

Hagiography, crusading, and papal administration were inextricably intertwined in the Middle Ages: papal administration was elemental in making new saints and evaluating miracles as well as in financing and promoting crusades; saints were used in crusading propaganda and to back up the authority of popes; occasionally crusaders became saints and their efforts were instrumental in reinforcing church authority. However, in current scholarship these three themes are rarely dealt with together.

Church and Belief in the Middle Ages: Popes, Saints, and Crusaders fills this gap by combining these approaches and analyzing particularly large spectrum of medieval source material: normative, narrative, and administrative. By enabling comparison between different fields that are typically studied separately, this volume offers a 'big picture' without being a generalization; ten in-depth articles and a thorough introduction draw links between different perspectives and themes creating a profound image the of working of the church and the practices of Christianity in the Middle Ages.

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Salonen & Katajala-Peltomaa (eds)

Church and Belief in the Middle Ages

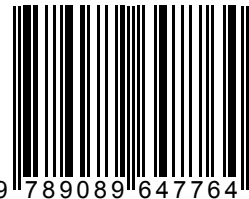
Edited by Kirsi Salonen and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa

Church and Belief in the Middle Ages

Popes, Saints, and Crusaders

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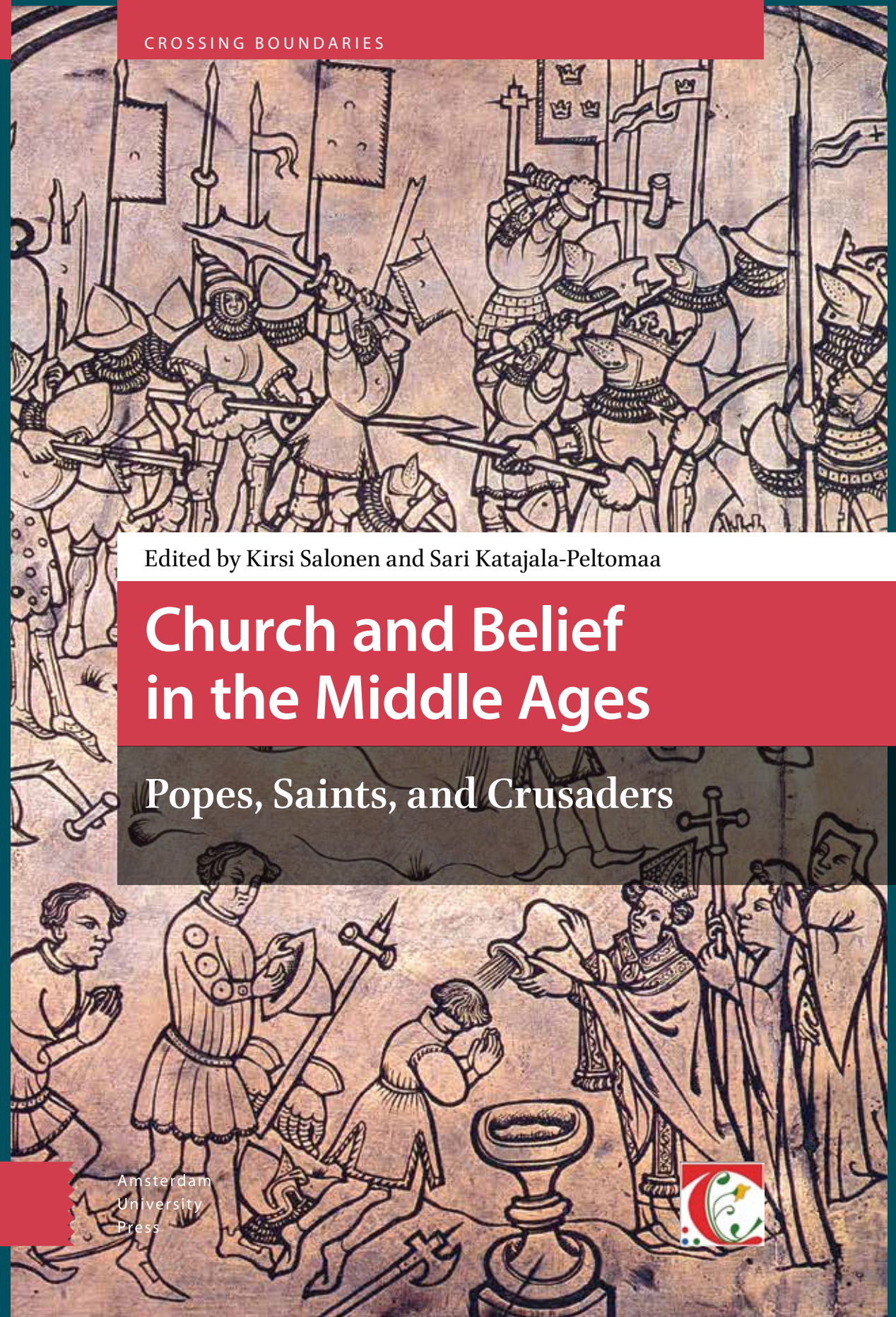
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Church and Belief in the Middle Ages

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The series from the Turku Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies (TUCEMEMS) publishes monographs and collective volumes placed at the intersection of disciplinary boundaries, introducing fresh connections between established fields of study. The series especially welcomes research combining or juxtaposing different kinds of primary sources and new methodological solutions to deal with problems presented by them. Encouraged themes and approaches include, but are not limited to, identity formation in medieval/early modern communities, and the analysis of texts and other cultural products as a communicative process comprising shared symbols and meanings.

