

# The Coat of Arms

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# THE COAT OF ARMS

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# PERSONAL HERALDRY IN THE TEUTONIC ORDER

STEEN CLEMMENSEN AIH

## Abstract

*The knight brothers of the Teutonic Order, were strongly discouraged from the usage of personal family arms. Personal arms were only used by top ranking knights, land masters and land commanders, and were avoided in Prussia. The surviving records of personal arms of officers and knights of the Teutonic Order, may be grouped into five types: lists of Hochmeisters (Grand Masters), funeral memorials, plaques and frescoes on and in buildings, local member lists (some of them armorial), and a list of people gathered in Prussia in 1430. No tombs of high ranking officers have survived in Prussia, but half a dozen exist in Germany. They are usually carved with twin shields, one for the Order and one for the family. Whenever a new building was completed or renewed, the senior officer would, like his lay peers, place their arms on it, at least from the middle of the fifteenth-century. There are two churches and two castles in Prussia where painted murals survived which include heraldry. All the arms on the murals in Königsberg cathedral appear to refer to visiting crusaders, while in the Königsberg Juditten' Church two of the arms can be assigned to senior officers of the Order. From seal evidence, personal or family arms were used by higher officers, together with their emblems of office, from a relatively early date in Germany and in Livonia. The arms of 42 Teutonic Knights based in Prussia c 1430 found their way into Burgundian armorials, and include those of minor officials and ordinary knight brothers in the Königsberg area. These were perhaps collected by a herald who made enquiries as to the ancestral arms of the knights. The first Hochmeister to integrate his personal arms with those of the office was Friedrich, duke of Saxony, who was elected in 1498*

Prussia and its rulers, the Teutonic Order, were not unknown to medieval English nobles.<sup>1</sup> Many scions of great English houses took part in crusades in the territories

<sup>1</sup> The full style of the Order was *Ordo fratrum domus hospitalis Sanctae Mariae Teutonicorum Ierosolimitanorum*.

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along the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea. Among these was Henry of Bolingbroke, the only legitimate son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who ten years later was crowned as Henry IV of England. He went to Prussia in the summer of 1390 with a retinue of a hundred men.<sup>2</sup> Literary sources show that many crusaders left paintings of their arms in Prussian churches as evidence of their participation, although no known examples are still extant.<sup>3</sup> Their comrades in arms, the knight brothers of the Teutonic Order, were strongly discouraged from the usage of personal family arms. Contemporary Hospitaller knights of the Order of Saint John did not share this ascetic ideal. They used their personal arms in conjunction with the Hospitaller cross which as variously impaled, quartered or placed in chief on buildings, tombstones and seals.<sup>4</sup>

In principle, a man gave up his identity and his coat of arms when entering one of the medieval monastic military orders of knighthood, though most retained their names. The dress of a Teutonic Knight would be the plain uniform of the Order, a white mantle with a black cross, similar to the one worn by the troubadour Tannhäuser in the *Codex Manesse* from c.1300 (**Figure 1**).<sup>5</sup> He would be remembered by his family and community, but during his service, he would not use his own arms for sealing or display. Rule number 21 of the Order's statutes read "Das nime kein bruder ingesegil habe ane die amplüte", i.e. no brother except office holders can keep a seal. Though no contemporary seals with personal arms have survived, some brothers obviously circumvented the rule, because Dietrich von Altenburg (HM 1335–41) found it necessary to emphasize that "di bruder ire erblich ingezegil nicht habin sullin", i.e. no brother may keep his hereditary seal.<sup>6</sup> This rule was enforced for the knights of the Teutonic Order, but there were exceptions. One of the early Hochmeisters (HM), Konrad von Thüringen (HM 1239–41), has left a funeral shield with his personal arms charged in the lower left corner with a small inescutcheon of the order (**Figure 2**). His time in the Order was unusual. He was a member of the ruling Landgravian family, and only entered in 1234, about five years before being elected Hochmeister. Singularly, he resided in Marburg, and after he died in Rome, he was interred in the

<sup>2</sup> J. Sumption: *Divided Houses. The Hundred Years War III* (London 2009) p.791.

<sup>3</sup> W. Paravicini: *Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels*. I-II (Ostfildern 1989–95) vol.1, p.340; S. Clemmensen: *Arms and emblems related to the Teutonic Order*, forthcoming on [www.armorial.dk](http://www.armorial.dk) (hereinafter Clemmensen AE). No arms of English crusaders have been identified. See P. Coss, M. Keen: *Heraldry, pageantry and social display in medieval England* (Woodbridge 2002) for a thorough review of arms in social posturing.

<sup>4</sup> O. Neubecker: *Ordensritterliche Heraldik. Der Herold* (1939–40) Neue Folge, vol.1, pp.17–48, 83–170, 220–245, p.25 seals; J-B Vaivre, *Archives Héraldique Suisse*, 2011, vol.125, p.150; S. Clemmensen: *Ulrich Richental's Chronik des Konzils zu Konstanz 1414–1418* (Farum 2011) section KCR nos.78, 454, 457, 460, online at [www.armorial.dk](http://www.armorial.dk).

<sup>5</sup> Heidelberg, University Library, Cod.Pal.Ger.848, fo.264r, no.90; I.F. Walther, G. Siebert: *Codex Manesse. Die Miniaturen der Grossen Heidelberger Liederhandschrift*, Insel Verlag : Frankfurt am Main 1988, p.184–185; S. Clemmensen: *The crests and coats-of-arms in the Grosse Heidelberger (Manesse) and Weingartener Liederhandschriften* (Farum 2008), [www.armorial.dk](http://www.armorial.dk).

<sup>6</sup> F.A. Vossberg: *Geschichte der Preussischen Münzen und Siegel von frühester Zeit bis zum Ende der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, Berlin 1843, p.51 citing (OT Statutes §21 and Altenhausen's edict).

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Figure 1: Tannhäuser in the Codex Manesse of c.1300.

