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**HERMANN VON WARTBERGE (WARBURG) AND HIS ORIGINS.  
NEW RESEARCH AND FINDINGS**

**Abstract**

The main aim of this paper is to present the findings of the latest, authorial in-depth research concerning the ancestry of a chaplain and chronicler to the masters of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order, Hermann von Wartberge, who lived in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The author successively addresses and attempts to fill the gaps regarding this historical figure using primary and secondary sources. The main conclusion is that Hermann might have originated from the old Mecklenburgian house of von *Warburg*.

**Key words**

Hermann von Wartberge, Warburg, Teutonic Order, Chronicon Livoniae, Livonia

## INTRODUCTION

The question of Hermann von Wartberge's origins has not been conclusively solved since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, Polish historiography has to address numerous gaps in the life of this historical figure, connected with the history of the Teutonic Order and its Livonian branch. Exploration of the chaplain's past will affect further studies on his Livonian chronicle.

Specifically, I pursued the following objectives:

- first, to conduct an in-depth research on the chaplain's ancestry.
- second, to determine whether he originated from a noble family.
- third, to present a connection between his origins and the major role Hermann played in the Order.

I show that Hermann's importance increases proportionally to the years he spends in the ranks of the Teutonic Order, being one of their prominent representatives.

### The form *von Wartberge* under investigation

Essential information about the author of "Chronicon Livoniae" is derived from a note in its 16<sup>th</sup>-century copy: "This chronicle was written by a chaplain of the Master of Livonia brother Hermann von Wartberge many years ago"<sup>1</sup>. Practically, it is the copyist's evaluation of the narrative content which was provided under year 1366: "Brother (...) Hermann, a chaplain of the Master (...) "<sup>2</sup>. The form of the last name, i.e. *von Wartberge*, is a detail that urgently requires examination.

Ernst Strehlke was the first to address the aforementioned term. He commenced his research with a Middle German form of language dialect that implied a name of a city, castle/burgh or an old German household<sup>3</sup>, as follows: *Wartenberg* (*Wardenberg*) in Brandenburg and *Wartenberg* (Bohemia); *Wahrburg* or *Warborg* in the vicinity of Stendal (Mecklenburg); the noble family *von Werberge* (Warberg); the town of *Wartburg* or *Wartberg* (Thuringia); counts *von Wartberg*, *Warburg* or *Warberch* (Westphalia).

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<sup>1</sup> National Archive in Gdańsk, cat. 300, R/LI, q1, pp. 9-68; APG 300 R, LI, q. L, microfilm National Archive in Gdańsk, cat. E-33391; E. Strehlke (ed.), *Hermani de Wartberge Chronicon Livoniae*, [in:] *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum* (SRP), 2, Leipzig 1863, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> E. Strehlke, *Hermani Chronicon*, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p.19; *idem*, *Nachricht über die livländische Chronik des Hermann von Wartberge (-1378)*, *Mitteilungen*, 9, 1860, pp. 256-275.

Ernst Strehlke chose Johan as a representative of the noble family *von Wartenberge* (Brandenburg). He did not mention Hermann. As a matter of fact, I found the name of a Hermann von Wartenberge in the *Codex Diplomaticus Brandenburgensis*<sup>4</sup>. German researcher did not provide any further particulars about the city and the noble house in Bohemia. According to my latest prosopographic analysis, the family *von Wartenberg* originated from the 11<sup>th</sup>-century *Marquardts* household, who settled the northern part of Bohemia between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century. Marquardt von Scharfenstein or his son Beneš built a castle called Wartenberg near Nimes (Mimoň) – Stráž pod Ralskem – hence the distinct name borne by the entire family since 1540 from Altmar and the northern Thuringia, and since 1758 – Waldstein-Wartenberg. I am more than certain German names such as Heřman or Marqvart could have been customarily given in this family. Therefore, a possible equivalent of Hermann von Wartenberg would have been Heřman of Vartenberk, followed by *k rozrodu Markvarticů*. Unfortunately, such historical figure is not mentioned in the historical sources<sup>5</sup>.

