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978-1-107-65876-9 - Lithuania Ascending: A Pagan Empire within East-Central Europe, 1295–1345

S. C. Rowell

Excerpt

[More information](#)*Chapter 1*

## CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE,

1290–1320

Conflict and change and the cladding of new regimes in the cast-off finery of the old establishment characterise every age. As the new century dawned in 1300 the dynasties and nations which had dominated Europe, many since before the turn of the second Christian millennium, underwent massive restructuring. One of the new leaders of central and eastern Europe, Gediminid Lithuania, whose ruling house would govern Poland, Rus', Bohemia and Hungary before 1500, was emerging slowly from isolation. Before we turn to examine more closely the development of the pagan Gediminid state and the ways in which it succeeded in interweaving itself into the nexus of competing economic, religious, military and political ambitions in central and eastern Europe, we must acquaint ourselves a little with the world of Lithuania's closest neighbours, lying in the shadow of the Empire and the Papacy: the kingdom of Poland, the duchy of Mazovia, the Teutonic Ordensstaat in Prussia and Livonia and the Baltic sphere of German and Danish migration. The Byzantine 'Commonwealth' and Rus' met Catholic Christendom on the territories of the Grand Duchy (see map 1).

## THE CONFLICT OF POPE AND EMPEROR

At moments of crisis in the relations of two powerful supranational institutions it may be considered fortunate should the leader of one or other party die. When both major protagonists die, chaos rather than calm ensues. Such a scenario faced western Christendom in the second decade of the fourteenth century. In 1313 Emperor Henry VII passed away as his conflict with Pope Clement V over temporal dominion in Italy reached its peak. The Pope had reiterated earlier the 'superiority with regard to the Empire which

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[More information](#)*Lithuania Ascending*

we indubitably hold'<sup>1</sup> and stressed his right to govern the Empire during any interregnum, but within a year of Henry's death Clement too lay in the tomb. Far from subsiding, the conflict of authority between the Papacy and the Empire flourished as other rival princes chose sides. Henry's son John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, resigned his claim to succeed his father as emperor and lent his support instead to a Bavarian duke, Louis Wittelsbach. Louis was preferable to the other major pretender, Frederick of Habsburg, since his landholdings were small and his own kin favoured the Habsburg's election. He was expected to be malleable; he was misjudged. Louis IV assumed power in 1314 despite continued Habsburg opposition and without regard to the Holy See which remained vacant for two further years.

The new Pope, John XXII (1316–34) was a brittle man 'of fiery temperament' who jealously guarded papal prerogatives and, as is the wont of too many schoolmen, he idolised regulation. Time and again, in his correspondence with non-Catholic princes, John stressed almost inordinately the supreme position of St Peter's heirs, who held the power to loose and bind, to arbitrate between temporal rulers.<sup>2</sup> During the opening months of his pontificate, he declared his neutrality between the two German candidates, requiring them both to submit to papal scrutiny. As far as John was concerned, the empire was vacant and his were the rights to administer it. Louis of Bavaria however stood by the legitimacy of his own disputed election and refused to submit his claims to papal approval. Louis and the Pope attracted support from princes involved in disputes all across Christendom, from Scotland to Poland and Prussia. John of Bohemia supported Louis at first and hoped, as a result, for rewards in Silesia and the Polish kingdom. The Polish duke Władysław Łokietek chose to support the Papacy. The other major Catholic power on the eastern frontier of Catholic Christendom, the Order of Knights of the Hospital of the German House of St Mary in Jerusalem (more familiarly, the

<sup>1</sup> *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. E. L. Richter and E. Friedberg, II (Leipzig, 1881), col. 1153. A. Black, *Political thought in Europe 1250–1450* (Cambridge, 1992), 85–116.

