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Waiting for the Barbarians:

The Imagery, Dynamics and Functions of the Other in Northern German

Missionary Chronicles, 11th – Early 13th Centuries.

**The *Gestae Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* of Adam of Bremen, *Chronica Slavorum* of
Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica Slavorum* of Arnold of Lübeck, and *Chronicon Livoniae* of Henry
of Livonia**

Master's Thesis

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Introduction

The following thesis discusses the image of the Slavic, Nordic, and Baltic peoples and lands as the Other in the historical writing of the Northern mission. The study is based on four chronicles that represent the enlargement of Latin Christianity in Northern Europe from the ninth to the early thirteenth centuries, namely on the *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* by Adam of Bremen, *Chronica Slavorum* by Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica Slavorum* by Arnold of Lübeck, and the *Chronicon Livoniae* by Henry of Livonia.

The reason for creating such a textual corpus is that all the chronicles analysed here were written by the clerics of the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen and are closely linked through the timescale (representing sequential events), the space (the Baltic Sea region), and the first three of them also through their main theme which is the conversion of the Northern heathens. From the view point of the Northern German bishoprics, they represent the spread of Christianity in time and space, enable to follow the development of the Northern missionary tradition, and reflect the many changes in the missionary and crusading ideology through the High Middle Ages.

The object of this study, the images of the counterpart perceived as the Other, are among the most crucial issues when it comes to creating a tradition, legitimacy and authority for both a mission and religious warfare. This thesis focuses on the image of the Others both as peoples (*personae*) and lands (*loci*) and analyses both how the missionary tradition is largely created through the representation of the lands and peoples to be Christianised, and to which extent the need to legitimise the mission determines the images of the Others. Discussing firstly the imagery created by each author separately, the study aims also to follow the developments in the medieval rhetoric of Otherness, as represented in these four chronicles.

The study is divided into three chapters. In the first chapter I shall firstly present the source material, secondly the course of events they represent and thirdly the current state of research in Northern mission and crusading history. In the fourth subchapter I shall discuss the role of intertextuality in the historical writing of missionary and crusading warfare, and lastly I shall give the theoretical background for the analysis of the Other as it is understood in this study.

In the second chapter I analyse the images of the Other as peoples and lands during the phase of discovery in separate subchapters for each of the four chronicles discussed here, and

in the third I shall look into the changes in their imagery during the period of conquest, studying it separately for each text alike.

In addition the appendix will provide further information as regards the manuscript tradition and historiography of each of the chronicles.

As regards the whole process of writing this study, I am in dept of gratitude to many peoples and places. Firstly I would like to thank my supervisor Marek Tamm for his wise counsel and patience, and my second supervisor Dr. Anti Selart for his encouragement and advice alike. Also I would like to give special thanks to Dr. Carsten Selch Jensen from the University of Copenhagen for discussions on various issues concerning missionary and crusading history, as well as to Prof. Lars Boje Mortensen from Bergen University for sharing his ideas and knowledge on medieval historical writing, and to Prof. Harald Gustaffson and Prof. Eva Österberg from Lund University for pointing out fruitful approaches to the source material. Likewise I am very grateful to Prof. Thomas Lindkvist, Dr. Henrik Janson, and the people from the medieval seminar at the University of Gothenburg for their valuable comments and criticism on the present thesis.

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Needless to say, my mistakes however remain my own.

I would like to start with quoting Caroline Walker Bynum, hoping that also the following analysis at least to some extent serves to show that “if we trace the networks of images built up by medieval authors and locate those networks in the psyches and social experiences of those who create or use them, we find that they reveal to us what the writers cared about most deeply themselves and what they felt it necessary to present or to justify to others” (Bynum 1984: 6-7).

I HISTORICAL CONTEXTS AND INTERTEXTS

I.1 The Source Material

The four chronicles to be discussed here mark the spread of Latin Christianity in Northern and Eastern Europe on timely and geographical scales. Around one hundred and fifty years divide the time the first and last of those were written, and the gap between the first and last events covered is even wider, as Adam starts with the Saxon wars at the turn of the ninth and tenth centuries and Henry ends with the conquest of Livonia and Estonia in the early thirteenth century. Similarly they represent the widening space, as while Adam is writing in Bremen over the events taking place in Scandinavia, Saxony, and Slavia, and Lübeck is the centre for Helmold and Arnold, then Henry is already covering the events taking place on the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea. During those times many changes took place in Western European society, like the development of more centralised state and ecclesiastical power. The High Middle Ages saw many changes in religious attitudes and spirituality, present in the enlivenment of religious life and in the search for *vita apostolica*. Due to the Gregorian Church Reform in the middle of the eleventh century, aimed to free the church from the secular rulers, the clerics gained a more prominent position. During the twelfth century the crusading movement consolidated many of the ideas concerning religious warfare. Those were also the times for many developments in the Latin learned tradition, even though the much-debated issue of the twelfth century renaissance still remains highly problematic and is not discussed in this work. The texts reflect the many changes from different angles, as the education, as well as their position in the ecclesiastical and social hierarchy of the authors was very different.

This subchapter gives an introduction to the source material, presenting briefly the main structure of each text, the events and areas covered, as well as the main topics and themes. The aim is not to examine the texts or their structure in detail but to give a framework for the following analysis. I shall discuss the authors' relationship to represented course of events as well as to their patrons and audiences. Especially the latter tend to determine the centre and norm for each text (Todorov 1989: 231), often signed as "us", "they" or "people", it is to give the speaking subject determining the viewpoints and focuses. Additionally I shall point to the main interests, conflicts, and ideologies that have influenced the selection, structure, and order of the events covered. This is related to the many issues present in the studies of historical writing of the High Middle Ages, as regards its inner coherence, mode of

perception, and the relationship between ideological issues and representation of events. One always tends to find more internal unity and coherence, than there seems to be at the first glance; and here the general ideas about religion, history, and society are often closely related to narrative and its structure as a whole. The coherence and unity yet are often created on the typological and analogical level, and therefore frequently left out when one comes to seek of literal and causal explanations only (Bagge 1996: 345-8). When one comes to ask, about what these four texts tell and about what they do not, what is described in detail and what is not, what is left out, who speaks in the chronicles and who does not, one can also come to find many surprisingly consistent patterns.

“The History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen” (*Gestae Hamaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*) is one of the monumental works of medieval historiography, written in around 1075-6. Adam was not born in Bremen region, as he states at the prologue himself that in Bremen he is “a proselyte and stranger.”¹ Where he came from, is not certain, even though it is likely he was born in Upper Germany. He arrived to Bremen in around 1066-7, where he became a canon and later the *magister* of the cathedral school. In Bremen he stood at the border of two worlds both geographically and timely, being at the crossroads of Christian Western Europe, Scandinavia, and Eastern Europe, and at the Early and High Middle Ages (Janson 2004: 359-60); and it was there that he started to write his chronicle after the death of Archbishop Adalbert in March 1072. Adam presented his work to the new Archbishop Liemar (1073-1101) in 1075-6. He died before the year 1085.

The chronicle, written in the genre of *gesta episcoporum*, is to record the history of the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen from its origins to its author’s own times, and to provide also a wider overview of the spread of Christianity in Eastern-Central and Northern Europe from the ninth until the eleventh century. It starts with Charlemagne’s conquest of the Saxony, and reviews then relations of the Saxons with the Danes and the Slavs, until the fall of the great Archbishop Adalbert (1043/5-1072) in 1066 from the favour of Henry IV (1056-1106) and his death in 1072. The chronicle ends with the appointment of new Archbishop Liemar (1073-1101), and consists of four books. The first covers the history of the Saxon wars (772-804), the founding of the sees of Bremen (in 787) and Hamburg (in 831), as well as the early missions to the North and the assaults of Vikings. The second describes the missions to the Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, and Slavs, discusses the political history of Germany in

945-1045. The third is dedicated entirely to the reign of Archbishop Adalbert. The fourth book aims at a geographical and ethnographical overview, a “Description of the Islands of the North.”

Adam’s prologue is written in accordance with the classical model, and the author refers both to written and oral sources.² Adam had not visited the Northern countries himself, yet had a source in King Sven II Estridsson of Denmark (1047-76) whom he had met in the 1070s.³ Adam claims that his information about the history of Denmark in the ninth and tenth centuries relies on Sven, and likewise that about Iceland, Greenland, Vinland, and the countries lying round about the Baltic Sea. Hence the king who “remembered all the deeds of the barbarians as if they had been written down” functions in the text as an authoritative source for periods Adam does not have any written records.⁴ Besides Sven the chronicler had a large variety of other witnesses to choose from, as all the merchants and missionaries going to and from the North had to pass by Bremen.

Both the audience and goal of the text are clearly stated in the prologue, as it is dedicated to Archbishop Liemar, and its audience are the clerics of Bremen, “It was not my purpose to please everyone but you, father [i.e. the archbishop Liemar], and your church.”⁵ The time Adam was writing his chronicle was difficult for the see of Hamburg-Bremen, as its interests were threatened by the Billung dukes of Saxony and by the counts of Stade, by the conflict between the Emperor Henry IV (1056-1106) and the lay and ecclesiastical magnates of Saxony, as well as by the papal interests, which were to subordinate archiepiscopal churches, growing dominant especially during the reign of Pope Gregory VII (1073-1101). Adam was an ardent supporter of his see, and here his views were similar to those of Liemar. Like the Archbishop, so was he a supporter of the Empire and resisted the claims of aristocracy, and both of them were against the Gregorian church reform (Janson 2004: 359-

¹ *proselitus et advena* (GHEP *Prol.*: ref. Tob 1: 7, Ez 14: 7). The English quotations from Adam’s chronicle are given from the translation by Francis J. Tschan from 1959, the Latin ones accordingly to the edition by B. Schmeidler from 1917.

² “Everything I am about to put down will be substantiated by sound authorities (*certis /--/ testimoniis*) so that, if I am not believed, credit at least may be accorded to my source (*auctoritati*).” (GHEP *Praef.*). Adam states, “Of that about which I write I have collected some items from scattered records. I borrowed much from the histories and charters of the Romans. By far the greater part I learned from the tradition of older men who knew the facts (*seniorum, quibus res nota est, traditione*).” (*Ibid.*) For similar claims see also GHEP I.63 and II.60.

³ The king knew well Saxony and England, where he had fought a war both with Harald Hatharade and William the Conqueror, and also the Slav territories, as one of his daughters was married to the Prince of the Abodrites, Gottschalk.

⁴ GHEP II.41. When Frankish *Annales Fuldenses* end with the year 897, Adam claims, “What we shall henceforth relate we have found in various books which are by no means untrustworthy. Some things, too, the illustrious king of the Danes told us when we asked” (GHEP I.54). Sven functions as a witness also elsewhere in the text, see GHEP I.49, 50, 63, II.24, III.53.

⁵ *Nobis propositum est non omnibus placere, sed tibi, pater, et ecclesiae tuae /--/* (GHEP *Praef.*).

60). Henrik Janson has even argued that Adam's account of the great pagan temple in Uppsala (see Chapter II) is a satire against the Gregorians (Janson 1998: 257-320).

The prologue alike emphasises the need to strengthen the positions of the see, and here the once glorious past is to function as a mean to gain authority, encompassed primarily in the personal deeds of its representatives.⁶ Their deeds are recorded not only because they are memorable, but are also to gain authority against rivals.⁷ While the memory of the personal deeds of the archbishops becomes a mean to secure and strengthen the present authority, then the ecclesiastical authority itself is closely bound to territories, and the text is also to carefully record and mark the boundaries of the diocese, "since what has occurred in the past has made us cautious for the future, we have caused this territory to be fixed by definite bounds that no one may seize for himself any power in that diocese what is contrary to our desire."⁸

The *historia Hammaburgensis ecclesiae* is above all a missionary history, as the mission to the heathen (*legatio gentium*) is "the first duty (*primum officium*) of the church of Hamburg" and its hereditary right. There the metropolis "lifts up its head", and aims at the ecclesiastical authority, "enlarging its mission throughout the length and breadth of the North."⁹ Its history is to legitimise the supremacy of the see, and therefore also to downplay the role of the other churches. Adam draws the roots of that supremacy back firstly to Charlemagne, who is said to have designed Hamburg as a metropolitan see for all the Slavic and Danish peoples and then to its founder Louis the Pious, who "desirous of fulfilling his parent's will, appointed Hamburg /--/ as the metropolitan see for all the barbarous nations of the Danes, Swedes, and likewise the Slavs and the other peoples living round about."¹⁰ Besides imperial also the divine authority is to support the claims of Hamburg-Bremen, as the

⁶ As Adam saw and heard that "the ancient and honorable prerogatives of your church had been gravely diminished and that the hands of many builders were needed, I pondered long by what muniment of my endeavour I might help a mother spent in strength. /--/ there came to mind the many achievements of your predecessors. Their deeds, of which I had read and heard from time to time, appeared to be worth relating both because of their own importance and because of the exigencies of the church." (*Ibid.*)

⁷ "Since what was done is not remembered and the history of the prelates of this place has not been recorded in writing, someone may perhaps contend that they had in their days done anything worth recalling or that, if some of them did, they lacked writers whose diligence they facts might have been transmitted to posterity." (*Sed quoniam rerum memoria latet, et pontificum loci hystoria non est tradita litteris, fortasse dixerit aliquis, aut nichil eos dignum memoria fecisse in diebus suis, aut si fecerant quippiam, scriptorum qui hoc posteris traderent diligentia caruisse.*) (*Ibid.*)

⁸ GHEP I.13.

⁹ /--/ *per totam septentrionis latitudinem suae legationi cotidie videt accrescere* /--/ (GHEP II.14). Hamburg is named the see of all Northern nations (GHEP III.26, 70), and all Slavic nations (GHEP II.13). For /--/ *metropolis Hammaburg caput extollit* /--/ see GHEP II.15. For mission as an hereditary right see GHEP III.1; and also GHEP II.3, 47, III.1, III.70.

¹⁰ GHEP I.18. For Charlemagne's design of Hamburg as *Sclavorum Danorumque gentibus metropolis* see GHEP I.15.

history of the church is determined by providence.¹¹ The course of its mission is treated as a fulfillment of God's grace both through the hands of the missionaries on the missionary field, and through the hands of great Christian rulers on the battlefield, in their just war against the heathens. Differently from the later chronicles Adam however does not give almost any descriptions of warfare. The ideals of Christian kingship are connected to the Ottonian kings and emperors, most eminently to Heinrich I (919-36) and Otto I the Great (936-73).¹² This is bound to the revival of the idea of *rex iustus* as God's representative on earth among the Ottonians, and here Adam emphasises mainly king's role as the protector of the church and its mission. Similarly the success of missionaries is a sign of God's grace, which functions to give authority to the see in general, as in mission the priests are made God's "participators in this work and joint heirs with Christ"; and here also the miracles performed through the missionaries are to function as a similar sign.¹³

The history of the church is above all a "history of the prelates" (*pontificum hystoria*), and the text is structured after the reigns of the archbishops.¹⁴ The portraits of the latter are built upon the patterns set by the prophets, Apostles and early saints, and the comparison between them and the authoritative figures from the past is to grant legitimacy also to the

¹¹ This is more prominent in the explanations given to the misfortunes it had to suffer. The Slav revolt in 983-1018 is explained as happening in accordance with the divine will, when Adam claims, *O vere occulta super homines Dei iudicia, qui miseretur cui vult, et quem vult indurat*. (GHEP II.42: ref. Rom 9:18). The downfall of the church during the reign of archbishop Adalbert is described as a fulfillment of the prophecy of Zechariah, *Impletumque est vaticinium, quod ait: 'Ego iratus sum parum, ipsi vero adiuverunt me in malum, dicit Dominus'*. (GHEP III.55: ref. Zach 1: 15-16). See also GHEP II.76-7, III.33, 46, 65, 69, IV.40.

¹² Henry who "feared God even from his boyhood and placed all trust in his mercy" triumphed over the Hungarians and struck down the Slavic peoples at Lenzen in 928/9, so that the latter promised "the king that they would pay tribute, and God that they would be Christians" (*regi tributum et Deo christianitatem ultro promitterent*) (GHEP I.58). After this also the mission (*legatio*) of Hamburg, "long neglected on account of adverse times, had with the help of God and through the valour of King Henry (*miser cordia Dei et virtute regis Heinrici*) been given occasion and opportunity for its work" (GHEP I.60). Otto the Great was "a most victorious and just king in everything that is of God" (*immo victoriosi et iustissimi animum regis in omnibus quae Dei sunt*), and "especially well disposed toward the conversion of the pagans" (*ad conversionem paganorum*) (GHEP II.2). All his deeds "turned out as he desired, since God worked with and confirmed the right hand of the most pious king in all things" (*Deo cooperante et piissimi regis dexteram in omnibus corroborante*) (GHEP II.2: ref. Mc 16: 20), and he "with the support of divine help executed judgement and justice unto his people" (*divino fultus auxilio /--/ iusticiam et iudicium populis fecit*) (GHEP II.3).

¹³ GHEP I.35. St. Ansgar's mission to Björko was "anticipated by the mercy of God" (*praeveniente misericordia Dei*) (GHEP I.28), and he founded the church among the Danes and Swedes "by God's favor" (*Deo propitio*) (GHEP I.35). Adaldag's reign was successful "because all things work together unto good to them that love God, the Lord granted him the success he wished, both propitious times and the favor of the king" (GHEP II.2: ref. Rm 8: 28). During the mission of Archbishop Lievizo "the Lord had wrought for the salvation of the heathen who daily were being converted" (GHEP II.62: ref. Act 15: 22).

