



**CHRISTIANITY AND
WAR IN MEDIEVAL
EAST CENTRAL
EUROPE AND
SCANDINAVIA**

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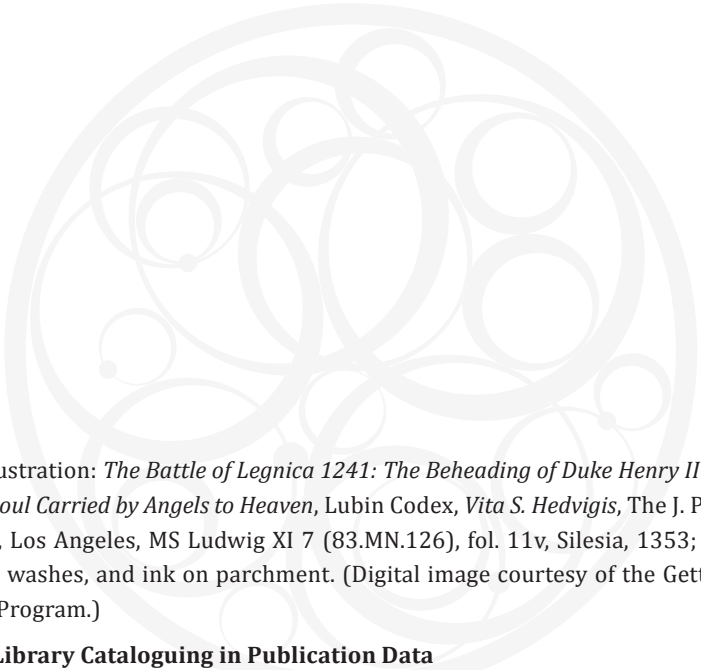
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CHRISTIANITY AND WAR IN MEDIEVAL EAST CENTRAL EUROPE AND SCANDINAVIA

Edited by
**RADOSŁAW KOTECKI, CARSTEN SELCH JENSEN,
and STEPHEN BENNETT**

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Cover illustration: *The Battle of Legnica 1241: The Beheading of Duke Henry II the Pious and His Soul Carried by Angels to Heaven*, Lubin Codex, *Vita S. Hedvigis*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, MS Ludwig XI 7 (83.MN.126), fol. 11v, Silesia, 1353; tempera, coloured washes, and ink on parchment. (Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.)

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

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ISBN (print): 9781641891332

eISBN (PDF): 9781641891349

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EDITORS' PREFACE

AS WITH EVERY book, this one too has its story. The idea for the volume originated in conversations in 2016–2017 between Radosław Kotecki and Carsten Selch Jensen during a joint project devoted to the role of the medieval clergy in warfare. These discussions, soon joined by Stephen Bennett and some other contributors to this volume, centred on concern for the research gap in the historiography of relationships between Christianity and war in the Middle Ages. At the time, we shared the conviction that studies on this issue predominantly focused on the West and the South of the European continent. Regions located more to the East and North, which converted to Christianity only around 1000 or even much later, were largely neglected. Being aware of both these deficiencies, and also the potential of the local sources and research circles, we decided to prepare a collection that would offer some fresh perspectives. The intention would also be to move away from perceiving these issues only through the prism of crusade ideology. The result is this volume, co-created by an international group of medievalists from Czechia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Norway, Poland, and the United Kingdom. Ultimately, fifteen scholars contributed to the book. The structure of the team was, however, fluid. Several initial project members had to withdraw because of other commitments; however, their ideas also helped shape the outcome.

This volume owes a lot to several people, and the editors wish to thank everyone who has been involved in bringing it to fruition. Particular thanks go to the authors for timely submission of their chapters, and for their patience during the editing and production process. In particular, we wish to thank Jacek Maciejewski, whose counsel and help have proved invaluable throughout all stages of this project. Special thanks go to the anonymous peer reviewer, who approved the book's publication with Arc Humanities Press and Amsterdam University Press, and suggested valuable improvements. We would also like to thank Christian Raffensperger for his careful reading of the manuscript, and valuable comments, as well as for his acceptance of the book into the Beyond Medieval Europe series. Anna Henderson from Arc Humanities Press proved to be very helpful and supportive at every stage of its production and deserves fulsome praise.

Bydgoszcz—Copenhagen—London
January 2021

ABBREVIATIONS

Books and series cited in the notes as follows:

- CDC *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, ed. Marko Kostrenčić, Jakov Stipišić, and Tadija Smičklas et al., 18 vols. (Zagreb: Academia Scientiarum et Artium Slavorum Meridionalium, 1904–1990).
- CDES *Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolaris Slovaciae*, ed. Richard Marsina, 2 vols. (Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1971–1987).
- CDH *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, ed. Georg Fejér, 11 vols. (Budapest: Typographia Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829–1844).
- CECrac *Catalogi episcoporum Cracoviensium*, ed. Józef Szymański, MPH. NS 10.2 (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974).
- Chron. Hung. comp.* *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, ed. and ann. Alexander Domanovszky, SRH 1:217–505.
- Cosmas, *Chronica* Cosmas of Prague, *Chronica Boemorum*, ed. Bertold Bretholz, MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923).
- DD *Diplomatarium Danicum*, various editors (Copenhagen: various publishers, 1938–).
- DOPD *Diplomatarium OP Dacie*, ed. Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig Jakobsen (Centre for Dominican Studies of Dacia, 2005), www.jggj.dk/DOPD.htm.
- Długosz, *Annales* Jan Długosz, *Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae*, bk. 1–12, ed. Consilium (Kraków: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1964–2005), accessible via National Digital Library Polona, <https://dlugosz.polona.pl/en>.
- FRB *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, ed. František Palacký et al., 8 vols. (Prague: various publishers, 1873–1932).
- Gallus, *Gesta* Gallus Anonymus, *Gesta principum Polonorum*, ed., trans., and ann. Paul W. Knoll and Frank Schaer, Central European Medieval Texts 3 (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2007)

- Henry, *Chron. Liv.* Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. Leonid Arbusow and Albert Bauer, MGH SS rer. Germ. 31 (Hannover: Hahn, 1955).
- LD *Latinske dokument til norsk historie fram til år 1204*, ed. and trans. Eirik Vandvik (Oslo: Samlaget, 1959).
- MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica
- MGH SS MGH Scriptorum (in folio), 39 vols. (Hannover: Hahn, 1826–2009).
- MGH SS rer. Germ. MGH Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi, 81 vols. (Hannover: Hahn, 1846–).
- MGH SS rer. Germ. NS MGH Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum. Nova series, 24 vols. (Hannover: Hahn, 1922–).
- MPH Monumenta Poloniae Historica, 6 vols. (Lviv: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1864–1893).
- MPH NS Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Nova series, 16 vols. (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1946–).
- PL Patrologiae cursus completus. ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Series Latina, 221 vols. (Paris: Vrayet, 1841–1864).
- Potthast *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab anno post Christum Natum MCXCVIII ad annum MCCCIV*, ed. August Potthast, 2 vols. (Berlin: De Decker, 1874).
- PUB *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. Rudolf et. al., 6 vols. in 9 pts. (Marburg: Elwert, 1882–2000).
- RA *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica*, ed. Imre Szentpétery and Iván Borsa, 2 vols. in 7 pts. (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1923–1987).
- Reimchronik* *Livländische Reimchronik*, ed. Leo Meyer (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1876).
- RHC HO Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux, 5 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1844–1895).
- Roger, *Epistola* Anonymus, Notary of King Béla, *Gesta Hungarorum*, ed., trans., and ann. Martyn C. Rady and László Veszprémy / Master Roger, *Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione regni Hungarie per Tartaros facta*, ed., trans., and ann. János M. Bak and Martyn C. Rady, Central European Medieval Texts 5 (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010), 132–228.

- Saxo, *Gesta* Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, ed. Karsten Friis Jensen, trans. Peter Fisher, Oxford Medieval Texts, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
- SRH *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, ed. Imre Szentpétery, 2 vols. (Budapest: Academia Litteraria Hungarica, 1937–38).
- Thomas, *Hist. Sal.* Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *Spalatinensis Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum*, Latin text Olga Perić, ed., trans., and ann. Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević-Sokol, and James R. Sweeney, Central European Medieval Texts 4 (Budapest: Central European University Press 2006).
- VePloc Jan Długosz, *Vitae episcoporum Plocencium abbreviatae cum continuatione Laurentii de Wszerecz*, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, MPH 6 (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1893), 592–619.
- Vincentius, *Chron. Pol.* Master Vincentius, *Chronica Polonorum*, ed. Marian Plezia, MPH NS 11 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1994).
- Widukind, *Res gestae* Widukind of Corvey, *Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri tres*, ed. Hans-Eberhard Lohmann and Paul Hirsch, MGH SS rer. Germ. 60 (Hannover: Hahn, 1935).