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*Figure 2:* The funeral shield of Konrad von Thüringen c 1241.

family's sepulchral church in Marburg with both his family arms and the arms of the Order on the footstool of his monument (**Figure 3**).<sup>7</sup> Another Hochmeister, Konrad von Jungingen (HM 1393–1407) had a display of his personal arms and crest as well

<sup>7</sup> His shield with arms of Thuringia plus an inescutcheon of the Order is on display in Marburg Castle; his tomb can be seen in St. Elizabeth's Church Marburg.. Vossberg *Münzen und Siegel* p.54. The seat of the HM was in Palestine until the fall of Akkon in 1291 (HM 1–9) and in Venice (HM 10–11) until moved to Prussia in 1309.

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Figure 3: The foot end of the monument of Konrad von Thüringen at Marburg.

as those of his office painted in the small corridor of his rooms in the headquarters of the Order, Marienburg Castle, now Malbork in Poland (**Figure 4**).<sup>8</sup>

As can be seen from the following two quotations, Major T.R. Davies concluded that personal arms were in general use throughout the Order: “*In spite of the proscription of personal arms, the knights used seals with their family shield, often charged with a small cross,..... by the fifteenth- century [the prohibition] was generally disregarded.*”<sup>9</sup> The contention of this paper is that the situation was more complex, in that personal arms were only used by top ranking knights, land masters and land commanders, and were avoided in Prussia. The surviving records of personal arms of officers and knights of the Teutonic Order, may be grouped into five types: lists of Hochmeisters, funeral memorials, plaques and frescoes on and in buildings, local member lists (some of them armorial), and a list of people gathered in Prussia in 1430.

### The hierarchy of the Order

The Hochmeister or magister generalis was elected by a committee of thirteen chosen by the brothers present at a general chapter. This Electoral College was composed of eight knight brothers of noble or knightly birth, four Sariant brothers of non-noble birth, and a single clerical brother (Priesterbruder). Theoretically any of the professed

<sup>8</sup> The Jungingen arms were also painted in the Königsberg Juditten Church, See Clemmensen AE section OTJ:6, fig.12.

<sup>9</sup> Major T.R.Davies, ‘The Teutonic Knights and their arms’ *CoA* no. 41 (1960) pp 15–24, no. 42 (1960) pp.73–81.

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*Figure 4: Konrad von Jungingen's arms and crest, Marienburg Castle.*

might be selected to be Hochmeister, but the college usually elected a senior officer with a long impeccable service, who had served at least once in the inner council of the Order, and held one of the five grand offices. These were the offices of grand commander (Grosskomtur, deputy to the HM), chief marshal (Oberster Marschall), chief master of the Robes (Oberster Trappier), chief hospitaller (Oberster Spittler) and treasurer (Tressler). The office of chief marshal was appurtenant to the commandery of Königsberg, that of chief master of the Robes to the commandery of Christburg, while the chief hospitaller held the commandery of Elbing. The Hochmeister was a sovereign prince in Prussia, responsible to the Pope, and like other German princes,

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to the Emperor. He additionally held the Order's property in Germany and elsewhere. All of these were administered through a hierarchical system: a Landmeister for the commanderies in the partly self-governing Livonia, a master of all Germans or of all in Germany (Deutschmeister, DM) supported by land commanders (LC) for the bailiwicks and their local commanderies for the properties in Germany.

In Prussia and Livonia the knight brothers were occupiers and settlers, continuously expanding their territories by force of arms.<sup>10</sup> One may question what the major driving force was: thirst for land or fighting for the Faith converting the Heathens, but it was the latter that enabled the Order to argument its relatively feeble army with visiting knights participating in a crusade blessed by the Pope. The Order employed or supported historiographers, chroniclers and heralds, just as princes did all over Europe. Brothers were allowed to use their own family name and often noted their territorial origin in the administrative records, though often with an abominable spelling which sometimes makes proper identification impossible.

### The armorial list of Hochmeisters

The Order kept detailed books on the administration, and a full list of the arms of the Hochmeisters from 1198 to 1470 has survived in a series of related armorials and documents (**Figure 5**).<sup>11</sup> Most of the arms could have been reconstructed from the list of Hochmeisters by a herald, or an amateur armorer, with a good knowledge of the German nobility. A few came from insignificant families, whose arms were not likely to be recorded in sources readily available to contemporaries. In fact, skimming through a list of officers of the Order, very many of these families never made it either into Siebmacher's Armorial, or into similar records compiled by modern scholars with access to archives and surviving mural decorations. There is fairly good concordance between the six known pictorial lists, which appear to be derived from the same

<sup>10</sup> Maps of the territories and castles held in Prussia and Livonia and the structure of the Ballei in Germany can be found in K. Militzer: *Die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* (Stuttgart 2005) pp. 70, 162; U. Arnold: *Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1190–1994* (Marburg 1998) p.53; and S. Turnbull, R. Hook: *Tannenberg 1410. Disaster for the Teutonic Knights* (Oxford 2003) p.27. There are many sites on the web, often overlapping, with maps, organisation and lists of officers of the Order.

<sup>11</sup> Two are from c.1470: St.Gallen, Stifts Bibl., cod.sang. 1084, *St.Gallen-Haggenberg* [SGH] p.47 nos.308–337 and *fig.5*; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek., ms. Geneal. f.27, *Berliner Wappenbuch* [BLW] f 45r nos 273–299. The remaining were made between 1500 and 1560: München, Germanische Museum, *WB Puchberg* (a copy/clone of BLW with elements of SGH); Innsbruck ms. 545 [ULBT], *Jörg Rugen WB* [RUG] ff 241r-242r nos 3081–3110; München, BSB, cod.icon.309, *WB München* [MUN] ff 55v, 60r; and the miscellany Berlin, Gsta-PK, ms. OBA 29095 f 4r.. The set is reproduced in *Siebmacher Supplement 9*, 1788, t.12 (one volume reprint, München 1975). The list of arms of the HM was the object of A. Roth: *Die Wappenreihe der Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens in der Innsbrucker Wappenhandschrift Rugenn, Der Herold* vol.2 (1941) pp.45–48, and of the author in *The St.Gallen-Haggenberg armorial*, (Farum 2012), and in *Jörg Rugens Wappenbuch* (Farum 2013), both online at [www.armorial.dk](http://www.armorial.dk) The mistaken arms given for SGH:311 and RUG:3083 has been corrected in Clemmenssen *Arms and emblems*, op.cit. note 3. The items in the *Berliner WB* are available in *Ordinary of medieval armorials* (Farum 2017) also available on [www.armorial.dk](http://www.armorial.dk).