¹⁴ Those are "the deeds (*gesta*) of the most holy fathers by whom the Church was raised (*exaltata*) and the Christian religion spread among the pagans" (*christianitas in gentibus dilatata*) (GHEP Praef.) See also: *aut quibus praedicatoribus ad christianae religionis normam perigerit* (GHEP I.9); *per quos crediderunt* (GHEP I.63); and *per quos et verbum Dei gentiles audirent* (GHEP I.38).

institution they represent.¹⁵ The most eminent model for picturing the great archbishops is given by the early missionaries, including St. Boniface (673/80-754), and St Willehad (d. 789), the first bishop of Bremen (since 787).¹⁶ However especially St. Ansgar (810-865), the first archbishop of Hamburg (in around 834) and later of Bremen, is to set many of the patterns. His mission is represented as the fulfilment of “the wonderful providence of the omnipotent God for the calling the heathen, which the Maker orders as He wills and when He wills and by whom He wills. Behold, we read that what Willebrod as well as Ebbo and others had wished long ago to do but could not, our Ansgar has now marvelously both desired and accomplished, saying with the apostle, “It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy /-/.”¹⁷ Henceforth the *legatio* “to preach in all the length and breadth of the North” is “an hereditary commission” of the prelates.¹⁸

Following the models of the deeds of Apostles, saints and martyrs, the chronicle emphasises the missionaries’ willingness to go into perils and threats. The first martyrdoms in the text are drawn upon the *vita* of St Boniface and whilst creating a tradition for the Northern parts, they are also said to have inspired the later missionaries, St. Willehad and as well as St. Ansgar, who was “desirous of obtaining martyrdom” and “ready to go not only among the barbarians but also both into prison and to death for Christ.”¹⁹ St. Boniface, who is called the second Paul, sets also the model not only for a martyr, but also for an active missionary, and in this he is followed St Ansgar, St Rimbert, the pattern continuing in the portraits of the later

¹⁵ According to divine providence, St. Rimbert follows St. Ansgar like Elisha had followed Eliah (GHEP I.22: ref. IV Reg 2: 1-15), and he is compared also to Moses (GHEP I.43: ref. *Vita Rimberti* xvii-xix; Num 12: 3) and an Apostle (GHEP I.43). Likewise St. Ansgar is said to have done things “not unlike the miracles worked of old” (GHEP II.31) and St. Rimbert “some miracles in the manner of the ancient saints” (GHEP II.42). Archbishop Hoger is compared to both David and John the Evangelist (GHEP I.54), Adalag to John (GHEP II.9), Hermann to Heli (GHEP II.66: ref. I Reg 2:22-5), and the more controversial figure of Adalbert to Xerxes, Eliah (GHEP III.40) and Hezekiah (GHEP III.62: ref. IV Reg 20: 3).

¹⁶ The mission of St. Boniface is described in GHEP I.11, here Adam is mainly drawing on his sevelar *vitae* and the *Annales Fuldenses*. Willehad’s mission to Frisia (in around 766) and among the Saxons (in around 780) is given in GHEP I.12-14, relying on the *Vita Willehadi* and the *Annales Fuldenses*.

¹⁷ GHEP I.17: ref. Rm 9: 16,18. The detailed account of St. Ansgar’s mission in Denmark and Sweden (832) is given in GHEP I.17-19,22-36, and is based on the *Vita Anskarii* by Rimbert.

¹⁸ Adam calls upon Liemar, who holds “an hereditary comission to preach (*hereditariam predicandi legationem*) in all the length and breadth of the North” to “speedily accomplish that wich of old your predecessors vigorously undertook in respect of the conversion of the heathens (*gentium conversione*).” (GHEP *Praef.*) The hereditary right (*ius successionis quasi hereditarium*) is firstly ascribed to St. Rimbert (GHEP I.38), later nearly to all his followers. See GHEP II.2, III.70. At the end of the chronicle “that mission (*gentium legatio*), bringing salvation to the heathen, has by prosperous increase grown (*incrementis*) continuously down to this very day, to the passing of great Adalbert, a period of about two hundred and forty years.” (GHEP IV.41)

¹⁹ *non solum inter barbaros, veum etiam in carcerem et in mortem pro Christo ire paratus* (GHEP I.17: ref. Lc 22: 33), see also GHEP I.28. For Willehad’s desire to imitate the martyrdom of St. Boniface see GHEP I.12, and for the latter itself GHEP I.11.

bishops.²⁰ This enables Adam also to criticise the “bishops at home”, as when he calls them to look back upon archbishop Unni who “undergoing such perils by sea and by land, he went among the fierce people of the north and with such zeal discharged the ministry of his mission that he died at the confines of the earth, lying down his life for Christ.”²¹

Similar values Adam ascribes also to his own undertaking, to which “truly difficult and surpassing my powers, I entreat the more indulgence because, since scarcely any predecessor has left a tread to follow, I did not fear, as if in the dark, to grope along the an unknown way, preferring to bear the burden and heat of the day in the vineyard of God rather than to stand idle outside the vineyard.”²²

“The Chronicle of the Slavs” (*Chronica Slavorum*) is written in around 1167-8 and 1172, about one hundred years later than Adam’s chronicle. The author of the text, Helmold was born in around 1118-25. While the earlier research argues he likely spent his boyhood in the Nordalbingian frontier areas near Segeberg, the later scholars have claimed that his homeland was south of Elbe, and he came to Segeberg only later (Stoob 1963: 2-3). King Lothar (1125-37) had erected a fortification in Segeberg, and a missionary Vicelin, the future Bishop of Oldenburg (1149-56), had built a church and a monastery there, where Helmold likely started his school years in around 1134-8. The stronghold together with the church and monastery were yet destroyed during the Slav revolt in 1138, and the clerics had to move to Faldera (Wippenthorp) on the Slav frontier of Holstein. Helmold was however sent to be educated in Braunschweig in around 1139-42/3; and from there his teacher, Gerold was to become later the Bishop of Oldenburg. Helmold became a deacon in Faldera in 1150, and likely stayed there until the death of Vicelin in 1156. Thereafter he accompanied Bishop

²⁰ For St. Boniface as the second Paul see GHEP I.11: ref. to several *vitae* of St. Boniface and *Annales Fuldenses*. St. Ansgar, “outwardly an apostle, but inwardly a monk, who, as we read, was never idle” (GHEP I.35: ref. *Vita Anskarii* xxxv); and similarly St. Rimbert “personally pressed this mission (*legatio*) as often as other work permitted” (GHEP I.38: ref. *Vita Rimberti* xvi). Archbishop Adalgar reigned “in a hard time of barbarian devastation”, yet he “did not yield /--/ his mission to the heathen (*legatio ad gentes*)” (GHEP I.48), for him see also GHEP II.34, for Lievizo GHEP II.61, and Adalbert GHEP III.1.

²¹ *per tanta pericula maris et terrae feroces aquilonis populos ipse pertransiens, ministerium legationis suae tanto impleret studio, ut in ultimis terrae finibus exspirans animam suam poneret pro Christo* (GHEP I.65) On bishop Unni’s death Adam addresses a speech to “bishops who, sitting at home, make the short-lived pleasures of honor, of lucre, of the belly, and of sleeping the first considerations of episcopal office” (GHEP I.65). See also GHEP III.70, IV.23, 29. The topos of the “lazy crew that delights in shelter and shade” (*genus ignavum, quod tecto gaudet et umbra*) is taken firstly from the *vita* of St Rimbert (GHEP I.44: ref *Vita Rimberti* xx; Ps 11: 2).

²² *Ad quod nimirum valde arduum et viribus meis impar onus, eo maiorem flagito veniam, quoniam fere nullius qui me praecesserit vestigia sequens, ignotum iter, quasi palrans in tenebris, carpere non timui, eligens in vinea Domini “pondus diei ferre et aestus”, quam extra vineam ociosus stare.* (GHEP Praef: ref. Mt 20: 12, the parable of the vineyard workers).

Gerold, and later became a parish priest at Bosau. It was there that he finished his chronicle, the first book in between 1167-8 and the second in 1172. Helmold died after 1177.

The chronicle is divided into two parts, the first (HCS 1-95) covering the period from the conversion of the Saxons until the year 1168, and the second (HCS 96-110) continuing until the year 1171. Following Adam's model, Helmold records the history of the mission to the North starting from the ninth century and reaching hence his own time. His account of the earlier periods it relies heavily upon Adam, and from the events that took place after Archbishop Adalbert's death, the chronicle focuses on the conquest of the Lower Elbe areas and the missions in the regions of Eastern Holstein, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and Pomerania. Here firstly the success of the mission during the reign of Christian Slav Prince Henry (HCS 34-8), Duke Lothar (HCS 39-41), and the mission of Vicelin are in focus (HCS 42-7). This is followed by a description of the crisis during the reign of Henry's sons (HCS 48-52), which followed death of King Lothar (HCS 53-8), and a critique of the Saxon princes (HCS 59-68). The second book however finds its heroes in Duke Henry the Lion and Count Adolph, recording the struggles over the land of the Abodrites (HCS 96-9), power struggles between the Duke and the princes (HCS 103-7), the founding of the Saxon colonies in the border areas, and ends with the triumphalist account of the completion of the mission (Stoob 1963: 13-6). Besides Helmold discusses the politics of the German Emperors, their campaigns in Italy and the Investiture Contest (1075-1122), being mainly loyal to the papacy. He recounts also the proclamation and course of the First Crusade in 1096-1102 (HCS 29-30), and gives a longer description of the Second Crusade in 1147 (HCS 59-65). Here he treats as equal the crusading armies in the Holy Land, Iberian Peninsula and Slavia, and focuses mainly on the latter campaign, even though its results were meagre in his eyes (HCS 65). His representation of the events taking place in the Empire and Italy is however more inaccurate and determined by a local focus, as he is mainly concerned with the impact the events have on the mission, the power struggles posing an hindarance to it and an opportunity to the Slavs for revolts.²³

The author could rely on his own knowledge and experiences to great extent, as well on the reports of the other missionaries, and Bishops Vicelin, Gerold and Conrad. Yet also

²³ When Helmold has recounted the campaign Henry V (1106-25) made into Italy (1110-1) and the treaty of Stur he made in 1111 with Pope Paschalis II (1099-1118) (HCS 39-40), he concludes, "to recount the tumult of that time would make a long story indeed; nor is this the time for such a recital; I am pressed to return to the history of the Slavs from which I have too long digressed" (HCS 40). Henceforth he even fails to mention even the settlement of the Investiture contest by the Concordat at Worms in 1122 (Tschan 1935: 137, note 11). The Latin quotations of Helmold's chronicle are given from the edition by Heinz Stoob, and the English ones are from the translation by Francis J. Tschan.

from the secular rulers he may have gained some information, most likely from Count Adolph II and his followers (Tschan 1935: 26-7).

Differently from Adam the focus of the text is not in Bremen, but in the frontier bishopric of Oldenburg and its centre, Lübeck; and these are the canons, *domini et fratres* of the church at Lübeck to whom the work is dedicated in its two prologues. Yet Helmold also speaks of writing in hope of “some little gain from the prayers of the great men who may read this little book.”²⁴ The work aims to render the church in Lübeck honor (*honorem*), and for this reason the author sets out “to write in her praise (*laudem*) of the conversion of the Slavic race, that is to say, of the kings and preachers by whose assiduity the Christian religion was first planted in these parts and afterwards restored.”²⁵ Therefore it is dedicated to “the praise of those who at different times by deed, word, often even by shedding their blood, enlightened the country of the Slavs.”²⁶

Following Adam’s model Helmold describes Hamburg as the metropolitan see for all Northern nations (*metropolis universis borealibus nationibus*), founded so that “the ministry of the Word of God might go forth with greater success among all barbarous nations.”²⁷ Here especially the notion of the North grows important for him, as he follows Adam in how “at the instance of the prelates of the church of Hamburg the Word of God was spread among all the Slavic, Danish, and Northman peoples and the icy cold of the north was dissolved by the warmth of the Word of God.”²⁸ Even though his account for the early history of the see of Oldenburg relies on sources independent from Adam, the model for it is hence yet given by Adam.²⁹ His story of the mission to the Slavs being clearly that of the Saxon mission, it is also to play down the role of the Danes in the conquest and conversion of Slavia. Therefore his account is often in contradiction with the Northern sources, most noticeable of those being Saxo Grammaticus (Lind et al. 2004: 29-92).

The explanation via providence and prophecies is to give authority to the course of events. This is dominantly present in crusading accounts.³⁰ On a personal level the providence

²⁴ HCS 96.

²⁵ /--/ *conversionem Slavicæ gentis /--/ quorum scilicet regum sive predicatorum industria Christiana religio his in partibus primum plantata et postmodo restaurata fuerit /--/* (HCS Praef.).

²⁶ /--/ *in eorum laudem, qui Slavorum provinciam diversis etatibus manu, lingua, plerique etiam in sanguinis effusione illustrarunt /--/* (HCS Praef.).

²⁷ /--/ *ut legatio verbi Dei exinde uberius pullaret in omnes barbaras naciones /--/* (HCS 4).

²⁸ *Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum instantia “disseminatus est” verbum Dei in omnes Slavorum, Danorum sive Northmannorum populos, et dissolutum est gelidum illud frigus aquilonis a calore verbi Dei.* (HCS 4: ref. Gn 9: 19; 10: 18)

²⁹ Here he presents the deeds of the first bishops of Oldenburg, Marco (948/52/60), Ekward (973-85), Wago and Eziko (since 985) (HCS 12-4), Meinher (until 1029), and Lientius (1029-32) (HCS 18).

³⁰ See HCS 56, 59.

is fulfilled through the missionaries, their work being predicted from High; and among those fathers of the new church (*patres novellae ecclesiae*) especially Vicelin stands out, “called by Heaven to the work of the Gospel.”³¹ Similarly to Adam Helmold values the personal devotion and partake in the missionary work. Yet quite differently he emphasises not only the deeds of the prelates but also of the lower clergy, and focuses on the local missionary work. The local missionaries are even contrasted to the higher clergy, as when the canons of Lübeck are called to look upon Vicelin.³² The patterns set by St. Ansgar and other early missionary bishops of Hamburg-Bremen have yet influenced the image of the missionaries from the lower ranks. The grace of God can be witnessed also in the miracles carried through their, and here the author also compares their deeds to those known from the Old Testament history, as “the deeds of Elijah and Elisha confirm this fact, for there is no doubt that there still live men who, as they emulate the virtues of those prophets, also rival their miracles.”³³

The missionary work gives a scale for evaluating all other events on a general level, and yet on the other hand it is also used a value statement that can be applied to the allies of the church. Firstly Helmold criticises the wars against the Wendish Slavs, claiming them to be undertaken not for the enlargement of faith but only for tribute and lands. The author however stresses the need for an inner order and peace among the Christians, as the inner struggles hinder the mission and give an opportunity for revolts. Here the model is set by the Slav revolts of the ninth and eleventh centuries, when not “was there at hand any means by which the condition of the young church could be fully restored because Otto the Great had long ago departed from this life and the third Otto were occupied with their Italian wars. On this account the Slavs, trusting to the advantage of the situation, began little by little to strive not only against the divine laws but also against the imperial commands.”³⁴ The notion of a good Christian ruler, granter of peace and order, defender of the churches, and fulfiller of God’s

³¹ /--/ *ordinacione Dei ad opus aliud destinandus* /--/ (HCS 45). See also: /--/ *ad opus ewangelii se divinitus vocari* /--/ (HCS 46). Helmold gives his life from boyhood (HCS 42 ff.) until his illness, death and the miracles following it (HCS 75-8). He also gives the lives of Thietmar (HCS 73-4) and Gerold (HCS 95). The image of Bishop Conrad of Lübeck is more controversial, changing from negative to more positive, after his redemption following exile and misfortunes (HCS 96). Besides the missionaries of his own see, the chronicler also recounts the mission Otto of Bamberg (1102-39) took to the Pomeranians in 1124/5 and 1128, succeeded also “since God was working with him and confirming the word with the signs following” (*Deo cooperante et sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis*) (HCS 40: ref. Mc 16: 20). For the notion “the fathers of the new church” see HCS 54.

³² “You, also, who sit at the high table of the church at Lübeck, follow after this man – a man, I say, whom before you in plain speech; assuredly in this case plain, because true. For you cannot entirely ignore him who in your new city first set up a stone for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it.” (HCS 79: ref. Gen 28: 18)

³³ *Prebet huic facto firmitatem opus Helyae necnon Helisei, quorum emulos sicut virtutis, sic etiam miraculi adhuc superesse non est ambiguum.* (HCS 66: ref. I Reg 17: 11-16; II Reg 4: 1-7). For the miracles of Vicelin see HCS 69, and HCS 78-9 where are listed the miracles following his death.

³⁴ HCS 14. See also HCS 18, 19.

will is prominent throughout the chronicle. From Adam's text Helmold draws the image of Charlemagne and Otto I the Great.³⁵ The image is attributed to Otto II and Otto III, and while Helmold criticises Henry IV and V, he depicts the new rise in the mission to take place during the reign of Emperor Lothar (1125-37)³⁶ (Fletcher 1997: 445-6). Helmold, firstly very critical upon the Saxon princes, later comes to emphasise the role of Dukes Henry Billug, Rudolph of Schwabia, Albert the Bear, and Adolph.³⁷ He finds his greatest hero in Henry the Lion, the Duke of Saxony (1142-1180), who especially after the death of Vicelin is described as the main promoter of conversion, conquest, and colonisation.³⁸ Here the chronicler presents several detailed descriptions of warfare, using many dramatic elements, like long speeches, in his battle-descriptions.³⁹ As the last third of the chronicle turns more and more into the history of the frontier colonies, the text comes to reflect the many compromises between secular and ecclesiastical powers, as Henry the Lion was willing to share the profits of conquest and colonisation with the church, yet demanded control over the missionaries and churches.

Arnold of Lübeck wrote his "Chronicle of the Slavs" (*Chronica Slavorum*) as a continuation of Helmold's work. Relatively little is known also about his life, the main sources being the references given in his chronicle and a few preserved documents.⁴⁰

Arnold was probably born in around 1150, and arrived to Lübeck with his fellow monks in 1177, when the bishop Henry of Lübeck named him the abbot of the Benedictine monastery established there. Arnold reigned as an abbot lasted for more than thirty years, during which he came to see both the siege of Lübeck by Emperor Frederick in 1181 and the Danish expansion into the city in 1201. He started to write the chronicle whether already in around 1192 or after the Danish expansion (Kolk 2004: 72). Whether it was the initiative of the Guelphs and Otto IV, or his own, it is not known; yet as an abbot he had the means to undertake it on his own (Kolk 2004: 74). Arnold died in around 1211-14.

³⁵ For Charlemagne see HCS 3-4, and Otto the Great HCS 9-12. Helmold relies on Adam, recounting how during Ottos time the whole of the pagan folk was baptised (HCS 9), and connects it especially to the Slavs, depicting how the Emperor "gave his entire attention to the conversion of the heathen, particularly the Slavs" (HCS 10). See also HCS 12, 14, 16.

³⁶ For his image see HCS 40-1, 53-4.

³⁷ For Henry Billug see HCS 10, Rudolph of Schwabia HCS 27-8, and Albert the Bear HCS 89. The image of Duke Adolph is somewhat more complex, as the chronicle blames him for hindering the mission (HCS 56-7, 62, 67, 69, 71, 73, 75, 84); yet the general picture of him is positive (see HCS 100-1). See also Tschan 1935: 28-9.

³⁸ The image of Henry is however dynamic in the text, as it changes from that of an avaricious prince who cared nothing of Christianity but only of money to depicting him as the main promoter of the mission. For the image of Henry as the avaricious prince see HCS 68, 88, and for the changed image of the duke as the granter of peace and the defender of churches see HCS 93 and 100, 107. Helmold's praise for the duke is given in HCS 102.

³⁹ See HCS 38-9, 64, 93.

⁴⁰ See Lappenberg 1869: 100-2; and for a recent analysis Kolk 2004: 70-3 and Scior 2002: 224.