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Church and Belief in the Middle Ages

Popes, Saints, and Crusaders

Edited by
Kirsi Salonen and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa

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Eastern Baltic Sea region



Map by Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig Jakobsen

Preface

The editors of this book met in 1991 in the Middle Ages study group led by Christian Krötzl, who was then a doctoral student at the University of Tampere. He defended his dissertation *Pilger, Mirakel un Alltag. Formen des Verhaltens im Skandinavischen Mittelalter* in 1994. Christian and the study group made excursions to Rome, Paris, and Tallinn, not to mention various domestic sites of interest to medievalists. Supplementing the more official program, we also had epoch fests and gatherings in more contemporaneous themes. As a post-doctoral researcher, head of the Finnish Institute in Rome (2000-2003), head of several projects of the Academy of Finland, and as a professor in Tampere (from 2005), Christian Krötzl has successfully created an atmosphere of support and encouragement, inspiring his students to aim high.

At the University of Tampere, Christian Krötzl is a key figure in establishing the conference series *Passages from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (from 2003) and forming the *Trivium – Centre for Classical, Medieval and Early Modern Studies* (first a network in 2006 and since 2015 an official research centre). The Middle Ages study group also still vigourously cultivates future medievalists; several of the former members have now defended their doctoral dissertations.

While championing the colloquial approach, Christian Krötzl is a standard-bearer in the field of Finnish academia in other aspects. In the 1990s, he embraced a profoundly international approach at a time when internationality was not yet the norm in Finland. Indeed, one of his most important roles has been to introduce his students to foreign experts, thereby creating many fruitful relationships. International collaboration ranks high among the values Christian teaches his students, requiring, for example, reading skills in the major European languages (and sometimes in the minor ones as well).

As the following essays demonstrate, Christian Krötzl's range of interests is large and varied, from hagiography, everyday life, and lived religion via the papal curia and administration, to crusades and conversion in the Baltic Sea Region. The editors of this volume have also chosen different paths, one an expert in papal administration and justice, the other a specialist in hagiography and lived religion. As a tribute to the legacy and teaching of Christian Krötzl, we decided to join forces for this *Festschrift* in honor of his 60th anniversary in June 2016.

We have followed the lead of Christian Krötzl and aimed high: this is not only a *Festschrift*, but also a collection of high academic value. The three topics chosen cover the fields the *Geburtstagskind* cultivates in his research, yet they also have scholarly justification, since they provide links between the traditional study of medieval Christianity and Church. The contributors are internationally known experts including the *Doktorvater* and opponent of Christian Krötzl's doctoral defence (Professor Schmugge) and former students (Dr. Hanska, Dr. Kuuliala), while others (Professors Ingesman, Klaniczay, Golinelli, Lett, Kivimäe, Jensen, and Olesen) are his international colleagues. With all of them, Christian Krötzl enjoys a history of fruitful and pleasant collaboration.

We wish to thank all the contributors for their scholarship and for cooperation during this process. We are grateful for the collaboration of the Crossing Boundaries series of the Tübingen; in particular, for series editors Matti Peikola and Janne Harjula, as well as for the competent staff of Amsterdam University Press. For financial support we express our thanks to The Finnish Centre of Excellency in Historical Research: History of Society: Re-thinking Finland 1400-2000 (University of Tampere) and the School of History, Culture and Arts Studies of the University of Turku.

Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Kirsi Salonen

In the Name of Saints Peter and Paul

Popes, Conversion, and Sainthood in Western Christianity

Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Kirsi Salonen, and Kurt Villads Jensen

The Middle Ages formed the basis for modern Europe in many different respects. One of the most important – if not the most important – factor behind the formation of Europe was the Catholic Church: The Church functioned as a model for civil administration and jurisdiction for many emerging nation states, which adopted the principles of the papal administration and jurisdiction. On a political level, the medieval Church played an important role, when the secular leaders, especially in the north and east, conquered new territories in the name of Saints Peter and Paul, using Christianization as their justification. Church and faith, like patron saints, relics, church buildings, and devotional practices in their turn had an important effect on communal coherence and local identities. On a personal and everyday level the Church affected the great majority of the European population: the rites of passage from one stage to another in a person's lifecycle, like baptism, marriage, and preparations for death were regulated by ecclesiastical norms. Through all these, the Church regulated the yearly rhythm of life and the Christian faith shaped the beliefs and worldviews of individuals, who prayed to saints for help and support, appealed to the papacy in their different kinds of problems, made pilgrimages far away or to the neighbouring parish, and donated property to the Church in their last wills.

Since the Catholic Church was involved in practically every aspect of medieval life, it is impossible to make a comprehensive evaluation of its role and significance for Christians, societies, and cultures. Some large and frequently cited publications regarding medieval history, such as *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, or the French *Histoire du christianisme*,¹ attempt to cover as many aspects of the role of the Roman Church as possible, but its magnitude in medieval life renders these efforts extremely difficult.

¹ *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity; The New Cambridge Medieval History; Histoire du christianisme.*

Rather than a ‘mission impossible’ of covering all perspectives of Christianity in one book, most medieval historians specialize in one or two aspects of the medieval Church and belief and their roles in different aspects of life. In the course of historiography, those studying different aspects of the medieval Church have moved further and further away from each other: scholars interested in papal administration or canon law rarely meet those interested in the history of crusades or those focusing on hagiographic sources. During the past decades, the various fields investigating different aspects of the medieval papacy, Church, and faith have developed into their own fields of research. One may even consider them as independent disciplines, though they remain closely connected through the legacy of the papal administration behind their organization. This division of labour has resulted in the sad fact that scholars of these separate fields – or rather, the results of their work – rarely interact with each other.

