

Peter of Dusburg, *Chronicle of the Land of Prussia*, translated by W.L. North from the edition of Max Toeppen, *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preußischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft*, v.1. (Leipzig, 1861). pp.21-46. (A few early sections have been omitted).

A priest-brother of the Teutonic knights, Peter of Dusburg began writing his chronicle around 1326 and based the initial part of his work on an earlier Latin chronicle of the Order which is now lost. His chronicle's narrative of events extends to 1330 and he ends his work with a spiritual interpretation of the Teutonic Knights' equipment. He sent the work to the Grand Master of the order, Werner de Orsele (1324-1330).

Chronicle of the Land of Prussia

A Letter

To Brother Werner de Orsele, a honorable and devoted man in Christ and master of the hospital of St. Mary of the House of the Germans in Jerusalem, Brother Peter of Dusburg, a priest of this same sacred profession, due obedience and greetings. With what diligent circumspection, with what circumspect diligence, the ancient and holy fathers wrote about the marvelous works of our Lord Jesus Christ, which He deigned to work through Himself and His ministers, for the sake of His glory and the information of people, present and future, is clear to anyone who thinks about it. For they attended to that saying of Tobit, that it is honorable to reveal the works of the Lord.(Tob.12:7) I have followed in their footsteps, lest I be cast into the outer shadows with the iniquitous and useless servant, who hid the talent given to him by his lord,(Lk.19:20) and have therefore written down and compiled into this book the wars which have been waged victoriously by us and the earlier brothers of our order. I send it discretely to your providence, begging that, since no one is satisfying to himself, you have it examined and if things worthy of correction should be found in it, they be emended, and the book, thus corrected, made public, in order that a memorial of this solemn deed may be left to posterity. Written and completed in the year 1326 from the Lord's incarnation.

On the manner in which this book is to be written.

This book is to be written in the following way. First, I shall describe at what time, by whom, and in what way the order of the Teutonic house began; second, when and how the the aforementioned brothers came to the land of Prussia; third, the wars and other things which were done in the said land, a few of which I have seen, others which I have heard from those who saw them or were there, and the rest of which I have learned from reliable accounts (veridica relatio). Fourth, I shall place in the margin the highests pontiffs and emperors who have ruled since the time of this order's establishment, and certain notable things which happened in their times. But, because I recognize that I am not capable of completing this task, especially since something like this has almost slipped entirely from memory of living men, and because I can do nothing without God, I beseech You, Good Jesus, in whom all treasures

of wisdom and knowledge are stored up, that You may reveal the mysteries, not only of the future, but of the present and past. Illuminate my intellect with the grace of Your spirit and give me the voice (*os*) and wisdom to complete this work in a brief space of time, in order that those who hear of your great, marvelous, and powerful (*fortia*) signs contained therein, may place their hope in You, may adore You, may glorify and praise You, because You, from Whom, through Whom, and in Whom all things [come], deign to stand surety [for us], You, who live and reign forever and ever. Amen.

Prologue

The Lord, most high, has done signs and marvels before me. I was therefore pleased to preach His signs, because they are great, and His marvels, because they are powerful. Daniel III.(Dan.3:99f) These were the words of Nabuchodonosor, king of Babylon. For after Daniel and his companions had been sent bound into a furnace, which was heated seven times hotter than usual, because they had handed over their bodies [to death] so that they would not to serve and adore any god except the God in Whom they believed, Nabuchodonosor sees that the flames of the fire, which poured out over the furnace 49 cubits and burned his ministers, have not harmed Daniel and his companions in any way at all nor bothered them in the least. And so he says: Signs and marvels etc. Nonetheless, these words also are appropriate to the author of this book, who has seen and heard so many great signs and such marvelous, unusual, and unheard of things which were done in the person of the sacred congregation of the brothers of the hospital of St. Maria of the house of the Germans in Jerusalem. And after he had seen and heard these deeds which the most high God deigned mercifully to work in the land of Prussia through these brothers, who are not afraid to expose their bodies [to danger] in defense of the faith, well could he say: "The most high God has done signs and marvels before me.

Here Begins the First Part of the Book

On the origin of the Order of the Teutonic House

Preface to the establishment of the order of the Teutonic house

Wisdom built a home for itself, it carved seven columns.(Prov.9:1) Although these may have been the words of Solomon, who called the son of God the wisdom of the Father, according to the passage of the Apostle: *We preach Christ, the virtue of God and the wisdom of God, to the Jews themselves who have been called and to the Greeks* (I Cor.1:24); and in the Psalm: *You have done all things in wisdom,* (Ps.103:24) i.e. in the Son, who, having assumed human nature, build the house of the militant church in his own death to his own glory and honor, and He carved seven columns, i.e. the seven sacraments by which [the church] is sustained. These can also be the words of the holy mother church, who calls Pope Celestine III wisdom, since on earth the sons of God act in His place according to the passage from Ecclesiasticus: *the wisdom of*

doctrine according to His name.(Eccl.6:23) For to him flowed the universal church to hear and see his doctrine, just as Queen Saba did the wisdom of Solomon. This Lord Pope Celestine III built, i.e. instituted and confirmed house for himself and the Holy Church, namely the house of the sacred religion of the Hospital of St. Maria of the Teutronics in Jerusalem and he carved seven columns, i.e. the seven brothers commandants or provincial preceptors, namely of Livonia, Prussia, Teutonia, Austria, Apulia, Romania, and Armenia, in which the brothers of the aforementioned order, like a material house built and fastened with columns, so that the master general and the chapter are the foundation of this house, the provincial commandants or preceptors the columns, and the other brothers are the superstructure. And thus the Lord Pope is assimilated to the wise man, who built his house upon a rock and can say: "I have strengthened its columns." But because it is written: *It is the spirit which brings life, but the flesh brings no gain,*(Jn.6:61) seven other spiritual columns should therefore be placed in this house, three of which, namely obedience, poverty, and chastity, order the regular discipline, and the four others, namely contrition, confession, satisfaction, and love, which wash away a multitude of sins, discipline every neglect of holy observance in those who grow lazy in their zeal for righteousness. These are the spiritual columns carved by the hand of wisdom in this house of sacred religion, which the Lord Pope built, so that if the rains of avarice descend and the rivers of luxury and the winds of pride flow and crash against it, it cannot fall; for it has been founded upon the firm rock, and that rock is Christ.

On the establishment of the order of the house of the Teutronics.