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original collation. Only one major, and three minor, differences can be detected.<sup>12</sup> It does not matter much which manuscript is closest to the original collation when all are nearly identical, but even the minor variations can help in understanding the descendance. The most interesting manuscripts are the *Berliner* (BLW), presently dated to c.1460, and the *St.Gallen* (SGH), provisionally dated 1488. The *OBA* has been dated c.1485 by Marie-Louise Heckmann and shares one variant (no 5) with the *Berliner* and one (no18) with the *St.Gallen*. The *Rugen* (c.1500) has the same variants as the *Berliner*. If the dating holds, there ought to be little trouble in determining the descendance. The *St.Gallen* dating is based on an entry in the handwriting of the presumed compiler-artisan Hans Haggenberg, but there were probably five different painters involved in making the manuscript.<sup>13</sup> This manuscript has in common with the *Berliner* that the outlines of most items were prestamped with woodblocks, some of which were used for both manuscripts, suggesting that they came from the same workshop.<sup>14</sup>

The major difference to which has been alluded concerns the arms painted (no.6) for Poppo von Osternach (1252–56), who was given the arms of Dornberg in the *St.Gallen*, while all other versions have the differenced arms of Osternach : *Argent a chief per pale azure and gules charged with a lion rampant or*.<sup>15</sup> Why the *St.Gallen* compiler inserted Dornberg here is hard to imagine. Perhaps the simple explanation is that the exact arms used by Poppo von Osternach were not known. The family had several prominent members during the early thirteenth century, but there are apparently no references to it thereafter.<sup>16</sup> Engelhard von Osternach sold his properties on Osternohe (north-east of Nuremberg) in 1253–56 to Gottfried von Hohenloe (HM 1295–1303) through the House of the Order in Mergentheim, sealing the deed with a fox or wolf rampant.<sup>17</sup>

The placing of the arms in the *Berliner* is curious.<sup>18</sup> The page has a nice five by five layout, but with the Osternach arms inclined on the right (outside) margin in a

<sup>12</sup> The differences are no. 3 Herman Bartt (SGH:311, bear / lion in Q1) in OBA with Q1+4; no. 5 Poppo von Osternach in SGH:314 with the arms of Dornberg; no. 9 Burkhard von Schwenden (SGH:317) with billety in BLW and RUG; and no. 17 Ludolf König (SGH:325) with BLW and RUG having 3 leaves without the annulet in centre. The SGH and OBA numbers the Hochmeisteren, but like all six omits the three HM holding office during 1241–52: Gerhard von Malberg (1241–44), Heinrich von Hohenloe (1244–49), and Günther von Wüllersleben.

<sup>13</sup> Personal communication from Bernd Konrad.

<sup>14</sup> S. Clemmensen: *Editing armorials*, 2 vols (Copenhagen 2017) vol.2, p.113.

<sup>15</sup> SGH no.315. The OBA and MUN omit the lion.

<sup>16</sup> Osterna: *Siebmacher*, 22/6.1.2:167 + t103 (BayA2), a.k.a. O. T. von Hefner, G.A. Seyler: *Siebmacher's Grosses Wappenbuch. Band 22: Die Wappen des bayerischen Adels* (Neustadt a.d. Asch 1971) The convention for Siebmacher used here refers to the publication of the *Neue Siebmacher* as instalments during 1856–1935, and reprinted 1974–95 as volumes by territories, i.e. volume / volume.part.subpart : page + table (instalment). The latter refers to the abbreviations used for instalments in H. Jäger-Sunstenau: *General-Index zu den Siebmacher'schen Wappenbücher 1605–1967* (Graz 1984).

<sup>17</sup> E. Schöler: *Historische Familienwappen in Franken. Siebmacher Band F* (Neustadt a.d. Esch 1975) p.79, has a fox as Osternach arms, and the family extinct in the thirteenth-century.

<sup>18</sup> BLW f 45r.

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smaller shield. The last entry at no. 26 is Conrad von Erlichshausen or Ellrichshausen (HM 1441–49). The *St. Gallen*, which has the year 1470 entered on the top row, adds two more, no. 27 Ludwig von Erlichshausen (HM 1450–67, wrongly labelled as Jürgen), and no. 28 Heinrich Reuss von Plauen (HM 1467–70).

The Feuchtwangen family provided two Hochmeisters, no. 10 Conrad (1291–96) and no. 12 Siegfried (1303–11).<sup>19</sup> They have a remarkable coat of arms, *barry embattled* dimidating *the imperial eagle*, found in a multitude of references, unfortunately none of them contemporary, and the family appears to have been extinct by the middle of fourteenth-century. A single contemporary seal is illegible, and not described as having the Feuchtwangen arms. Oelsnitz ascribed to the family the arms *three fleurs-de-lis in pairle*.<sup>20</sup> The patrician family of Feuchtwangen from Dinkelsbühl, which may be related, used a *caltrop*, or perhaps arrow tips in pairle, in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries. The fleurs-de-lis arms and the caltrop are not too dissimilar when found on seals in bad condition. Several of the arms of the lesser known families do not have independent corroboration, and are in need of further research. The two examples given suggest that the ‘Hochmeister list’ is a construction by the *Berliner* compiler or his informant, and that no armorial record of the heads of the Order was kept by its officials.

### Funeral memorials

We know of several high officers buried in Prussia, but very few tombs have survived, and there are no references to personal arms in the available sources. In the chapel of St Lawrence in Marienburg Castle there is a carved tombstone for Dietrich von Logendorf (d.1420) with a curious coat of arms. In outline it is similar to a double-headed eagle, but is in fact a leafless rooted trunk with the top split in two, each with a pair of stubs – and winged.<sup>21</sup> The text around the periphery set between four roundels at the corners was illegible on the old photo, which is now in the Marburg archive, but the type of tombstone is common in Germany and Scandinavia in the fifteenth-century. He came from Anhalt and does not appear to have been a knight brother, but rather a visiting crusader, who never returned.

