CHAPTER 2

The Ecclesiastical, Cistercian, and Artistic Relationships between Denmark and Gotland

The Valdemarian Era (*c.* 1157–1241) was a formative and controversial period for the Church in Denmark and Gotland, which resulted in both conflicting and lucrative relationships. Under the direction of the archbishops of Lund, the northern primate Church held jurisdiction over the Christianized regions of Sweden, Denmark, and Gotland. Conflated ecclesiastical, Cistercian, military, economic, maritime, economic, military, and artistic partnerships were formed that increased the authority of the Church and resulted in the production of thousands of Romanesque baptismal fonts. In the earlier scholarship, the national demarcation of the northern Romanesque baptismal fonts and the inherited hypothesis of single master carvers rather than active workshops with numerous artisans resulted in the segregation of sculptural achievements on Gotland from corresponding developments in medieval Denmark and on the Continent. In some cases, this has resulted in myopic views which either devalue or deny earlier partnerships between Denmark and Gotland. To fully comprehend the ecclesio-political messages created within the milieu of the Baltic Crusades' first hundred years, it is necessary to re-examine and assemble the often-fragmented scholarship on the judicial, military, and mercantile relationships that intertwined the two regions and, which impacted the ecclesio-political messages carved on the baptismal fonts.

This chapter introduces the multi-faceted perspectives on the ecclesio-political, commercial, and military partnerships that tethered Denmark and Gotland. There was no single factor or alliance but rather a combination of mutually beneficial relationships that simultaneously gave rise to the northern stone industry, the construction of more than 4500 medieval churches in medieval Denmark and Sweden, thus creating the context in which the Romanesque fonts were conceived.[1]

2.1 Medieval Kingdom of Denmark

The fluctuating borders of medieval Denmark along the southern shores of the Baltic Sea reflected the ongoing conquests, shifting family alliances, changing oaths of loyalty, as well as the successful and failed expansion of Christendom in the pagan territories. The Kingdom of Denmark during Valdemar II's reign was comprised of territories that are part of modern-day Denmark (Bornholm, Falster, Fyn, Jutland, Lolland, Sjælland), Germany (Schleswig-Holstein, Rügen, and Pomerania), Poland (western and eastern shores of Pomerania along the Baltic Sea to the Elblag), and Sweden (Blekinge, Bohuslän, Halland, Skåne, Öland). Under Valdemar II and Archbishop Anders Sunesen, regions of Estonia

1 Markus, *Visual Culture*, p. 7.

were conquered, first in 1219 and then with gradual Danish jurisdiction over the regions of Harria, Jerwia, and Vironia.[2] Conflict with the Order of the Sword Brothers weakened Danish jurisdiction, which was not secured until 1236 under Pope Gregory IX (Map 4, Table 8).[3] In addition, as suggested by some historians, the central district of Gotland was under the jurisdiction of the abbot of Roma, the Cistercian monastery, and thus, under the jurisdiction of the Danish primate Church at Lund and, indirectly, under the influence of the Danish king (Map 4).

Regions of the Duchy of Pomerania along the southeastern shores of the Baltic Sea submitted to Canute VI of Denmark and were under Danish rule from 1185 until 1227. The island of Rügen, today part of Germany, was Christianized in 1080 by the Danes. According to the *Knytlinga Saga* (*c*. 1250), over 900 islanders were baptized *en masse* but then the island lapsed back into pagan beliefs.[4] After the resurgence of pagan beliefs, Valdemar I conquered the island and in a bull from Pope Alexander III dated to about 1168–1169, Rügen was assigned to the diocese of Roskilde under Absalon, after Valdemar I's reconquest of the island.[5] Rügen then remained a fiefdom under Danish rule until 1325.[6] Art historians have noted the influence of Danish architecture in the Cistercian nunnery of Bergen, founded in 1193 on Rügen.[7] Gradually the ongoing Wendish Crusades resulted in large areas of Nordalbingia, the region of Saxony south of the March of Schleswig, coming firmly under Danish control by 1202.[8] In the first decade of the thirteenth century Danish jurisdiction extended from Holstein, east of the Elbe River, in the area known then as Selavinia, to Kurland and included parts of Estonia and Fehmarn (Map 4).[9]

Consequently, in an era obsessed with Christian conversion, the imagery proclaiming the necessity of baptism, the *Advent of Christ and Ecclesia* were crucial ecclesio-military themes in the visual propaganda designed for the baptismal fonts during the Baltic Crusades.

Artistic Evidence

The material evidence shows that the Danish Church during the Valdemarian Era was actively involved in the widespread dissemination of visual propaganda and a new aesthetic across the Baltic region. The scholarship in recent decades demonstrates that Gotland and Denmark shared many artistic developments via the Danish Church, the Cistercian networks, and Continental connections well into the thirteenth century, thus reinforcing the new aesthetic in the production of northern Romanesque art and architecture.[10] When discussed in isolation, these influences often seem localized or insignificant. When combined, however, the collective evidence reveals a very

2 Anders Sunesen who was vicegerent of Estonia placed the region of Harria (today Harju county) under the authority of the bishop of Reval, and he ordained the Dane known as Ostrad as bishop of Jerwia and Vironia, further reinforcing the Danish authority in this region, see Tamm, 'The Livonian Crusade', p. 386.

3 *Diplomatarium Danicum 1224–1237*, ed. by Skyum-Nielsen, no. 215, p. 279; Markus, *Visual Culture*, p. 272.

4 *Knytlinga Saga*, trans. by Hermann Pålsson and Edwards, ch. 122, p. 169; large crowds of Estonians were baptized by their Christian Chieftain by aspersion, a springling of blessed water thrown over the crowd, see Henricus Lettus, *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, bk. 1, pp. 26–27, 32–33, bk.30, p. 244.

5 Pulsiano and Acker, 'Denmark', p. 426; Nyberg, *Monasticism in North-Western Europe*, p. 194.

6 Hybel and Poulsen, *The Danish Resources*, p. 374.

7 Kratzke, 'Cistercians and their Architecture in the Baltic Region', p. 160.

8 Jacobsen, 'Wicked Count Henry', p. 327.

9 Wienberg, 'Fæstninger', p. 43; Hybel and Poulsen, *The Danish Resources*, p. 135. In 1346, Valdemar IV sold the Danish fiefdom of Estonia to the Teutonic Order, extending the military order around the eastern rim of the Baltic region, J. M. Jensen, *Denmark and the Crusades*, p. 13.

10 For an analysis of the Cistercian communication network, see Tamm, 'Communicating Crusade', pp. 341–72

different perspective. This is important since it impacts our understanding of the contemporary relationships that influenced and guided the making of the Romanesque baptismal fonts. It confirms, for example, that the Gotland and Skåne workshops were not working in isolation but were part of a wider shared environment under the guidance of the Danish Church. Direct links between the font workshops operating in Gotland and Denmark have been identified.[11] Early on M. Rydbeck pointed out that the artisans working in the Tove and Majestatis workshops worked in both Skåne and on Gotland, pointing to similarities between the Tryde font in Skåne and the works by the Sighraf and Semi-Byzantios workshop.[12]

Architectural features evident on Danish parish churches were replicated on the early stone churches on Gotland and on the Tingstad font.[13] The Rhenish-Lombard features identified in the construction of the Danish parishes, such as the semi-circular apses, as carved on the base of the Tingstad baptismal font (Fig. 2.1) and as seen on the Gotland churches at Anga and Atlingbo where there are Byzantios fonts. Additional features, such as the upper blind-Lombard arcade under the roof line and the vertical piers along the nave and around the apse as seen on numerous Gotland churches, like the Fardhem (Fig. 2.2) and Havdhem (Fig. 2.3) churches, are modelled on the Rhenish-Lombard style adopted in medieval Denmark.[14] Furthermore, as noted by the architectural historian Markus, the Danish features of carved panels flanking the portals in Jutland, for example, at Brørup, Gjøl, Gjørding, Hviding, Låsby (south portal), Lem, Ørsted (north and south portals), Rimsø (south portal), Sørup, and Vejlby (south portal) are similar to the portals with sculptured panels on the Gotland churches at Fardhem (Fig. 2.4) and Väte (Fig. 2.5), and Vänge, providing further evidence of Danish influence on Gotland.[15] More connections between the Danes and Gotland have been investigated through the commissioned octagonal church of the Holy Spirit in Visby, which was modelled on Store Hedding (Sjælland, DK).[16]