CHRISTIANITY AND WAR IN MEDIEVAL EAST CENTRAL EUROPE AND SCANDINAVIA: AN INTRODUCTION

Radosław Kotecki*, Carsten Selch Jensen‡, and Stephen Bennett§

THE PRESENT COLLECTION of chapters offers an original scholarly view on the issue of cultures of war in medieval East Central Europe and Scandinavia. The authors focus on questions that can be discussed simultaneously in the context of two phenomena: war (or more broadly, any military activity) and Christian religion and culture. The problems presented in this way are neither narrow nor homogeneous. This

* **Radosław Kotecki** (orcid.org/0000-0002-6757-9358) is an assistant professor at the Faculty of History, Kazimierz Wielki University in Bydgoszcz, Poland. He has published a number of essays on the medieval Church, violence and culture, and recently on clerical warfare, military religion, and rituals of war. His research interests also include legal history, specifically canon law, medieval justice, and secular and ecclesiastical penalties. He is co-editor of several books, including *“Ecclesia et Violentia”: Violence Against the Church and Violence Within the Church in the Middle Ages* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2014), *Between Sword and Prayer: Warfare and Medieval Clergy in Cultural Perspective* (Explorations in Medieval Culture 3; Leiden: Brill, 2018). He is now initiating a new publishing project called *Religious Rites of War: Medieval Eastern and Northern Europe, 900–1500* (under contract with Brill for the series Explorations in Medieval Culture).

‡ **Carsten Selch Jensen** (orcid.org/0000-0002-1778-3078) is associate professor in Church History and Acting Dean at the Faculty of Theology, University of Copenhagen, Denmark. In his research, he has mainly focused on medieval history, especially the history and historiography of the Baltic Crusades. He has published a number of works on various aspects of the processes of Christianization and Crusading in the Baltic Region. The most recent of these include: *Fighting for the Faith—The Many Crusades*, ed. Kurt Villads Jensen, Carsten Selch Jensen and Janus Møller Jensen, Scripta minora 27 (Stockholm: Runica et Mediævalia, 2018); “The Lord’s Vineyard: Henry of Livonia and the Danish conquest of Estonia,” in *Denmark and Estonia 1219–2019. Studien zur Geschichte der Ostseeregion*, vol. 1, ed. Jens E. Olesen (Greifswald: Universität Greifswald, 2019) and “The Early Church of Livonia, 1186-c. 1255,” in *Die Kirche im Mittelalterlichen Livland*, ed. Radosław Biskup, Johannes Götz, and Andrzej Radzimiński (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu, 2019). He has also a forthcoming book *Theology and History Writing in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia (ca. 1227)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021).

§ **Stephen Bennett** is a graduate of Royal Military Academy Sandhurst and Escuela Superior de las Fuerzas Armadas Españolas. He received a PhD in History from Queen Mary, University of London in 2019 for his thesis entitled *Noble Networks: The Nature of Elite Participation from North-Western Europe in the Third Crusade*. Recently published articles include, “The Battle of Arsuf/Arsur: A Reappraisal of the Charge of the Hospitallers,” in *The Military Orders: Culture and Conflict*, vol. 6.1, ed. Mike Carr and Jochen Schenk (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 44–53; and “Faith and Authority, Guy of Lusignan at the Battle of Acre (4th October 1189),” in *A Military History of the Mediterranean Sea—Aspects of Warfare, Diplomacy and Military Elites*, ed. Georgios Theotokis and Aysel Yıldız (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 220–34.

is unsurprising when a vibrant sphere of relationships between two such crucial cultural and culture-forming factors in the Middle Ages becomes the primary objective of a study.

While the subject of the volume is broadly profiled, presenting the issue in a multi-perspective manner, the essays have been narrowed down geographically to East Central, North, and North-Eastern Europe. It is a region that has been sometimes referred to as the “Younger Europe” or “New Christianity” after Professor Jerzy Kłoczowski. It centres on vast territories that only, in most cases, formed their Christian identities after the tenth century.¹ Chronologically, the present collection concentrates on the period from the late eleventh to the late thirteenth century with occasional glimpses into the earlier and later periods. However, the timeframe only partly corresponds to the epoch known in Western European scholarship as the High Middle Ages.² Furthermore, focusing on the eleventh to thirteenth centuries is not to be considered as a further attempt at “adding,” “rethinking,” or “re-considering” the state of knowledge about the relationships of war and religion in the period often coined as the “classic medieval period,” “age of chivalry,” or “age of crusading” in the heartlands of medieval Europe. Instead the initiators of this volume felt the need to discuss the sparsely (though at the same time unequally) researched relationships between Christianity and war in the Eastern and North-Eastern parts of modern-day Europe. Moreover, to do so at the early stage of the influence of the new religion in these regions, distant as they were from the centres of Latin and Greek civilisations. Although Christianity had already begun to permeate these areas from at least the eighth century, its cultural impact became more pronounced in the regions only around 1000 or later. From this point, it gradually influenced the reconstruction of existing social structures, setting the foundations for the formation of monarchies and Christian political communities. Obviously, this was a very complicated process, stretched over time, and not running in parallel in all corners of the region. In addition, due to the paucity of surviving written accounts and material sources, it is often only possible to follow the subject in question from the twelfth century, and sometimes only from the thirteenth century. These only become richer in content during the latter part of the period in question.

Although the present collection of essays refers to numerous political and religious communities, the publication does not claim to provide a complete overview of all relationships between religion and war in the whole region, nor does it offer a panoptic picture. Given the heterogeneity of the area in question, the adopted chronological framework and, in particular, the abundance of unexplored problems would exceed the possibilities of a single volume. Moreover, it is too early for a synthesis or even a coherent anthology devoted to the subject. Instead, the authors and editors of the volume were

¹ Jerzy Kłoczowski, *Młodsza Europa. Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia w kręgu cywilizacji chrześcijańskiej średniowiecza* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1998).

² In the historiographies of Central and East Central Europe, as well as Scandinavia, the periodization of the Middle Ages is usually different than in the works concerning the western part of the continent. Applying the western perspective to the realities of this part of Europe is therefore somewhat artificial.

motivated primarily by an urge to show a panorama of the experiences that emerged at the meeting point of religion and war in settings distinct from Western Europe. Thus, the aim is to show new research fields without striving for a holistic approach, but with some emphasis on both the institutional and ideological contexts. In addition, we have sought to balance—as far as possible—coverage of the most important polities of East Central Europe (Bohemia, Hungary with Croatia and Dalmatia, Poland, Kievan Rus') and the northward Scandinavian and Baltic lands (Denmark, Norway, Finland, Novgorodian Rus', Livonia, and Estonia).

It is also important to realize that, to some extent, the political, structural, and religious realities of Western Europe have determined the scope of these issues. This is obvious, since the relationships between Christianity and war in East Central Europe and Scandinavia were significantly influenced by the developments in the Frankish realms, Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England, the Ottonian and Salian Empire, and in the Holy Land during the time of the Crusades, as well as those developments created by the politics of the medieval papacy. Thus, the entire process of the region coming into the orbit of Christian influences opened up new opportunities. These deepened in the following centuries with more cultural exchanges between the region and the centres of the "Old Christianity." This occurred not only in the spheres directly related to religion, but also to military organization, military customs or royal courts, and knightly ideology and culture. Thus, for obvious reasons, the studies of this volume rely heavily on decades of scholarly work done in a Western European setting, especially among Anglophonic scholars, but also among French and German historians. Most specifically, it draws on those who have been studying the relationships between religion and war intensely—one only has to mention the seminal book by Carl Erdmann devoted to "prehistory" and the birth of the crusader ideology: *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*.³ Studies on the intersection between Christianity and war conducted since then, both the older and the more numerous newer ones, have made it possible for new generations of scholars to apply comparative approaches to new regions. They also provide methodological directives in these areas.

