

# Religious Rites of War beyond the Medieval West

## Volume 1

# Explorations in Medieval Culture

*General Editor*

Larissa Tracy (*Longwood University*)

*Editorial Board*

Tina Boyer (*Wake Forest University*)

Emma Campbell (*University of Warwick*)

Kelly DeVries (*Loyola Maryland*)

David F. Johnson (*Florida State University*)

Asa Simon Mittman (*CSU, Chico*)

Thea Tomaini (*USC, Los Angeles*)

Wendy Turner (*Augusta University*)

David Wacks (*University of Oregon*)

Renée Ward (*University of Lincoln*)

VOLUME 24/1

The titles published in this series are listed at [brill.com/emc](http://brill.com/emc)

# Religious Rites of War beyond the Medieval West

*Volume 1*  
*Northern Europe and the Baltic*

*Edited by*

Radosław Kotecki  
Jacek Maciejewski  
Gregory Leighton



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: St. Olav altar frontal. Section one / first scene. King Olav of Norway makes a generous money offering to the clergyman while marching to war against the pagans. Trondheim, Nidaros Cathedral(?), ca. 1300. Now in Archbishop's Palace Museum in Trondheim. With kind permission of © Daniela Pawel, The Restoration Workshop of Nidaros Cathedral.

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Kotecki, Radosław, editor. | Maciejewski, Jacek, editor. | Leighton, Gregory, editor.

Title: Religious rites of war beyond the medieval West / edited by Radosław Kotecki, Jacek Maciejewski, Gregory Leighton.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, [2023] | Series: Explorations in medieval culture, 2352-0299 ; volume 24 | Includes bibliographical references and index. |

Contents: Volume 1. Northern Europe and the Baltic—Volume 2. Central and Eastern Europe.

Identifiers: LCCN 2023036478 (print) | LCCN 2023036479 (ebook) |

ISBN 9789004683426 (set ; hardback) | ISBN 9789004683402 (v. 1 ; hardback) |

ISBN 9789004683419 (v. 2 ; hardback) | ISBN 9789004686366 (v. 1 ; ebook) |

ISBN 9789004686373 (v. 2 ; ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Military history, Medieval. | War—Religious aspects—Christianity. |

Christianity and politics—Europe—History—To 1500. | Church and state--Europe—

History—To 1500. | Church history—Middle Ages, 600–1500. | Europe—History, Military.

Classification: LCC D128 .R45 2023 (print) | LCC D128 (ebook) |

DDC 355.009/02—dc23/ENG/20230831

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023036478>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023036479>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: [brill.com/brill-typeface](http://brill.com/brill-typeface).

ISSN 2352-0299

ISBN 978-90-04-68342-6 (set)

ISBN 978-90-04-68340-2 (hardback, vol. 1)

ISBN 978-90-04-68636-6 (e-book, vol. 1)

ISBN 978-90-04-68341-9 (hardback, vol. 2)

ISBN 978-90-04-68637-3 (e-book, vol. 2)

DOI 10.1163/9789004686366

Copyright 2023 by Koninklijke Brill nv, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill nv incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher. Requests for re-use and/or translations must be addressed to Koninklijke Brill nv via [brill.com](http://brill.com) or [copyright.com](http://copyright.com).

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

# Contents

List of Figures and Maps VII

List of Abbreviations IX

Notes on Contributors XII

## *Introduction*

- 1 Religious Rites of War beyond the Medieval West: An Introduction 3  
*Gregory Leighton*
- 2 Fighting on a Prayer: Liturgical and Physical Engagement of Sacralized Warfighting in High Medieval Latin Christendom, ca. 1000–1250 30  
*Kyle C. Lincoln*

