

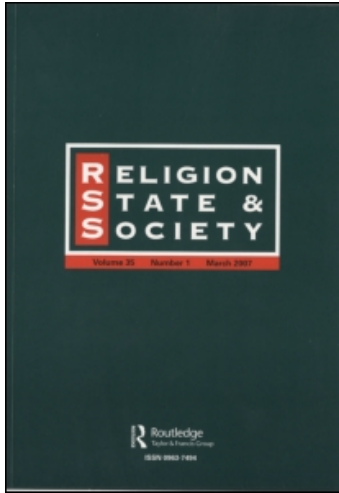
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Religion, State and Society

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713444726>

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Online publication date: 11 March 2011

To cite this Article Bachrach, David(2011) 'Military Chaplains and the Religion of War in Ottonian Germany, 919-1024', *Religion, State and Society*, 39: 1, 13 – 31

To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1080/09637494.2011.546503

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09637494.2011.546503>

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Military Chaplains and the Religion of War in Ottonian Germany, 919–1024

DAVID BACHRACH

ABSTRACT

The Ottonian kings of Germany (919–1024) inherited from their Carolingian predecessors a tripartite system of pastoral care for the army. At the most basic level, the Ottonian kings provided chaplains to their soldiers to hear their confessions before battle. At the army-wide level, priests and bishops serving with the army celebrated intercessory masses to gain divine favour for the army, preached to the soldiers in order to encourage bravery in the face of battle and carried sacred relics onto the field. Finally, priests and bishops also helped to mobilise the 'home front' on behalf of the army, by leading the population as a whole in intercessory prayers, as well as in fasts and other acts of penitence that were intended to gain God's favour for their fighting men.

Background

In the Christian Roman Empire of the fourth and fifth centuries, and in its western successor states, armies were commonly accompanied into the field by small cadres of bishops and their attendant priests.¹ As had been true of the pre-Constantinian Empire, priests had the task of invoking divine support on behalf of the army. This entailed caring for sacred relics on campaign, the celebration of intercessory masses, leading the soldiers in prayers to God and preaching to the troops in order to encourage them to be worthy of divine aid.² These army-wide rites were mirrored by the mobilisation of public religious rites on the 'home front' that also were intended to gain God's support for the army in the field.³

Individual pastoral care for soldiers was not generally an element of army religion in either the late Roman Empire or its early successor states. The ancient Christian practice of once in a lifetime confession, usually made on one's deathbed, was still in force in most of the Latin West through to the end of the sixth century.⁴ Consequently, there was no prescribed ritual through which soldiers could purge themselves of sin and still remain in the secular world. The necessary consequence of this penitential system was that soldiers risked death in battle with the stain of homicide still on their souls. A number of contemporary sources indicate that the lack of remedial penance that would allow soldiers to remain active in the world caused considerable stress on fighting men who risked eternal damnation for carrying out their duties (Bachrach, D.S., 2003a, pp. 26–28).

The solution to this problem was the gradual development of a regime of repeatable confession whereby sinners could confess their sins as often as necessary and receive penances that could be carried out while still living in the secular world.⁵ First in Ireland and then in England, monastic houses developed penitential manuals that listed sins and appropriate penances for these sins. These so-called tariff books then spread rapidly throughout the Latin West.⁶ The development and rapid spread of these penitential manuals is both a product of and evidence for the enormous demand among lay people for a means to reconcile themselves with God without having to forsake the secular world for a life of penitential seclusion in a monastery or hermitage.⁷

The doctrine of repeatable confession had enormous implications for the religious care of soldiers and therefore for the history of military chaplaincy in the Latin West. Soldiers could now confess their sins before going into battle and, thereby, cleanse their souls before risking their lives in combat. In addition, soldiers could confess their sins after battle for having killed their fellow-men, who were often themselves Christians. This meant that armies had to recruit much larger numbers of priests than ever before to provide direct pastoral care to fighting men. This included hearing their confessions and assigning penances, as well as the traditional duties of leading soldiers in prayer, celebrating intercessory masses and caring for relics. In effect, the transition to repeatable confession transformed what had been a bipartite system of military religion into a tripartite system. Now, in addition to the religion of the army and the religious mobilisation of the home front, medieval military commanders had to be concerned with the personal religion of individual fighting men.

The crucial turning-point came in 742, when the *Concilium Germanicum*, which was held under the direction of Carloman, Carolingian mayor of the palace (741–47) and the English missionary Boniface (martyred 754), established a sweeping new requirement for the recruitment of military chaplains (*capellani*). The assembled prelates imposed the obligation, in the second canon of the council, that every unit commander (*praefectus*) in the army have on his staff a priest capable of hearing confessions (*peccata confitentibus iudicare*) and assigning penances (*indicare poenitentiam possint*) to the fighting men under his care.⁸ This requirement marked a dramatic increase in the number of clerics who participated in military campaigns. From the mid-eighth century onwards, at the latest, Carolingian armies, which routinely numbered in the tens of thousands of men, required many scores, and in some cases hundreds, of priests to serve as unit chaplains and to hear the confessions of fighting men.⁹

We can see here, therefore, the institutionalisation of the provision of pastoral care to fighting men as a directive of the government. These chaplains were to carry on the traditional duties of inspiring the men to bravery and encouraging them to maintain discipline and good behaviour on campaign. The new chaplains of the eighth century, however, had a wider array of tools at their disposal to achieve these ends. In particular, chaplains provided soldiers with an opportunity to express their fears, including their fears of damnation for sinful acts, and then to be offered salvation through penance.

In this context, it is crucial to understand that the development of repeatable confession saw a concomitant rethinking regarding the sinfulness of homicide. Up through the middle of the fifth century, all homicides were treated in canon law as equally sinful (Bachrach, D.S., 2003a, p. 24). In the sixth century, some differentiations began to be drawn between *homicidio* and *homicidio* that had been committed voluntarily (*sponte*).¹⁰ Penitential manuals of the eighth century and later

developed an entire hierarchy of penances for killing, the least sinful of which was the killing of an enemy soldier in the course of a publicly sanctioned war (*bellum publicum*).¹¹

Sources

The basic sources for understanding the activities of military chaplains and the roles that they played in medieval armies are the narrative works of contemporary authors, most of whom were clerics. In evaluating the reliability of these sources in providing an accurate depiction of events, it is essential to understand that these authors were working within a literary tradition that required an account that was plausible to an audience that was familiar with the events as they had happened.¹² In this context, it is important to emphasise that in every narrative text some information pertains directly to the *parti pris* or narrative arc that the author is presenting to his audience. Other information provides the material context in which the primary story takes place. That an author shapes certain pieces of information to fit his *parti pris*, through omission, emphasis, or outright falsification, does not entail that all of the information provided by the author is shaped in this manner. Indeed, as scholars working with a nuanced understanding of the epistemology of historical knowledge have made clear, in the pursuit of rhetorical plausibility it is in the author's interest to provide a context of accurate information that is acceptable to an informed audience, precisely in those places in his narrative where he hopes to persuade an audience to accept his *parti pris*.¹³ Consequently, when reading contemporary accounts, including those written by clerics, regarding the activities of military chaplains, it is crucial to understand that the audiences expected a realistic depiction of events, not simply a depiction of what a priest thought 'should' have happened.¹⁴