In the name of the Lord, Amen. In the year of His incarnation 1190 at a time when the city of Acre was besieged by Christians and was recovered from the hands of the infidels by favor of divine grace, there were in the army of the Christians certain devoted men from the cities of Bremen and Lübeck, who, as men of of mercy who looked with eyes of compassion upon the diverse and intollerable shortages and discomforts of the sick staying in the said army, founded a hospital in a tent of theirs made from the sail of a certain ship, which in German is called a "cog". Gathering the infirm there, they served them humbly and devotedly and, looking after them lovingly out of the goods conferred upon them by God, they treated them mercifully, attending to the fact that in the person of any sick or poor man they received Christ himself, who will say to those who shall be on the right side in the judgement: *I was hungry and you gave me to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me to drink, I was a stranger and you took me in, I was naked and you covered me, I was sick and you visited me, etc.;* and when they say: *When did we see you suffering such things,* He shall respond: *Amen, I say to you, whatever you have done for the least of these my brothers, you have done for me.*(Mt.25:35ff) Behold how Christ calls the sick, the weak, and any despised people His brothers; and it is well said, for He is our flesh and our brother. But since the Apostle says: *I have planted, Apollo has watered, but the Lord has given the increase*"(I Cor.3:6), although it seems clear from these words that neither the one who plants, nor the one

who waters, is anything, but that it is God who gives the increase, nevertheless human diligence in evaluating should pay out the sollicitude of care towards plants which bear new and abundant fruit and promise even greater abundance in their own time. Whence, when the Lord Patriarch of Jerusalem, Henry, the illustrious king of Jerusalem, the archbishops of Nazareth, Tyre, and Caesaria, the bishops of Bethlehem and Acre, the master of the Hospital of St. John, the Master of the House of the Temple, many brothers of both houses, and many barons of the Holy Land, namely Radulph, lord of Tiberias, and his brother Hugh, Rainald, lord of Sidon. and Lord Eymar of Caesaria, Lord John of Ibelin and many others from the kingdom of Jerusalem; and from Germany, Archbishop Conrad of Mainz, Conrad, bishop of Wurzburg and chancellor of the Roman Empire, Bishop Wolger of Passau, Bishop Gardulf of Halberstadt, and the Bishop of Cicensis, Duke Frederick of Swabia, Henry, count palatine on the Rhine and duke of Brunswick, Duke Frederick of Austria, Duke Henry of Brabant, who was, at the time, captain of the army, Hermann, count palatine of Saxony and Landgrave of Thuringia, Albertm, margrave of Brandenburg, and Henry of Calendin, marshall of the Empire, Conrad, margrave of Landesberg, Theodore, margrave of Meißen, and counts and magnates and many, many other nobles of the said army -- when all these persons saw with a propitious eye that this new plantation of the hospital was producing fruits of honor and honorability with a certain tempestuous fecundity and hoped without doubting that, with the Lord giving the increase, it would generate in future a most abundant wealth of fruit as it spread out its branches, the counsel of all the princes rested upon this decision, namely that the lord Duke Frederick of Swabia send solemn messengers to his brother, the most serene lord Henry VI, king of the Romans and future emperor, who might then request and receive the institution and confirmation of the aforementioned hospital before the lord Pope. And so, upon hearing this legation, the Pope, having bowed to the pious prayers of the petitioners, established and confirmed in the name of the Lord an order of brothers of the hospital of Jerusalem in the said hospital to take care of the poor and the sick, and an order of brothers of the knighthood of the temple to be concerned with clerics, knights, and other brothers. And he granted to the brothers of the said hospital, in order that they might use a black cross and a white pallium, all the liberties, immunities, and indulgences, which were conceded by the apostolic see to the venerable houses of the aforementioned hospital and temple, and allowed them to use them as freely and did the brothers of the temple and hospital. For it was fitting that those who, with pious purpose, wished to become equal in the operation of the virtues, be equal in receiving the benefits of the apostles. Thus, that venerable military order of the brothers of the hospital of St. Mary, house of the Teutonics in Jerusalem, was established, confirmed and endowed. This is the chosen vine of the Lord of Sabaoth, which you, Jesus Christ, have established and you were the leader of the journey in its eyes. You planted its roots, and it has filled the earth; later you transferred it, expelled the nationes from the land of Prussia and Livonia and planted it there, and thus it has spread its palm branches to the see and its leaves

to the river. This reverend knighthood was not only confirmed by men on earth, but also prefigured in many ways in the type of heaven and earth. For we read in the ancient histories that the great patriarch Abraham fought with his neighbors 318 years for the liberation of his brother who feared God and for overturning the captivity of the innocents.(Gen.14) After he returned from the slaughter of kings, a dedication of gifts of bread and wine was offered to the patriarch by the king-priest Melchisedech. From that time forward, the knighthoods of the faithful began to be employed against the crowds of the nations, because the Holy Spirit revealed from that time on with how much favor such knights should be embraced by those who obtain the highest place in the church, by receiving these knights with special benevolence into the blessing of ecclesiastical protection and confirming with their indulgences and privileges the dedications of patrimonies offered to those knights of the Crucified one. This knighthood alone, which laments the place of Christ in opprobrium on the cross and has vowed itself to recovering the holy land owed to the Christians from the oppression of the nations, seems to have been specially prefigured with the type of the heaven and earth. For John saw the Militant Church descend from heaven in triumph under the type of the New Jerusalem. In it the powers together with the other battle lines of celestial virtues are fighting for God by attacking any opposing power. Clearly this vision warns us that certain knights should be contained within the Militant Church, whose vow it is to repulse the tyranny of the infidels which is hostile to the church, with the Most High establishing in all things the limits of the faithful peoples according to the number and office of the angels of God. The evidence of the earth also agrees with this. For under the leadership of Moses, Joshua, and the other judges of Israel, the knights of God, choosing new wars, which the Lord chooses, and like a lion, invading the line of Enachim and the rest of the iniquitous inhabitants of the Holy Land, the heirs of tremendous evil, they exterminated them completely, except for those whom dispensation preserved for the instruction of the people of God under the weight of servitude. Moreover, with the passing of time, the prefigurations of this religion (*religio*) increased. For, just as the prophet, knowing the future, foretold with more explicit signs of this knighthood, David, having been raised to the kingship of the faithful in accordance with the will of God, wanted the legions of Cerethus and Pheletus to be members of his own household (*familia*), whose offices would be the following, that they be always maintained as guardians of their own head, so that, by exterminating the plotters against the head of David, they might defend his subjects in marvelous safety (*salus*) according to the meaning of their own names.[1 Reg.30:14; 2 Reg.8:18; 2 Reg. 15:18] For the Cerethi are wonderfully interpreted as "those who exterminate", the Pheleti as "those who keep safe". Indeed, because David was also a familiar instrument of the Holy Spirit, the prophet, contemplating present as well as future in the Scriptures of truth, taught by this distinction among the cohorts that in the last times Christ, the head of the Church, was going to have guards who, because they did not make their souls more precious than themselves, girded their thigh with their holy sword, in order that the