There are, however, scholars who zigzag between these different fields and try to combine them in their research. One of these is Professor Christian Krötzl (Tampere), whose monograph’s main title we have chosen as the title of this chapter.² Professor Krötzl started his career studying medieval miracle collections and lived religion, but later published largely also on the Christian mission (and crusades) in northern Europe.³ He has also been interested in curial administration, especially the Apostolic Penitentiary.⁴ Professor Krötzl’s work profits from his knowledge of canon law, hagiography, and everyday Christian life. Since this book is dedicated to him, our aim is to bring together scholars of these three core themes, all different yet utterly important for understanding medieval Christianity.

This volume consists of ten chapters in which papal administration, sainthood and hagiography, as well as crusades and conversion in the Baltic Sea Region are approached from multiple angles and within the framework of several scholarly traditions. As is typical in collections like these, the approaches of individual authors vary: some contributions concentrate on deeper analysis of one source, person, or event, while others combine more sources or attempt to synthesize a larger theme or phenomenon across a longer period of time. Due to this variation, the spectrum of medieval source material used, analyzed, and interpreted in this volume is large, which

² Krötzl, *Pietarin ja Paavalin nimissä*.

³ For example, Krötzl, ‘Parent Child Relation’; Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag*.

⁴ Professor Krötzl was in 1998–2000 the head of the project of the Academy of Finland titled ‘The Church and Moral in Late Medieval European Society’, which focused on petitions to the Apostolic Penitentiary 1450–1530.

reflects nicely the variety of historical sources mastered by Christian Krötzl: The chapters scrutinize and combine normative sources such as regulations of canon law and local legislation, narrative sources such as the *vitae* of saints or crusading chronicles, administrative sources such as papal bulls, dispensation letters sent to private persons, and hearings from canonization processes. Our volume crosses typical boundaries within research traditions; our intention is not to offer full analysis of all the chosen themes, but to display links between them, offering opportunities for discussion and showing the importance and benefits of comparison of results.

Papal Administration: Norms and Institutions

The central administration of the medieval Catholic Church was concentrated around the person of the pope, who had all powers to handle various kinds of issues – be they theological, juridical, or practical – regarding the Church, religious persons, or any Christian. Many different kinds of administrative and religious issues were reserved for the authority of the popes, who by the thirteenth century could no longer personally handle all matters directed to their authority. As a consequence of the workload, the pontiff delegated most of the everyday business to people around him, first to cardinals and later to lesser employees of the curia. This led to the birth of numerous different papal offices and tribunals: the Apostolic Chancery, the Apostolic Chamber, the Apostolic Dataria, the Apostolic Penitentiary, the Sacra Romana Rota, and the *Audientia litterarum contradictarum* are the most important ones. These offices and tribunals continued their activity throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. The administrative reforms of the papal curia in the sixteenth century resulted in the creation of fifteen congregations, among which the most significant were the Supreme Congregation of the Roman and Universal Inquisition and the Sacred Congregation of Rites (dealing also with canonization processes).⁵

Even though in principle each papal office, tribunal, or congregation functioned independently, their daily activities were often intertwined. This could mean either that one and the same issue was handled in multiple places or that people working for the papal administration had simultaneously different functions in various papal offices. A petition directed to the pope is a good example of the first case: It was first received and checked at the Apostolic Dataria. After the pope had approved the request,

5 Del Re, *La Curia Romana*.

the Apostolic Chancery took care of the preparation of the letter of grace issued as a result of the petition. Finally the Apostolic Chamber taxed the petitioner for the required fee. An example of the second case could be the twelve judges (called *auditor*) of the Sacra Romana Rota, the supreme court of the papal curia. In addition to their work for the tribunal, the auditors could help the officials of the Apostolic Penitentiary in checking the righteousness of its decisions in matters involving deeper knowledge of canon law. At the same time the auditors could also be consulted by the other papal tribunals, namely the *Audientia litterarum contradictorum* or *Audientia camerae*, or their expertise could be sought by the Congregation of Rites in defining the sanctity of a candidate to the altars. The chapters by Ludwig Schmugge, Per Ingesman, Jussi Hanska, and Gábor Klaniczay in this volume give further examples of intertwined activities between different papal offices and functionaries. At the same time, the officials of the papacy participated in the preparation of ecclesiastical councils: Jüri Kivimäe discusses the Fourth Lateran Council in his contribution. The canonists and theologians working for the papacy defined the limits for allowed use of violence in conversion, which Kurt Villads Jensen examines in his chapter. Analysing the intertwined activities of the offices and officials of the papal curia is crucially important for understanding how the central government of the Church functioned in practice, the reach of its jurisdiction, and whether the practice corresponded with ecclesiastical norms regulating the papal administration.

The study of the functioning of different offices, tribunals, and congregations of the medieval and early modern papal curia began at a scientific level in the late nineteenth century, when the collections of the papal archives were made accessible to scholars in 1881, the result of a decision made by Pope Leo XIII a couple of years earlier. This decision brought a large number of scholars from all around the world to the premises of the Vatican Secret Archives. As a result of their work numerous large and small studies about the different sections of the papal curia were published. Among these publications was, for example, the colossal work of Ludwig von Pastor on the history of the papacy from the beginning until recent times.⁶ In addition to this general publication, the opening of the Vatican source material gave rise to many studies on the history and development of one papal office.⁷ At

6 v. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*.