The New Religion of War

The new tripartite system of military religion, which integrated pastoral care for individual fighting men within the broader religious rites of the army and kingdom, flourished throughout the eighth and ninth centuries (Bachrach, D.S., 2003a, pp. 43–62; 2003b, pp. 3–22). The East Frankish kingdom that emerged, under the leadership of Louis the German (840–76), from the division of the Carolingian Empire following the death of Louis the Pious in 840, demonstrated fundamental continuities with traditional Carolingian military organisation and practice, including the religion of war.¹⁵ So too did the 'German' kingdom that developed under the leadership of the Ottonian dynasty in the period 919–1024. The burden of the following study is to illustrate the ways in which the Ottonian kings maintained the traditional Carolingian tripartite system of military religion that included the provision of pastoral care to individual fighting men by military chaplains, the organisation of army-wide rites and the mobilisation of the 'home front' to secure the individual salvation of fighting men and the general success of the army and people in war.

Pastoral Care in the Ottonian Armies

A particularly detailed description of the full range of pastoral care provided to Ottonian fighting men is recorded in Thangmar's *Vita* of his student, Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim (993–1022).¹⁶ In early January 1001, Emperor Otto III (982–1002) faced a revolt in the city of Rome, during the course of which several important

imperial supporters were murdered (Berschin and Häse, 1993a). In response, Otto quickly led his army to Rome from recently captured Tivoli, located 30 kilometres to the east, and took up positions outside the walls of the eternal city (Berschin and Häse, 1993a, p. 318). In the tense environment that followed the arrival of the imperial army, there was an expectation in Otto III's camp that fighting was imminent. Bishop Bernward, who was serving in the imperial court at this time, took on the traditional duties of a military chaplain and provided pre-battle pastoral care to the emperor's household troops (*palatini*).¹⁷

Bernward began by preaching a brief sermon to the men (Berschin and Häse, 1993a, p. 318). This practice of preaching to fighting men before battle dated back to the Carolingian period and served several important purposes.¹⁸ First, the priest had the opportunity to encourage the men to be mindful of their own salvation. In particular, the priest was to urge the fighting men to confess their sins before battle, thereby cleansing their souls of sin. As Thangmar put it, Otto III's soldiers were 'instructed with salutary warnings'.¹⁹ This was important for morale, since it provided assurance to the men that they would go to heaven if they were killed in combat. Second, the sermon provided an opportunity for the priest to offer comfort to the men, and to remind them of their previous victories in the service of God. In his *Gesta* of the bishops of Liège, for example, Anselm recorded that Bernward's older contemporary, Bishop Eraclius (959–71), preached to Otto I's troops during his 968 campaign in Calabria after an eclipse of the sun had spread fear among the emperor's troops (Anselmi, 1846, ch. 24). According to Anselm, Bishop Eraclius said in part:

O bravest warriors, you who have won famous victories through a thousand dangers by your distinguished name, rise up, I urge you, rise up and fear nothing. Take up your manly strength, cast aside this unseemly torpor. It would be shameful to fear the natural changes of the elements. There is nothing here to endanger life. No one is dripping blood from a wound received by an enemy. Harmless shadows are wrapped around the sky. After a short time, you see the light returning. Everything else is safe.²⁰

In an even more dramatic setting, during the siege of his city by the Hungarians in August 955, Bishop Ulrich of Augsburg (923–73) focused his sermon on the divine support that would be given to God's faithful supporters (*fideles*) (Berschin and Häse, 1993b, p. 196). The basic theme of Ulrich's sermon was that the soldiers should maintain their faith and place their trust in God. The bishop quoted from Psalm 23, saying that 'though I walk in the valley of the shadow of death I will fear no evil because You are with me'.²¹ By focusing on this text, Bishop Ulrich encouraged the fighting men to believe that respect for Christ would secure for them protection in battle. In addition, the psalm offered God's mercy for all the days of one's life and eternal rest in the home of the Lord,²² promises which would have particular importance for men who faced the imminent possibility of death in combat.

In the normal course of the religious rites that were celebrated for the troops, Bernward heard the confessions of the men of the king's military household at Rome in 1001. Thangmar notes that through the efforts of Bishop Bernward the soldiers were *purgati* through their *confessiones*, thereby making them fit to receive the eucharist (Berschin and Häse, 1993a, p. 318). This emphasis on the purifying effect of confession as a prerequisite for the reception of the host was a common theme in narrative sources written during both the Carolingian and Ottonian periods.²³ In the context of describing events before the famous battle of the Lech, for example, Bishop

Thietmar of Merseburg (1009–18) focused his attention on the confession of Otto I himself (Trillmich, 2002, book 2, ch. 10). Thietmar emphasised that Otto prostrated himself on the ground and confessed his sins directly to God. Only then did the king receive the host from his chaplain (Trillmich, 2002, book 2, ch. 10).

Immediately after hearing the confessions of Otto III's *palatini* at Rome in 1001, Bernward celebrated mass and gave the eucharist (*viaticum*) to the men.²⁴ In describing this element of the pastoral care provided to the royal troops, Thangmar's use of the term *viaticum* rather than the more common *hostis* to denote the eucharist is very important. *Viaticum* had taken on two very specific meanings in the liturgy celebrated in the German Kingdom during the tenth century. It could either signify a health-bringing rite designed for those who were ill, or it could be used to describe the consecrated bread and wine that were taken when an individual was about to die and after he had made his last confession (see Paxton, 1990, pp. 192–95). The use of the term *viaticum* in this context, therefore, is a clear indication of the particular role that the reception of the body and blood of Christ played in preparing men for the dangers of combat.

In a very similar context, Gerhard of Augsburg, who was present at the Hungarian siege of his city in 955, also used the term *viaticum* in the same way to denote the eucharist given to the defenders by Bishop Ulrich (Berschlin and Häse, 1993b, p. 196). Drawing attention to the powerful effect that receiving the host had on the men, Gerhard emphasised that once mass had been completed the defenders were prepared both '*interius*' and '*exterius*' for battle (Berschlin and Häse, 1993b, p. 196).

Overall, the celebration of mass and the giving of the eucharist is the most frequently recorded pastoral duty of priests serving as chaplains in the armies of the Ottonian kings. The author of the *Chronicon Salernitanum*, for example, draws specific attention to this rite in his account of the advance of Otto I's army south into Capua in 969 (Pertz, 1839, ch. 173). He emphasises that while preparing for battle against the Byzantines, Otto I's Swabian, Saxon and Neopolitan troops heard mass and then received both the body (*corpus*) and blood (*sanguinis*) of Christ (Pertz, 1839, ch. 173). In a similar vein, Thietmar of Merseburg emphasised that a Saxon army, in which his father served as an officer, heard mass and received the eucharist before defeating the large Slavic army that had invaded Saxony in 983.²⁵ Thietmar also recorded that another army in which his father served as one of the primary commanders similarly participated in mass as an important pre-battle preparation in late July 990 (Trillmich, 2002, book 4, ch. 11). On this occasion, the German troops received word early in the morning that an attack by a Bohemian army was imminent. As Thietmar put it, 'After hearing this warning, our men quickly arose and prepared themselves, hearing mass at the crack of dawn. Some of the men were standing and others were sitting on their horses' (Trillmich, 2002, book 4, ch. 11).