In present day Germany there are half a dozen effigy tombstones, usually with twin shields, one for the Order and one for the family. These are located in three chapels belonging to the order: Mergentheim, Gundelsheim or Schloss Horneck and the church of St James in Nuremberg (St. Jakobskirche), also in Franconia. That of Konrad von Thüringen has already been mentioned, and is probably atypical. Marquard Zöllner von Rodenstein (d.1396), who served as land commander (Landkomtur) in Thuringia, Alsace and Tirol, has left a tombstone of similar type in the church of St Aegidius, Regensburg. The cross of the Teutonic Order is present above his arms

<sup>19</sup> *Siebmacher* ‘Bayern’, vol. 22/6.1.1:37+t36, 6.1.2:t23.

<sup>20</sup> A.B.E. von der Oelsnitz: *Herkunft und Wappen der Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1198–1525* (Berlin 1926) p.59.

<sup>21</sup> *Siebmacher* 14/3.1:232+t282 (Pr), 16/6.4:41+t30 (PrA), 19/6.11:37+t21 (AnhA).

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and crest. He was a relative, possibly a brother, of Konrad von Rodenstein (HM 1382–90), and was already a commander in Ulm in 1357.<sup>22</sup>

The oldest twin arms tombstone is for Jakob Egloffstein (DM from 1396, d.1416) in Nuremberg (**Figure 6**). He took a leading part in the peace negotiations after the defeat at Tannenberg in 1410, which is perhaps why his tomb is adorned with a Hochmeister's cross, while all the other tombs have the simple Latin cross of the Order. A small caveat is that the two shields above his tomb are separately carved, and might not be contemporary, as the cross is charged with a golden cross flory (Lilienkreuz), a variant otherwise first used by Johan von Tiefen (Deutschmeister [DM] or Master of all the Germans 1489–97), who lived a century later.<sup>23</sup> The next twin arms are for Eberhard von Stetten (DM 1441–47) and Jost von Venningen (DM 1447–54) in Horneck. Here the arms are integral, as are the crested helms (**Figure 7**). A further four later tombs of Deutschmeisters are known, all of whom apparently spent most of their lives as administrators in the Balleien in Germany, and as counsellors to the local princes. The only surviving funeral monuments with personal arms for Teutonic knights are for fifteenth century (or later) governors of the recruiting base in Germany, none of whom appear to have served in Prussia.

### Buildings

Whenever a new building was completed or renewed, the senior officer would, like his lay peers, place their arms on it, at least from the middle of the fifteenth-century. Two such buildings remain at Beuggen near Basel, for a long time seat of the land commandery of Alsace-Burgundy. On one, apparently finished 1444, there are two carved stones for successive Land Commanders [LC]. That of Marquard von Königsegg (LC 1411–36) actually shows his arms quartering those of the Order, leading to the suspicion that it may have been added later. The two succeeding officers, Ludwig von Landsee (LC 1437–43) and Burkhard von Schellenberg (LC 1443–57), were commemorated together, with the arms of the Order placed separately (**Figure 8**). After the renovation of a part of the Marburg (in Hesse) complex in 1495, the family arms of Dietrich von Cleen (DM 1515–26) was sculpted on the front. A Truchsess von Westhausen (LC Austria 1524) had his personal arms on his funeral effigy in Vienna.<sup>24</sup> Except for Landsee (see below), none of these appear to have held offices in Prussia.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> A.P. Rahrbach: *Reichsritter in Mainfranken. Zu Wappen und Geschichte fränkischer Adelsfamilien* (Neustadt a.d. Aisch 2003) pp.309–310.

<sup>23</sup> M. Tumlner, *Der Deutsche Orden im Werden, Wachsen und Wirken bis 1400* (Vienna 1954) pp.418–420, is wrong in dating its use to Karl von Trier (HM 1312–24). The HM cross was *Argent a cross sable ch. cross potent or and in fess point on an inescutcheon or an eagle sable* on the HM banner taken at Tannenberg 1410, on the seal of Dietrich von Altenburg (HM 1335–41) and on seals of Ludolf König (HM 1342–45), Michael Küchenmeister (HM 1414–22), and Ludwig von Erlichshausen (HM 1450–67) in XVD (op cit) 17–19, plate VIII.

<sup>24</sup> Michael Göbl, 2017, pers.com, see note 29.