strongest men of Israel, surrounding the bed of Solomon, might expel the nighttime fears of shadowy perfidy from Christian boundaries. There also comes to mind that war of the Macchabees, praiseworthy and worthy of God. Having fed on food of grass in the desert, lest they become sharers in pollution, filled with zeal for the law and the faith, and supported by God's aid, they plotted against Antiochus Epiphanes who was trying to drag the people of God to the rites of the Gentiles and the brothel of the ephebes, in order that they might cleanse the holy things once again, take the fortress of Zion, and return peace to the land. Strenuously imitating the wars of the Macchabees, this sacred order of knighthood, namely the house of the hospital of St. Mary of the Teutonics in Jerusalem, deserved to be adorned with honorable members, with different members being ordained to different offices, worthy of God in a praiseworthy fashion. For there are knights and warriors chosen for their zeal for the law of the fatherland, who are crushing the enemy with a mighty effort. There are also those who receive strangers, the pilgrims, and the poor, who overflow with the benefits of love. There are also those with a heart of piety who minister with a fervent spirit to those lying sick in the hospitals in filth which they do not despise. Among these members, clerics hold a worthy and extremely useful place in that in time of peace, like sparks shooting back and forth in the midst, they exhort the lay brothers concerning the observance of the rule, celebrate the divine offices, and administer the sacraments. But for those flying to arms to live or die, they sharpen [their spirits] to the virtue of combat by showing them blood, that it to say the memory of the Lord's crucifix. Thus, from the extreme of robust knights to that of people lying sick, whose consciences they protect and whose deaths they fortify, [these clerics], bravely girding themselves, perform their ministry in the softness of the spirit. Because different high priests [i.e. Popes] consider this spiritual order, which is spreading itself out more generally to the utility of the holy church, with a congratulatory eye, they have confirmed the confirmed order with many privileges, immunities, and liberties.

On Brother Heinrich Walpot, first master of the hospital of St. Mary, the Teutonic house.

Brother Heinrich, called Walpot, the first master of the hospital of St. Mary, house of the Teutonics in Jerusalem, ruled for many years and died on 5 November [1 November] and was buried in Acre. As the story goes, when the citizens of Lübeck and Bremen, who had been the first founders of this order, wanted to return home after their pilgrimage vow was fulfilled, on the advice of the aforementioned Lord Fredrick, duke of Swabia, and other nobles from Germany, who were at the siege of Acre, they presented the said hospital with all its alms and appurtenances to this Heinrich, where he humbly served and administered the necessities to the aforementioned sick along with the brothers. But after the capture of the aforementioned city of Acre, Brother Heinrich bought a garden inside the walls in front of the gate of St. Nicholas, in which he constructed a church, a hospital, and different buildings,

serving God and the sick there together with the brothers. In this church was buried Duke Frederick of Swabia, who died on the pilgrimage journey, for while he was still alive, he chose an ecclesiastical burial there.

On Brother Otto, the second master.

Brother Otto, the second master, ruled for many years and died on 2 June, and was buried in Acre.

On Brother Hermann, the third master.

Brother Hermann, called Bart, was the third master and ruled for many years. He died on 20 April, and was buried in Acre.

On Brother Hermann of Salcza, the the fourth master.

Brother Hermann of Salcza, the fourth master, ruled for many years, died on 24 July, and was buried in Barleto. He was eloquent, affable, wise, circumspect, provident, and glorious in all his deeds. When, after his election, he saw the order in such a fragile state, he wished in the presence of some of the brother that he would give up one of his eyes, in order that his order might in his time receive so great an increase that it could have ten knight brothers equipped with arms and no more. And what did you do in this case, O Good Jesus, you who are always well-disposed to the just desires of petitioners and do not cease from considering with favor pious vows? Did you defraud him of his desire? Certainly not. Indeed, you granted him the desire of his soul in superabundance. For so greatly did the order profit during the time in which he ruled, that not long after his death it was calculated that there were two thousand brothers in the abovementioned order from the noble blood of the kingdom of Germany. In addition, that illustrious landgrave of Thuringia, Lord Conrad, from whose family he had been when he was in the world, received the regular habit of the said order with a numerous company of nobles. Also in the time of this Hermann, better privileges, papal as well as imperial, were conferred upon the order. Moreover, magnificent gifts in Apulia, Romania, Armenia, Germany, Hungary, namely the territory which is called Borcza, Livonia, and Prussia were granted to the order in his time. Indeed, so greatly was the order exalted by him that the world had never heard of any religion or order ever profiting so much in this world through one man's efforts. And no wonder! For God conferred upon him such great grace that he was loved by all and it could truly be said of him that he was beloved by God and men. He had the Lord Pope and the emperor, as well as other princes and magnates, in the palm of his hand, and he so inclined their minds towards himself that whatever he asked of them for the honor and comfort of his order, he received. Whence it happened that after the Venetians were harshly corrected for the rebellion

which they had mounted against the empire, they offered a large part of the holy cross to the emperor Frederick II as a special gift. The emperor, in turn, gave it to the aforesaid master, who sent it to the castle of Elbinga near the regions of Prussia. And there unto this day it is held by Christ's faithful in great veneration because of the continuous miracles which the Lord works through it. It also happened that when some hitherto hidden matter of dissension turned up between the lord Pope Honorius III and the emperor Frederick II, and both men committed their case to Brother Hermann to be decided. But when he heard it, he refused, saying that it would be most inappropriate if he were to take the case of the lords of the entire world upon himself, since he was a humble person and not established in the preeminence of any dignity. Whence it happened that, in order that Brother Hermann might be held in greater reverence, they conferred upon him and his future successors in the office of master of the order of the house of the Teutonic the dignity of prince. Furthermore, as a sign of this principate the Lord Pope offered him a ring, and the emperor granted him the royal insignia of the empire which were to be borne on his banner. And so he arranged an amicable composition between them more often.

HERE ENDS THE FIRST PART OF THIS BOOK.

ON THE COMING OF THE BROTHERS OF THE TEUTONIC HOUSE
INTO THE LAND OF PRUSSIA

On the devastation of the land of Colmensis by the Prussians.

