

The Crusade of the Teutonic Knights against Lithuania Reconsidered

Axel Ehlers

Between the late thirteenth and early fifteenth centuries ‘another Hundred Years’ War’ raged between the Teutonic Knights and Lithuania.¹ According to the Teutonic Order’s chronicler Peter von Dusburg, the systematic war against the last pagans of Europe began in 1283, although there had been military encounters before.² When Grand Duke Jogaila of Lithuania (1377–86, king of Poland-Lithuania to 1434 as Władysław II Jagiełło) received baptism in 1386 in order to become king of Poland, the official reason for the war – the subjection of pagan Lithuania to Christendom and the defence of the church against pagan attacks – vanished. The Teutonic Knights, however, did not accept this development and fought on, claiming that Jogaila’s conversion had been only a sham and that the Lithuanians were still pagan.³ The *Reisen*, as the Order’s campaigns were called, reached a peak in the decade following Jogaila’s baptism.⁴ More members of the European nobility than ever before flocked to Prussia to take part in the famous expeditions against the heathen.⁵ These ‘guests’ (*Gäste*), as the Order called them, came from all over Europe, many of them from England and France. They were knighted during the campaigns, feasted at the *Ehrentisch* (‘table of honour’) and won fame by their deeds.⁶ On the walls of the cathedral of Königsberg (mod. Russ. Kaliningrad)

¹ Werner Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels*, 2 vols to date (Sigmaringen, 1989–), 1: 23. This quotation is already on its way to becoming a commonplace; see Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades: From Lyons to Alcazar, 1274–1580* (Oxford, 1992), p. 338; Alvydas Nikžentaitis, ‘Litauisch-preußische Beziehungen im Mittelalter. Der litauische Forschungsstand’, in *Deutschland und Litauen: Bestandsaufnahmen und Aufgaben der historischen Forschung*, ed. Norbert Angermann and Joachim Tauber (Lüneburg, 1995), pp. 21–30 (here 21).

² Peter von Dusburg, *Chronicon terrae Prussiae*, ed. Max Toeppen, in SRP 1: 3–219 (here 146). For earlier encounters, see, for example: *Livländische Reimchronik*, ed. Leo Meyer (Paderborn, 1876), lines 503–5, 1802–38, 1859–1958, 2450–2572, 2961–3017, 3245–3406; Peter von Dusburg, pp. 96–8, 112, 125–6, 137; Paravicini, *Preußenreisen* 1: 23.

³ See, for example, *Die Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, ed. Max Toeppen, in SRP 3: 519–637 (here 608–11, 617).

⁴ Paravicini, *Preußenreisen* 2: 13–162, on the term *Reise* and its meaning esp. p. 13.

⁵ Paravicini, *Preußenreisen* 1: 30, 184, 188.

⁶ Paravicini, *Preußenreisen* 1: 45–142, 265–344; 2: 122–37.

they had their heraldry painted to commemorate their journeys.⁷ By the later fourteenth century, going on a *Reise* had become one of the most attractive activities for the western European nobility. Chaucer could allude to the *Ehrentisch* in the 'Knight's Prologue' of his *Canterbury Tales* and both he and French authors knew the word *Reise* as a loan-word.⁸ But what kind of wars were the *Reisen*? Were they a 'parade of bored nobles seeking parties and pageantry ... and finding excitement in the forests of Lithuania chasing human game'?⁹ Were they the Order's 'own curious form of war'¹⁰ that evades comparison with other wars against 'infidels' inasmuch as they were crusades? Or were they genuine crusades – or one great crusade respectively – furnished with all the papal privileges which crusaders to Prussia had enjoyed in the thirteenth century?

It is difficult to elucidate the motivation of the guests – as of most crusaders¹¹ – but it seems most likely that they were driven by a mixture of devotional and worldly aims that merged in the ideal of Christian chivalry.¹² The Teutonic Knights did their best to make this ideal become reality. For an increasing number of nobles this was probably the most powerful incentive to visit Prussia.¹³ Were they crusaders? Or were they 'just' adventurers, roving knights or even 'tourists'? There has been confusion on this question in recent research. I will, therefore, reassess the sources in order to approach a clearer view on the character of this war as a crusade. First, however, the different judgements on the subject must be discussed.

⁷ Werner Paravicini, 'Verlorene Denkmäler europäischer Ritterschaft: Die heraldischen Malereien des 14. Jahrhunderts im Dom zu Königsberg', in *Kunst und Geschichte im Ostseeraum*, ed. Erich Böckler (Kiel, 1990), pp. 67–168.

⁸ Geoffrey Chaucer, 'The Canterbury Tales', in *The Riverside Chaucer*, gen. ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1988), pp. 3–328 (here 24, lines 52–4: *Ful ofte tyme he hadde the bord [i.e. the Ehrentisch or table of honour] bigonne / Aboven alle nacions in Pruce; / In Lettow hadde he reysed and in Ruce*); Paravicini, *Preußenreisen* 2: 13 with n. 4.

⁹ William Urban, *The Prussian Crusade* (Lanham, 1980), p. 377. See also pp. 329–30.

¹⁰ Norman Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, 1305–1378* (Oxford, 1986), p. 69.

¹¹ See, for example, Simon Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade, 1216–1307* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 93–112; James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison, 1969), pp. xiii–xv, 139–40.

¹² Housley, *Later Crusades*, pp. 394–402.

¹³ Werner Paravicini, 'La Prusse et l'Europe occidentale: la participation de la noblesse d'Europe occidentale aux croisades de l'Ordre des Chevaliers Teutoniques contre la Lituanie', *Cahiers de recherches médiévales (XIIIe–XVe s.)* 1 (1996), 177–91 (here 188); the same in Dutch in *Crux et arma: Kruistochten, ridderorden en Duitse Orde*, ed. Jozef Mertens (Bilzen, 1997), pp. 87–102.

Sceptical Judgements

In the 1950s and 1960s, the German historian Erich Maschke dealt repeatedly with the Teutonic Order and its wars. He pointed out that the struggle against the Lithuanians differed in character from the wars against the Prussians in the thirteenth century. Whereas the latter were crusades with a missionary aim, the fourteenth century witnessed a growing adoption of a chivalric lifestyle by the Brethren which, correspondingly, led to a change in the character of the war. The chronicle written by the herald Wigand von Marburg, who served the Order in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, is quoted by Maschke as the main evidence for this change. Wigand stressed not the religious elements of the war but its military and knightly features: ranks, banners, campaigns, 'the chivalric game of the fight', as Maschke put it.¹⁴ The 'guests' were more attracted by secular features than by spiritual rewards – the 'reward from God' had been replaced by the 'table of honour'.¹⁵ Thus, the idea of *Heidenkampf* (war against the heathen) was maintained only for reasons of legitimization, but it was not filled with religious ardour.

Similarly, Maureen Purcell has remarked that 'it is on the Eastern frontiers of Europe, and at the hands of the Teutonic Order, that feudal military aggression, disguised by all the trappings of genuine crusade, achieved its masterpiece in diversion from the norm of crusade'.¹⁶ The 'norm of crusade', to be sure, is nothing other than what Purcell describes in her study. Features of a 'normal' crusade would be a papal authorization of the war, organized preaching as well as the granting of indulgences and other ecclesiastical privileges to those who would take the cross – usually in aid of the Holy Land. This form of crusade did exist in the minds of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century popes and knights.¹⁷ The war against Lithuania was different, but it was 'disguised' as a crusade by propagandistic means, Purcell seems to suggest.

Finally, Norman Housley has questioned the common view of the *Reisen* as crusades. He argued that the *Reisen* were 'not technically crusades' because they had 'no discernible spiritual rewards attached' and took place 'outside any

¹⁴ Erich Maschke, 'Burgund und der preußische Ordensstaat: Ein Beitrag zur Einheit der ritterlichen Kultur Europas im Spätmittelalter', in Erich Maschke, *Domus Hospitalis Theutonorum: Europäische Verbindungslinien der Deutschordensgeschichte* (Bonn-Godesberg, 1970), pp. 15–34 (here 19), first published in *Syntagmata Friburgense: Historische Studien. Hermann Aubin zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht* (Lindau, 1956), pp. 147–72.

¹⁵ Erich Maschke, 'Die ältere Geschichtsschreibung des Preußenlandes', in SRP 6: 1–21 (here 9).

¹⁶ Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy: The Chief Instruments of Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land from the Final Loss of Jerusalem to the Fall of Acre, 1244–1291* (Leiden, 1975), p. 16.

¹⁷ See also Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What were the Crusades?*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke, 1992), pp. 28–42; Housley, *Avignon Papacy*, pp. 1–3 and *passim*.

visible framework of papal backing or sponsorship'.¹⁸ Against these sceptical judgements stand those which assert that the war *was* a crusade.