The previous research literature also demonstrates that the connections between Christianity and war were rich in phenomena whose research allows historians to get closer to many critically important dimensions of medieval reality—not only religiously

3 Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*, Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte 6 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1935). This book is more widely known in its translation into English: *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart, foreword and notes by Marshall W. Baldwin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977). Other works by the author are also noteworthy. See, e.g., Carl Erdmann, "Endkaiserglaube und Kreuzzugsgedanke im 11. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 51 (1932): 384–414; Carl Erdmann, "Kaiserliche und päpstliche Fahnen im hohen Mittelalter," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 25 (1933): 1–48; Carl Erdmann, "Der Heidenkrieg in der Liturgie und die Kaiserkrönung Ottos I.," in *Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke in der deutschen Ostpolitik des Mittelalters*, ed. Helmut Beumann, Wege der Forschung 7 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963), 47–64.

or mentally, but also socially and even politically. First, one can think of the “Crusade Movement,” which significantly shaped the cultural landscape of Europe in the Middle Ages. It stimulated a transformation of the entire worldview, the role and place of the monarchy, the Church, war and religion in it, and even contributed to a clearer vision of the structure of society. More recent research, however, shows that the interaction of these factors—Christianity and war / war and Christianity—took place on a much larger scale and within a much broader geographical and chronological frame. This was most clearly demonstrated by David S. Bachrach in his *Religion and the Conduct of War, c. 300–1215* and other works, which gave a comprehensive understanding of the widespread use of religion in building military potential, and even the “management” of medieval armies in the field. Bachrach successfully moved away from the previously dominant perspective of a kind of crusade-centrism to demonstrate the persistence of phenomena observed in the West between Late Antiquity and High Middle Ages. Themes such as the role of chaplains in maintaining military morale, administering of the *viaticum*, or the duties of priests serving at home on behalf of the army add additional value to his work.⁴ The research of this author and others—including Michael McCormick and Walter Pohl—is substantial when it comes to the role of the war liturgy. It shows the strong influence of Christian ritual not only on the course of military operations, but above all its role in building an ethnic and cultural identity from the earliest phases of the Middle Ages.⁵ Other inspiring studies include research on the idea of the role of God and saints in ensuring military victories,⁶ the role of sacred artifacts and

4 David S. Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War, c. 300–1215* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003). Among other Bachrach’s works on the topic, see David S. Bachrach, “Military Chaplains and the Religion of War in Ottonian Germany, 919–1024,” *Religion, State and Society* 39, no. 1 (2011): 13–31. For other studies, see the Bibliography at the end of this volume.

5 Michael McCormick, “The Liturgy of War in the Early Middle Ages: Crisis, Litanies, and the Carolingian Monarchy,” *Viator* 15 (1984): 1–24; Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Walter Pohl, “Liturgie di guerra nei regni altomedievali,” *Rivista di storia del cristianesimo* 5 (2008): 29–44; Andreas Heinz, “Das Gebet für die Feinde in der abendländischen Liturgie,” in *Lebendiges Erbe. Beiträge zur abendländischen Liturgie- und Frömmigkeitsgeschichte, Pietas liturgica. Studia* 21 (Tübingen: Francke, 2010), 141–58; Manuel Rojas Gabriel, “On the Path of Battle: Divine Invocations and Religious Liturgies Before Pitched Battles in Medieval Iberia (c. 1212–c. 1340): An Introduction,” in *Crusading on the Edge: Ideas and Practice of Crusading in Iberia and the Baltic Region, 1100–1500*, ed. Torben K. Nielsen and Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *Outremer* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 275–95; M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017).

6 See among others František Graus, “Der Heilige als Schlachtenhelfer. Zur Nationalisierung einer Wundererzählung in der mittelalterlichen Chronistik,” in *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke and Reinhard Wenskus (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1977), 330–48; Wolfgang Speyer, “Die Hilfe und Epiphanie einer Gottheit, eines Heroen und eines Heiligen in der Schlacht,” in “*Pietas.*” *Festschrift für Bernhard Kotting*, ed. Ernst Dassmann and Karl S. Frank, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 8 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1980), 55–77; Christopher Holdsworth, “‘An Airier Aristocracy’: The Saints at War,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*

relics,⁷ or broadly understood legal, scholastic, and theological conditions for conducting and perceiving military operations. The richness of the issues raised in today's international medieval scholarship and the emerging awareness of their embedding in the superior and commonly accepted eschatological paradigm (*iudicium Dei*—a defeat was a divine punishment for sins, a triumph was a reward for piety),⁸ obliges researchers to consider every related question on a wider cultural level, regardless of the region in focus. It is also necessary to be sensitive to a more nuanced contextualization of the issues at stake. In particular, to accept that not all the phenomena of interest can be explained through the influence of crusader ideology, which still seems to be a widespread paradigm. Some development in views on this subject can already be seen,

6 (1996): 103–22; Kent Gregory Hare, “Apparitions and War in Anglo-Saxon England,” in *The Circle of War in the Middle Ages*, ed. Donald J. Kagay and L. J. A. Villalon (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), 75–86; Thomas Scharff, *Die Kämpfe der Herrscher und Heiligen. Krieg und historische Erinnerung in der Karolingerzeit* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2002); John R. E. Bliese, “Saint Cuthbert and War,” *Journal of Medieval History* 24, no. 3 (2012): 215–41; Kurt Villads Jensen, “Saints at War in the Baltic Region,” in *Saints and Sainthood Around the Baltic Sea: Identity, Literacy, and Communication in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carsten Selch Jensen et al. (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 2018), 251–71; M. Juzepczuk, “Kult świętych a zwycięstwa militarne pierwszych Piastów (od X do początków XIII w.),” *Saeculum Christianum* 25, no. 1 (2018): 63–76.

7 See among others Erdmann, “Kaiserliche und päpstliche Fahnen”; Nicole Thierry, “Le culte de la croix dans l’empire byzantin du VIIe siècle au Xe dans ses rapports avec la guerre contre l’infidèle. Nouveaux témoignages archéologiques,” *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi* 1 (1981): 205–28; Christopher Walter, “IC XC NI KA: The Apotropaic Function of the Victorious Cross,” *Revue des études byzantines* 55, no. 1 (1997): 193–220; Thomas O. Clancy, “Columba, Adomnan and the Cult of Saints in Scotland,” in “*Spes Scotorum*,” “*Hope of Scots*: Saint Columba, Iona and Scotland, ed. Dauvit Broun and Thomas O. Clancy (Edinburgh: Clark, 1999), 3–33; Sophia Mergiali-Sahas, “Byzantine Emperors and Holy Relics: Use, and Misuse, of Sanctity and Authority,” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 51 (2001): 41–60; Klaus Schreiner, “‘Signa victricia’: Heilige Zeichen in kriegerischen Konflikten des Mittelalters,” in *Rituale, Zeichen, Bilder. Formen und Funktionen symbolischer Kommunikation im Mittelalter*, ed. Ulrich Meier, Gerd Schwerhoff, and Gabriela Signori, Norm und Struktur 40 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2011), 11–63; Fanny Caroff, “L’affrontement entre chrétiens et musulmans. Le rôle de la vraie Croix dans les images de croisade (XIIIe-XVe siècle),” in *Chemins d’outre-mer. Études d’histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, ed. Damien Coulon and Michel Balard, Byzantina Sorbonensia 20 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2004), 99–114; Mamuka Tsurtsumia, “The True Cross in the Armies of Georgia and the Frankish East,” *Crusades* 12, no. 1 (2013): 91–102; Richard Sharpe, “Banners of the Northern Saints,” in *Saints of North-East England, 600–1500*, ed. Margaret Coombe, Anne Mouron, and Christiania Whitehead, Medieval Church Studies 39 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 245–303.

8 See especially Kelly DeVries, “God and Defeat in Medieval Warfare: Some Preliminary Thoughts,” in *The Circle of War in the Middle Ages*, 87–97; Rudolf Schieffer, “‘Iudicium Dei’. Kriege als Gottesurteile,” in *Heilige Kriege. Religiöse Begründungen militärischer Gewaltanwendung. Judentum, Christentum und Islam im Vergleich*, ed. Klaus Schreiner and Elisabeth Müller-Luckner, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs. Kolloquien 78 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2008), 219–28; Martin Clauss, “Der Krieg als Mittel und Thema der Kommunikation. Die narrative Funktion des Gottesurteils,” in *Gottes Werk und Adams Beitrag. Formen der Interaktion zwischen Mensch und Gott im Mittelalter*, ed. Thomas Honegger, Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich, and Volker Leppin, Das Mittelalter Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung. Beihefte 1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 128–41.

such as emphasizing the ideological setting of wars in the context of older and more comprehensive ideas: “holy war,” “sacred war,” “God’s war,”⁹ or “wars against (d)evil” and “sin.”¹⁰ Nevertheless, it seems that researchers still tend to look at the issue in a way shaped by the deterministic vision of the holy war as preceding the “Proper Crusades.”¹¹ However, the reality was certainly more complicated. Spanish historiography can serve as a model because there has long been a debate on the extent to which and when the Crusades influenced the local culture of war, in which religious factors had already played a significant role.¹² The value of this approach is demonstrated by Kurt Villads Jensen’s more recent studies, which have shown that distinct Christian religious motifs in Scandinavian war culture predated the First Crusade. Scandinavia had for centuries a multitude of contacts with the rest of the Western Christian world, and, he argues, was therefore open to strong cultural influences.¹³ It seems that research following such an observation should be extended in the future to include the area of East Central and Eastern Europe, but with a focus on possible regional differences. Naturally, not all the polities of the region had such intense cultural contacts with the centres of the Christian world as the Scandinavians. Other societies were neither as expansive, nor did they enjoy a network of connections entwining Europe, from Byzantium to Italy and the British Isles. However, some similar early influences are documented for Bohemia, Poland, Rus’ and Hungary in the eleventh century.