Several features on the fonts carved by the Calcarius workshop on Gotland convey connections with the Danish community, St Clement, and the Church of San Clemente in Rome. The circular vine motifs on the numerous Calcarius fonts (Bredsättra, Fig. 2.6), representing the *Vineyard of the Lord*, are modelled on the circular acanthus-vine motif ornamenting the gold mosaic apse in the Basilica of San Clemente in Rome (Fig. 2.7). The Church of St Clement in Visby was dedicated to Pope Clement I, who was the patron saint of mariners and who gave Canute the Great (*c.* 1035) the power and authority to establish the Christian Church in Scandinavia.[17] Scholars such as Barbara Crawford and Erik Cinthio have identified twenty-five churches dedicated to St Clement in the medieval Kingdom of Denmark, compared with six in Norway and none in medieval Sweden.[18] Historians have long

11 Nyborg, 'Enkeltmænd og fællesskaber', p. 60; Nyborg, 'Kirke - sognedannelse – bebyggelse', p. 26.
12 Rydbeck, *Skånes stenmästare*, pp. 237–74, 308–17, 319.
13 Lindgren, 'Stenarkitekturen', pp. 64–77.
14 Markus, *Visual Culture*, pp. 205–06.
15 Markus, 'The Church on the Borderland', p. 347; for comparative works Andlau Abbey, see Roosval, 'Elsass', pp. 9–16; for more information on the carved panels flanking the Jutland churches, see Hein and Pedersen, *Horder en romansk stenmester*, Romanske Stenarbejder 3; Pedersen, 'Orm og strop', pp. 72–73, 82; Kolstrup, 'Synds- og nådeportalerne i Voldsted og Gjøl', pp. 119–54.
16 Markus, 'The Church on the Borderland', p. 342; Ekhoff, *St Clemens Kyrka i Visby*; Schütt, 'Die dänischen St Knudsgilden', pp. 231–80.
17 Markus, 'The Church on the Borderland', p. 342; Ekhoff, *St Clemens Kyrka i Visby*; Schütt, 'Die dänischen St Knudsgilden', pp. 231–80.
18 Crawford, 'The Cult of Clement in Denmark', pp. 277–78; Cinthio, 'The Churches of St Clemens in Scandinavia', pp. 103–16.

noted the popularity of the Cult of Clement in medieval Denmark, ranking him next to St Peter and St Mary. The design similarities between the Calcarius baptismal fonts and the apse in San Clement in Rome are strategically obvious, adding yet another confirmed link with the Cult of Clement and the influence of the Danes in the production of the Calcarius fonts.

In addition, disconnected but related details on several fonts by the Byzantios, Calcarius, and Tove workshops reveal iconographical influences from Tuscany and the Lombardy regions, as previously mentioned in Chapter 1.[19] Numerous features on the fonts by the Calcarius workshop, such as the eagles with their spread wings seen on the underside of the Sørup basin (Duchy of Schleswig) can be traced to works in Tuscany.[20] The presence of the *Volto Santo* (Holy Face) on the Gistad font (Fig. 2.8) is similar to northern examples and the Lucca crucifix of *Volto Santo* (Fig. 2.9), as Ragnhild Strömbom pointed out.[21] And, for example, the events on the Skelby font by the Calcarius workshop (Falster; Figs 1.106, 1.07), were carved in rectangular frames similar to scenes carved by Meister Bonusamieus and others working in Tuscany.[22] Clerics and Danish pilgrims on route to Rome or the Holy Land would have travelled through Lucca and possibly stayed at the Danish hospice established by the Danish king, Erik the Good, the grandfather of Valdemar I and, thus, have been familiar with many of these sites.

19 Rydbeck, 'Italienskt', pp. 3–5; Biehl, *Toskanische Plastik*, plates 34, 45, 58, 102a, and 102b.

20 For example, the pulpit in parish church of San Pietro in Gropina, Tuscany, see Biehl, *Toskanische Plastik*, plate 34 a-b; and the lectern from the Cathedral Library at Pescia, Tuscany, Italy in Biehl, *Toskanische Plastik*, plate 58a-b.

21 Strömbom, 'Calcarius', pp. 81–97.

22 Biehl, *Toskanische Plastik*, Figs 102a, 102b.

2.2 Öland and Gotland

The Baltic islands of Öland and Gotland, located in the eastern frontier of Christendom, were of great political and economic interest to the Danes during the Valdemarian Era. In 1170 the island of Öland was Christianized by the Danes.[23] In addition, it has been suggested that the safe harbour of Grankullaviken on the northern tip of Öland, the stopover on route to Gotland and the East, once had several villages which may have belonged to the Cistercian monastery of Roma on Gotland.[24] Architectural historians and archaeologists have demonstrated that Danish masons and builders constructed churches on both Öland and Gotland during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, strategically establishing a strong Danish presence on these two islands.[25]

Gotland is 52 kilometres wide and 176 kilometres long, with a coastline of nearly 800 kilometres. In the twelfth century Gotland was divided into three districts: the north, central, and south districts (Map 5).[26] There were ninety-four medieval parishes on Gotland, each with a parish church located every five to eight kilometres apart; circa ninety-one are still used today (Map 6). Within Visby's medieval walls there were an additional fourteen medieval

23 Wienberg, 'Fæstninger', p. 44; Selart, *Livonia, Rus' and the Baltic Crusades*.

24 Markus, 'From Rus' Trade', pp. 14–15.

25 Boström, 'Är Hulterstads kyrka en dansk anläggning?', p. 84; Danish Canute's Chapel on Öland, see Wallin, *Knutgillena i det medeltida Sverige*, p. 30; in 1361 Öland and Gotland became part of the Danish Kingdom until 1645 when the Treaty of Brömsebro brought them under Swedish rule. For the construction of St Canute's Chapel and St Olaf's Chapel on Öland, see Markus, *Visual Culture*, pp. 204–05.

26 The 1213 letter from the pope to the deans of the northern and southern thirds and to the abbot of Gotland 'abbati de Gothlanda' in the central district, *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, ed. by John Gustaf Liljegren and others, I, 178, no. 152 and Yrwing, *Gotlands medeltid*, p. 81.

churches.[27] The central position of Gotland in the Baltic Sea enabled merchants to travel by ship within twenty-four hours to places like Stockholm, Riga, Rostock, and Reval in Estonia.

The island of Gotland served as the main stopover on route to the East, the Mediterranean, and to the non-Christian battlefields of Estonia, Livonia, and Prussia transporting goods, merchandise, slaves, clergy, and militia. In 1102 the Danish king, Erik the Good and his wife Bodil stopped in Visby on their way to Constantinople and commissioned the church of St Olaf in Visby, a popular saint in Danish culture.[28] The *Chronicle of Henry of Livonia* notes that during the Baltic Crusades merchants and clerics stopped on Gotland for Easter and winter on the island.[29] Gotland ships transported merchants from Lübeck to Gotland in the organization known as *gilda communis*.[30] This resulted in economic prosperity for the Gotlanders and the multi-faith communities on the island.

Gotlanders had a long trading history with non-Christians prior to the Baltic Crusades, which continued during the military campaigns, a practice that resulted in tensions with the Church. Gotlanders traded with non-Christians selling them weapons, horses, livestock, and ships well into the thirteenth century. There are records of Gotlanders refusing to participate in the Crusades to Livonia in 1199 and to the island of Ösel in 1226. Peel suggests this was due to the possible damage to their trade relations.[31] In 1229 Pope Gregory IX wrote to the abbot of Roma, the provost of Visby and the bishop of Linköping, in which he emphasized the need for Gotland merchants not to communicate or engage in trade with the Russians who were persecuting the Christians in the Finnish territories.[32] For the purposes of this study, this is significant. The letter acknowledges the spiritual role and judicial authority of the abbot of Roma over the central district of the island.[33] It is equally important to note that while these events were happening, 108 churches were either being built or reconstructed in a massive construction boom on the island, at the same time when hundreds of parish churches were being constructed across the medieval Kingdom of Denmark.