The final element in the programme of pastoral care undertaken by Bernward at Rome in 1001 was to prepare to join the men on the field of battle, not as a combatant (clerics were unarmed) but rather as the locus of divine power that would aid the men in combat. In this case, according to Thangmar, Bernward lifted up the Holy Lance, the preeminent religious symbol of Ottonian royal authority, and took his place among the troops as a standard-bearer.²⁶ In doing so, Bernward was carrying on the traditional Carolingian and Ottonian practice of bringing sacred and consecrated objects onto the battlefield as a continuing material reminder of the support provided by God and the saints to fighting men.²⁷

The consecrated objects that are identified most frequently in the narrative sources were banners (*vexilla*) that had been blessed for service in battle. During the summer

of 992, for example, Saxon fighting men, mobilised in response to an invasion by a major Slavic force, received religious support in the field from clerics who accompanied the troops on campaign carrying religious banners (Waitz, 1844, p. 638; see also Auer, 1971, p. 401). In both of the major battles against the Slavs that year, clerics were killed carrying out their duties. In the first action a deacon named Thiethard from the church of Verden, who is described as a *signifer*, was killed. In the second battle Halegred, a priest also described as a *signifer*, was killed while serving in a military contingent drawn from the town of Bremen (Waitz, 1844, p. 638). Similarly, in late August 997, Bishop Ramward of Minden (996–1002) took part in a battle against the Slavs in the region of Bardengau on the lower Elbe (Trillmich, 2002, book 4, ch. 29). Thietmar emphasised that Bishop Ramward took up a cross in his hands and rode out ahead of the troops. He was followed by the standard-bearers. According to Thietmar, the visible presence on the battlefield of Ramward with his cross, accompanied by men with the banners, gave tremendous encouragement to the soldiers, who went on to win a major victory over the Slavs.²⁸

The consecration of *vexilla* of the type carried by priests in Ottonian armies dates back to the early Middle Ages.²⁹ The continuity of this practice under the Ottonian kings is illuminated in a late tenth-century Romano-German pontifical from Mainz that includes a blessing for a battle flag (*benedictio vexilli bellici*). This blessing asks God to respond to the humble prayers of his supplicants and to sanctify with the holy blessings of heaven a *vexillum* which has been prepared for use in war (*quo bellico usui preparatum est*) (Vogel and Elze, 1963, p. 378). According to the prayer, the battle flag would aid the Christian people against their enemies. It would also inspire those who trust in God and offer a firm promise of victory (*victoriae certa fiducia*).³⁰ This blessing is also found in a number of other tenth- and eleventh-century pontificals, indicating the widely recognised importance of consecrated banners for the conduct of war in this period.³¹

Recruitment of Chaplains

The authors of narrative sources tended to emphasise the roles played by magnates in military affairs, including the provision of pastoral care.³² Consequently, bishops, as seen above, receive the bulk of the attention accorded to the spiritual preparation of fighting men for battle. Most of the clerics who served as military chaplains in the armies of the Ottonian kings were ordinary priests rather than bishops, however.

Ottonian armies on campaign, as was true of their Carolingian predecessors, were composed of two different types of troops.³³ The bulk of the combatants served in what scholars usually denote as the expeditionary levy (Bachrach, D.S., 2008, pp. 1077–82). These men, who were militiamen rather than professional soldiers, were required to go on campaign because they met certain property qualifications (Bachrach and Bachrach, 2007, pp. 213–14). They usually served under the command of their local count, or another magnate who had been assigned to this role by the king. The other, numerically smaller, element in the Ottonian campaign forces consisted of professional soldiers who served in the military households of secular and ecclesiastical magnates, and of the king himself (Bachrach and Bachrach, 2007, p. 213). The two different types of fighting men – that is, militia troops and professional soldiers – had access to chaplains who were recruited in different ways.

Conciliar legislation from the Carolingian period makes clear the government's expectation that parish priests would serve in the army to provide pastoral care to militia men of the expeditionary levy. The fifth canon of the council held at Riesbach

in 800, for example, made clear that the requirement for parish priests to abstain from meat and wine on Thursdays and Saturdays would be in abeyance when they were serving with the army (*in bello*).³⁴ The practice of recruiting parish priests to serve with the militia men of the expeditionary levy continued into the Ottonian period. The priest Halegred of Bremen, noted above, who lost his life while providing pastoral care to the men under his care, is an example of this type of service (Waitz, 1844, p. 638).

In addition to parish priests, cathedral clergy also can be identified serving as chaplains in the army. Illuminating in this context is a charter issued by Otto I on behalf of the canons of the cathedral of Bologna in 969 (Sickel, 1879–84, no. 372). Here, the emperor confirmed the properties and incomes of the canons and granted them an immunity from interference in their affairs by local secular officials of the royal government. The canons were able to obtain this privilege through the intercession of four priests, named Peter, Peter, John and Bonizo from Bologna, who were already serving in Otto's army during operations in Calabria.³⁵

Professional soldiers usually received pastoral care from the priests who served as chaplains in the households of their commanders. In the case of the emperor's personal troops, as seen above, fighting men could find themselves confessing their sins to bishops, such as Bernward of Hildesheim, who went to war as part of the imperial court. Most of the priests serving as chaplains in the king's household, however, were simple priests, many of whom accompanied their bishops on campaign.³⁶

Fighting men serving in the military households of lesser magnates made their confessions, received their penances, heard mass and received blessings and the eucharist from the chaplains who were employed by their own lords. As is true of parish priests, these chaplains are usually invisible in the sources. On occasion, however, these clerics do appear in charters. In 908, for example, King Louis the Child (911–18) granted royal property to the priest named Martin, who was a chaplain in the service of Duke Burchard of Swabia (917–26) (Schieffer, 1960, charter no. 61). Similarly, Otto III made a gift of property in 1000 to Tagino, the chaplain of Duke Henry of Bavaria. Duke Henry (995–1005) became King Henry II in 1002. Tagino later became archbishop of Magdeburg (1004–12) (Urkunden, 1893, charter 351).

Army Rites

In addition to providing pastoral care to fighting men, chaplains also played an important role in organising the men to participate in army-wide rites that were intended to obtain divine support for victory in battle. Among these rites, fasting was closely connected to the individual pastoral care provided to fighting men by the chaplains. By fasting, the men made it clear that they were penitent on the eve of battle, and were prepared to confess their sins and receive the host. On the night before the battle on the Lech on 9 August 955, for example, the priests in the army preached to the men under their care, urging them to fast. In describing these events, Widukind of Corvey explicitly associated this fast with Otto I's order for the men to prepare themselves for combat.³⁷ Widukind's contemporary Ruotger, who composed a biography of Otto I's younger brother Archbishop Brun of Cologne (953–65), emphasised that Otto I himself gave the order for the army-wide fast in order to honour the vigil of the feast of Saint Lawrence (9 August) whom the German king then begged to intervene with the Lord on behalf of himself and his army in the forthcoming struggle against the pagan Magyars.³⁸

Prayers for saints to intervene on behalf of the army, such as Otto I's prayer to St Lawrence, were a regular element in preparations for battle and during combat itself.

