

Die bei den untersuchten Beispielen aufgezeigte Vielfalt ließe sich beim Blick in die böhmisch-mährische Zirkarie problemlos fortsetzen. Aber auch hier bleiben die Quellenprobleme nicht aus, wenn etwa nach dem symbiotischen Zusammenleben gefragt wird. Als Besonderheit, im Vergleich zur Ilfelder Zirkarie, lassen sich in den Chorfrauenstiften in Böhmen-Mähren Grablegen von Königen bzw. Bischöfen nachweisen. Die Wahl von Propst bzw. Meisterin scheint bei den Ilfelder Beispielen freier gewesen zu sein; Konvente waren hier wohl selbständiger.

Die Anhänge bieten ein Personenverzeichnis der Amtsträgerinnen und Amtsträger der Gemeinschaften (etwa Meisterinnen bzw. Äbtissinnen, Priorinnen, Pröpste sowie weitere Ämter und Funktionen) sowie eine Übersicht der Siegel der untersuchten Stifte mitsamt ausgewählten Abbildungen. Beide Informationen sind von erheblichem Wert für weitere Forschungen.

Die Arbeit bereichert die Prämonstratenserforschung erheblich; sie zeigt die vielfältigen Quellenprobleme ebenso auf wie die Einbindung in die jeweiligen Regionen, die den Chorfrauen Chancen des Überlebens boten. Dies zeigt sich auch in den aufscheinenden vielfältigen Beziehungen zu Klöstern anderer Orden. Salopp könnte man sagen: Prémontré war weit weg, die sozialen Netzwerke in der Region aber ganz nahe.

Würzburg

Helmut Flachenecker

Carsten Selch Jensen: Holy War in the Baltic and the Battle of Lyndanise 1219. (War and Conflict in Premodern Societies.) Arc Humanities Press. Leeds 2024. VII, 145 S., Ill., Kt. ISBN 978-1-641-89285-8. (\$ 124,–.)

Scholarly interest in the Baltic Crusades has been growing in recent decades as a result of numerous studies exploring the Livonian campaigns. The book under review contributes to this field by examining the origins of Danish expansion into Estonia, focusing on the Battle of Lyndanise in 1219. Although Danish political leadership had begun asserting influence in the eastern and southern Baltic regions by the mid-twelfth century—notably with the conquest of Rügen Island—the Battle of Lyndanise in 1219 marked the culmination of Denmark’s mounting ambitions in northern Estonia. Soon thereafter, the fortress of Reval (Tallinn) was established as a base for further conquest, similar to Ikšķile and later Riga along the Daugava River, as well as Toruń and Königsberg in Prussia. The battle also plays a key role in Denmark’s national legend of the *Dannebrog*, the Danish flag. According to tradition, a white cross on a red background appeared in the sky during the battle in an echo of the visions of Constantine the Great and Clovis. Inspired by this sign, King Valdemar II defeated the Estonians and adopted the symbol as his banner. In the early nineteenth century, the painter Christian August Lorentzen, for example, depicted this event as a moment of divine intervention that secured Denmark’s Christian triumph.

This book sets out to examine not only how the Danish crusades became part of the broader crusading movement within catholic Europe, but also how these campaigns shaped the mindsets of those who participated in them. Correspondingly, Carsten Selch Jensen does not limit himself to an analysis of the Battle of Lyndanise alone (which is addressed in Chapter 6). Rather, he offers a broad perspective on how Danish military expeditions to the eastern and southern Baltic regions evolved into full-fledged crusades. After discussing the peoples inhabiting the eastern Baltic coast—Estonians, Livs, Latgalians, Curonians, and others—in Chapter 1, the author devotes Chapter 2 to exploring the ideological foundations of crusading in the Baltic. Aligning broadly with Carl Erdmann’s and Christopher Tyerman’s definitions of the crusade as a “penitential war” and a form of “missionary warfare” that fused evangelization with military expansion,¹ this chapter

1 CARL ERDMANN: *The Origins of the Idea of Crusading*, New Jersey 1977, pp. 11–12, 105–107; CHRISTOPHER TYERMAN: *Fighting for Christendom: Holy War and the Crusades*, Oxford 2004, pp. 47, 74, 112–113.