## *Northern Europe and the Baltic*

- 3 Battle Psalms and War Liturgy in the Medieval Gaelic World and Its Neighbors before 1200 71  
*Jesse Patrick Harrington*
- 4 Religious Rites and Integrated Warfare in Civil War Era Norway (1130–1240) 117  
*Max Naderer*
- 5 Religiosity and Religious Rituals in the Battle of Bannockburn, 1314 153  
*Robert Bubczyk*
- 6 Invocations by Knights for Supernatural Aid in the Sources of the Baltic Crusades, Medieval Poland and the *Chansons* of the Crusades 189  
*Sini Kangas*
- 7 Rituals of War as Religious Markers during the Early Crusades in Livonia and Estonia in the Light of Henry's *Chronicon Livoniae* 231  
*Carsten Selch Jensen*

- 8 “Devotis oracionibus plusquam gladiis”: Rituals and Sacralization of  
Warfare in the Teutonic Order’s Prussian Lands 260  
*Gregory Leighton*

Index 297

# Figures and Maps

## Figures

- 2.1 The Abbey of Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas in Burgos, Spain. A mural depicting the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) by Pedro Ruiz de Camargo, ca. 1600. Christian army is led by the Canon Domingo Pascual with an archiepiscopal cross, Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada of Toledo advises the King Alfonso VIII of Castile from the second line of the battle. Two Christian banners are prominently displayed, a banner with the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary, patroness of Toledo and all of Spain, and one depicting Christ on the Cross 38
- 2.2a–b The Abbey of Santa María de Huerta, Spain. Murals above the tomb of Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada of Toledo by Bartolomé Matarana (ca. 1580) depicting scenes from the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212). a) field mass celebrated by Archbishop Rodrigo for the Christian army before the battle; b) the battle scene: Domingo Pascual with an archiepiscopal cross in the first line is followed by Archbishop Rodrigo and King Alfonso VIII of Castile. Toledan banner with the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary is visible in the background 39
- 3.1 The portable reliquary shrine of *An Cathach* (“The Battler”), an early medieval psalter and one of many relics traditionally associated with the sixth-century abbot and “warrior saint” Columba. This psalter is by far the most celebrated of the relic-standards known to have been used in war in the Gaelic world. National Museum of Ireland 90
- 3.2 The Monymusk Reliquary, an eighth-century reliquary made of wood covered in bronze and silver plates with enameled bronze mounts, possibly similar to other reliquaries carried on campaigns in the medieval Gaelic world. This reliquary was formerly identified with the *Brecheennach*, though there is little to substantiate the conjecture. National Museum of Scotland 92
- 3.3 The Cross of Cong, an Irish ornamented processional cross crafted ca. 1123 for Tairdelbach Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht (r. 1106–1156), to contain a relic of the True Cross. Front view. National Museum of Ireland 95
- 3.4 The Cross of Cong close up. Back view. A piece of the wood inside is believed to be a relic of the True Cross. National Museum of Ireland 96
- 6.1 Blessed Czesław defending Wrocław from Mongols in 1241. Copperplate print from Dominicus Frydrychowicz’s *S. Hyacinthvs Odrovassivs ...* (Cracow: Typis Universitatis, 1688), 194 211

- 8.1a–b Reliquary of Tilo of Lorch, probably taken as booty by the Polish king Władysław Jagiełło after the Battle of Grunwald/Tannenberg (1410) and given to Gniezno Cathedral 273

## Maps

- o.1 Map of Northern Europe and the Baltic depicting major locations appearing in the volume XVI