Affirmative Judgements

To call the war against the Lithuanians a crusade is common among historians, but most scholars do not give any reasons for this characterization.¹⁹ Some seem to suggest that a war fought by a religious military order was necessarily a crusade, and consequently they apply the term 'crusader' to both, crusaders proper and members of the military order.²⁰ Also, the fact that the Teutonic Knights attacked pagans serves as a reason for calling the war a crusade.²¹ Finally, many historians appear to use the term 'crusade' because the war against Lithuania stood in a long tradition of 'holy wars' in north-eastern Europe. When, for example, the Teutonic Knights were subduing the Prussians in the thirteenth century, the popes issued numerous crusade bulls and many *crucesignati*²² travelled to Prussia in response to the preaching of the cross by the mendicants.²³ The war against Lithuania is often considered as being in line with this crusading tradition and thus called a crusade.²⁴

More specific assertions have been made by few scholars. Jonathan Riley-Smith has counted the *Reisen* of the fourteenth century among the crusades on the grounds of a thirteenth-century mandate issued by Pope Innocent IV (1243–54). In 1245, Innocent permitted the Teutonic Order to recruit crusaders without previous public preaching. This enabled the Order to carry on a

¹⁸ Housley, *Avignon Papacy*, pp. 101 (no rewards), 272 (not technically crusades), 298 (no papal backing).

¹⁹ To quote but a few examples: Hartmut Boockmann, *Der Deutsche Orden: Zwölf Kapitel aus seiner Geschichte*, 4th edn (München, 1994), pp. 151–69; Ferdinand Seibt, *Karl IV. Ein Kaiser in Europa 1346–1378* (München, 1978), p. 97; Henryk Samsonowicz, 'Oost-Europa en de kruistochten', in *Crux et arma*, pp. 71–86 (here esp. 83–5), and much of the older literature.

²⁰ For example, William Urban, *The Livonian Crusade* (Washington, 1981), pp. 128–9, 133; Urban, *The Samogitian Crusade* (Chicago, 1989), pp. 11–3, 62, 170, 228.

²¹ See, for example, Alan Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades, 1095–1560* (Edinburgh, 1985), p. 84; Juozas Jakštas, 'Das Baltikum in der Kreuzzugsbewegung des 14. Jahrhunderts. Die Nachrichten Philipps de Mézières über die baltischen Gebiete', *Commentationes Balticae* 6–7 (1958–59), 139–83 (here 141).

²² The term is used by Peter von Dusburg, pp. 68, 80. See also footnote 66 below.

²³ See Marian Tumlir, *Der Deutsche Orden im Werden, Wachsen und Wirken bis 1400* (Wien, 1955), p. 256; Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 49–51, 77–8, 89–91.

²⁴ For example, Urban, *Samogitian Crusade*, pp. v–vii; Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, 2nd edn (Harmondsworth, 1997), pp. 138–76 (esp. 138, 150–51, 154–5); Kurt Forstreuter, *Deutschland und Litauen im Mittelalter* (Köln, 1962), pp. 4–5, 11 (n. 11a); Samsonowicz, 'Oost-Europa en de kruistochten', pp. 83–5.

'perpetual crusade', Riley-Smith argues.²⁵ According to this argument, no additional papal privileges are needed to describe the war against Lithuania accurately as a crusade. Norman Housley has adopted this approach and slightly changed his own original view on the matter by calling the war 'a sort of "ongoing" crusade'.²⁶ I shall discuss this view below.

Werner Paravicini, the most eminent expert on the war in question, has asserted that the participating knights enjoyed all the indulgences and papal privileges that had been granted to the crusaders who helped subdue the Prussians in the thirteenth century.²⁷ According to Paravicini, the *Reise* was a work that pleased God and earned the knights indulgence,²⁸ although the idea of crusading was not as dominant as it had been in former times.²⁹ Paravicini has not yet been able to set out his assertions in detail, which he will do in the third volume of his *Preußenreisen*.³⁰ Lastly, Juozas Jakštas has to be mentioned, who claimed that the *Reisen* were 'definitely crusades, sometimes prompted by the popes, and the participants received the same indulgences as the crusaders to the Holy Land'.³¹ He does not, however, provide any evidence for his assertion. In general, Jakštas seems to argue that the war was a crusade because it aimed at the forcible conversion of the pagans.³²

The Sources

The last known guests who joined the fight against the Prussians arrived in Prussia in 1272–73.³³ It is not until 1304 that we again hear of 'pilgrims' in Prussia, this time participating in the 'new' war against Lithuania,³⁴ whereas in Livonia pilgrims had joined a campaign of the Teutonic Order in 1290.³⁵ In

²⁵ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (London, 1987), pp. 163, 213. See also Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, p. 31.

²⁶ Housley, *Later Crusades*, pp. 340–41.

²⁷ Paravicini, *Preußenreisen* I: 24 and footnote 28 below.

²⁸ Paravicini, 'Verlorene Denkmäler', p. 83; Paravicini, 'Von der Heidenfahrt zur Kavalierstour. Über Motive und Formen adligen Reisens im späten Mittelalter', in *Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Bedingungen, Typen, Publikum, Sprache*, ed. Horst Brunner (Wiesbaden, 1993), pp. 91–130 (here 99); Paravicini, 'Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels', *Historische Zeitschrift* 232 (1981), 25–38 (here 29–30).

²⁹ Paravicini, 'Von der Heidenfahrt zur Kavalierstour', p. 98.

³⁰ See Paravicini, *Preußenreisen* I: 24, n. 25 (chapter 9 has not appeared in vol. 2 but will appear in vol. 3 instead). The publication of vol. 3, however, is not to be expected for the next four years or so, as the author has kindly informed me.

³¹ Jakštas, 'Baltikum', p. 145.

³² See footnote 21 above.

³³ Peter von Dusburg, pp. 116–17.

³⁴ Peter von Dusburg, p. 170; Paravicini, *Preußenreisen* I: 21, 23; not '1316', as in Urban, *Samogitian Crusade*, pp. 63, 69.

³⁵ *Livländische Reimchronik*, lines 11862–3. See Dieter Rüdēbusch, *Der Anteil Niedersachsens an den Kreuzzügen und Heidenfahrten* (Hildesheim, 1972), p. 166.

order to assess the character of the war against Lithuania it is not only important to study the documents of papal support, but also to consider how participants and other contemporaries perceived the war. This is equally important, as Ernst-Dieter Hehl has pointed out with reference to Jonathan Riley-Smith: both, popes and participants, had to view a crusade within an 'interpretational framework' (*Interpretationsrahmen*) that marked the difference between a crusade and an ordinary war.³⁶ In considering the evidence for the war of the Teutonic Knights against Lithuania, I will try to trace both the tradition of papal documents and the perception of the war by participants and other contemporaries in order to answer the question whether it was a crusade or not.

Papal Crusade Privileges and Mandates

Clement IV (1265–68) appears to have been the last pope who actively supported the war of the Teutonic Knights in the Baltic region 'with major crusading aid'.³⁷ For the remainder of the thirteenth and the entire fourteenth century 'there appear to be no crusade bulls specifically addressed to the Order'.³⁸ Nevertheless, there are two references to crusade bulls allegedly issued in favour of the Order by Pope John XXII (1316–34) which deserve a short discussion to prevent future misinterpretations.

In his *Geschichte Preußens*, Johannes Voigt mentioned an undated copy of a crusade bull for the Knights in the Königsberg archive, of which he was director. He dated the bull to around 1322. According to Voigt, John XXII asked the Dominicans to preach the cross in Magdeburg, Regensburg and other places 'for the Order and the Christians in Prussia and Livonia'.³⁹ As the source of his Königsberg copy Voigt specified the *Formulario Marini Eboli epist. 1865*.⁴⁰ In 1827, Voigt had asked the Vatican Archives for copies of documents from this formular book of (Pseudo-)Marinus of Eboli relating to medieval Prussia.⁴¹ The copies formed the Ordensfoliant 323, which is now

³⁶ Ernst-Dieter Hehl, 'Was ist eigentlich ein Kreuzzug?', *Historische Zeitschrift* 259 (1994), 297–336 (here 300).

³⁷ Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, p. 92.

³⁸ Housley, *Later Crusades*, p. 341.

³⁹ Johannes Voigt, *Geschichte Preußens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Untergange der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, 9 vols (Königsberg 1827–39), 4: 357–8; a calendar of the bull after Voigt's description in *LUB 1/2*, calendar 800, p. 52.

⁴⁰ Voigt, *Geschichte Preußens* 4: 358, n. 1. 'Ep. 1865' is identical with no. 1872 in *Die Formularsammlung des Marinus von Eboli*, ed. Fritz Schillmann (Rom, 1929), p. 256.

⁴¹ *Formularsammlung*, ed. Schillmann, p. 70. For the state of research on this formular book, see Martin Bertram, 'Zwei neue Handschriften der Briefsammlung des Pseudo-Marinus von Eboli', in *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte: Peter Herde zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Karl Borchardt and Enno Bünz, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1998), 1: 457–75.

lost.⁴² It is this collection that Voigt was quoting from. Voigt's dating, however, is wrong. The document is indeed a crusade bull, but it was issued by Pope Innocent IV and repeated by Alexander IV (*Qui iustis causis*, 23 September 1243 and 11 March 1256).⁴³ It is definitely not a bull of John XXII, but belongs to the many crusade privileges issued for Prussia in the thirteenth century.