7 Baumgarten, *Aus Kanzlei und Kammer*; Baumgarten, *Von der Apostolischen Kanzlei*; Celier, *Les Dataires du XVe siècle*; Cerchiari, *Capellani Papae*; Gottlob, *Aus der Camera Apostolica*; Göller, *Die päpstliche Pönitentiare*; Göller, 'Der Gerichtshof der päpstlichen Kammer'; Herde,

the same time there also appeared many different source editions clarifying the curial norms.⁸

Additionally, the opening of the papal archives brought about a handful of larger research projects aimed at editing medieval or early modern papal source material, for example, the German *Repertorium Germanicum*, the British *Calender of Papal Letters*, and the Danish *Acta pontificum Danica*. The source edition projects of the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries were mainly initiatives of individual countries wishing to publish material regarding their territory, but there have also been larger projects publishing material from the whole territory of medieval Western Christendom, such as the *Regesta pontificum romanorum*⁹ by August Potthast or the *Die Register Innocenz' III*¹⁰ coordinated by the Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung. Modern research on the medieval and early modern papal curia is still largely based on this early scholarship, although the modern digital era has changed the editorial principles and publication forums of some edition projects.

The two World Wars interrupted the work of many scholars interested in the past of the papal administration and the number of publications related to the functioning of the medieval papacy diminished for many decades. Scholars began to re-direct their interest towards the topic of medieval papacy and its documentation in the late 1980s, when Christian Krötzel began his studies on medieval pilgrimages and began to explore the collections of the Vatican Secret Archives for this purpose. Later, Christian also undertook projects encouraging young Finnish scholars to use the Vatican source material. This 'new generation of Vatican scholars' broke with the past, no longer interested in the traditional history of institutions. Instead, they used the Vatican sources for questions related to everyday life and other more 'fashionable' topics. Along with the new approaches, new kinds of papal source material – such as collections regarding the canonization projects – became subjects of study, and after the archives of the Apostolic Penitentiary were opened to scholars in 1984, Christian Krötzel was among the first Scandinavians to receive the required permit to use the material.

Audientia litterarum contradictarum; Hilling, *Die römische Rota*; v. Hofmann, *Forschungen zur Geschichte der kurialen Behörden*; Rusch, *Die Behörden und Hofbeamten der päpstlichen Kurie*; Schneider, *Die Römische Rota*; Storti, *La storia e il diritto della dataria apostolica*.

⁸ *Der Liber cancellariae apostolicae*; *Die päpstliche Kanzleiordnungen*; *Regulae cancellariae apostolicae*; *Raccolta di concordati*.

⁹ *Regesta pontificum romanorum*.

¹⁰ *Die Register Innocenz' III*.

Interest in the sources of the central papal government in the Middle Ages and in the Early Modern Period is constantly growing, but the paradigm of Vatican scholars has changed again. Scholars of the second millennium have shown a new and growing interest towards institutional history of the papacy. Unlike the first or the second generation, the modern approach towards the institution of papacy is not interested only in normative issues or those at the top of the hierarchy on the one hand, or individuals and microhistory on the other hand; rather, the new research focuses on the institution, its functioning, everyday business, and employees at all levels, aiming to create a more holistic picture of the functioning of the papacy – including the collaboration between different offices at both an institutional and personal level.¹¹ This trend could perhaps be defined as ‘new institutionalism’ – if we want to use the concept adapted by and used in the social sciences – and the chapters by Schmugge, Hanska, and Ingesman in this volume represent this new trend, contributing thus to the development of the field of study. These scholars not only try to find the right way to the centre of the inextricable labyrinth of the curia (*inextricabilis curie labyrinthus*),¹² a definition used by Petrarch, but also to map the whole maze and those using it.

Hagiography: In the Nexus of Papal Administration and Lived Experience

Veneration of saints – and recording their *vitae* and miracles – began as early as Late Antiquity. Throughout the Middle Ages the heavenly intercessors were seen as idealized role models as well as protectors and helpers in daily life. They were used as tools in political propaganda, they were devices of papal policy, their feast days shaped the yearly rhythm of Christians, and interaction with them was an essential element of lay devotion.

The study of hagiography has a long research history: the study and publishing of saints’ lives and miracles began in the seventeenth century by Bollandists when *vitae* of new saints were still actively written and miraculous experiences of the laity recorded and scrutinized by local clergy and papal administrators. The editing work of the *Société des Bollandists*

¹¹ Ingesman, *Provisioner og processer*; Meyer, *Zürich und Rom*; Schmugge, Hersperger, and Wiggenhauser, *Die Supplikenregister*; Salonen, *The Penitentiary*; Salonen, *Papal Justice*; Salonen and Schmugge, *A Sip from the “Well of Grace”*; Tewes, *Die römische Kurie*.