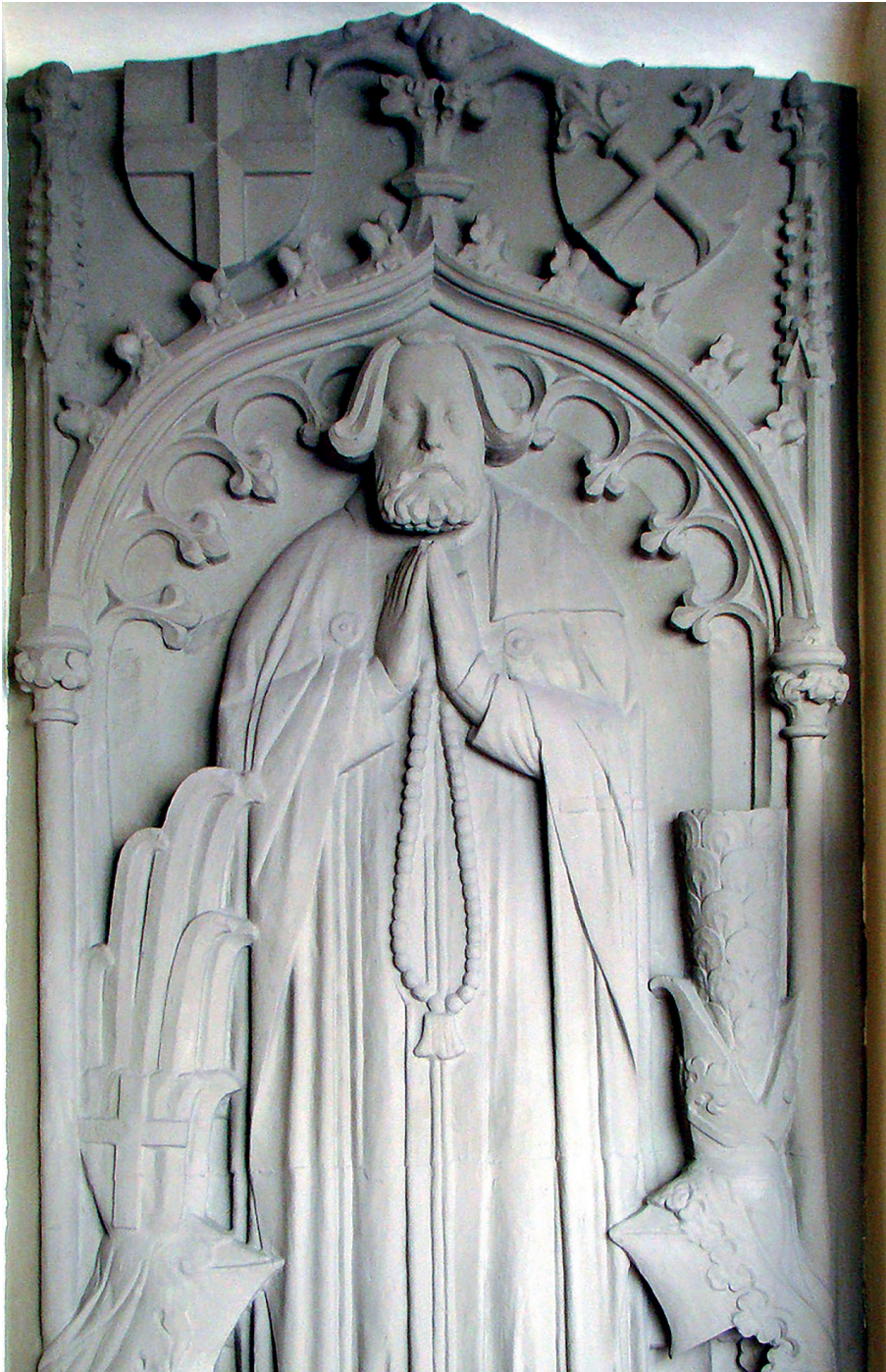
<sup>25</sup> <http://welt-der-wappen.de> (name index Deutsche Orden) and the associated galleries by Dr. Bernhard Peter has further references and images of arms of members of the Order on buildings, incl. Beuggen, Horneck and Altshausen.

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Figure 6: Memorial to Jakob Egloffstein (d.1416), Nuremberg.

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*Figure 7: Jost von Venningen (d. 1454) Schloss Horneck, Gundelsheim, Hesse.*



*Figure 8: Armorial plaque, 1437/43, with the arms of the Order; Ludwig von Landsee, and Burkhard von Schellenberg, Schloss Beuggen. (photo by Dr. Bernhard Peters)*

In 1524 Rudolph von Friedingen (LC 1522–37), resident in Altshausen, near Ravensburg in Baden-Württemberg, the new seat of the land commandery Swabia-Alsace-Burgundy, placed his arms quartered with those of the Order on a stained glass window. This was as part of a series by Christoph Stimmer, of the Schaffhausener artists' dynasty, in the city hall (Rathaus) in nearby Pfullendorf, but by this time Prussia had been secularized and the Order had moved into a new phase of its life dominated by the Hapsburg monarchy.