In the period when that noble, illustrious, and most Christian prince Duke Conrad held the principate in Masovia, Cuyavia, and Poland, there was a certain bishop of Prussia named Christian of the Cistercian order, who often scattered the seed of the divine word among the Prussians, exhorting them to worship the true God, Jesus Christ, after leaving their idolatry behind. But because this seed fell upon ground that was not good, it bore no fruit. Indeed, so obstinate were they in their wickedness (*malitia*), that no admonishments concerning their salvation could recall them from their error. Nevertheless, there was one thing about them which was praiseworthy and should be commended many times over, namely that, although they were infidels and worshipped different gods, they nonetheless kept the peace with the neighboring Christians and did not impede them in the worship (*cultura*) of the living God nor bothered them in any way. But the enemy of the human race, jealous of their peace and unable to bear this situation any longer, sowed tares [among the people]. For he aroused a most harsh persecution against them, so that within a few years, after the faithful of Christ had been slaughtered in part, some had been captured and delivered into perpetual slavery while others were saved by taking flight into the fortress, the Prussians returned the land of Colmensis to desolation, destroying it completely.

On the devastation of the land of Poland

But because the duke did not resist their initial actions nor apply an opportune remedy against their violent deeds of daring and attempts, proceeding to further and worse deeds, they invaded the land of Poland with a great force of fighters so many time, and inflicted so much destruction upon it, that after the houses were burned, they cut down the men of adult age with the sword and led the women and children into perpetual slavery; and if perchance a pregnant woman giving birth was not able to follow them, they killed her. And tearing babies from the arms of their mothers, they killed them by impaling them on the stakes of the hedges. Thus, they devastated the land to such an extent that out of all the fortifications and castles of his dukedom there was left to him nothing but one castle located above the river Wisele, which was called Ploczko. Furthermore, they destroyed with fire 250 parish churches in addition to the monasteries of regular and secular clerics, the chapels, the *coenobia* of monks, and the cloisters of nuns. Of the priests and other clerics, religious as well as secular, they slaughtered some outside the walls of the church, others inside, and many at the altar, while they performed the mysteries of the blood and body of our lord Jesus Christ, and casting these sacraments irreverently upon the ground in contempt of God, they trampled upon them with their feet. Carrying off chalices, ampules, other corporal vessels of the church and sacred vestments all dedicated to divine worship, they put them to illicit uses, shamelessly indulging in their acts of derision with virgins dedicated to God who had been violently removed from their cloisters. In short, no one is capable of fully describing how many evils and detestable deeds they inflicted upon the faith and the faithful.

On the gifts given to the Prussians to placate their savagery.

Before the said land of Poland was thus completely destroyed and while some portion still survived, the duke was compelled and straightened by them to such an extent that whenever the Prussians sent their messengers to him for horses and clothing of good colors, he did not dare to deny them in any way. But when he no longer had anything from which he might satisfy them, he summoned to his feast nobles, other men, and their wives, and while they were happily sitting at the table eating and drinking, he secretly ordered their clothing and horses to be presented to the aforementioned messengers of the infidels. But this accomplished nothing, not was he able to mitigate their savagery; instead they destroyed the said land, as was described above.

On the brothers of the order of the knights of Christ.

And so, when the aforementioned duke saw that his land so miserably destroyed, and he could in no way defend it, on the advice of brother Christian, bishop of Prussia, and certain nobles, he established for the protection of his land the brothers, who were called the knights of Christ. They wore a white habit with a red sword, and a star and were at that time in the regions of Livonia, where they had

subjugated by force many lands of the infidels to the Christian faith. The aforementioned bishop invested a certain discrete individual called Bruno, along with fourteen other men, into the said order. When this was done, the duke along with these brothers built a fortress (castrum), called Dobrin, after which the brothers themselves were later named, and gave them an allod or property (praedium) in the land of Cuyawie, quod was called Szadlowice. The duke himself and the brothers joined forces on these terms: that they would divide between themselves the land of the infidels, which they could, with the Lord's help, subjugate to themselves. But when the Prussians learned of this, having been further provoked, they often attacked the said fortress of Dobrin with a copious multitude of armored men and so plagued those brothers that scarcely any of them dared appear outside the walls (septa) of the fortress. Indeed, it finally got to the point that five or four Prussians dared to commit their villainy around the fortress itself.

**On the donation of the land of Prussia, Colmensis, and Lubovia
made to the brothers of the order of the Teutonic house.**

At this same time, the order of the Teutonic house was making great advances through the efforts of Brother Hermann, its master, in the increase in the number of brothers, in wealth, in power, and in honor, so that the odor of its good reputation, which had been spread far and wide, came at last to the notice of the duke. This divinely inspired idea took root in his heart, namely that he wanted to invite the said brothers to defend his land, faith, and the faithful, because the knight-brothers of Christ, whom he had established for this purpose, were not having success in this matter. Therefore, after his bishops and nobles had been called together, he revealed his plan, asking that wise counsel be given to him concerning it. They agreed unanimously with his wishes, adding that by truthful account they had understood that the said brothers were knights vigorous in arms and trained in battles from the time of their adolescence, and were moreover most pleasing and acceptable in the eyes of the Lord Pope, the emperor, and the princes of Germany, so that they hoped without a doubt that the Lord Pope would make a transfer in their favor in aid of the said land. Therefore [the duke] sent solemn messengers with his letter to Brother Hermann the Master. Then, when the messengers had explained to him and his brothers, the master, after many consultations and various discussions held with his brothers concerning this difficult business, finally acquiesced to the prayers of the said duke at the suggestion of the Lord Pope, the Emperor Frederick II, and the princes of Germany, who promised to assist him with aid and counsel in this matter. And so, the aforesaid master sent Brother Conrad of Landisberg and a certain other brother of his order to the duke of Poland himself, in order that they might scout out the land of Colmensis and see if the legation of messengers had set forth by his will. When they arrived in Poland, while the duke was in distant parts, an army of Prussians devastated the land of Poland with fire and rapine. At the command of lady Agafia, wife of the duke, the aforementioned men bravely attacked this army in battle

with an additional crowd of Poles, but the Prussians opposed them and after the Poles were put to flight in the first encounter, they fatally wounded the said brothers and, though taking the captain of the Poles' army captive, they killed many of the people. But after the conflict was over, the aforementioned lady (domina) ordered the brothers who had been left half-dead on the battlefield to be brought back and made well again by the care of doctors. When these brothers were healthy again, they prudently carried out the legation entrusted to them. When the aforementioned lord Conrad, duke of Poland, heard about this, after first holding mature deliberation (as was set forth above), he, upon the advice, unanimous will, and express consent of his wife Agafia and their sons Boleslaw, Casimir, and Semovit, gave to the said brothers of the Teutonic house, present and future, the land of Colmensis and Lubovia. Moreover, whatever land they could later seize, by the Lord's favor, from the hands of the infidel, was to be held by them forever with all the rights and usages with which he and his parents possessed it, and the duke reserved no rights or ownership in it for himself and renounced every recourse (actio) to the law (juris) or to direct action (facti), which could apply to himself, his wife, his sons or their successors on these same [lands]. And in order that this donation might be firm and perpetual and be impossible to weaken later on, he gave them letters strengthen with the protection of his seal. These things were done around the year 1226 in the presence of the witnesses written below, namely the Bishops Gunther of Masoviensis, Michael of Cuyavia, Christian of Prussia, the praepositus Gernuld, the deacon Wilhelm, Pacoslay senior and junior, counts of Dirsovia, John the chancellor, Gregory the vicechancellor, and many other discrete religious and secular men.