¹² Zutshi, ‘Inextricabilis curie labyrinthus’, p. 410.

continued; editing *vitae* and *miracula* of saintly protagonists was also a typical effort of other scholars at the beginning of modern historical research in the nineteenth century. In this era, the focus of the scholars of hagiographic material was on the administrative side of the cults and on the role the saintly protagonist had played in his or her community.¹³

The connection between the three branches – church administration, hagiography, and conversion – was well established in these early studies. The church administration and organization, as well as Christianization, were of particular interest in the early stages of national history-writing and hagiographic sources were used to study these elements. This is particularly evident in Finland: the legend of Saint Henry is one of the first surviving sources of this area. Since a major part of the narration focused on the Swedish ‘crusade’ to Finland and one of the participants was to be the first bishop of Finland, the legend has been used as a source for church organization and the Christianization process, as illustrated in Jens E. Olesen’s chapter. One may even claim that the legend’s nature as hagiographic source and Henry as a thaumaturge has received less scholarly interest.¹⁴ Christianization and church organization have been important topics of national history-writing throughout Europe, but their importance was highlighted already in medieval hagiography, as Klaniczay demonstrates in his chapter: for example, one of the merits of Saint Stephen of Hungary was conversion of the Hungarians. Future saints may have participated in the conversion process, but the Christianization of new areas also influenced the idea of sainthood: the concept of royal saints emerged gradually on the peripheries of medieval Christendom, among the recently converted peoples, as Klaniczay also argues.

After the Second World War topics in medieval studies diversified; hagiographic sources are not principally used for the study of church organization. Simultaneously, the study of hagiography has grown. The lives of saintly protagonists, *vitae sanctorum*, have traditionally been – and still

¹³ The probably best known and still widely used collection is *Acta Sanctorum*, an edition of hagiographic material – *vitae*, *miracula*, canonization records, etc. – based on the calendar cycle of saints’ feasts. Respectively, many other early editions of this era are still used by scholars. For example, see the chapters of Klaniczay and Kuuliala in this volume.

¹⁴ On Saint Henry and the so-called first crusade, see Rinne, *Pyhä Henrik*; Maliniemi, *De sancto Henrico episcopo et martyre*. Recently Tuomas Heikkilä (Heikkilä, *Pyhän Henrikin legenda*) has studied the diffusion of the cult of Saint Henry based on manuscript and liturgical tradition. The first crusade to Finland plays a major role in this work, as well. For Saint Henry in historiography, see pp. 38–52, for timing of the first crusade, pp. 53–73. This link is further elaborated in this volume in Olesen’s chapter.

are – the focus of scholars.¹⁵ The role of saints in the formation of Christianity and Christian faith as well as the linguistic elements, like *topoi*, motifs, and metaphors have been analyzed broadly. In this volume, this kind of approach is adopted by Paolo Golinelli. By focusing on the various versions of the legend of Saint Alexis and on the same narrative elements in other contemporary *vitae*, he argues that hagiography was a multifaceted device: it was a way to channel devotion; it could entertain and educate and work as a propagandistic tool; it was used for dynastic purposes and to spread the ideas of the clerical elite to, for example, reinforce the acceptance of church reform and resist heterodoxy. Currently, hagiographic material is widely used by scholars other than historians, particularly literary critics or linguists. Gender and female mystics' writings and *vitae* in particular have been at the forefront of interest recently; different backgrounds and approaches have led to various interpretations of the basic nature of these sources and the information they contain.¹⁶

The study of miracle collections and canonization processes bloomed simultaneously with the rise of interest in everyday life history, and a new focus on family and children.¹⁷ Christian Krötzl's *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag* is a seminal study in this field of medieval social history. He continued in the way paved earlier by Ronald Finucane¹⁸ and Pierre-Andre Sigal¹⁹ – who, with strong emphasis on quantitative analysis, scrutinized the contexts and practicalities of faith healing: the social background of the beneficiaries, various cures, and pilgrimage practices. The linkage between everyday life and popular or lived religion is a recurrent topic in these studies and others following in their vein. Currently, the strong emphasis on quantitative analysis has diminished. The micro-historical approach, comparison of various depositions and canonization processes, as well as methodological

¹⁵ Philippart, *Les légendiers et autres manuscrits hagiographiques; Hagiography and Medieval Literature: A Symposium* ed. by Bekker-Nielsen et al.; Grégoire, *Manuale di Agiologia*; Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*; Dubois and Lemaitre, *Sources et methodes*; Lifshitz, 'Beyond Positivism and Genre'; Philippart, 'Hagiographes et hagiographie'; Kleinberg, *Histoires des saints*.

¹⁶ *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters*, ed. by Hollywood; Heinonen, *Brides and Knights of Christ*, pp. 81-96.

¹⁷ The bibliography is too vast to be detailed here. See, however, Krötzl, 'Parent Child Relation'; Myrdal and Bäärnhielm, *Kvinnor, barn & fester*; Lett, *L'enfant des miracles*; Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocent*.

¹⁸ Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*.

¹⁹ Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle*.

aspects, like the use of rhetoric in depositions, have emerged as major interests.²⁰

Faith-healing was not only a matter of personal devotion. As Didier Lett discusses in his piece on doctors witnessing miracles in canonization processes, it was closely connected to the hagiographic genre as a literary category, to improving medical knowledge and education, as well as to increasing demands of papal and secular administration for expert witnesses. Practicalities of faith-healing continue to interest scholars, but this path has also led to new openings in the study of hagiographic material in general and canonization processes in particular: the concept of disability is one of the most recent themes introduced to this field.²¹ Here, Jenni Kuuliala scrutinizes this material from that perspective. The chapters by Lett and Kuuliala also discuss the link between (the formation of) hagiographic material and church administration, which in recent years has been emphasized anew. Particularly, the practicalities of hearings for canonization have gained keen interest and Christian Krötzel was one of the first scholars to focus on these issues.²²

Conversion and Crusades: The Baltic Experience

Christianity spread from its Middle Eastern origin to the whole of Western Europe in a prolonged and complicated process. The lands around the Baltic Sea are of particular interest for understanding the dynamics behind the conversion to Christianity, because they were the last western territories that adopted the Christian faith, but they also present the researcher

²⁰ On methodology of canonization processes, see for example Goodich, 'Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis'; Ackerman Smoller, 'Defining the Boundaries'; Klaniczay, 'Speaking about Miracles'. For the study of canonization processes, the seminal work of the field is the collection of essays *Procès de canonization au Moyen Âge*, ed. by Klaniczay.