The second of the two crusade bulls is mentioned by Eric Christiansen. He writes that in 1325 the grand master (*Hochmeister*) of the Order, Werner von Orseln (1324–30), 'persuaded John XXII to issue a crusading Bull offering full remission of sins to all who fought Russians, Tartars and heathens during the next three years (20 June 1325)'.⁴⁴ This bull, however, was addressed to the Christians in the kingdom of Poland.⁴⁵ It had nothing to do with the war of the Teutonic Order as far as the recruitment of crusaders was concerned. And it was not the grand master who persuaded the pope to issue the bull, but King Władysław I Łokietek of Poland (1320–33).⁴⁶ Werner von Orseln, by contrast, prohibited the preaching of a *passagium* (another term for 'crusade') in Prussia by 'men with green crosses' who appeared in Poland in 1325 and who probably preached the crusade King Władysław had asked for.⁴⁷

Thus, the absence of crusade privileges in favour of the Teutonic Knights during the fourteenth century has to be upheld. As a consequence of this lack of bulls scholars have turned to thirteenth-century documents in order to find papal authorization for the war against Lithuania. Jonathan Riley-Smith has suggested that the Knights could organize a crusade themselves on the grounds of Innocent IV's mandate *De negotio Pruscie* of 13 August 1245. In this mandate Innocent referred to the fact that he had granted the crusade indulgence to those crusaders whom the Teutonic Knights would recruit 'without public preaching',⁴⁸ probably to counter the negative influence that the preaching of King Louis IX's crusade was having on the recruitment for the

⁴² Formerly MS Königsberg, Staatsarchiv, Ordensfoliant 323 (formerly A 127 I and II). Nothing is known about the whereabouts of the folio after 1944/45. I am indebted for this information to Dr Bernhard Jähnig (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin).

⁴³ See Leonid Arbusow, 'IV. Römischer Arbeitsbericht', in *Latvijas Universitātes Raksti. Acta Universitatis Latviensis; Filologijas un filosofijas fakultātes serija 2* (1931–33), 279–394 (here 301, no. 7). See also *PUB* 1/1, nos 146, 326.

⁴⁴ Christiansen, *Northern Crusades*, 2nd edn, p. 161.

⁴⁵ See *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia*, ed. Augustin Theiner, 4 vols (Rome, 1860–4), 1, no. 316, p. 205; *Jean XXII. Lettres communes*, ed. G. Mollat, 16 vols (Paris, 1901–47), 5, no. 22613, p. 401; *Bullarium Poloniae*, ed. Irena Sulowska-Kuraś and Stanisław Kuraś, 6 vols (Rome, 1982–98), 1, no. 1289, p. 229.

⁴⁶ See Housley, *Avignon Papacy*, p. 67.

⁴⁷ *Franciscani Thorunensis Annales Prussici (941–1410)*, ed. Ernst Strehlke, in *SRP* 3: 57–316 (here p. 65 with n. 2): *Cruciferi viridis crucis in Polonia et Pomerania passagium predicarunt; sed in Prussiam prohibente fratre Wernero magistro generali non venerunt.*

⁴⁸ *PUB* 1/1, no. 168.

war against the Prussians.⁴⁹ Whereas Innocent had restricted the number of recruits to 100 German knights in an earlier letter (*Considerata magnitudine*, 7 May 1245), *De negotio Pruscie* contained no such explicit restriction in numbers.⁵⁰ The latter, therefore, has been regarded as the basis for a 'perpetual' or 'interminable crusade' which the Knights could conduct.⁵¹ Innocent's mandate, however, contained several limitations. He wrote to the archbishop of Mainz that

because the beloved son, the master of the hospital of St. Mary of the Germans of Jerusalem asked it from us ... we conceded ... that whoever from Germany responds to the appeal [of the brethren] without public preaching ... and takes the cross for the aid of the faithful against the savageness of the Prussians, shall receive the same indulgence and the same privilege as those who go to Jerusalem. And because we are full of confidence ... concerning your careful consideration, we entrust you ... to grant it to them with our authority in those places where you think it is appropriate.⁵²

It is clear that this papal favour was confined to Germans who fought against the Prussians; crusaders from other countries and the struggle against the Lithuanians were not mentioned. Pope Innocent probably had a good knowledge of the situation in Prussia, for his legate William of Modena, who had travelled extensively through the Baltic lands between 1225 and 1242, had been present at the curia since 1243. Perhaps William personally advocated the causes of the Teutonic Order and thus helped to gain the special allowance for

⁴⁹ See *PUB* 1/1, no. 169; Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, p. 78.

⁵⁰ *PUB* 1/1, no. 167.

⁵¹ See above, footnotes 25–6, and also Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Kreuzzüge', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 9 vols (München, 1980–99), 5: 1508–19 (here 1516); recent popularizations of this view include Bernard Hamilton, *The Crusades* (Phoenix Mill, 1998), p. 87 and Reinhard Barth, *Taschenlexikon Kreuzzüge* (München, 1999), p. 180. See also Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier, 1100–1525* (London, 1980), pp. 132, 158, 251, and 2nd edn, pp. 164, 260. Christiansen does not mention this document but calls the crusade 'interminable' and 'perpetual'; in the heading of chapter 6 the word 'interminable' has been replaced by 'Lithuanian' in the second edition.

⁵² *PUB* 1/1, no. 168: *Quare dilectus filius magister hospitalis sancte Marie Theuton(ico)rum Ierosolimitani humiliter petebat a nobis, ut sibi et fratribus hospitalis eiusdem de benignitate solita concedere dignaremur, quod, quicumque de Theutonia ad exhortationem ipsorum sine predicatione publica perhempnis optentu glorie ire vellent in subsidium fidelium contra sevittiam Prutenorum, crucis propter hoc assumpto signaculo, illam indulgentiam idemque privilegium concederemus eisdem, que Ierosolimam euntibus conceduntur. Quia vero plenam in domino gerimus de tua circumspectione fiduciam, fraternitati tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus, consideratis circumstanciis universis, id eius auctoritate nostra concedas in locis, in quibus videris expedire.*

a limited private recruitment of crusaders by the Order.⁵³ The form of Innocent's letter (extremely concise, *cum filo canapis*) indicates that he did not intend the charter to have any long-term effects, but that he endorsed a short-term measure to counter temporary difficulties. This is true for both the charter of 7 May and the mandate of 13 August 1245. Besides, Innocent asked the archbishop to supervise the granting of the indulgence. Perhaps there had been conflicts between the Order and the archbishop over this unusual form of recruitment which Innocent tried to settle by his mandate. Considering these limitations, one wonders if the document really provided a sufficient legal basis for a 'perpetual' crusade against Lithuania. Innocent neither proclaimed such a crusade nor did he give licence to proclaim it. What is more, there is no evidence that the Teutonic Knights ever used *De negotio Pruscie* to recruit 'guests' in later times, and to my knowledge it was never copied into the Order's collections of papal privileges. Moreover, it has to be pointed out that during the next twenty years recruitment for the crusade against the Prussians in fact followed the traditional pattern of public preaching.⁵⁴

Between 1245 and 1265, the popes issued numerous authorizations for preaching the cross for Prussia and Livonia and insisted that the crusade to the Baltic region should not suffer from the preaching for the Holy Land.⁵⁵ The duty of preaching the cross for Prussia was extended from the Dominicans to the Franciscans in the late 1250s.⁵⁶ From 1260, even clerics of the Teutonic Order could preach the cross;⁵⁷ it was probably the defeat of the Order at Schoden in 1259, which had cost thirty-three brothers their lives, that moved Alexander IV to grant this privilege.⁵⁸ Subsequently, in 1265, Clement IV appointed a priest of the Order, Heinrich *de Spinis*, to preach the cross for Livonia, Kurland and Prussia in the regions for which the popes had authorized this preaching (roughly the empire, Scandinavia and Poland). All who responded to his public preaching were to enjoy the same indulgence as those who went to Jerusalem, and those who heard his sermons would receive an indulgence of forty days.⁵⁹ Another priest of the Order, Konrad, was preaching the cross in 1266 and apparently still doing so in 1278.⁶⁰ The priest-brothers

⁵³ See Gustav Adolf Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina, Bischof von Modena 1222–1234. Päpstlicher Legat in den nordischen Ländern (†1251)* (Helsingfors, 1929), pp. 73–303, esp. 281, 290.

⁵⁴ See Peter von Dusburg, pp. 85, 100; *PUB* 1/2, nos 11, 21, 83, and footnotes 55–7 below.

⁵⁵ For instance: *PUB* 1/1, nos 169, 231, 255, 326; 1/2, nos 14, 23, 28, 61, 198–9, 234, 246.

⁵⁶ Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, pp. 89–90; *PUB* 1/2, no. 103.

⁵⁷ *PUB* 1/2, nos 94–5.

⁵⁸ *Livländische Reimchronik*, lines 4629–876; William Urban, *The Baltic Crusade*, 2nd edn (Chicago, 1994), pp. 245–6; Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, p. 90.

