

Religious Rites of War beyond the Medieval West

Volume 2

Explorations in Medieval Culture

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Religious Rites of War beyond the Medieval West

Volume 2
Central and Eastern Europe

Edited by

Radosław Kotecki
Jacek Maciejewski
Gregory Leighton



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Abbreviations

Titles of series and journals without further explanation

<i>Ann. Ott.</i>	<i>Annales Ottakariani</i> , ed. Josef Emler, 303–35. FrB 2 (Prague: Museum království Českého, 1874).
<i>APH</i>	<i>Acta Poloniae Historica</i> .
<i>AUWH</i>	Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Historia.
<i>BCEH</i>	Brill's companions to European history.
<i>BF</i>	Beihefte der Francia.
<i>BLDR</i>	Biblioteka literatury Drevnei Rusi.
<i>Bonfini,</i> <i>Rer. Ung.</i>	Bonfinis, Antonius de. <i>Rerum Ungaricarum decades</i> , ed. József Fögel et al., 4 vols., Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum. Saeculum xv (Leipzig: Teubner, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1936–1976).
<i>CCCM</i>	Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis, 301 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1966–).
<i>CEMT</i>	Central European medieval texts.
<i>CGV</i>	<i>Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana (Chronica Romanoviciana)</i> , ed. Dariusz Dąbrowski and Adrian Jusupović, MPH NS 16 (Cracow and Warsaw: Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2017).
<i>ChH</i>	<i>Church History</i> .
<i>CHR</i>	<i>Catholic Historical Review</i> .
<i>Chronica</i> <i>de gestis</i>	<i>Chronica de gestis Hungarorum e codice picto saec. XIV</i> , ed. and trans. János M. Bak and László Veszprémy, CEMT 9 (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2018).
<i>Cosmas,</i> <i>Chron.</i> <i>Boh.</i>	<i>Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Bohemorum</i> , ed. János M. Bak and Pavlína Rychterová, trans. Petra Mutlová and Martyn C. Rady, intro. and ann. Jan Hasil and Irene van Renswoude, CEMT 10 (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2020).
<i>CTT</i>	Crusade texts in translation.
<i>Długosz,</i> <i>Annales</i>	<i>Ioannis Dlugossii Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae</i> , bks. 1–12, ed. Consilium (Cracow: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1964–2005), accessible via National Digital Library Polona, dlugosz.polona.pl/en .
<i>ECEE</i>	East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450.
<i>EMC</i>	Explorations in medieval culture.
<i>FKG</i>	Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte.

FrB	Fontes rerum Bohemicarum, ed. Josef Emler et al., 8 vols. (Prague: various publishers, 1873–1932).
FS	<i>Frühmittelalterliche Studien.</i>
Gallus, <i>Cronicae</i>	<i>Galli Anonymi Cronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum</i> , ed. Karol Maleczyński, MPH NS 2 (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1952).
HHFD	Historiae Hungaricae fontes domestici. Scriptores.
HSJ	<i>Haskins Society Journal.</i>
IR	<i>Innes Review.</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History.</i>
JMH	<i>Journal of Medieval History.</i>
JMIS	<i>Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies.</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–).
MGH SS rer. Germ. NS	MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum. Nova Series, 24 vols. (Hannover, Leipzig, and Berlin: Weidmann and Hahn, 1922–).
MGH SS rer. Merov.	MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum, 7 vols. in 8 pts. (Hannover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1885–1920).
MMAH	Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia.
MMED	The medieval Mediterranean: peoples, economies and cultures, 400–1500.
MPH	Monumenta Poloniae Historica, 6. vols. (Lviv and Cracow: various publishers, 1864–1893).
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.
OFVK	Otto-von-Freising-Vorlesungen der Katholischen Universität Eichstätt.
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, 1841–1864).
PRSL	Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei, 46 vols. (St. Petersburg and Moscow, 1841–2004).
QMAN	<i>Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae.</i>
RH	<i>Roczniki Historyczne.</i>
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.
SCH	<i>Studies in Church History.</i>
SS SN	Studia staropolskie. Series nova.
Sermo	Sermo: Studies on patristic, medieval, and Reformation sermons and preaching.
SHKK	Schriften des Historischen Kollegs. Kolloquien.
SrH	Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum, ed. Imre Szentpétery, 2 vols. (Budapest: Academia Litteraria Hungarica, 1937–1938).
SrP	Scriptores rerum Prussicarum, ed. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, and Ernst Strehlke, 5 vols. (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1861–1874).
Tagliacozzo, Vict. mir.	<i>Victoriae mirabilis divinitus de Turcis habitae, duce vener. beato Patre Fratre Ioanne de Capistrano, series descripta per Fratrem Ioannem de Tagliacotio, illius socium et comitem, atque beato Iacobo de Marchia directa</i> , ed. Leonhard Lemmens, <i>Acta Ordinis fratrum minorum</i> 25 (1906): 28–31, 62–68, 108–9, 188–90, 228–29, 290–92, 322–25, 352–57, 399–404.
Thurocz, Chron. Hung.	Johannes de Thurocz, <i>Chronica Hungarorum. I. Textus</i> , ed. Erzsébet Galántai and Gyula Kristó (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985).
TKH OL PAN	<i>Teka Komisji Historycznej. Oddział Lubelski PAN.</i>
TNW	The Northern world.
VF	Vorträge und Forschungen.
VKSM	Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kirchenhistorischen Seminar München.
ZfO	<i>Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung.</i>
ZH	<i>Zapiski Historyczne.</i>