According to my research, it is necessary to consider the historical region of Mecklenburg. First of all, because the linguistic form corresponds with the Westphalian city of Warburg, adopted from a house with its own coat of arms called *von Warburg*. Secondly, I have found a Hermann von Warburg who lived in Saxony for several years. He was Albrecht's brother who served as a commander *zu Namerow* between 1356 and 1365. Moreover, Robert Gramsch stated that there were 13 lawyers in Westphalia in the late Middle Ages, including *decr. doc.* Hermann (Nabercord) von Warburg. In the same time, most people who were learned in law also migrated from Saxony to Lübeck in Livonia. And, last but not the least, commanders of Mecklenburg were dependant on the Livonian Masters. The area around Wismar belonged to the Order<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Brandenburgensis*, Berlin 1838-1869: CDB 1, 31, p. 139; CDB 3, 73, pp. 379-380, 387; CDB 25, 34, pp. 23-24. More information about a form *Wartenberg*: T. Hirsch (ed.), *Die Chronik Wigands von Marburg. Original Fragmente lateinische uebersetzung und sonstige ueberreste*, [in:] SRP 2, pp. 448-449.

<sup>5</sup> *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae*, 6-11, Brno 1854-1885; J. Emler (ed.), *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae*, 3-6, Praha 1890-1929; *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, 1-8, Praze 1873-1932; *Monumenta historica Bohemiae nusquam ante hoc edita*, 6, Pragae 1764-1786; *Monumenta Vaticana*, 1-5, Pragae 1903; *Universitas Pragensis, Liber decanorum facultatis philosophicae ab anno 1367, usque ad annum 1585 p. Prima*, 1, Pragae 1830, pp. 217-218; J. Weizsäcker (ed.), *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter König Wenzel: 1376-1387*, Perthes 1867.

<sup>6</sup> G.C.F. Lisch (ed.), *Jahrbücher des Vereins für Mecklenburgische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 9, Schwerin 1844, pp. 71-73; *Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch*, 1-19 (786-1380),

Ernst Strehlke mentioned Hermann von Werberg (1351-1371), who originated from the Saxonian noble house with its Warberg castle. He served as a master of the Brandenburgian bailiwick of St. John's Order, not the Teutonic Order<sup>7</sup>. The German researcher continued his investigation taking into account cities, towns and burghs whose names were linguistically similar to Wartberge. We could also create such list, which would include: a castle in Thuringia; two structures near Neunburg and Pegnitz in Bavaria; Wartberg and later Wartenberg in Warmia (Ermland); the Slovakian city of Senec; moreover twelve mountain peaks which are located in Thuringia, Westphalia, Bavaria, in the northern Hesse, Wittenberg, Rhineland-Palatinate and Saxony, etc.

The German historian espoused the notion of Westphalia and the city of Warburg being the place of Hermann's ancestry. Unfortunately, his thesis was mainly based on historical figures bearing that name from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, which would mean he reached the age of 100. It is highly unlikely for a person from the Middle Ages where an average lifespan equalled ca. 50-60 years<sup>8</sup>.

Joseph Girgensohn successfully introduced Hermann von Wartberge, superintendent of the Westphalian city of Mersberg from 1278, as the chronicler's ascendant<sup>9</sup>. Leonid Abrusov was also in favour of Westphalia and he presented *Johannes von W.-tz* from the Dioecese of Münster (1328)<sup>10</sup>. These attempts were similar in the nature to Ernst Strehlke's. Based on the name of the chronicler, Anneliese Thriller concluded that he had been born in Lower Saxony, but at the same time she did not challenge his alleged

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Schwerin 1863-1899; R. Gramsch, *Erfurter Juristen im Spätmittelalter. Die Karrieremuster und Tätigkeitsfelder einer gelehrten Elite des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, Leiden-Boston 2003, pp. 199 and footnote 28; 203-204 and footnote 44; 338-339 and footnotes 143-147. See also: *Stammfolge Warburg*, [in:] *Genealogisches Handbuch des Adels*, 34, Limburg an der Lahn 1965, pp. 386-388; *ibidem*, 81 (1983), pp. 512-514; *Familie von Wartburg*, [in:] E.H. Kneschke (ed.), *Neues allgemeines deutsches Adels-Lexicon im Vereine mit mehreren Historikern*, 9, Neustadt an der Aisch 1995, pp. 478-479; *Warburg*, [in:] *Adelslexikon*, 15: *Tre-Wee*, Limburg an der Lahn 2004, p. 457.