Most chapters collected in this volume, although to a different extent and in various forms, use comparative research to examine relationships between Christianity and war. The same applies to the chapters that focus primarily on the participation of Church institutions in the military activity, especially on the military involvement of the clergy. This issue has recently been discussed particularly frequently in relation to various regions of Europe. It must be noted, however, that since the publication of Friedrich

9 See Carsten Selch Jensen, “Gods War: War and Christianisation on the Baltic Frontier in the Early 13th Century,” *Quaestiones Mediae Aevi Novae* 16 (2012): 123–47. See also Gerd Althoff, “*Selig sind, die Verfolgung ausüben.*” *Päpste und Gewalt im Hochmittelalter* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2013).

10 As coined by Kurt Villads Jensen. See for example, “Physical Extermination of Physical Sin: Remarks on Theology and Mission in the Baltic Region Around 1200,” in *Sacred Space in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia*, ed. Jarosław Wenta and Magdalena Kopczyńska, *Sacra bella septentrionalia* 2 (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2013), 87–99.

11 See for example Burnam W. Reynolds, *The Prehistory of the Crusades: Missionary War and the Baltic Crusades* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015). Against such thinking, see Paul E. Chevedden, “Crusade Creationism versus Pope Urban II’s Conceptualization of the Crusades,” *Historian* 75, no. 1 (2013): 1–46.

12 For the historiographical discussion of this problem, see Luis García-Guijarro Ramos, “Reconquista and Crusade in the Central Middle Ages: A Conceptual and Historiographical Survey,” in *Crusading on the Edge*, 55–88.

13 Kurt Villads Jensen, “Crusading at the End of the World: The Spread of the Idea of Jerusalem After 1099 to the Baltic Sea Area and to the Iberian Peninsula,” in *Crusading on the Edge*, 153–76; Kurt Villads Jensen, *Crusading at the Edges of Europe: Denmark and Portugal c. 1000–c. 1250* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), chaps. 2 and 3.

Prinz's, *Klerus und Krieg*,¹⁴ the study of these issues has only sporadically gone beyond the Western European or, again, with a Crusading perspective.¹⁵ The situation has been changing only recently with studies devoted to the military competences of Polish, Scandinavian, and Livonian bishops.¹⁶ This volume is in line with this trend and enriches the field with many new observations.

On the one hand, this volume can be perceived as following the rich traditions of international medieval studies, especially in terms of the choice of issues. On the other hand, it has the potential to augment the older traditions through the specific source material that is only known in very local research circles. At the same time, however, the aim is more ambitious. This volume is the first publication devoted to the issue of Christianity and war, which combines research on both East Central Europe and Scandinavia. Until now, most works in the field have focused primarily on the problems of the regional crusades whereas they seldom went beyond the formula "around the Baltic Sea." This mostly neglected areas between Denmark and Livonia/Estonia, with the sole exception of the Teutonic Order's state in Prussia.¹⁷ This volume would like to

14 Friedrich Prinz, *Klerus und Krieg im früheren Mittelalter. Untersuchungen zur Rolle der Kirche beim Aufbau der Königsherrschaft*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 2 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1971).

15 On the military activity of medieval clergy, see especially the recent anthology to this topic: Radosław Kotecki, Jacek Maciejewski, and John S. Ott, ed., *Between Sword and Prayer: Warfare and Medieval Clergy in Cultural Perspective*, Explorations in Medieval Culture 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2018). Other major works are: Thomas Haas, *Geistliche als Kreuzfahrer. Der Klerus im Konflikt zwischen Orient und Okzident 1095–1221*, Heidelberg Transcultural Studies 3 (Heidelberg: Winter, 2012); Daniel M. G. Gerrard, *The Church at War: The Military Activities of Bishops, Abbots, and Other Clergy in England, c. 900–1200*, Church, Faith, and Culture in the Medieval West (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016); Craig M. Nakashian, *Warrior Churchmen of Medieval England, 1000–1250: Theory and Reality* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016).

16 See Sveinung K. Boye, "Kirkens stridsmenn—Geistlighet, vold og krigføring i den norske borgerkrigstiden," *Fortid*, no. 4 (2010): 12–17; Radosław Kotecki, "Lions and Lambs, Wolves and Pastors of the Flock: Portraying Military Activities of Bishops in Twelfth Century Poland," in *Between Sword and Prayer*, 303–40; Jacek Maciejewski, "A Bishop Defends His City or Master Vincentius's Troubles with the Military Activity of His Superior," in *Between Sword and Prayer*, 341–68; Carsten Selch Jensen, "Bishops and Abbots at War: Some Aspects of Clerical Involvement in Warfare in Twelfth- and Early Thirteenth-Century Livonia and Estonia," in *Between Sword and Prayer*, 404–34; Carsten Selch Jensen, "Clerics and War in Denmark and the Baltic: Ideals and Realities Around 1200," in *Fighting for the Faith: The Many Crusades*, ed. Carsten Selch Jensen, Janus Møller Jensen, and Kurt Villads Jensen, Scripta minor 27 (Stockholm: Runica et mediævalia, 2018), 187–217; Louisa Taylor, "Bishops, War, and Canon Law: The Military Activities of Prelates in High Medieval Norway," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 7, no. 2 (2019): 1–23; Radosław Kotecki and Jacek Maciejewski, "Ideals of Episcopal Power, Legal Norms and Military Activity of the Polish Episcopate between the Twelfth- and Fourteenth Centuries," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 127, Eng.-Language Edition no. 4 (2020): 5–46.

17 One can mention, among others, Alan V. Murray, ed., *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi, and Carsten Selch Jensen, ed., *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier: A Companion to*

extend this formula to other areas at the intersection of Latin and Eastern Christian influences. These areas were undergoing extensive transformation processes under the influence of the new religion between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. All engaged in this project are convinced that the impact of Christianity can and should be discussed at the broadest possible level. This makes it easier, we argue, to see certain phenomena and trends, to understand their meaning more precisely, and to outline the right context.

Although such premises influenced the volume, its authors and editors have at the same time remained aware of the danger of an oversimplified uniformity of the vision of the past. Some scholars rightly argue that even the terms “East Central” or “Younger Europe” are anachronistic and artificial in relation to the realities of the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. Recently, Nora Berend has reiterated that “[i]t is possible to forget that we are talking about the construct of historians and start believing in the historical reality of our categorizations in a deterministic way. That leads into the dead-end of historical regions as natural phenomena that in turn determine historical developments.” At the same time, however, she noted that comparative research is desirable and necessary both for a better view of the whole and for more focused problems. Indeed, that those who keep emphasizing that their area of study is unique, “separate themselves from the main line of scholarship and push their field into a tiny corner.”¹⁸ It is hard not to agree with this view, even if cultural realities did not develop in the same way everywhere in East Central Europe, and Scandinavia seemingly had its peculiarities. Some chapters in this volume show this character that can only be discussed in a local cultural context—to name the unique paintings showing scenes of warfare and violence in the Romanesque Danish Church buildings or attributing to the civil wars in Norway the character of holy wars. It confirms, however, the view articulated recently by Kurt Villads Jensen that peripheral areas not only accepted solutions coming from the centres of Christianity, but they also took part in their developments.¹⁹ This conclusion is certainly true, not only with regard to Jensen’s area of interest, that is, Scandinavia and

the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); Kurt Villads Jensen, ed., *Cultural Encounters During the Crusades*, University of Southern Denmark Studies in History and Social Sciences 445 (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013); Jason T. Roche and Janus Møller Jensen, ed., *The Second Crusade: Holy War on the Periphery of Latin Christendom*, Outremer 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015); Torben Kjersgaard Nielsen and Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, ed., *Crusading on the Edge: Ideas and Practice of Crusading in Iberia and the Baltic Region, 1100–1500*, Outremer 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016).

18 Nora Berend, “The Mirage of East Central Europe: Historical Regions in a Comparative Perspective,” in *Medieval East Central Europe in a Comparative Perspective: From Frontier Zones to Lands in Focus*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Katalin Szende (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 9–23. Also, Eduard Mühle, “Uwagi o ograniczonej przydatności pojęcia ‘Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia’ (‘Ostmitteleuropa’) w badaniach mediewistycznych,” *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 120, no. 4 (2013): 865–70.

19 Kurt Villads Jensen, “Martyrs, Total War, and Heavenly Horses: Scandinavia as Centre and Periphery in the Expansion of Medieval Christendom,” in *Medieval Christianity in the North*, 89–120, especially at 113.

the so-called Baltic Lands, but also to the whole area between the Elbe and the Black Sea Steppes, as well as between Karelia and Istria.

This volume, therefore, shifts from the prevailing crusade-centrism in favour of questions on the influence of Christianity and the Church on the culture of war. In addition, it highlights the introduction of various religious practices and the ideas behind them into the indigenous culture of war. Thus, it addresses an essential postulate of research on the acculturation of norms and customs in the process of expansion of what is called the Christian cultural circle. For many decades, this field has been dominated by the research trend on Christianization.²⁰ However, this phenomenon can be understood very broadly as the reception or adaptation of attitudes, models, and practices that stimulated the transformation processes of societies.

