duxissent: cur fuge sese commisissent. Id et posthac multitudo fugientis plebis ad fidem conversa fatebatur. His quos penes summa rerum in Balgana arce sint e refore visum est, ut in monte quem Snickenbergum⁹⁶ dicunt, qui ponti imminet locus presidij gracia communiretur, quo [fol. 8r] hostem ab incursione per eam viam arceret vel si aliunde irrupisset non foret sibi integrum, per illud iter ad suos redire. Nec in eo hallucinati sunt indies eum illic constitutis prelijs concursum est, multi utrimque capti, multi cesi sunt, maiori tamen numero Barbari sunt qui scribunt⁹⁷ reliquere, dum inter pungnandum antea ea castra unus e cristianorum cohorte, storpionem (quem vulgo balistam dicunt) et quidem fune tonsum reliquisset, quem e barbaris alter rei ingnarus reperiens, diuque ipsum cum admiratione petrectans [*sic*]; tandem collo ut erat fune intensus suspendit, nec longe equitans, succussione equi fune excussa, sibi guttura collisit. Unde territ [*sic*],^{aa} barbari magis atque magis christiana arma formidabant varium eventum sustinuit Cristiana milicia inter barbaros in Borussia post abicionem principis henrici et Misniati exercitur, donec illustris princeps Otto dux Brunswagensis,⁹⁸ superiorem ducum vestigia emulatione pia servitus, contra impios Christi hostes in Borussiam cum mangnus copijs transmississet, qui primum fratres in balgana arce penuria omnium rerum laborantes venebat. Ad quos navigis pervenit, deinde adiutente quodam ex Borusijs non

^z Crossed out before: *multitudinem*.

^{aa} An error for *territi*.

⁹⁵ An interesting choice of phrase on the part of the author, which clearly resembles the idea of the *furor Teutonicus*, which appears as early as Lucan's *Pharsalia* (61 A.D.).

⁹⁶ Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 65–66 (III, 24).

⁹⁷ Another reference to a written text that the author used.

⁹⁸ Otto I the Child (1235–1252). Also see Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 66 (III, 25): *De adventu ducis Brunswich*.

ignobili viro ex pomanda⁹⁹ domo, qui sub Henrico Missnensi fidem Christi suscepisset, fortique animo fortuna fratrum semper sequutus inter barbaros, quoque plurime auctoritatis et gracie, qui eum ipsos ceu desertor religionis Christiane adiit, ac omnes nobilitatem Hermensum, Natangorum, et Barthorum in obsidionem Balgane arcis traxit, eisque se ducem probuit, qui ponte traducto exercitu castraque ante Balganam arcem locassent; [fol. 8v] eos dux Otto cum fratribus invadit ac strage ingenti fundit, et sternit, qui in Schnickenbergo presidia tenuere,^{bb} eis fugam preripuerunt, ceduntur Barbari sine discrimine nec ulli relictis sunt nisi quos Pomando sibi donari pecierit. Hac strage feroria barbarorum adeo recusa sint ut colla fratribus submitterent pacem et fidem cristianam ab eis petentes: que facile impetrarunt. Rediere igitur ad obsequium fratrum Hermenses, Natangi, Bartenses,¹⁰⁰ qui antea ab ipsis destinerant. Percurrit deinde fortissimus princeps omnes oram usque ad cronum amnem, qui hodie vulgo pregolus¹⁰¹ dicitur, omnesque eris incolas in dicionem gratrum redegit, ut [?]iden^{cc} ex omnium parte sementa rebellionis evellerentur, castra parthegalia et Scrandonis igne iniecto abolevit,¹⁰² munitissimasque arces regionatim constituit. Utpote in Hermensium solo Brunsbergum,¹⁰³ quod ex illustri eius domo ita nuncupari voluit,¹⁰⁴ in Natangorum finibus ad Caijstrum¹⁰⁵ Crutzbergum.¹⁰⁶

^{bb} The manuscript is badly damaged here.

^{cc} The manuscript is badly damaged here.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 66–67 (III, 26): *De strage infidelium et destruction castri Partegal et propugnaculi*. Dusburg also refers to *quondam dictus Pomandam virum nobilem, qui inter Pruthenos quondam magnae furtat reputationis*. By contrast, our author connects this figure to the mission Henry, Margrave of Meißen.

¹⁰⁰ Barthians.

¹⁰¹ The Pregel/Pregola/Pregolya River. See Arno Mentzel-Reuters, “Humanistische Mythogramme,” 73.