<sup>7</sup> CDB, 1, 19, Berlin 1860, 18, p. 134; *ibidem*, 20, p. 137; M. Marcus, *Der Deutsche Orden und der Johanniterorden*, München 2013; E. Strehlke, *Joahnniter und Templar: Geschichte, Geheimnisse und Gegenwart*, Weishaupt 1999.

<sup>8</sup> P.B. Newman, *Growing up in the Middle Ages*, London 2007, pp. 241 ff.

<sup>9</sup> J. Girgensohn, *Hermann von Wartberge*, [in:] *Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (ed.), *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 41, Leipzig 1896, p. 185.

<sup>10</sup> L. Abrusow, *Hermann v. Wartberge*, [in:] *Eesti biograafiline leksikon, Akadeemilise Ajaloo-Selsi Toimetused*, 2, Tartu 1926-1929, p. 559. Read: *idem*, *Livlands Geistlichkeit vom Ende des 12. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, Mitau 1902, p. 133. Historical sources where Hermann von Wartberge is mentioned: *Akten und Rezesse der livländischen Ständetage*, 1, ed. von O. Stavenhagen, L. Arbusow, Riga 1907, 10; 17; 21; 82, pp. 54 ff; 95, pp. 64 ff.

Westphalian roots<sup>11</sup>. Manfred Hellmann was the first investigator who suggested a date of Hermann's death after 1380<sup>12</sup>. Carola L. Gottzmann and Petra Hörner claimed that the chronicler had been born ca. 1330 in Lower Saxony or Westphalia, and died after 1380 in the old Livonia<sup>13</sup>. Michael Neecke, in an encyclopaedic nutshell, encapsulated certain data about the chaplain which derived directly from two main sources<sup>14</sup>, namely Hermann's chronicle and his tract written after the Order's negotiations with Bishop of Riga from 1366<sup>15</sup>. In the same manner were put certainties about the chronicler by In his Latvian edition and translation of the *Chronicon Livoniae*, Ēvalds Mugurēvičs stated the certitudes concerning the chronicler in much the same manner<sup>16</sup>. Arno Mentzel-Reuters suggested that Hermann's origins were to be sought in Westphalia – Warburg and with his predecessor Bartholomaeus Hoeneke in Osnabrück. The researcher assumed that they could have met<sup>17</sup>. Philip Plattner claimed that Hermann had been born ca. 1330 in Lower Saxony and died after 1380 as a priest and overseer of Teutonic Order's archives<sup>18</sup>. In his<sup>19</sup> and Marie-Luise Heckmann's<sup>20</sup> opinion the chaplain came to Livonia in 1358.

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<sup>11</sup> A. Triller, Hermann von Wartberge, [in:] *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 8, 1969, p. 652. As a comment please read: U. Arnold, Hermann von Wartberge, [in:] *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, 23, Berlin-New York 1981, pp. 1114-1115; R. Batūra, N. Vēlius, Hermanas Vartbergietis 14 a. 2 pusē, [in:] N. Vēlius, *Sources of Baltic Religion and Mythology*, 2, Vilnius 1996, pp. 417-422; M. Hellmann, Hermann von Wartberge, [in:] *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 4, Stuttgart-Weimar 1999, pp. 2169-2170; V. Varonin, Herman z Vartberga, [in:] *Vjalikae Knjastva Litoŭskae*, 1, Minsk 2005, p. 530.

<sup>12</sup> M. Hellmann, Hermann von Wartberge.

<sup>13</sup> C.L. Gottzman, P. Hörner, *Lexikon der deutschsprachigen Literatur des Baltikums und St. Petersburgs. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, 2, Berlin-New York 2007, p. 572.

<sup>14</sup> M. Neecke, Hermann of Wartberge, [in:] G. Dunphy (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, 1, Leiden-Boston 2010, pp. 780-781.

<sup>15</sup> E. Strehlke (ed.), *Hermann de Wartberge Relatio de disceptatione inter Rigensem archiepiscopum ordinemque S. Mariae Theutonicorum Gedani Anno 1366 habita*, [in:] *SRP* 2, pp. 148-155.

<sup>16</sup> Ē. Mugurēvičs, *Vartberges Hermaņa Livonijas Hronika no latīņu valodas tulkojis, priekšvārdu un komentārus sarakstījis*, Rīga 2005, pp. 7-15.

<sup>17</sup> A. Mentzel-Reuters, Bartholomaeus Hoeneke. Ein Historiograph zwischen Überlieferung und Fiktion, [in:] Matthias Thumser (ed.), *Geschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Livland*, Berlin 2011, pp. 25-31.