²¹ While many works in disability studies use hagiographic material, the majority of the contributions do not focus on them as profoundly as Kuuliala in her *Disability and Social Integration*. See also Krötzel, 'Crudeliter afflicta'. In addition to disability, the study of gender concept has also advanced recently in this field; see, for example, Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris*; Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles, and Daily Life*.

²² Krötzel, 'Vulgariter sibi exposito'; Krötzel, 'Prokuratoren, Notare und Dolmetscher'; Krötzel, 'Kanonisationsprozess, Socialgeschichte und Kanonisches Recht'. Obviously, already André Vauchez in his seminal study on canonization processes (Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident*) concentrated on these issues. For other studies in this field, see Paciocco, *Canonizzazioni e culto dei santi*; Krafft, *Papstturkunde und Heiligsprechung*; Lett, *Un procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge*; Finucane, *Contested Canonizations*; especially on judicial aspects in canonization procedures Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*.

with particular challenges. Medieval written sources are few and modern research literature is written in many different languages, representing distinctly diverse historiographical traditions. Conversion involves a large spectrum of aspects and research topics of which the most well known is crusade studies.

Only a few scholars have attempted a more comprehensive approach to conversion in the Baltic. Oxford historian Eric Christiansen's *The Northern Crusades* from the 1980s inspired several later studies, while American historian William Urban has published extensively on diverse themes of crusades and military conversion in the Baltic since the 1970s.²³ Christian Krötzel has investigated the Baltic conversion from a broader perspective in his *Pietarin ja Paavalin nimissä: Paavit, lähetystyö ja Euroopan muotoutuminen (500-1250)* (2004) in which he treats the conversion to Christianity of Western Europe in general, but with special emphasis on the Baltic.

The research on Baltic and Scandinavian conversion has undergone significant development during the past decades. Until a generation ago, most Scandinavian historians considered the history of the northern conversion as a top down process, decided by kings and magnates and adopted by the people. This assumption arose from the medieval narrative sources, which showed little interest in ordinary people and concentrated on the acts and motives of influential individuals. But this approach also reflected the historians' own societies. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Scandinavian countries were highly centralized, bureaucratic societies in which decisions made by the government affected all individuals. It was natural for the scholars of that time to assume that this was the case as well in the Middle Ages. This assumption was further confirmed by the ideas of the Soviet Marxist paradigm, in which the new generation of historians in the Baltic republics, eastern Germany, and Poland were educated after the Second World War. Scholars representing this tradition were more critical towards Christianity, presenting mission and conversion as the tools of an imperialistic class of foreigners – Christian kings – against which the indigenous people rebelled under the command of their pagan leaders.²⁴

In reality, royal power in the Middle Ages was weak and fluctuating, with little power to enforce central decisions. Historians realized this during

²³ Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*; Urban, *The Baltic Crusade*; Urban, *The Samogitian Crusade*; Urban, *The Livonian Crusade*; Urban, *The Prussian Crusades*.

²⁴ For recent general studies on conversion in the north, including historiographical surveys, see *The Cross Goes North*, ed. by Carver; *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy*, ed. by Berend; *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier*, ed. by Murray; *Rom und Byzanz im Norden*, ed. by Müller-Wille.

the second half of the twentieth century, seriously challenging the top down approach. Even though a bottom up model has not succeeded in replacing the older interpretation, the history of conversion took a new turn when many historians accepted that Christianity also spread from the bottom: by Christians living among pagans, by individuals returning from foreign countries, by family members who stayed in Christian countries and converted but upheld connections to their pagan relatives at home.²⁵

Parallel to the role of local kings, the role of the papacy and papal administration has also undergone re-evaluation in recent years. Earlier historians talked about a ‘papal policy’ for conversion in the Baltic, expressed and executed through papal legates to rulers or newly converted lands, sometimes being important elements in *sacerdotium*’s fight against *regnum*, in the papacy’s and the Church’s fight against secular rule. Recent scholarship has, however, claimed that the papacy was reactive rather than proactive, that it responded to local politics rather than formed and directed it.²⁶

The latest scholarship within conversion history has also fought against the strong Lutheran tradition existing in most countries around the Baltic, which took as its starting point the anachronistic claim that religion and politics must be firmly kept apart. In the study of conversion this has meant that historians have traditionally claimed that medieval mission and conversion probably never took place earnestly, but only as a pretext for economic and political expansion. Similarly, it has been claimed that conversion amounted to superficial lip service, especially among the upper class, which did not fundamentally change the old worldview.

Scholars interested in conversion have studied the remnants of pagan beliefs and practises around the Baltic and concluded that some kind of continuation existed across the conversion period and far into early modern time. The importance of this discovery, however, has probably been exaggerated, since many so-called pagan customs were not considered pagan but Christian by their practitioners in the Middle Ages and later. Therefore, the latest approaches in the study of conversion talk instead of a kind of synthesis between religions or about the adaptability of Christianity (and

²⁵ *The Clash of Cultures*, ed. by Murray; *Medieval Christianity in the North*, ed. by Salonen, Jensen, and Jørgensen.