At the battle of Birten (939), for example, the advance guard of Otto I's army had crossed the Rhine and was attacked by a numerically superior force of rebels. Liudprand of Cremona (died 972), a confidant of the king, observed in his account of this battle that when Otto realised that he would not be able to bring his forces across the river in time to join the battle, he remembered the example of the Israelites who were aided by the prayers of Moses when fighting against the Amalekites.³⁹ Consequently, Otto dismounted from his horse and went down on his knees praying for victory, alongside all of his men, to God and Jesus Christ.⁴⁰ Widukind, commenting on the same events, recorded that Otto prayed 'O God, creator and ruler of the universe, look to your people over whom you have wished me to rule, so that secured from their enemies, all of the peoples shall know that no mortal can stand against your wishes, you who are all powerful, and who live and rule for eternity'.⁴¹

In his *Vita* of Bishop Wolfgang of Regensburg (972–94), Otloh draws attention to a similar invocation of divine support during battle while describing Otto II's (973–83) withdrawal from the West Frankish kingdom following his brief siege of Paris in 978 (Othloni, 1841, ch. 32). In the first phase of the beleaguered march home, Otto II's army camped along the Aisne river, one of the main routes to Paris from the east, which at that time was at a high point as a result of the heavy autumn rains. The vanguard of the army, including the king, crossed the river, but a substantial portion of the German force remained on the left bank (*Gesta*, 1846, book 1, ch. 98). The West Frankish king Lothar IV (954–86) had kept a close watch on his German counterpart and decided to take advantage of Otto II's tactical blunder. The result was that Lothar launched a rapid assault at dawn against the Ottonian army.⁴² Seeing the danger to which Otto II's forces were now exposed, Bishop Wolfgang 'looked to heaven' and sought blessings for himself and his men, before forging into the river to provide a rearguard for the retreating German troops.⁴³ Otloh adds that Wolfgang led his men into the water 'in the name of God which was constantly in his mouth'.⁴⁴

Intercessory Rites

These battlefield prayers were often elements in a larger programme of rites that were intended to gain God's support for the army during the campaign as a whole, and also to demonstrate to observers that the Ottonian kings and their troops were worthy of this support. Otto II, for example, held massive public prayers and religious litanies outside the walls of Paris, in a manner reminiscent of the Israelites at Jericho, during his brief siege of this city in 978. According to the author of the *Gesta* of the bishops of Cambrai, these rites were so magnificent that when Otto ordered the chaplains serving with his army to sing the '*Alleluia te martirum*' the volume of their singing astounded the entire population of Paris.⁴⁵ A similarly magnificent set of religious rites were organised by Henry II (1002–24) in the context of his invasion of northern Italy in 1004. Henry's army reached the city of Trent, the entry point to the Brenner pass through the Alps, on Palm Sunday (9 April) (Trillmich, 2002, book 4, ch. 29). According to his biographer Adalbold, rather than immediately push on through the Brenner the German king ordered the celebration by the entire army of a programme of religious ceremonies, to make clear both to observers and to God that they were worthy of divine support in this invasion (Adalbold, 1841, ch. 35).⁴⁶ Adalbold emphasised that Henry ordered the solemnities of this most holy week to be observed with the greatest devotion because he believed that it was not appropriate to go into battle and shed Christian blood on those days when the Lord suffered for His people's sins.⁴⁷ The first major ceremony during the course of this week was the sacral

anointing of the king by the archbishop of Cologne. This ceremony almost certainly included a special mass for the emperor that called upon God to aid the ruler in battle to protect His people.⁴⁸ The regular sequence of Holy Week celebrations then afforded Henry II and his advisers the opportunity to mobilise the prayers of the army to ask God to intervene on their behalf. Adalbold emphasises that the Last Supper on Maundy Thursday was celebrated ‘with the greatest devotion by the entire army’.⁴⁹ Public rites then were held for Good Friday and Holy Saturday.⁵⁰ Finally, Easter itself ‘was celebrated with worthy veneration and pious celebration’.⁵¹

The very next year, in the course of a campaign against Duke Boleslaw Chrobry of Poland (992–1025), Henry II again organised important army-wide religious rites. On this occasion the German king was attempting to force a crossing over the Bober river, a left tributary of the Oder, in the face of the Polish army that had dug in at the town of Krossen, 160 kilometers east-southeast of Magdeburg (Trillmich, 2002, book 6, ch. 26). Over the course of a week, Henry ordered his troops to build boats and bridges so that they could cross in the face of Polish opposition. In the meantime, however, royal scouts managed to find a ford that was not guarded by Boleslaw’s troops. The German king immediately sent a rapid strike force to cross the river and secure a beachhead on the opposite shore. Once the Polish duke realised that Henry’s army was across, he rapidly withdrew, abandoning his camp. The historian Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg, who was Henry’s confidant, emphasises that in response to this bloodless victory, Henry, his army, and all of the clergy joined together in chanting praises to God before continuing with their advance into Polish territory.

Public Religion of War

The public religion of war afforded the Ottonian kings opportunities to shape contemporary views about the justness of their wars. Just as important, public religious rites reveal the concerted effort by the royal government to obtain divine support for military campaigns. The concomitant benefit of public wartime religion was to build confidence among the fighting men that they were serving in a just cause and that God would be on their side.⁵² When, for example, Otto II began his invasion of the West Frankish kingdom in 978, noted above, he took great care to be seen as a protector of the church. The contemporary chronicler Richer of Rheims (died *ca* 1000), who completed his history less than two decades after the invasion, emphasised that the German king made extensive donations to churches, including the monastery of St Baltild de Chelles, which some of his troops had damaged in violation of their orders to leave all churches in peace.⁵³ Otto’s extensive generosity to the churches in the West Frankish kingdom during this campaign made such a great impression on contemporaries that two generations later the author of the *Gesta* of the bishops of Cambrai wrote enthusiastically that rather than robbing churches, the German king gave them rich gifts.⁵⁴

Donations to churches within the German Kingdom and Empire also regularly played a part in setting the stage for war.⁵⁵ In 999, for example, Otto III granted control over the city and district of Vercelli to its prelate Leo in order that ‘this church of God might freely, securely, and permanently support our empire, so that the crown of military strength might triumph, that the power of the Roman people might grow, and that the *res publica* might be restored’.⁵⁶ Similarly, in the preparatory stages of his campaign to northern Italy in 1004, noted above, Henry II made a special journey from Merseburg to Magdeburg, located 100 kilometres to the north (a four-day journey in each direction out of his way), in an effort to obtain the intervention of