<sup>18</sup> Ph. Plattner, *Bewaffnete Pilgerfahrt. Die Preussenfahrt Herzog Leopolds III von Österreich (1372)*, *Biuletyn Polskiej Misji Historycznej* 10, 2015, pp. 203-205.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>20</sup> M.-L. Heckmann, *Wetter und Krieg – im Spiegel erzählender Quellen zu Preußen und dem Baltikum aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, [in:] R. Czaja, K. Kopiński (eds.), *Piśmienność pragmatyczna-edytorstwo źródeł historycznych–archiwistyka. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Januszowi Tandeckiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin*, Toruń 2015, p. 203 and footnote 37.

## NEW RESEARCH

My latest research confirms that the term *Wartberg* is acknowledged by archaeologists, such as Linda Fibiger, whose area of interest is located in north-western Germany. It was used to designate a Neolithic culture, the so-called *Wartbergkultur* (*Wartberggruppe*), which dates back to 3500-2800 B.C.E. and extends over Westphalia and Thuringia. This culture is associated with two towns, namely Warburg to the south and Walternienburg in the central part of the area<sup>21</sup>. The 16<sup>th</sup>-century copyist's form *Wartberge* also implied „die Doppelstadt” where Hermann could have been born. Warburg consisted of Altstadt, established in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and Neustadt, founded in the 13<sup>th</sup> century by Bernard von Lippe, Bishop of Paderborn<sup>22</sup>. A count Dodiko built a castle on the Altstadt hill called Wartberge in 1018. Franz Irsigler determined that the fortress was inhabited by the representatives of distinctive lordly houses from nearby villages, but certainly not *von Wartberge*<sup>23</sup>. Consequently, there is no information about the family in historical sources from 1300 to 1325<sup>24</sup>.

Thanks to *Das Digitale Westfälische Urkunden* project, it was possible to conduct a scrutiny of court documents from 1328-1387, while taking into account two objectives: first, to ascertain the occurrence of Hermann's name and second, to assess the Warburg – Paderborn reciprocity. From nearly 2,900 regesta, one eighth could be considered in this investigation<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> L. Fibiger, Investigating cranial trauma in the German Wartberg Culture, [in:] R. Schulting, L. Fibiger (ed.), *Sticks, Stones and Broken Bones. Neolithic Violence in a European Perspective*, Oxford 2012, pp. 175-188.

<sup>22</sup> F. Tenckhoff (ed.), *Vita Meinweri Episcopi Patherbrunnensis*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Hannover 1921, Cap. 49, p. 41; H. Bannasch, *Das Bistum Paderborn unter den Bischöfen Rethar und Meinwerk*, Paderborn 1972, pp. 58, 60-64, 260-262; Th. Eggensperger, *Erinnern statt Vergessen, wenn Orden gehen. Empirische Beobachtungen am Beispiel der Dominikanerprovinz Teutonia*, [in:] M. Warode, B. Schmies, Th.M. Schimmel (eds.), *Veränderung als Chance Begreifen. Fusionsprozesse in Orden, Kirche und Gesellschaft*, 2, Münster 2013, pp. 33-46; A. Gottlob, *Geschichte des Stadt Warburg*, Münster 1936, pp. 12-46; F. Irsigler, *Bischof Meinwerk, Graf Dodiko und Warburg. Herrschaft, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft des hohen Mittelalters im östlichen Westfalen*, *Westfälische Zeitschrift* 126/127, 1976/77 p. 185; H. Schoppmeyer, *Warburg im Mittelalter und Neuzeit, Herrschaftssitz, Doppelstadt, territorialer Vorort*, [in:] F. Mürmann (ed.), *Die Stadt Warburg. Beiträge zur Geschichte einer Stadt*, 1, Warburg 1986, pp. 199-296.

<sup>23</sup> F. Irsigler, *Bischof Meinwerk*, pp. 181-200.

<sup>24</sup> See: R. Krumboltz (coop.), *Westfälisches Urkundenbuch*, 8, Münster 1908-1913; J. Prinz (coop.), *Westfälisches Urkundenbuch*, 4, Münster 1978. Moreover, it is possible to become acquainted with 12 registers from various historical periods in the Warburg archives. However, only one of them is dated to the end of 14<sup>th</sup> century, and it offers no reference to our main historical figure.