<sup>2</sup> 'Vita Iohannis PP XXII auctore Heinrico Dapifero de Dissenhoven', *Vitae paparum avenionensium*, ed. E. Baluze and G. Mollat, I (Paris, 1914), 172–7. Letters to rulers of Serbia, the Golden Horde, Armenia and Russia see *Acta Iohannis*, 138, 145, 39 and 1. For Gediminas of Lithuania see *V MPL*, no. 293, p. 194. On pope as international arbitrator see J. Gaudemet, 'Le rôle de la papauté dans le règlement des conflits entre états aux XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles', *Recueil de la Société Jean Bodin XV: La paix* (Brussels, 1961), 79–106.

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[More information](#)*Central and eastern Europe, 1290–1320*

Teutonic Order or Knights), became increasingly, but not always definitely associated with Louis.<sup>3</sup> In disputes arbitrated by John XXII a deciding factor became how a prince interacted with the German Emperor. This was the case with Poland, whose crown was contested by Łokietek and John of Bohemia.

## THE KINGDOM OF POLAND

For much of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the kingdom of Poland had existed only in the hearts and memories of various Polish prelates and dukes. These years witnessed the disintegration of the kingdom into a group of five squabbling duchies each ruled by a different line of the royal house of Piast. In the west and north, duchies fell increasingly under the influence of their German and Bohemian neighbours, especially in Silesia. As a result of a complex network of dynastic marriages, the Bohemian kings of the House of Přemysl regarded themselves as rightful rulers in Poland. This ambition was realised temporarily by Vaclav II who occupied the Polish throne between 1300 and 1305. When the Přemyslid dynasty died out in the male line with Vaclav III in 1306, its successors, especially John of Luxemburg who ruled in Prague from 1310, inherited pretensions to the Polish crown. Meanwhile the duchy of Lubusz fell away completely into the hands of the German Ascanian clan and became part of the imperial New Mark of Brandenburg. Even so the ideal of the united *Regnum Polonie* did not die altogether among the Piast dukes.<sup>4</sup>

Władysław Łokietek, duke of Łęczyca in south-eastern or Little Poland (Małopolska) eventually made this dream a reality. After outlasting the rival claims of his kinsmen from Silesia and Greater Poland and six years of Bohemian rule, Łokietek was, by 1306 the most powerful prince in Poland. His power, nevertheless, was far

<sup>3</sup> A. Gerlich, *Habsburg--Luxemburg--Wittelsbach in Kampf um die deutsche Königskrone. Studium zur Vorgeschichte des Königtums Ruprechts von der Pfalz* (Wiesbaden, 1960). H. S. Offer, 'Empire and Papacy: the last struggle', *TrRHS* 5th series 6 (1956), 47. For Louis and the Teutonic Order see below pp. 218, 220–1.

<sup>4</sup> O. Pustejovsky, *Schlesiens Ubergang an die Böhmisches Krone* (Cologne–Vienna, 1975) and J. Szymczak, 'Genealogia Przemyślidów z przełomu XIII i XIV wieku spokrewnionych z Piastami', *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Historia*, 8 (1973), 39–54 and B. Nowacki, *Czeskie roszczenia do korony w Polsce w latach 1290–1335* (Poznań, 1987), 74–81, 88f. For the New Mark see J. Walachowicz, *Geneza i ustrój polityczny Nowej Marchii do początku XIV wieku* (Poznań, 1980), 10–21.

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Excerpt

[More information](#)*Lithuania Ascending*

from universally acknowledged. When the city of Gdańsk rebelled against Łokietek in 1308 and the Ascanians invaded Pomorze (see map 5a), in desperation the Polish pretender enlisted the aid of an external power: the Teutonic Order. Although the Knights succeeded in raising the siege of the Gdańsk garrison in September, they never found time to evacuate the city. By the end of 1311 they held not only Gdańsk but also the whole of Eastern Pomorze and the long and bitter conflict between Poles and Germans for control of the Baltic littoral had begun.<sup>5</sup>