²⁶ E.g. Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades*; for an example of the older approach, see Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm*.

of paganism around the Baltic) and its ability to incorporate local elements and ascribe to them a distinct Christian meaning.²⁷

In recent years, conversion studies have begun to pay more attention to the message of different source categories (such as saints' lives and legends unfolding stories of the lonely missionary in the wilderness, fighting with the word alone against demons and pagan superstition, or medieval narratives hailing the strong king who with the sword of justice and the shield of faith subdues the pagans and forces them to accept the true faith) and to ask whether these different approaches to mission only reflect a difference in sources, or a change in missionizing over time.²⁸ Most historians today agree that church authorities in the late eleventh century developed a new legitimization for the use of violence for protecting and expanding Christianity, which certainly does not mean that all former conversion had been peaceful.²⁹ With the crusades, however, religious warfare became more institutionalized and acceptable, becoming in itself a means to salvation. The new ideology resulted in new kinds of source material, such as crusade chronicles. Jensen's chapter in this book discusses different approaches to missionary warfare, the juridically and theologically regulated versus unlimited mass killing. He attempts to show how these two attitudes existed side by side and could be expressed by the same author, but with different emphasis according to genre.

For the Baltic area, more historians have claimed that a transition from mission by the word to mission by the sword actually took place, but there is no general agreement as to when. Some have proposed around the year 1000, more have pointed to a shift in the incipient Livonian mission around 1190. Most, however, would agree that the Second Crusade of 1147 received a theological licence to forced conversion from Bernard of Clairvaux when he stated that the pagan nations should be baptized or annihilated – *aut ritus ipse aut natio deleatur*.³⁰

27 See general discussions in works mentioned in notes 25-26. Specifically, see Valk, 'Christian and Non-Christian Holy Sites'; Valk, 'Christianisation and Changes in Faith'; Valk, 'Christianisation in Estonia'; Zulkus, 'Heidentum und Christentum in Litauen'.

28 Discussions of genre and conversion in v. Padberg, 'Geschichtsschreibung und kulturelles Gedächtnis'; *Historical Narratives and Christian Identity*, ed. by Garipzanov; *The Making of Christian Myths*, ed. by Mortensen; *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, ed. by Lehtonen and Jensen; Janson, 'Pagani and Christiani'.

29 Althoff, "Selig sind die Verfolgung ausüben".

30 In general: *Schwertmission*, ed. by Kamp and Kroker; Kahl, 'Compellere intrare'; Kamp, 'Der Wendenkreuzzug'.

It is a matter of definition whether or not the missionary wars in the Baltic were crusades. Since the 1970s, historians have increasingly applied a broad definition for crusades, according to which all papally authorized, spiritually rewarding wars against enemies of the Church belonged to the category of crusades.³¹ From this perspective, the first crusades in the Baltic began immediately after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 and continued until the Lutheran Reformation. This is not, however, a commonly shared opinion about crusades in the Baltic: interpretations vary markedly in different countries around the region. Danish and Swedish history-writing does not mention crusades from the last half of the nineteenth century onwards and considers all Baltic military campaigns as political wars. According to this tradition, which has been challenged only since the 1990s, the crusades never reached the north.³²

A totally different tradition exists in Finland and the Baltic republics, the target countries for the missionary wars in the Middle Ages. In the Finnish and Baltic historiography, military campaigns were traditionally considered as crusades, while in Finland they were even used as a designation for the whole conversion period. These approaches and traditions are reconsidered in Olesen's chapter. He focuses on crusades toward Finland from the outside perspective, challenging many traditional views of nationalistic historiography. Swedish crusaders to Finland are often seen as isolated phenomena, unique to the relationship between Sweden and Finland. This approach doesn't allow for the view that the Swedes and the Finns, like the Novgorodians, the Danes, and the Germans, reacted to mutual politico-military constellations and trade interests; crusades can be seen as one manifestation of these.

The Polish and German traditions are more mixed. There has been a strong interest in these wars – they have very often been seen also as religiously motivated – but many historians claim that they were an isolated phenomenon from the Middle Eastern crusades.

Until the Second World War, German and Scandinavian research tradition considered the expansion to the east necessary to teach undeveloped locals some culture. Racism and social Darwinism combined and 'demonstrated' that Slavs and Finno-Ugrians were more primitive than

³¹ A broad definition has been criticized in Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*; within a much broader chronological frame in Tyerman, *The Debate on the Crusades*. Also Jensen, 'War, Penance, and the First Crusade'. On the spiritual reward, see now Bysted, *The Crusade Indulgence*.

³² On the re-evaluation of crusading in the north, see Bysted, Jensen, Jensen, and Lind, *Jerusalem in the North*; Harrison, *Gud vill det!; Fonnesberg-Schmidt, The Popes and the Baltic Crusades*; Lind, 'Puzzling Approaches'.

their Germanic neighbours and, for example, lacked the ability to form states and state institutions. Such an approach to crusades and conversion disappeared after the Second World War. What remained, however, was the idea of transmitting something superior to less developed areas in which the local inhabitants sat passively waiting for the new age to begin. The Europeanization of the north became a common frame of interpretation from the 1970s, applied by scholars around the Baltic to analyse how their own countries became part of Europe.³³

This overall approach has been supplemented recently by a renewed interest in the practicalities of conversion, which has led to new approaches, such as eco-history.³⁴ Historians have now begun to ask: How did it actually happen on a practical daily basis? How did a new religion introduce a whole new worldview and change institutions, customs, sense of time, etc.?³⁵ In this volume, Kivimäe shows how Henry of Livonia used the conflicts and interaction between the crusaders and local pagan inhabitants to create an ideal image of Livonia as the *Terra Mariana*. Henry was a missionary priest; he shows the personal interests, political ambitions and Christian faith of the crusaders and how they deliberately changed the whole mental climate while converting the infidels.