¹⁰² Perhaps a reference to Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 66–67 (III, 26): *De strage infidelium et destructione castri Partegal et propugnaculi*.

¹⁰³ Braunsberg (Pol. Braniewo).

¹⁰⁴ The connection of Braunsberg to the name Braunschweig is unique to this text. Dusburg connects the foundation of the castle and city (*castrum et civitas Brunsbergk*) to the first bishop of Ermland/Warmia, Anshelm.

¹⁰⁵ Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica terrae Prussiae*, ed. Wenta and Wyszomirski, 67–68 (III, 27): *aedificaverunt in terra Nattangiae circa fluvium dictum Caustere Crucebergk*. Wenta identified this as a small rivulet near the castle, Velikopał'nyy.

¹⁰⁶ Kreuzburg (Pol. Krzyżbork, Rus. Slavskoje).

In Barthorum regione Bartensteyn¹⁰⁷ ad Alle ripam,¹⁰⁸ que singula additis opidis, opere militum eduxit, in que teutonicos viros ex victrici suo exercitu misit. Nove tum etiam ecclesie fundamenta iacta esse in monte Frawnbergo¹⁰⁹ comperio (a muliere illic habitante nomen sortito),¹¹⁰ que deinde in sedem episcopalem ordinate fuit,¹¹¹ in qua primus episcopus¹¹² fuit, qui devictum papalium in fide Cristiana pro viribus instituit. Nobilibus viris et Germanis sub eo stipendia merentibus agrorum partem, ut cuique sortito evenit divisit, qui predia et villas in his condentes nomina aut exavita cuique domo, aut alio eventu, que usque hodie¹¹³ durant indidere. His atque alijs rite dispositis, in Saxoniam remeavit Borussia sub obsequio fratrum relicta...^{dd}

PRIMARY SOURCES:

Berlin. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. Hauptabteilung, Ordensbriefarchiv (OBA), nos. 18000, 29077.

Berlin. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. Hauptabteilung, Ordensfolianten (OF), nos. 24b, 30.

Berlin. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. Hauptabteilung, Pergament-Urkunden (Perg.-Urk.), Schiebl. 2, Nr. 28.

Berlin. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. Hauptabteilung, Pergament-Urkunden (Perg.-Urk.), Schiebl. 65, Nr. 56.

Berlin. Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, mgf. 750.

Wien. Zentralarchiv des Deutschen Ordens, Hs. 205.

^{dd} The manuscript ends here.

¹⁰⁷ Bartenstein (Pol. Bartoszyce).

¹⁰⁸ Töppen, *Historisch-comparative Geographie*, 19.

¹⁰⁹ Frauenburg (Pol. Frombork).

¹¹⁰ *Codex diplomaticus Warmiensis oder Regesten und Urkunden zur Geschichte Ermlandes*, vol. I, *Urkunden der Jahre 1231–1340*, ed. Carl Peter Woelky and Johann Martin Saage, Monumenta Historiae Warmiensis I (Mainz: Franz Kirchheim Verlag, 1860), 93–94 no. 54, which refers to the etymology of the castle in Frauenburg: *Preterea iij^x mansos sitos circa Castrum domine nostre*. The only other similar etymology is that presented by Johannes Plastwich (d. 1464): “Johannes Plastwici, Decani Warmiensis, Chronicon,” ed. Woelky, 53. This was repeated by Simon Grunau and other later chroniclers.

¹¹¹ Established in 1243: *Codex diplomaticus Warmiensis*, ed. Woelky and Saage I: 5–10 nos. 5–7.

¹¹² Anselm of Meißen.

¹¹³ This would appear to mark a transition into the history of the settlement of Ermland/Warmia in the fourteenth century, an action undertaken primarily by the bishops based in Frombork.

- Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini. "De situ et origine Pruthenorum." Edited by Theodor Hirsch. In *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preußischen Vorzeit*, vol. IV, ed. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, and Ernst Strehlke, 218–231. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1870.
- "Die ältere Hochmeisterchronik." Edited by Max Töppen. In *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preußischen Vorzeit*, vol. III, ed. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, and Ernst Strehlke, 540–709. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1866.
- Albert Krantz. *Wandalia. De Wandalorum verua origine, variis gentibus, crebris e patria tria migrationibus, regnis item, quorum vel autores vel euersores fuerunt*. Frankfurt: Andreas Wecehlus, 1575.
- "Annales Pelpinensis." Edited by Max Töppen. In *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preußischen Vorzeit*, vol. III, ed. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, and Ernst Strehlke, 270–274. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1861.
- "Canonici Sambiensis epitome gestorum Prussie." Edited by Max Töppen. In *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preußischen Vorzeit*, vol. III, ed. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, and Ernst Strehlke, 272–290. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1861.
- Caspar Henneberger. *Erklärung der preüssischen grössern Landtaffel oder Mappen*. Königsberg: Georg Osterberger, 1595.
- Codex diplomaticus Warmiensis oder Regesten und Urkunden zur Geschichte Ermlandes*. Edited by Carl Peter Woelky and Johann Martin Saage. Vol. I, *Urkunden der Jahre 1231–1340*. Monumenta Historiae Warmiensis I. Mainz: Franz Kirchheim Verlag, 1860.
- "De primordiis ordinis Theutonici narratio." Edited by Udo Arnold. In *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preußischen Vorzeit*, vol. VI, ed. Walther Hubatsch and Udo Arnold, 24–29. Frankfurt/Main: Minerva, 1968.
- "Eyne Schonne hysthorie van vunderlyken gescheffthen der heren tho lyfflanth myth den Rüssen unde tartaren." Edited by Carl Schirren, *Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Curlands* 8 (1861): 113–265.
- Erasmus Stella. "De Borussiae Antiquitatibus libri duo." Edited by Theodor Hirsch. In *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preußischen Vorzeit*, vol. IV, ed. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, and Ernst Strehlke, 282–298. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1870.
- "Franciscani Thorunensis Annales Prussici (941–1410)." Edited by Ernst Strehlke. In *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preußischen Vorzeit*, vol. III, ed. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, and Ernst Strehlke, 57–316. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1866.
- "Hermann von Salza's Bericht über die Eroberung Preussens." Edited by Theodor Hirsch. In *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preußischen Vorzeit*, vol. V, ed. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, and Ernst Strehlke, 153–168. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1874.
- Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*. Edited by William Stubbs. London: Longman & Green, 1864.

- “Die jüngere Hochmeisterchronik.” Edited by Theodor Hirsch. In *Scriptores rerum Prusicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preußischen Vorzeit*, vol. V ed. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, and Ernst Strehlke, 1–152. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1874.
- Johann Boemus. *Omnium genrium mores, leges, et ritus ex multis clarissimis rerum scriptoribus*. Augsburg, 1520.
- Johann Caspar Venator. *Historischer Bericht vom Marianische-Teutschen Ritter-Orden des Hospitals unser lieben Frauen zu Jerusalem*. Nürnberg: Andreas Knorzen, 1680.
- Johannes Plastwich. “Johannes Plastwici, Decani Warmiensis, Chronicon de vitis Episcoporum Warmiensis.” Edited by Carl Peter Woelky. In *Scriptores rerum Warmiensium oder Quellenschriften zur Geschichte Ermlands*, vol. I, edited by Woelky and Johann Martin Saage, 42–132. Monumenta Historiae Warmiensis III. Braunsberg: Edward Peter, 1866.
- Petrus de Dusburgk. *Chronica terrae Prussiae*. Edited by Jarosław Wenta and Sławomir Wyszomirski. Monumenta Poloniae Historica, n.s. 13. Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2007.
- Preußisches Urkundenbuch. Politisches Abtheilung*. Vol. 1. Inst. 1, *Die Bildung des Ordensstaates*. Edited by Rudolf Philippi. Königsberg/Pr.: Hartnungsche Verlagsdruckerei, 1882.
- Preußisches Urkundenbuch. Politisches Abtheilung*. Vol. 1. Inst. 2. Edited by August Seraphim. Königsberg/Pr.: Hartnungsche Verlagsdruckerei, 1902.
- Simon Grunau. *Preußische Chronik*. Vol. 1. Edited by Max Töppen. Die preußischen Geschichtsschreiber des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts 1. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1876.
- Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen im 15. Jahrhundert*. Edited by Erich Weise. Vol. 2, 1438–1467. Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 1955.
- Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens*. Edited by Max Perlbach. Halle/Saale: Niemeyer, 1890.
- The Utrecht Chronicle of the Teutonic Order: A History of the Crusades in the Holy Land, Prussia and Livonia*. Edited and translated by Rombert Stapel. London: Routledge, 2024.
- Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Culm*. Part 1, *Das Bisthum Culm unter dem Deutschen Orden, 1243–1466*. Edited by Carl Peter Woelky. Neues Preußisches Urkundenbuch II/1. Danzig: Theodor Bertling, 1885.