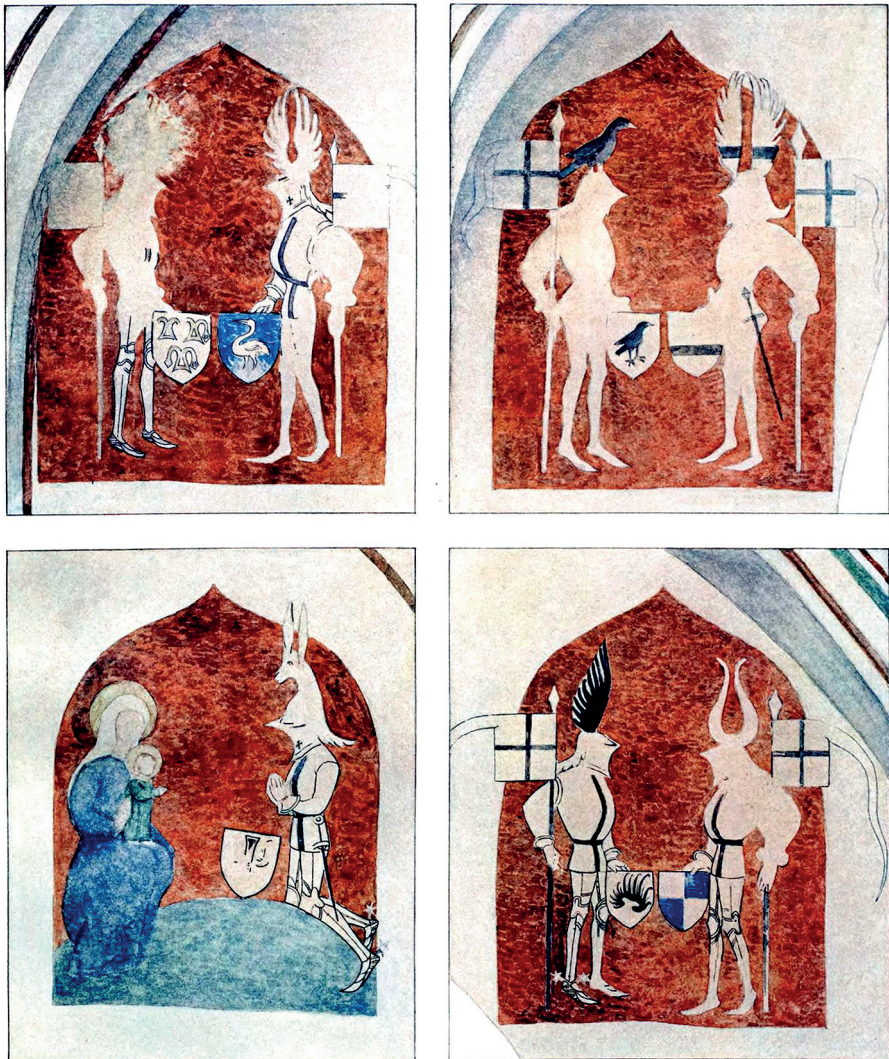
### **Interior decorations**

There are two churches and two castles in Prussia where painted murals survived, at least until the Second World War: the cathedral and the Juditten Church in Königsberg (now Kaliningrad); the main seat and castle of the Order at Marienburg (now Malbork), and the castle of Lochstedt (now Pawlovo). All the arms on the murals in the cathedral appear to refer to visiting crusaders, while those at Lochstedt Castle are either emblems used by the Order, or imaginary arms of the Nine Worthies. The interior of Marienburg Castle was heavily restored during the latter part of the nineteenth-century, and a large number of arms (with or without any connection to the Order) was painted on the walls, or placed on shields hung in the main hall.

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Only one original achievement, the Jungingen arms (**Figure 4**), has survived, in the corridor leading to the private rooms of the Hochmeister.

The situation is different for the Juditten Church where about 46 arms have been preserved either as photographs, restorers' water colours, or in situ murals (**Figure 9**). One third of these appear to be mainly decorative on running borders in the chancel. Probably placed there by crusaders were five shield pairs in the nave, and a set of four arms and crests on the north wall of the chancel. Three achievements



*Figure 9:* Murals from the Juditten Church in Königsberg (Kaliningrad).

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on the chancel arch and on the ogive arch at the end may also belong to crusaders.<sup>26</sup> The most intriguing murals are the remains of ten fully mailed knights with crested helmets and jupons with the cross of the Order.<sup>27</sup> All but one of the knights holds a banner charged with the cross of the Order, the one exception carries a shield with the arms of the Order. They are dated c. 1393 by the Juningen.<sup>28</sup> The chancel arch arms include *three stirrups* (?); *a heron*, and an indistinct cross, possibly belonging to a Hochmeister, whose crest was a donkey's head. On the outside of the chancel arch facing the nave is a paired shield and crest of a raven. Only two arms can be identified with reasonable confidence: Engelhard Rabe (Chief Marshal 1387–92), and Konrad Jungingen (HM 1393–1404). It is possible to assign a surname to a further three or four arms, but none of the arms or crests fits people holding senior positions at the time, or known to have served as officers in Königsberg.

### Member lists

The Order kept track of its knight brothers, their territory of origin and the offices they held by recurring visitations, but never recorded its entrants in written lists. Late in the life of the Order, some of the more wealthy brothers (or their families) hung the family arms in the church of the Order where the vows were taken. These were placed to commemorate the taking of solemn vows, having inscriptions around then giving the name of the member and the date of the vow. The oldest encountered is for Wolfgang von Hausner, who entered the Order in 1451 in the Nuremberg church of St. James (**Figure 10**). One of the largest collections of such shields is in Vienna.<sup>29</sup> Among the other churches of the Order, only St.Georg-in-Weggenstein in Bozen holds a substantial number.

Besides a substantial number of individual shields of land commanders of the Bailiwick of Swabia, Alsace and Burgundy, mostly from the seventeenth century, a type of retrospective member list can be found in the choir of the castle church at Altshausen.<sup>30</sup> Within a large frame the arms of all of the land commanders from 1311 to 1806 were painted with the name and year of appointment, probably shortly after the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in the latter year. Their arms, which all (many anachronistically) quarter those of the Order appear otherwise to be correct, though one or two entries left the family arms blank.

<sup>26</sup> Details of the arms and owners (if identified) can be found in Clemmensen *Arms and Emblems*, op.cit. note 3.

<sup>27</sup> Clemmensen *Arms and Emblems* OTJ:1–9, 18. OTJ is the identifier used for images in the Judittenkirche therein.

<sup>28</sup> S. Ekdahl: *Die "Banderia Prutenorum" des Jan Dlugosz – eine Quelle zur Schlacht bei Tannenberg 1410. Untersuchungen zu Aufbau, Entstehung und Quellenwert der Handschrift* (Göttingen 1976) plate VI; Paravicini *Preussenreisen*, op cit vol.1, p.305, notes 351, 354.

<sup>29</sup> The oval shields in the Vienna Deutschordenskirche are discussed by Michael Göbl in the proceedings of the 20th colloque of the Academie Internationale d'Héraldique held in Copenhagen in November 2017 (forthcoming). There is a smaller, but similar collection of shields in the Vienna church of the Order of St. John (Hospitallers).

<sup>30</sup> The seat of the LC of Alsace-Burgundy was moved from Beuggen near Basel to Altshausen in Baden-Württemberg when Louis XIV seized Alsace and Lorraine for France.



Figure 10: Aufswörschild (inswearing shield) for Wolfgang Haussner, 1451, in St.Jakobskirche, Nuremberg.. (wikipedia)

### Seals

The first Hochmeister to integrate his personal arms with those of the office was Friedrich, duke of Saxony, who was elected in 1498 to save what was left of the Order's influence and its territorial claims. Four arms related to Saxony were placed in the quarters behind the Hochmeister's cross.<sup>31</sup> His successor Albrecht

<sup>31</sup> Vossberg, op cit, table X; Neubecker *Ordensritterliche Heraldik*, op cit, p.19 fig.2, op.cit. notes 4–5. Friederich of Saxony also introduced other armorial variants following the fashion of contemporary lay princes.

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Achilles of Brandenburg continued this new tradition. Prussia was made a lay principality in 1525, leaving the next appointed Hochmeister Walter von Cronberg with only its base of the Deutschmeistertum in Germany and Austria and not even a nominal influence in Prussia. The semi-independent Livonia-branch continued until 1561.