**On the Lord Pope's confirmation of the aforementioned
and his exhortation to the brothers.**

When, through the aforesaid duke's clamorous insinuations, this devastation of the land of Poland came to the attention of the Roman curia, the most holy father and Lord Pope Gregory IX, in suffering together with the duke and taking care against future dangers, confirmed in the name of the Lord the entire arrangement with the brothers of the Teutonic house as rightly and reasonably done. He then enjoined upon the said brothers for the remission of their sins, that they avenge the injury to the Lord's crucifix and recover the land owed to the Christians, but occupied by the infidel. And, in exhorting them to war, he says: "Gird yourselves and be mighty sons, and be prepared to fight against the nations, who come together to destroy us and our holy things, because it is better for us to die in war than to see evils of our race (gentis nostrae) and our holy men (sanctorum)." And encouraging them to be great of soul, he consoled them with the words of the Lord, which he used towards the children of Israel, saying: "If you go out into battle against your enemies and you see cavalry, chariots, and a greater multitude of enemies than you have, do not fear them because your Lord God is with you;(Dt.20:1) and after a few

verses there follows: "Wage war today against your enemies, let your heart not tremble in fear, do not be afraid, do not give way, and do not fear them, because the Lord your God is in your midst and shall fight for you against your adversaries, that he may save you from danger."(Dt. 20:3) For it is not your fight but God's. This greatness of soul (magnanimitas) was found especially in Judas Macchabeus, who, when he was standing with a few men against the greatest multitude of the nations, comforted his men by saying: "Do not be afraid of their multitude, and do not fear their attack. Remember how our fathers were saved at the Red Sea, when Pharaoh was persecuting them with a great army. Now let us make a clamor unto heaven and our Lord shall take pity on us and remember the testament of our fathers and shall crush this army before our eyes this day, in order that all the nations may know that it is God who redeems and liberates.(I Mac.4:8ff) "Do not be put to fright by the words of a sinning man, because his glory is shit and worms. This day is raised up, tomorrow is not found.(I Mac.2:62f) Be therefore, O my sons, emulators of the law and give your souls for the testament of the fathers, and recall the deeds which they did in their generations, and you shall receive great glory and an eternal name.(I Mac.2:50f) Be comforted and act bravely in the law, because, when you do what was commanded you by the Lord your God, you shall be glorious in it. Therefore, join to yourselves all supporters of the law and take vengeance for your people and deal out the retribution to the nations."(I Mac.2:64f)

**On the new war of the brothers of the Teutonic house
against the nation of the Prussians.**

In ancient times, many wars were waged against the Prussians, as the ancient histories tell, by Julius Caesar, by the 9 brothers of Sweden, who were called the Gampti, by Hugh, who was called Potyre, and finally by Brother Christian, bishop of Prussia, and by the Brother Knights of Christ, who were called the brothers of Dobrin. But the Prussians, at an opportune moment, killed the captain and the others, who led them, or they fled far away from them, or cast off the yoke of servitude from their necks, and fell back into their old errors. Now new wars begin against them by the brothers of the hospital of St. Mary of the Teutonic house in Jerusalem. These are the new wars which the Lord has chosen, in order that He may overturn the gates of the enemies,(Jd.5:8) for if they should kill or destroy one or many captains and prefects one day, on that very day or the next other men, better or equal to the others, would arise to take their places. And the novelty is not only in the war, but also in the new way of waging war, because the enemy is beaten not only with material weapons, but also spiritual ones, namely prayer. This is why concerning Moses it is read that when he prayed, Israel conquered Amalech, when he ceased from prayer, Israel was conquered.(Ex.17:11) Concerning Moses himself, it is written in the book of Wisdom that he conquered the masses (turbae) not with the strength of his body, nor in powerful armaments, but

with the word, that is with prayer.(Wisd.11:3) Also concerning him it is said in the book of Judith: "Remember the servant of God, because he conquered Amalech, who trusted in his shields, not by fighting but by praying with prayers.(Judith 4:13) It is also read concerning the Macchabees that they cried out in prayer and put the camps (castra) to flight.(I Mac.4:10f) And concerning Judas Macchabeus it is said that he did pray in two wars, namely the one against Antiochus Eupator, when he did not win, but turned away; and in the second against Bachides and Alchimus, when he himself fell in battle and the camps of the sons of Israel were turned to flight. But there is also another kind of conquest, namely conquest by suffering (patientia), within which the martyrs of Christ possessed their souls and concerning which the poet says:

Suffering is the noble way of conquest;
 He conquers who suffers;
 If you want to conquer, best learn to suffer.

and elsewhere:

With suffering, greatest of virtues, conquers the unarmed man, and he is
 accustomed often to conquer men heavy with arms.

Concerning this suffering (patience) Gregory says: We can be martyrs without sword or flame, if we truly keeping suffering in our mind. On this Jerome also says: Which of the saints is crowned with suffering? From the cradle of the Church oppressive iniquity and suffering justice were not lacking. Thus we have a new war and a new way of waging war, in which we conquer the enemies of the faith and the Church with spiritual arms.

Concerning carnal and spiritual arms.

It is written in the Song of Songs, that the entire armory of the strong hung in the tower of David, and in the book of Wisdom, that sixty strong men from the strongest of Israel, all of whom have swords and are most skilled (doctissimi) in war, circle the bed of Solomon, each one with a sword upon their thigh because of the fears of night. In this passage it is noted that the guardians of the head of Jesus Christ should have weapons, with which they may defend the tower of the faith, after the plotters (insidiatores) have been exterminated, and keep the bed of the holy mother Church in peace and quiet. But since Judith is praised because she killed Holophernes not by the power of her weapons, but with her virtue, who has placed his hope on his bow, and his sword has saved him? (Ps.43:7) Or who has taken possession of land by the sword? (Ps.43:4) Therefore, following the teaching of the apostle, we should also put on the armour of God, i.e. virtues, (Eph.6:11) which, as Macrobius says, make a man blessed with the sun and protect their owner with violence (vis). With these arms of virtue we should

also protect ourselves from enemies, as Boethius says: "We have conferred arms upon you which, if you had not thrown them away first, would have protected you in invincible firmness. Let these carnal and spiritual weapons, therefore, which each correspond to one another, be listed here along with what sacred Scripture recalls about them and with which ones we should fight in this new war of the Lord.