The governance of medieval Gotland has been a topic of considerable debate among historians, to the point where in some cases the influence of the archbishops of Lund has been erased when discussing the production of the northern Romanesque fonts.[34] Some assert that even though Gotland was *nominally* under Swedish rule by the tenth century, it was essentially a semi-independent republic, paying an annual tribute to Sweden in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[35] This has resulted in historians viewing

27 The fourteen churches inside Visby's walls were: St Clemens (Danish church, possibly site of St Canute's Guild), St Drotten, St George (St Göran, Church of the Leper Hospital), St Gertrude of Nevelles Chapel or Church (Cistercian nuns, dedicated to seventh century abbess in Belgium), St Michael, St Jacob (no longer extant), St Hans, Helgeandskyrkan (Church of the Holy Spirit, Danish Church), St Karin (St Catherine, *c.* 1233, monastery church of the Grey Friars, Franciscans), St Lars, St Maria (Mariakyrkan, consecrated 1225, German community), St Nikolaus (or St Nicolai, *c.* 1228, Dominican Order, Russian Church), St Per, St Olaf (Danish church). See Grandjean, *De Danske Gotlands Farere*, pp. 189–95, p. 15 and Cinthio, 'Heiligenpatrone', pp. 166–67; Markus, 'The Church on the Borderland', p. 340; Markus, 'From Rus' Trade', pp. 3–25.

28 Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages*, pp. 64, 158; Markus, 'From Rus' Trade', pp. 3–25. St Olaf was the patron saint of a number of churches on Gotland, for example, at Bunge, Gerum and Stenkyrka.

29 Henricus Lettus, *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, I. 11, pp. 28–29.

30 Hammel-Kiesow, 'The Early Hanses', 43.

31 Peel, ed., *Guta Lag*, p. xix.

32 Pispala, ed., 'Registrum ecclesiae Aboensis', p. 101.

33 Östergren, 'Rudera', pp. 37–75.

34 Siltberg, *Gotlandskyrkan under Dansktiden*, pp. 42–76.

35 Peel, ed., *Guta Lag*, p. 255. The *Guta Saga* states that Gotlanders paid sixty marks of silver each year to the Swedish king for unrestricted travel in Sweden (2. 11–12),

the artistic production on the island as being unique and apart from other regional influences. The idea of Gotland as a semi-republic, however, has been disputed by numerous others who argue that what existed in the ninth and tenth centuries was most certainly not a continuous arrangement.[36] To substantiate this theory Peel notes there is no reference to royal pledges (*edsöreslag* in Swedish) in the Gotland law codes, the *Guta Lag* (*c.* 1220–1275) to the Swedish king as in the case of the other Swedish provincial laws.[37] Furthermore, Innocent III's letter in 1203 addressed to the two deans of the northern and southern districts on Gotland and to the abbot of Gutnalia (Roma) in the central district confirms that they were under the legal jurisdiction of the diocese of Lund, the archbishop of Lund.[38] Markus has presented architectural evidence that supports the idea that the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Lund extended over Gotland's central district. In many respects, this is similar to Archbishop Eskil's ownership of three-quarters of the Danish island of Bornholm given to the archbishopric in 1149 by King Svend Eriksøn.[39] Certainly, the Cistercian monastic and French networks, as discussed later in this chapter, played an important role in the design of many Gotland fonts, demonstrating obvious ecclesiastic connections with the archbishop of Lund. Documentation confirms that in 1206–1207 Anders Sunesen visited Gotland when he was engaged in the Estonian conquests and was instrumental in the rewriting of the Gotland law codes, *Guta Lag*, another example of the Church's judicial authority over Gotland.[40]

2.3 The Church, Cistercians, and Military Orders

Archbishop Eskil's close friendship with Bernard of Clairvaux initiated numerous connections with influential leaders in Paris, Rheims, and Rome, such as Louis VII (r. 1137–1180), John of Salisbury (1120–1180) and Peter of Celle (Peter Cellensis, 1115–1183) who was abbot of Montier-la-Celle (and later abbot of St Rémy in Rheims and bishop of Chartres), as well as Roland of Siena, later Pope Alexander III (r. 1159 to 1181).[41] The French connections continued with the education of the Archbishops Absalon and Anders Sunesen and other members of the Danish aristocracy in France.[42] Like Valdemar I, the later archbishops, Absalon and Anders Sunesen, were educated in Paris at the Danish College and with the Victorines at the Abbey of St Victor and the Abbey of Ste-Geneviève, continuing the French connections during their tenures.[43] The ecclesiological and

Peel, ed., *Guta Lag*, p. 278.

36 Nørgård Jørgensen, 'Harbours and Trading Centres', p. 145.

37 Peel, ed., *Guta Lag*, p. 12.

38 The name Roma does not appear in documents until 1318, Lindström, *Anteckningar om Gotlands medeltid*, vol. 2, p. 171; Peel, ed., *Guta Lag*, p. xix, 248; Pernler, *Gotlands Medeltida Kyrkoliv*, pp. 153–54; *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, ed. by Liljegren and others, 1, 178, no. 152. Pernler disputes this view and suggests it was an error, see Pernler, *Gotlands Medeltida Kyrkoliv*, pp. 153–54. Peel, ed., *Guta Lag*, p. xix.

39 The Åkirkeby church, dedicated to St John the Baptist, and for which was commissioned the Sighraf font was under the archbishop of Lund, Dam and Larsen, *Aakirkeby 1346–1946*, pp. 22–23.

40 See Chapter 3 for the Gotland law codes.

41 For the correspondence between Peter of Celle, abbot of St Rémi in Reims, later bishop of Chartres and Eskil see the years 1171–1172, no 29; 1172–1174, no 34; 1176, no. 57; 1176–1177, no 60 and there are more, see *Diplomatarium Danicum 1170–1199*, ed. by Christensen and others, ser. 1, III, 1.

42 Mortensen, 'The Sources of Andrew Sunesen's Hexaemeron', pp. 113–216, identifies books Sunesen used. For connections between scholasticism and Sunesen's writing, see Mortensen, 'Hvem var Anders Sunesens muse?', pp. 205–19.

43 Olsen, 'Anders Sunesen og Paris', pp. 75–97; McGuire, 'Absalon's Spirituality, A Man Attached to Holy Men', p. 81. Helle Vogt notes that Absalon was able to persuade the canon Saint Vilhelm to come to Denmark and

military partnerships that formed among the archbishops of Lund, the Cistercians, and the papacy were essential in the commencement of the Crusades in the Valdemarian Era.[44]

The military expansion in the North began with the Archbishop Eskil Thrugotsen (r. 1137/1138–1177/1178, d. 1182, Clairvaux), the support of Bernard of Clairvaux (*c.* 1090–1153), and the Cistercian pope, Eugene III (r. 1145–1153) who issued the bull, *Divina dispensatione* (By divine dispensation), dated to 11 April 1147. This bull authorized the Wendish and Mecklenburg Crusades (*c.* 1147–1185).[45] After the fall of Edessa to the Seljuk Turks between 1145 and 1147, the papacy fully backed the conquests of the Obotrites (1164), the island of Rügen, (1159 and 1168–1169), Öland (1170), the Finnish Crusades (*c.* 1191–1202), and Ösel (1206–1207, 1222). In addition, under Canute VI and Valdemar II, the papacy supported the Livonian Crusades (*c.* 1198–1212), the Estonian Crusades (1194, 1197, 1208–1224) and the missions into the regions of modern-day Lithuania (*c.* 1201–1290).[46] In fact, Innocent III (r. 1198–1216), a keen supporter of the Cistercian Order, sought to create a northern 'Land of St Peter' in Livonia.[47] Amidst the horrors of these military conquests, the northern stone workshops flourished and created the ecclesio-political messages on the hundreds of Romanesque baptismal fonts to justify the wars and slaughters, affirming the authority of the Church and Christianity.

By the early thirteenth century, the articulation of crusading theology, such as the rituals, indulgences, and juristic vows had become an orchestrated papal affair.[48] Crusaders participating in the Baltic missions were given full remission of all penance and sins if the crusading vow — the oath of the cross — had been fulfilled.[49] Innocent III wrote the renowned crusader decrees: the *Quia Maior* (1213),[50] which granted crusaders freedom from taxation, protection of possessions and the right to interest free loans; and the *Pium et Sanctum* (1213), the call and preparation of preachers for crusade recruitment;[51] and the *Ad Liberandam* (1215) which provided papal rhetoric to support the Crusades.[52] This resulted in an increased presence of military men in the Baltic region, which commenced with Valdemar I's establishment of the St Canute Guild in 1170–1177, the Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem in 1170, and the Cistercian support for the Order of the Knights Templar.[53] The Danish church of Skibet (Vejle, Jutland), for example, has a mural (*c.* 1200) of a battle scene that depicts the Templars; two men on one horse, the motif used on the Templars' seal, is rendered on the eastern

reform the Augustinian canon society, later the Æbelholt Abbey, due to his contacts with the Victorines in Paris, Vogt, *The Function of Kinship*, p. 82.