Arnold starts with the year 1171, when Helmold's text ends, and reaches the year 1210. The chronicle however deals with a much wider range of issues, and the Slavs are marginal in the text as a whole. The confusing title "Chronicle of the Slavs" does not appear in any of the medieval manuscripts, but reflects the influence of the later printed version where it was often published as the continuation of Helmold's work.⁴¹ The text focuses mainly not on the Slavs but on the deeds of Henry the Lion, the history of the Bremen diocese, and the politics of the German rulers in Denmark, Italy and Orient during the years 1172-1209, and covers also the Third Crusade (1189-92) and Fourth (1202-4). The first book gives an account of the Duke Henry the Lion's pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the election of the bishop Henry of Lübeck, and the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The second describes the strife between Duke Henry the Lion and the Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1152-90), as well as the expulsion of the duke, which lasted from 1174-81. The third is dedicated to the reign of Henry the Lion in 1182-88, covering the history of the Northern German areas and their relationship with the Slavs and Danes. It yet includes also a description of the Byzantine lands (ACS III.8). The fourth gives an account of Frederick I's crusade to the Holy Land and the fall of Jerusalem (1185/6). The fifth describes Henry's return from yet another exile and the last years of his reign, the crusade to the Holy Land undertaken by Henry VI and the crusade to Livonia. This includes also a description of Apulia (ACS V.19). The sixth (1198-1204) and seventh (1204-10) books are dedicated mainly to the power struggle between the Guelph king Otto (son of Henry the Lion) and the Stauff king Philip (son of the Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa), which ended with the death of Philip and the coronation of Otto IV. The seventh book includes also a longer description of Egypt and Syria (ACS VII.8). The chronological organisation of the narrative is not linear, the author often discusses the course of main events, and then returns to represent other events of lesser importance that have happened meanwhile (Kolk 2004: 72).

Arnold makes the traditional claim for trustworthiness, yet mentions none of his sources.⁴² Little is known about his sources in general, and the text appears to rely mostly on

⁴¹ The preserved manuscripts are titled as *Historia abbatiss Lubicensis* or *Historia abbatiss Lubicensis de duce Heinrico* (Kolk 2004: 73); see also Scior 2002: 287. Arnold states that the text is a continuation of Helmold's work both in the prologue and epilogue of the text. See: *Helmoldus sacerdos historias /--/ huic operi vel labori insistere derevimus /--/* (ASC Prol.); and likewise in the epilogue: */--/ volens continuare hoc dictamen operi Helmoldi sacerdotis /--/* (ACS VII.20). The Latin quotations of Arnold are given from the MGH edition by Georg Heinrich Pertz.

⁴² *Veritatem historia igitur sequentes, adulationem, que plerisque scriptorum comes est, omnino dampnamus, ut timorem et gratiam fallacem excludentes libere que nobis comperta sunt prosequamur.* (ACS Prol.)

the collective and oral knowledge about contemporary events⁴³ (Scior 2002: 282; Damus 1876: 211-53; cf. Kolk 2004: 37). Volker Scior has pointed out that Arnold's accounts are more trustworthy and detailed the nearer they are to him, while those qualities tend to diminish in his descriptions of events that happened in the Holy Land, Italy, Egypt and Syria.⁴⁴ On the other hand the endless struggles taking place near Lübeck and in Nordalbingia are described in a much greater detail, and likewise all the events are mainly represented from the Northern German focus. As such, the text represents above all the local or regional identities of these areas (Lappenberg 1869: 102-3, Scior 2002: 229-30).

In the prologue the chronicle is dedicated to the canons of Ratzeburg and their Bishop Philip. The reasons for it were likely Philip's role in the crusade to Livonia and his position in the court of Otto IV. Yet there are not any other prominent links to him in the text.⁴⁵ In the prologue Arnold draws on Helmold, describing his text as a history of the subjugation of the Slavs, and of the deeds of the prelates "by whose assiduity the church was confirmed in these parts."⁴⁶ With his own work he claims to continue the history of the Northern parts and churches.⁴⁷ Here he names the bishops, yet it is Duke Henry the Lion to whom the role of the defender and founder of the churches and Christianity is ascribed, and the text is to support prominently the politics of the Duke, who is a central figure already in the last third of Helmold's chronicle. As regards Arnold's text, he is the main character of the first two books and the fifth, where Duke Henry is described as the granter of peace and order.⁴⁸ Here Arnold draws on Helmold, describing how the duke "more than all, who were before him, wore down the strenght of the Slavs, and subjugated them not only to the tribute, but also to the worship

⁴³ As regards his account about the mission and crusade to Estonia, Kaspar Kolk has however argued that the chronicler likely used some written accounts (Kolk 2004: 37-8).

⁴⁴ Especially Arnold's account of the pilgrimage of Duke Henry have been widely discussed. While some researches claim that Arnold might have taken part in the journey to the Holy Land, pointing out the liveliness of the description, it is more likely that it is based on the information given by bishop Henry of Lübeck (who then yet was an abbot of the monastery of St. Aegedie) (Scior 2002: 292-3).

⁴⁵ See Scior 2002: 224-5. Kaspar Kolk has pointed out that the bishop is mentioned in the chronicle but once, on the occasion of his consecration (ACS VII.9). Even though Philipp took part of the crusade to Livonia in 1211-5 and was in charge of the Livonian church while bishop Albert of Riga was in Saxony, he is not mentioned among the bishops who answered Albert's call to a crusade in 1210. The reason for the latter can however be that Philipp might have given his crusading vow separately from the others (Kolk 2004: 77-8).

⁴⁶ *bone memorie Helmoldus sacerdos historias de subactione seu vocatione Sclavorum et gesta pontificum, quorum instantia ecclesie harum regionum invaluerunt* (ACS Prol.).

⁴⁷ */--/ borealium regionum sive ecclesiarum /--/ (Ibid.).*

⁴⁸ *Confirmata igitur pace in terra Sclavorum, ut dictum est, magis ac magis invalescebat potentia ducis super omnes inhabitantes terram, et sopita sunt bella civilia* (ACS I.1) See also: *Dux itaque tanta potius quiete tantisque fluctuationum emensis periculis, tanquam portum salutis commodum duxit /--/ (Ibid.).* Same ideas are repeated after the expellion of Henry (1182), as *Henry qui solus in terra prevaluerat et, sicub ab initio diximus, pacem maximam fecerat, quia non solum finitimas, sed etiam barbaras et extraneas regiones ita freno sui moderaminis constrinxerat, ut et homines sine terrore quiescerent et terra propter quietis securitatem bonis*

of the true God and to give up the superstitions of idolatry, making them the humble servants.”⁴⁹ The Duke has “firmed great peace in all the lands of the Slavs, and made quiet all the provinces of the Wagrians, Holsatians, Polabes, Obodrites, and the thieves and robberies on land and sea were prohibited and the many merchants and trademen came, and everybody lived under his vube and under his fig tree.”⁵⁰ Arnold’s sympathies in the power struggles are mostly on the side of the Guelphs, as like the pope he supports Otto IV claims against the Hofenstaufens. His definite support for the Guelphs however has been questioned in the recent studies.⁵¹ Arnold’s sympathies go along the same line as all the previous chronicler’s, as he values mainly the rulers support to the church, its mission, and their fight against the heathens (Kolk 2004: 74), yet the latter are not to be seen as per se, but they also provide a value criterium to be applied to favourable rulers.

Therefore Arnold differentiates from Adam and Helmold already in his prologue, where the bishops (Evermod of Ratzeburg, Conrad I of Lübeck and Benno of Schwerin) are listed along the same line with the Duke. While the role of clerics is that of planting and watering the new plantation of faith, the founding of the latter is yet ascribed to the Duke.⁵² Arnold however ascribes great dignity to the bishops of Lübeck, especially to Bishop Henry (1173-82).⁵³ Differently from his predessecros Arnold pictures the bishops firstly in accordance with the monastic ideals (Scior 2004: 232-3). Throughout his text Arnold pays special attention to Virgin Mary, to whom his monastery was devoted together with St. John, which reflects the growing devotion to the Blessed Virgin that is to become dominant in Henry’s text.

omnibus exurberaret (ACS III.1). Likewise, when Henry is expelled in 1182, Arnold states that there is no king in Israel (*non erat rex in Israel, sed unusquisque quod rectum in oculis suis videbatur faciebat*) (ACS III.1).

⁴⁹ *qui super omnes, qui ante ipsum fuerunt, duritiam Sclavicam perdomuit, et non solum ad tributa solvenda coegit, sed etiam erga veri Dei cultum, relictis superstitionibus idolatrie, humiliatis cervicibus promptissimos fecit.* (ACS Prol.: ref. HCS 109)

⁵⁰ *Pacem etiam maximam in omni terra Sclavorum firmavit, et omnes provincie aquilonares Wagirorum, Holzatorum, Polaborum, Obotritorum ocio et quieti vacabant, et prohibita sunt furta et latrocinia terra marique et fruebantur mutuis mercationibus et negotiantibus, et habitabat unusquisque sub “vite et fictu sua”* (ACS.Prol.: ref. HCS 110; I Reg 4: 25).

⁵¹ See Scior 2002: 227-9. Kaspar Kolk has argued the contrast between the Guelphs and Stauffs is not that clear-cut in the chronicle, and pointed out the praise given to Philipp on the occasion of his death (ACS VII.12). Arnold’s sympathies are more complex then they have been discussed before, and he occasionally supports not only Otto IV, but also Philipp, and likewise not only Henry the Lion, but also Adolph of Schaumburg, who obtained the Holstein areas, which belonged to the Duke before his expulsion (Kolk 2004: 73-4).

⁵² *qui ecclesias novelle plantationis, quas Henricus dux memoratus instituit, Domino incrementum dante, doctrina plantare et opere irrigare instantissime satagebant* (ASC Prol.).

⁵³ He devotes a long passage to his ordination, where the joy (*gaudium*) over his becoming the bishop is dominant (ACS I.13). For the description of bishop Dietrich (1186-1210) see ACS III.14. Volker Scior has however pointed out that in the prologue the bishop of Lübeck is mentioned among the other bishops, and hence questioned can to what extent Arnold identifies himself with the latter bishopric (Scior 2002: 232).

Arnold differentiates from the earlier chroniclers also in his many and detailed representations of the crusading ideology. Here he pays attention not only to contemporary campaigns, but also to the previous crusades. In his account of Duke Henry the Lion's pilgrimage Arnold retells the story of the conquest of Nicea by Godfrey of Bouillon.⁵⁴ Here the notions of God's people (*populum Dei*) who is fighting for His honour against the heathens (*gentiles*) are most outstanding.⁵⁵ The speech given by Godfrey expresses the core of religious warfare, referring to the idea of God fighting for his people and listing Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Moses, the Israelites crossing the Red Sea and coming to the land of Canaan, the wars of Gideon, Judith, Daniel, David, Heli and Christ, as well as the Apostles and the church.⁵⁶ The chronicle reflects the significance of the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, and the author treats it as a cause for a revenge.⁵⁷ Arnold also emphasises the crusading enthusiasm after the fall of Jerusalem.⁵⁸

The "The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia" (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*) was written by a parish priest and missionary Henry and covers the mission and crusade to Livonia and Estonia from 1186 until 1227.

Henry was likely born in around 1187-8 in Saxony, near Magdeburg.⁵⁹ He was educated in Germany, probably at the monastery school at Segeberg under abbot Rothmar, the brother of Bishop Albert of Riga (Johansen 1953: 11). Henry came to Riga with Bishop Albert in around 1205 and was ordained a parish priest at Rubene (Pappendorf) in 1208. He

⁵⁴ ACS I.10-11 This yet also functions to compare the pilgrim Henry the Lion as follower of the great crusaders (Scior 2004: 306-7).

⁵⁵ *pro Dei honore resp. pro honore Dei aut vincere aut mori resp. pro cuius nomine et amore pugnamus* (ACS I.11). The ending of the chapter presents a similar pattern of the praise of Lord used often also in Henry's chronicle: *Et magnificatus est Dominus in suis, et recesserunt gentiles de castro, et intravit illud dux Godefridus cum suis, collaudantes Dominum, qui omnia quaecunque voluit fecit in celo et in terra. (Ibid.)*

⁵⁶ *Deus qui benedixit patri nostro Abrahae, Isaac et Iacob; Deus qui per manum Moysi transduxit populum suum per desertum, operiens hostes eorum mari rubro, qui etiam per Iosue introduxit eos in terram Chanaan, contritis hostibus sub pedibus eorum; Deus qui dedit Gedeoni contra inimicos fiduciam, Sampsoni fortitudinem, Judith de tyranno victoriam; Deus qui liberavit Daniele de lacu leonum, David de gladio maligno, Heli de persecutione Iezabel; Deus inquam qui filium suum Iesum Christum misit in hunc mundum humani generis redemptionem, qui per victoriam sacre crucis diabolum devicit et vasa captivitatis eius diripuit, qui apostolis suis benedixit et per doctrinam eorum sanctam ecclesiam illuminavit, qui etiam per eos nobis dixit: "Quicquid petieritis Patrem in nomine meo, dabit vobis"; pro cuius nomine et amore peregrinamur, ipse dextera sua excelsa te benedicat et hostem nostrum ad laudem et gloriam et honorem nominis sui hodie sub pedibus conterat!" (ACS I.11)*

⁵⁷ *Ad vindictam igitur zeli domus Dei et in ultionem sanguinis iusti egerediatur sponsus de cubili suo.* (ACS IV.7). See also: *ad ultionem zeli Dei et vindictam terre sancte et effusionis iusti sanguinis servorum Dei* (ACS IV.10).

⁵⁸ *omnes terre gloriosi, sub quibus curvatur orbis, nobilis et ignobilis, simul in unum dives et pauper – ceciderat enim super timor et indignatio - unanimes ad expeditionem Iherosolimitanam aspirabant. Et signati signo crucis in remissionem peccatorum suorum, iter arripiunt.* (ACS IV.7).

⁵⁹ See Arbusow 1950: 100, Johansen 1953: 9, Bauer 1955: vi-ix, Vahtre 7-10. For the previous discussion whether the chronicler was of German or Latvian origin see Appendix.

wrote his chronicle between August 1224 and spring 1226, and added one final chapter (HCL XXX) likely in 1227-8. Henceforth Henry remained a parish priest and died likely some time after the year 1259.

The chronicle tells of the conquest and conversion of the Livs, Latvians, and Estonians, and covers a period of around forty years. It is divided into four books, the first three following the reigns of Bishops Meynard, Bertold, and Albert. The narrative begins in around the 1180s with the arrival of Meynard, a missionary and later the first bishop of Riga; and covers the mission among the Livs (HCL I-XII.5). The fourth book continues with the conquest of Estonia (HCL XII.6 – XXIX). The initial closing words are given in HCL XXIX.9, and an account on the crusade to Ösel Island in 1227 (HCL XXX) is added later. The chronicle covers mainly the events taking place in Livonia and Estonia, yet refers also to the crusades in the Holy Land, the Lateran council, and many episodes events taking place in Saxony, Scandinavia, and Russia. Henry describes also the first legateship of William of Modena, the later cardinal bishop of Sabina, who held legatine commissions to Livonia and Estonia in 1225-6, 1228-30 and 1234-42. The reign of Bishop Albert is to take up the major part of the text, as twenty-eight out of thirty chapters deal with his times. The text devotes a chapter to each year, and as the author starts the New Year in March 25 (the so-called Mary-year) (Tarvel 1982: 8), the timely structure is also in accordance with Bishop Albert's pontificate, which began in around March 1 1199. This yet coincides alike with the arrival or departure of the crusaders and bishops in around Easter time, as the sea became navigatable around that time.

Henry had taken part in many of the described events, he had seen the warfare and the revolts in the lands of the Livs and Latvians, had been on missions to Estonia, and taken part in crusading as a chaplain. He was likely in the company of Bishop Philip of Ratzeburg at the Lateran Council in Rome in 1215, travelled to Germany with Bishop Albert in 1222-4, and acted as an interpreter for the papal legate William of Modena in 1225-6. Henry's text can be treated as a personal record of the experiences of an eyewitness, or even as an autobiography.⁶⁰ He could also use the testimonies of his fellow missionaries and crusaders, and for the earlier period the information gained from Theoderic, the future Bishop of Estonia must have been of great importance. Therefore one cannot take it as only rhetoric, when he claims "nothing has been put in this account except what we have seen almost entirely with

⁶⁰ For a study of the text as an (auto)biography of the chronicler see Johansen 1953. His own experiences become vividly present in his dramatic and detailed descriptions of many events. On some occasions he

our own eyes; and what we have not seen with our eyes, we have learned from those who saw it and who were there.”⁶¹ Being a committed participant, yet also his concerns are local and his perspective partial (Tyerman 1998: 33-4).

Whether Henry wrote the chronicle “at the urging of his lords and companions” as the text states, at the initiative of the latter and himself, or at the request of Bishop Albert, is not known for certain and has been debated widely.⁶² It is likewise possible that Henry wrote it as a report on the establishment of the new church for William of Modena.⁶³

The text is to record “the many and glorious things that have happened in Livonia at the time the heathen were converted to the faith of Jesus Christ.”⁶⁴ This gives the main topic of the text, which is the conversion of the heathens; whilst the main aim of the undertaking is “the praise of our Lord Jesus Christ who wishes His faith and His name to be carried to all nations; through Him and with His cooperation and approval, all these things were done.”⁶⁵ The chronicle is dedicated to “Him and His beloved Mother, to Whose honour, together with Her Son /--/ all these newly converted lands are dedicated, always allowed His people in Livonia such great and glorious victories over the pagans.”⁶⁶ This sums up one of the most dominant claims presented in the text, the electedness of the Rigan mission by Lord and Virgin Mary, and here Henry also emphasises another of his other favourite motifs, stating, “these victories were always won with only a few men, rather than a multitude.”

mentiones himself, the priest Heinricus from Ümera as a partaker of the events (see HCL XI.7 on his consecration; priest *Heinricus* is mentioned also in HCL XII.6, XVI.3, XVII.6, XXIV.1-2).

⁶¹ *Nihil autem hic aliud superadditum est, nisi ea, “que vidimus oculis nostris” fere cuncta, et que non vidimus propriis oculis, ab illis intelleximus, qui viderunt et interfuerunt.* (HCL XXIX.9: ref. I Io 1: 1). The Latin quotations from Henry’s chronicle rely on the edition by Leonid Arbusow and Albert Bauer, the English quotations are based on the translation by James Brundage to a greater extent.

⁶² *rogatu dominorum et sociorum* (HCL XXIX.9). Albert Bauer has argued that here Henry refers to his fellow missionaries and priests, and wrote the chronicle on his own initiative; and he excludes Bishop Albert’s initiative, referring to the critique Henry poses on him (HCL XIII.5, XXV.3) (Bauer 1955: xviii-xxi). Enn Tarvel however has argued that firstly the interests of the see in Riga determine the whole focus and structure of the text. (Tarvel 1982: 7).