These transformations were not only in terms of worldview or cult, but also in forms of organization and structure, for example as a result of the reception of royal power or the creation of ecclesiastical administration.²¹ Despite constant changes in research on Christianization and civilization, the question of the relationship between religion and war was only occasionally considered in this context. There are only a few more frequent topics, such as the so-called missionary war. This cultural process undoubtedly had a wider impact, however, defining the place of war in the social, political, institutional, mental, and symbolic landscape of the area of our interest and its societies. Reflecting on this problem, one should remember that this was a period of the intensification of contacts between East Central Europe, Scandinavia, and the centres of the Christian world.

Christianity was characterized by a certain cultural code, which consisted of the idea of war and its role in God's plan of salvation. This code had its sources in the Word of the Bible, the thoughts of the Church fathers, or through cultivation of rituals from Late Antiquity. It also rested on consideration by churchmen of the ethical and legal side of war and arms-bearing. In addition, it was influenced by a broadly understood culture and the ordinary practice of war in its monarchic, knightly, or religious (church) staffage. The canon of these ideas was largely formed and fixated at the time of the Christianization of East Central Europe and Scandinavia. It is, therefore, possible to

20 A useful overview of research on Christianity in East Central Europe and Scandinavia offers a collection of studies: Nora Berend, ed., *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). See also Martin O. H. Carver, ed., *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300–1300* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), chapters from pt. IV; Christoph Stiegemann, Martin Kroker, and Wolfgang Walter, ed., *“Credo.” Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter*, 3 vols. (Petersberg: Imhof, 2013); and recent collections in Polish: Jerzy Strzelczyk, Marzena Matla, and Józef Dobosz, ed., *Chryścianizacja “Młodszej Europy”* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2016); Józef Dobosz, Jerzy Strzelczyk, and Marzena Matla-Kozłowska, ed., *Chrzest Mieszka I i chrystianizacja państwa Piastów* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2017).

21 For how one may understand this process, see especially discussion by Nora Berend, “Introduction,” in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy*, 1–46.

establish a common framework for reflection on the influence of Christian culture on the phenomenon of war in the whole area stretching from the Balkans to the North and from Saxony to Rus'.

At an early stage, this influence must have been reflected in the ritual and symbolic practices adopted by rulers inspired by the court clergy. As Mayke de Jong and Nora Berend noted, ritual and ceremonial activities were paramount issues in early medieval Christianity, with its focus on public life. "Christianization meant that one set of rituals was exchanged for another; and this was accompanied by the imposition of new religious specialists who were initially outsiders, immigrants."²² This opinion is confirmed by some of the studies included in this volume.

Considering this problem, it should be remembered that the conduct of war belonged to a ritualized public sphere, which had to be adapted to the requirements of the new faith from the moment of conversion. The rulers who made the decision to be baptized were probably aware of this. It is, therefore, not surprising that Boris I, king of Bulgaria (r. 852–889), asked Pope Nicholas I whether he would have to change his army's sign after baptism, which, until then, was a ponytail attached at the end of the spear.²³ According to the pope, the Lord's Cross, which was already used by Emperor Constantine the Great, should serve as such a sign of the Christian monarch and his army. This example highlights how pagan rulers tried to calculate the effects of their converting to Christianity in the area of military practice and customs associated with it.

It is widely presumed that Christianity was regarded as a powerful and attractive religion among the elites of tribal communities deciding to abandon their traditional cults. The elites believed the conversion could result in military victories. In fact, pagan religions and Christianity were similar in this context. This should not come as a surprise, because Christianity was shaped by the influence of Judaism and the Ancient Roman religion. Both traditions attached great importance to the ritual correctness that guaranteed success in war. Christianity could thus easily meet the expectations of tribal chiefs wanting from the new religion a better justification of strengthening their power. Christianity and the Church were important for shaping the image of the victorious monarch. It is no coincidence that the state churches and Church hierarchy in this region were expected to provide support in the hardships of warfare. Moreover, that this help was anticipated both in a military and a religious sense, expressed in the supervision of worship during military operations and the organization of a prayer "home front."

22 Mayke de Jong, "Religion," in *The Early Middle Ages: Europe 400–1000*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 131–64; Berend, "Introduction," 4. See also Zbigniew Dalewski, "The Public Dimension of Religion in the Piast Monarchy During the Christianisation Period," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 101 (2010): 37–49.

23 *Nicolai I. papae epistolae*, ed. Ernst Perels, MGH Epistolae Karolini aevi 6.2 (Berlin, Weidmann, 1925), 580–81 (no. 33); some scholars are right claiming that this was a part of Bulgarians' belief system, since primitive peoples attributed *mana* to the tail of certain animals. See Tamás Nótári, "Some Remarks on the 'Responsa Nicolai papae I. ad consulta Bulgarorum,'" *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae. Legal Studies* 4, no. 1 (2015): 47–63 at 58.

It can be assumed that these models began to develop very early. Such rulers as Boleslav II the Pious (r. 967/972–995), Bolesław I the Brave (r. 992–1025), Vladimir the Great (r. 980–1015), Iaroslav the Wise (r. 1019–1054) and his sons, or Saint Stephen of Hungary (r. 997–1038) attached the greatest importance to the development of the Church in their domains and to surround the religion with attentive care in a manner appropriate for zealous neophytes.²⁴ Under their auspices, the Christian cult was officially sanctioned and Christianity became a public religion accompanying all activities of the monarch, including military undertakings. Probably already at a very early stage, the love for Christian worship was also expressed in the private devotion of these rulers. For example, one can mention an account regarding the religious attitudes of Mieszko I (r. ca. 960–992), the first historical ruler of Poland. Having been wounded by a poisoned arrow during the battle with the pagan Wends, he is described as making a votive vow promising St. Ulrich of Augsburg that he would offer Him a “shoulder” made of silver, if he survived. Immediately after taking the vow, he recovers and on return from campaign orders the promised arm. When it has been made, the ruler becomes completely healed, praising God and the merits of the holy bishop. Since this information comes from *Vita S. Uoudalrici* by Gerhard of Augsburg, a source contemporary to Mieszko, and could not have happened later than 985, it is highly valuable. It indicates that the first Christian ruler of the *Polani*, who was baptized only around 966, had already adopted the concept of supernatural care during military struggle. Although such practices are known mainly from later sources, it seems that their message should not be doubted.²⁵ As Roman Michałowski noted recently, the conviction that Christian supernatural powers supported the first Piasts during the war could have even been one of the most critical factors that attracted the rulers to the new religion.²⁶

24 Andrzej Pleszczyński, “Gorliwość neofitów. Religijność osobista Przemyślidów i Piastów w X i na początku XI wieku,” in *Przemyślidzi i Piastowie—twórcy i gospodarze średniowiecznych monarchii*, ed. Józef Dobosz (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2006), 93–99; Marcin Rafał Pauk, “Washing Hands in a Sinner’s Blood: Ducal Power, Law and Religious Zeal in the Process of Central European Christianization—Preliminary Remarks,” in *Leben zwischen und mit den Kulturen. Studien zu Recht, Bildung und Herrschaft in Mitteleuropa*, ed. Renata Skowrońska-Kamińska and Helmut Flachenecker, Studienreihe der Polnischen Historischen Mission 2 (Würzburg: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2015), 23–34; Roman Michałowski, “Rygoryzm religijny w Czechach i Polsce w początkowym okresie chrystianizacji,” in *Animos labor nutrit.* *Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Andrzejowi Buko w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Tomasz Nowakiewicz, Maciej Trzeciecki, and Dariusz Błaszczyk (Warsaw: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2018), 65–72.

25 Compare, e.g., some Scandinavian evidence recalled in Arnved Nedkvitne, *Lay Belief in Norse Society 1000–1350* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, 2009), 124–28.

26 Roman Michałowski, “Christianisation of the Piast Monarchy in the 10th and 11th Centuries,” *Acta Poloniae Historica* 101 (2010): 5–35 at 8–11; also see Jerzy Strzelczyk, “Chrzest Polski—zmiana cywilizacyjna i polityczna,” in *Kościół, kultura, polityka w państwie pierwszych Piastów*, ed. Waldemar Graczyk et al. (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, 2016), 13–25 at 15 and 23.

It cannot be ruled out that the idea of its usefulness and military effectiveness might have been a factor facilitating the decision to be baptized among the tribal elites.²⁷ Medieval narratives include hints that baptism may have been related to the waged wars. Vladimir the Great is said to have made the decision to be baptized on campaign. He was baptized by Anastasios, a clergyman of Kherson, who was brought to Kiev by Vladimir. Anastasios took care of the Church of the Tithes built by the ruler, which went on to serve as a personal victory monument to Vladimir. This form of demonstration strengthening Vladimir's position as a leader who won the favour of the powerful God, could not take place without the inspiration of the clergy who was present in the prince's entourage.²⁸ The clergy not only influenced the decisions of the monarchs but also shaped their image in this spirit. An illustrative example of this can be found in the hagiography of Saint Stephen. According to the author of his legendary *vitae*, he is said to have had such a good contact with the heavens that he was able to defeat his enemies—like Constantine before him—through prayer. Indeed, God warned him in a dream about the pagan armies attacking his country.