On the shield (scutum).

Concerning the shield it is said that Solomon made 200 spears and 300 shields;(2 Chr.9:15f) and Ecclesiasticus saus that he shall fight against the enemy over the shield of the powerful man (potens).(Eccl.29:18) For shield understand the faith, concerning which Paul says: "in all cases taking up the shield of faith, which is the foundation of all virtues";(Eph.6:16) without it, as Augustine says, all virtue withers like a branch without the strength of a root; and as Paul says, it is impossible to please God without faith, but when we do have it, all good things come to us along with it.(Heb.11:6) Whence the Lord says: "You have the faith of God; amen I say to you, whoever shall say to this mountain, 'Rise and go to the sea', and shall not hesitate in his heart but shall believe that whatever he has said, shall be done, it shall be done for him."(Mk.11:22f) Behold how great is the power of faith. This is the invincible shield with which Josaphath, king of Juda, consoled his fearful people, saying: "Trust in our Lord God, and you shall be safe and everything will turn out prosperously for you"; as a consequence, it happened that the sons of Amon and Moab were turned against each other and killed themselves with reciprocal wounds, so that not one person remained who could escape the slaughter.(2 Chr.20:20) It was an expression of great faith when David, who was going to fight Goliath, said: You come to me in sword, spear, and buckler, I come to you in the name of the Lord," and the Lord gave [Goliath] over into his hands (Kings 17:45). O how great was the faith in Jonathan and Judas Macchabeus when they said: "It is not difficult for the Lord to save, whether amidst many or few." There, 20 men were struck down in the center of the field by Jonathan and his arms-bearer, and the nation of the Philistines was greatly disturbed.(I Mac.14:6) Here, Seron and his ary were made sad by Judas. This is the victory which conquers the world; who is it who shall conquer the world, if not the person who believes that Jesus is the son of God; [Jesus] who says: "He that believes in me, although he be dead, shall live." Therefore, turn and turn again the pages of the entire text of the gospel story (historia) and, as if amongst all the saving of bodies and souls, you shall find that the Lord concluded: your faith has made you saved.

On the sword.

Concerning the sword it is said that Jeremiah reached out his right hand and gave Judas a sword saying: "Take this holy sword, a gift from God, with which you shall cast down the enemies of my people Israel."(2 Mac.15:16) This is the sword with which Judas protected the camp (castra) of the children of

Israel. This sword, O most mighty knights of Christ, like the sword of Saul, is never wielded in vain, in order that the following may be fulfilled upon the enemies of Christ's cross: the sword shall devastate them without, and fear within,(2 Kings 1:22; Dt.32:25), youth as well as virgin, nursing women and old men, so that whenever some adversity comes upon them, let them always say: this is nothing but the sword of Gideon, i.e. the sword of the Christian knighthood (militia).(Judg. 7:14). For the sword, understand good works, because faith without works is dead. While certain arms defend the body from the attack of enemies,(Jac.2:20) the sword reaches out for the work, by which the adversary is cast down; and just as [the sword] is sharpened on both sides, so good works defend their doer on one side from infernal punishment, while on the other they lead him to eternal joys.

On the lance.

Concerning the lance it is said that Johash the priest gave lances to the centurions who were keeping watch over the house of the Lord.(2 Chr.23:9) These are the lances which Joab, leader (princeps) of the militia, planted in the heart of Absolon, who was persecuting his father David. For the lance, which is straight, understand right intention. And in accordance with the teaching of the Apostle: "whatever you do in word and deed, do it in the name of the Lord,(Col.3:17) whether you are eating or drinking or doing something else, do all things to the glory of God."(I Cor. 10:31). From this lance proceeds the merit or demerit of any work, because evil intention never forms a good work, nor vice versa.

On the buckler (clipeus).

Concerning the buckler, Isaiah exhorts: "Rise up, princes, seize your bucklers."(Is.21:5) And the Lord said to Joshua: lift up the buckler which is in your hand, against the city of Hay, which I shall give over to you,(Jos.8:18) and there follows: "Holding his buckler, Joshua did not withdraw the hand which he had raised on high until all the inhabitants of Hay were killed."(Jos.8:26) Thus should the chosen warriors (bellatores) do, not like Saul, about whom it is read that the shield of the brave (fortium) was thrown away,(2 Kg.1:21) as if it were not anointed with oil. For the buckler understand the word of the Lord, by which we are informed for all good works and about which it is said: "the word of the Lord is a flaming buckler for all those who place their hopes in it."(Pr.30:5) Now then, it is called flaming because it defends against all the fiery darts of the devil. This is why Judas Macchabeus is said to have armed each of his men not with the protection of a buckler or spear, but with the best of words (optima verba)(2 Mac.15:11) And indeed, they are said to be best, because the word of God does whatever He has willed, and shall prosper in those things for which it was sent. If it does not advance in one person, it yields a profit in another; it is never returned empty.

On the hauberk (lorica)

Concerning the hauberk it is said that Judas Macchabeus dressed himself in a hauberk like a giant and protected his camp.(I Mac.3:3) For hauberk understand justice, concerning which the Apostle says: "Put on the hauberk of justice."(Eph.6:15) This justice renders to each what is his own, the humble subjection to God. Concerning it the Lord says: "Thus it befits us to fulfill all justice;(Mt.3:15) compassion for our neighbor, whence Gregory says: "True justice has compassion, false justice indignation; subjugation of the flesh to it, because it is just that the flesh be under the yoke of the soul as its handmaid, whence Ecclesiasticus says: "My son, when you approach the service of God, stand in justice,"(Eccl.2:1) and after a few lines there follows: "To fight for justice is to fight for your soul; struggle for justice unto death, and God will conquer your enemies for you."(Eccl.4:33) Then shall be fulfilled the line of the Psalmist: "Justice and peace have kissed," otherwise there will be no peace, but the flesh shall always lust against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh.