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2013); *“Ecclesia et Violentia”: Violence against the Church and Violence within the Church in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge Scholars, 2014); *Between Sword and Prayer: Warfare and Medieval Clergy in Cultural Perspective*, EMC 3 (Brill, 2018) as well as numerous articles and book chapters, recently in English: “Writing Episcopal Courage in Twelfth-Century Poland: Gallus Anonymous and Master Vincentius,” in *Episcopal Power and Personality in Medieval Europe 900–1480*, ed. Peter Coss et al., MCS 42 (Brepols, 2020), 35–61 (with Radosław Kotecki); “Premeditation and Determination on the Way to the Polish Episcopacy in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,” in *Bishops’ Identities, Careers, and Networks in Medieval Europe*, ed. Sarah E. Thomas, MCS 44 (Brepols, 2020), 93–102; “Memory of Warrior Bishops of Płock in the Writings of Jan Długosz,” in *Christianity and War in Medieval East Central Europe and Scandinavia*, ed. Radosław Kotecki, Carsten Selch Jensen and Stephen Bennett (ARC Humanities, 2021), 75–95. Since 2023 he is co-editor of the Trivent’s series “Religion and War in the Middle Ages.”

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Editors' Note to Volume Two

Volume two is a direct continuation of volume one of the *Religious Rites of War Beyond the Medieval West* collection. It addresses Central and Eastern Europe and is comprised of seven chapters. It begins with Yulia Mikhailova's contribution, which takes us to the east, namely toward Kievan Rus. Mikhailova addresses the important question of how the clergy were represented in the sources, providing a comparative analysis of the ways in which religious rituals were described in Rus chronicles. Her work brings forward an important issue: religious rites do not appear in ecclesiastical sources for Rus, and she argues that this reflects how the responsibility for gaining divine approval fell upon the prince or the military leader. The next chapter, written by Dariusz Dąbrowski, analyzes the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* (also known as the *Chronicle of Romanovichi*), one of the most important historical monuments of Rus from the thirteenth century. Dąbrowski connects manifestations of divine support that appear in the chronicle's depictions of war to the idea that war was a product of providence, which ultimately reflects (in part) the reality of the author and the participants in the wars described in the chronicle. As such, he presents us with an important opportunity to compare the representations of religious rites in times of war in this text with contemporary chronicles produced further to the West.

Moving from Rus, Radosław Kotecki analyzes military religion in twelfth and thirteenth-century Bohemia, particularly through the lens of St. Wenceslas. Kotecki analyzes the ways in which the people of Bohemia used rituals in times of war to get the aid of specific, regional patron saints, as opposed to more general ones. He does this not only by considering rituals, but the physical objects that accompanied them. Robert Antonín's chapter continues this focus on Bohemia, taking a broad approach to the present of *pre-*, *intra-*, and *post*-battle rituals from the thirteenth century and into the sixteenth. Antonín's contribution convincingly highlights that although considerable research has been carried out on these phenomena with respect to the early history of Bohemia, there remains considerable work to be done with respect to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Continuing this trend of underexplored topics, László Veszprémy outlines the historical evidence for religious rites in times of war in medieval Hungary, spanning nearly five centuries of evidence from the eleventh century to the Battle of Mohács (29 August 1526). As opposed to treating these phenomena in isolation, he draws together the instances of religious processions, battle cries, prayers, foundations, and blessing of banners, highlighting how they

shaped the medieval history of Hungary from the early days and until the end and providing an eclectic yet unified panorama of the ways in which warfare and religious rites went seemingly hand in hand. The volume's focus on Hungary ends with Dušan Zupka's chapter, which offers us a consideration of religious rituals in the context of the Kingdom of Hungary's borderlands. Building on the findings of Vesprémy, Zupka's paper explores religious rites in war as a response to threats coming across the eastern borders of medieval *Christianitas*. Treating the incursions of the Magyars, Cumans, Mongols, and Turks as case studies, he highlights the continuities and changes in terms of how contemporaries used religious rituals in times of war, a suiting analogy to the example quoted in the introduction to this volume.

The final paper is that of Jacek Maciejewski. Analyzing the Battle of Grunwald (15 July 1410) and the preparations for battle undertaken by Władysław Jagiełło, his chapter concludes this second volume. As opposed to the image of the Polish king, Maciejewski brings to light how ritual actions performed by the king and his army have a variety of different meanings and readings. Given that this battle took place between Christian powers (the Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania against the Teutonic Order), Maciejewski's paper uses this to explain the highly ideological contexts of rituals as they are described in the chronicle evidence, demonstrating that rites performed *before* battle were just as powerful and symbolic as those performed *in* battle.