Although personal arms were almost never used in Prussia,<sup>32</sup> personal or family arms were used by higher officers together with their emblems of office at a relatively early date in Germany and in Livonia. Werner Graf von Tierstein sealed as early as 1352 in his capacity as commander of Basel with his family arms combined with the cross of the Order.<sup>33</sup> Jobst von Venningen (DM 1447–1454) also had his family arms *Argent two staves flory in saltire gules* on his official seal of 1448.<sup>34</sup> There are three known examples where the land commander in Livonia included his personal arms in his official seal: Goswin von Hercke (LC 1345–60) co-sealed in 1347 with the Hochmeister Heinrich Dusmer (1345–51) adding his *Per pale* family arms to the Order's-cross below the 'flight to Egypt' emblem of his office (**Figure 11**).<sup>35</sup> Johan von Mengede known as Osthof (LC 1450–69) had his arms: *Barry of four (sable and argent)* on a seal of 1451, as did Johan Walthaus von Heerse (LC 1470–71) with a *Fess charged with three roses*.<sup>36</sup> Walter von Plettenberg (LC 1494–1535), the first independent land commander in Livonia after the secularisation of Prussia in 1525, minted gold and silver coins with his personal arms (*Per pale*) quartered with those of the Order (**Figure 12**).

T.R. Davies provided his own drawing of a coat of arms claimed to have been in the seal of Robin von Eltz who was Land Master in Livonia 1385–89.<sup>37</sup> The drawing has a small black cross potenty placed in the dexter corner of the lower field of his family arms *Argent on a chief gules a demi-lion rampant or*. The seal could not be traced, and his paper was without references, quite usual for the sixties.

### Armorial

The knight brothers were largely recruited from the lower ranks of the nobility, on a par with the English gentry), and their families were proud of their commitments to the Order, as is evidenced by the hanging of shields in the churches of the Order. Their

<sup>32</sup> The exceptions were the murals in the church of Juditten and the castle of Marienburg, as mentioned, notes 26–27.

<sup>33</sup> W.R. Staehelin, *Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Ordens in Basel*, *Archives Héraldiques Suisse* vol 35 (1920) p.25 ff, p.30, no.71.

<sup>34</sup> *Siebmacher* 20/3.4:t32, 24/2.6:15+t11, 22/2.1:t65, 27:t119. Jobst von Venningen (d.1458) was a knight in Heilbronn in 1418–34 and in Mergentheim in 1437.

<sup>35</sup> Hercke is not in *Siebmacher*, but the *Per pale* arms must belong to him, www.bildindex.de has double assignment of these seals. For the emblematics of the Order, see Vossberg *Preussische Münzen*, op cit, and Clemmensen *Arms and Emblems*, op.cit. note 3, 5.

<sup>36</sup> Vossberg *Münzen und Siegel* plate I, no.8 for Johan Mengede 1451; *Siebmacher* 14/3.2:t310; M. Popoff, *Armorial de Gelre*, (Paris 2012) no.1627; L. Fenske and K. Militzer: *Ritterbrüder im livländischen Zweig des Deutschen Ordens* (Vienna 1993) p.693; *Siebmacher* 25/3.11.2:65+t45 (Heerse).

<sup>37</sup> Davies, op cit CoA no. 41 p.21; For Robin zu Eltz see E. Christiansen, *Northern Crusades. The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier 1100–1525* (Basingstoke 1980) p.xiv; *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (1959) vol. 4, p.479.

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*Figure 11: Seals of Heinrich Dusmer, 1347 with emblem of office (Mary & Child); and of Goswin von Hercke, LM Livonia 1345–60, with emblem of office (flight to Egypt) and shields with arms of the Order and his personal arms (*per pale*). Document from Reval, Rathaus (1940), now on [www.bildindex.de](http://www.bildindex.de), image fm151482 (Fotoarchiv Marburg).*



*Figure 12: Livonian coin minted by Walter von Plettenberg.*

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names and origins were used in official records, and an inquisitive visitor might be told of their arms if questioned. One visitor of 1430 left the answers to his questions for posterity. This collator of the coats of arms must have been in the allegiance of the duke of Burgundy as his notes were eventually incorporated into an armorial that was closely linked to the heralds of that court.<sup>38</sup> The *Lyncenich* (LYN) is a composite compilation of c.1450 covering mostly Burgundian and Imperial territories, and including this section on members of the Teutonic Order.<sup>39</sup> We do not know whether the originator was a herald, a nobleman or a secretary, but he must have been a German speaker who had a keen interest in armory and a good knowledge of the terminology of blazonry.<sup>40</sup> The rendering of the painted arms was quite exact, but some of the names were confounded, while others are missing, indicating that the illustrations came first, and suggesting that the annotator might not have been the original compiler. Had the source been in written blazon, both names and arms would have been confounded.

There are three other manuscripts, clones or satellites from the same Burgundian Toison d'Or group of armorials, which were painted in the French department (and former duchy) of Lorraine. One, the *Clémery*, is a very close copy of the more prestigious *Lutzelbourg*, and executed in the same workshop c.1540.<sup>41</sup> The third has been categorized as a seventeenth-century copy of the *Armorial Urfé* but has a strong affinity with the Toison d'Or group.<sup>42</sup> Both of the manuscript compilations containing *Clémery* and *Urfé* were once owned by the French antiquarian Francois-Rogier de Gaignières (1642–1715), who sold his large manuscript collection to King Louis XIV, so they have been preserved in the national library for centuries. It is most likely that a now lost clone from the group ended up in Lorraine and provided the source for these three versions, which all have additional and more legible names, but lack the arms of five knights recorded in the *Lyncenich*.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> The duke had several German-speaking heralds and servants with origins in the border provinces. It is possible, but seems less likely, that the collation was obtained from an imperial envoy to the Order.

<sup>39</sup> Brussels, Royal Library Albert Ist, ms. II-6567; S. Clemmensen: *The Lyncenich armorial* (Farum 2016) online at [www.armorial.dk](http://www.armorial.dk); the 43 arms are p.263–266 [LYN nos 1949–1991]. See also Clemmensen *Editing armorials*, op cit, vol.2, pp.33–38; it was probably painted c.1450.

<sup>40</sup> The names are in German, possibly with a touch of Flemish.

<sup>41</sup> Nancy, Municipal Library, ms.1747; S. Clemmensen: *An introduction to and blazons of Armorial Nicolas de Lutzelbourg, and Armorial d'Anthoine de Clémery* (Farum 2013) online at [www.armorial.dk](http://www.armorial.dk).