delves into the reasons behind the merger of peaceful conversion and armed conflict. These ideological underpinnings would later significantly influence the Danes' own understanding of their crusades. That said, the influence of St. Bernard of Clairvaux on this fusion should not be overestimated. In an apocalyptic vein, his famous "Letter no. 457" (1146) suggests that the devil opposes the conversion of pagans and therefore incites them against Christians.² His letter reflects a widespread medieval belief that the end of the world would only come once all pagan nations had been baptized, which was something that the devil, naturally, sought to prevent. However, St. Bernard's efforts to convert the Cathar heretics suggest that he actually distinguished between pagans, heretics, and apostates. Therefore, the author's claim that St. Bernard saw only two options—baptism or death for pagans (or perhaps apostates?)—within the framework of the "penitential war" as a form of "missionary warfare" seems overly reductive.

As part of a modern scholarly endeavor to interpret how crusaders understood the ideological framework of these campaigns, Jensen suggests that the link between St. Augustine's concept of "just war" and the conquests carried out during the Carolingian and Ottonian periods fed into St. Bernard of Clairvaux's ideological dichotomy of baptism or death, which in turn influenced Christian Danes during the Baltic crusades. Recent research by Joshua M. Cragle, in a similar vein, has challenged earlier historiographical views that Charlemagne's wars against the Saxons represented an early example of "holy war." Instead, Cragle argues that these campaigns reflected a fusion of imperial secular and spiritual authority, which legitimized the conquest and forced the integration of the Saxons into Charlemagne's empire.³ Jensen argues that it is precisely this model of conquest and coercion that Danish crusaders may have applied to the pagan—and possibly apostate—Estonians.

Be that as it may, the Danish political leadership of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries actively employed crusade ideology to justify their efforts to conquer foreign lands and legitimize their rule. The genesis of the crusade movement reveals that, both during the Carolingian and Ottonian periods and later in the Baltic Crusades, coercion was used as a tool of mission, even when it lacked clear theological justification. The author refers to this as a "symbiotic convergence" in which mission, war, and conquest merge into a single mode of action. However, while such ideological patterns may appear consistent across time, Jensen articulates, the underlying religious rationale, doctrinal intent, or spiritual justification may differ significantly across contexts. Moreover, he notes, one should not forget that St. Bernard of Clairvaux was also interpreting St. Augustine, just like promoters of the Baltic Crusades, including Pope Honorius III, Pope Gregory IX, and later Pope Honorius IV. In other words, today's scholar has to grapple with the fact that medieval interpreters often held diverse and sometimes conflicting views on the nature of crusade warfare, including the Archbishops of Lund, who were key advocates of the Danish Crusades.

Chapters 3 and 4 examine the raids carried out by Estonians and Curonians, as well as the Danish response to these incursions. Jensen broadly analyzes the emergence of competing powers in Livonia (Germans, Danes, and Russians) and their respective efforts to establish their own narratives of conquest and legitimacy in the region. Chapter 5 focuses on the military potential of the pagan Estonians (alongside the Livs and other groups) as well as their weaponry and attempts to adopt the armaments and tactical knowledge of the incoming Christian forces. This chapter also demonstrates how military reforms in Denmark enabled Danish crusaders to assert technological superiority over the pagan Estonians and how Estonia's geographical particularities shaped strategic choices in crusader warfare. As previously mentioned, Chapter 6 focuses on the preparations for the 1219 mili-

2 JEAN LECLERCQ, HENRI ROCHAIS (eds.): *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vol. 8, Romae 1977, no. 457.

3 JOSHUA M. CRAGLE: *Converting the Saxons: A Study of Violence and Religion in Early Medieval Germany*, London 2024, p. 225.

tary campaign and the Battle of Lyndanise itself. Jensen highlights the ideological perspective of the crusade's leader, King Valdemar II of Denmark, who dedicated the crusade to the Virgin Mary and framed it as an act of penance for his sins. Jensen's analysis shows that Bishop Albert of Riga did not remain idle during the Danish preparations; rather, in February 1219, German forces from Riga launched a major offensive against the Estonians in Rāvala, the very region where Lyndanise is located. While the Germans in Livonia sought to coordinate their actions with the Danes, Jensen illustrates, competition over control of pagan territories nonetheless often led to rivalries.