By 1314 all the major territories of fourteenth-century Poland lay in the hands of Łokietek or of kinsmen who approved his ambition. With most noble and clerical support won, all Łokietek needed to become king was papal blessing. It seems likely that Polish arguments in 1316 for the Pope's granting a crown to Łokietek, particularly the assertion that Łokietek provided protection for Christendom against the schismatic Rus'ians and pagan Lithuanians, prompted John XXII to write to the princes of Rus' and Lithuania on 3 February 1317, suggesting they convert to Catholicism.<sup>6</sup> In other words the Pope was attempting to solve Poland's eastern problem without following the policy Łokietek's men proposed. The bull he issued to Łokietek as late as 1319 stresses that the Holy See not only understands the pagan and schismatic threat but also takes account of the Bohemian claim to the Polish crown.<sup>7</sup> This scrupulous hesitation to choose between the conflicting claims of princes, each of whom was of different service to the Holy See is typical of Johannine policy. We might recall his slowness to recognise Robert Bruce as king of Scotland, despite the Declaration of Arbroath, because he was loth to displease Edward I of England.<sup>8</sup>

Łokietek did not relent, neither did his rival retire. In 1318 Bishop Gerward of Włocławek bore a petition from the whole kingdom, clergy, burgesses and nobles to Avignon begging the Pope to recognise Łokietek as king, reminding him of the fight

<sup>5</sup> On Gdańsk and Pomorze see P. Knoll, *The rise of the Polish monarchy. Piast Poland in East Central Europe, 1320–1370* (Chicago–London, 1972), 28–32.

<sup>6</sup> *MPV*, III, nos. 137–9, pp. 203–5.

<sup>7</sup> For 1319 letter to Łokietek see below n. 9. In 1317 the Teutonic Knights exhorted King John not to allow the Polish duke to swindle him of his throne – *Długosz*, IX, 96–7. On link between 1317 letters and the Polish case see *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, ed. M. Biskup, I (Warsaw, 1982), 232–3.

<sup>8</sup> On Arbroath see *Annales Ecclesiastici*, ed. C. Baronius et al., XXIV (Paris–Freiburg–Bar-le-Duc, 1872), 134–7, 376–7.

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S. C. Rowell

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[More information](#)*Central and eastern Europe, 1290–1320*

against the schismatic Rus'ians, the Tatars and the pagan Lithuanians and the safe collection of papal taxes. In an open reply to the Polish request issued on 20 August 1319, the Pope acknowledged, as he had before, the virtues of the *duke* of Poland alongside the rights of John of Bohemia. On 11 September the Pope granted Duke Łokietek a year's indulgence for those fighting the pagans and schismatics.<sup>9</sup> The Pope remained unmoved, hoping that the rules would be obeyed and the problem disentangle itself. However it seems that the Bohemian's ever-closer connections with Louis of Bavaria in 1318 and 1319 prompted the Pope to choose.<sup>10</sup> Secret letters lay in Bishop Gerward's pouch as he travelled home late in September, informing both Łokietek and the bishops of Poland that the Pope condescended to agree to the matter which Bishop Gerward had brought before him from the bishops, clergy and nobles of Poland. In the letter John refrained from specifying the exact nature of the *negocium* which he had considered 'with diligent deliberation'.<sup>11</sup> All soon became clear. On 20 January 1320 Łokietek was crowned King Władysław I of Poland in the Wawel Cathedral in Kraków. Thenceforth Avignon addressed Łokietek as *Rex Polonie*.

It would be mistaken to view the triumph of the coronation in Kraków as the end of Łokietek's twenty-two years' struggle to restore the *Regnum Polonie*. Both on the battlefield and before papal tribunals the new king continued to press for the return of Pomorze, 'land which has belonged to the kingdom of Poland

<sup>9</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Małopolski*, ed. F. Piekosiński, II (Kraków, 1886) nos. 573–4, pp. 241–3 and Knoll, *Rise*, 36–7. Papal reply – *VMPL*, no. 224.

<sup>10</sup> *FRB*, IV, 392–3.