⁵⁹ *PUB* 1/2, no. 236; perhaps the name *de Spinis* (literally 'of thorns', 'of thorn-bushes') indicates that Heinrich came from the Order's convent at Thorn in Prussia, although the place-name has nothing to do with thorns.

⁶⁰ *PUB* 1/2, nos 252, 365; Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, p. 92.

were also allowed to redeem crusade vows, to confer the crusade indulgence on crusaders in Prussia and to absolve crusaders from excommunication.⁶¹ This development was far more important than *De negotio Pruscie* had been, because it enabled the Order to distribute indulgences itself to an unlimited number of crusaders or to almsgivers who supported the crusade. The Order's recruitment for the crusade thus – theoretically – became more independent from other crusade preachers and from local bishops. This was 'an advance in the assumption of control of the organisational forms of crusade without recorded parallel in the history of the Templars and the Hospitallers', as Maureen Purcell has remarked.⁶² It is, however, by no means certain that the Knights fully utilized their right to preach. Whether the Prussian 'pilgrims' of 1304 (or those in Livonia in 1290) had been personally invited without public preaching or had been prompted by sermons by priest-brothers or other preachers we can only speculate. It seems likely, though, that some sort of invitation preceeded their 'pilgrimage'.⁶³ More can be said about the question whether the 'pilgrims' of 1304 and their successors were perceived as crusaders.

Vows and Pilgrimage: Attributes of Crusading

Like the thirteenth-century crusaders, the guests who joined the war against Lithuania were called 'pilgrims' (*peregrini*) by contemporary chroniclers. If this were true only for the official historiography of the Teutonic Order one could suspect a merely propagandist purpose, but this is not the case. According to Peter von Dusburg, the *peregrini* of 1304 had come *inspirante domino*, a phrase sometimes used to interpret acts of charity, for example in grants of indulgence.⁶⁴ In a slightly different version (*divina inspiratione*) it had been used by Baldric of Bourgueil to explain how the march of the first crusaders to the Holy Land had come to pass.⁶⁵ Perhaps it is not mistaken to assume that, firstly, this phrase presupposed some sort of invitation, and secondly, that it placed the guests' arrival in a crusading tradition which qualified the war as a charitable and godly enterprise. *Peregrini*, moreover, was a standard term for crusaders, although not all *peregrini* were crusaders, of

⁶¹ *PUB* 1/2, nos 24, 49, 81, 242–3; 4, no. 133.

⁶² Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy*, pp. 90–91.

⁶³ See Paravicini, *Preußenreisen* 1: 23–4.

⁶⁴ *Hessisches Urkundenbuch, I. Abteilung: Urkundenbuch der Deutschordens-Ballei Hessen*, ed. Arthur Wyss, 3 vols (Leipzig, 1879–99), 1, nos 113, 125, pp. 93–4, 101.

⁶⁵ Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols (Paris 1844–95), 4: 9. See Hehl, 'Was ist eigentlich ein Kreuzzug?', p. 301.

course.⁶⁶ But in this case the term was applied to armed knights who wanted to fight infidels, something a normal pilgrim would not do. Moreover, those who fought against the pagan Lithuanians 'avenged the injury done to the crucified one', as Peter von Dusburg noted for the year 1307.⁶⁷ This was the vocabulary of crusading,⁶⁸ and it was not only Peter von Dusburg who applied it, but many a chronicler of the fourteenth century. Thus, the Cistercian chronicler of Oliva near Danzig reported for the winter of 1336–37 that King John of Bohemia (1311–46) was going to Prussia 'by way of pilgrimage' (*peregrinacionis pretextu*).⁶⁹

The chronicler Henry Knighton related that Duke Henry of Lancaster, earl of Derby (†1361), went to Prussia in 1351–52, being 'on pilgrimage against the enemies of Christ', which is confirmed by Heinrich von Herford, who certainly heard of the 'pilgrims' when they came through Westphalia.⁷⁰ The archbishop of York ordered prayers for the duke and his company, and Pope Clement IV granted him – among other ecclesiastical privileges – a plenary indulgence 'in the hour of death'.⁷¹ During his journey Duke Henry was captured by a band of knights who probably acted in the service of Duke Otto of Braunschweig-Grubenhagen (c. 1320–99).⁷² Henry ransomed himself from captivity and went on to Prussia. No *Reise*, however, was conducted that year. On his way back Henry complained publicly about Otto, who had tried to obstruct his *sancta peregrinacio*.⁷³ Evidently Henry was considered a 'pilgrim' by many, including himself. His status earned him spiritual rewards such as prayers and

⁶⁶ See Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, pp. 10, 30–31; Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, pp. 2, 6, 54, 78. See also *PUB* 1/2, no. 94 (*peregrini, qui pro negotio ipso assumpserunt crucis signaculum*); Peter von Dusburg, pp. 49, 56 (the *affigentes crucem humeris suis* are called *peregrini*).

⁶⁷ Peter von Dusburg, p. 173.

⁶⁸ See also Peter von Dusburgs *Chronik des Preußenlandes*, trans. Klaus Scholz and Dieter Wojtecki (Darmstadt, 1984), pp. 11–13; Helmut Bauer, *Peter von Dusburg und die Geschichtsschreibung des Deutschen Ordens im 14. Jahrhundert in Preußen* (Berlin, 1935), pp. 31–56.

⁶⁹ *Die ältere Chronik von Oliva*, ed. Theodor Hirsch, in *SRP* 5: 591–624 (here 613; see also 610).

⁷⁰ Henry Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle, 1337–1396*, ed. G. H. Martin (Oxford, 1995), p. 112. On the journey of the duke in general, see Paravicini, *Preußenreisen* 1: 129–34; Heinrich von Herford, *Liber de rebus memorabilioribus sive Chronicon Henrici de Hervordia*, ed. August Potthast (Göttingen, 1859), p. 286: *Henricus comes de Darben [Derby] Anglicus, qui et dux Lancestræ, cum multitudine copiosa tam nobilium quam militarium Angliam exit, in Prutiam peregrinaturus, et ad fidem cristianam et gloriam nominis Domini nostri Jhesu Cristi dilatandam et magnificandam cum paganis dimicaturus*.

⁷¹ *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers*, ed. James Raine (London, 1873), no. 252, pp. 402–3; *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters*, ed. W. H. Bliss et al., 18 vols (London, 1893–1989), 3: 459; *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Petitions to the Pope*, ed. W. H. Bliss (London, 1896), p. 225.

⁷² See Paravicini, *Preußenreisen* 1: 130–31.

⁷³ Henry Knighton, pp. 110–12; Paravicini, *Preußenreisen* 1: 133.

indulgence. In addition, he claimed for himself special protection from harassment, as can be seen from his complaint about Duke Otto. Because the ultimate goal of his pilgrimage was not a shrine, but a war against infidels, we may well call him a crusader.

Just like King John of Bohemia and Duke Henry of Lancaster, many other 'guests' were called *peregrini*, and often the purpose of their pilgrimage was, among other things, 'to avenge the crucified one', to defend the church and to fight the enemies of the Christian faith.⁷⁴ The same goals had served to justify the war against the Prussians.⁷⁵ Both calling the noble guests *peregrini* and ascribing those pious aims to their deeds placed the war against Lithuania in the crusading tradition of the thirteenth century. Perhaps also the chronicler of Oliva, who was writing around 1350, was thinking of the Lithuanian war when he contrasted the war against infidels with the Hundred Years' War between England and France. After the blind King John of Bohemia and many other nobles who had fought for France were killed at the battle of Crécy in 1346, the chronicler lamented:

Oh would that all these had been reddened with the stream of their blood by the infidels, for the heavenly kingdom and the defence of the Catholic faith! Then great joy among the heavenly host would have arisen; but because this shedding of the blood of such a great number of noble and simple men has been made for an earthly and transitory kingdom, one must fear that there was great joy among the host of hell.⁷⁶

Because the war against the pagans of Lithuania was being waged virtually on the doorstep of the monastery, one may assume that it served the chronicler as a model. The Lithuanians were the closest infidels at hand against whom the

⁷⁴ John Capgrave, *Liber de illustribus Henricis*, ed. Francis Charles Hingeston (London, 1858), p. 99; Henry Knighton, p. 112; Beneš of Weitmil, 'Chronicon' (Kronika Beneše z Weitmile), in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum. Prameny dějin českých*, ed. Josef Emler et al., 8 vols (vol. 7 not published) (Praha, 1873–1932), 4: 457–548 (here p. 511a); *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers ... Papal Letters* 3: 459; *Die Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, p. 614; Philippe de Mézières, *Le songe du vieil pelerin*, ed. G. W. Coopland, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1969), 1: 247; Nicolaus von Jeroschin, *Di Kronike von Pruzinlant*, ed. Ernst Strehlike, in SRP 1: 291–624 (here lines 26995–27001, p. 615); Wigand von Marburg, *Die Chronik Wigands von Marburg*, ed. Theodor Hirsch, in SRP 2: 427–662 (here 463, 505); *Die ältere Chronik von Oliva*, p. 619; *Die Münsterischen Chroniken des Mittelalters*, ed. Julius Ficker (Münster, 1851), p. 76 (= SRP 3: 412).