44 Bernard wrote the rules for the Templars, '*Liber ad milites Templi: De laude novae militae*' in Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, III, p. 215.

45 Bulst-Thiele, 'The Influence of St Bernard', pp. 57–65. Valdemar I established St Canute's Guild in memory of his father, *c.* 1170–1177, in the last years of Eskil's reign, Wallin, *Knutgillena i det medeltida Sverige*; for text of *Divina dispensation*, cols 1203–4; translated partially by Constable, 'The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries', pp. 213–79, 255; Nielsen and Fonnesberg-Schmidt, eds, *Crusading on the Edge*, pp. 1–8.

46 Dates from Wienberg, 'Fæstninger', p. 44.

47 For the 'Land of St Peter' see, Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, pp. 127–28.

48 Bird and others, eds, *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 18.

49 Bysted and others, *Jerusalem in the North*, p. 177.

50 Innocent III, *Quia Maior*, cols 817b–21d; translation in Bird and others, eds, *Crusade and Christendom*, pp. 107–12.

51 *Pium et Sanctum*, cols 822b–23b; translation in Bird and others, eds, *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 112.

52 Decree titled 'General Summons of Pope Innocent III to a Crusade, A.D. 1215' in edited text and translation by Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, pp. 337–44.

53 K. V. Jensen, *Crusading at the Edges*, p. 162; J. M. Jensen, *Denmark and the Crusades*, pp. 318–19; *Diplomatarium Danicum 1238–1249*, ed. by Niels Skyum-Nielsen and Herluf Nielsen, VII, document no. 156.

apse wall (Fig. 2.10).[54] The support and alliances formed between the Danes and the military orders accounts for the prominence of military figures and scenes in the Danish medieval churches and on the Romanesque fonts, especially those carved by the Hegwald workshop as discussed in the succeeding chapters.

The Cistercians' participation in the Baltic Crusades was fully backed by the papacy during the tenures of the archbishops of Lund: Absalon Hvide (b. 1128–1202; r. 1177/1178–1201) and Anders Sunesen (r. 1201–1224). By Anders Sunesen's time, Innocent III made it clear that bishops had supreme political and spiritual authority, thus embodying Bernard of Clairvaux's ideology and empowering leaders in the northern Church, as symbolized on the bracteate minted in Tallinn, *c.* early 1220s, which depicts a crossed sword and bishop's crozier (Fig. 2.11) and what Reynolds has described as 'preaching with the iron tongue'.[55] Like Eskil, both Absalon and Anders Sunesen garnered favour in Rome and received legatine authority in the North.[56] With these additional powers, the Danish Church gained regional authority and wealth, which contributed to the monumental construction industry. Under the leadership of the Archbishop Anders Sunesen, Jes Wienberg estimates that approximately 2,692 parish churches were constructed, expanded, or rebuilt in Denmark alone, the same period in which the Romanesque font workshops were operating and supplying the churches with new fonts.[57] The art historian Søren Kaspersen agrees and estimates that between 1195–1224 Anders Sunesen, during his time as chancellor to the king, bishop of Roskilde and then archbishop of Lund, he was especially influential in the production of Romanesque art.[58]

2.4 The Cistercian Period

Archbishop Eskil Thrugotsen (r. 1137/1138–1177/1178, d. 1182, Clairvaux) through his friendship with Bernard of Clairvaux (*c.* 1090–1153) was instrumental in arranging for the Cistercians to come to Scandinavia, an event that corresponded with the Cistercian pope Eugene III's official sanctification of the Wendish and Mecklenburg Crusades and Bernard's active preaching to enlist pilgrims for the Crusades first in 1146 at Vézelay and later through France, Germany, and the Low Countries.[59] With the arrival of the Cistercians came new construction techniques, the production of bricks and consequently, the replacement of stave churches with ashlar constructions (quader-stone), resulting in the establishment of numerous workshops to produce the liturgical furnishings.[60] From the beginning the Cistercians maintained close connections — commercial, military, and ecclesiological — with the Danish nobility and the Church under the leadership of three archbishops of Lund, Eskil, Absalon, and Anders Sunesen, representatives of powerful magnate families who owned substantial land

54 The Templars had close connections with the Cistercian Order, see Bulst-Thiele, 'The Influence of St Bernard', p. 59; for an image of the mural see Bysted and others, *Jerusalem in the North*, Figure 22, p. 121.

55 Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, p. 127; for image of bracteate at Tallinn University Archaeological Research Collection, AI 5000: 67/2 (Figure 5.28) see Markus, *Visual Culture*, p. 316; Reynolds, *The Prehistory of the Crusades*, p. 69.

56 H. Nielsen, 'The Papal Confirmation for Archbishop Absalon', pp. 103–12; T. K. Nielsen, 'Archbishop Anders Sunesen and Pope Innocent III', pp. 113–32.

57 Wienberg, 'Medieval Gotland', p. 292.

58 Kaspersen, 'Kunst og bevidsthedsformer på Anders Sunesens tid', p. 43.

59 Bysted, 'The True Year of Jubilee', pp. 36–37. '*Liber ad milites Templi: De laude novae militae*' in Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, III, p. 215.

60 In the Kingdom of Denmark the following Cistercian monasteries were established: Herrevad (Skåne), Ås (Halland), Ryd (Flensborg), Guldholm (Slesvig), Øm (Jutland).

in Denmark and its provinces.[61] Absalon, who succeeded Eskil, was a keen advocate and generous donor to the Cistercian Order and ensured that the Cistercian monasteries and patrons who donated to the order were exempted from paying tithes.[62] In fact, the monasteries, which were established after the conquest of Rügen by Absalon and, later, Anders Sunesen, were almost exclusively Cistercian. This contributed to the Cistercians becoming the most powerful order in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Denmark.[63] The filial relationships between Cîteaux-Herrevad (Skåne), Clairvaux-Esrum, Clairvaux-Nydala-Roma, maintained strong connections with France.[64] The communication networks with France continued with Eskil's successors and proved to be decisive on the production of northern Romanesque artwork, as is discussed later in this chapter.[65]

Beata Maria de Gutnalia Monastery (Roma)

Gotland's location in the Baltic frontier of Christendom was strategically chosen for the new Cistercian monastery Beata Maria de Gutnalia (Roma; *c.* 1152/1153–1164), and as historians have pointed out, new Cistercian monasteries were frequently erected on the periphery of Christendom.[66] Roma was the first and only daughter house of Nydala Abbey (Småland, Sweden) founded in 1143 by Cistercian monks from Clairvaux.[67] The consecration of Roma abbey is believed to have taken place *c.* 1164; however, the completion of the first stage of the church was not until *c.* 1200 with alterations dated to the late thirteenth century.[68] Roma's abbey church was grand and large. It had five chapels that were ornamented with stained-glass windows, wall murals, and sculptural works.[69] During this same period many Gotland churches were built with Cistercian features, indicating a collective approach to the construction activity on the island (Map 5 and 6).[70] The first two abbots of Roma are believed to have come directly from the abbey of Clairvaux. The second abbot, known as Peter, is believed to have been first appointed to the northern Cistercian monastery at Nydala and then later to Gotland.[71] The later abbots were trained at Clairvaux or Cîteaux.

Roma, the only monastery outside of the western port of Visby, was located in the central district, approximately eighteen kilometres from Visby.[72] On the eastern shore, ships travelled to the abbey via the Gothem river (Gothemsån) and through the marshy terrain that existed prior to the nineteenth century, connecting Roma with the eastern Baltic trade routes.[73] Archaeologists

61 Connections between the Danish aristocracy and Cistercian monasteries, see Hill, *Könige, Fürsten und Klöster*, pp. 206–60.

62 *Diplomatarium Danicum 1170–1199*, ed. by Christensen and others, ser. I, III, no. 100, pp. 138, 218, 241; Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, pp. 57–60.

63 Jezierski, 'Angels in Scandinavia', p. 174.

64 France, *The Cistercians in Scandinavia*, pp. 117–36; Peter of Odense, a French Cistercian, was a bishop in Denmark from about 1270 to the 1280s, see Bandlien, 'A Manuscript of the Old French William of Tyre', p. 50 n. 93.

65 Maps of Cistercian networks see Untermann, *Forma Ordinis*, pp. 719–24.

66 Markus, 'The Church on the Borderland', p. 362; Markus, *Visual Culture*, p. 331; Tamm, 'The Livonian Crusade', pp. 366–67, 388.