⁶³ See Lind et al. 2004: 160, 163-4. James Brundage argues that this would also explain the addition of chapter XXX, which recounts the campaign against the Oesilians under legate’s direction, as a postscript when the legate who had already left Livonia undertook the unexpected campaign against the Oesilians. (Brundage 1961: 13) Another cleric of an higher rank, who might have influenced Henry, was the archbishop Andreas of Lund, who stayed in Riga during the winter 1206-7 (HCL X.13). Leonid Arbusow has analysed the similarities in the writings of Andreas and Henry, yet come to a conclusion that they are based on the impact of breviary (Arbusow 1950: 101-2). See also Nielsen 2000 and Nielsen 2001.

⁶⁴ *Multa quidem et gloriosa contigerunt in Livonia tempore conversionem gentium ad fidem Christi /--/* (HCL XXIX.9).

⁶⁵ */--/ hec paucula conscripta sunt ad laudem eiusdem domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui fidem et nomen suum portare vult ad omnes gentes, ipso cooperante et confirmante, per quem alia sunt operata /--/* (HCL XXIX.9: ref. Io 20: 30-1; Act 9: 15).

⁶⁶ */--/ et sue dilecte genetricis, cuius honori una cum filio suo /--/ omnes terre istae noviter converse sunt ascripte /--/* (HCL XXIX.9). See also */--/ ad laudem ipsius domini nostri Iesu Christi et beate Virginis Marie /--/* (Ibid.).

The chronicle is hence a triumphalist account of the establishment of the Christian colony in Livonia (Tyerman 1998: 33). “As the victors rejoice,” quotes Henry himself after one yet victorious campaign.⁶⁷ It is written from the viewpoint of the church in Riga, and hence aims to downplay the other crusading forces, showing especially the Danish mission and crusading as insignificant. The text shows also a clear awareness of local identity of the new Christian colony (Kattinger 2004: 118-9, Arbusow 1951: 5), for which it was to become the founding narrative. The notions of “the enlargement of faith” (*fidem dilatare in gentibus*) and “the suppression of the fury of the heathens” (*feritas gentium comprimere*) dominate the representation of the events.⁶⁸ Here the usage of notions like *dilatatio* and *dilatare* reflects the territorialisation of the *Christianitas* notion, which was closely bound to the descriptions of the enlargement of Christian territories (Bartlett 1993: 243-68).

The mission is governed by Divine Providence, as stated already in the first line of the text, “Divine Providence, by the fire of his love, and mindful of Raab and Babylonia, that is of the confusion of paganism, aroused in our modern times the idolatrous Livs from the sleep of idolatry and of sin in the following way.”⁶⁹ Here “our modern times” (*nostris et modernis temporibus*) are connected to the sacred history of the Old Testament. The mission gains authority also from the universal baptismal command given to the Apostles, when the bishop Albert of Riga is said to follow the Lord “as He commands in His gospels, saying “Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.”⁷⁰

The grace of God is above all manifested in the military campaigns, and there are a number of different groups (clerics, crusaders, the Sword Brothers, townspeople, or all Livonian Christians) are acting as agents through whom the God’s divine plan in Livonia is

⁶⁷ HCL XXII.9: ref. Is 9: 13.

⁶⁸ This has firstly been pointed out by Leonid Arbusow (Arbusow 1950: 12). See: *Christi nomen dilatare cepit in gentibus* (HCL VI.2: ref. breviary); *in gentibus dilatata* (HCL XIX.7); XXX.2. Yet also: *fide ulterius extendere* (HCL IX.7) *nomen Christi deportare ad alias gentes* (HCL XXV.2, XXIX.9), *deferre nomen christianum* (HCL XXX.1) and *fidei propagatio* (HCL XXIX.7) (Arbusow 1950: 127). The goal is reached at the end of the chronicle, where the church is *tanta et in tantum dilatata* (HCL XXIX.2). The notion of *ecclesia in gentibus dilatata* or *Dominus fidem suam in gentibus dilatavit* goes back to Act 9: 15 and the *Moralia super Job* by Gregory the Great (Arbusow 1950: 128-129).

⁶⁹ *Divina providencia, memor Raab et Babilonis, videlicet confuse gentilitatis, nostris et modernis temporibus Livones ydolatras ab ydolatrie et peccati sompno taliter igne sui amoris excitavit* (HCL I.1). The divine providence is stated also in the prologue to his account of the crusades into Estonia, carried out “with the help of God, Who alone is supreme over all kingdoms” (*Deo cooperante, qui solus omnia regna superavit*) (HCL XII.3: ref. Is 37: 16). See also HCL XVIII.5, XXVIII.5.

⁷⁰ HCL XVI.2: ref. Mt 28: 29; see also the epilogue of the chronicle (HCL XXIX.9: ref. to the same command, as given in Mc 16: 20).

fulfilled.⁷¹ As a whole they are connected to the Rigan church, as when “the Livonian church knew truly that God was fighting for it.”⁷² Firm signs of the grace of God are the victories achieved over numerous enemies through the hands of the view. The small number of the crusaders and Christians in general is emphasised throughout the text, which is both to glorify their victories and refer to the electedness of the small group.⁷³ The chronicle can be read as an account of the military tactics and practice, and contains many detailed descriptions of warfare. Many authors have claimed that the chronicler was interested in military matters.⁷⁴ This however is not unique among the crusading historians (Ward 2000: 71-9), and due to their function the battle descriptions are an integral part of the narrative. Like the text in general, also the descriptions of warfare are made up by a largely similar phrases.

Henry compares the crusading in Livonia with the wars in the Old Testament, where the Israelis are likewise described to have fighten the wars of the Lord, and received victory over many through the hand of the few.⁷⁵ An interesting comparison is given in his account of the “Play of the Prophets” which took place in Riga in the winter of 1204. The play was addressed to the neophytes, being performed “in order that the pagans (*gentilitas*) might learn the rudiments of the Christian faith by an ocular demonstration.”⁷⁶ The comparison with the sacred history is emphasised as the chronicler claims, “This play was like a prelude and prophecy of the future; for in the same play there were wars, namely those of David, Gideon,

⁷¹ The crusaders fight “the battles of the Lord” (*prelia Domini*) where the Lord fights for and through them. For *prelia Domini* (ref. I Rg 25: 28) see: HCL XI.5, XIII.2, XXI.2, XXV.1, XXVII.1), and also: *preliabatur prelia Domini cum leticia* (HCL XIII.2, XXVII.1: ref. I Mcc 3: 2). The crusaders go into battle *in quo confidentes* (HCL XI.5, XXIII.9, XXV.4, XXX.4: ref. Ps 10: 1); and *in Domino sperandum* or *spem totam ponebant in Domino* (HCL XII.3 and XXV.4: ref. Ps 73: 28, 78: 7). Likewise the Lord *pro eis pugnavit* (HCL XV.3, XXV.4, XXVII.1: ref. Ex 14: 25) and *pugnavit* (HCL XXV.4, XXVIII.7: ref. Idt 5: 15). The Swordbrothers are called the “army of the Lord” that is fighting “with joy the battles of the Lord” and in the same passage Henry also states “the aid and victory of the Lord was always with them” (*auxilium et victoria Domini semper erat cum eis*) (HCL XIII.2).

⁷² *Deum vere pugnare pro se* (HCL XV.3: ref. Ex 14: 25).

⁷³ The small number of the Germans is emphasised in HCL IX.3, X.12, XXI.7, XXII.3, XXV.4, XXVIII.1, and that of the crusaders in general in HCL VI.1, XXV.1. Likewise the blessings of God after the battle emphasise the same notion. See: *qui per paucos “operatus est salutem” ecclesie sue* (HCL X.8,9, X.14, XXI.7, XXIII.9: ref. Ps 73: 12; and also HCL X.12,13, XXII.3, XXV.2, XXVII.6. A direct comparison to the wars of Israel is made as Henry states: *ut unus persequeretur mille et duo fugarent decem milia* (HCL XXV.4: ref. Dt 32: 30); and *qui quondam exterruit Philisteos, ut fugerent coram David* ehk *qui David a Philisteis semper defendit* (HCL XXVII.1, XXX.4: ref. I Sm 17: 35-53).

⁷⁴ See Hildebrand 1865: 29-30; Johansen 1953; Brundage 1961: 14. Detailed descriptions of warfare and armor are given in HCL IX.3, XIV.5, of siege machinery and techniques in HCL X.12. See also HCL XIV.10, XV.1, XVI.4, XVIII.5, XXVIII.5-6. James Brundage has argued that the repetitiveness of the chronicler’s account of the Estonian campaigns shows that a stereotyped system had by his time been formulated for the Christianisation and subjugation of the Baltic peoples (Brundage 1961: 9).

⁷⁵ Heinrich Hildebrand was one of the first to draw attention to the comparison between the Rigas and the Israelites (see Hildebrand 1865: 38); later Leonid Arbusow has argued that the motive of the great victory achieved through the hand of the few as one of the dominant in the text (Arbusow 1951: 51).

⁷⁶ HCL IX.14. Here the pagan audience is given the same role as in the play, when “the army of Gideon fought the Philistines, the pagans began to take flight, fearing lest they be killed.”

and Herod, and there was the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments. Certainly, through the many wars that followed, the pagans were to be converted and, through the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments, they were to be told how they might attain to the true Peacemaker and eternal life.”⁷⁷ During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the liturgical drama was functioning as “missionary theatre” in the many of the eastern frontier areas, where the dramatisation of the liturgy and biblical events was to lay the foundations for a continuity of worship amongst the neophytes. Its usage in those areas was encouraged and regulated especially by Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) (Bolton 1990: 93-7).

The idea of the grace and aid of God is closely related to the crusading ideology. Henry’s text is a vivid example of the crusading tradition of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, as these were namely authors like him, who played a crucial role in creating the phenomenon they were describing, providing both the description and definition for it (Tyerman 1998: 35). For him the crusade is above all a defensive war aimed against the threat the pagans pose to the Christians, and a vengeance upon the enemies of Christianity. Henry also carefully describes the privileges granted to the crusaders, and emphasises that they are equal to those given to the crusaders to the Holy Land.⁷⁸ Also his own undertaking he compares to that of the crusaders, as “rather, we wrote for the remission of our faults.”⁷⁹

There are also traces of crusading sermons in the text, especially as in the rhetoric of the dangers the young church is posed to in the hostile and barbarian lands, and the need to defend the small number of Christians.⁸⁰ The image is firstly applied to individuals, the first Livonian Bishop Meynard and the martyred Bertold.⁸¹ This personal and hagiographical pattern starts to change with the arrival of Bishop Albert and the start of a wider crusading effort. Even though Henry still emphasises the perils of the missionary work and lists several martyrdoms, the image of suffering is applied to the community, to the crusaders, the Sword Brothers, and henceforth to the young church in general.⁸² This has a legitimising role, as

⁷⁷ HCL IX.14. Similar account is given in the *gesta* of bishop Albert. See *Gesta Alberti Livonensis Episcopi*, p. 34. For an overview of the studies and treatises of Henry’s representation of the missionary play see Schneider 1989: 107-111.

⁷⁸ See HCL I.12, III.2, VII.2, X.13, XI.9, XIX.7, XXII.1, XXX.1.

⁷⁹ /--/ in *delictorum nostrorum remissionem* /--/ (HCL XXIX.9).

⁸⁰ HCL X.8, 13, XII.1, XIV.4. The crusaders claim they are willing to fight with the heathens “for it was better for all to die for the faith of Christ (*pro fide Christi mori*) than for them to be daily tortured, one by one” (HCL X.8).

⁸¹ Henry describes the misfortunes Meynard and his followers (HCL I.9-11), and the martyrdom of bishop Bertold on July 24 1198 (HCL II.6). Later he recounts the martyrdom of crusaders (HCL IX.1, XIV.1), of a Sword Brother (HCL XIV.11), and of a priest and his followers (HCL XXIII.4).

⁸² The Swordbrothers are said to “bore the burden of the day, and the heats, in wars and other continual labors” (*in bellis et in aliis laboribus continuis portabant pondus diei et estus*) (HCL XI.3: ref. Mt 20: 2,12). See also their report to William of Modena, where they list “all the evils that they had suffered there from the Estonians

when at the Lateran council (in 1215) Bishop Albert “reported the troubles, the wars, and the affairs (*tribulationes et bella et negocia*) of the Livonian church.”⁸³ Here develops an image of a suffering and grieving church, which after the defeat to Estonians in 1210 was “like Arcturus, always pummelled but never broken; like the ark of Noah, raised up by great billows but not crushed; like the bark of Peter, shaken by waves but not submerged; like a woman whom the dragon followed but did not overtake.”⁸⁴ The sufferings and mourning are followed by divine consolation and joy, and also here “consolation followed after this tribulation, and after sadness God gave joy.”⁸⁵ Jaan Undusk has pointed out that joy (*gaudio*) is one of the key words of the whole chronicle (Undusk 1990: 144-5), the notion is however closely bound to grief. Joy is expressed after the victorious battles and baptisms of the many, and functions also a sign of God’s grace.⁸⁶ The final joy is reached after the conquest and conversion of Ösel, where Henry cries out, “return with joy, O Rigans!”⁸⁷ This great joy sheds light also to the memory of their deeds, as Henry claims “I remember it and rejoice in remembering it.”⁸⁸

Besides the text reflects the growing prominence of Virgin Mary. The chronicle is dedicated both to the Lord and to His Mother, and at the end it praises “the glory of God, of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Blessed Virgin Mary” that “gives such joy to His Rigan servants.”⁸⁹ In the text the Holy Virgin becomes the patroness of the church and land, as well as the granter of victories for the crusaders. This enables to compare the crusades to Livonia and the Holy Land, as Bishop Albert speaks to Pope Innocent III “as you have not ceased to

because of the Christian faith” (*omnia mala, quod propter fidem christianam ibidem ab Estonibus perpassi sunt*) (HCL XXIX.3). The dangers of the missionary work are emphasised mainly in Henry’s own case, as after his consecration “although exposed to many dangers (*plurimis periculis expositus*), did not cease to point out to them the blessed future life” (HCL XI.7); see also HCL XXIV.5.

⁸³ HCL XIX.7.

⁸⁴ HCL XIV.8: ref. Gen 7: 17, Mt 14: 22-33, Apc 12: 13. The image is used also for the city of Riga, as after a defeat to the Lithuanians in 1208 it “was greatly pained (*condoluit*), and suddenly the harp of the Rigans was turned to mourning and their song into the voice of those that weep” (HCL XII.3: ref. Job 30: 31). For a similar image of the Estonian church, see HCL XXVIII.4.

⁸⁵ *Post hanc enim “tribulationem secuta est consolatio”, post tristitiam dedit Deus letitiam* (HCL XIV.8: ref. breviary); for a similar notion of a *consolatio* granted by God see HCL XII.5, and for the notion of trial HCL XIV.1: ref. Mt 5: 10, Sir 27: 6. This is similar to the imagery applied to martyrs, who after suffering */-/- cum Christo gaudebunt* */-/-* (see HCL XIII.4).

⁸⁶ The joy is manifested in one of the most numerous *leitmotifs* of the chronicle, as when the troops return home rejoicing over their victories. See HCL XV.7, XVIII.7, XX.2, XXII.9, XXV.1; and for the phrase *cum gaudio reversi sunt* HCL XI.6, XXIV.5, XXIII.7: ref. Lc 10: 17. Here the verse refers to the Apostles returning from mission.

⁸⁷ */-/- redite cum gaudio Rigenses* */-/-* (HCL XXX.6: ref. II Mcc 15: 28). In those passages the notions are repeated often, as Henry mentions “joy of the Christians” (*gaudium Christianorum*) (HCL XXX.5), “these gifts of God (*dona Dei*)” which are “our delight” (*gaudia nostra*), and “joy” (*gaudium*) given by God, Jesus Christ, and Virgin Mary (HCL XXX.6).

⁸⁸ *Et memini et “meminisse iuvat.”* (HCL XXIX.8: ref. Virgil *Aeneid* i.203).

cherish the Holy Land of Jerusalem, the country of the Son /--/ so also you ought not abandon Livonia, the land of the Mother /--/. For the Son loves His Mother and, as He would not care to lose His own land, so, too, He would not care to endanger His Mother's land."⁹⁰ As there are no contemporary other sources that would support Henry's claims, many of the questions related to Virgin Mary's position as the patroness of the Livonian mission still remain unanswered. Yet the devotion to the Holy Virgin was especially dominant among the Cistercians (Bynum 1984: 135-46), who were important partakers in the mission, and She was the patron saint of the Teutonic Order, who was to take over the order of the Sword Brothers. Besides Virgin Mary has an eminent place in the sermons of the Pope Innocent III (Rousseau 1998: 105-10, on Innocent's Mariology see also Imkamp 1980). Carsten Selch Jensen has however pointed out that dedicating newly conquered borderlands to Virgin Mary was rather typical for medieval frontier societies, as shown in Angus MacKay's analysis of the border areas in the Iberian peninsula.⁹¹

Hence all the four chronicles represent somewhat different focuses. Adam's narrative shows a wider viewpoint covering a large part of Northern-Europe, and discusses the secular and clerical politics of both the diocese and the empire. Helmold focuses more on the frontier areas and the missionary work in Slavia, and also on the founding of the colonies. Despite that Arnold's chronicle claims to be a continuation of the latter, it rather covers a larger variety of events and focuses on secular politics. Henry's focus is the most local, limited to the conversion of Livonia and Estonia, which he however treats as a part of the universal enlargement of Christianity and as equal to the crusades in the Holy Land and in Europe. The situation described in the chronicles is nevertheless similar. Here the Christians are depicted to face an alien world and people, to invade and conquer it, and start to Christianise and change it. Here takes place the mapping, naming, conquering, and subduing the other depicted as different and alien. The dynamic values are dominant in all texts, as the borders of Christianity are enlargement and the knowledge about the Northern regions increases.

⁸⁹ HCL XXX.6. Here he states once more, "what the kings have hitherto been unable to do, the Blessed Virgin quickly and easily accomplishes through Her Rigan servants in honor of Her name" (*Ibid.*).

⁹⁰ Here the pope replies, "We shall always be careful to help with paternal solicitude of our zeal the land of the Mother even as the land of the Son." (HCL XIX.7: ref. breviary).

⁹¹ There most of the major churches in the newly conquered land were dedicated to the Mother of God, which has given reason to call it a "Mariological frontier." The Holy Virgin functions here to connect the frontier areas to the Christian tradition, and similarly Her aid in the battles is steadily emphasised. Even though there are many local characteristics, then on the whole, She served to give identity, coherence, and continuity to the process of warfare (MacKay 1989: 230-2, 238). For an analysis of the "Mariological frontier" in Livonia see Jensen forthcoming.