<sup>25</sup> The collections of documents are the property of the following archives: Altena, Kreisarchiv des Märkischen Kreises; Abbenburg – A Altes Archiv, Urkunden; Inventare der nichtstaatlichen

In the latter group of writings, only one document dovetailed with the chronicle's form of Hermann's name and his ancestry. The aforementioned historical source is dated May 25, 1346 and it was encountered in the Westphalian Archive of Erpernborg (024 Orig., Siegel. Rep. 1 B 7)<sup>26</sup>: "Hermann de Wartbergh". What draws our attention is the fact that the chaplain's name was mentioned almost next to the name of the lawyer, Adam, who handled the civil law *casus*. This is a noteworthy piece of information, due to the fact that a defence prerogative of the Teutonic Order's *status quo* was granted in the subject matter of the Livonian chronicle<sup>27</sup>.

Furthermore, in the Archiv des Vereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Westfalens at the Erzbischöfliche Akademische Bibliothek Paderborn, I have discovered another piece of evidence dated August 15, 1366 with a remark: "For Hermannus Dedewini, vice-archdeacon from Warburg (*sedis Wartbergensis*)"<sup>28</sup>. In-depth analysis of historical sources confirmed that it was the only indication of a deputy archdeacon in Westphalia in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In this case, we are dealing with a historical figure who procures fief in the presence of a judge after the Order's *consensus* with Bishop of Riga from May 7. In my opinion, when we take into consideration the chronicler's prestige, the location and the time, it is evident that conducted dealings

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Archive Westfalens (INA), Alte Folge (AF): Beibd. 2/1: Bischöfliches Generalvikariat Paderborn, 3, 2: Kreis Paderborn; Landsberg-Velen, Gesamtarchiv von (Dep.); Paderborn, Kapuzinissen; Familie Dudenhausen; Studienfonds Paderborn (Dep.); Verein für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Westfalens, Abteilung Paderborn e.V.

<sup>26</sup> It has not been previously published in connection with Hermann von Wartberge before: Volmarus de Driborch, Knappe, bekundet, daß Meynko, der Sohn des + dicti Brandes de Stalpe mit Zustimmung seiner Mutter Hyldegundis und seines Bruders Johannis eine Hufe (mansum) in Nortborchlon, *quem nunc colit dictus Koninch*, den sie von ihm zu Lehenrecht inne gehabt haben und von dem die Mutter behauptet, daß sie pro usufructu belehnt sei, dem Ecberto Coppe und dessen Frau Grete erblich verkauft hat. Der Knappe belehnt die 2 Ankäufer damit. „Acta sunt hec presentibus Adam (!) iudice civili civitatis Paderbornensis, Wylhelmo de Wevere, Gotfrido Regenhardi, Hermanno de Wartbergh, Hermanno van der Beke, Henrico de Dryborch et aliis”.

<sup>27</sup> In 1362, the Teutonic Order was accused of financial fraud in connection with the use of Lübeck coins by the bishop of Tartu. Hermann expressed a great concern in finding out how the situation was resolved: E. Strehlke, *Hermann Chronicon*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>28</sup> Also published in: U. Stöwe (coop.), *Das Archiv des Vereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Westfalens, Abteilung Paderborn e.V. Die Urkunden bis zum Jahr 1500*, 14, Paderborn 1994, pp. 119 ff, 179: „Vor Hermannus Dedewini, Vizearchidiakon des Sitzes Warburg (*sedis Wartbergensis*), und Arnoldus Hartwici, weltlichem (civilis) Richter daselbst, verkauft Conradus de Castro, Kantor der Busdorf-Kirche in Paderborn (*sanctorum Petri et Andree Paderborne*), mit Zustimmung seiner Mutter Gertrud und seines Bruders Johannes aus ihrem von Johannes bewohnten Haus in Warburg an Dekan und Kapitel des Busdorfs für 8 Mark alter Königsturnosen (*antiquorum regalium Thuronensium*) eine Rente von 6 Solidi Turnosen, unter Verpfändung des gesamten Familiengutes im Mißzahlungsfall”.

would bolster Teutonic Order's control on Westphalia. Consequently, two different individuals must be involved here.