67 Swartling, *Roma Abbey Church*, p. 1; Untermann, *Forma Ordinis*, pp. 258, 275, 364, 390, 426, 525.

68 Swartling, *Roma Abbey Church*, pp. 57–58.

69 Westholm, 'Staden Visby 1288', pp. 15–18.

70 Swartling, *Roma Abbey Church*, pp. 18, 55, 57. Yrwing, *Gotlands medeltid*, pp. 166–68; Swartling, *Alvastra Abbey*, p. 55.

71 Conrad of Eberbach, *Exordium magnum Cisterciense*, p. 108.

72 For discussion on Roma's location in relation to earlier jurisdictional site, Alltinget, see Markus, *Visual Culture*, pp. 331–33; Östergren, 'Rudera', p. 37.

73 Markus, *Visual Culture*, pp. 332–33.

have discovered a medieval market at Roma which placed the Cistercians at the centre of local and regional trade activities.[74] As historians have pointed out, in order for the Cistercian Order to be self-sufficient they required both local and international members skilled in crafts and a wide range of occupations, which could only be sustained through trade and the employment of local labour.[75] Furthermore, according to the Cistercian Statue in the Dijon MS 114, from Cîteaux, c. 1180–1186, horses were not to be sold outside abbey property.[76] This offers further support for the existence of the Roma market on Cistercian land. However, by the year 1200 this restriction was modified. Foals bred for military purposes could be sold at other markets, but the profits had to be sent to the General Chapter.[77] Roma, like the Cistercian nunnery Solberga, just outside the walls of Visby, acquired economic affluence due to its trade activities and political expansion.[78]

As a result of Roma's pivotal role in the Baltic Crusades, the monastery quickly gained land on Gotland and afar.[79] Roma was given substantial territories by the Danes in the eastern Baltic and Estonia following the 1219 Danish conquests.[80] Between 1223 and 1227, the Danish viceroy in Estonia, Duke Canute (d. 1260), donated land to the monastery of Roma in the Danish territory by the eastern border of Harrien County (Harjumaa) in Kolga (Kolka), Estonia, bordering Muuksi Hill near the port.[81] This location ensured Roma, the mother house, had continued maritime links with the shipping and trade networks, in which the Cistercians were involved.[82] Roma's territorial gains in Estonia — notably the establishment of the daughter house Kolga (between 1223 and 1227) — adds further confirmation of the order's maritime activities. Three Cistercian houses owned 15 per cent of the land under Danish rule in Estonia: Dünamünde (diocese of Riga), Falkenau (diocese of Dorpat), and Roma (Gotland).[83] In 1213 Pope Innocent III declared that the abbots of Dünamünde and Roma, and the two Gotland provosts of the northern and southern districts were to monitor the episcopal activities for the protection of the order and new converts in the new Estonian diocese.[84] Bernhard II of Lippe was the abbot of Dünamünde at that time, from 1210 to 1218, and his daughter Kunigunde became abbess of Freckenhorst (1219–1225), the imperial convent where the famous late twelfth-century Freckenhorst font is situated (Fig. 1.23).[85] It is important to note that abbots with such widely dispersed responsibilities needed ships in order to travel great distances over land and water.[86]

The Cistercian Artistic Networks

Connections with the Cistercian Order via their Continental networks is another theme that has emerged in the analysis of the iconography on the Gotland and Skåne baptismal fonts, which

74 Östergren, 'Rudera', p. 45.
75 Burton and Kerr, *The Cistercians*, pp. 58–59; Swartling, *Alvastra Abbey*, p. 8; Huelga-Suarez and others, 'The Quest for the Soldier's Rest', pp. 169–84; Lekai, *The Cistercians*, p. 61; Williams, *The Cistercians*, pp. 385–400; Waddell, ed., *Twelfth-Century Statutes*, pp. 590–91.
76 Waddell, ed., *Twelfth-Century Statutes*, p. 114.
77 Waddell, ed., *Twelfth-Century Statues*, p. 114, section 6.
78 Götlind, *The Messengers*, p. 19. Solberga, was established in the 1240s by Laurentius, bishop of Linköping.
79 Svahnström, 'Bostadsskicket på Gotland', pp. 246–69; Svahnström, 'Häuser und Höfe', pp. 9–28; Qviström, *Medeltida stenhus*; Prahl, *Kastaler på Gotland*; Wienberg, 'Gotlands guldålder', p. 73; Markus, 'The Church on the Borderland', pp. 360–61.
80 Markus, *Från Gotland till Estland*, pp. 22–57, 146–52.
81 Markus, 'The Church on the Borderland', p. 361.
82 Markus, 'The Church on the Borderland', p. 361.
83 Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order*, p. 81.
84 Blomkvist, *The Discovery of the Baltic*, p. 650.
85 Sonne de Torrens, 'A Legacy of Resistance', pp. 4–45.
86 When a problem arose at Colbaz Abbey, the papacy insisted that the Danish abbot of Herrevad himself was to travel to Colbaz to resolve the problem. See McGuire, *The Cistercians in Denmark*, p. 121.

should be understood within the wider context of Cistercian influences. When determining the extent of the Cistercians' role in the construction and furnishment of the new ashlar churches it is noteworthy to acknowledge that scholars have demonstrated that the early austerity of the Cistercians during Bernard's lifetime did not continue to the same degree after his death. Nor did the same rules apply to monks, conversos, or laypersons.[87] Ebbe Nyborg, Matthias Untermann, Christine Kratzke, and others have investigated the changing and different perspectives on figural and symbolic ornamentation that the Cistercians held for lay persons versus the monks. By the late twelfth century, interior changes begin to appear and by the mid-thirteenth century, figural works are present even in the older churches of the Cistercian Order. These are important investigations for they aid our understanding of how the Cistercians farther afield, often on the periphery of Christendom, might have been involved in the production of ecclesiastical artworks and liturgical vessels for the new parishes and Christianized communities.

Roosval was one of the first art historians to recognize the influence of the French Cistercians on Gotland from *c*. 1170 to 1220, describing it as the *Cistercienserperioden* (Cistercian period). He identified numerous works in the collections at Gotlands Fornsal in Visby, which illustrate the new French aesthetic: the *Viklau Madonna and Child* (Fig. 2.12), the processional cross from Bro, the crucifixes from Ganthems and Bäls, the larger crucifixes from Anga and Stenkumla, and other ecclesiastical works.[88] Roosval's dates for the Cistercian period, *c*. 1170 to 1220, aligns with the tenures of Archbishops Absalon and Anders Sunesen, a forty-seven-year period from 1177/1178 to 1224, the same period when literally thousands of new stone churches in Denmark, Sweden, and Gotland were constructed and furnished with baptismal fonts.[89] Direct links between Gotland's Romanesque ironwork on the parish portals — the C-shaped hinges — have been traced to the prototype found at the Cistercian monastery of Pontigny in Burgundy, France.[90] The same C-shaped hinges were carved by the Sighraf workshop on the Romanesque church portrayed on the base of the Tingstad font (Fig. 2.13).

Markus dates the Cistercian influence on the construction of Gotland churches to the last decades of the twelfth century, with the earliest initiatives appearing in the churches of Halla, Viklau, and Guldrupe which were given rectangular apses.[91] This aligns with investigations of Jes Wienberg and the making of the northern Romanesque fonts in the Valdemarian Era. The church carved on the badly eroded base of the Mo font by the Sighraf workshop has a square apse, demonstrating the Cistercian influence (Fig. 2.14). In addition, blocks of limestone and sandstone, finished and unfinished, were shipped from Gotland to Skåne, Jutland, Falster, and Sjælland as fonts, portals, and altars.[92] The Cistercians also introduced brick construction

87 Nyborg, 'Det gamle Sorø-krucifiks', pp. 88–113; Lawrence, 'Cistercian Decoration', pp. 31–52. The later construction of Roma Abbey demonstrates that the strict Bernard guidelines on ornamentation were loosened. See Swartling, *Roma Abbey Church*, pp. 56, 58. For a full discussion on spatial and ornamental differences between the Cistercian monks and lay brothers' areas, see Untermann, *Forma Ordinis*, pp. 252–62; for a general overview of the changing perspectives and examples of liturgical artworks, see Kratzke, 'Ornamenta Ecclesiae Cistercienses', pp. 187–200.