⁷⁵ Peter von Dusburg, pp. 36, 38, 56. See also *Die Schrifttafeln von Oliva*, ed. Theodor Hirsch, in SRP 1: 727–31 (here 728); *PUB* 1/1, nos 72, 80.

⁷⁶ *Die ältere Chronik von Oliva*, p. 619: *Utinam isti omnes pro celesti regno et pro defensione fidei catholice essent ab infidelibus sui sanguinis unda rubricati! magna profecto esset exultatio civium supernorum; sed quia pro regno terreno et transitorio facta est tantorum et tam multorum nobilium et simplicium effusio sanguinis, timendum est, quod ex hoc facta sit exultatio civium infernorum.* See also Christiansen, *Northern Crusades*, 2nd edn, p. 176; Max Perlbach, *Die Aeltere Chronik von Oliva* (Göttingen, 1871), pp. 97, 149–50.

Catholic faith might be defended. Correspondingly, Peter von Dusburg and Nicolaus von Jeroschin, who rendered Dusburg's chronicle into German verse, called the war against Lithuania 'the work of God' (*gotis werc*) in which the 'guests' participated.⁷⁷ In order to do so, many took a vow which – above all – made them 'pilgrims'.

Both, pilgrims and crusaders, can be defined by the vows they took.⁷⁸ The vow to go on a pilgrimage excluded the obligation to fight (and usually forbade the wearing of arms) whereas a crusade vow demanded participation in a holy war, unless the vow was redeemed. There is evidence for vows of the crusading type taken by guests of the Teutonic Knights. Duke Wilhelm I of Jülich-Geldern (†1402), for example, is reported to have embarked on his fourth *Reise* in 1388/89 in fulfilment of a vow.⁷⁹ According to a charter issued before his departure, he undertook the expedition 'in honour of God and the holy knight George'.⁸⁰ Later he was mentioned as being in Prussia, 'on pilgrimage'.⁸¹ Similarly, at least some of the French knights who went to Prussia under the leadership of Viscount Aimeri IX of Narbonne (†1388) had taken vows. In December 1354, they found themselves accused of arson by the inhabitants of the village of Bergen in the duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneburg after their lodging and most of the village had burnt down. Together with their 'army' they were on a 'pilgrimage to Prussia' (*cum exercitu nostro essemus in via peregrinandi versus Prutziam constituti*). When Duke Wilhelm of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1330–69) had them arrested to enforce the compensation demanded by the villagers they were afraid that they might miss the *Reise*. In order to avoid undue expenses as well as a forfeiture of their vows they agreed to a settlement 'so that the design and vow of our said pilgrimage, which usually starts at a certain date of the year, and which has been neglected by us by making rest at this place for several days, may not come to nought'.⁸² The *votum peregrinationis* which was mentioned in the charter, was a vow to

⁷⁷ Peter von Dusburg, pp. 179, 180; Nicolaus von Jeroschin, lines 22762, 26969, pp. 566, 615.

⁷⁸ For this and the following, see Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, pp. 3–114; Riley-Smith, *What were the Crusades?*, pp. 53–4.

⁷⁹ *Die Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, p. 614. See Rudolf Ernsing, *Wilhelm III. von Jülich als Herzog von Geldern (1372–1393)* (Paderborn, 1885), p. 76; on his seven *Reisen* altogether, see Paravicini, *Preußenreisen* 1: 60–66, 245–51 on this particular journey.

⁸⁰ *Gedenkwaardigheden uit de Geschiedenis van Gelderland*, ed. Isaak Anne Nijhoff et al., 6 vols (Arnhem, 1830–75), 3, no. 141, p. 153.

⁸¹ Detmar von Lübeck, *Chronik*, ed. Ernst Strehke, in SRP 3: 57–237 (here 154).

⁸² *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Herzöge von Braunschweig und Lüneburg und ihrer Lande*, ed. Hans Sudendorf, 11 vols (Hannover, 1859–83), 2: 253, no. 481: ... *ne <conceptus> aut votum dicte peregrinationis nostre, <que> certo termino anni expediri consuevit que eciam in faciendo moram ibidem paucis diebus per nos neglecta fuisset, frustrarentur* (words in <...> are emendations of the editor). See also PUB 5, no. 290. The document is partly misunderstood by Urban, *Samogitian Crusade*, p. 134.

undertake a pilgrimage or a crusade.⁸³ In this case the pilgrims were clearly armed. The ultimate goal of their pilgrimage was a military campaign and they were eager to ensure that their vows could be fulfilled. To apply the term 'crusaders' to these 'pilgrims', thus, seems to be most appropriate.

When King John of Bohemia travelled to Prussia for the first time in 1328–29, it was noted that he did so in fulfilment of a vow 'in honour of Our Lady'.⁸⁴ On his last journey to Prussia during the winter of 1345, he was accompanied by his son, the future Emperor Karl IV, and by many great nobles. The Bohemian chronicler Beneš of Weitmil stated that they went to Prussia 'driven by the zeal of devotion' (*zelo devocionis inducti*).⁸⁵ Because a Lithuanian counter-attack was feared and the winter was too mild, no advance into Lithuania could be made.⁸⁶ Therefore the guests, 'having been disappointed with regard to their vows, lost their labours and expenses' (*multi magni viri suis votis frustrati perdiderunt labores similiter et expensas*), as the continuation of Karl's autobiography reports.⁸⁷ The translation of *vota* as 'vows' is confirmed by one of the two fifteenth-century translations of the autobiography into Old Czech, which reads: 'thus many noble men, having not fulfilled their vows (*svých slibův nenaplnivše*), lost their labours and expenses'.⁸⁸ Evidently the medieval translator took it for granted that at least some of the 'guests' had taken vows.⁸⁹

Yet another reference clearly indicates that a 'guest' had taken a crusade vow. On 17 November 1365 Pope Urban V wrote to Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, in reply to a message of the latter. The earl had received the cross 'to go overseas' but he had encountered hindrances on the way. Perhaps he had enlisted in the crusade of King Peter I of Cyprus (1358–69), which was being

⁸³ See Ludwig Schmutge, "'Pilgerfahrt macht frei'" – Eine These zur Bedeutung des mittelalterlichen Pilgerwesens', *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 74 (1979), 16–31 (here 23).

⁸⁴ *Kurze preußische Annalen, 1190–1337*, ed. Ernst Strehle, in SRP 3: 1–4 (here p. 3).

⁸⁵ Beneš of Weitmil, p. 511a.

⁸⁶ On the exact course of events, see Klaus Conrad, 'Der dritte Litauerzug König Johanns von Böhmen und der Rücktritt des Hochmeisters Ludolf König', in *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel zum 70. Geburtstag*, 3 vols (Göttingen, 1971–72), 2: 383–401 (here 382–6).

⁸⁷ 'Život císaře Karla IV', I (original Latin version), in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum* 3: 323–68 (here 365a). For a modern edition including a German translation, see *Vita Caroli quarti. Die Autobiographie Karls IV. Einführung, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, ed. Eugen Hillenbrand (Stuttgart, 1979), pp. 182–5.

⁸⁸ 'Život císaře Karla IV', II (Czech version), in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum* 3: 369–95 (here 392b). See also Conrad, 'Litauerzug', p. 386.

⁸⁹ Modern translations into German or Czech usually translate *vota* in a broader sense as 'hopes', 'plans', 'wishes', and so does the other medieval Czech version. See *Latinitatis Medii Aevii Lexicon Bohemorum. Slovník středověké latiny v českých zemích*, 2 vols to date (Praha, 1987–), 2, s.v. 'frustrō', no. 1a, p. 771.

preached at the time.⁹⁰ The pope acknowledged that Thomas had endured and expended much. As he had chosen another way to fight for God, namely to go to Prussia instead of the Holy Land (overseas), Urban commended his discretion and great devotion, allowing him to serve his Creator wherever his piety would suggest – even though Thomas had received ‘the sign of the cross’ for the Holy Land.⁹¹ According to Wigand von Marburg, Thomas did indeed go to Prussia that year.⁹² It is clear that in this case Prussia served as an alternative to the Holy Land. Both Thomas Beauchamp and the pope seemed to regard the war in Prussia as much a crusading venture as the expeditions to the Holy Land. Beauchamp apparently ‘considered several crusading fronts’, namely Italy and the Holy Land, ‘before settling on Prussia’.⁹³

Thus, we have seen that at least some knights who participated in the *Reisen* had taken vows. They were regarded as pilgrims fighting in a holy war similar to the expeditions to the eastern Mediterranean. We must now examine whether the Order’s guests enjoyed spiritual rewards for joining the war.

Spiritual Rewards: The Teutonic Order as a Distributor of Indulgence

In April 1362, when the Teutonic Order’s troops were encamped before Kaunas after a successful campaign, Bishop Bartholomäus of Samland (Samland), himself a member of the Order, celebrated Easter mass for the Knights and their guests.⁹⁴ After the sermon the ‘indulgences of the Order’ were proclaimed (*indulgentie quoque ordinis sunt pronunciate*). Then the

⁹⁰ See Housley, *Avignon Papacy*, pp. 40–44; Maurice Keen, ‘Chaucer’s Knight, the English Aristocracy and the Crusade’, in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (London, 1983) pp. 45–61 (here 54).