# Abbreviations

*Titles of series and journals without further explanation*

APH	<i>Acta Poloniae Historica.</i>
BF	Beihefte der Francia.
CB	Crossing boundaries: Turku medieval and early modern studies.
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis, 301 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1966–).
CEMT	Central European medieval texts.
ChH	<i>Church History.</i>
CHR	<i>Catholic Historical Review.</i>
Commentaria	Commentaria: Sacred texts and their commentaries. Jewish, Christian and Islamic
CSML	Cambridge studies in medieval life and thought.
CTT	Crusade texts in translation.
DHIW	Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau. Quellen und Studien.
Dusburg, <i>Chron. Pr.</i>	<i>“Chronicon terre Prussie” von Peter von Dusburg</i> , ed. Max Töppen, SrP 1 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1861), 3–219.
ECEE	East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450.
EMC	Explorations in medieval culture.
FKG	Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte.
FQKK	Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands.
FS	<i>Frühmittelalterliche Studien.</i>
Gallus, <i>Gesta</i>	Gallus Anonymus, <i>Gesta principum Polonorum</i> , ed., trans., and ann. Paul W. Knoll and Frank Schaer, CEMT 3 (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2003).
Henry, <i>Chron. Liv.</i>	Henry of Livonia, <i>Chronicon Livoniae</i> , ed. Leonid Arbusow and Albert Bauer, MGH SS rer. Germ. 31 (Hannover: Hahn, 1955).
HSJ	<i>Haskins Society Journal.</i>
HT	<i>Historisk Tidsskrift</i> (Norway).
IR	<i>Innes Review.</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History.</i>

Jeroschin, <i>Di Kronike</i>	Nicolaus von Jeroschin, <i>Di Kronike von Pruzinlant des Nicolaus v. Jeroschin</i> , ed. Ernst Strehlke, SrP 1 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1861), 303–624.
JMH	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i> .
JMIS	<i>Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies</i> .
JMMH	<i>Journal of Medieval Military History</i> .
JRSAI	<i>Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland</i> .
KG	Krieg in der Geschichte.
KH	<i>Kwartalnik Historyczny</i> .
MCS	Medieval Church studies.
MEMI	The medieval and early modern Iberian world.
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
MGH SS	MGH Scriptores (in folio), 39 vols. (Hannover and Leipzig: Hahn and Hiersemann, 1826–2009).
MGH SS rer. Germ.	MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi, 81 vols. (Berlin, Hannover, Leipzig, and Wiesbaden: Hahn, Weidmann, and Harrassowitz, 1846–).
MMED	The medieval Mediterranean: peoples, economies and cultures, 400–1500.
MPH NS	Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Nova series, 16 vols. (Cracow and Warsaw: Polska Akademia Umiejętności and Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1946–).
MTCN	Medieval texts and cultures of Northern Europe.
OFCC	The Old French crusade cycle.
OFVK	Otto-von-Freising-Vorlesungen der Katholischen Universität Eichstätt.
OM	Ordines Militares.
Outremer	Outremer: Studies in the Crusades and the Latin East.
PH	<i>Przegląd Historyczny</i> .
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: Vrayet and Apud Editorem J.-P. Migne, 1841–1864).
QMAN	<i>Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae</i> .
QSBG	Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte.
QSGD	Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens.
RHC HO	Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux, 5 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1844–1895).
RHE	<i>Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique</i> .
RSC	<i>Rivista di storia del cristianesimo</i> .
RSS	<i>Religion, State and Society</i> .

SBS	Sacra bella septentrionalia.
SCelH	Studies in Celtic history.
<i>SCH</i>	<i>Studies in Church History.</i>
Sermo	Sermo: Studies on patristic, medieval, and Reformation sermons and preaching.
SHKK	Schriften des Historischen Kollegs. Kolloquien.
SMEM	Studies in medieval and early modern culture.
SrP	Scriptores rerum Prussicarum, ed. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, and Ernst Strehlke, 5 vols. (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1861–1874).
<i>Statuten</i>	<i>Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften</i> , ed. Max Perlbach (Halle: Niemeyer, 1890).
<i>TKH OL PAN</i>	<i>Teka Komisji Historycznej. Oddział Lubelski PAN.</i>
TMS	Transcultural medieval studies.
TNW	The Northern world.
VF	Vorträge und Forschungen.
VKSM	Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kirchenhistorischen Seminar München.
Wigand, <i>Cron. Prut.</i>	Wigand von Marburg, <i>Nowa kronika Pruska</i> , ed. Sławomir Zonenberg and Krzysztof Kwiatkowski (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 2017).
<i>ZfO</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung.</i>
<i>ZH</i>	<i>Zapiski Historyczne.</i>