On the bow and the quiver

Concerning the bow and the quiver, Isaac says to his son Esau: "Take up your arms, your bow and quiver."(Gen.27:3)

On the arrow

Concerning the arrow Isaiah says: "The Lord aroused the king of the Medes against Babylon, "Fill your quivers with arrows,"(Jer.51:11) in order that the word of the Lord may be fulfilled upon the enemies of Christ's cross: "I shall gather the evils upon you and shall fulfill my arrows with them."(Dt.32:23) Through these three things understand those three things which are the substance of any life in religion, namely obedience, chastity, and poverty. With the bow, obedience is denoted, because just as it is curved, flexed, and reflexed without breaking, so the man of religion should, through obedience, be bent and reflexed between prosperity and adversity with an even temper (*equo animo*) and without complaining. Concerning this bending of obedience, Isaac, when blessing his son Jacob, says: "Be lord of your brothers, and let the sons of your mother bow down before you,"(Gn.27:29) in order that the obedient man may say with Isaiah: "The Lord drew his bow and places me as target for his arrow."(Lam.3:12) O how hard it is to draw this bow of obedience when the man of religion sees the danger of death hanging over him in battle and does not dare retreat. At that moment obedience is better than sacrifice, because, as Gregory says, another is magnified through sacrifice, but one's own flesh through obedience. With the arrow, chastity is indicated, because, just as the arrow (*sagitta*) is named after *sagium sagis*(??), i.e., to work or divine with ingenuity, so it befits a person to act with ingenuity to

be able to live chastely, according to the natural power of his soul against the senses of the flesh which are always prone to evil, and it befits him to divine himself, i.e. that he is full of God, since no one can be chaste unless God should grant it. Also, just as the arrow is born on two feathers/wings in the manner of a bird in order to kill the enemy quickly, so, too, chastity uses two feathers/wings to cast down the ancient enemy of chastity, namely the feathers of renewal of the old life and of the utility (utilitas) of renewal. Concerning these two feathers/wings, Isaiah says: "Those who place their hope in the Lord, shall transform their bodily strength into spiritual strength, shall take on feathers/wings like those of an eagle," [a bird] which, when it wishes to renew itself, puts off the old feathers/wings and receives new ones.(Is.40:31) The Apostle exhorts us to do this when he says: "Put off the old man according to its original way of life, for he is corrupted according to the desires of error; put on the new man according to God."(Eph.4:22) For thus your youth shall be renewed just like the eagle's and you shall fly in the virtue of chastity,(Ps.102:5) and shall not fail because the arrow of Jonathan never turns back. Hence, the flesh of the chaste man can say with Job: "The Lord's arrows are within me, their poison drinks up my spirit, that is to say, my spirit of luxury. How great is the poison of chastity against luxury, and how it works, no one knows unless he has experienced it. Concerning the utility of renewal Bernard says: "What could be more decorous than chastity, which makes what was conceived from an unclean seed clean, a household personage from an enemy, and angel from a man? Judith also acted manfully and killed Holophernes, and freed the people of the Lord from dangers, because she loved chastity. O how beautiful and useful is a chaste generation! By quiver (pharetra), which is named after "bearing darts"(ferendo jacula), is denoted poverty, because just as the arrow is hidden and preserved in the quiver, so chastity is hidden in poverty, because the widow living amongst delights is dead.(1 Tim.5:6) Consequently, chastity can say the words of Isaiah: "The Lord has placed me as his chosen arrow and has hidden me in his quiver." Nor is the poverty among those who lead a life in religion enough; about it Bernard says: "They wish to be poor on condition that they never lack anything, and they so love poverty that they suffer no lack of resources; but there is that voluntary poverty with an actual lack, concerning which the Lord says: "Blessed are the poor in spirit,"(Mt.5:3) which, according to Bernard, is with intention and spiritual desire for the sake of being well-pleasing to God and the salvation of souls. These are the quivers of the servants of Adadezer, who is interpreted as "outstanding separator", because poverty separates from wealth. Christ, who was desirable in appearance, bore, i.e. preferred these quivers of David, in this world and took them to Jerusalem, where he hung naked on the cross, in order that we may follow in his footsteps. This poverty is medicinal, because, as Gregory says, the medicine of poverty heals those whom the weakness of morals wounds: for poverty kills pride, and smothers the two eternal blood-suckers, avarice and luxury.

On the sling.

Concerning the sling it is said in Zacharias: "The Lord of Hosts protects them and shall devour and subject them with the stones of a sling."(Zach.9:15) It is also read in the book of Kings, that the souls of David's enemies will be spun, as if in the motion and circle of the sling.(I Kgs. 25:29) It is this sling with which David cast and struck the Philistine on the forehead, and the stone was imbedded in his forehead, and he fell to the ground face first, and David prevailed against the Philistine with sling and stone, and killed the Philistine who was struck.

On the staff.

Concerning the staff the Lord says through Isaiah: "Woe unto Assur, the rod and staff of my anger"; and after a few lines: "With the rod, He shall strike you, and he shall lift the staff over you on the path to Egypt.(Is.10:5; 10:24) Concerning the spiritual meaning (significatio) of the staff and the sling, it is read that when David was going to fight Goliath, he took his staff, which he always had with him, and chose five of the most polished stones, which he placed in his shepherd's bag, and carried his sling in his hand; then he killed the armed Philistine. By the armed Philistine, understand the devil, who is prepared to tempt. Let yourself, therefore, be David, strong in hand and penitent, and may you always have with you the staff of the holy cross and choose five stones, i.e. the five wounds of Christ, and place them in your shepherd's bag, i.e. in your soul, and carry around the sling in hand, i.e. in remembrance of all these things. Thus shall you kill him, and he shall prevail upon you in any temptation. Indeed, if, on the advice of the prophet Elisha, this staff of the holy cross alone should be placed over the face of the dead boy, i.e. someone living like a child, he would come back to life.

On the helmet.

Concerning the helmet it is said that Saul put on the clothing of David and placed his bronze helmet upon his head.(I Kings 17:38) And the Lord said through Jeremiah: "Go to war, harness your horses, mount as knights, and stand in your helmets."(Jer.16:31) The helmet signifies salvation, which a man seeks from God and from these arms of virtue. Concerning it the Apostle says: "Take up the helmet of salvation";(Eph.6:17) and Isaiah: "dressed in justice like a hauberk, and the helmet of salvation upon his head."(Is.59:17) O how secure you shall be in battle, if you are girded round with these arms, and he shall be the Lord God of your salvation, your salvation to the ends of the earth. These are the arms with which the patriarch Jacob took that share from the hand of Amorreus with sword and bow, which he gave to his son Joseph; these are the arms with which the sons of Israel also took possession of the holy land after its owners had been exterminated;(Num.21:24) the arms with which David conquered the

enemies of his kingdom, and the arms with which the Macchabees repaired the holy city of Jerusalem, which had been destroyed, and cleansed the temple of the Lord which had been polluted by the filth of the Gentiles. O most mighty knights and outstanding warriors, put on these arms, avenge the injury of the crucified Lord, recover the holy land owed to the Christians, which is now occupied by the infidels. Be comforted and let your hands not grow weak in battle. For your work will be rewarded with that reward, about which the Lord said to Abraham: "I shall be your very great prize." (Gen.15:1) If the work terrifies you, look at the reward, knowing that, just as vices are never without punishment, so virtues are never without reward; and the reward of virtue is He, Who gave the virtue.