Johann Siebmacher included *von Wartberg* canons among the representatives of a considerable group of German *Herren und Freyherrn* in his heraldic work<sup>29</sup>. Regrettably, I have not found any evidence confirming that Hermann was their affiliate, as was the case with Warburg's archdeaconry discussed by Paul Wigand<sup>30</sup>.

Moreover, all masters of the Teutonic Knights from the Livonian branch whom Hermann served as the chaplain also originated from Westphalia, namely Goswin von Herreke (1345-1359)<sup>31</sup>, Arnold von Vietinghoff (1360-1364)<sup>32</sup> and Wilhelm von Freimersheim (1364-1385)<sup>33</sup>. On top of that, the Grand Master Winrich von Kniprode was born near Monheim am Rhein in Westphalia<sup>34</sup>. It has to be noted that access to the Order's archives would only have been granted to the proven and highly devoted associates of the master's, as in writing the official bygone times chronicle case. Consequently, origins were extraordinarily far-reaching.

Ulrich Simon, in his publication devoted to the Queen of the Hanseatic League, Lübeck, mentions a boy named "Hermann Wartberg", based on from evidence dating back to February 2, 1363<sup>35</sup>. Unquestionably, he should have been at least 14 years old to accompany the Teutonic Order. Is it conceivable that he had become a spokesperson for the Grand Master and the whole brotherhood at the age of 17, during the negotiations with the Bishop of Riga in Danzig, in 1366? This fact is highly doubtful. As part of this research, I have also discovered a historical source from July 13, 1358,

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<sup>29</sup> J. Siebmacher, Das erneuerte und vermehrte deutsche Wappenbuch, in welchem dess H. Römischen Reiches Hohe Potentaten, Fürsten, Grafen, Herren, Freyherrn, Edle, Stände und Städte [...] ausgebildet zuersehen, 1-2 von Johann Siebmacher, 3-5 von Paul Fürst verf. (p. 5, "Bericht an den Leser"), 5, Anh. von Witwe und Erben des Paul Fürst ed., Nürnberg 1605.

<sup>30</sup> P. Wigand, Archiv für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde Westphalens, Lemgo 1838, p. 45.

<sup>31</sup> L. Fenske, K. Militzer, Ritterbrüder im livländischen Zweig des Deutschen Ordens, Köln 1993, pp. 401.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem, p. 669. Read: M. Spießen, Wappenbuch des Westfälischen Adels, 1, Görlitz 1901-1903, pp. 53-54; Gothaisches Genealogisches Taschenbuch der Uradeligen Häuser, 13. Jg. 1912, p. 869; O.M. von Stackelberg, Genealogisches Handbuch des estländischen Ritterschaft, 1, 2, 1, Görlitz 1930, pp. 520 ff; Gothaisches Genealogisches Taschenbuch der Freiherrlichen Häuser, A. 90. Jg., p. 852; S. Neitmann, Von der Grafschaft Mark nach Livland: Ritterbrüder aus Westfalen im livländischen Deutschen Orden, Köln-Weimar-Wien 1993, pp. 297 ff.

<sup>33</sup> S. Neitmann, Von der Grafschaft, p. 62.

<sup>34</sup> U. Ziegler, Kreuz und Schwert: die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2003, pp. 153 ff.

<sup>35</sup> U. Simon (coop.), Das Lübecker Niederstadtbuch (1363-1399), Böhlau-Köln 2006, p. 49: "(...) et puerorum ac eciam nomine Hermann Wartberg (...)".



reprinted in *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck* where we find a “Hermannus Wartberch”<sup>36</sup> as well. I gladly note the fact that the chronicler was directly or indirectly linked with the city of Lübeck, which remained under the influence of Teutonic Knights since the 13<sup>th</sup> century. As it emerges from the documentation, a person named Hermann lived in the capital city of the Hanseatic League in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

## FINDINGS

The research conclusion is based on the already recognized primary and secondary sources. Hermann was born ca. 1328-1330/1340 and died after 1380<sup>37</sup>, but not earlier than 1383. His ancestry is located in Saxony where he lived for a number of years, though still cannot be dismissed Warburg. He might have belonged to the old German house *von Warburg* from Mecklenburg, a region under the auspices of the Livonian Masters. Hermann moved to Westphalia where he stayed until 1347 in the area of the Bishopric and Hanseatic city of Paderborn. His name was specified next to *judice* Adam in evidence from the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Possibly, he was also involved in civil law cases. Due to the fact that the narrative in “Chronicon Livoniae”<sup>38</sup> becomes more detailed when the reader reaches year 1358, the investigators claimed that Hermann had moved to Lübeck around that time and joined the Teutonic Order. It is very probable. Then he consecutively served the three aforesaid Masters of the Livonian branch. As the chaplain of the Order, Hermann was an eye-witness, diplomat and secretary at the diplomatic meetings with the Bishop of Riga, which were held in Danzig in 1366. His first written

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<sup>36</sup> Vereine für Lübeckische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde (ed.), *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck*, Lübeck 1871, 304, pp. 308-310.