## Notes on Contributors

Robert Bubczyk | ORCID: 0000-0002-6592-5464

is Associate Professor of Medieval History in the Institute for Cultural Studies at Maria Curie-Skłodowska University (Lublin/Poland). He specializes in the cultural history of medieval elites. He is the author of three academic books, including the monograph, *Gry na szachownicy w kulturze dworskiej i rycerskiej średniowiecznej Anglii na tle europejskim* [Board games in the courtly and chivalric culture of medieval England in the European context] (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej w Lublinie, 2009), where he investigates the role chess and other board games played in social and cultural life in medieval England and other European countries. Robert Bubczyk is also the author of over eighty other works, including chapters in monographs, articles and reviews, published in Polish and in English. In his works, Robert Bubczyk mainly focuses on various social and cultural aspects of leisure and entertainment of the representatives of medieval political and social elites, comprising the aristocracy and clergy. Robert Bubczyk is also interested in the lives of medieval secular clerics, their careers at aristocratic courts, views, travels and ethnographic observations which they included in their works. He has published several articles on different topics (e.g. criticism of worldly pleasures, curiosity of the medieval clerk, the other and otherness) discussed in the oeuvres by Henry of Huntingdon, Walter Map, and Gerald of Wales—twelfth-century clergymen, intellectuals and authors who served the Plantagenet dynasty in England. Among his recent articles are the following: “Ludus inhonestus et illicitus?: Chess, Games, and the Church in Medieval Europe,” in *Games and Gaming in Medieval Literature*, ed. Serina Patterson (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 23–43; “Values and Virtues: Church Life and Courtly Culture,” in *Writing History in Medieval Poland: Bishop Vincentius of Cracow and the “Chronica Polonorum,”* ed. Dariusz von Güttner-Sporzyński, *Cursor mundi* 28 (Brepols, 2017), 221–42; “Sports and Games,” in *A Cultural History of Leisure in the Medieval Age*, ed. Paul Milliman (Bloomsbury, forthcoming, 2023). Robert Bubczyk’s current project entails stereotypical perceptions of the Welsh by English authors in the eleventh–thirteenth centuries.

Jesse Patrick Harrington | ORCID: 0000-0002-2766-5550

is Government of Ireland Postdoctoral Research Fellow (2021–2023), with the Irish National Institute for Historical Research and the School of History, University College Cork. He was previously based at the University of Cambridge, where he trained at the Faculty of History and the Department of Anglo-Saxon,

Norse, and Celtic, and where he earned his doctorate in History. He is a specialist in the literary and religious cultures of medieval Britain, France, Ireland, and the Mediterranean, with an emphasis on the hagiographical, historical, and homiletic writing of the tenth to thirteenth centuries, and a key interest in the classical and homiletic frameworks of medieval battle orations. His current project concerns the life, career, and afterlife of St. Lorcán Ua Tuathail, archbishop, legate, and peacemaker of the 1169 English invasion of Ireland. His recent research in medieval religious culture, history, and literature has been awarded the Griffiths Roman Prize (2018), the Irish Conference of Medievalists' Four Courts Press Donnchadh Ó Corráin Prize (2019), the Haskins Society's Dennis Bethell Prize (2020), the Scottish Society for Northern Studies' Magnus Magnusson Prize (2021), and Northern History's Gordon Forster Prize (2022).

*Carsten Selch Jensen* | ORCID: 0000-0002-1778-3078

is Professor in Church History and 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 many 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 (Sällskapet 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 (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); "Religion and War in Saxo Grammaticus's 'Gesta Danorum': The Examples of Bishop Absalon and King Valdemar I," in *Christianity and War in Medieval East Central Europe and Scandinavia*, ed. Radosław Kotecki, Carsten Selch Jensen and Stephen Bennett (ARC Humanities, 2021), 189–206. Professor Jensen also has a forthcoming book *Through Words, not Weapons: Theology and History Writing in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia (ca.1227)* (Brepols).