St Maurice, the patron saint of Magdeburg, on behalf of his forthcoming military operation.⁵⁷ The king then made a series of gifts to the church of St Maurice, including both extensive properties and relics of the same saint (Bresslau, 1900–03, no. 63). Earlier that same year, Henry made a donation to the monastery of Nienburg, located 35 kilometres south of Magdeburg on the left bank of the Saale, the charter for which draws specific attention to the important role that donations to churches played in the religion of war (Bresslau, 1900–03, no. 83). Here, King Henry emphasised that he was making the donation to Nienburg so that he would have a ‘more certain chance of victory through God’s grace’ in his forthcoming *expeditio* against the Slavs.⁵⁸

Donations to churches such as these were intended not only to win the favour of their patron saints, but also to motivate the clergy to pray for the army’s victory. Some insights into the content of these prayers can be gleaned from the texts of pontificals composed during the tenth and eleventh centuries. For example, the Romano-German pontifical of Mainz, mentioned above, includes the text *praebe domine*.⁵⁹ This prayer calls on God to support the military operations of the army (*opus exercitui*) and to give aid to the soldiers just as He aided the Israelites fleeing from Egypt (Vogel and Elze, 1963, p. 380). Similar prayers for victory and the strength of the king in war are to be found in royal *ordines*, such as the mass for the emperor (*missa pro imperatore*) written (*ca* 960) for the coronation of Otto I (see Elze, 1960, p. 5; Keller, 1994, p. 418). This intercessory mass includes the prayers for God to give ‘triumph to Your servant our emperor’, and to ‘let us have the power to rule which Joseph had in the armed camp, and which Gideon held in battle’.⁶⁰ Here, references to the military leaders of the Israelites make clear the desire to obtain divine support for Otto’s campaigns.

In addition to prayers by the clergy, it seems likely that the Ottonian kings also maintained the practice of their Carolingian predecessors in mobilising the prayers of the laity on behalf of the king and army. There are no explicit references to the mobilisation of prayers by lay people in Ottonian narrative sources, although the presence of such prayers in German pontificals certainly permits the inference that bishops and cathedral clergy could organise such lay intercessions with God on behalf of the royal army. It is noteworthy in this context that just a decade after the death of Henry II, his successor Conrad II (1024–39) is reported by Raoul Glaber to have mobilised all of the people and clergy of his kingdom to pray for victory in a campaign that was being organised against the pagan Liutizi in 1035.⁶¹

Celebrating Victory

Once victory was achieved, the Ottonian kings took great care to give credit to God and the saints as publicly as possible for success in battle. In this manner the Ottonians were able to demonstrate ongoing divine support for their rule and also build continued public support for future military undertakings. In the aftermath of his important victory over the Hungarians at Riade in 933, for example, Henry I (919–36) publicly accorded all of the honour for the victory to God (Hirsch, 1935, book 1, ch. 39). Widukind, in describing these events, recorded that Henry also made extensive gifts to churches for the express purpose of giving alms to the poor as part of the overall celebration of the victory.⁶² In a similar manner, Otto I made a series of donations to churches in Italy to give thanks to God for giving him victory over King Berengar and also for making possible his acclamation as emperor in 962. At the end of July 962, for example, Otto granted properties to the canons of St Giulio d’Orta

expressly to give thanks to God for His support of the German king's military operation (Sickel, 1879–84, no. 243). The royal charter reads, in part, 'that we, not unmindful of the good works of the three-fold majesty that has always supported us in our weakness, and which especially now mercifully has given us victory', give a fortress once held by Berengar in rebellion against Otto to the church of St Giulio.⁶³

Perhaps the most well-known series of public offerings of thanks for a victory in battle came in the aftermath of Otto I's major victory over the Hungarians on the Lechfeld.⁶⁴ Churches throughout Bavaria, which had the most to fear from a successful Hungarian invasion in 955, were dedicated, or rededicated, to St Lawrence on whose feast day (10 August) the battle took place.⁶⁵ Moreover, according to Thietmar, Otto I promised on the day of battle itself that if he were victorious he would establish a bishopric in Merseburg whose special patron was St Lawrence.⁶⁶ This bishopric was eventually established in 967.⁶⁷

The tradition of honouring God for victories in battle even penetrated to the level of the local levies who served as a home guard (*Lantwehr*) for their own districts. In 924, for example, following their defeat of a Hungarian invasion into the region of Frickgau in Swabia, the local levy under their leader Irminger refused to keep the booty that they had captured from the Hungarians for themselves. Instead, according to Ekkehard of St Gall, whose early eleventh-century history was based on accounts from earlier local chronicles, the local militia men took all of their spoils and placed them in a local church.⁶⁸

Caring for the Dead

The final crucial element of the public religion of war was the care for those fighting men who fell in battle and on campaign. This concern for the ultimate fate of the souls of fighting men killed in combat is discussed by Thietmar of Merseburg in the context of describing Duke Bolesław Chrobry's victory over a German force under the command of Archbishop Gero of Magdeburg in 1015 (Trillmich, 2002, book 7, ch. 21). After recalling the deaths of several magnates and 200 fighting men, Bishop Thietmar stepped out of his role as narrator and called directly on God in prayer to have mercy when considering the fate of their souls. He wrote, 'please let all-powerful God look with mercy on their names and their souls'.⁶⁹ In addition, Thietmar asked God to have mercy on the souls of those still living for having caused this disaster through the sinfulness of their lives, and to protect them from ever suffering such a tragedy again.⁷⁰

In order to ensure that prayers for these fighting men would continue to be said, their names were often included in so-called memorial books (*libri memoriales*), the earliest of which date back to the eighth century. These texts listed the names of individuals under the day of the year on which they died so that their names could be included in intercessory masses for that day. The men who fell in the battle against Bolesław Chrobry, for example, were subsequently included in the *Liber memorialis* of Merseburg so that their souls could receive the benefit of an annual remembrance and prayers (Althoff and Wollasch, 1983, fol. 5r).

In the immediate aftermath of the disastrous defeat at the hands of Bolesław Chrobry, Henry II wanted to go to retrieve the bodies for proper Christian burial personally (Trillmich, 2002, book 7, ch. 22). He was dissuaded from doing so out of fear for his safety. However, the king did send Bishop Eid of Meissen to Bolesław's camp to ask permission to return to the battlefield. Once this permission was granted, Eid and his military household returned to the site and gave the common fighting men

a proper burial (Trillmich, 2002, book 7, ch. 22). The officers, including Margrave Gero, were brought back to their families, and in the case of Gero, buried in the family monastery at Nienburg (Trillmich, 2002, book 7, ch. 22).