Such texts prove that Christianity strengthened royal military power. The Piasts, Árpáds, and Přemyslids, with God's and their saints' help, were able to fight off even Imperial armies. According to Bruno of Querfurt, the realm of Bolesław I since the invasion of Emperor Henry II is said to have been protected by the Five Martyr Brothers. As evidence of this protection, a large luminous circle appeared over their graves.²⁹ Saint Stephen devoted his country to the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary who was believed to have supported his army during the invasion of Conrad II.³⁰ In addition, the Piasts and rulers of Norway and Denmark conquered neighbouring people with God's help. According to the anonymous author of *Historia Norwegie* (ca. 1150–ca. 1195), St. Olav of Norway “along with the majority of his soldiers had achieved the grace of baptism,” and “within five years he made all the tributary territories ... glowing in their affection for Christ. Hence God's triumphal car, increased by ten thousand souls, and Christ's chariot, filled with His freely-granted deliverance, were drawn by this

27 Compare, e.g., Przemysław Kulesza, “‘Maires nati et potestate’—the Role of the Elite and Rulers in the Christianization of Denmark and Poland in the Tenth Century: A Research Proposal,” in “*Potestas et communitas*.” *Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu Wesen und Darstellung von Herrschaftsverhältnissen im Mittelalter östlich der Elbe*, ed. Aleksander Paroń et al. (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2010), 189–209.

28 Jonathan Shepard, “Conversions and Regimes Compared: The Rus' and the Poles, ca. 1000,” in *East Central and Eastern Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Florin Curta (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 254–82 at 261 and 263.

29 *Life of the Five Brethren by Bruno of Querfurt*, ed. and trans. Marina Miladinov, in *Saints of the Christianization Age of Central Europe (Tenth-Eleventh Century)*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay, Cristian Gaşpar, and Marina Miladinov, Central European Medieval Texts 6 (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013), 283.

30 Hartvic, *Life of King Stephen of Hungary*, trans. Nora Berend, in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York: Routledge, 2001), 375–98 at 388–89.

wonder-working monarch as if by a powerful steed.”³¹ It is a rather late vision of the successes of the king-convert, but such sentiments were undoubtedly shared much earlier. Another good example is an inscription on the larger of the two famous Jelling Stones. Carved on the orders of Harald Bluetooth around 980, it proudly proclaims that he had “won for himself all of Denmark and Norway and made the Danes Christian.”³²

The same situation can be observed in Poland. The chronicler Gallus Anonymus, depicting in the early twelfth century the “golden age” of Polish domain under the reign of Bolesław the Brave, stated: “What need is there then to list by name his victories and triumphs over heathen nations, nations which, one may say, he trampled under his feet? For when *Selencia*, Pomorania, and Prussia persisted in their perfidy he crushed them, and when they converted, he strengthened them in their faith, indeed he established ... many churches and bishops there.”³³ This account, although written almost a century later and building an idealized reality, probably reflects the ideas shared at the court of this ruler, which was a haven for such priests and thinkers as Bruno of Querfurt, known for his *compellere intrare* idea.³⁴ No less significant are the words of Mathilda of Swabia in a letter to Bolesław’s son Mieszko II around 1025, in which she stated: “Instructed certainly by the paternal example, you have turned almost completely to heavenly things, who in that part of the world where you reign are like a fountain and source of holy Catholic and apostolic faith. For those whom the holy preachers were not able to correct by word, he compelled with the sword, bringing barbarous and ferocious nations to the lord’s supper.”³⁵ The reception of the Christian theology of war was part and parcel of the creation of the Christian monarchy in East Central Europe at an early stage. Actions taken by the rulers of Hungary, Rus’, and Poland to establish a special royal tithing for the most important churches in thanksgiving for the help given in the military struggle have been recently identified as another proof of this.³⁶ More abundant sources

31 *Historia Norwegie*, ed. Inger Ekrem and Lars Boje Mortensen, with the assistance of Peter Fisher (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, 2006), 95.

32 Recently, see Jensen, *Crusading at the Edges of Europe*, 59–63.

33 Gallus Anonymus, *Gesta principum Polonorum*, 1.6, ed., trans., and ann. Paul W. Knoll and Frank Schaer, *Central European Medieval Texts 3* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003), 33.

34 For this idea by Bruno, and Bruno’s relationship with Bolesław I and the creation of his image as Christian king on the mode of Charlemagne, see especially Wojciech Fałkowski, “The Letter of Bruno of Querfurt to King Henry II,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 43 (2010): 417–38; Miłosz Sosnowski, “Bolesław Chrobry i Karol Wielki—legitymizacja między kultem a imitacją,” *Historia Slavorum Occidentis* 2(11) (2016): 122–48.

35 See edition by Brygida Kürbis, “Die ‘Epistola Mathildis Suevae’ an Mieszko II. in neuer Sicht. Ein Forschungsbericht,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 23 (1989): 318–47. Translation after <https://epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/39.html>

36 Marcin Rafał Pauk, “‘Plenariae decimationes’ świętego Wojciecha. O ideowych funkcjach dziesięciny monarszej w Polsce i na Węgrzech w XI-XII wieku,” in *Gnieźnieńskie koronacje królewskie i ich środkowoeuropejskie konteksty*, ed. Józef Dobosz, Marzena Matla-Kozłowska, and

from later centuries can be treated as a testimony to the permanence and development of customs and practices that sprouted from the moment of baptism.

The extent to which the new cultural code merged with the old habits is not well determined. Kurt Villads Jensen has recently highlighted that an interweaving of these ideas was taking place in Scandinavia. Yet at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the difference between paradise and Valhalla was still unclear to some.³⁷ Eleventh- to thirteen-century Polish, Bohemian, and Russian sources describing the wars also include elements indicative of a pagan mentality.³⁸ Developed cults, as in the Germanic and Scandinavian cases, did not always precede the adoption of Christianity, especially in the area dominated by Slavs.³⁹ The offering of sacrifices to deities in gratitude for a victory is, however, confirmed by Thietmar among the Luticians. In 983, Vladimir I and his warriors are also said to have offered bloody sacrifices after the victory over the Jatvings, although in this case it was the Varangian practice rather than the Slavs'.

Generally, Christianity offered a more extensive and impressive ceremonial setting for military activity. There are, however, also extensive accounts on the military cult of the Wends, and many scholars seem to believe that they reflect the continuation of long-standing ritual traditions from pre-Christian times. Some, noting similarities between the developed cult of the Wends and information about the practices of war among Christian Bohemians and Poles, even suggest that the Christian ritual succeeded a no less developed pagan ritual. Thus, the holy patrons of the Přemyslids and Piasts, St. Václav and St. Vojtěch-Adalbert, only replaced war deities, such as those known from Polabia.⁴⁰ It corresponds to a widely accepted view that, as Karol Modzelewski put it, the baptism of societies led to secularization and separation of the sacred and secular spheres, which

Leszek Wetesko, *Colloquia Mediaevalia Gnesnensia 2* (Gniezno: Instytut Kultury Europejskiej, 2011), 187–212 at 208–11.

37 Jensen, "Martyrs, Total War, and Heavenly Horses," 110–13.

38 For more, see Paweł Żmudzki, "Opisy bitew ukazujące wojowników gotowych przyjąć swój los (przykłady słowiańskie XI–XIII w.)," in *"Sacrum." Obraz i funkcja w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym*, ed. Aneta Pieniądz-Skrzypczak and Jerzy Pysiak, *Aquila volans 1* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2005), 151–75 at 170–72.

39 For Germanic and Scandinavian beliefs connected with war, see Jacek Banaszkiewicz, "'Nadzy wojownicy'—o średniowiecznych pogłosach dawnego rytu wojskowego," in *Człowiek, sacrum, środowisko. Miejsca kultu we wczesnym średniowieczu*, ed. Sławomir Moździoch, *Spotkania Bytomskie 4* (Wrocław: Werk, 2000), 11–25; Władysław Duczko, "Tańczący wojownicy. Ikografia rytuałów kultowo-militarnych w skandynawskiej sztuce wczesnego średniowiecza," in *Imago narrat." Obraz jako komunikat w społeczeństwach europejskich*, ed. Stanisław Rosik and Przemysław Wiszewski, *Historia 161* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2002), 165–88; Neil S. Price, *The Viking Way: Religion and War in Late Iron Age Scandinavia* (Uppsala: Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University, 2007).