*Sini Kangas* | ORCID: 0000-0001-8630-8038

is Researcher at the Faculty of Social Sciences, Tampere University, Finland. Her work focuses on medieval ideological warfare and violence, the crusades, in addition to the history of childhood. Her recent publications include: "The Image of Warrior Bishops in the Northern Tradition of the Crusades," in *Christianity and War in Medieval East-Central Europe and Scandinavia: The*

*Church at War, Religion in War, and Perceptions of War*, ed. Radosław Kotecki, Carsten Selch Jensen, and Stephen Bennett (ARC Humanities, 2021), 57–73; “Scripture, Hierarchy, and Social Control: [The] Uses of the Bible in the Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Chronicles and Chansons of the Crusades,” in *Transcultural Approaches to the Bible: Exegesis and Historical Writing in the Medieval Worlds*, ed. Matthias M. Tischler and Patrick S. Marschner, TMS 1 (Brepols, 2021), 109–44; “Slaughter of the Innocents and Depiction of Children in the Twelfth-Century Sources of the Crusades,” in *The Uses of the Bible in Crusading Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton, Commentaria 7 (Brill, 2017), 74–101; and the monograph *Authorities in the Middle Ages: Influence, Legitimacy, and Power in Medieval Society* (De Gruyter, 2013), edited in collaboration with Mia Korpiola and Tuija Ainonen.

Gregory Leighton | ORCID: 0000-0002-4203-2313

was awarded his PhD in History from Cardiff University in April of 2019 and now he is NAWA-Ulam Postdoctoral Fellow in the Institute of History at Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Poland. His research interests are the Teutonic Order in the Baltic region, specifically Prussia. The relationship between crusading and landscape form his primary topics of specialty, in addition to concepts of the Teutonic Order’s self-image, and its reception by the Order’s supporters from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. In 2022, Dr. Leighton published his first monograph, *Ideology and Holy Landscape in the Baltic Crusades* (ARC Humanities), which is based on the research for his PhD thesis. Besides, he has published in leading journals on the history of the Teutonic Order and crusading in Prussia. These include: “Did the Teutonic Order Create a Sacred Landscape in Thirteenth-Century Prussia?” *JMH* 44 (2018): 457–483; a collaborative article with Prof. Florin Curta (University of Florida), “Teutonic Hierotopy: St Christopher at Lochstedt,” *Ephemeris Napociensis* 29 (2019): 127–164; “Reysa in laudem Dei et virginis Marie contra paganos: The Experience of Crusading in Prussia during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,” *ZfO* 69 (2020): 1–25; “The Relics of St Barbara at Althaus Kulm: History, Patronages, and Insight into the Teutonic Order and the Christian Population in Prussia (Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries),” *ZH* 85 (2020): 5–50; “Military Order Castles in the Holy Land and Prussia: A Case for Cultural History,” in *The Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Crusades: Essays in Homage to Alan J. Forey*, ed. Helen J. Nicholson and Jochen Burgdorf (Routledge, 2020), 167–82. He is currently on the editorial board of *Ordines Militares* (based at Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Poland), and is a contributor to the project headed by the Malbork Castle Museum, The Beautiful Style in Prussia: Stone Sculpture from 1380–1400. Visual culture, the roles of women in medieval Prussia, and pilgrimage are also topics of interest.