Together those texts serve to illustrate many of the shared ideas, values and images in the tradition of the Northern mission, and their representation in historical writing. They reflect not only different angles and various local interests, but also the development of missionary and crusading ideology, closely linked to the changes in religious attitudes and practices. Due to the large role given to persons in the chronicles they give an overview of the changing religious attitudes and the relationship of the missionaries, crusaders and warriors towards the mission and missionary warfare. The chronicles do not only reflect the changes in basic religious attitudes and values, conditioned by the society, but also the authoritative and legitimising reasons behind the religious movements.

The chronicles are closely connected to ecclesiastical interests, and aim to grant authority to their sees via preserving the history its origins, the deeds of its representatives, and missions. As episcopal and bishopric chronicles they represent many of the dominant characteristics of that historiographical genre, which was flourishing during the High Middle Ages (Goetz 1999: 121-2). Especially the twelfth century was the golden age of medieval historical writing. They reflect also many of the changes in the organisation of the society, the most important of those being the establishment and institutional development of the dioceses, but also different attitudes towards the ideology of the church reformers during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which supported the claims of clerical power against those of the secular. The division between clerical, monastic, and secular histories was however not that clear-cut, as all the genres were closely interlinked as regards the lives of the chroniclers, their experiences, attitudes, references, interests and themes.⁹² The chroniclers were always closely related to the interests of their patrons, clerical and secular ones, the monastic writers, like Arnold were however somewhat more independent. (Ward 2000: 71-82) Hence these texts illustrate also the territorialisation of the historical writing, and as they represent local interests, they are closely bound to their institutions and use the textual means to legitimise both territorial and ecclesiastical power. The main aim of the texts is to record the founding and history of their institutions, and as such they are closely linked to the issues of creating new identities and legitimising them. Especially the chronicles of Adam and Henry can be treated as founding narratives, as they, as both of them represent the first historical record of their sees.

⁹² Archbishop Liemar of Bremen, to whom Adam's chronicle is dedicated, was however one of the most loyal supporters of the emperor Henry IV (1056-1106), and hence also an opponent of the great church reformer Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085). Even though the conflicts between secular and clerical powers is clearly present in all texts, all authors besides Henry yet emphasise greatly also the need for a strong secular ruler.

The nature of those chronicles as both missionary and bishopric chronicles of the diocese of Hamburg-Bremen is the reason why the other historiographical material describing the mission to the North has been left out of the textual corpus.⁹³ It also limits the time scale of the missionary wars and crusades discussed, leaving out the crusades against Prussians and Lithuanians during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, arguing that similarly to the phenomena of crusading, also the nature of its historical writing altered as the involvement of the Teutonic Order grew more dominant in the movement.⁹⁴ The crusades against orthodox Russians are left out as they similarly posed new ideological challenges and problems to the participants and propagators.

1.2. The *dilatatio* of Latin Christianity: The Mission to the North from the Ninth until Early Thirteenth Centuries

The High Middle Ages was a period characterised by the enlargement the European Latin Christianity, starting after the end of the assaults of the Vikings, Hungarians and Saracens. The most dominant features of European societies during that period were the formation of strong central powers, the territorialisation of nobility, the growth in economy, population and amount of cultivated land, and with the development of urban life and commerce. The dynamics, along with the changes in religious ideology both resulted and were developed further during the expansion into Britain, Spain, Central-Eastern and Northern Europe, Spain and Levant. The conquests brought along cultural interaction and the development of colonial structures. This has been compared both to the expansion of the Roman world and to the early modern European colonisation. Yet differently from the latter colonial systems, the medieval Western European linked its neighbours via cultural subordination, religion, and economic and agricultural system. Many of the networks were developed the Latin church, like the crusades, church councils, spiritual and military orders, yet also the spread of the cult of saints (Blomkvist 2004: 27).

The chronicles discussed here represent one part of that wider process, that of the German mission and expansion towards Eastern and Northern Europe.

⁹³ Hence leaving out the *Res Gestae Saxoniae* by Widukind of Corvey, where the national history of origins (*origo gentis*) is combined with the *res gestae* of the emperor Otto I the Great (936-73) (Bagge 2002: 23-5). Also the *Chronicon* by Thietmar of Merseburg (975-1018) can be seen as combination of both diocesan and stately history (Bagge 2002: 95). The many grand historical narratives written by Scandinavian authors themselves, the most prominent among them the *Gesta Danorum* by Saxo Grammaticus (around 1150-1200), are also not treated here, due to their different focus.

⁹⁴ The most outstanding examples of the historical writing of Teutonic Order are the Older Rhine Chronicle (from the 1290s) and Younger Rhine Chronicle of Livonia (written by Bartholomäus Hoenecke in the middle of fourteenth century), and *Chronica terre Prussie* of Peter of Dusburg (early fourteenth century).

The period they cover starts with a prologue to the later great expansion, the missionary wars of the Franks lead by Charlemagne (742-814), that were held against the Saxons at the turn of the ninth and tenth century (772-804). The Saxon wars were to set a pattern for centuries to come, as regards the ideology, ideals and practicalities of warfare, mission and colonisation (Bartlett 1993: 19-21). Together with Saxony the frontiers of the Frankish Empire reached now the Scandinavians and Slavs. The bishopric of Hamburg was founded in 831 as a base for the mission of St. Ansgar and became soon an archbishopric. The bishopric of Bremen was founded as a suffragan of Cologne already in Charlemagne's time, and its first bishop St. Willehad was consecrated in 789. As in 845 Hamburg was destroyed by a Viking attack, also that see was moved to Bremen, the sees were united in 848 (confirmed by Pope Nicholas I in 864) and bore the name of Hamburg-Bremen henceforth, claiming for a mission of all Northern heathens. The mission yet made little headway after the death of St. Ansgar in 864, and in the early 890s there were many efforts to restore Bremen to the province of Cologne. These attempts were however ended by Pope Sergius III in the 990s.

The expansion eastwards was hindered by the collisions, which followed the division of Frankish empire after the death of Louis the Pious in 817. Only in the early 10th century a new dynasty, the Ottonians started to centralise the royal power in the eastern part of the Frankish empire. Besides the ideals of the empire, the new dynasty also revived the missionary goal of the Carolingians. The founder of the dynasty, King Henry I (918-36) won the Danes in around 924 and fought in 928/9 many successful wars against the Slavs who lived along the rivers of Havel and Saale, as well as repelled the threat posed by the Hungarians. His follower Otto I the Great (king since 936, emperor 963-73) subdued all the Slav tribes in the area between the rivers of Elbe-Saale in the west, Erzbirge in the south, and Oder-Boder in the east by the middle of tenth century. For consolidating the German lordship Otto installed margraves in the area, as well as founded new sees, in Havelburg and Brandenburg in 948, and in Oldenburg, Merseburg, Zeitz (Naumburg) and Meissen in 967/8. Oldenburg was united with Hamburg-Bremen and the rest were made suffragans of the archbishopric of Magdeburg, founded also in 967/8.⁹⁵ Even though the secular and clerical organisation was yet weak, the local Slavic nobility cooperated with the German overlords and accepted Christian faith (Lotter 1989: 269-70).

⁹⁵ The early eleventh century saw the founding of many other episcopal sees, like the see of Bamberg in 1007. Poland got her bishopric in 968 (in Poznań, the latter was turned into a diocese in 1000 with a see in Gniezno), Bohemia hers in Prague in 973 (as a suffragan of the diocese of Mainz), and in Hungary the episcopal see was founded in 1001 in Esztergom (Gran). Even though those ecclesiastical institutions were

During the reign of Otto I episcopal sees were founded also in Scandinavia, firstly the Danish sees of Hedeby (Schleswig), Ribe and Århus in around 948-965, and Harald Bluetooth was to become the first Danish king to accept baptism in around 960.

After the great Slav revolt in 983 the Germans however lost the area east of Elbe. The ecclesiastical and secular organisation was destroyed, and was to be slowly restored during the course of the twelfth century (Bartlett 1993: 33-4). Behind the revolt was a new tribal federation of the Slavs, lead by the Redarii. The other stronger Slavic tribes of that time were the Abodrites, the Pomeranians and the Rugians (or the Rani), living on the Rügen Island (Lotter 1989: 269-71). During the 980s and 990s the Christian Abodrites had also joined the revolt. They destroyed the episcopal see in Oldenburg, and in 1018 expelled the Christian dynasty of Nakomids. The rule of the latter was however restored with the help of the Saxon and Danish rulers and during the 1040s the Nakomid prince Gottschalk started to Christianise his tribe newly.

Meanwhile Archbishop of Bremen, Adalbert (1043-72), one of the main characters in Adam's chronicle, promoted the mission with much valour, founding three new sees in the former area of Oldenburg (Oldenburg, Mecklenburg and Ratzenburg), and ordaining parish priests and missionaries. Adalbert aimed to turn Hamburg-Bremen into a patriarchate to strengthen its claims over the north, yet did not reach his goal. In Slavia his politics failed when the revolt of the Abodrites begun in 1066, they expelled the Christians and chose a new pagan ruler. The revolt reached as far as Holzatia and Hamburg, and the sees founded by Adalbert were again left vacant for almost a hundred years (1066-1149). This was accompanied by a revolt of the Redarii that broke out in the same year, yet that tribe was defeated two years later. Henceforth the frontier areas around the Elbe River were peaceful, and the rule of the Nakomid dynasty was once more restored with the help of the Saxon and Danish rulers. While the Nakomids subdued all the Slav tribes between Elbe and Oder Rivers until the lowlands of Havel, the Slavic tribes living there were yet not baptised (Lotter 1989: 273). The Investiture Contest and civil wars in 1075-1122 hindered the mission as well, and no active missionary work took place in the areas around Elbe during that time. Those times reduced the authority, wealth, and independence of the Hamburg-Bremen see greatly, and during the twelfth it fell under the control of the Saxon dukes.

In contrast, the number of Danish bishoprics had grown. The development of Christianity and church in Denmark was greatly influenced by the English missionaries and

greatly dominated by the German influence during the early period, they aimed also at a missionary activity of

priests, especially during the reign of Canute the Great (1016-35). A network of nine episcopal sees was founded already in 1060 and Lund became an episcopal see of the north (Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Greenland, the Faroe Islands, the Orkneys and Shetland, the Hebrides and the Island of Man) in 1103/4.⁹⁶ The spread of Christianity was slower in Norway and Sweden, starting to take firmer root only after the consolidation of royal power. The first Christian kings of Norway were Olaf Tryggvasson (995-1000) and St. Olaf (1016-28), and among the Swedish kings Olaf Skötkonung (995-1022) was the first to be baptised in around 1008. The first Swedish see was founded in Skara in around 1014. The long process of conversion in Scandinavian kingdoms was paralleled by a profound transformation of the social system. This included the establishment of a Christian kingship and new forms of lordship. This resulted in a shift from the Viking age system of chieftains, whose income was largely based on plunder, to a more Western European system with an aristocracy and clergy whose wealth was based on controlling the peasantry, land and agrarian production (Lindkvist 2001: 119). However, by the twelfth century there was a developed network of bishoprics in Scandinavia (Bartlett 1993: 9). The episcopal see of Nidaros was founded in Norway in 1153, and in Sweden the episcopal see of Uppsala was established in 1164. Henceforth, the latter became also the centre for the missions to Finland.⁹⁷

As the Poles had subdued and Christianised also the Pomeranians in the 1120s, the situation of the pagan Slavs grew more difficult, as all their neighbours had accepted Christianity (Fletcher 1997: 442-7). During the 1120-30s the mission started newly among the Abodrites, and was now supported by the Emperor Lothar (1125-37). One of the most energetic promoters of the mission was the later Bishop of Oldenburg, Vicelin. During the early phase of the mission he founded the monasteries in Faldera (Neumünster) and Segeberg as the Christian outposts on the frontier areas against the Slavs. This is the area where the chronicler Helmold spent nearly all his life, and Vicelin is also one of the main heroes in his narrative. Now also the Danes had started to take more interest in conquering the lands of the Slavs. Danish king Erik II conquered the Rügen Island in 1135 and made its inhabitants to accept Christianity. The Rugiani however remained pagan after the king with his forces had

their own and founded many new bishoprics in their area.

⁹⁶ The initiative for founding the episcopal see came from Denmark. However, the process was also influenced by the strife between the diocese in Hamburg-Bremen and the papal curia. The latter aimed Lund as a counterpart for the dominion of Hamburg-Bremen and the German rulers in the North (Nilson 2004).

⁹⁷ According to the tradition, the first crusade to Finland, lead by St. Erik IX Jedvardsson (1153-60) and bishop Henry took place in the 1150s. The story is however based on two legends from the late thirteenth century, and should rather be regarded as legitimizing rhetorics of the the Åbo (Turku) diocese from the later period. The Christianisation of Finland and founding of the ecclesiastical organisation was a long and complex process that took place during the following century. (Lindkvist 2001: 122-5)

left the island. Even though another Slavic revolt took place in 1138, new forces were sent to subdue the Slavs, and this time they were followed by a larger wave of colonists.

During the twelfth century the ideologies of the holy war started to involve new patterns, as the crusading movement started. The First Crusade to the Holy Land took place in 1096-1102, and was followed by minor crusades to the Asia Minor throughout the first half of the twelfth century. As regards Europe, the crusades to the Holy Land were accompanied by the *reconquista* in the Iberian Peninsula, and the persecution of Jews in France and Rhineland in 1095-6 (Riley-Smith 1984a). In the middle of the twelfth century the new developments started to influence also the missionary wars in the Baltic Sea region (Lotter 1989: 275). Pope Eugene III had given out the crusading bull *Quantum praedecessores* in 1145, and at the same time another important promoter of crusading, St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) was active in German areas. The initiative for the Wendish crusade yet came not from the papal curia, but from the Saxon princes and ecclesiastical leaders (Lind et al. 2004: 51-58). Crusading against the Northern heathens was authorised by Pope Eugene III in 1147, together with crusading in Spain. The Second Crusade lasted from 1147 until 1149, and even though neither the campaigns to the Holy Land nor the Slav areas turned out successful, the tradition of calling for a crusade against the northern heathen had been established. This also had an important impact on the crusading ideology, as the Wendish crusade the first among the missionary crusades (Lind et al. 2004: 52-8). The first Northern crusade proclamation was followed by several others, all of them calling to liberate the church in the north. Henceforth, the campaigns that were held in the name of Christianity around the Baltic Sea, and aimed against the heathens (or Orthodox Russians, as it was the case with the crusades against Russia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), could be considered as part of the crusading tradition both by their organisers and participants.

After the crusade against the Slavs, in 1149 new bishops were named again to the sees of Oldenburg and Mecklenburg. Here the missionary goal had found another strong supporter in Henry the Lion, the Duke of Saxony (1139-95). The latter subdued the Abodrites (1158-60), restored the missionary activity and established small colonies in the frontier areas. The development was once more disturbed by the revolt of the Abodrites in 1163/4, yet now the latter revolted against the colonial powers and did not claim to give up Christianity anymore.

During the reign of Valdemar I the Great (1157-82) also the Danes made more than twenty campaigns against the Wends. Behind the rise of Danish crusading effort were their strong naval force, consolidated royal power as well as the co-operation between the dynasty of the Valdemar's and the clerical leaders, that is the archbishops of Lund, Eskil, Absalon,

and later Anders Sunesen. (Lind et al. 2004: 29-50) Especially archbishop Absalon was a strong supporter of Valdemar's initiative. The latter conquered the Rügen Island in 1168-9 and made the inhabitants to accept Christianity.⁹⁸ His follower King Canute VI (1182-1202) subdued the Pomeranian Slavs in 1185. These events mark the end of the Christianisation of Slavs, as the area between the Elbe and Oder Rivers was now incorporated into the network of ecclesiastical and secular powers of Saxony and Denmark (Bartlett 1993: 13-7).

After the campaigns in the 1160-80s there were hence no heathens left in the near surroundings of Saxony and Denmark, and the border between Christianity and heathenism had moved eastwards (Lind et al 2004: 93-6). Henceforth the German expansion continued towards the Eastern Baltic. The first documented mission to Livonia dates from the 1160/70s, when a Cistercian monk Fulco of Celle was appointed the bishop of Estonia.⁹⁹ There is however no evidence that he ever reached Estonia. Henry's chronicle tells of German merchants on the Dvina River at the beginning of the 1180s, yet Western merchants already earlier due to trade made with the Russians must have known the region. The profitability of the latter and the need to secure trade routes firmed the common ground for the interests of merchants, rulers, and both the secular and ecclesiastical organisers of the crusades (Kala 2001: 7-8). Pope Alexander III (1159-81) authorised crusade against the Eastern-Baltic heathen in 1171.¹⁰⁰

The active crusading in Livonia and Estonia started yet in the late twelfth century, with German (mainly Saxon), Swedish and Danish crusaders taking part in it. Besides local territorial and political interests, the process was influenced by the changes in crusading ideology during the reign of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) and as such, it was part of the wider enlivening and consolidating crusading effort (Jensen 2001: xvii-xxv). However, as the crusaders and missionaries came to Livonia and Estonia mainly from the diocese of Hamburg-Bremen, Denmark and Sweden, i.e. from the areas where the earlier Northern mission had taken place, they also provided a valuable link to the missionary tradition developed there during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Besides also the Cistercians played an important role in the Livonian mission.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ For the discussion whether the campaign took place in 1168 (as states by Helmold) or rather in 1169 see Lind et al. 2004: 77.

⁹⁹ This happened at the initiative of Archbishop Eskil of Lund, who was a close friend of Pope Alexander III (1159-81). For the career of Fulco see Rebane 1989, Rebane 2001.

¹⁰⁰ Here he granted those fighting against the Estonians and other pagans equal indulgencies with those visiting the Holy Land. See LUB 1/1, no.5.

¹⁰¹ Many outstanding missionaries were from that order, among them Dietrich and bishop Berthold. Cistercians also founded the first monastery in Livonia in 1205-8, Dünamünde at the mouth of the Düna River. For the impact of the Cistercians on the Livonian mission see Schmidt 1941.