40 Stefan Kwiatkowski, "Koncepcje poprawności obrzędowej u Słowian zachodnich w epoce misyjnej," *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne. Historia 17*, no. 117 (1981): 27–49; Karol Modzelewski, "Laicyzacja przez chrzest," in *"Sacrum." Obraz i funkcja*, 99–114 at 104–5. Also see Marcin Rafał Pauk, "Święci patroni a średniowieczne wspólnoty polityczne w Europie Środkowej," in *"Sacrum." Obraz i funkcja*, 237–60 at 255–56, where analogy is indicated.

among pagans were allegedly inseparable and connected in all areas of human activity.⁴¹ However, these opinions seem to be too simplistic. They do not take sufficient account of the fact that the ideas about the impact of the Christian supernatural sphere on the earthly existence, including military successes, was formed under the influence of ideas known from traditional religions. It is, therefore, essential to emphasize the view of researchers who see the impact of Christianity on the developed Slavic cult. According to Christian Lübke, “as Christians had episcopal cathedrals and parish churches and monasteries, Luticians had an impressive temple in their *metropolis*, and Riedegost and other shrines, in each case had a special priesthood. The adoration of Christian holy patrons finds its parallel in the shaping and personal naming of gods whose protection applied to certain regions; related to this it must be pointed out, that—as Thietmar knew—the names of the gods had been fixed [to] their statues in Riedegost, which is a very unusual phenomenon [in] an illiterate society. Moreover, [the] Luticians did not only use sacred standards (*vexilla*) in their campaigns but carried with them an idol of a goddess which recalls the cult of Virgin Mary. Finally, the destruction of competing Christian symbols by the Luticians corresponds to the practice of Christian missionaries.”⁴² It seems that even pagan cults were not able to avoid the influence of Christianity in military matters and would eventually follow the external practices of all their neighbours, Saxons, Germans, Danes, and Poles. These changes seem to be one of the most striking testimonies of the power of Christianity’s influence on the culture of war in this region. The influence was probably not limited only to the sphere of beliefs and ritual winning of the supernatural favour. It also translated into the institutionalization of worship and even the emergence of a quasi-church organisation to support the people in their armed efforts. This resembles a “state church” whose significant role was to provide ideological, ritual, and organizational support for the monarchy and community in the face of military need.⁴³ Even priests with temple armies resemble prelates with retinues of vassals, often coined as knights belonging to the patron saint of the cathedral church, known as, for example, *milites Mauriciani* in Magdeburg or *milites sancti Martini* in Mainz.

41 Modzelewski, “Laicyzacja przez chrzest.” Adam Krawiec has recently highlighted that the “secularization” of political institutions and the image of the world was a process that took place gradually for centuries. See Adam Krawiec, “Konsekwencje chrystianizacji dla społeczności i społeczeństw ‘Młodszej Europy,’” in *Chryścianizacja “Młodszej Europy,”* 273–92 at 274.

42 Christian Lübke, “The Polabian Alternative: Paganism Between Christian Kingdoms,” in *Europe Around the Year 1000*, ed. Przemysław Urbańczyk (Warsaw: DiG, 2001), 379–89 at 384–85. Compare opinions by Dariusz Andrzej Sikorski, *Religie dawnych Słowian* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2018), chap. 4.a; Stanisław Rosik, *The Slavic Religion in the Light of 11th- and 12th-Century German Chronicles (Thietmar of Merseburg, Adam of Bremen, Helmold of Bosau)* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), chap. III.8.

43 The notion about the scope of this support can give *Canones Nidrosienses* (ca. 1163/1164 or 1170s/1180s). See especially discussion by Odd Sandaaker, “‘Canones Nidrosienses’ i intermeso eller optakt?,” *Historisk Tidsskrift* (Norway) 67 (1988): 2–37 at 14–25; also Taylor, “Bishops, War, and Canon Law.”

If Christianity was able to influence to such an extent the war culture of peoples forming their identities on their own religious beliefs, then its influence must have been all the stronger amongst those communities whose elites adopted the new faith. The dynamics of this process must, in most cases, have been different and not free from twists and turns (for example pagan revolts). However, there are sources indicating that, within a few generations, Christianity started playing an important role in the military sphere and that it was even prevalent among the common population. For example, as Wojtek Jezierski has recently shown, in the twelfth century, the emotions accompanying sieges were already expressed in Christian religious practices along the southern coast of the Baltic Sea.⁴⁴ Since then, we see clear and permanent domination of Christian elements in the culture of war in the entire area of East Central and Scandinavia.

The chapters collected in this volume strengthen the conviction that the influence of Christianity on the theory and practice of war in the period between the eleventh and thirteenth century in East Central Europe and Scandinavia was not merely superficial but had a fundamental significance and expressed itself in a specific culturally advanced form. This applies not only to the sphere of worship and religious imagination but also to the influence of organizational forms that were at the service of the Church and its officials.

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This volume contains fourteen chapters. They have been divided into two parts, the first of which—*The Church and War*—deals mainly with relationships between the Church, clergy, and the military, whereas the second—*Religion in War and Its Cultural Expressions*—discusses ideas of war shaped under the influence of religious factors. Obviously, such a division is partly arbitrary, because the Church created the sphere of religion, and many sources clearly indicate that the military involvement of clergy was usually at the same time inscribed in the context of religious practices.

The main issue in the first part of the book is the problem of military activity of bishops. Four authors discuss this question: Judit Gál, Gábor Barabás, Sini Kangas, and Jacek Maciejewski. Judit Gál in her chapter deals with relationships the archbishops of Split (Spalato) had with warfare during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and demonstrates how they changed under the impact of Hungarian rule over Dalmatia after the conquest by King Coloman the Learned. Gál concludes that the role of archbishops of Split changed significantly under Árpáds' rule, when prelates became more powerful and started to play a role as the local agents of the kings. This influenced the archbishops' role in warfare, as they were involved in the affairs of the court and local struggles with the enemies of the monarchy. It can be seen from the sources, that the royal court expected an archbishop to follow Hungarian practise and take part in military actions. This does not mean, however, that the type of warrior prelate was adopted among Split archbishops. This conclusion is supported in the chapter by Gábor Barabás who analysed

⁴⁴ Wojtek Jezierski, "Feelings During Sieges: Fear, Trust, and Emotional Bonding on the Missionary and Crusader Baltic Rim, 12th–13th Centuries," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 52, no. 1 (2018): 253–81.

the military activity of thirteenth century Hungarian bishops, showing an unequivocally different reality to that in Split. In Hungary, bishops were ready to use the force of arms regardless of their location in the structure of power—for the benefit of the king, in their own interests, and in the interest of their churches and their families. Tracing the causes of this phenomenon in Hungarian sources unfortunately is quite difficult, particularly due to the lack of information on the military activity of earlier generations of bishops, but the situation in the thirteenth century sources resembles very clearly the conditions in the Holy Roman Empire and England, and some prelates, such as Archbishop Ugrin Csák of Kalocsa, the hero of the battles against the Mongols in 1241, can be compared to the most famous warrior bishops, like Odo of Bayeux, or Rainald von Dassel.

The other two texts deal with the problem of military involvement of bishops. Following their sources, the authors focus to a greater extent on its ideological aspects. The chapter by Sini Kangas considers bishops involved in crusading, such as the mysterious Bishop Henry, the first Finnish saint, as well as bishops active in Livonia and Estonia. Analyzing the bishops' portraits in the context of presentation of the Levantine expeditions' participants, the author is convinced that the latter include more concrete data on the secular involvement of bishops in military matters (service to the ruler, leading troops into the battle), while the sources about the Baltic bishops and Bishop Henry emphasise in the first place their spiritual tasks, such as preparing soldiers for the battle, administering the sacraments, etc. There are no references to clerics doing penance for breaking the ban of arms-bearing, or any direct information about personal fighting; however, there remain nevertheless a few cases in which the precise scope of clerical activities in battle remains obscure.

Jacek Maciejewski tackles a similar problem in his chapter, once again addressing the issue of military activity of the Polish bishops, the nature of which, due to the state of the source base, is difficult to define precisely. This time the author looks at the little-known tradition of Płock bishops, whose traces are preserved only in the works of Jan Długosz (d. 1480), the most eminent Polish chronicler of the Late Middle Ages. Particularly noteworthy is the account about the bishop of Płock from the beginning of the thirteenth century, taken from an older source, yet unknown today. This source points out that Polish bishops not only supported the army through religious practices but also, if necessary, were able to take up arms and carry out military actions. According to Maciejewski, such an approach, as provided by this source, indicates that the bishops' military activity in Mazovia did not interfere with cultural norms observed in the Baltic area or Western Europe, and the clergy were probably even expected to act appropriately in the face of a pagan invasion.