<sup>37</sup> Livl.UB = F.G. von Bunge, (ed.), *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten*, 3, Reval 1857, 1152: “Notum sit universis, quod nos, *magister Livoniae*, cum Consilio et consensu nostrorum praeceptorum, *per nuntium nostrum Hermannum*, pacem et treugas ordinari fecimus inter nos ac terram nostram et magnum regem Lettoviae Iagellonem et suam terram et illos de Ploczek (...)”.

<sup>38</sup> E.A. Winkelmann, *Bibliotheca Livoniae historica. Systematisches Verzeichnis der Quellen und Hilfsmittel zur Geschichte Estlands, Livlands und Kurlands*, Berlin 1878, 4870, p. 208; sources which Hermann von Wartberge used and characteristics of the chronicle: O. Engels, *Zur Historiographie des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter*, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 48, 1966, p. 343 ff; K. Höhlbaum, *Beiträge zur Quellenkunde Alt-Livlands*, [in:] *Verhandlungen der gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat*, 7, 3-4, 1873, pp. 29-36; J. Kreem, *Between public and secret: Town Archives and Historiographic Notes*, *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*, 48, 2003, pp. 5-12; S. Vahtré, *Kroniki bałtyckie (inflanckie) XIII-XVIII wieku jako źródła historyczne*, *Zapiski Historyczne* 34, 4, 1969, pp. 667 ff.

testimony was a prologue to the long-term effort of writing the chronicle spanning the years 1186-1378, during the governorship of Arnold von Vietinghoff.

The period from 1358 to 1380 can be conventionally divided into three types of assignments which Hermann was entrusted or in which he took part, in particular:

– in military excursions: in subjoining a camp in the Siauliai district by the Livonian Master Goswin and the chronicler's affidavit that buildings were appealing suggests his presence<sup>39</sup>; an ambush on coastal shores from 1372<sup>40</sup>; the Battle of Upzali from 1373<sup>41</sup> and steps which were endeavoured in order to strengthen Reval (Tallin)<sup>42</sup>. The chronicler could have reckoned on exhaustive oral testimony by righteousness of the Order's brother-knights.

– In conciliatory duties, for instance: aforementioned, also in references, three *exempla*, namely in Tartu (1362), Danzig (1366) and Königsberg (1380). Moreover, during sessions of the General Chapter in Marienburg (Malbork) in 1372 and in 1375<sup>43</sup>.

– In historiographic duties as the secretary and chronicler of the Teutonic Order<sup>44</sup>, as follows: in Riga<sup>45</sup>, thus city which was the Livonian Masters' headquarters equipped with office and archive<sup>46</sup>; Marienburg (Malbork) – the Grand Master's headquarters equipped with office and archive<sup>47</sup>;

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<sup>39</sup> E. Strehlke, *Hermann Chronicon*, p. 78: "Anno 1358 idem Goswinus coactu exercitu castrum Dobitzen in Saulia in profesto conversionis S. Pauli destruxit pulchre edificatum [...]"

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 102-103: "Nos compulsi retrocedere coactis viribus deliberavimus, quid esset faciendum. Cum autem hostes viderent nos non minus animatos, clamoribus hinc inde excitatis ab hora nona usque ad vesperam, nostri parantes se contra adversarios terruerunt eos et in fugam verterunt, aliquibus cesis aut in flumine mersis".

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 103: "Eodem anno frater Andreas lantmarscalcus iterum congregato exercitu de IIIIC viris in nocte Oculi mei in primo somno expugnavit suburbium castris Usupalle, cesis omnibus ac suburbio cremato. Abductis LXX equis salvus rediit".

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 99: "Idem magister Livonie ampliavit castrum Revalie ac firmavit duabus firmissimis turribus et altis muris; item in Riga turrim seu valvam ante portam; item domos infirmorum fratrum *ibidem*. Alia multa pro cultu divino dedit".