<sup>42</sup> Paris, BnF, français 23077, fo. 150r-172v.

<sup>43</sup> LYN nos 1951, 1956–1958, and 1970.

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The Teutonic knights sections of all three armorials begin with the arms of office of the Hochmeister, closely followed by the personal arms of officers.<sup>44</sup> These were three out five of the grand officers, followed by three top level regional commanders, with possibly a fourth coming in further down.<sup>45</sup> Of these, Erasmus Fischborn was the chief commander, an office which he held for less than two years during 1429–30. Heinrich von Raitenbach served as chief provisor in Königsberg in 1430–32, and he narrows the time of the sequence to January-October 1430.<sup>46</sup> Possibly the compiler met these individuals on a single journey. Both Danzig and Königsberg were important entry points as well as commercial harbours. It was not unusual for visitors to enter the territory through Danzig and then proceed to Marienburg, the seat of the Hochmeister, before proceeding to the chief marshal in Königsberg.<sup>47</sup> There were no military operations going on in Prussia during 1430, and certainly no crusades, so there would be little incitement to go elsewhere. Among the knight brothers identified are the reeves of Insterburg and Tapiau, both part of the commandery of Königsberg.<sup>48</sup> The visitor did not need to ride fifty kilometres to get there, as the reeves were likely to report to the chief provisor and the treasury of the commandery. At least three of the armigers have been identified as employed in Königsberg and one in Marienburg.<sup>49</sup> Several of the remaining identifiable armigers are known to have been employed as minor officials or ordinary knight brothers in Königsberg in the years around 1430.<sup>50</sup> The surviving correspondence shows that the commander of Thorn, a senior officer

<sup>44</sup> LYN no.1950 is Paul Rusdorf (HM 1422–41) no 1951 is chief marshal Heinrich Hold (1428–31); no.1953 is grand commander Erasmus Fischborn (1429–30); no/ 1952 has the personal arms of the master of the Robes Martin von der Kemnate (1428–32); no. 1954 is for Heinrich von Sebenrode commander of Brandenburg (1427–31); no 1955 is Ludwig von Landsee, commander of Thorn (Knight 1426–31), and no. 1956 is Walter Kirschkorb, the commander of Danzig 1428–34. The identifications are based on the lists in J. Voigt: *Namen-Codex der Deutschen Ordens-Beamten*, (Königsberg 1843, reprint 1971) and P. G. Thielen: *Die Verwaltung des Ordensstaates Preussen* (Köln Graz 1965) the Ordensbriefarchiv in Berlin (<http://archivdatenbank.gsta.spk-berlin.de>, division XX.HA) and the *Neue Siebmacher*. Details of their careers and further references can be found in Clemmensen *Arms and emblems* and in Clemmensen *Lyncenich*, op.cit. note 43.

<sup>45</sup> LYN no. 1980 labelled 'byrtelkounen' has arms very close to those of Johan von Selbach, commander of Mewe 1416–31, before he succeeded to the commandery of Brandenburg. The field is reported as *argent* rather than *or*. However there are other possibilities including Reichenstein and Walpode von Neuburg..

<sup>46</sup> LYN no.1968 Heinrich Raitenbach zu Erkersreut *alias* Rittenbach was cellarmaster 1428–29, and chief provisor 1430–32, both in Königsberg.

<sup>47</sup> Paravicini *Preussenreisen*, op cit, note 3, has many examples of where the travellers went. There are useful maps of Prussia in Miltzer *Geschichte*, op cit, p.162, and in Turnbull *Tanneberg*, op cit, p.27, note 8.

<sup>48</sup> LYN no. 1964 Heinrich Richtenberg, reeve of Tapiau 1430; no. 1990 Johan von Schaumburg, reeve of Insterburg 1429–31.

<sup>49</sup> LYN no.1973 Michael Tussenvelde, noted as deputy (Hauskomtur) in Königsberg 1431, no. 1974 Herman Hug von Heiligenberg, personal assistant to the chief marshal 1430–33, no. 1985 Ulrich von Warthausen, responsible for the sale of amber and a substantial part of the Order's income (Bernsteinmeister) 1429 in nearby Lochstedt; no. 1957 Heinrich von Rohwedel, responsible for lodgings in Marienburg (Karwanmeister) in 1428 before being promoted to deputy in Danzig 1432–33.

<sup>50</sup> LYN no. 1984 Ditmar von Sparneck, as knight brother in Königsberg 1424 and 1437, but serving in Danzig by 1447.

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Figure 13: Deutsch Meister Dieter von Cleen 1520.

for more than 15 years, was employed on several diplomatic missions, whose duties would have given him cause to visit both Marienburg and Königsberg.

Unfortunately, not all the arms can be assigned to known persons or families. The major reference to German arms, the *Neue Siebmacher*, a nineteenth-century dictionary of arms and genealogical information, does not incorporate much of the medieval lower nobility – the backbone of the Order.<sup>51</sup> The many lacunae in the otherwise extensive lists of officers make it impossible to place several of the proposed persons into a specific office or place during 1430. Despite this, and the additional difficulty of many missing, illegible, misspelled and transposed names, it has been possible to identify the families of all but 4 of 42 contemporary Teutonic knights.

<sup>51</sup> Less than half of a sample of officers of the Order had corresponding names and arms in the *Neue Siebmacher*.

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### **Conclusion**

Though the statutes of the Teutonic Order prohibited personal belongings, its members were known by their given and family names and by their territory of origin. They also lived in surroundings filled not only with allegorical and moral images, but also with battle scenes and coats of arms. These were nearly all in honour of illustrious and wealthy visitors, who had fought the 'heathen pagans' alongside the knight brothers of the Order. The majority of the knight brothers came from the lower nobility and all must have been armigerous and, as shown above, keenly aware of their ancestry, status, and symbols. The use of personal arms was largely confined to high-ranking knights holding office away from the administrative centre in Marienburg in Prussia. The only exception found appears to relate directly to the two Jungingen brothers who held the office of Hochmeister from 1393 to the great military defeat of 1410.