88 Roosval, *Medeltida Konst*, pp. 14–18, 21–25; Roosval, *Den Gotländske Ciceronen*, pp. 21–25.

89 For the relationship of the Sunesen brothers with Absalon, see Molbech, *Historiske Aarböger*, p. 29.

90 Karlsson, *Medieval Ironwork*, I, pp. 58–60.

91 Markus, 'The Church on the Borderland', pp. 333–64; Markus, *Från Gotland till Estland*, pp. 28–29; Cistercian influence evident at Gerum, Hejdeby, and Bunge, see Swartling, *Roma Abbey Church*, p. 27.

92 Berggren, 'The Export of Limestone', p. 146 plate 3, p. 147 plate 5; Sundnér, 'Byggnadssten i Skåne', p. 241.

to Denmark and Gotland, as seen at the Church of Gumlösa — the first brick church in Skåne, consecrated in 1191 — and Sorø Abbey, the Cistercian abbey in Sjælland, which are early examples.[93] Other examples are found at Ringsted, Erum, Børglum, Roskilde, and at the Lye church on Gotland, where a carved stone reliquary by the Sighraf workshop is inserted into the facade by the south portal.[94] Further connections between the Danish and Gotland Cistercian abbeys were pointed out by Swartling. She noted that the corbels in the sacristy of the Roma parish church and on the north aisle of Roma are the same as those in the sacristy in the Cistercian abbey of Sorø, which was richly endowed by the Hvide family and where Archbishop Absalon was buried (Fig. 6.48a), indicating that the works were being produced probably at the same time for both locations.[95]

French influences extended beyond the material evidence. For example, France's patron saint, St Denis (St Denys/Dionysius), the bishop of Paris renowned for the Christianization of the pagans in Gaul, is unusually prominent on Gotland. In the *Chanson d'Antioche*, St Denis acquired a new role as a hero at the Battle of Dorylaeum, which most certainly contributed to his popularity with the military on Gotland.[96] St Denis, as a warrior saint in the First Crusade, was invoked by the French in their battle cry 'Montjoie! St Denys'.[97] The following churches on Gotland are dedicated to St Denis: Anga, Atlingbo, Barlingbo, Havdhem, Guldrupe, and Othem. Many of these churches are in the central district of Gotland that was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the abbot of Roma. There are additional sculptures of St Denis at Martebo in a niche by the portal, at Othem in the northern district and Havdhem in the southern district.[98] References to St Denis across Gotland speak directly to the influence of the Cistercians, the Crusader rhetoric, and the Church's strategic promotion of the Cult of St Denis.

In summary, there is a growing corpus of scholarship that points to the influential role of the Danes, via the archbishop of Lund, and the French Continental influences via the Cistercian networks during the last decades of the twelfth century and first half of the thirteenth century on Gotland.

Monks and Baptismal Fonts

The frequent representation of monks on Romanesque baptismal fonts reflects the expansion of the monastic orders and networks in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[99] On Gotland the *Guta Lag* stipulated very rigid penalties, such as excommunication and fines, if monastic properties are violated or harmed (code 7, entitled 'Concerning Monks' Property'). Even though priests are mentioned in several *Guta Lag* law codes, there is little visual evidence that distinguished a priest from a tonsured monk on the northern Romanesque fonts, as seen on the Tingstad base, which raises questions about the role of monks (Fig. 2.15). In some instances, there was a deliberate intent to relay priestly attributes,

93 Untermann, *Forma Ordinis*, pp. 257–58, 395–96, 654–55.

94 Lehouck, 'The Very Beginning', pp. 42–43; Lagerlöf, 'Lye Kyrka', pp. 24–25; Riksantikvarieämbetet, 'Gotland Lye Kyrkogården 1:1 – husnr 1, Lye Kyrka'.

95 Swartling, *Roma Abbey Church*, p. 57.

96 Edgington and Sweetenham, eds, *The Chanson d'Antioche*, p. 224.

97 Spiegel, 'The Cult of St Denis and Capetian Kingship', pp. 141–68.

98 Roosval, *Medeltida Konst*, p. 60; Jonson and others, *Angels*, p. 308.

99 Monks conduct baptism on the Valcobero font (Castile-León); two monks read a shared book on the font from Santoña (Castile-León); John the Baptist is portrayed in priestly garments on the León font, rather than the traditional skins; the representation of Franciscan monks holding books on the Hueto Arriba font participating in the baptismal ritual (Navarre).

such as when Mary is portrayed as Ecclesia by the Sighraf workshop. In these cases, Mary wears a stole and employs the blessing gesture of exposed palms as on the Grötlingbo font (*Annunciation to Mary* and *Visitation*, Fig. 2.16), like the priest during the Mass, a gesture which is also portrayed on the Cueva Cardiel font (Fig. 1.55), indicating her as Ecclesia.[100] It was, however, not until the Gothic period when it becomes possible to precisely differentiate priests and monks on medieval fonts.[101]

Tonsured monks dressed in simple robes without stoles or other priestly accessories dominate the Romanesque fonts (Borby-Eckernförde, Figs 2.17; Simris, 2.18; Santoña, 2.19). Their presence on the fonts suggests that they played a role in the baptism of infants when needed, despite the restrictions.[102] A twelfth-century statute from the Cistercian General Chapter states that Cistercian monks could baptize, *but only if* the child was in danger of death or if there was *no available priest*. The twelfth-century statute also states that the monks could not stand as a sponsor or act as a godfather at baptisms. Likewise, they were prohibited from presiding over the ritual departure of pilgrims in the bestowal of the staff and script.[103] The restrictions on the monks' role in baptisms and liturgical rites were repeated again at several general chapters through to 1192, indicating that there was an existing need, practice, and an ongoing concern about the involvement of the monks.[104] This is not surprising, given the borderland locations of many of the Cistercian monastic complexes in the eastern areas of the Baltic region. There is a document dated to 1281 in northern Estonia, that states Cistercians built a chapel for themselves and local residents for prayers and services, which suggests the absence of a church in the vicinity.[105]

Tonsured monks and abbots are depicted in a range of activities on the fonts assembled in the *Infantiae Christi Corpus* (ICC). On the Tingstad font three clerics accompany St Peter: a bishop (the head is missing) wearing a chasuble, holding a staff and book, a tonsured monk holding an open book, a tonsured monk holding a pointer and scroll (Fig. 2.15). On the Simris base in Skåne a tonsured male kneels before an altar next to an aristocratic female or nun (Fig. 2.18). Three tonsured monks accompany the corner figure of the bishop on the base of the Borby-Eckernförde font by Calcarius; one of the monks holds a scroll to his chest and his right hand is raised in benediction; the second tonsured figure on the Borby-Eckernförde base is definitely a priest, seated on a Gotland chair, wearing a chasuble and making a pax gesture with his hand (Fig. 2.20), while the third holds the host and a chalice. On the Calcarius font at Gistad the sacramental significance of Christ's birth and death on the cross is illustrated by the placement of a baptismal scene between the *Crucifixion* and *Nativity* scenes; in this scene, a tonsured and finely robed monk holds a young person in a tub-shaped font while the pointing *Hand of God* descends from a cloud above the scene, endowing the spiritual gift of Christian rebirth (Fig. 2.21).[106] The four scenes on the

100 A priest wearing a stole is rendered on the font from Palau de Cerdanya (twelfth century, originally from Notre-Dame-des-Anges, Languedoc-Roussillon, France).

101 On the later Calcarius font, Södra Mellby, a priest holds an open book (Table 5). On the later Seven Sacraments fonts in England, priests are identified with a chasuble or stole.

102 Peel, ed., *Guta Lag*, p. 92.

103 Initially, only abbots were forbidden to baptize, and then later, monks were added; this is a statute that continued to be repeated from 1158 to 1192. See Waddell, ed., *Twelfth-Century Statutes, Trol 2*, code 1, p. 69.

104 Cistercians involvement in the baptism of Saracens on Iberian Peninsula, see Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 48.

105 Markus, 'The Church on the Borderland', p. 361.

106 According to Augustine, 'The Holy Ghost is called the *Finger of God*', (*Quaestiones evangeliorum*, 2.17), quoted in Toal, ed., *The Sunday Sermons*, 1, p. 78.

square base of the Saxtorp font are framed by arches containing the *Lamb of God* at the spring, the tonsured monk assisting in the baptism (Figs 2.22, 3.38), and the tree of life rendered as an ornate liturgical fan. Not all representations of monks were venerated. On the Skelby and Fole fonts by the Calcarius workshop, a wolf is portrayed as a *False Prophet* dressed in monk's clothing and holding an abbot's staff, a deceitful individual trying to mislead an innocent lamb (Figs 2.23, 2.24): 'Beware of false prophets, who come to you in the clothing of sheep, but inwardly they are ravening wolves' (Matthew 7. 15).[107] The figure, a wolf, dressed in monk's garb stands beneath a scene of the *Arrest of Christ* on the Skelby font (Fig. 2.23).