<sup>11</sup> Knoll, *Rise*, 38–9. The 'secret letter' preserved in the papal register now in Cambrai, *Bibliothèque Municipale*, Ms. 538 f. 140 reads: '...Hec autem in te, fili, benevolentia sincera perquirimus et ad hec te pii patris more intentis affectibus exhortamur, ut preter multifarias laudes quas tua nobilitas ex premissorum obseruatione commendabili consequetur, Ille, cui nunquam sine remuneratione seruitur, adaugeat in benedictionibus dies tuos et post presentis mortalitatis excursus tibi coronam inmarcessibilis glorie largiatur. Preterea negocio, pro quo prelati et clerus ac nonnulli nobiles Polonie venerabilem fratrem nostrum G(erwardum) episcopum Wladislaiensem exhibitorem presentium ad sedem apostolicam destinarent, diligenter inspecto, post deliberationem quam super illo habuimus diligentem, cura ipsius expeditionem quantum cum Deo potuimus uotis condescendimus corde prout in his apostolicis archiepiscopo et suffraganeis eisdem directis poteris intueri.' The full text is published in an edition more difficult to see than the manuscript: W. Abraham, 'Stanowisko kurii papieskiej wobec koronacji Łokietka', *Księga pamiątkowa wydana przez Uniwersytet lwowski ku uczczeniu 500-letniego jubileuszu Uniwersytetu krakowskiego* (Lwów, 1900), 1–34. See also A. Liedtke, 'Stanowisko papieża Jana XXII wobec koronacji Władysława Łokietka', *Nasza Przyszłość*, 36 (1971), 91–107.

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S. C. Rowell

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[More information](#)*Lithuania Ascending*

from antiquity' (as the court records of the Polono-Teutonic dispute proclaim).<sup>12</sup> On 11 September 1319 John XXII instructed papal investigators to provide redress for Łokietek against the Teutonic Order which had not complied with the findings of previous investigations into Polish and Rigan claims against the Knights. In March 1320 he went on to find in favour of Poland in the Polono-Teutonic dispute over Pomorze. The Knights ignored the command to return Pomorze and Gdańsk to the Polish crown. Łokietek never tired of working for the reincorporation into the *Regnum* of the duchies which still remained outside his control.<sup>13</sup> Through a policy of marriage and shared military action with Charles Robert of Hungary and eventually John of Bohemia too, Łokietek maintained pressure on the Knights and the Empire whilst joining forces on occasion with Denmark and the eastern imperial duchies. His heir Casimir formed a quadruple alliance with Bohemia, Hungary and south-west Rus' in 1337.<sup>14</sup> In compensation for his losses to the Germans in the north and west, Łokietek sought to expand Polish dominion eastwards into south-west Rus'. It was in these ambitions that he came face to face with Grand Duke Gediminas with whom, in the fulness of time, he formed an anti-Teutonic alliance.

As both duke and king, Łokietek set about opening the trade routes of his realm to German and Rus'ian merchants and settlers while establishing new towns and villages, especially in the south but also in Greater Poland.<sup>15</sup> These measures which have their counterparts throughout central Europe, especially in Bohemia and Hungary, helped counter the dreadful effects of the famine which hit Poland (and the whole continent) between 1316 and

<sup>12</sup> *Lites ac res gestae inter Polonos Ordinemque cruciferorum*, ed. H. Chłopocka, I (Wrocław–Warsaw–Kraków, 1970), 31.

<sup>13</sup> Knoll, *Rise*, 50; B. Włodarski, *Polska i Ruś 1194–1340* (Warsaw, 1966), 264–5; H. Chłopocka, *Procesy Polski z Zakonem krzyżackim w XIV wieku. Studium źródłoznawcze* (Poznań, 1967), 9–29.

<sup>14</sup> Marriages of Łokietek's daughter Elżbieta to Charles Robert of Hungary in 1320 – *Długosz*, IX, 113; proposed marriage of Casimir to John of Bohemia's daughter Jutta in 1322 – *FRB*, IV, 314. Treaty of 27 June 1315 with Denmark see *Diplomatarium Danicum* II.7 (Copenhagen, 1956), no. 286, pp. 211–12. For Congresses of Visegrád see below pp. 255–6.