Another new and rising approach to crusade studies is the technical military history – comprising logistics, war machines, horses, transport on land and on sea – and religiously motivated enterprises. Also new is the attempt to combine disciplines that earlier were working in relative isolation from each other. One example of this is the interest around the Baltic in saints and warfare, which has been much better studied in other areas of Europe. An earlier sharp division between the religious and the military spheres in the Middle Ages is now being supplemented with a more holistic approach. Saints are now also studied as important elements in ‘grand strategy’, in the totality of ideological and practical matters that had to be considered and coordinated in the Middle Ages to make war and convert the others.

³³ Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*; Blomkvist, *The Discovery of the Baltic*.

³⁴ Pluskowski, *The Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade*.

³⁵ Nielsen, ‘The Making of New Cultural Landscapes’; *Crusading and Chronicle Writing*, ed. by Tamm, Kaljundi, and Jensen.

Structure of the Volume

Since this volume includes contributions from specialists in the three central fields of the medieval Church and faith – papal administration, hagiography, and crusades/conversion – it seemed an obvious solution to divide this volume into three sections. For a logical and coherent continuum of topics, we begin with the chapters of central administration, move to hagiographical topics, and finally end with chapters focusing on crusading and conversion. Our goal is, however, to connect these three fields, aiming to show that a strict categorization is futile since many chapters deal with more than one of the three topics.

The first chapter in this collection, ‘The Cost of Grace: The Composition Fees in the Penitentiary, c. 1450-1500’, is written by Professor Emeritus Schmugge (Zürich/Rome), who in the 1990s – after studying medieval pilgrimages for decades – directed his interest towards the papal administration and became the grand old man of research regarding the Apostolic Penitentiary. In this book he uses his expertise on the sources of the Penitentiary but enlarges his interest towards another curial office, namely the Apostolic Datary, and thus sheds light on how the activities of different curial offices were linked through the activities of individuals. Through use of the Penitentiary source material, he shows how the activities of the two offices were connected, how the creation and elevation of the office of the Datary was bound to the person of Pope Callixtus III, and how the financial administration of the papal curia and the graces granted by the Apostolic Penitentiary evolved hand in hand in the course of the second part of the fifteenth century.

Docent Hanska (Tampere) continues in his chapter ‘Career Prospects of Minor Curialists in the Fifteenth Century: The Case of Petrus Profilt’ to illustrate how one individual could make a career in the papal curia by advancing from one position to another in different offices and thereby how the different parts of papal administration were bound together through personal connections. He analyses the career possibilities through the example of a Frenchman, Petrus Profilt, representative of at least 90% of persons working for the papacy in the late fifteenth century. The chapter takes a micro-historical approach, examining how much information it is possible to gain about one person and how pieces of information may be combined to build the story of an individual.

Professor Ingesman’s (Århus) chapter ‘A Criminal Trial at the Court of the Chamber Auditor: An Analysis of a *registrum* from 1515-1516 in the Danish National Archives’ discusses the direct contact between different

papal offices and how the decisions taken in one office could affect those of others. Ingesman's work is based on an extremely rare early sixteenth-century juridical report from the court of the Apostolic Chamber illustrating the phases in a litigation carried out both at the Sacra Romana Rota and at the Chamber court. His analysis draws on records describing the early sixteenth-century litigation between the Bishop of Schleswig, Godske Ahlefeldt, and a local parish priest, Didrik Brus. The chapter shows both the process by which litigants found their way in the labyrinth of the papal administration – using all possible connections at the papal curia for a favourable decision from the papal supreme court – and the punishments meted out by the administration to those employing illegal means in the course of this process. Like Schmugge and Hanska, Ingesman illustrates the complexity of the papal administration and its interconnected offices.

The links between hagiography, concepts of sainthood, and papal administration are scrutinized in the next chapter. Ideas about saints were important, formative concepts for medieval Christianity, but also changed according to the demands of the era, as Professor Klaniczay (Budapest) explains in his chapter, 'The Power of the Saints and the Authority of the Popes: The History of Sainthood and Late Medieval Canonization Processes'. Saints were believed to possess healing power as early as Late Antiquity; in the Early Middle Ages, their powers were used in the political domain to convert pagans and provide victory in battle, give power to abbeys, bishoprics, and cities, to enforce the position of royal dynasties, and to bestow well-being on entire kingdoms. By establishing the canonization process, which Professor Klaniczay calls 'an institutional control mechanism unknown to any other world religion', the popes shaped the image of officially sanctioned sainthood. Klaniczay's chapter shows neatly how the papal policy of canonization changed significantly during the high Middle Ages from canonizing martyrs to preferring royal saints for political reasons and finally to supporting the 'living saints' of mendicant orders.

Even if the background of saints and the concept of sainthood changed over time, many elements in written material stayed the same. Studying the legend of Saint Alexis and other contemporary *vitae*, Professor Golinelli (Verona) shows in his chapter, '*Velut Alter Alexius*: The Saint Alexis Model in Medieval Hagiography', how certain *topoi* and motifs were adapted from one text to another and how these adaptations were made for the 'higher purposes' of supporting the views of the central ecclesiastical administration versus heresies. According to Golinelli, the saints' legends were not only an element of elite culture, but affected lay devotion as well. Furthermore, he demonstrates that hagiography in general was used as a