In the later thirteenth-century rebuilding of the Gotland churches, monks acquire a more prominent position on exterior sculpture. At the Lye Church on the chancel portal monks with hooded cowls care for the sheep, a major medieval industry on the island, in the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (Fig. 2.25).[108] Around the year 1300 the Gotland sculptors working in the Fabulator workshop carved several scenes on the new Gotland church portals that depicted monks in secular, liturgical, and sacred scenes on the portal capitals. On the Martebo portal on Gotland, the Fabulator workshop carved the *Nativity* and the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* by Gabriel where the shepherds, rendered as hooded monks, tend to the sheep and to a boar eating acorns. The same Fabulator workshop carved seven limestone capitals for the Cistercian monastery of Colbaz (Kolbatz) in western Pomerania (today in Poland) with monks performing a range of liturgical rites dated to *c.* 1250–1300.[109] The monastery of Colbaz was a Danish foundation established in the early 1170s and still linked to Denmark in 1237.[110] These connections give further testimony to the involvement of Cistercians in the construction, production of sculptured works and active trade connections between the various Cistercian monasteries in the Baltic region, Denmark, and Gotland.

2.5 Trade and the Church

Ships and Baltic Sea Power

By the year 1200, Denmark was the undisputed sea power in the Baltic region. Surrounded by water, Denmark controlled access to both the North Sea, via the Kattegat and Skaggerat Straits, and to the Baltic Sea. The coalition of ships, maritime travel, and mercantile trade was a core part of Baltic life, a key facilitator in the Baltic Crusades and, consequently, migrated into the pictorial programmes on the Skåne and Gotland fonts. Ships were highly valued commodities, equal to Christian churches, as noted in the *Knytlinga Saga*.[111] Travelling by water was a necessity. It was also the fastest and cost-efficient method for transporting bulk goods, like stone, horses, and people. In fact, it was the *only way* to traverse to the many islands and shores in the Baltic region.[112] Archaeologists have discovered that each of the settlements in the forty-five coastal parishes had

107 Bolander, 'En prædikescene i sten', pp. 71–82. Is this also a reference to the Cistercian statute which requires proof of identity from wandering pseudo-bishops, monks, and lay brothers? See Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes*, p. 118.

108 Lagerlöf, *Gotländsk stenskulptur från gotiken*, p. 175, Fig. 132.

109 For a discussion of the seven capitals carved with monks from the Colbaz monastery, see Ugglass, 'Några gotländska skulpturverk', pp. 32–43.

110 Lind, 'Puzzling Approaches to the Crusading Movement', p. 268.

111 'A description of Denmark' (32) in *Knytlinga Saga*, trans. by Hermann Pålsson and Edwards, pp. 59–60.

112 Sailing from Ribe on Jutland's western coast to Flanders took two days; from Pointe de Saint Matthieu in Brittany to the coastline west of Santiago de Compostela it took three days and three nights, Adam of Bremen, *History*

a port on Gotland, many more than the medieval chronicles mention.[113] In addition, Cistercian monasteries located on the coast had their own ships.[114] Between the Danes and the Gotlanders, thousands of ships sailed the ancient water routes that drained into the salty Baltic Sea. Henry of Livonia noted that cogs, the large, broad sailing ships used for transporting both men and goods, could routinely carry 250 tons and 130 people, crew plus passengers.[115] In today's measurements even the smaller ships could easily transport limestone or sandstone baptismal fonts. In the church of Fide on the southern tip of Gotland, the oldest known image of a cog with a rudder is carved into the northern nave wall.[116] The Baltic Crusades were completely dependent on the Danish and Gotland merchant ships in the first hundred years. In 1219, Valdemar II took a fleet of 1500 long ships to defeat the Estonian pagans as the *Chronicle of Jutland* describes.[117] The twelfth-century Romanesque graffiti in the tower of Eggeslevmagle church on Sjælland shows a warrior with sword and shield next to a *long ship* with a large sail.[118]

Given the Cistercians' involvement in the brick and stone construction industry and — to some degree — in the Gotland trade, the ecclesiastical networks connecting the Cistercians, the bishops and the archbishop of Lund, members of the Church played an essential role in the making and exportation of the Gotland fonts. The extant works confirm that at least twenty-seven baptismal fonts carved from Gotland stone in the ICC were shipped to churches in medieval Sweden and Denmark.[119] Bishops, who were ultimately responsible for the consecration of the new stone churches, the baptismal fonts and the blessings of the holy oils and water used in liturgical rites, knew which communities required a baptismal font. The Sighraf font at Torp, for example, is located in a parish church along the river leading from Sundsvall to Östersund in northern Sweden and the Mölln base is situated in the medieval market town of Mölln on the Traver River not far from Lübeck or the Elbe River (Fig. 1.1).[120] And as previously mentioned, liturgical commodities shipped by kings and bishops were exempt from shipping tolls and tariffs. This explains why there are no shipping records for baptismal fonts in the Baltic region, despite the hundreds of medieval fonts shipped from Gotland.[121] Only sporadic information in law codes and alliances offer glimpses of what transpired.[122] With respect to the Cistercians, we do know that they acquired exemptions from tariffs and shipping tolls on other required goods due to their increased political role within international relationships.[123] For example, King Valdemar II granted the Clairvaux monks an exemption from paying

of the Archbishops, trans. by Tschan, 4.1, p. 187; Bill, 'The Cargo Vessels', p. 102, Fig. 11 (Chart of Shipbuilding Activity).

113 Carlsson, 'Harbours and Trading Places on Gotland AD 600–1000', pp. 145–58; Jørgensen, 'Harbours and Trading Centres on Bornholm, Öland and Gotland', p. 153.

114 Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes*, p. 207.

115 Henricus Lettus, *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. by Brundage, p. 94 n. 92.

116 Measures 115 cm wide × 92 cm high, Jonson and others, *Angels & Dragons*, p. 174.

117 Bysted and others, *Jerusalem in the North*, p. 126.

118 'Eggleslevmagle Kirke', *Sorø Amt*, in *Danmarks Kirker*, v. 2, p. 781, Fig. 10.

119 Berggren estimates about 34% of the Romanesque fonts were exported (primarily from the Sighraf workshop), while nearly 89–100% of the later non-figurative fonts were exported, 'The Export of Limestone', pp. 167–68. The later fonts shipped from Gotland to the newly Christianized eastern territories would number in the hundreds by the end of the thirteenth century, see Berggren, 'The Export of Limestone', p. 168.

120 Svensson, 'Imponerande export', pp. 115–39.

121 Berggren, 'The Export of Limestone', p. 176.

122 Poulsen, 'The Widening of Import Trade', p. 17.

123 Due to Abbot Elias's successful release of Richard I of England from German captivity in 1194, the Cistercian Abbey of Dunes (Flanders) was granted mercantile freedoms and the earlier awards under Henry II (r. 1154–1189) were reaffirmed; the abbey's daughter

tolls in purchasing skins and wax in Denmark, no matter what the quantity required for the monastery, which benefited the sheep industry, a major endeavour on Gotland and reinforced continual connections with France.[124]

Ships were a way of life in a region surrounded and divided by water. Silhouettes of sailing ships remained, therefore, an integral part of the northern cultural landscape as the society transitioned from expressions of Viking ideology to Christian dogma in the twelfth century.[125] The parish churches adopted ship motifs in numerous ways. The upper dragon-head gables first employed on Viking ships, for example, were affixed on the gables of the stave and Romanesque churches, altars, and reliquaries.[126] Nautical accessories ornament the northern baptismal fonts in the ICC: braided or twisted ropes and cables (used for nets, rigging, and mooring ships) separate the two stone parts of the baptismal fonts, the upper basins from the lower bases. Even Hegwald's beastly head on the fonts from Etelhem (Fig. 2.26) and Ganthem (Fig. 2.27) have their hair and flesh woven like the sails made for the ships. Symbolic knots, like the triquetra, which symbolized the Trinity, were used on the fonts (Fig. 2.28, 2.29).[127] The triquetra, with spiritual and apotropaic powers, adorns the spandrels in the Sighraf arcade with its twisted columns, similar to those in the crypt at Lund Cathedral, on the Åkirkeby font (Fig. 0.2);[128] the lower left corner of the Majestatis composition for the *Nativity of Christ* on the Väskinde font includes a triquetra (Fig. 5.26) as do the spandrels on the underside of the Lokrume font and the motif is rendered next to a representation of Herod on the Viklau font by the Hegwald workshop (Fig. 2.29).[129]

Horses, Crusades, and Baptismal Fonts

Representations of horses with knights or regal equestrians were popular additions on the Romanesque fonts, such as the arrival or the departure of the Magi on horseback, a motif favoured across the Latin West. Representations of horses without riders, however, are relatively rare motifs. Only a few have survived in Spain and Scandinavia, raising the question, 'why was there even an interest in portraying horses on baptismal fonts?'[130] It seems likely that the interest in rendering horses was connected to the major

house Ter Doest, on the coast near Bruges, was awarded similar rights, Oksanen, *Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World*, pp. 91–92.