⁹¹ MS Città del Vaticano, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 248, fol. 9r-v (transcribed from photocopy, my punctuation): *Dilecto filio nobili viro Thome de Bellocampo comiti Warwici salutem etc. Nobilitatis tue nuncios et litteras letanter recepimus, per quos tuam intelleximus sospitatem, et licet, fili dilecte, sicut proposueras et iter accipueras, propter impedimenta, que tibi tempore tui occurrerunt itineris, nequiveris transfretare, de quo non dubitamus te cruciatum mentis et expensas multiplices fuisse perpessum, tamen, quia aliam viam laudabilem, per quam posses in servicium altissimi militare proficiscendo, videlicet in Prusiam || contra paganos illarum partium christianos impetentes hostiliter provide recepisti, tuam proinde discretionem et devotionem eximiam commendamus gratum habentes, quod ubicumque volueris, prout tibi devotio suggeret – non obstante, quod signum crucis ad transfretandum a nobis receperis – tuo servias creatori. Datum Avinione, xv kalendas decembris, anno quarto.* See *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers ... Papal Letters*, 4: 19.

⁹² Wigand von Marburg, pp. 549 (n. 738), 551.

⁹³ Housley, *Later Crusades*, p. 401; *Lettres secrètes et curiales du Pape Urbain V*, ed. Paul Lecacheux and G. Mollat (Paris, 1902–55), nos 682, 940, pp. 91–2, 144; *Urbain V. Lettres communes*, ed. M.-H. Laurent et al., 12 vols (Rome, 1954–89), 3, nos 11536–8, p. 473; *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers ... Papal Letters*, 4: 5, 9, 10; Keen, ‘Chaucer’s Knight’, p. 54.

⁹⁴ Wigand von Marburg, pp. 531–7. For Bartholomäus as a member of the Order, see *PUB* 5, nos 646, 654.

remainder of the mass was celebrated and the congregation received the blessing.⁹⁵ Because the German chronicle of Wigand von Marburg is not preserved in full, it is only the fifteenth-century translation into Latin that reports the event. This does not, however, diminish the value of the passage. It was common that mass was celebrated during campaigns.⁹⁶ What is striking here is that the Order's indulgences and their proclamation are mentioned. As it is the only notice of this kind which I am aware of, it is difficult to assess whether it represents something extraordinary or not. I am inclined to think that it describes usual practice rather than constituting an exception. The exact content of the indulgences remains unclear, however. At least three possibilities deserve consideration. First, Bishop Bartholomäus may have announced a special indulgence which could be obtained at Easter in any church of the Teutonic Knights. The phrase 'the indulgences of the Order', however, suggests more, namely a set of several indulgences which could be earned by supporting the Order or by attending mass celebrated by its brethren. This could, thirdly, include crusading indulgences, although there is no known fourteenth-century papal privilege that would have authorized their proclamation. Nevertheless, the Teutonic Knights may have distributed such indulgences on the basis of real or fictitious thirteenth-century privileges. A summary of the Order's indulgences composed at Trier in 1372 referred to a remission of the third part of all penance to be granted to those who would aid the Order with alms, weapons or horses 'against the Saracens in support of the Holy Land'.⁹⁷ Honorius III (1216–27) and other thirteenth-century popes were said to have granted this indulgence. Obviously the pardon was intended to support the Holy Land but since Palestine had been lost the Knights transferred the grace to their new 'holy land' in Prussia,⁹⁸ as can be seen from another collection of the Order's indulgences in German, probably composed during the first half of the fifteenth century:

In order to enable many people to participate in the meritorious activity of defending the faith, the popes Honorius III and Alexander IV grant an indulgence of one third of all penance to those who support the war against the enemies of God by giving horses or armour to the brethren in Prussia.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Wigand von Marburg, p. 537.

⁹⁶ See *Livländische Reimchronik*, lines 11036–7.

⁹⁷ MS Wien, DOZA, Abteilung Urkunden, 1 July 1375 (Trier) [contains the lost summary of 1372].

⁹⁸ See Peter von Dusburg, pp. 218–19.

⁹⁹ MS Berlin, GStA PK, XX. Hauptabteilung, Ordensfoliant 66, p. 247: *Daz ouch allirleye menschen mägen genysin dez lonbern tundes geübit in der beschirmunge dez heiligen gelouben so gebin die pebiste Honorius der dritte unnd Alexander der virde den die czue hulfe der vorvechtunge der cristenheit pferde adir harnasch den brudern czu Prüsen gebin uf die gotis vinde ablaz dez dritten teilez ire gesaczten buse* [my underlining].

This note as well as the summary of 1372 and its tradition indicate that the Knights were using those alleged indulgences of old both in the fourteenth and in the fifteenth centuries.¹⁰⁰ Besides, the Order could actively engage in crusade preaching, as we have seen. The right to grant even a plenary crusade indulgence was probably derived from this privilege. At least two other texts, one from the fifteenth century, the other from around 1400, list the 'indulgences of the *Reise*', proclaiming that the plenary indulgence granted for the journey to the Holy Land can equally be obtained in Prussia and Livonia by those who join the fight against the infidels.¹⁰¹ If this was so, brethren of the Teutonic Order like Bishop Bartholomäus were the obvious persons to tell the guests about it and to confirm that they had earned the grace. And it seems indeed that knights were coming to Prussia during the fourteenth century, among other reasons, to earn an indulgence. This is indicated by some other documents.

On 24 May 1387 Bishop Heinrich of Warmia (Ermland) imposed ecclesiastical punishments on anyone impeding the 'pilgrims' who came to the Order's aid. Four months earlier, the former procurator-general of the Order at the Curia, Heinrich Brunner, had presented a mandate of Alexander IV to Bishop Heinrich which ordered him to take ecclesiastical action against anyone who hindered the crusaders to Prussia and Livonia and thus impeded the 'work of conversion'.¹⁰² It was on the basis of this mandate that Heinrich Brunner asked for censures against the obstructionists, namely the king of Poland and his officials, as is stated in the bishop's letter to all prelates in Poland, the empire, Scandinavia and other places.¹⁰³ After his baptism and coronation King Wladyslaw II Jagiello of Poland (the Lithuanian Grand Duke Jogaila) had blocked most routes to Prussia.¹⁰⁴ The Teutonic Knights now complained to

¹⁰⁰ See *800 Jahre Deutscher Orden*, ed. Gerhard Bott and Udo Arnold (Gütersloh, 1990), pp. 419–20; an analysis of these summaries together with a commentary as well as an account of the use of indulgences by the Teutonic Order in general will be given in my doctoral thesis: Axel Ehlers, 'Die Ablaßpraxis des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Göttingen, in progress).

¹⁰¹ MSS Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library, German 10, fol. 22r–v; Berlin, GStA PK, XX. Hauptabteilung, Schieblade 17 Nr. 29; later copy in *LUB 2/3*, no. 913. For a description of the Philadelphia manuscript, see Indrikis Sterns, 'The Statutes of the Teutonic Knights: A Study of Religious Chivalry' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1969), pp. 325–9; a more detailed account of these texts will be found in my doctoral thesis (as footnote 100).

¹⁰² 11 January 1261 (*Pro fidei negotio*): *Codex diplomaticus Prussicus*, ed. Johannes Voigt, 6 vols (Königsberg, 1836–61), 1, no. 134, pp. 136–7; *PUB 1/2*, no. 125.

¹⁰³ MS Wien, DOZA Abt. Urk., 24 May 1387 (Heilsberg); print from a later copy in *Codex diplomaticus Prussicus* 4, no. 46, pp. 55–9; another copy with different addressees in *Codex diplomaticus Warmiensis*, ed. Carl Peter Woelky et al., 4 vols (Mainz, 1860–1935), 3, no. 212, pp. 168–73. See also *Die Berichte der Generalprokuratoren des Deutschen Ordens an der Kurie*, ed. Kurt Forstreuter et al., 4 vols (Göttingen, 1961–76), 1, no. 171, p. 288.

¹⁰⁴ See Paravicini, *Preußenreisen* 1: 242–3.

Bishop Heinrich that the Poles molested 'the pilgrims and their company, who wish to visit Prussia and Livonia for the sake of devotion and indulgences'. For this reason the Knights lacked support 'against the Lithuanians, Russians and other infidels'.¹⁰⁵ What is of interest here is the fact that devotion and indulgences are mentioned as motivations for the guests. The argument was part of the Order's propaganda against Poland-Lithuania, of course, and one would be ill-advised to take it at face value. The motivation of the guests had to be a spiritual one; only then could one call for ecclesiastical measures against those who molested them.¹⁰⁶ But in the light of Wigand von Marburg's reference to 'the indulgences of the Order' it seems justified to attribute some truth to the argument. According to one hitherto unpublished source, the Order also issued certificates about 'the indulgence of the Prussian *Reise*' (*van den oflate van der Prwsscher reisen*) that were paid for by the guests.¹⁰⁷ This seems to be the best proof that the Order indeed distributed spiritual rewards among his military supporters and that they appreciated it.