The proper Christian burial of fighting men by chaplains provided assurance to the survivors that they too would be well cared for should they also fall in the course of a military campaign. In order to secure an even greater level of intercession for their loved ones, however, some wealthy families established religious houses in the names of their departed relatives. In 960, for example, Margrave Gero, one of Otto I's closest military advisers, established the convent of Gernrode in memory of his son Siegfried, and established the latter's widow Hathui as its first abbess.⁷¹ In other cases, men even arranged on their own behalf to make major donations to religious houses in the event of their death in battle. For example, a charter issued in 982 by Otto II on behalf of the monastery of St Gorze records that one of the king's officers, a count named Conrad, had requested publicly that if he were to die fighting the Saracens, all of his property be given to Gorze.⁷² Otto, of course, acceded to this request, noting that it was in his own interest to aid the efforts of his *fideles* to support the church for the benefit of their souls.⁷³ As it happened, Conrad was killed in the battle of Cap Callone, so that his considerable property did indeed come into the hands of the monks at St Gorze (Urkunden, 1893, charter 280).

Conclusion

In the armies of the Ottonian kings, as had been true of their Carolingian predecessors, military chaplains played an important role in maintaining the morale of soldiers by providing pastoral care to individual fighting men and in organising the army to participate in military rites and ceremonies. Through participation in the rites of confession and reception of the eucharist, the men could feel confident that they were reconciled with God before going into combat. If they fell in battle, they were assured of eventual redemption in heaven. On the broader level, soldiers could also take comfort that they were serving in an army that enjoyed the support of God and the saints because they had prayed properly for divine intervention on their behalf in battle. These rites on the battlefield and on campaign were further reinforced through the mobilisation of public religious support on behalf of the army. The Ottonian kings took great care to associate their support of the church with their conduct of military affairs. In this context, gifts to churches were tied to prayers for divine aid in war, and credit for victory in battle was accorded to God and the saints. Finally, religious rites on behalf of the men who died in war served the dual purpose of assuring the families of these fallen soldiers that they would find their way to heaven, and also of providing comfort to soldiers that they too would benefit from public prayers if they lost their lives in combat.

The efforts undertaken by the kings of the Ottonian dynasty to provide pastoral care to their soldiers in the field, as well as to mobilise both army-wide rites and the religious intercession of the home front, were maintained by their successors in the German Kingdom and mirrored throughout the Latin West.⁷⁴ At a macro level the nearly universal understanding that God chose winners and losers in wars made it crucial to seek out divine aid in battle. For individual Christians who served as soldiers, the risk of death in battle or simply from disease was ever present. Chaplains provided a link to God's grace for life and safety in this world, and to salvation in the next. Medieval military commanders, like their modern counterparts, understood very well that chaplains played a crucial part in maintaining morale and discipline in the army.

Notes

- 1 For the practice of deploying priests in Roman army units see Jones (1953). With regard to the provision of military chaplains to Arian troops in the Roman army, see Mathisen (1997).
- 2 See the discussion of these religious practices by David S. Bachrach (2003a, pp. 11–24).
- 3 The basic work on public ceremonies of all types from the late Roman Empire through the early Middle Ages is McCormick (1986). Regarding the mobilisation of public prayers on behalf of the army, see Bachrach, D.S. (2003a, pp. 18–19).
- 4 Regarding the basic problem of once in a lifetime confession and the military life during the early medieval period, see Bachrach, D.S. (2003a, pp. 24–30).
- 5 See the discussions by Bernard Poschmann (1968, pp. 122–31), Cyrille Vogel (1982, pp. 419–27) and Philippe Rouillard (1996, pp. 43–48), and a synthesis of this problem with regard to fighting men by David Bachrach (2003a, pp. 28–30).
- 6 On the spread of these penitential manuals see Pierce (McKitterick) (1975, pp. 31–39) and Meens (1998, pp. 35–63).
- 7 This is the basic argument in Bachrach, D.S. (2003b, pp. 3–22), with the literature cited there.
- 8 *‘et unusquisque praefectus [habeat] unum presbiterum, qui hominibus peccata confitentibus iudicare et indicare poenitentiam possint’* (Werminghoff, 1906a, vol. 2, part 1, p. 3). Regarding this text, see Koeniger (1918, pp. 18–24), Erdmann (1935, p. 16) and Bachrach, B.S. (2001, pp. 49–50). The text of the canons issued by the council was quickly reissued by Carloman as a capitulary in 742. On this point, see Boretius (1883, pp. 24–26), where the entire collection of canons from the council was reissued as a capitulary. The most recent treatment of this topic is Bachrach, D.S. (2003b, pp. 11–12).
- 9 The size of the Carolingian field armies has received considerable attention in the scholarly literature. Ferdinand Lot’s assertion that Carolingian armies had a maximum size of about 5000 men has generally been rejected by medieval military historians. For the minimalist figures on Carolingian military demography, see Lot (1946, vol. 1, pp. 94–103). On the new state of the question, see Bachrach, B.S. (1999, pp. 3–20). For the large size of Carolingian field forces and the capability of mobilising some 100,000 effectives in several armies, see Werner (1968, pp. 814–16) and Contamine (1994, p. 24). With regard to the large number of priests who were required to hear confessions in Carolingian armies, see Bachrach, D.S. (2003a, p. 46).
- 10 This distinction was drawn, for example, by the bishops at the council of Arles in 541 (see Maassen, 1893, p. 93).
- 11 The basic study of penances imposed on soldiers in the early Middle Ages is Kottje (1991). See the discussion by David S. Bachrach (2003a, pp. 29–30).
- 12 The treatment of this topic by Justin C. Lake (2009) is now crucial.
- 13 This point has recently been made with respect to Carolingian sources specifically dealing with military matters by Thomas Scharff (2002, p. 42). Also see the review of this work by David S. Bachrach (2005). With regard to the accuracy of authors in the Ottonian period, see the valuable survey by Wolfgang Giese (2008, pp. 11–22). With regard to specific authors, see Bachrach, D.S. (2007b, pp. 63–70), Bachrach and Bachrach (2007, pp. 192–96), Bachrach, B.S. (2002, pp. 166–67) and *passim*.
- 14 For a fuller discussion of the issues involved with specific relevance to the depiction of the religious behaviour of fighting men and military chaplains, see Bachrach, D.S. (2004, 2007a).
- 15 Regarding the basic continuity in military institutions in the eastern regions of the Carolingian Empire, see Goldberg (2006, pp. 119–31) and Bachrach and Bachrach (2007). For a sustained critique of the older model of Ottonian history, championed by scholars including Gerd Althoff and Hagen Keller, see Bachrach, D.S. (2009), particularly pp. 389–97.
- 16 For a positive appraisal of Thangmar’s reliability in recounting the actions of his student Bernward, see the discussion by Martina Giese (2006, pp. 2, 29, 37) and *passim*.