SECONDARY SOURCES:

- Arnold, Udo. “Elisabeth und Georg als Pfarrpatrone im Deutschordensland Preußen. Zum Selbstverständnis des Deutschen Ordens.” In *Elisabeth, der Deutsche Orden und ihre Kirche. Festschrift zur 700-jährigen Wiederkehr der Weihe der Elisabethkirche Marburg 1983*, edited by Udo Arnold and Heinz Liebing, 163–185. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 18. Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 1983.
- Arnold, Udo. *Studien zur preußischen Historiographie des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Bonn: Rota-print Universität Bonn, 1967.

- Constable, Giles. "The Historiography of the Crusades." In *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century*, 3–44. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Dorna, Maciej. *Bracia zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w latach 1228–1309: Studium topograficzne*. Poznańskie studie historyczne 7. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2004.
- Forstreuter, Kurt. *Vom Ordensstaat zum Fürstentum. Geistige und politische Wandlungen im Deutschordensstaate Preußen unter den Hochmeistern Friedrich und Albrecht (1498–1525)*. Kitzingen: Holzner Verlag, 1951.
- Forstreuter, Kurt. *Das preußisches Staatsarchiv Königsberg. Ein geschichtlicher Rückblick mit einer Übersicht seiner Bestände*. Veröffentlichungen der Niedersächsischen Archivverwaltung 3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1955.
- Glauert, Mario. *Das Domkapitel von Pomesanian (1284–1527)*. Prussia Sacra 1. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2003.
- Grunewald, Eckehard. "Das Register der Ordensliberei Tapiau aus den Jahren 1541–1543. Eine Quelle zur Frühgeschichte der ehem. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Königsberg." *Berichte und Forschungen. Jahrbuch des Bundesinstituts für Ostdeutsche Kultur und Geschichte* 1 (1993): 59–91.
- Hackmann, Jörg. "Origo Borussorum. Preußische Ursprungsmythen zwischen Germanen, Goten und Sarmaten." In *Abstammungsmythen und Völkergenealogien im frühneuzeitlichen Ostseeraum*, edited by Stefan Donecker and Jens E. Olesen, 39–60. Greifswald: Universität Greifswald, 2020.
- Hackmann, Jörg. "Preußische Ursprungsmythen. Entstehung und Transformation vom 15. bis 20. Jahrhundert." In *Preußen in Ostmitteleuropa: Geschehensgeschichte und Verstehensgeschichte*, edited by Matthias Weber, 143–171. Schriften des Bundesinstituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa 21. München: Oldenbourg, 2003.
- Hecht, Kurt. *Die Schlacht bei Rudau 1370*. Osterode/Opr.: F. Albrecht, 1914.
- Heckmann, Dieter. "Aspekte der Neuordnung des Kanzleiwesens im preußischen Ordensland nach dem 2. Thorner Friedensschluss." *Zapiski Historyczne* 81, no. 4 (2016): 101–116.
- Herrmann, Christofer. *Mittelalterliche Architektur in Preußenland: Untersuchungen zur Frage der Kunstlandschaft und -geographie*. Studien zur internationalen Architektur- und Kulturgeschichte 56. Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2007.
- Hubatsch, Walther. *Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach. Deutschordens-Hochmeister und Herzog in Preußen*. Studien zur Geschichte Preussens 8. Köln–Berlin: Grote, 1960.
- Jähnig, Bernhart. "Paul von Watt. Kanzler des Hochmeisters des Deutschen Ordens, Bischof von Samland." *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 20 (2001). Online accessed 4 November 2025. <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd1041905696.html#ndbcontent>.
- Jasiński, Tomasz. *Kruschwitz, Rimini und die Grundlagen des preussischen Ordenslandes. Urkundenstudien zur Frühzeit des Deutschen Ordens im Ostseeraum*. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 63 = Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens 8. Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 2008.