Radosław Kotecki offers an alternative to a "traditional" conclusion in his closing chapter of this publication. This entails a scholarly overview of the historiography and methodology that historians have previously employed with respect to religious rituals, holy war, and warfare in the Middle Ages. Kotecki weaves together a complex narrative that addresses the meanings of religious rites and their specific relationship to warfare in the Middle Ages. More specifically, he provides an overview of the findings of this book and contextualizes them within a broader framework of interdisciplinary medieval studies, highlighting how religious rites performed in times of war were multidimensional, culturally significant, and straddled both worldly and secular spheres of society. Kotecki's chapter can be seen as a call to scholars to incorporate the regions under investigation in this book into further, comparative research, with the hope that such work will only assist in forming future collaborations of scholars. Pointing out the necessity for research that encompasses not just narrative or literary sources, but also liturgical, legal, and visual materials, Kotecki concludes by demonstrating the seemingly universal nature of religious rites in times of war in the Middle Ages. This makes them an extremely useful lens through which to view contemporary expectations and desires regarding violence and religion.

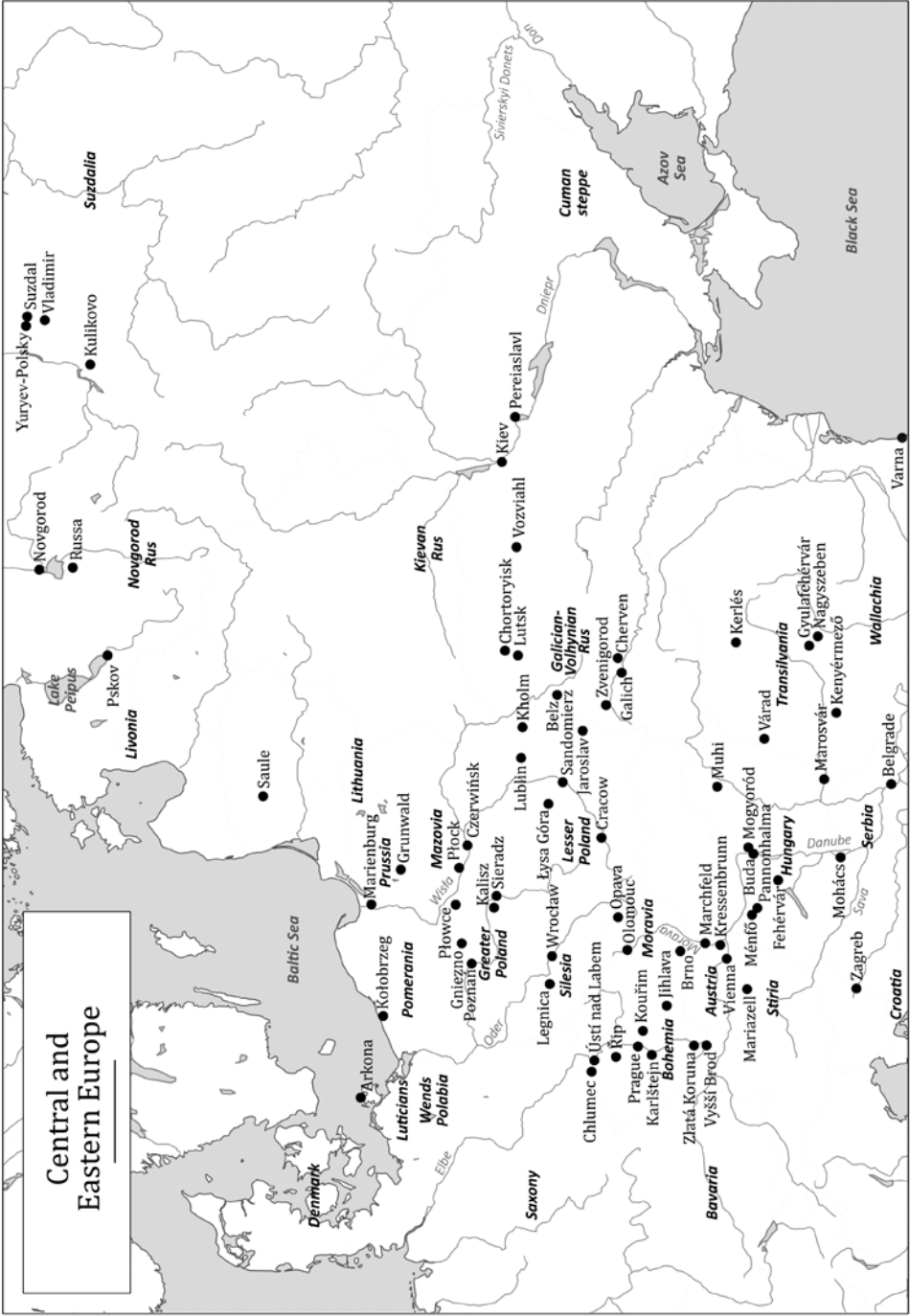


FIGURE 0.1 Map of Central and Eastern Europe depicting major locations appearing in the volume