The first part is complemented by the chapters by Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig Jakobsen and Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen. The first deals with the involvement of the Dominican Friars along the Baltic coastline (the provinces of Dacia, Estonia, and Teutonia) in the proclamation of wars against pagans (especially Prussians), heretics (rebellious Stedinger-peasants), and the Mongols following their invasion. This study offers a significant extension of the existing findings by Christoph T. Maier in his *Preaching the Crusades*, which took into account only Western Europe and the Levantine

Crusades. Jakobsen's essay shows the importance of the Dominican activities around the southern shores of the Baltic. The mendicant friars used their mission not only as a tool of the papal policy, but as Jakobson suggests, they were also deeply integrated into promoting wars on behalf of secular powers, like the Scandinavian kings and the Teutonic Order. Only after the end of the thirteenth century did Dominican involvement with the Crusades in the Baltic Sea region fall to a barely noticeable level, which was perhaps the result of critical contemporary voices against mendicant preaching, as well as their deteriorating relations with Teutonic Knights and the rehabilitation of the Hospitallers of St. John as the main monastic agent in the field.

The chapter by Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen, on the other hand, discusses the problem of paintings showing scenes of violence and warfare, which are preserved in numerous rural Danish churches built in the late Romanesque style in the decades around 1200. Although this subject has puzzled scholars for decades, the nature and meaning of motifs depicted on church walls is still a question not easily answered as most of the images are more or less fragments of now lost larger decorations. Thanks to a close reading of a particular suite of paintings, Jürgensen comes to the conclusion that they are an expression of the programme of the Danish Church. This had two main objectives, firstly to encourage the laity—knights and nobles—to follow an outward active devotional practices, and on the other hand, the Church attempted to control this outward-reaching piety and make sure that it was given form under their wing. It cannot be ruled out that the purpose of these paintings was more far-reaching and assumed a change of knightly ideals of fighting for Christ and crusading into a spiritual ideal also relevant to the rural population. These paintings should, therefore, be seen as an expression of the programme of the Church as an organization responsible for supporting the quality and strength of the military power of the Danish state organization.

The second part, *Religion in War and Its Cultural Expressions*, opens with three chapters devoted mainly to religious rituals on the battlefields and war practices inspired by religious content. The authors are also interested in the manner in which these issues were presented in narrative sources by their authors and the purposes they were to serve. The first chapter is written by Dušan Zupka who for the first time analyzed the information about war rituals contained in the Hungarian sources referring to the period of the Árpád dynasty (until 1301). The author focuses primarily on the research inspired by the works of Michael McCormick on the Byzantine and Carolingian liturgies of war, noting that similar rituals, practised in the East and West, were also applied in Hungary in the eleventh century, and perhaps even in the times of Saint Stephen. Despite the somewhat limited number of sources available to a historian interested in the early history of Hungary, Zupka identifies evidence confirming the vast and varied range of devotional practices, such as public prayers of the ruler during expedition, fasting, almsgiving, ordering prayers throughout the kingdom, special ceremonies of thanksgiving to celebrate victory, solemn penitential processions, priestly blessing designed to obtain God's support during the fight, bringing relics to the field of battles, etc.

The chapter by Radosław Kotecki focuses on a specific ritual, or rather a sequence of rites, which can be described as *profectio bellica* or the ritual of departure for holy war. Based on two different narrative accounts, *Chronica Polonorum* by Master Vincentius and *Povest' vremennykh let*, about the expeditions of Piast and Rurikid rulers against pagan Pomeranians and Polovtsi, he shows that authors of these narratives had to be deeply familiar with the same ritual and shared common set of ideas. Extensive comparative research carried out by the author suggests that this ritual could have been used in the twelfth century in Poland and Kievan Rus' in accordance with old Imperial traditions of holy war, which in the West and Byzantium had already been transformed under the influence of crusading rites. This is demonstrated in these narratives above all by the inclusion of angelic guides—modelled on the luminous angel of victory known from Late Antique, Visigothic, Carolingian, or Ottonian texts.

In turn, Carsten Selch Jensen concentrates on how various interrelationships of war and religion, as well as religious and war practices, were presented in a highly detailed narrative about the Danish people—the renowned early thirteenth century *Gesta Danorum* by Saxo Grammaticus. Taking into account narratives concerning King Valdemar I and his clerical associate, the powerful archbishop of Lund, Absalon, Jensen concludes that Saxo was a man who knew how to write about war and warfare, dealing both with the practicalities of the common soldiers and the commanders, as well as with the theological framework legitimizing these wars—whether they were fought against inner political enemies or pagans raiding the Danish coastal regions. Jensen also stresses that for Saxo the relationship that the king, bishop, and ordinary warriors had with God during the wars was particularly important. Correct relationships, best sanctioned by an appropriate ritual (especially the *viaticum*), piety, religious zeal, and devotion to the Church made the characters of this work invincible heroes.

The following two chapters are also dedicated to the presentation of war in narrative sources, although they focus more on how the war was imagined by the authors of the historical works. The joint chapter by David Kalhous and Ludmila Luňáková scrutinizes this imagination of war through selected medieval chronicles and histories written between the 950s and 1120s in East Central and Eastern Europe: *Chronica Boemorum* by Cosmas of Prague, *Gesta principum Polonorum* by so-called Gallus Anonymus, the *Povest' vremennykh let*, and also the Saxon history written by Widukind of Corvey. Kalhous and Luňáková observe that, although it is widely accepted that war and military elites were followed with suspicion by the Church, its individual clerics and chroniclers were far more tolerant of these phenomena. From afore-mentioned authors, who were all monks or members of the clergy, only Cosmas of Prague did not spend too much ink on the glorification of military success. All of his fellow chroniclers at least tried to legitimize the wars led by their polities-nations. That means that the chroniclers sought legitimacy in describing a war. In addition, they accepted it as a regular and legitimate part of life—a life of Christian and truly Christianized communities. The authors note that this approach is consistent with historiographies written in the post-Carolingian period when different ethnic groups came into being and defined their position within the Christian communities as political communities.

Bjørn Bandlien, on the other hand, places an emphasis on showing the diversity of the historical authors' opinions. Looking at the descriptions of the civil wars taking place in Norway in the twelfth century, he notes that the influence of the content inspired by the developing ideology of the holy war, subordination to a just king, and the Church's striving to give an opinion about the "just cause" of military action, brought pretty diverse results in the form of "polyphonic discourses" of war. According to Bandlien, as there were several discourses of war perceptible in narrative sources, there were also negotiations, dialogues, and conflicts between them in reality. This made it possible for pretenders to shape various narratives in their claim, and more difficult for the Church to control the communication of its concepts.

The authors of the last two chapters follow different paths, exploring the role of religion in shaping the images of war in the north-eastern areas of the region in question. In his essay, Kristjan Kaljusaar explores what exactly contemporaries regarded as a true martyr's death in battle, and how authors of the day made use of such popular perceptions of martyrdom to attract crusaders and create a saints' cults for newly converted Livonia. Taking as a basis for considerations a chronicle by Henry of Livonia and the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, he observes that no official martyrs needed to be made on the battlefields of the Livonian Crusades. However, in many contemporary minds, the eastern Baltic lands nevertheless contained an essence that gave divine meaning to the deaths of Christian warriors who perished fighting the pagans there. In case bellicose pilgrims died in battle, they were thought to have been cleansed of all sins and remembered as martyrs of an unofficial sort.

The volume closes with a chapter by Anti Selart who examines the differences and similarities in the images of the religion and war relationship between representatives of Western and Orthodox Christianity. Particular emphasis is placed on the context of baptism and military actions as a medium of Christianization. He notes that the question of who actually performed the baptism played a very important role in the discussions, since baptism served both as a tool of political and secular subjugation. According to Selart, the religious and the secular, the Church and worldly power were very closely intertwined in wars conducted close to the area of the confessional border, and boundaries between the various camps were not always clear or well-defined. Hence, missionizing and baptizing could also put the clergy, both Catholic and Orthodox, in the role of subduer or oppressor. Despite these similarities, however, there were also differences. Selart's research shows that Orthodox Christianity represented to a greater extent an ideology and worldview through which those participating in the wars and conquests perceived their role in the world, as well as the nature and meaning of wars. This did not allow the Crusades in the Baltic countries to develop into a confessional conflict between the Catholic and Orthodox religions in this region.

As mentioned above, the texts collected in this volume offer original and fresh insights into issues that have so far been, for the most parts, known within local historiographies, or they are completely new even within local contexts. The advantage of the volume is also its frequent use of a comparative perspective, which embeds the results of the research in a pan-European context. Thus, hopefully, it will be of

interest not only to readers from East Central Europe and Scandinavia but to anyone who focuses on the questions of relationships between religion and war in the Middle Ages. The book as a whole—even though it is not a coherent anthology—brings many noteworthy observations beyond the local research community. Today it can be seen very clearly that the Eastern and Northern parts of the European continent participated creatively in shaping the cultural image of war, both through religious concepts, taking over the ideology of the Church and its organizational models. The editors of this volume hope that this publication will contribute to the internationalization of research on Christian culture and war culture in this area of Europe and will raise awareness of the need to see a broader set of problems in the discourse than has been the case for researchers interested primarily in the history of wars in the political dimension and the problems of crusades.