<sup>15</sup> *KDWP*, II, nos. 970, 971, 976, 979, 981, 999; Toruń charter – *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, ed. S. Kuraś and I. Sulikowska-Kuraś, IV (Wrocław–Warsaw–Kraków, 1969), no. 892 pp. 35–6. T. Ładogorski, *Studia nad zaludnieniem Polski XIV wieku* (Wrocław, 1958), 50. For a general study of colonisation in Poland see B. Zientara, 'Melioratio terrae: the thirteenth-century breakthrough in Polish history', in *A republic of nobles. Studies in Polish history to 1864*, ed. J. K. Fedorowicz (Cambridge, 1982), 28–48.

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S. C. Rowell

Excerpt

[More information](#)*Central and eastern Europe, 1290–1320*

1319. The princes of south-west Rus' granted privileges for Kraków merchants in 1320 and for some time before that as documents issuing from the courts of Andrei and Lev Yurevich make clear.<sup>16</sup>

## MAZOVIA

In eastern Poland, the duchy of Mazovia attempted to follow its own way outside the restored Polish kingdom. It occupied a very important geo-commercial position between the lands of the Teutonic Order and those of southern Poland and western Rus'. Its dukes encouraged trade and urban settlement within their realm. In 1311 and 1313, they invited German and Polish merchants to their lands, granting charters of German law to new settlements. Mazovia acted as a possible route for merchants from Toruń and Chełmno en route for Kraków and for Saxons wishing to trade with Lithuania.<sup>17</sup> This intermediate position created a need or at least an opportunity to foster good relations with both the Knights and the princes of western Rus'. Links between the Mazovian house and the Rurikid rulers of south-west Rus' formed the basis of Polish claims to the principalities of Galich and Volyn' when the local line was exterminated by the Lithuanians in 1323.<sup>18</sup>

To further the strength and independence of their own duchy, the Mazovian Piasts came to favour close relations with the nascent power on their eastern borders. In 1279 Bolesław II of Mazovia married Gaudemantē (baptised Sofia), the daughter of Grand Duke Traidenis of Lithuania. This union encouraged a decline in Lithuanian raids on Mazovian territory and fostered trade.<sup>19</sup> In 1295 Bolesław's town of Wizna was rased by the Knights in order to prevent its being abused as a base for pagan incursions into

<sup>16</sup> For Bohemia – P. Bolina, 'K problematice kolonizace a počátků hradů na severovýchodní Moravě ve 13. století', *Československý Časopis Historický*, 34 (1986), 565. J. Spěváček, *Král diplomat/Ján Lucemburský 1296–1346* (Prague, 1982), 96–246. For Hungary – E. Fügedi, 'Das mittelalterliche Königreich Ungarn als Gastland', *Vorträge und Forschungen*, 18 (1974), 471–507 and A. Kubinyi, 'Urbanisation in the east-central part of medieval Hungary', in *Towns in medieval Hungary*, ed. L. Gerevich (Boulder, CO, 1990), 103–49. Lev's charters – *Zbiór dokumentów*, nos. 895, 898 and 904; Andrei Yurevich – see below n. 80.

<sup>17</sup> Mazovian charters – E. Suchodolska, *Regesty dokumentów mazowieckich z lat 1248–1345* (Warsaw–Łódź, 1980) nos. 77, 78; 86, 92; 76, 81, 82, 84, 87–91, 93–100, 102–6. For Lithuanian trade see below p. 205, n. 93.

<sup>18</sup> *Długosz*, VIII, 209, 225, 288. Bolesław endowed memorial masses for Gaudemantē in the ducal Benedictine house at Jeżów in 1313 – Suchodolska, *Regesty*, no. 85. See B. Ulanowski, 'O dacie przywileju Bolesława Mazowieckiego rzekomo z r. 1278 wydane dla klasztoru w Jeżowie', *RAU*, 17 (1884), 71.