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 12, 102, 110.

<sup>44</sup> These were aptly introduced by: A. Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma spiritualia. Bibliotheken, Bücher und Bildung im Deutschen Orden*, Wiesbaden 2003, pp. 105-208.

<sup>45</sup> E. Strehlke, *Hermann Chronicon*, p. 97: "Anno 1371 hiems adeo tepida et instabilis fuit, quod census de Karx vehiculis ad castrum nostrum Rigense advehi non potuit, nec aliqua expedicio fieri".

<sup>46</sup> A. Selart, *Die livländische Chronik des Hermann von Wartberge*, [in:] M. Thumser (ed.), *Geschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Livland*, Münster 2011, p. 66.

<sup>47</sup> E. Strelke, *Hermann Chronicon*, p. 102: "Eodem anno cum magister Livonie et sui preceptores vocati fuissent in generali capitulo Marienburgi in Prussia in crastino Dionisii, redeundo cum venissent in Rositen, scripsit commendator de Memela ei obviam, IIIIC latrones

Königsberg<sup>48</sup> the capital city of Bishopric of Samland with the Teutonic Knights castle and office; Danzig equipped with a castle<sup>49</sup> and a church with a library<sup>50</sup>.

## Jerzy Janiec

### HERMANN VON WARTBERGE (WARBURG) I JEGO POCHODZENIE. NAJNOWSZE BADANIA I ICH REZULTATY

#### Streszczenie

Głównym celem artykułu jest zaprezentowanie autorskiego badania historycznego dotyczącego Hermanna von Wartberge (Warburg), kapelana trzech następujących po sobie Mistrzów Zakonu Krzyżackiego gałęzi inflanckiej. Autor wypełnia luki w wiedzy o powyższej postaci historycznej, stosując klasyczny warsztat oparty na źródłach pisanych z pierwszej ręki, drukowanych i archiwalnych oraz zdigitalizowanych.

Ustalenia obejmują lata życia Hermanna. Urodził się ok. 1328-1330/1340 r. i zmarł po 1380 r., nie później niż w 1383 r. Jego korzenie rodzinne obejmują Saksonię, gdzie przebywał od najwcześniejszych lat. Wywodził się ze starej, niemieckiej, meklenburskiej szlachty von Warburg. Meklenburgia była obszarem pozostającym pod wpływami zakonu. Hermann przeprowadził się do Westfalii w okolice miasta Paderborn, gdzie został do 1347 r. włącznie. Następnie wyjechał do Lubeki, gdzie dołączył do Krzyżaków jeszcze przed 1358 r.

Kiedy mistrzowie poznają jego umiejętności, bierze czynny udział w misji dyplomatycznej zakończonych sukcesem z biskupem Rygi w Gdańsku w 1366 r. Sporządza relację z niej, co stanowi preludeum do jego ambitniejszej pracy, jaką była kronika inflancka.

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Letwinorum in insidiis adversus nos esse in littore maris, quodque hoc eciam scripsisset advocato de Grebyn”.

<sup>48</sup> Ibidem, pp. 85-86: “Eodem anno in die beati Jacobi filius Keinstut, regis Letwinorum, venit de paganismo cum XV equitarius ad castrum Konigsberg et baptisatus dictus est Hinricus. Quem imperator in postea ducem fecit. Hospites ex Almania multa ei dona dederunt, qui postea christianitati adhesit ac statim expeditione facta circa assumptionis Marie generalem magistrum in terram Letwinorum perduxit circa castrum Vilnee et Vilkenberg, omnia vastantem, qui eciam castrum Kernow et Meisegale igne combussit, XII diebus ibi manens, multos captivos christianos reducens aliosque innumeros captos Letwinos, aliis occisis”.

<sup>49</sup> Livl.UB, 2, Reval 1855, 1033: “Acta sunt haec in castro Dantzeke, Wladislaviensis diocesis, sub anno a nativitate Domini MCCCLXI., indictione IV., mensis Mali die VII., hora sexta vel quasi, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris ac domini nostri, domini Urbani, divina providentia papae quinti, anno quarto (...)”.

<sup>50</sup> E. Możejko, Zamek Krzyżacki w Gdańsku, Jantarowe Szlaki: Pomorski kwartalnik turystyczno-krajoznawczy 3, 2006.

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