Kyle C. Lincoln | ORCID: 0000-0002-7473-6622

is Assistant Professor of Pre-Modern European History and Interdisciplinary Humanities at Southeastern Oklahoma State University. He co-edited *King Alfonso VIII: Government, Family, and War* (Fordham University Press, 2019), and has a forthcoming monograph, *A Constellation of Authority: Castilian Bishops and the Secular Church during the Reign of Alfonso VIII of Castile, c.1150–1225*, with Pennsylvania State University Press. His 2021 textbook co-authored with John Giebried, *Remaking the Medieval World: The Fourth Crusade, 1204*, won several prizes and he is also currently revising two medieval studies textbook projects for the Reacting to the Past Consortium, on the Investiture Contest and the Conquest of Granada in 1492. His articles have appeared in the *Journal of Medieval History*, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung*, the *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, *eHumanista*, *Crusades*, the *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law*, and the *Revista Chilena de Estudios Medievales*, as well as in several edited volumes. His most recent works include: “About Three Clerics and Towards a ‘History from the Middle’ for Medieval Castile: Miguel de San Nicolás of Toledo, Gíl of Cuenca, and Lanfranco di Palacio of Palencia,” *Journal of Religious History* 46.1 (2022): 220–42; “Because of Incest Which One of the Two of Them Committed’: A Letter About Two Third Crusade Participants from the Archivo Catedralicio de Toledo,” *Crusades* 20 (2021): 121–29; “In exercitu loco eius pontificalia exercet’: Warrior Clerics in the Era of Fernando III,” in *The Sword and the Cross: Castile-León in the Era of Fernando III*, ed. Edward L. Holt and Teresa Witcombe MEMI 77 (Leiden and Boston MA: Brill, 2020), 85–104; “Riots, Reluctance, and Reformers: The Church in the Kingdom of Castile and the IV Lateran Council,” *JMIS* 103.1 (2020): 1–18.

Max Naderer | ORCID: 0000-0002-5824-1494

was awarded his PhD in History from the University in Oslo in October 2020. His research interests include the perception and legitimacy of violence, political culture as well as notions of masculinity and honor among elite men in high medieval Norway and Denmark. He is currently preparing a monograph based on his doctoral thesis, *Exploring the Perception and Legitimacy of Violence in the ‘Civil War’ Period in Norway and Denmark, c.1130–1240*, which is planned to be published with Brill (The Northern world series). His recent publication dealt with kingship ideology, emotions of power, and the use of violence, “Den fryktede kongen i Norges ‘borgerkrigstid’ [The feared king in Norway’s “civil war era”], *Collegium Medievale* 32.2 (2019): 235–52. In a future postdoctoral project, he will be looking at connections between the perception and assignment of humanity and practices of violence in a comparative approach.

**Northern Europe and the Baltic**

This map illustrates the geographical context of the study area, covering Northern Europe and the Baltic region. Key locations and features include:

- Geographical Features:** Norwegian Sea, North Sea, Baltic Sea, Atlantic Ocean, and the Elbe river.
- Countries and Regions:** Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Saxony, and Ireland.
- Islands and Archipelagos:** Shetland Islands, Orkney Islands, Hebrides, Faroe Islands, Gotland, and the British Isles (including Ireland, Scotland, and Wales).
- Key Locations:**
  - Norway:** Sogn, Fimreite, Bergen, Oslo, Nidaros, Kavsinnel.
  - Sweden:** Fyrbjörk, Komungahella, Lång.
  - Denmark:** Lolland.
  - Finland:** Pskov, Riga, Dänabund, Kokenhusen, Ukkul, Durben.
  - Estonia:** Lyndanise.
  - Latvia:** Mijhu, Saaremaa.
  - Lithuania:** Kaunas, Ragnit, Königsberg, Marienburg.
  - Poland:** Tczew, Kolobrzeg, Pomerania, Culm, Naklo, Plock, Wroclaw, Sandomierz, Lysiec.
  - Saxony:** Wroclaw.
  - Scotland:** Forghlen, Arbroath, Bannockburn / Stirling, Largs, Roslin.
  - Wales:** Northumbria, Durham, Northallerton, York.
  - Ireland:** Cúil Dregimé, Connacht, Clonmacnoise, Birr, Leinster, Munster.

MAP 0.1