124 McGuire, *The Cistercians in Denmark*, p. 125.

125 See three-mast ship in Näs Church (*c.* 1450), Frederiksen, 'The Ship as a Symbol', pp. 85–96.

126 See the reliquaries at Vatnås (*c.* 1200–1250), Eriksberg (1150–1200), Filefjell (*c.* 1200–1250), and Hedal (*c.* 1200), see Grinder-Hansen and others, eds, *Die Goldenen Bilder des Nordens*, Figs 227–58.

127 Reuterswärd, 'The Forgotten Symbols of God', pp. 103–25; Reuterswärd, 'The Forgotten Symbols of God (II)', pp. 47–63; Reuterswärd, 'The Forgotten symbols of God (III)', pp. 99–118.

128 Cinthio, *Lunds domkyrka*, p. 53, Fig. 17 for different types of columns in Lund Cathdral.

129 Lennart Karlsson notes triquetra on northern Romanesque doors served as an apotropaic power, Karlsson, *Medieval Ironwork*, I, pp. 294–302. The triquetra is on the gable of the ninth-century ciborium in Ravenna, Italy, flanking a cross, see Karlsson, *Medieval Ironwork*, I, p. 296 and Figs 201, 202. For the Trinitarian symbol in Scandinavian art, see Reuterswärd, 'Forgotten Symbols of God (II)', pp. 54, 58–60; for twisted and decorative columns in Lund Cathedral crypt see, Cinthio, *Lund Domkyrka*, p. 53.

130 Horses have been identified on the following fonts in Spain: Cascajares de la Sierra (Iglesia Parroquial de la Natividad de Nuestra Señora, Burgos), Quintanilla del Agua (Iglesia Parroquial de Santa María, Burgos), Oncala (Iglesia Parroquial de San Millán, Soria), Lagrán (Iglesia Parroquial de la Natividad de Nuestra Señora, Álava), Son del Pino (Lérida/Lleida). In Småland (Sweden) on the Burseryd font, there are two horses with raised hoof flanking the Tree of Life, see Karlsson, *Medeltidens bildvärld*. There is also the Långtora font (Uppland) where there is bridled head of a horse on the base and a horse on the Hult font (Småland). In addition, there are a few fonts with the symbol of the good luck charm of the horse shoe.

horse-breeding business that developed with the Baltic wars. For every warrior participating in the Crusades, it has been estimated three horses were ideal: one for riding, one for carrying the equipment, and one for battle.[131] The horse business was a major industry for the successful logistics of warfare. Evidence of Gotland's involvement in the horse trading business is reflected in the portrayal of two horses fighting on the underside of the upper basin of the thirteenth-century Calcarius Skelby font on the Danish island of Falster (Fig. 2.30).[132] In addition, there is a stone fragment by the Hegwald workshop from the Church of Etelhem, which depicts a horse's head that is preserved in the Statens Historiska Museum in Stockholm.[133] There is possibly a horse on the underside of the Algutsrum font on Öland which has also been contributed to the Hegwald workshop.[134] The legend of St Stephen as Staffan the Stable Boy, the patron saint of horses, is a popular Christmas story on the Hegwald fonts, as discussed in Chapter 5 (Table 5; Stånga, Figs 2.31; Vänge, 2.32). On St Stephen's feast day (26 December) horses were blessed, thus reinforcing the biblical and hagiographic significance of the horse in northern society. In the thirteenth-century tower of Garde Church on Gotland there is a mural painting of two patron saints of horses, Sts Laurus and Florus.[135]

Numerous examples confirm Gotland's medieval interest and role in the prosperous horse business.[136] We know that Gotland, as the Baltic stopover between the East and West, was where warriors and pilgrims stopped to replenish their supplies. The papal letter of 1229 states the Gotland farmers/warriors/merchants traded weapons, ships, horses, and provisions.[137] Horses were part of the retinue of the crusading armies and had long held special status within northern society dating back to the Vikings and when the Normans transported horses to Iceland and for the Conquest of England in the eleventh century.[138] In the years following the First Crusade, it is known that the Danish king Erik the Good left for the Holy Land in 1104 with 3,000 riders on horseback.[139]

Horse-breeding was an important part of the Danish and Cistercian economy and trade. Cistercian abbots used horses extensively for travel to visit estates and were engaged in the lucrative horse trade business for military purposes.[140] Further evidence of the involvement of the Cistercians in the horse trade is documented

131 Bachrach, 'The Crusader March', p. 234.

132 The Skelby font was associated with the Franciscan Order, as per the later discussion of the three knots on the belt worn by Mary in the *Flight to Egypt*. This dates the Skelby font to post 1223 when Honorius III confirmed the establishment of the Franciscan Order and to post 1230 after their arrival in Denmark.

133 The stone fragment with the horse's head is in the Statens Historiska Museum in Stockholm, inv. nr. 25921:1–7.

134 Karlsson identifies this figure as a lion, although its' posture appears more like a horse with warriors.

135 Jonson and others, *Angels*, p. 238.

136 There are numerous references to horses in the *Guta Lag*, see codes 34 and 35, as well as other sections, Peel, ed., *Guta Lag*, p. 72.

137 *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, ed. by Liljegran and others, I, nos 255–56, note 253, 16/2/1229; Peel, ed., *Guta Lag*, p. xx.

138 Pryor, ed., *Logistics of Warfare*, p. 263.

139 Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages*, p. 48.

140 France, *The Cistercians in Scandinavia*, pp. 278–80. Tariff exemptions on horses sold by the Cistercians were granted in several regions which increased the monasteries profits: Denmark, Castile and León, see K. V. Jensen, *Crusading at the Edges*, p. 230; a letter from Danish king Erik V (r. 1259–1286) exempted the brothers of the abbey from tolls in the sale of horses, an exemption that had previously been given to their abbot William. In addition, it is known that the Danish monastery of Æbelholt of the Augustinian order, dedicated to St Thomas of Paraclito, held an annual market fair outside of its gates as of 1265, 'where, among other things, horses were traded'. Poulsen, 'The Widening of Import Trade', p. 49; *Diplomatarium Danicum 1250–1265*, ed. by Blatt and others, ser. 2, I, no. 461.

at the Danish Cistercian Abbey of Esrum in northern Sjælland, daughter house of Clairvaux and founded by Valdemar in 1158. The abbey sold horses to noblemen in Sjælland who were undertaking missions along the southern coast of the Baltic.[141] Facilitating the Cistercians' involvement in the breeding of horses were the tariff exemptions granted on the horses they sold in Denmark, Castile, and León.[142] A letter from the Danish king Erik V (r. 1259–1286) exempted the brothers of the abbey from tolls in the sale of horses, a carry-over from an earlier exemption granted to their abbot William. In addition, it is known that the Danish monastery of Æbelholt of the Augustinian order, dedicated to St Thomas of Paraclito and located in northern Sjælland, held an annual market fair outside of its gates as of 1265, 'where, among other things, horses were traded'.[143]

141 Saxo notes that it was common to transport four horses per ship, and at the Battle of Rügen, there were 1,100 ships that resulted in 4,400 horses being transported, Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, trans. by Fisher, 14. 1. 6; Untermann, *Forma Ordinis*, p. 421.

142 K. V. Jensen, *Crusading at the Edges*, p. 230.

143 Poulsen, 'The Widening of Import Trade', p. 49; *Diplomatarium Danicum 1250–1265*, ed. by Blatt and others, ser. 2, 1, no. 461.