- 17 With regard to the organisation of the military household of the Ottonian kings, see Bachrach, D.S. (2008, pp. 1069–71).
- 18 See the discussion of sermons by Carolingian military chaplains in Bachrach, D.S. (2003a, pp. 49–55).
- 19 ‘*salutaribus monitis instructi*’ (Berschin and Häse, 1993a, p. 318). The use of sermons to encourage soldiers to confess their sins before battle continued well into the thirteenth century, both in wars among Christians and during crusades. See, in this context, Bachrach, D.S. (2003a, pp. 108–48; 2004, pp. 1–19; 2007a, pp. 76–99).
- 20 ‘*fortissimi, inquit, bellatores, qui per mille periculorum facies tociens egregio vestro nomini insignes rapuistis victorias, surgite queso, nil timentes surgite, virile robur, quod turpiter dormitantes amisistis, resumite. Pudeat naturales elementorum vices horrere. nil de vitae periculo agitur, nullus de inflicto cum hostili dextra cruor stillat vulnere; innoxiae tantum hunc aerem involvere tenebrae, quas paululum post cernitis illuscere redintegrato lumine; ceterum in tuto sunt omnia*’ (Anselmi, 1846, ch. 24).
- 21 ‘*si ambulavero in medio umbrae mortis, non timebo mala, quoniam tu mecum es*’ (Berschin and Häse, 1993b).
- 22 ‘*et misericordia tua subsequitur me omnibus diebus vitae meae et ut inhabitem in domo Domini in longitudinem dierum*’ (Berschin and Häse, 1993b). In this vein, Thangmar claims that Bernward’s sermon to Otto III’s troops ‘consoled the men and strengthened them with life-giving admonishments’ (*vitalibus monitis consolans et corroborans*) (see Berschin and Häse, 1993a, p. 318).
- 23 Regarding the Carolingian view of the important role of confession as a prerequisite for receiving the host, see Bachrach, D.S. (2003a, pp. 48–62).
- 24 ‘*palatini autem a domno Bernwardo episcopo salutaribus monitis instructi, confessione nichilominus purgati, sacro quoque viatico inter missarum sollempnia muniti, econtra egredi et hostes fortiter impetere parant*’ (Berschin and Häse, 1993a, p. 318).
- 25 ‘*qui, ut dies sabbati primo illuxit, corpus animamque celesti sacramento muniunt*’ (Trillmich, 2002, book 3, ch. 19).
- 26 ‘*signifer ipse cum sancta hasta in prima fronte acie egredi parat*’ (Berschin and Häse, 1993a, p. 318). Concerning the use of the Holy Lance as a religious totem by the Ottonian kings in battle, see Leyser (1994, p. 206) and Adelson (1996, esp. pp. 180–82).
- 27 Regarding the deployment of sacred and consecrated objects on the field of battle, see Bachrach, D.S. (2003a), and the literature cited there.
- 28 ‘*in illo certamine Ramwardus Mindensis episcopus fuit, qui socios, arrepta in manibus cruce sua, sequentibus signiferis precessit et ad hec facienda potenter consolidavit*’ (Trillmich, 2002, book 4, ch. 29).
- 29 For the blessings on crosses and battle flags, see Férotin (1904, cols. 149–53).
- 30 ‘*ut contra adversarios et rebelles nationes sit validum tuoque munimeque circumseptum, sitque inimicis christiani populi terribile atque in te confidentibus solidamentum et victoriae certa fiducia*’ (Vogel and Elze, 1963, p. 378).
- 31 Blessings for battle flags can be found in numerous manuscripts, including Bamberg öffentliche Bibliothek cod. Lit. 53, fol. 137v; Bamberg öffentliche Bibliothek cod. Lit. 54, fol. 3 v; Episcopal archives of Eichstätt, the pontifical of Bishop Gondekar II of Eichstätt, fol. 139 v; Munich Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 6425 (Cod. Frising. 225), fol. 259 v; Bibliothèque nationale, Cod. lat. 1817 (Vienne 1817), fol. 134 r; and Wolfenbüttel 4099, Landesbibliothek, Cod. lat. 4099 (Weissenburg. 15), fol. 39 r.
- 32 Regarding the bias of the authors of narrative sources toward the discussion of the activities of magnates in military affairs, see Bachrach, B.S. (2006).
- 33 Regarding Carolingian military organisation, see Bachrach, B.S. (2001, pp. 51–83 and 287–312). Regarding Ottonian military organisation, see Bachrach and Bowlus (2000, pp. 122–36), Bachrach and Bachrach (2007, pp. 186–222) and Bachrach, D.S. (2008).
- 34 ‘*item non tenentur ieiunare qui in bello, in itinere, in palatio, aut in curia principis, infirmi . . .*’ (Werminghoff, 1906b, vol. 2, part 1, p. 214).

- 35 *'Petri aliique Petri, Iohannis et Bonizonis qui nobis in exercitu milicie in Calabriam servierunt'* (Sickel, 1879–84, no. 372).
- 36 The basic work on the royal chapel remains Fleckenstein (1959, 1966). See particularly vol. 1, p. 91.
- 37 *'ieiunio in castris predicato, iussum est omnes in crastino paratos esse ad bellum'* (Hirsch, 1935, book 3, ch. 44).
- 38 *'imperator indici sanxit ieiunium ipsa, que tunc erat, in vigilia sancti Laurentii martyris, per cuius interventum sibi populoque suo ipsum Deum poposcit esse refugium'* (Ott, 1951, ch. 35). The importance of the feast of St Lawrence in the tenth-century German church is discussed by L. Weinrich (1972).
- 39 *'rex denique tantam suorum constantiam non sine divino instinctu esse considerans, quoniam fluvio intercedente corporali praesentia subvenire suis non poterat, recordatus populi Domini, qui repugnantes sibi Amalechitas orationibus Moysi servi Dei devicerat'* (Chiesa, 1998, *Antapodosis*, 4.24). See the relevant passage in Exodus 17.8–14.
- 40 *'protinus de equo descendit seseque cum omni populo lacrimas fundens ante victoriferos clavos, manibus domini et salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi adfixos suaeque laneae interpositos, in orationem dedit'* (Chiesa, 1998, *Antapodosis*, 4.24).
- 41 *'Deus, inquit, omnium rerum auctor et rector, respice populum tuum, cui me preesse voluisti, ut, ereptus ab inimicis, sciant omnes gentes ullum mortalium tuae dispositioni contraire non posse, qui omnia potes et vivis et regnas in aeternum'* (Hirsch, 1935, book 2, ch. 17).
- 42 *'sequenti vero die collectis quos potuit, Lotharius, licet inferior numero, ex pudoris tamen conscientia presumptionem colligans, occulte usque ad predictum fluvium hostes prosequitur'* (Gesta, 1846, book 1, ch. 98).
- 43 *'verus Dei cultor cum suis appropriinquinavit, vidensque tam ingens periculum, respexit in caelum et se suosque fideliter benedicens, ipsum intrepide monuit transire fluvium'* (Othloni, 1841, ch. 32).
- 44 *'ille primus sui comitatus per nomen Domini, quod semper in ore sonuit, fluvium transiens'* (Othloni, 1841, ch. 32).
- 45 *'deinde vero ad pompandam victoriae suae gloriam Hugoni, qui Parisius residebat, per legationem denuncians, quod in tantam sublimitatem Alleluia faceret ei decantari, in quanta non audieret, accitis quam pluribus clericis Alleluia te martirum in loco qui dicitur Mons Martirum, in tantum elatis vocibus decantari precepit, ut attonitis auribus ipse Hugo et omnis Parisiorum plebs miraretur'* (Gesta, 1846, book 1, ch. 97).
- 46 In describing Henry II's programme of religious rites at Trent, Adalbold provides significantly more detail than does his primary source Thietmar, who simply records that the king allowed his men a brief respite on Palm Sunday before renewing the campaign into Italy (Trillmich, 2002, book 6, ch. 4).
- 47 *'iussit, ut ibi dies solemnes maior hebdomadae digna devotione veneraretur. nam enim ei bonum esse videbatur, ut in illis diebus, in quibus Conditor pro conditis, Creator pro creatis, Dominus pro servis capi, flagellari, crucifigi, sepeliri in agnitionem suae caritatis voluit, indicaretur aliqua congressio, ex qua violentia christiani sanguinis fieret effusio'* (Adalbold, 1841, ch. 35).
- 48 See Elze (1960, p. 13) for the text of a mass for the emperor composed circa 1000 which included the post-communion prayer 'You O Lord, who have readied the Roman Empire to preach the gospel of the eternal King, offer the arms of heaven to your servant our emperor so that the peace of the church will not be disturbed by any of the tempests of war'.
- 49 *'ibi a toto exercitu coena Domini devotissime ad memoriam reducitur'* (Elze, 1960, p. 13).
- 50 *'ibi parasceve, ibi sabbatum sanctum piis affectibus colitur'* (Elze, 1960, p. 13).
- 51 *'insuper pascha Domini et digna veneratione celebratur et pia celebratione veneratur'* (Elze, 1960, p. 13).
- 52 Regarding the importance of establishing the justness of one's cause through the celebration of public religious rites, see the discussion by Bachrach, D.S. (2003a, pp. 64–78).
- 53 *'nec minus centuriones praevii, eo ignorante, Sanctae Baltildis monasterium apud Chelas penitus subruerunt atque combusserunt ... quod non mediocriter dolens, multa in ejus*