The mission to the Livs started in the 1180s, when Meynard, an Augustinian canon from Segeberg, arrived at the Dvina River together with some German merchants. According to the tradition he baptized a few Livs and built a church and a stone fortress in Üksküll. Soon afterwards, in 1186 he was consecrated bishop of Üksküll by Archbishop Hartwig II of Hamburg-Bremen.¹⁰² After his return the missionaries in Livonia asked help from Pope Celestine III, and this resulted in another proclamation granting indulgence to those helping the missionaries in Livonia.¹⁰³ Meynard died in 1196, and Bertold, the Cistercian Abbot of Loccum became the next bishop of Üksküll. As meanwhile also the Danes had made campaigns against Estonians in 1196 and 1197, a crusade against the Livs was authorised in 1198 by the Pope Innocent III. Yet bishop Bertold was martyred during the campaign on July 24 and the Christians were mostly driven out by 1199. From the turn of the centuries onwards the crusading in Livonia contributed largely from the next bishop of Riga, Albert of Buxhövdn (1199-1229), a former canon of the Bremen cathedral chapter.¹⁰⁴ He arrived to Livonia with German crusaders in 1200, and founded the city of Riga as a centre for the missionary activity in 1201. Another crucial feature was the establishment of the order of the Sword Brothers (*Fratres militiae Christi*) in 1202.¹⁰⁵ They were to become efficient warriors due to their permanent mobilisation and good knowledge of local conditions (Jensen 2001: xxii). The Livs were baptised in 1206 as a result of the campaigns directed against them by the crusaders and Sword Brothers, and both the Livs and Latvians were largely subdued by 1209.

Thereafter Bishop Albert named Dietrich as bishop of Estonia in 1211. Yet the conquest of Estonia lasted longer and brought along the conflict of the German, Danish, Swedish and Russian interests. The Danish kingdom had gained supremacy during the reign of King Valdemar II Sejr (1202-41), who had conquered Schleswig-Holstein together with Hamburg and Lübeck by 1201. The Danes made a crusade to Ösel in 1206, sanctioned by the

¹⁰² For Meinhard's appointment see LUB I nos 10-11; ACS V.30; and HCL I.8. The year 1186 is however mentioned by Arnold of Lübeck only (ACS V.30), whereas the first charters mentioning the bishopric of Üksküll date back to papal letters from Sept. 25 1188 (LUB I no.9) and Oct. 1 1188 (LUB I no. 10). For the trustworthiness of the year given by Arnold see Kolk 2004: 39-43. While Kaspar Kolk has convincingly claimed that there is no serious reason to doubt the latter, he has also suggested that Arnold might have gotten the date from the founding charter of the bishopric of Üksküll that is now lost (*Ibid.*).

¹⁰³ See LUB I nos 11-13.

¹⁰⁴ For a study on Bishop Albert see Gnegel-Waitschies 1958, and also Arbusow 1929.

¹⁰⁵ There has been a wide and long debate over the founder of the order. Henry states that it was Dietrich (HCL VI.5), who had come to Livonia together with Meinhard and was by then an abbot of the Cistercian monastery in Dünamünde. Yet the other sources assign it to bishop Albert. See Gnegel-Waitschies 1958, Benninghoven 1965.

pope and archbishop Anders Sunesen of Lund. After building a fortress the Danes were however forced to withdraw.

Innocent III had granted crusaders fighting against the heathen Livs the same indulgences as to those fighting in the Holy Land once more in 1215. The Danes made an unsuccessful crusade to the Ösel Island in 1215, and the more successful Sword Brothers managed to conquer and convert Southern Estonia during 1215-20. A Danish crusade followed in 1219, when they conquered the Estonian stronghold Lyndanise, established their outpost Reval there and started the conquest of Northern Estonia. By 1220 the Danes had gained supremacy in Northern Estonia, and both the Danes and Sword Brothers conquered Western Estonia by in the middle of the 1220s. Henry's chronicle ends with the triumph of the German mission, as they subdued the Ösel Island in 1227 and gained dominion over the areas previously held by the Danes. The conquest of Courland followed in 1230. The struggles between different powers lasted however throughout the thirteenth century. Also the crusading proclamations to Livonia and Estonia did not cease, and there were many revolts against new rulers throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹⁰⁶ The Danes finally sold their territories in Northern Estonia to the Teutonic Order in 1343, after the revolt of St. George's Night in 1343.

Meanwhile the crusading activity had extended into Prussia, as Innocent III had consecrated the first bishop of Prussia in 1215 and authorised a crusade against them in 1217. The crusading against Prussians as well as pagan Lithuanians was organised mainly by the Teutonic Order. The latter was also to incorporate the remnants of the Livonian Sword Brothers after their disastrous loss to the Lithuanians in a battle at Šiauliai (Saule) in 1236. The crusades against Lithuanians lasted until 1386.

Sweden, which had not been a crusading kingdom during the earlier period, now also started its military activities in the Eastern Baltic region on a larger scale. Swedes made a crusade to Finland in the late 1230s, resulting in the Christianisation of Tavastia (Häme) and extension of the Swedish power to the mouth of Neva River. There the Swedes were however beaten by Alexander Nevskii in 1240.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ In 1240 pope Gregory IX (1227-41) authorized the archbishop of Lund to proclaim a crusade to Estonia (see LUB 1/1 no. 167), and likewise Alexander IV (1254-61), Urban IV (1261-64) and Clement IV (1265-68) called for crusades to Livonia and Courland together with the campaigns to Prussia (see LUB 1/1, nos. 323, 325-6, 381, 384-6) (Kala 2001: 14-5). The Teutonic Order was to make new treaties with the revolting Kurs and Oesilians in the middle of the thirteenth century (see Uluots 1975).

¹⁰⁷ Another greater Swedish crusade (or the so-called third Swedish crusade) took place in 1292-3, during which they erected the stronghold of Viborg. For the Swedish crusades see Lindkvist 2001.

I.3 National Tragedies, Missionary Wars, Crusades, or Colonisation: Traditional and Modern Patterns in Historiography

Despite the colourful picture the series of events described above provides, the study of the Northern mission and crusades has not been considered topical until recently.

Firstly the national historical writing in both the Northern and Baltic countries tended to treat the Christianisation process in their countries as independent from the developments in Europe and the general enlargement of Latin Christianity.¹⁰⁸ Moreover it was influenced by the traditional crusading historiography, which exclusively regarded as crusades only the campaigns going to the Holy Land and aiming at the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, the religious warfare that took place at the Iberian Peninsula, Italy, Southern France, the Balkans, at the frontier areas of Russia and around the Baltic Sea was not considered as equal to the campaigns in the Holy Land, but a marginal derivation from the original idea.

The definition of the crusades started to expand and change from the 1970 onwards. The paradigm setting authors include Giles Constable (Constable 1953; see also Constable 1988), Jonathan Riley-Smith (Riley-Smith 1986, 1992), H. E. Cowdrey (Cowdrey 1970, Cowdrey 1985), James Brundage (Brundage 1969) and several others. The research focused now more on the motivation of the crusaders. Differently from the earlier studies that referred to the economic and territorial gains the wars brought along, they pointed out that as crusading was in itself an exceedingly expensive enterprise and the future gains so insecure, that rather religious, than economic or social needs were behind the motivation of the participants (Jensen 1998). According to the new definition of a crusade the signs of crusading warfare were taking the Cross, i.e. giving the crusading vow, papal authorisation of the campaign, as well as the privileges for the crusaders (mainly the protection of their families and property), and the indulgence¹¹⁰ (Riley-Smith 1992: 2-5). The new definition is more inclusive, and enlarged the crusading history both geographically and in time. This enabled to see and discuss as an essential part of the crusading warfare also the wars, which were held in Northern Europe in the name of the God. Lately Christopher Tyerman and Norman Housley have posed a critique of the scholars mentioned above, arguing that Riley-

¹⁰⁸ For an overview of the older German and Estonian historiography on the Livonian and Estonian crusade see Vahre 1990: 23-46. For the Northern patterns see Jensen 1998.

¹⁰⁹ The classical studies representing that paradigm would be Steven Runciman's *A History of the Crusades I-III* (Runciman 1951-4) and Hans E. Mayer's *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Mayer 1965).

¹¹⁰ As an exception in his own time, already in the thirties Carl Erdmann had studied the developments of the ideology of the holy and pointed out that the crusading largely functioned as a mean to gain indulgence (Jensen 1998). See Erdmann 1935.

Smith et al. overemphasise both the novelty of the crusading phenomenon and the role of the papal curia in the movement. Christopher Tyerman has also pointed to the lack of coherence in the crusading tradition, terminology, and legislation, especially before the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They aim to study both the roots of crusading in the earlier tradition of just warfare and different developments of the ideology during the period of the later crusades, emphasising especially the role of various local interest on giving shape to the phenomenon (see Tyerman 1998, Tyerman 2004, Housley 2001, Housley 2002).

By now the amount of crusade studies has grown exceedingly, and during the last decades there has also been a noticeable rise of interest with regard to the Christianisation of the north, which is now seen as a complex process in close interaction with the developments in the central parts of medieval Europe. Already in 1975 William Urban published an otherwise rather problematic study, which placed the Baltic Crusades on the larger background of crusading movement (Urban 1975). The landmark studies are however Eric Christiansen's "The Northern Crusades" (being published first in 1980 it is however rather outdated by now) (Christiansen 1997), two collections of articles by various authors (Blomkvist 1998, Murray 2001) and a recent study of the Danish crusades (Lind et. al. 2004). As regards the later crusades, then while the crusades Teutonic Order held against the Prussians and Lithuanians have been studied by various authors (Urban 1981, Urban 2003, Ehlers 2001; for the Livonian Sword Brothers see firstly Benninghoven 1965), and their campaigns against the Russians alike (Selart 1998, 2001, 2002), then the Swedish crusades against the Russians have been studied but a little (Lindkvist 2001, Lind 1991, Lind 2001).

In parallel there has been also a general rise of interest in the frontier societies in medieval Europe, especially as regards Ireland, Spain, Hungary, Poland, Scandinavia.¹¹¹ Here the ground-breaking works include "The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonisation, and Cultural Change, 950-1350" by Robert Bartlett (Bartlett 1993) and Angus MacKay's studies in the frontier areas of the Iberian Peninsula (MacKay 1977, 1989).¹¹² While the studies of Europe as a geographical and imaginary concept have become more popular and topical than ever before, also the researchers of the Europeanisation of the Northern world have come to point out the impact the dynamic processes in the frontier areas have had on the making of

¹¹¹ For two collections of articles reflecting the viewpoints of most influential authors see: Bartlett 1989 and Abulata 2002.

¹¹² For a critique on Robert Bartlett for overemphasising the feudal element and playing down the colonial interests of towns, merchants, as well as of the church see Blomkvist 2004: 26-7.

Europe in general.¹¹³ Among many others, Patrick Geary has in his recent studies shown that the European identities were formed largely in the frontier societies, where the close encounters with the Other provided a constant counterpart against which one can build his identity (Geary 2002). The study of cultural conflicts and compromises on the frontier areas has become even more popular due to the spread of postcolonial theory, so that it has even given reason to speak of the provincialisation of European medieval history.

Frontier studies are closely related to another rapidly growing field of research in medieval studies, that of medieval national and local identities.¹¹⁴ Here, however the strife between modernists and primordialists does not seem to reach a conclusion, and the variety of different periods and areas with different stately, national or ethnic, and local identities makes it impossible to speak of a medieval identity pattern in general. Yet one of the crucial changes took place during the time the chronicles were written, as the society organised by personal relationships slowly turned into an organised community governed by the king as God's representative (Bagge 2002). This was accompanied by the formation of statehood and a centralised church organisation (Lindkvist 2004: 22-5). Also the notion of *Christianitas* provided a new concept of unity. The notion of us as Christians developed above all as a defensive term, closely bound to the opposition with the enemies in religious warfare and also the heretics (Blomkvist 2004: 19-26). On the other hand, the many studies in medieval frontier and colonial identities have come to underline the flexibility of the latter as regards to languages and culture, yet also to stately and local loyalties and religion. Anti Selart has shown in his studies of the frontier areas of Catholic and Orthodox faith in Livonia, that instead of the picture of Livonia and Russia as two monolithic powers in contradiction and conflict we should focus more on the various local and more or less independent groups and forces (Selart 2002, Selart 2001). Still, as Angus MacKay has shown in his study of the frontier area in Spain, the close cross-cultural relationships, family and political unions did not alter the claim for a Christian reconquest in the name of saving the Latin Christianity from the non-believers (MacKay 1989: 217-43). Similarly Nora Berend has shown in her studies of medieval Hungary (Berend 2001), Poland, and the Iberian Peninsula (Berend 2003), that while the kings benefited from the alliances and close interactions, this did not exclude the rhetoric of the defence of Christianity. This identity discourse was developed firstly among

¹¹³ See Staecker 2004a, Tägil 2004, Blomkvist 1998a. Here especially the role of "Culture Clash or Compromise? The Europeanisation of the Baltic Sea Area, 1100-1400" project which was run by Gotland Centre for Baltic Studies in 1998-2001 proved to be fruitful. The programme studied the regional strategies of Europeanisation, and focused mainly on the Nordic peoples than on the missionaries, conquerors, and crusaders. See Blomkvist 2004, Blomkvist 1998a.

the consolidating royal powers, military orders, and papacy. Already then the idea of defending Christianity and the Christian world used the concept fixed territories and borders even though they did not yet exist, being above all imaginary (Bartlett 1993: 243-68). Especially in the frontier areas like Poland, Hungary, Iberian Peninsula, and the Baltic Sea region the idea of Christianity fighting united wars against non-Christians described as the enemies of Christ consolidated both the hegemonies and identities (Berend 2003: 1015-6).

Hence studying the medieval identities, claiming them to be national, ethnic, non-national or generally Christian, one comes to face the complex relationship between the written records representing the legitimising a cause or an institution behind that cause and the various and complex network of local and personal relationships and loyalties. These texts pose a similar problem, as they are mainly to present the missionary and/or crusading claim and the latter also determines the representation of our relationships with the other, as they do not reflect the many and various interactions between them and us in the frontier areas. This is most eminently present in the dualistic picture the chronicles give of the relationships with the Slavic tribes and later on with the Russians, as in both cases research has pointed out the various and permanent connections between the Germans and the peoples mentioned above.

Closely connected to all the research fields mentioned above is the shift to re-reading the medieval chronicles and the changed understanding of medieval historical writing. Previously it has been emphasised that the mode of perception in medieval historical writing was completely different and abstract, with a strong tendency to treat the world as static and emphasis on tautological reasons. Among others Sverre Bagge has suggested that medieval historiography should be understood as a general philosophical and Christian interpretation of history, which represents causal thinking, yet with an interest on other matters from those of our own times. The principles of historical interpretation are given by divine providence, fortune, morality etc, and by typological models. From these principles its coherence should be sought from, and considered to be not only coherent, but also often very political, as histories were to serve fundamental contemporary problems (Bagge 1996).

I.4 The *legatio in gentes* in the North: The Making of a Tradition

Even if medieval histories served mainly to support social regulations and theories, which already existed, being hence largely deductive (Knappe 2000: 22), they most often had good reasons to follow the already existing patterns. While to write history in the Middle

¹¹⁴ See Frode 1995 and Genet 1997.

Ages meant to search for its meaning in the past and tradition and the history had a sacred meaning as the fulfilment of the providence, also the time of the present could achieve meaning and authority via linking it to the eternal time of the salvation. This resulted in the most common pattern of medieval historiography, which is a heavy reliance upon the past represented by tradition (*traditio*) and textual authorities (*auctoritas*) (Goetz 1999: 162-3, Guenée 1980: 123-40). Here the Scripture provided the main model for historical writing, yet also the writings of the Church Fathers, the lives of the saints (*vitae*), and the authority of the Roman writers. Typology, which relates a present or future historical fact to a past one does not always imply a historical connection between type and antitype, and instead of being related in time via succession, they can also be seen as different manifestations of the same eternal truth or the Salvation history related directly to God (Mégier 2000: 625-9). This is similar to the way the Old Testament serves the New by prefiguration, and on the other hand it is also closely bound to the notion of providence. Especially the church claimed to embody both the temporal and sacred 'sphere, as in the wake of the Gregorian reform it not only claimed to be spiritual place of Salvation but it also to affirm its institutional, i.e. temporal and historical reality. Hence it looked at the Bible, and other traditions for a spiritually meaningful as well as for a historically real foundation. While the history of church got both the confirmation by the chronological frame provided by the succession of historical events and kings, and a spiritual meaning by the link to sacred history, also the tension between the biblical events and "normally real" history diminished (Mégier 2000: 634).

Heavy reliance on textual authorities creates a high level of intertextuality, and the latter serves a crucial function in historical writing, as it is to create religious meaning and authority – namely via establishing a contact with the authoritative tradition the text establishes its own significance within the sacred discourse (Mortensen 2005). The sources studied here share those characteristics, all of the four in their relationship to textual authorities and partly also between themselves. Their interest in the past and in the textual authorities representing it is determined by their aim to describe the founding and enlargement of new institutions, which makes the issues of legitimisation and authority even more crucial. Moreover, they are all facing the problem of finding a suitable pattern to describe events, things, institutions, landscapes, peoples and religions never written down before in Christian discourse. Their task can therefore be described as that of "linking Northern history to a universal Christian time and linking the Northern space into universal Christian space" (Mortensen 2005). Therefore need to follow the authoritative patterns has bound them closely to their models, and as one comes to read the representations of events,

lands, and peoples treated as an *imitatio* of the things past, and linked to the sacral history, one can but agree with Tzvetan Todorov, “un monde surdéterminé sera forcément aussi un monde surinterprété” (Todorov 1982: 71).

Those influences are visible most clearly in the work of Adam, who could use the abundant archive and library in the cathedral of Bremen. His text relies heavily on the authority of *Vita Caroli Magni* (814-830/833) by Einhard (770-840), and next to it stand the *vitae* of the early Northern missionaries, the *Vita S. Willehadi*, *Vita Anskarii*, and *Vita Rimberti* from ninth century.¹¹⁵ To Einhard he has attributed also a work titled as *Gesta (Bella) Saxonum*, the latter however corresponds to *Translatio S. Alexandrii*. From Frankish sources Adam used also the *Historia Francorum* by Gregory of Tours (538-594), the main contemporary source for the Merovingian period. Then come the annals of the monasteries, which Adam calls also the *Historia Francorum*, namely the *Annales Fuldenses* with their Regensburg continuation, and *Annales Corbienses*.¹¹⁶ In addition he relies on the Early Christian historiography, the *Historia adversum paganos* by Orosios (385-420) and the *Historiae ecclesiasticae gentis Anglorum* by Bede Venerabilis (672-735), both of them covering the world history until authors own times. Adam also draws heavily on the Roman authorities, like the *Mirabilia* or *De Mirabilibus mundi* by Solinus from the third century, the *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* by Martian Capella from the fifth, and the *Saturnalia* by Macrobius (395-423). Yet Sallust (86-34 BC) is the Roman author who has influenced Adam's style the most, with his *De conjuratione Catilinae* or *Bellum Catilinae* and *Bellum Jugurthinum*. From the Roman poets Adam quotes Vergil (70 - 19 BC), Horace (65 – 8 BC) and Lucan (39 –65).