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S. C. Rowell

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[More information](#)*Lithuania Ascending*

Prussia.<sup>20</sup> After Bolesław died in 1313, the alliance, like the duchy, did not survive intact. The duchy was divided between his three sons: Siemowit II received Rawa (in the south) and his brother Trojden was endowed with the eastern region of Czersk. Their half-brother Waclaw, born of Bolesław's second marriage to Kunegunda of Bohemia, gained Płock which lay on the western border with the Knights. Trojden, who had married Maria Yurevna of Galich in 1308, and Siemowit chose to ally themselves with Rus' and the Teutonic Order against the Lithuanians whose western ambitions all three parties feared.<sup>21</sup> One suspects that during the Mazovian civil war of 1316 Gediminas sided with Waclaw of Płock against the elder brothers in an attempt to rebuild Traidenis' policy with Mazovia. The marriage between Waclaw and Gediminas' daughter Elżbieta may have taken place at this time. Certainly Lithuanian forces aided Waclaw in internal Polish disputes in the 1320s, especially against the duke of Dobrzyń.<sup>22</sup> The pagans did not touch Płock when the lands of Siemowit II, Trojden and Bishop Florian were ravaged in 1324. When these princes joined the Knights in a denunciation of Lithuanian perfidy in 1324 Waclaw took no part in the affair.<sup>23</sup> It is often noted that in 1321 Waclaw signed a treaty with the Order promising not to hinder the Knights as they marched through his lands to attack Lithuania and to inform the Order of any pagan plans to attack Prussia via Płock. Nevertheless this treaty is not specifically anti-Lithuanian, neither is another alliance made in 1326. Indeed, the 1321 arrangement seems to have been directed against Łokietek as Waclaw sought an ally who also objected to the king's attempt to spread the new rate of Peter's Pence into his territory.<sup>24</sup> Włodarski is right to suggest that this treaty did little to change Lithuano-Płockian relations and may even have been concluded with Gediminas' knowledge. It is less

<sup>20</sup> *Długosz*, VIII, 288.<sup>21</sup> Włodarski, *Polska*, 240, 241; 244–7.<sup>22</sup> Waclaw marries – below pp. 91–3; civil war in Mazovia – *MPH*, II, 886. On the disputes between the Piasts of Dobrzyń and Mazovia see Z. Guldón and J. Powierski, *Podziały administracyjne Kujaw i ziemi dobrzyńskiej w XIII i XIV wieku* (Warsaw–Poznań, 1974) and below, p. 210. On Mazovia in general at this time see K. Pacuski, 'Mazowsze wobec walk o władzę w Polsce na przełomie XIII/XIV w.', *KH*, 85 (1978), 585–603.<sup>23</sup> *CDP*, II, no. 114, p. 152 not signed by Waclaw; Gediminas burns the lands of Siemowit and Trojden and the bishop of Płock in Pułtusk – *PD*, 191.<sup>24</sup> 1321 and 1326 treaties – *PU*, II, nos. 335, 541. Peter's Pence in Mazovia and Teutonic Poland is discussed in E. Maschke, *Der Peterspfennig in Polen und dem Deutschen Orden* (Leipzig, 1933), 155–8.



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S. C. Rowell

Excerpt

[More information](#)*Central and eastern Europe, 1290–1320*

well advertised that in 1320, before the papal hearing against the Knights at Inowrocław, Waclaw gave evidence on behalf of Łokietek against the Teutonic Order.<sup>25</sup> The untidy truth is that Waclaw found it convenient to use several mutually hostile allies in his struggle to maintain control of his lands. Historians generally fail to distinguish clearly enough the differences in policy (especially towards Lithuania) of the three sons of Bolesław II. Every realm in eastern and central Europe, Catholic, pagan or Orthodox had to hedge its bets by seeking out those who shared its interests not its friends. In their ambitions the Mazovians hung between the Polish Crown and equally dangerous non-Polish enemies. Some bolstered their power through German and Rus'ian alliances, others through cooperation with Lithuania (and unwillingly, even Bohemia). Diplomatic tension was maintained by all factions in central and eastern Europe at that time. There was no monolithic balance of 'great' powers. Lithuania survived because she too learnt to play the game.