Evidently the Teutonic Knights often relied on thirteenth-century documents to justify their conduct and to assert their privileges. Just as they reminded the bishop of Warmia of his duties which a pope had imposed on him more than 130 years before, they also made use of equally ancient indulgences, as can be seen from the summaries already mentioned. During the thirteenth century the Knights had received their most important privileges.¹⁰⁸ It therefore comes as no surprise that the spiritual rewards granted to the guests also had their origins in the thirteenth century. And it does not seem that the popes issued new indulgences for the journey to Prussia in the fourteenth century, otherwise the Knights certainly would have mentioned them at some point.

An exception are those indulgences granted directly by the popes to individual crusaders, such as Thomas Beauchamp's retinue or Duke Henry of Lancaster 'and his company on horse and foot who are going ... against the ... enemies of the Christian faith in Pruscia [sic]'.¹⁰⁹ They received a plenary

¹⁰⁵ MS Wien, DOZA: ... *peregrinos cum suis comitivis Lyvonie et Prusie partes devocionis ac indulgenciarum causa visitare volentes de facto contra deum et iusticiam molestant, turbent et impediunt, quominus ipsi peregrini cum suis comitivis magistro, preceptoribus et dicti ordinis fratribus Lyvonie et Prusie partium predictarum <in> subsidium contra Litwinos, Ruthenos et infideles alios venire et eis subvenire possint.* The text in the editions (as footnote 103) differs slightly. Words in <...> are my emendations.

¹⁰⁶ See Christiansen, *Northern Crusades*, 2nd edn, p. 176.

¹⁰⁷ MS 's-Gravenhage, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Graven van Blois, no. 45 [formerly Grafelijkheden Rekenkamer, Rekeningen no. 5626], fol. 52v, cited by Paravicini, 'Die Preußenreisen', p. 30. Professor Paravicini will provide an edition of the source in vol. 4 of his study on the *Preußenreisen*; I am indebted to him for kindly letting me use a copy of the relevant passage.

¹⁰⁸ See the collection of privileges published by Ernst Strehlke, *Tabulæ ordinis Theutonici* (Berlin, 1869), nos 295–725, pp. 263–471 (approximately three-quarters of all papal privileges were granted in the thirteenth century).

¹⁰⁹ *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers ... Petitions* 1: 500 and *Papal Letters* 3: 459.

indulgence 'in the hour of death'. Indulgences of that kind were also granted to other high nobles, and during the fourteenth century an increasing distribution of them can be observed.¹¹⁰ These indulgences were not necessarily linked to crusading, but in the central decades of the fourteenth century it may have been easier to obtain them if a knight proposed a *sancta peregrinatio*. In Henry of Lancaster's case at least, the granting of the indulgence was clearly connected with his journey to Prussia. Similarly, the pope granted the same indulgence to crusaders who participated in the expedition of Peter of Cyprus.¹¹¹ It may be of interest here that King Władysław II Jagiełło also received such a privilege from Pope Urban VI in 1388, allowing him to choose a confessor to grant him a plenary indulgence *in mortis articulo* when he was on campaign against 'the Turks, the Tartars and other barbaric nations', the 'enemies of the faith'.¹¹² In this case there is, again, a clear connection between a war against infidels and the indulgence.

Thus, spiritual rewards for the war against pagan Lithuania could be obtained from the pope. But they were granted by means of individual correspondence and not through a campaign of preaching. The same is true for those English knights who, in 1349, were planning to build a castle in Prussia and asked the pope for a plenary indulgence; they and their supporters received an indulgence of one year and forty days.¹¹³ Finally, the numerous indulgences of forty days or so which were to be gained in Prussian churches had no direct connection to the war. Although they were available to the guests it would be odd to regard them as an incentive for knightly pilgrims, as has been suggested in one case.¹¹⁴ Those minor indulgences were part of everyday religious life throughout Europe; they were probably not worth the journey to Prussia, but they certainly were a welcome opportunity for a pardon on the way. The Order reckoned that the guests would be good customers for these indulgences. Thus, Grand Master Winrich von Kniprode (1352–82) applied to the pope for an indulgence in favour of the Cistercian nunnery at Königsberg and pointed out that 'many nobles congregate in this city to go on campaign against the infidels'.¹¹⁵ When, however, the Teutonic Knights pretended (in the charter of 1387) that pilgrims were coming to Prussia for the sake of devotion and indulgences, they had in mind more general pardons, just as Bishop

¹¹⁰ See Nikolaus Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter*, 3 vols (Paderborn, 1922–23), 2: 124–30; 3: 303, 306, 310.

¹¹¹ See *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers ... Papal Letters* 4: 8–9.

¹¹² 'Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti', ed. August Sokołowski et al., 3 vols, in *Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, 19 vols (Kraków, 1876–1927), 2, 12, 14 (1876, 1891, 1894), 2 <12> (1891), ed. Anatol Lewicki, no. 13, p. 17.

¹¹³ *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers ... Petitions* 1: 176 and *Papal Letters* 3: 331.

¹¹⁴ Urban, *Samogitian Crusade*, p. 143; besides, this indulgence was not issued by 'the pope' but by sixteen bishops. See *PUB* 5, no. 633.

¹¹⁵ *PUB* 5, no. 913.

Bartholomäus had when he announced 'the indulgences of the Order'. These indulgences had been granted in favour of the Order because it was a crusading institution whose activities were as meritorious as the crusading campaigns themselves. Everyone who supported the Order could participate in its merits by means of these indulgences, be it in recognition of alms or of military aid. It is significant, therefore, that chroniclers often mentioned the fact that the guests came 'to aid the Order' against the infidels.¹¹⁶ This would earn them the spiritual rewards attached to support of that kind. And it should not be underestimated that even the 'secular' herald Wigand von Marburg noted that guests came to Prussia 'for the remission of their sins'.¹¹⁷

Probably the spiritual rewards attached to the *Reisen* were also announced outside Prussia. The chronicle of the county of Hainaut by François Vinchant, who wrote in the early seventeenth century, reports for the year 1363 that a certain 'Cardinal Ambroise Piculula' published indulgences in the county of Hainaut 'in favour of those who would take up arms with the Teutonic Knights against the infidels'. A list of nobles who enlisted for the *expédition* follows.¹¹⁸ For the entire fourteenth century this appears to be the only text telling us anything about the preaching of indulgences for the war against Lithuania outside of Prussia. But it raises more questions than it answers. We neither know the source for this notice nor am I able to identify a cardinal of that name.¹¹⁹ Why and on whose orders did 'Piculula' announce the indulgences? What sort of indulgences did he offer? Plenary crusade indulgences recently issued by the pope or 'indulgences of the Order'? We do not know. The source, however, proves at least one thing: a connection between the *Reisen* and an indulgence did not appear to be unusual. And perhaps it also indicates that there was some sort of crusade preaching for Prussia in the fourteenth century. As we have seen, the Teutonic Order was in principle authorized to preach the cross on its own behalf. Priests of the Order evidently engaged in preaching in the thirteenth century. In the early 1340s, the grand master also wanted to send messengers (*legatos*) to Germany 'to invite soldiers, princes and others against the Lithuanians ... so that the latter would not trouble the Prussians so much in the future'. Indulgences, however, were not mentioned, and the proposal was not executed because the grand master was heavily involved in 'other arduous

¹¹⁶ See Wigand von Marburg, pp. 464, 523; *Die Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, p. 614.

¹¹⁷ Wigand von Marburg, p. 514.

¹¹⁸ François Vinchant, *Annales de la province et comté du Hainaut*, ed. A. P. V. Descamps, 6 vols (Bruxelles, 1848–53), 3: 261.

¹¹⁹ Perhaps 'Piculula' is a misinterpretation of '[S.] Petri ad Vincula' either by Vinchant or by the editors. *La transcription du texte n'est pas toujours correcte*: Hermann Vander Linden, s.v. Vinchant, François, in *Biographie nationale de Belgique*, 28 vols and suppléments (16 vols) (Bruxelles, 1866–1985), 26: 772–3 (here 773). I am grateful to Jochen Burgtorf (Göttingen) for sharing his observations on this name with me.

matters'.¹²⁰ Lastly, in 1410, Pierre d'Ailly, bishop of Cambrai and cardinal from 1411, was reported to be publishing indulgences in favour of the Order in the county of Hainaut, as Cardinal 'Piculula' had done. Again, Vinchant appears to be the only source for this information.¹²¹ Interestingly, this time the war was declared against enemies of the empire (Poles, Lithuanians, Mongols 'and other nations hostile to the empire'), not against pagans or 'enemies of the cross'. On 15 July 1410, the Order confronted these enemies in the battle of Tannenberg (Pol. Grunwald; Lith. Žalgiris) and suffered a major defeat.¹²² Apparently the knights of Hainaut had been recruited for this war. It would be illuminating to know how the Order itself was involved in this recruitment, but neither the scope of the indulgences nor their origin are known. At least we can conclude that 'Ambroise Piculula' was probably not a unique figure as far as his preaching is concerned. It seems likely that there were recruitment campaigns for the war against Lithuania in the fourteenth century, although the evidence is scarce and neither the geographical range of the campaigns nor their intensity can be pinned down. Another papal authorization apart from those of the thirteenth century – which, among other things, granted indulgences to crusaders in aid of Prussia and Livonia, allowed the Order to preach the cross and to absolve crusaders – seems to be missing also in this case.