From here the image of the ideal Christian king Charlemagne and models set by great Christian missionaries and martyrs have had the largest influence on his treatment of the later events. Even though the hagiographical model, combined with the influences of Roman historical writing is most clearly present in the history of the early mission, Adam continues to follow it throughout his work. Later many of those patterns continue to exist via his text also in Helmold's and Arnold's chronicles. As regards Adam's accounts on the Northern and Slavic nations, than this approach is present already in earlier missionary literature, like

¹¹⁵ Besides Adam has drawn on the *vitae* of St. Boniface, Liudger, Radbod, and Willibrod.

¹¹⁶ Adam also quotes from sources titled as *Annales Caesarum*, *Gesta Francorum*, *Gesta Anglorum*, and a writing of the abbot Bovo of Corvey. Those sources however have not been preserved. Adam also refers to letters and documents of popes and emperors, either directly or indirectly. He knew the Pseudo-Isidorian

Bede's Ecclesiastical History, the *vitae* of Ansgar and Rimbert, and Thiethmar of Merseburg's *Chronicon* (Reuter 2002: xvii). However Adam's account marks the start of a more systematic ethnographical study of otherness in medieval historical writing, developed in the twelfth century by writers like Gerald of Wales and Helmold of Bosau (see Bartlett 1982).

Helmold used Adam's chronicle to a large extent. He follows it in the first twenty-four chapters of his history often verbatim or in paraphrase, even though Helmold has corrected or amplified many of Adam's statements. Adam has also influenced both Helmold's style and his usage of certain phrases, quotations, as well as literary *topoi*. Helmold also states himself in the prologue that he was encouraged by "the worthy-to-be-imitated devotion (*imitabilis devotio*) of writers who lived before us." Writing in Bosau, he was yet not that well provided with written sources. The ones he did use include the *Vita S. Willehadi*, *Vita Anskarii*, *Annales S. Disibodi*, *Annales Palidenses* used already by Adam. From his work one can also find traces from the *Chronicon universale* by Eccehard of Aura, the *De consolatione philosophiae* by Boethius, *Vita Martini* by Sulpicius Severus, and *Historia Romana* by Paulus Diaconus (720–799). From the patristic writings he quotes *Ad nationes* by Tertullian. As regards the classical authors, Helmold has borrowed mainly from the poets.¹¹⁷ Yet his style is most significantly influenced by the *Vulgata*. The wars of the Israelis and their heroes have given many models to describe the warfare in frontier areas.¹¹⁸ For describing the mission the Gospels of Luke and Matthew, the Acts of the Apostles and the Gospel according to John are used.

Helmold's chronicle was on his turn used by Arnold of Lübeck, who continues to follow many of his predecessor's patterns for describing the Christianised and colonised lands of the Slavs. Very little is known about any other historiographical sources of Arnold, besides a few charters and letters, and there is reason to believe that he did not use any (Scior 2002: 226). Also in his crusading accounts do not indicate the usage of any particular sources, but present a common knowledge about those events (Scior 2002: 282). Hence the authority of the text relies firstly on Helmold. Similarly to Helmold also his style is largely influenced by

decretals, the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms, the *Liber fraternitatis Bremensis ecclesiae*, and the *Liber donationum Bremensis ecclesiae*.

¹¹⁷ From Helmold's text one finds quotes from Virgil (*Aeneid* and *Georgica*), Ovid (*Epistolae ex Ponto*, *Heroides*, *Metamorphoses*, *Remedia amoris* and *Tristitia*), Terence (*Andria*), Lucan (*Pharsalia*), Plautus (*Menaechmi*) and Valerius Flaccus (*Argonautica*). From writers Helmold draws from Sallust (*Catilina*, *Jugurtha*) and the *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis* of Julius Valerius.

¹¹⁸ Helmold draws most frequently upon I Mcc, Ps, Gen, I ja II Reg, Is, Deut, II Par, II Mcc, Ex, 3 Reg, Iob, I Par and Ir (Tschan 1935: 34).

the *Vulgata*. Besides the text presents many of the themes present in crusading proclamations and sermons.¹¹⁹ As regards his account of the crusade and mission to Livonia, neither of main the sources he refers to have not been preserved, a letter from Anders Sunesen to the papal curia in 1207 that has not been preserved, yet can be reflected in Innocent III letter from Jan 31 1208 and in *Gesta Innocentii III*, yet also the documents about the founding of the see in Übsküll in 1186 and the transmission of the see to Riga in 1201 (Kolk 2004).

Also his crusading accounts could have been largely based on the crusading letters describing the state of affairs in the Holy Land, that were sent from the papal curia all over the Christian Europe (Kolk 2004: 41-2). Arnold could however use the libraries of the bishopric of Oldenburg, as well as of his monastery, and the many references to Christian (Petrus Lombardus) and Roman authors (Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan) present him as a well-educated man¹²⁰ (Lappenberg 1869).

There is no evidence left of the historiographical sources used by Henry. As regards other writings, then the number of sources he could have used in Riga was very small.¹²¹ Likewise his education was lesser than that of the other writers (Tarvel 1987: 11). Most likely he used the charters and documents preserved at the church in Riga, but there is no further proof left. Especially his account of the earlier missions of Meynard and Bertold are likely to have been based on earlier charters. The text is mainly characterised by the exceedingly large amount of quotations from the *Vulgata* and liturgical texts (breviary, missal, sacramental etc.), the total amount of them reaching about eleven hundred.¹²² Besides Henry's text contains but four quotes from the Roman writers, and all of them appear come from a *Florilegium* and not from the original sources. Henry's text is likely also influenced by the crusading sermons and proclamations. This is especially dominant in his descriptions of the many travels bishop Albert of Riga made to Germany to recruit new crusaders.

¹¹⁹ In his account of the fall of Jerusalem on Oct. 3 1187 Arnold also refers directly to two crusading encyclicals in a chapter titled as *De epistola domni papae* (ACS IV.6), to the *Nuntio cladis Hierosolymitanae* or *Audita tremendi severitate*, as well as to the *Nunquam melius superni* by Gregory VIII (1187). The latter he however attributes to Clement III (1187-91) (Kolk 2004: 41-42).

¹²⁰ For his classical quotations see Lappenberg 1869: 103-5.

¹²¹ The young church had only the books it needed the most, and among those the most valuable was the Bible donated to the church in 1203/4 by Pope Innocent III (see HCL VII.6) (Arbusow 1950: 101-8). It has also been discussed whether Henry could have used Arnold's chronicle, as Leonid Arbusow claims it to be not unlikely (Arbusow 1926-7: 339, note 2: cf. Kolk 2004: 56), and Kaspar Kolk has pointed out the same, yet arguing that it could have served only as a model for historical writing and style, and the possible influences need to be studied further (Kolk 2004: 56).

¹²² Bauer 1955: xxxv. Among those the amount of liturgical quotes is around one hundred (Arbusow 1950: 109, Arbusow 1951: 42). For a thorough study on the quotations in *Chronicon Livoniae* see Bilkins 1928; see also Appendix on Henry's historiography.

Besides intertextual tradition one cannot pass the notion that mission and crusading were largely tradition-based phenomena characterised by a high degree of *imitatio*. The manifold and complex ideas related to the notion of *imitatio* are amongst the most widely discussed medieval topics with a vast scholarly literature. These developments especially as regards missionary ideology and crusading are reflected in the chronicles discussed here, as they represent the changes in religious attitudes and values that took place during the twelfth century, when the practise of the personal imitation of Christ's sufferings grew more dominant (Constable 1995: 169-217, Bynum 1984: 9-21). The mission as such was built upon the model of *vita apostolica* and seen as an imitation of the Apostles, the *imitatio apostolorum* (Constable 1995: 148-9; Angenendt 2000: 213-4). Especially in the twelfth century the ideals of *imitatio* were focused on searching for a form of *vita apostolica*, which was found in preaching and mission. During that time the *imitatio* of martyrs, the Apostles and Christ Himself started to become more literal, resulting in devotion to the physical imitation of His sufferings in the Late Middle Ages (Bynum 1994d: 145-50). The twelfth century saw also the rise of the ideals of apostolic poverty as a way of *vita apostolica*.

The chronicles yet do not represent only the notion of the *imitatio* of Christ's sufferings by missionaries, martyrs, pilgrims, and crusaders, but also reflect the ideas closely related to the image of Christ as an almighty king and victor, which were dominant from the fifth to eleventh centuries (Constable 1995: 156-8, Bynum 1984: 9-21). This is closely bound to the idea of *Christomimesis* developed firstly among the Carolingian authors, where the kings were depicted as the imitators of Christ in his royal role on earth, and the images of Christ as a victorious leader in war and those of the great kings were closely bound to each other.¹²³ Yet not only Christ, but also the great kings of the Old Testament provided many models for developing an image of Christian rulers and for recording their great deeds (Dunbabin 1985: 35-6). Around one hundred years later the Carolingian idea of Christian kingship was revived among the Ottonians, and there it remained dominant until the reign of the Salian dynasty and the King Conrad II (1024-39) (Constable 1995: 160-1).

Later the crusading movement had a strong impact on the self-image of the Catholic warriors. They came to be envisaged as knights of Christ (*milites Christi*), and as defenders of a society defined as Christendom (*christianitas*)¹²⁴ (Morris 1993). In parallel there developed

¹²³ As regards the early images of great Christian kings, most noticeably that of Charlemagne, besides the Christian doctrines of kingship yet also the older Germanic image of a great warrior is eminently present (Bagge 2002: 23-5). See also Constable 1995: 160-1

¹²⁴ The tradition to name the crusaders the warriors of the Lord relies on the tradition of the first crusading proclamation in 1095 by the Pope Urban II (1088-99). Besides the Maccabees and the great kings of Israel

a notion of their enemies as the enemies of the Lord, who serves both to give the war a just cause (Riley-Smith 1992: 23-5, 27; see also Riley-Smith 1987: 8). The crusades also created a new model for a martyr. The idea that a Christian who died in battle against the unbeliever would receive a heavenly reward was present long before the First Crusade, but with a very few exceptions the fallen heroes were not described as martyrs.¹²⁵ Thereafter the notion is applied to the ones who fell in battles against pagans, unbelievers or false Christians, and is firstly accompanied by the older idea that those who die in Jerusalem will receive a heavenly reward¹²⁶ (Morris 1993). Going to the Holy Sepulchre, the crusaders were compared to pilgrims, and as such also the crusading ideology was connected to the idea of a pilgrimage as the *imitatio* of Christ's sufferings.¹²⁷

Already during the first centuries the crusades created a large textual tradition. Local patterns to describe and explain crusading were various, as were the goals and the interests behind different campaigns. The crusading chronicles, which were written dominantly by the French authors in the earlier phase of the campaigns, and then developed into a genre of stately historical writing of the crusaders kingdoms in Levant (Goetz 1999: 122-3), have not influenced the authors discussed here to a large extent. The religious warfare in the Baltic Sea area however evoked a great number of crusading narratives of its own.¹²⁸ Also the crusading sermons and crusading proclamations formed an important part of the crusading intertext, and here since the twelfth century the role of Cistercians is prominent, among the most famous of the crusading sermons being the ones written by St. Bernard of Clairvaux (around 1090-1153). His contemporary Pope Eugene III, who proclaimed the Second Crusade in 1147, was a Cistercian as well. The influence of the crusading ideology is present in all of the chronicles, save only Adam who is writing before the crusades. As the crusading activity and ideology

especially those four verses from the Gospels (Mt 16: 24, Lc 14: 27, Mc 19: 29, Io 15: 13) are eminent in the image. (Riley-Smith 1987: 8) All of them refer to following Christ and taking the Cross, like Mt 16: 24, “--/ If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.”

¹²⁵ The promise of salvation for death in a battle had been founded on the general considerations of the mercy of God and the assurances in the Gospels. This goes back also to the developments in the ideology of the just war in the Carolingian and post-Carolingian age, where the warrior kings were described in terms more suited to hagiography (as saintly kings) and seen as leaders of a sanctified army. The representation however is also influenced by the old Germanic tradition which implies special status to those who died with their lord on the field of battle. (Morris 1993: 93-96)

¹²⁶ The idea of martyrdom was not prominent in the promise of Salvation by Urban II (Riley-Smith 1984). Jean Flori and John Cowdrey on the other hand have argued that the idea of martyrdom by death in battle was already established and present in the consciousness of the crusaders (see Cowdrey 1985, Flori 1991).

¹²⁷ The comparison is also closely connected to the privileges given to the crusaders, which were treated and developed as equal to the ones given to the pilgrims who took the route to the Holy Land (Tyerman 1998: 55-6).

¹²⁸ Besides the ones discussed here also the *Gesta Danorum* by Saxo Grammaticus, Peter of Dusburg's *Chronicon terre Prussie*, the rhymed chronicles of the Teutonic Order (the Older and Younger Rhymed Chronicle (*Jüngere Rheinchronik*) attributed to Bartholomeus Hoeneke (see Vahtré 1960)), and the Swedish Erik Chronicle from the 1320s (Jensen 2001: xxi).

became more institutionalised and coherent only by the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries (Tyerman 1998), the development can also be followed in the chronicles. While Helmold's way of describing a missionary wars and crusades does not yet differ much from Adam's patterns, then if one comes to look at Arnold's and Henry's texts, whose authors were the contemporaries of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), then here the emphasis on spiritual goals, as well as the more coherent ideology and imagery stands out rather clearly, similarly to other contemporary crusading chronicles (Edbury and Rowe 1990: 151-66). The also present a more collective image of the Christian warrior, whereas here the notion is not applied to the great kings and ruler's only but to the army of the crusaders as a whole, which has taken over also many of the features characteristic to the early missionaries.

1.5 The Other

The notion of the self and the other can be drawn back to the oldest ontological and epistemological questions of Western philosophy. The other is already situated in the very language itself, or as Paul Ricoeur has put it, it is not possible to think about the one without the other (Ricoeur 1990). Along the long line of great modern thinkers from René Descartes, Immanuel Kant, Johann Fichte, Edmund Husserl, Martin Heidegger, Hans-Georg Gadamer, Emmanuel Levinas and, to psychoanalysts like Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan, all of them have treated the question of one becoming aware of one's existence, and possibility of the knowledge about the outer world. Here the latter knowledge is always also the knowledge about the other. Needless to say, the conclusions have been different, likewise the ethical and moral issues, as regards the relationship of oneself towards the other.

While history consists of a long line of conquests and defeats, of discovering and colonising the Others, there has also been a long history of discovering, framing and representing the Otherness. To quote Tzvetan Todorov, Europe has always already had the chance to meet the Other, and alike the Other has always already its place in the imagination of Europeans (Todorov 1982). Europeans encounters with the new worlds have continually been mediated by representations, where the Others have the role of representatives bearing those representations, yet there is no easy or clear transition from the classical image the barbarian to the Christian one (Greenblatt 2003: 119-128). First there were the Greeks who created their own notion of the Other, that of the uncivilised the barbarians opposed to the

urban culture of their world.¹²⁹ Those models were taken over by the Romans for describing the Celts and Germanians as barbarian peoples (the Latin *gentes* or Greek *ethne*) (Geary 2002: 73-9). The crisis of the third century transformed both the Roman and barbarian world, and Christianity came to alter the relationships, bringing along Christians among barbarians and pagans among Romans, yet also many new barbarians, like the Huns, and amalgating the old barbarians into *Romanitas* (Geary 2002: 79-92). The divisions between the barbarian worlds were drawn and re-drawn from fourth to sixth centuries, when the consolidation of new territorial kingdoms and the conversion from Aryanism into Catholicism granted ground for assimilation. A new notion of the barbarian world developed during the seventh century, and there the barbarian started to signify not only a foreigner, but more and more dominantly also a non-Christian (Geary 2002: 141-50). During its expansion from the tenth until fifteenth centuries Europe came to face again the many people whose languages, cultures, religions were regarded as different from their own. The medieval Others came to include the Arabs, Turks, Vikings, Magyars, Mongols, Jews, and many other peoples. The sixteenth century saw the rise of the colonial world, and henceforth the colonial powers had a vast variety of different others to discover, explore, describe and confront to. The studies of the discovery of the New World, an itinerary where “they knew were going, and ended up in a place they never imagined” (Greenblatt 2003: 7), have alike come to underline the role of traditional representational practices in recording the experience with lands and peoples perceived as radically different.¹³⁰ The study of the European notion of Otherness has been made exceedingly popular during the last decades by the colonial and postcolonial studies, along the lines of Edward Said’s study on the Oriental Other (Said 1978), and by the study of collective and national identities.¹³¹

Already during the 1960s the medievalists started to study the image of the Muslims and Jews as the Others, especially in the sources of the crusading period.¹³² Medieval

¹²⁹ However, already the Greek and Roman notion of the otherness is also characterised by a high level of intertextuality. For the Greek tradition of the barbarians, drawn on the example of the Scythes in the *Historia* by Herodotos see Hartog 1980.

¹³⁰ For a classic study on the “question of the Other” in the Americas see Todorov 1983. Later a study by Stephen Greenblatt has provided valuable addition to the latter, discussing the notions of marvel (for the object) and wonder (for the reaction) as conceptualisation of perceiving and representing the native Americans (Greenblatt 2003).

¹³¹ For the discussions on the applicability of postcolonial theories on medieval studies, and studies on the medieval representations of Arabs as the Oriental Other see Biddick 2000, Akbari 2000, Ganim 2000.

¹³² For the most influential of those studies see: Norman 1960, Kedar 1984, Riley-Smith 1984, and Siberry 1985. Another rapidly growing research field is the representation of the crusades in Muslim sources, for classic studies see Maalouf 1983 and Hillenbrand 1999. From the period of the later crusades especially the image of the Mongols has been of interest to many scholars. Their image illustrates many characteristic features of the

traveller's accounts have been another field of interest for many scholars (Campbell 1988). Also the studies on frontier societies and medieval identities have contributed to the discussions on the medieval notion of the Other. By now, the research of the medieval Otherness has taken its postcolonialist and poststructuralist turn. This has resulted in the studies of many marginal groups in medieval societies in terms of race, geography, and culture; calling to rethink the time and history colonised it itself, to question the hegemonic identities and decentre Europe (Cohen 2000, Cohen 1999, Cohen 1996).

As already the mixture of Roman and orthodox Christian identity had excluded the Jews and marginalized them (Geary 2002: 120-50), the crusading period was to underline the Jews as the Others within Europe.¹³³ Similarly to the missionary wars around the Baltic Sea, attempts were made to force Christianity on Jews, who were offered the choice of conversion or death. Like in the case of the Baltic heathen, also these forcible conversions were contradictory to the instructions of the canon law, as for centuries it had been repeatedly enunciated principle that infidels, particularly Jews, should never be forced to the faith but could only persuaded by reason. As regards the infidels outside Europe, there is however no evidence of a forcible mass conversion (Riley-Smith 1984a: 55-66). The French crusading chronicles yet suggest that among higher clerics the crusade was portrayed as a war for the expansion of Christianity on the model of the wars held by Charlemagne.¹³⁴

Besides the Jews there has yet until recently been yet little study on the representation of the Others as regards the European crusades. Here especially the studies in the image of heretics, a large group of Others within Europe, have posed many interesting comparisons with the other crusading targets.¹³⁵ The perpetual fight against heresy can also be seen as not so much a fight against a real existing Other, but more a process during which the Christians define themselves by creating the Other. Many of the Catholic dogmas developed and

crusading Other, the Mongols and Tatars were depicted as a threat to all Christians and enemies of Christ, and crusades against them as undertaken in the defence of Christianity (Berend 2003: 1018-23).