In their policy of rapprochement with the Knights, Bolesław's elder sons were supported by Bishop Florian of Płock whose see covered the whole of Mazovia. Needless to say, this provoked the ire of the Lithuanians who attacked the bishop's lands and his cathedral repeatedly. An assault on the diocese of Płock did not necessarily involve any danger to Waclaw for the cathedral stood in Pułtusk outside his recently created duchy. Diocesan lands in Pomezania and Michałowo, areas closely controlled by the Knights, were exchanged in 1312 and 1316 for villages on the Mazovian border with Chełmno. This exchange which should be viewed perhaps as the tidying up of church lands by two important local ecclesiastical institutions suited the Knights particularly well, consolidating their holdings on the southern borders of Prussia.<sup>26</sup>

## THE TEUTONIC ORDENSSTAAT

The Teutonic Knights were newly established in the Baltic region, where they owed their first possessions to Mazovian policy. These

<sup>25</sup> Waclaw's testimony of 1320 – Chłopocka, *Lites ac res gestae*, 30–1. Włodarski, *Polska*, 252.

<sup>26</sup> Mazovian bishop swaps land – Suchodolska, *Regesty*, nos. 83, 97, 101, 116. Lithuanian attacks in 1324 and 1327 – *PD*, 191; *Nowy kodeks dyplomatyczny Mazowsza. Część druga*, ed. I. Sulkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś et al. (Wrocław–Warsaw–etc., 1989), no. 188, pp. 187–8.

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[More information](#)*Lithuania Ascending*

Knights of the Cross were invited to Prussia in 1230 by Duke Konrad of Mazovia who had been unable to destroy the threat of pagan incursions into his lands in the 1220s.<sup>27</sup> The Order had houses throughout northern and central Germany and the Low Countries in addition to fortresses in Northern Syria. By 1237 it had captured most of western Prussia and subsumed the land and the brethren of another military order, the Sword Brothers of Livonia. Thus the Teutonic Order came to comprise two parts, the Livonian Order governed by its own Landmarshall and the Prussian Order which was separated from its counterpart by a corridor of Lithuanian and Semigallian land (see map 5). From 1309 the Grand Master presided over both branches of the Order from his residence at Marienburg in Prussia rather than Venice, a development which reflects both the increase in the Order's commitment in the Baltic after the seizure of Pomorze and fear of secular power in the West in the wake of the depredation of the Templar trials in France.<sup>28</sup>

The history of Livonia and Prussia in the thirteenth century is dominated by the eradication or enforced translocation of Baltic tribes, who were neither Slavs nor Teutons, at the hands of armed monks.<sup>29</sup> The Germans found it easy to divide and rule their conquered enemies. The Estonians submitted to Denmark in the 1220s. By 1283 when the Jatwings or Sudavians surrendered to the Knights, most of Prussia and Livonia were under the Order's sway and attention focussed on converting the Lithuanians and the Semigallians by force of arms. In 1290 half the Semigallians whose lands formed the bridge between Prussia and Livonia accepted Teutonic overlordship, whilst half their number followed the example of other tribes and fled into exile in Lithuania, whence they continued the struggle to eject the crusaders from their

<sup>27</sup> M. Biskup and G. Labuda, *Dzieje Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach* (Gdańsk, 1986), 96–121. H. Boockmann, *Der Deutsche Orden* (Munich, 1981).

<sup>28</sup> Spread of the Order in central and southern Europe see R. Schmidt, *Die Deutschordenskommanden Trier und Beckingen 1242–1794* (Marburg, 1979), 273–320, 418–55 and K. Forstreuter, *Der Deutsche Orden am Mittelmeer* (Bonn, 1967). The Sword Brothers are assessed in F. Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwerbrüder. Fratres Milicie Christi de Livonia* (Cologne, 1965). See also PD, 65–6, 175. Grand Master moves to Marienburg – PD, 175. For the significance of 1309 see A. Forey, *The Military Orders. From the twelfth to the early fourteenth centuries* (London, 1992), 223.

<sup>29</sup> Biskup and Labuda, *Dzieje Zakonu*, 93–5, 129–33, 169–201; Boockmann, *Der Deutsche Orden*, 66–112; M. Hellmann, *Studien über die Anfänge der Mission in Livland, Vorträge und Forschungen. Sonderband XXXVII* (1989). PD, 91–2; SRP, II, 4.