- Joachim, Erich. *Die Politik des letzten Hochmeisters in Preußen, Albrecht von Brandenburg*. Vol. 1–3. Publikationen aus den königlich-preußischen Staatsarchiven 50, 58, 61. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1892, 1894, 1895.
- Kersken, Norbert. "Aspekte des preußischen Geschichtsdenkens im 16. Jahrhundert." In *Preußische Landesgeschichte. Festschrift für Bernhart Jähnig zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by Udo Arnold, Mario Glauert and Jürgen Sarnowsky, 439–456. Einzelschriften der Historischen Kommission für ost- und westpreußische Landesforschung 22. Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 2001.
- Kreem, Juhan. "Crusading Traditions and Chivalric Ideals: The Mentality of the Teutonic Order in Livonia at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century." *Crusades* 12 (2013): 233–250.
- Mentzel-Reuters, Arno. *Arma Spiritualia. Bibliotheken, Bücher und Bildung im Deutschen Ordens*. Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen 47. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2003.
- Mentzel-Reuters, Arno. "Deutschordenshistoriographie." In *Handbuch Chroniken des Mittelalters*, edited by Gerhard Wolf and Norbert H. Ott, 301–336. Berlin & Boston: DeGruyter, 2016.
- Mentzel-Reuters, Arno. "Humanistische Mythogramme in der altpreußischen Historiographie vor und nach der Aufhebung des Ordensstaates (1450–1550)." *Ordines Militares Colloquia Torunensia Historica. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders* 22 (2017): 55–92.
- Mentzel-Reuters, Arno. "Identitätsmodelle in der preußischen Landeshistoriographie 1466–1525." *Zapiski Historyczne* 82, no. 1 (2017): 5–19.
- Mentzel-Reuters, Arno. "Reformschriftum und Humanismus – Der Deutsche Orden am Vorabend der Reformation." In *Die Rolle der Schriftlichkeit in den Geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters: innere Organisation, Sozialstruktur, Politik*, edited by Roman Czaja and Jürgen Sarnowsky, 15–83. *Ordines Militares Colloquia Torunensia Historica* XV. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2009.
- Mentzel-Reuters, Arno. "Von der Ordenschronik zur Landesgeschichte – Die Herausbildung der altpreußischen Landeshistoriographie im 16. Jahrhundert." In *Kulturge-schichte Ostpreußens in der Frühen Neuzeit*, edited by Klaus Garber, Manfred Komorowski and Axel E. Walter, 581–637. Frühe Neuzeit 56. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2001.
- Morton, Nicholas. *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land, 1190–1291*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2009.
- Nielsen, Torben K. "Providential History in the Chronicles of the Baltic Crusades." In *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, edited by Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton, 361–403. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2017.
- Pollakówna, Marzena. *Kronika Piotra z Dusburga*. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1968.
- Szweda, Adam. "The Negotiations Leading to the Second Peace of Toruń." *Zapiski Historyczne* 81, no. 4 (2016): 31–46.

- Thumser, Matthias. "Antirussische Propaganda in der 'Schönen Historie von wunderbaren Geschäften der Herren zu Livland mit den Russen und Tataren'." In *Geschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Livland*, edited by Matthias Thumser, 133–154. Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission 18. Berlin: LIT, 2011.
- Thumser, Matthias. "Ein neue Aufgabe im Heidenkampf? Pläne mit dem Deutschen Orden als Vorposten gegen die Türken." In *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, edited by Bodo Guthmüller and Wilhelm Kühlmann, 139–176. Frühe Neuzeit 54. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000.
- Töppen, Max. *Historisch-comparative Geographie von Preussen. Nach den Quellen, namentlich auch archivalischen, dargestellt*. Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1858.
- Trupinda, Janusz. *Ideologia krucjatowa w kronice Piotra z Dusburga*. Peribalticum Meridionale 1. Gdańsk: Officina Ferberiana, 1999.
- Voigt, Johannes. *Die Geschichte Preußens von den ältesten Zeit bis zum Untergange der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*. Vol. IX, *Die Zeit vom Tode des Hochmeisters Ludwig von Erlichshausen 1467 bis zum Untergange der Herrschaft des Ordens unter dem Hochmeister Albrecht von Brandenburg 1525*. Königsberg: Bornträger Verlag, 1839.
- Wenta, Jarosław. "Pipin." In *Słownik biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego*, vol. 3, *L–P*, edited by Stanisław Gierszewski, 431. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Gdańskie, 1997.
- Wüst, Marcus. *Studien zum Selbstverständnis des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter*. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 73. Weimar: VDG, 2013.
- Zacharias, Rainer. "Beobachtungen zur Theologie der Chronik-Literatur des Deutschen Ordens: Ein Quellenvergleich zwischen Peter von Dusburg und Nikolaus von Jeroschin." In *Neue Studien zur Literatur im Deutschen Orden*, edited by Bernhart Jähnig and Arno Mentzel-Reuters, 211–227. Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur 19. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 2014.
- Zonenberg, Sławomir. *Kronika Szymona Grunaua*. Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2009.