- restaurationem delegavit* (Latouche, 1967, vol. II, p. 92). Regarding Richer as a historian, see the discussion by Jason Glenn (2004, particularly pp. 110–27).
- 54 *'paternis tamen moribus instructus, aecclesias observavit, immo etiam oppulenti muneribus ditare potius estimavit'* (Gesta, 1846, book 1, ch. 97).
- 55 See the discussion of this point by Schaller (1974, pp. 16–17).
- 56 *'ut libere et secure permanente dei ecclesia prosperetur nostrum imperium, triumphet corona nostrae militie, propagatur potentia populi Romani et restituatur res publica ...'* (Urkunden, 1893, charter 324). This charter was renewed in 1054 by Emperor Henry III who repeated the earlier formula emphasising the connection between the gift to the bishop and the future success of the empire. See Bresslau and Kehr (1931, no. 327).
- 57 *'a Merseburg tunc exiens, sancti Mauricii apud Deum intercessionem itinerisque prosperitatem Magadaburch peciit'* (Trillmich, 2002, book 6, ch.3).
- 58 *'et quia ea tempestate proxima nobis in Sclavoniam instabat expeditio, pro certioris gratia triumphis ...'* (Bresslau, 1900–03, no. 83). In 1005, the next year, Henry prepared for a campaign against the Poles by first celebrating the assumption of the Virgin Mary. Thietmar emphasised that King Henry II did not set out until he had fulfilled both his religious and charitable obligations: *'et rex sanctae Dei genitricis assumptionem Magadaburch celebrans, in ipso die post missam et caritatem expletam comitante regina transnavigans Albiam proficiscitur'* (Trillmich, 2002, book 6, ch. 19).
- 59 The late tenth-century version can be found in Vogel and Elze (1963, p. 380).
- 60 *'da servo tuo imperatori nostro triumphum'* and *'sit nobis regendi auctoritas, qualem Iosue in castris, Gedeon sumpsit in proeliis'* (Elze, 1960, pp. 5–6).
- 61 *'ob quam rem totius ecclesie clerus ac plebs regni sui, semet affligens, Dominum rogaverunt, ut ultionis vindictam de tanta barbarorum vesania illi concederet, ut ad sui nominis honorem Christianis foret ex illis victoria'* (Glaber, 1989, 4.23).
- 62 *'divino cultui mancipavit et largitionibus pauperum deservire constituit'* (Hirsch, 1935, book 1, ch. 39).
- 63 *'nos non immemores beneficiorum trinae insecabilisque maiestatis quae semper circa nostrae imbecillitatis fragilitatem operatur, specialiter tamen ideo quod misericorditer nobis victoriam tribuens ...'* (Sickel, 1879–84, no. 243).
- 64 The basic work on the battle on the Lechfeld and its aftermath is Bowlus (2006).
- 65 Regarding the naming of churches in Bavaria after St Lawrence in the aftermath of the Lechfeld campaign, see Bowlus (2006, pp. 143–44).
- 66 *'si Christus dignaretur sibi eo die tanti intercessione preconis dare victoriam et vitam, ut in Merseburgiensi episcopatum in honore victoris ignium construere domumque suimet magnam noviter inceptam sibi ad aecclesiam vellet edificare'* (Trillmich, 2002, book 2, ch. 10).
- 67 Thietmar, as the bishop of Merseburg, may be forgiven for tying the foundation of his see to the enormously important victory on the Lechfeld. However, it is important to note that when the see was established in 967 the cathedral was dedicated to St Lawrence.
- 68 *'at Irminger cum suis spolia in facie hostium collecta basilice triumphans intulit et per omnes circumquaque munitiones dispertivit'* (Haeefe, 1980, p. 136). Irminger was not a count or office-holder but rather simply a landowner in the region.
- 69 *'quorum nomina et animas Deus omnipotens misericorditer respiciat'* (Trillmich, 2002, book 7, ch. 21).
- 70 *'et nos quorum culpa hii tunc oppetiere, sibi per Christum reconciliet et, ne quid tale ulterius paciamur, clemens custodiat'* (Trillmich, 2002, book 7, ch. 21).
- 71 See the discussion of this event by Thietmar (Trillmich, 2002, book 2, ch. 19), and the royal charter confirming the establishment of this house (Sickel, 1879–84, p. 229).
- 72 *'Cunradus filius Ruodolfi quondam comitis in die belli quod fuit inter nos et Sarracenos, sub fanone nostro, hoc est imperiali vexillo, legali ritu tradendum nobis commendavit omne predium suum quod habuit in regno Lothariensi, rogavitque in conspectu totius exercitus nostram dominationem humiliter, ut hoc totum parvum cum magno ad monasterium sancti Gorgonii martyris in loco Gorzia vocato constructum nostra perceptione, si ea die moreretur, sicut fecit, traderemus'* (Urkunden, 1893, charter 280).

- 73 *'si petitiones fidelium nostrorum quas pro usu et statu ecclesiarum ac remedio animarum suarum in conspectu imperii nostri fundunt, pia devotione compleverimus, id procul dubio ad presentis vite statum et eterne beatitudine premia capessenda nobis proficere confidimus'* (Urkunden, 1893, charter 280).
- 74 Regarding the broad range of military pastoral practices throughout the Latin West from the eleventh through the early fourteenth centuries, see Bachrach, D.S. (2003a, pp. 64–194).

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