Thus it is evident that there were discernible spiritual rewards that could be gained by the guests. A brief view of some other voices concerning the guests' motivation shall round off the picture. It would be misleading to over-emphasize the spiritual rewards. Apart from obtaining 'remission of sins', knights went to Prussia to increase their personal honour, glory and fame, as can be seen from many sources.¹²³ According to the clergy of Liège, in 1336 most knights from their diocese went to Prussia 'to test their valour' (*experiunde causa virtutis*).¹²⁴ Philippe de Mézières, in his *Oratio tragedica*, wrote of a knight who, having deserted the crusade of Peter of Cyprus against Alexandria in 1365, went to Prussia 'for the sake of knightly vanity' (*causa vanitatis milicie Pruciam peragravit*).¹²⁵ Peter von Dusburg related a tale of a nun who was told by demons that many Christians had died in a great battle in Prussia. Most of them had gone to heaven except for three 'who did not go to

¹²⁰ Wigand von Marburg, p. 497.

¹²¹ Vinchant, *Annales*, 4 (Mons, 1851), pp. 40–41; see Paravicini, *Preußenreisen* I: 38.

¹²² See Boockmann, *Der Deutsche Orden*, pp. 178–9, 279; Sven Ekdahl, *Die Schlacht bei Tannenberg 1410: Quellenkritische Untersuchungen*, 1 vol. to date (Berlin, 1982–), 1, *passim*.

¹²³ See Paravicini, *Preußenreisen* I: 17, 63; Paravicini, 'Die Preußenreisen', pp. 25–38 (esp. 28–33) and the following notes below.

¹²⁴ Jean de Hocsem, *La chronique de Jean de Hocsem*, ed. Godefroid Kurth (Bruxelles, 1927), p. 257.

¹²⁵ Philippe de Mézières, 'Oratio tragedica', quoted by Nicolae Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières (1327–1405) et la croisade au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1896), p. 303 n. 8.

that war because of devotion but to exercise their knighthood'.¹²⁶ Peter was referring back to a time when the Teutonic Knights in Prussia were still busy subjecting the Prussians, but he was probably also thinking of his own days in Prussia in the 1320s. Jean le Meingre, sire de Boucicaut, went to Prussia three times in the 1380s to increase his knightly honour (*pour toujours son honneur accroistre*) in the 'beautiful war' (*belle guerre*) and to enjoy the *grande compaignée de chevaliers*.¹²⁷ To indulge in chivalry, however, did not necessarily exclude piety. A good knight was a Christian knight, fighting against non-believers wherever he could. Fulfilling this general duty ensured the knight's position as an honoured member within Christian society.¹²⁸ Fame and honour had been mentioned alongside devotion as chivalrous incentives in crusading poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹²⁹ It is perhaps no exaggeration to state that these values sung of in earlier times had been internalized by the chivalric nobility of the fourteenth century.¹³⁰ Prussia developed into a popular battleground because the Teutonic Knights offered all options, both religious and secular. A knight could go to Prussia in fulfilment of a vow, but he did not have to take one. He could go there for indulgences, or to enjoy the 'great company of nobles' in this 'beautiful war'. Or both – why not? The Teutonic Knights and their war against Lithuania represented 'chivalry at its most practical', spiritual rewards included.¹³¹

Conclusion

Among the canonistic criteria which make a war a crusade, papal authorization is the most important. For the war of the Teutonic Order against Lithuania in the fourteenth century, no such authorization seems to survive. Nevertheless, the war displayed distinct features of crusading. Participants took vows and were regarded as pilgrims. They received spiritual rewards for aiding the

¹²⁶ Peter von Dusburg, p. 101.

¹²⁷ 'Le livre des faicts du bon messire Jean le Maingre, dit Boucicaut', in *Nouvelle collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Joseph François Michaud and Jean Joseph François Poujoulat, 34 vols (Paris, 1836–39), 2: 201–332 (here 224, 233).

¹²⁸ See Hehl, 'Was ist eigentlich ein Kreuzzug?', pp. 332–4.

¹²⁹ See, for instance, *Les chansons de Conon de Béthune*, ed. Axel Wallensköld (Paris, 1921), p. 6, lines 14–15; *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, ed. Hugo Moser and Helmut Tervooren, 38th edn (Stuttgart, 1988), p. 412, lines 9–12 (Hartmann von Aue, I'on V, *Dem kriuze zimet wol reiner muot*).

¹³⁰ See Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, 1984), pp. 44–57 (esp. 54–7); Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'The State of Mind of Crusaders to the East, 1095–1300', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford, 1995), pp. 66–90 (here 84–6, 88–90); Paravicini, 'Die Preußenreisen', p. 35.

¹³¹ Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, revised edn (Woodbridge, 1995), p. 315.

Teutonic Order against the infidels, and the war was described as a holy struggle both by chroniclers of the Order and by others. The popes never objected to this presentation of the war. Although active papal support for the war of the Teutonic Order against Lithuania cannot be demonstrated, there are indications of the papacy accepting Prussia as a crusading theatre in the fourteenth century. Scholars have been right in assuming that the Teutonic Order relied on thirteenth-century privileges to promote the war, but to single out *De negotio Pruscie* of 1245 seems to be inappropriate. The Knights relied on their own crusading tradition which included several privileges and which enabled them to establish a crusade without additional bulls in the fourteenth century. This crusade offered all that the noble crusaders could wish for, both religious experience and chivalric entertainment. Besides, the *Reisen* offered an opportunity to fight almost every year, both winter and summer.¹³² The guests could decide individually when to go.¹³³ Some may have been recruited by preaching or personal invitation, but the *fama* of the Order and the news of the *belle guerre* presumably also did their share in luring them to Prussia.¹³⁴ To analyse the way in which recruitment worked would be worth another essay. For now, Thomas Beauchamp and Duke Wilhelm I of Jülich-Geldern may serve as examples for crusading nobles who came to Prussia without any external appeal but for individual reasons.

Although the 'framework of papal backing' was incomplete, the war against Lithuania seems to have counted for a permanent holy war within the 'interpretational framework' of contemporaries.¹³⁵ From a point of view that defines a crusade by legal standards, the war falls short of a genuine crusade, since it did not start because of a renewed papal authorization. Apart from this objection there is no reason not to call it a crusade.¹³⁶ It seems that the Teutonic Knights largely managed it themselves, relying on their treasury of older privileges in case anyone should question the legitimacy of the crusade –

¹³² See Paravicini, *Preußenreisen* 1: 190; 2: 54–5.

¹³³ See also Maschke, 'Burgund', p. 28.

¹³⁴ I have touched on this subject in my unpublished M.Phil. thesis: 'Mission and Crusade on the Last Pagan Frontier. The Teutonic Knights and Lithuania from the Late Thirteenth to the Late Fourteenth Century' (University of Cambridge, 1996). I am planning a more detailed investigation in the future.

¹³⁵ See also *PUB* 1/2, no. 622 (30 August 1294: Pope Celestine V acknowledges the *querra ... continua* which were being waged against the infidels by the Teutonic Order); *Bullarium Poloniae* 2 (1985), no. 1847, p. 308 (23 November 1371: Pope Gregory XI refers to the *bellum continuum* which the Teutonic Knights waged on the Lithuanian infidels and some schismatic Russians, as was well known [*ut est notorium*]).

¹³⁶ See also Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago, 1988), pp. 274–6, who is wrong, however, in translating *cruciferi* as 'crusaders' instead of 'Teutonic Knights', as would be appropriate (p. 275). Furthermore Henry Bolingbroke's pilgrimage to four churches at Danzig earned him the jubilee indulgence of 1390, not a crusade indulgence (p. 276).

an amazing and unparalleled development indeed, which was favoured by geographical and political factors.

After the Polish-Lithuanian union of 1386 the ideological framework of this crusade was seriously threatened, and the Order desperately tried to defend it, especially after Pope Boniface IX had ordered the Knights to stop the war in 1403.¹³⁷ At this point the *bona fama* of the Order and its war began to vanish. John Capgrave commented: *Her religion was ordeyned to defende the Feith; and now covetise stereth hem to distroye it.*¹³⁸ The crusade gradually lost its appeal and the crusaders stayed away.

¹³⁷ *Codex diplomaticus Prussicus*, 5, no. 137, pp. 187–8 (papal bull quoted in Order's supplication); counter-propaganda of the Order: *Codex diplomaticus Prussicus*, 5, nos 134–5, pp. 179–86; 6, nos 140, 146 (misprinted 'xclvi'), pp. 149–50, 155–9.

¹³⁸ John Capgrave, *The Chronicle of England*, ed. Francis Charles Hingeston (London, 1858), p. 298.