On the use of carnal and spiritual arms.

There are six reasons for which we use carnal and spiritual arms. The first is for exercise, in order that we may be trained in wars according to the will of God, Who sent many nations among the children of Israel, in order that he might educate Israel and all who know the wars of Canaan in their midst, and that later, their children might learn to fight with their enemies and have the habit (consuetudo) of doing battle. What good would anyone be in battle, if he were not trained in arms? Consequently, in time of peace, tournaments and other military games are held for exercise, lest, when war looms and the enemies are at the gates, anyone, because he say with David, because he is unaccustomed to arms: "I cannot go into battle thus armed," (I Kings 17:39) and the man thus unarmed cannot go forth against the enemy. But because a man's life is knightly service, so as soon as he comes into the world, he enters the field to do battle against the airy powers. Yet, the arms of our knighthood are not carnal; rather, our power is from God. Therefore, according to the doctrine of the Apostle, we should put on the armor of God, i.e. the virtues, which are only from God, Who gives virtue and strength to His people and should be exercised in them, in order that we know how and can resist on the evil day of temptation, and in order that the virtues be increased in us through practice, as Chrysostom says: "For just as every trade is preserved, increased, and added with bodily exercise, so every virtue is increased through exercise and diminished through laziness. — The second reason for which we use carnal weapons is because of the treachery of the enemy. Whence the sons of Israel, fearing the treachery of the enemy, took up their weapons of war and encamped throughout the narrow places of the route and stood guard day and night. It is also read concerning Judas Macchabeus, that he ordered the sons of Israel to be armed in opportune places, lest some evil perchance arise from the enemy. For the same reason, we use spiritual arms as the Apostle says: "Be comforted in the Lord and in the power of His virtue, and put on the armor of God, in order that you can stand against the treachery of the devil, who lies in wait for you, like a lion in his cave. This is that lion, our adversary the devil, who circles looking for someone to devour. We should resist him with the virtue of faith. — The third reason for which we use carnal arms is for an open

attack of the enemy. Whence it is said in the book of the Macchabees that when Lisias, who trusted in the multitude of his warriors, never reckoning with the power of God, and was unrestrained in his mind, wished to destroy the city of Jerusalem and the temple of God and had already conquered the fortress, Macchabeus and those who were with him, when they learned of this, took up arms and asked the Lord with wailing and tears, that He send a good angel to save them. They grew strong in their spirit and their powers and, bursting forth in an attack against them, prostrated xi thousand of their footsoldiers and 1,600 calvary and put them all to flight; many of the wounded escaped naked, but Lisias, who fled wickedly, escaped. This is why the brothers of the Teutonic house, from their entry into the land of Prussia to the present day, use their swords continuously in order that they may have at the ready something with which to defend themselves, if an open or hidden attack by the enemy should rise against them. In the same way we use the arms of virtue against the open attacks of the devil. Whence the Apostle says: "Although we walk in the flesh, let us not fight (militare) according to the flesh, for the arms of our knighthood are not carnal - **gloss** weak, but powerful, i.e. strong, from God, i.e. through God, for the destruction of fortifications, i.e. the artifices of demons, destroying their counsels, namely the evils of demons, and every height, i.e. the profundity of the intellect, which raises itself up against the knowledge of God, i.e. the faith.(2 Cor.10:3f) May you therefore always be prepared in the arms of the virtues against the attack of the devil because, according to the letter of Bishop Paulinus to Augustine, that enemy of ours has a thousand ways of harming, and he should be defeated with as many kinds of arms as the kinds of plots which he lays. If he should attack you openly or in secret with the vice of pride, you may oppose the virtue of humility to defend yourself and he will flee from you. And thus you should do in every sin. For if you use the arms of the opposite virtue in your defense, you shall be the victor. — The fourth reason for which we use carnal arms is for the sake of peace, that we may be able to possess our lands (bona) in peace. Whence the Lord says: "When a strong armed man guards his atrium, everything that he possesses is at peace."(Lk.11:21) Thus, only when we use the arms of virtues shall we have peace, because there is no peace for the impious. Hence, Ecclesiasticus says: "Men rich in virtue, having zeal for beauty, peacemakers in their houses, all these have received glory in the generation of their people."(Eccl.44:6) Hence Baruch says: "If you had walked in the way of God, you would have lived in eternal peace."(Bar.3:13) This is why Solomon says: "When the way of a man is pleasing to the Lord, he shall convert even his enemies to be at peace with him."(Pr.16:7) — The fifth reason is so that we may recover lost property. Thus did the sons of Israel, armed with arms, go up into the Promised land, which God had given their fathers, and recovered the occupied land from the hands of the enemy. So by the arms of virtue the kingdom of heaven, which we lost through sin, suffers violence, and violent men seize it and hold it forever. The gloss here: it is a great act of violence to be born on earth, yet to seize heaven and hold it through virtue, a kingdom which we cannot possess by nature. — The sixth reason is for

propaganda (ostentatio) in order that the enemy may be terrified when they see our weapons, as Judith said just after killing Holofernes: "When the sun shall rise, let each take up arms, and go forth with force, not in order to go down, but that, in pretending to make an attack, the scouts of Holofernes may hear this and, arousing him, they may find him wrapped in his own blood, and fear shall thus come upon them and they shall flee." (Judith 14:2f) In this way we use the arms of virtues, in order that we may show that we are part of the ministry of Him, Who is the King of kings and Lord of lords. The Apostle urges us towards this, when he says: "In all things, let us show ourselves to be ministers of God with great patience, etc. through the arms of justice, the virtue of God." (2 Cor. 6:4) The arms of God's virtue is justice, which teaches us to render to each what is his own, to leave behind the world and everything in the world and cling to the Lord, Who placed a sign upon His banner, which He left for us to carry. Concerning this sign an angel said to the shepherds when the Lord was born: "This is the sign; you shall find an infant wrapped in swaddling clothes lying in a manger." (Lk. 2:12) In this are noted three virtues: humility in his infancy against pride, poverty in swaddling clothes against avarice, and the austerity of the manger against the pleasure of the flesh. Raise this banner and show it to the devil, and fear shall come upon him and he shall flee.