In Chapter 7, Jensen argues that the Battle of Lyndanise was not the culmination of the Danish conquests, but rather a continuation of expansion efforts that lasted until the end of the thirteenth century. Ultimately, internal tensions within the Danish kingdom played a significant role in the eventual decision by the Danes to sell northern Estonia to the Teutonic Order in 1346. After this sale, Danish crusading activity on the eastern Baltic coast effectively came to an end.

Jensen's book makes a significant contribution to understanding not only the genesis of the crusade movement in the Baltic region but also how the conquest of pagan lands unfolded on a micro (or local) level. At the same time, it will likely revive long-standing debates about the origins of crusades in the Baltic.

Klaipėda

Marius Ščavinskas

Viele Welten des Ostseeraumes. Politischer, wirtschaftlicher und kultureller Austausch vom Hochmittelalter bis zum Beginn der Neuzeit. Hrsg. von Paul Srodecki und Ludwig Steindorff. (Tagungen zur Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung, Bd. 43.) Verlag Herder-Institut. Marburg 2024. 496 S., Ill. ISBN 978-3-87969-487-7. (€ 75,-)

Meere sind Barrieren, zugleich aber auch Brücken. Sie bilden Kommunikationsräume mit spezifischen Bedingungen des Austauschs. Für die Ostsee als Binnenmeer Nordeuropas trifft dies in besonderem Maße zu. Im Mittelalter war sie zugleich eine entscheidende Kontaktzone, in der Lateineuropa, Skandinavien, das griechisch geprägte orthodoxe Christentum und die slawische Kultur aufeinandertrafen. Die graduelle Integration erheblicher Teile dieses Raumes in die lateinisch-christliche Kultur ist lange Zeit als „deutsche Ostexpansion“ beschrieben worden, in jüngerer Zeit eher als „Europäisierung“. Während ersteres Konzept der Empirie schlechterdings nicht gerecht wird, leidet zweiteres eher an seinen versteckten Konnotationen. Denn für welchen der hier beteiligten Einflüsse soll man die Bezeichnung „Europa“ reklamieren, ohne damit ethnozentrische Vorstellungen kultureller Überlegenheit zu reproduzieren? Insofern ist es hilfreich, neutral zu untersuchen, wie in diesem Raum in der Vormoderne Zuschreibungen von Zugehörigkeit, von Identität und Alterität, als maßgeblicher Bestandteil von Kommunikation funktionierten.

Möglich ist dies nur in konkreten Fallstudien zu ganz verschiedenen politischen, kulturellen und sozialen Dimensionen. Der vorliegende Sammelband enthält nach einer weit ausholenden Einleitung 21 solcher exemplarischen Zugänge, verfasst von Historikerinnen und Historikern aus beinahe allen Anrainerstaaten des Baltikums. Der Blick auf die Details bedingt nun freilich auch, dass selten die ganze Bandbreite des jeweiligen Problemkreises in den Blick gerät. Wenn etwa Oliver Auge die Ostsee als „dynastischen Handlungsraum“ und „Heiratslandschaft“ in den Blick nimmt, muss er sich pragmatisch auf die Zeit vor und nach 1400 beschränken. Folglich kann er nicht die schon im Hochmittelalter die Herrschaftseliten prägenden Konubien von der Kiewer Rus bis nach Dänemark, von dort in den westslawischen Raum und nach Sachsen in den Blick nehmen. Sébastien Rossignol nimmt die Bedeutung von adeligen Frauen als Vermittlerinnen am Beispiel dreier Fürstinnen von Rügen in den Blick, die maßgeblich zur Verbreitung der höfischen Kultur im südlichen Ostseeraum beitrugen. Andrzej Marzec zeichnet die wechselnden Konjunkturen der Wahrnehmung Pommerellens als Zankapfel zwischen Polen und dem Deutschen Orden im 14. Jh. nach. Anti Selart untersucht diplomatische Missionen zwischen