¹³³ Jonathan Riley-Smith has pointed out the relationship between the massacres of the Jews in 1095-6 and the crusading movement. There is strong evidence for a desire to make a vengeance upon the Jews for the crucifixion, similarly to the Muslims who were to be revenged for the occupation of the Holy Land. Many crusading accounts found it difficult to make a distinction between Jews, heretics, and Muslims as enemies of the Lord, the faith and church (Riley-Smith 1984a: 63-6)

¹³⁴ The account given by Robert of Rheims of the crusade proclamation by Urbanus II states that "May the stories of your ancestors move you and excite your souls to strength; the worth and greatness of King Charlemagne and of Louis his son and of others of your kings, who destroyed the kingdoms of pagans and extended into them the boundaries of Holy Church. Baldric of Borgueil referred to God as the "propagator of the faith" and Guibert of Nogent called the crusaders "the propagators of the faith." (Riley-Smith 1984a: 63-4)

¹³⁵ The recent studies about the crusades against the Albigesian heretics focus both on the image of the heretics and its function as a cause of a just war. See Kienzle 2001, Oberste 2003. I would like to thank Carsten Selch Jensen for pointing out these works. For a classic study on the image of the heretics in Catholic sources see Le Roy Ladurie 1982.

consolidated through the fight against heresy, and were confirmed in the Lateran councils in 1215 and 1274. (Bynum 1994e: 239-97) Also the many dominant notions of the church reform were closely related to the fight against heresy. In his study of the images of the pagans (*pagani*) in the chronicles of Widukind of Corvey, Thietmar of Merseburg, and Adam of Bremen Hernik Janson has shown that the notions of paganism and idolatry applied to the Slavs, Danes and Swedes are closely bound to the imagery of heretics and apostates, and may not signify them being pagans in the sense of not being Christians, but being disobedient to the Saxon church and princes.¹³⁶ Similar images are often used yet not only for the neophytes, but also both for the clerical and secular rivals. The latter are eminently present in all the chronicles studied here, and provide a large gallery of Christian enemies and rivals with various signs of idolatry and heresy applied to them.

The Baltic crusading chronicles operated mostly with a sharp distinction between them and us, not only in religious, but also in national and ethnic terms (Jensen 2002, Jensen 2001: xxi). The Prussians, Livs, Lithuanians, Estonians et al. are today known almost exclusively from descriptions given by their counterparts, where they are depicted as warlike and threatening to Christianity, less developed and less civilised.¹³⁷ This results in seeing the heathen societies as uniform. Likewise the image of waste, deserted and isolated lands of the heathens, a standard motif of the missionary and crusading literature has influenced our understanding of their lands as without proper towns, and sparsely inhabited by a population with only a primitive, tribal organisation (Jensen 2001: xxi, xiii-xxiv). Recently Volker Scior has analysed the notion of Otherness (defined as *das Fremde*) in the chronicles of Adam, Helmold and Arnold thoroughly from many various aspects (Scior 2002). His study focuses on function of the *Fremde* as a mean to strengthen the institutional identities, and shows convincingly that the Other functions in those texts primarily as a tool for the identity-building process of the Saxon ecclesiastical and secular rulers. My own work dealing largely with the same textual corpus, I hope my approach, different already in its structure, focusing more the dynamics in the images, and categorising the Other more on a typological and analogical level, comes to analyse how some of the intertextual patterns are used for creating

¹³⁶ Janson 1998, Janson 2003, Janson 2005. Also Thomas Lindkvist has pointed out that the Erik Chronicle, an early fourteenth century account of the Swedish crusades in 1292-3, both Orthodox Russians and possibly non-Christian Karelians are occasionally both named pagans. Here he also suggests that the chronicler used the words pagan and enemy more or less synonymously. The definition *pagani* can be interpreted a legitimisation of the warfare on the Eastern frontier, first as Christianising the Fenno-Ugric peoples, and then as defensive warfare against Orthodox Russians (Lindkvist 2001: 123-4).

¹³⁷ For the image of the Orthodox Russians in the crusading chronicles see Selart 2002, Selart 2001, Selart 1998. For the images of the Karelians and Russians in the Swedish crusading sources see Lindkvist 2001.

different images for mission and religious warfare, and the Others alike. As *legatio* must have a goal and a martyr a cause for its sufferings, the understanding of personal and above all religious valour tend to determine the imagery of the Other to a large extent. The latter is to provide the proper enemy, congregation, neophyte and also landscape for the missionaries, becoming a part of those sacred stories. The values emphasised in the chronicles set by *traditio* and *auctoritas*, as well as the intertextual patterns serve as a gallery of authorised images for the Others and as a mean to explain the unknown through known. However, they are also newly reorganised in the rhetoric of the otherness in each text.

I have divided the representations of the others between two categories, studying separately the image of the other as peoples or persons (*personae*) and as spaces or landscapes (*loci*). Especially the study of the representations of space and landscape and imaginary geography has become more popular during the recent decades, and this has resulted also in the many studies focusing on the medieval perceptions and representations of landscape.¹³⁸ The crusading period brought along excitement in the perceptions of landscape and space, especially as regards the sacred places, as the crusades made the Holy Land as a part of salvation history also physically present (Higgins 1998).

As the main dividing line between them and us is defined by the missionary call these texts represent, the first dividing line is that of the Christians and non-Christians and aims at Christianising the non-believers. However, the line does not remain that clear, but it goes through many different phases, similarly to the process of Christianisation and colonisation itself, which constituted of a long line of conquests, withdrawals and reconquests. This process created a large variety of different actors and landscapes, characterised by a different qualities of Otherness. Here the also the formation of frontier societies makes the interaction with the others, and hence also their images, their uses and functions more complex. Therefore I shall treat the representation of the other in two phases, discussing separately the phase of the discovery and that of the conquest. This model I have borrowed from Tzvetan Todorov (Todorov 1982).

One cannot yet pass the notion that the identities represented here are the narrative identities, which must be seen as different in their narrative structure from the personal identities (Ricoeur 1990: 137-98). As such they represent above all the identities and ideas of a small group of literate clerics, not those of the whole wide group taking part in the described

¹³⁸ For the geographical imagination in the Middle Ages in general see Tomasch 1998; here medieval geographical desire is described closely connected to issues of discovery, dominion and domination (Tomasch

processes. Hence they represent firstly the identities of the elite of the society and the small part of the *literati* in medieval society.

1998b). For the Northern regions and on the Baltic Sea as the defining agent, see Kirby et al. 2000, especially chapter III on “The Seas Imagined” (Kirby et al. 2000: 38-59).

II TO DISCOVER

This chapter focuses mainly on the representation of the periods where there is yet no close interaction or communication with the Other, and their landscape is yet not explored. The discovery is followed by both representation and interpretation, and here naming both the people and lands, and mapping their territories are to create the introductory image of the Others.¹³⁹ The preliminary characteristics of the Otherness are given already here, and while the religious, cultural, and social norms are determined as common in Latin Christianity, one learns more about the describer's own society and culture than about the described one. This alters due to the audience and focus of each text, which determine the relationship to the Other, and, as regards locating their space, it also sets the limits for the centre and the periphery. The representation of the Other is determined by vivid egocentrism, as both the notions of centre and periphery, and those of civilisation and barbarianism are relative, gaining meaning only through a centre and norms already set (Todorov 1982: 191-206).

As Europe has always already had the opportunity to meet the Other, there also has always been a large variety of models and patterns for describing it. Especially as regards the unknown peoples and lands, the analogies and comparisons enable the author to describe them, and the comparison with already familiar makes the yet unknown more understandable to the reader. As in those passages the unknown is translated into the categories of our own culture, the texts also tend to imply the religious, cultural, social norms, and values are implied to the others.¹⁴⁰

I.1 ADAM OF BREMEN, *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*

The many and various descriptions of peoples and lands perceived as alien and different are one of the most characteristic features of this text. The fourth book, the "Description of the Islands of the North" (*Descriptio insularum aquilonis*) is wholly an account of barbarian peoples and lands that lay about the Baltic Sea and the ocean. They are written down to glorify the see and its mission, as Adam states, "what we have learned about the nature of the northern regions in order to set it down to the honour of the Church of

¹³⁹ The categorisations are also to present the Other as coherent and uniform. Especially as regards the medieval period, terms such as tribe, people or nation should be regarded not as homogenous units, but constantly changing institutions (Goetz 2003). Their names (the Slavs, Russians, Danes etc.) being above all collective terms for heterogenous groups, they are used throughout this study as referring to the categories used by the chronicles and should be regarded with criticism as when it comes to connecting them to any of the modern nations.

Hamburg.”¹⁴¹ The descriptions of the multitude of peoples serve an equal function, as “the many blessings bestowed on it by divine goodness that have enabled it to become the metropolitan Church of that innumerable multitude of people, who in great part have been converted to Christianity by its preaching.”¹⁴²

To a large extent the Adam relies in his descriptions of the heathen lands and peoples on earlier textual authorities, both Christian and Roman. This is especially true in the case of the earlier periods, the Saxon wars, and the early missions to Denmark and Sweden, and yet also in the case of the more far regions and peoples. As regards his own times and the ones closely preceding it, Adam claims to rely on the testimonies of the witnesses. King Sven Estridsson of Denmark (1047-74) is the most noteworthy among them, as Adam states that “what we have said, therefore, and what we shall have to say about the barbarians, all that we have come to know from what this man related.”¹⁴³

Prologue I: Saxony and the Saxons

The first non-Christians of the chronicle are the Saxons, and hence us, the audience are also the first Other.¹⁴⁴ The narrative starts with the history of the origins of the Saxon people and then gives the story of how they were conquered and Christianised by the Franks during the Saxon wars (772-804).¹⁴⁵ Adam relies heavily on hagiographical texts, and the latter patterns for describing the non-Christians (functioning as a proper setting and cause for the deeds of a saint) have influenced the representation of the Other in his text, as the image of the Saxons gives the model for the Others to follow.¹⁴⁶ Among the other sources the account of *Germania* given by Tacitus (55-120) is the most influential. Yet the latter descriptions of the Saxon idolatry, focusing on sacrifice and divination were largely used also in the hagiographical materials, like in the accounts of the missions of St. Boniface (Keep 1982: 47-57).

¹⁴⁰ Described by Tzvetan Todorov in his analysis of the discovery of America (see especially Todorov 1982: 191-207).

¹⁴¹ *Haec sunt quae de natura septentrionalium regionum comperimus ad honorem sanctae Hammaburgensis ecclesiae ponenda.* (GHEP IV.41)

¹⁴² */--/ quam tanto munere divinae pietatis praeditam videmus, ut innumerabilem populorum multitudinem, quorum metropolis haec facta est, labore suae praedicationis ex magna iam parte conversos habeat ad christianitatem.* (*Ibid.*)

¹⁴³ GHEP III.53

¹⁴⁴ However, the author himself, and Archbishop Liemar to whom the chronicle is dedicated yet were not Saxons.

¹⁴⁵ The pre-history of the heathen Saxons is given in GHEP I.3-8, that of the Saxon wars in GHEP I.8-10.

¹⁴⁶ The idolatry of the Sweeds and Slavs is compared to that of the Saxons already in the beginning of the text. “These excerpts about the advent, the customs and the superstitions of the Saxons, which superstitions the Slavs and the Swedes still appear to observe in their pagan rites (*de adventu, moribus et superstitione Saxonum, quam adhuc Sclavi et Sueones ritu paganico servare videntur*), we have taken from the writings of Einhard.” (GHEP I.8)

The main differentiating characteristic of the Saxons is their idolatry.¹⁴⁷ It differs from Christianity also due to being polytheistic and as such it is explained also through references to the Roman paganism.¹⁴⁸ As besides their various gods the Saxons honour the objects of nature, this implies also to a religion different and more primitive than Christianity.¹⁴⁹ Their religion is explained through rites and rituals, most eminent of those being the casting of the lots and taking the auspices, described as being similar to Roman and Greek rituals, and hence referring also to the pagan past of the Christians.¹⁵⁰ The rites and rituals are also described to have a dominant position in their society. To the primitivity, as well as cruelty of the rites contributes the habit to practice human sacrifices.¹⁵¹ The latter pattern being present in most of the representations of paganism discussed here, it is to function as a classic radical distinction between pagan and Christian religious practices that can otherwise often depicted as disturbingly homologous (see Greenblatt 2003: 130-2).

The warlikenliness, ferocity and cruelty are the signifiers of the Saxon society, and as such it poses a permanent threat to their Christian neighbours.¹⁵² As regards the laws “they thought it no disgrace either to dishonour the laws of God and man.”¹⁵³ The differences are explained as a result of isolation, due to both their location and their unwillingness to intermarry with other peoples.¹⁵⁴ This results in one of the most classic qualities of the Others, they are all seen as uniform, “their appearance as well as their stature and the colour of their hair are as nearly identical as is possible in so large number of men.”¹⁵⁵ At the eve of the conquest however, Saxony, waiting for the colonists and conquerors to come, is also depicted as a very fertile land.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁷ The Saxons worshipped those, who “by nature, were not gods” (*natura non erant dii*) (GHEP I.7).

¹⁴⁸ As the Saxons are said to pay special reverence to the Roman god Mercury (GHEP I.7).

¹⁴⁹ They “even regarded with reverence leafy trees and springs” (*frondosis arboribus fontibusque venerationem exhibebant*) (GHEP I.8).

¹⁵⁰ GHEP I.7-8

¹⁵¹ GHEP I.7

¹⁵² The Saxons are “very warlike, terrible in their valour and agility” (*gens ferocissima, virtute et agilitate terribilis*) (GHEP I.3) and “fierce by nature” (*natura feroces*) (GHEP I.8).

¹⁵³ GHEP I.8

¹⁵⁴ The Saxons are “inaccessible because of inaccessible swamps” (*inviis inaccessa paludibus*) (GHEP I.3) and they do not “readily taint themselves by any intermarriage with other peoples or with inferior peoples” (GHEP I.6).

¹⁵⁵ *Unde habitus quoque ac magnitudo corporum comarumque color, sicut in tanto numero hominum, idem pene omnibus.* (GHEP I.6)

¹⁵⁶ “Only the sweetness of the vine is wanting; it produces everything else that is needful. The land is everywhere fertile (*fertilis*), abounding in common pasturage and woodland.” (GHEP I.1)

PERSONAE

Metropolis sedis ominum borealium nationum

After having established the Saxons, and hence also us as the Christians after the description of their conversion (see Chapter III), the narrative continues with the history of the Hamburg-Bremen church. The interests of the Episcopal see determining the focus of the text, its audience also sets the norm, dividing the different from non-different, as the author claims in his description of the lands in far North that “since much else may be seen that is entirely different and strange to our people (*diversa prorsus et insueta nostris*), we leave it and other things to be more fully described by the inhabitants of that land.”¹⁵⁷ The norm is here claimed to be above all else Christianity, yet also the features of the Central European civilisation and society, like towns, agricultural system, and merchandise, as well as the more centralised power. This determines also the division of centres and peripheries, as Adam defines the location of different lands through their distance from the diocese of Hamburg-Bremen, claiming them to be either near or far away.¹⁵⁸

The see in Hamburg claiming to be the missionary church of all the Northern nations, the text involves many foreign peoples and lands to whom the mission was directed and whose “history concerns our church.”¹⁵⁹ Those include many peoples living around the Baltic Sea. Especially the Danes and Swedes are mentioned throughout the work, and the second book comes to include the Slavs and Norwegians as important agents.¹⁶⁰ The variety and multiplicity of foreign peoples is often stated in the text, as Adam quotes Einhard, “many peoples, Einhard says, occupy the shores of this sea.”¹⁶¹ He is aware that he is including many of those peoples into the Christian learned tradition for the first time, as many of the lands and peoples it goes on to describe have not been mentioned in the authoritative texts before. The

¹⁵⁷ GHEP IV.31. Adam defines the “us” of the text as above all through the church in Bremen as “our church” (*nostra ecclesia*) (GHEP I.17, II.10, II.46, III.32, 40) or “our diocese” (GHEP IV.13); naming hence also the prelates “our bishops or archbishops” (GHEP I.28, II.60; III.70), like the fortune of the church is called “our fortune” (GHEP II.57).

¹⁵⁸ This occurs especially often in the fourth book, as for example the Goths are said to “live nearest to us” (GHEP IV.23).

¹⁵⁹ Stated firstly as regards the Danes: “because the history of the northern peoples in part concerns our Church (*quoniam borelauium gentium hystoria nostram /--/ in parte respicit*) /--/ I intend, in my opinion not uselessly (*nec inutiliter*), to touch upon the deeds of the Danes” (GHEP I.17)

¹⁶⁰ A longer description of the Slavs is given in GHEP II.13-20, that of the Norwegians in GHEP II.22. The third book includes the Icelanders, Greenlanders, and the inhabitants of the Orkney islands in GHEP III.23. Adam mentions also the Russians, whom he defines by the orthodox faith and compares to the Byzantine empire, as Kiev is said to be “rival of the sceptre of Constantinople, the brightest ornament of Greece.” (GHEP II.19)

¹⁶¹ ‘Hunc’, inquit, ‘sinum multae circumsedent nationes’ (GHEP IV.12: ref. *Vita Karoli Magni* xii). See also GHEP IV.6. Likewise there are “many Slavic nations” (*populi Sclavorum multi*) (GHEP II.18). Here Adam also lists the bigger Slavic tribes, which include the Wagiri, Abotrites (or Reregi), Polabingi, Linguones, Warnavi, Chizzini,

problem Adam handles by seeking the references both to the lands and peoples from the ancient texts and linking them to his own account, and here he quotes both from the Roman and Christian authors, as well as from the Scriptures. This results in an intertextually rich and complex picture, where the images and peoples taken from the Scriptures, Saints lives, the Roman mythology and geographical writings intermingle in various ways.

Adam refers to the Roman and Frankish authors in the case of the Saxons, and likewise he lists both the Northmen and Slavs among the peoples, who are named by the Roman authors.¹⁶² Similarly he can rely on the Frankish histories in his description of the Viking assaults, and here he goes to link the Danes, Swedes and Norwegians both to the Frankish and Roman authorities, stating that “the Danes and the Swedes and also the other people beyond Denmark are all called Northmen by the historians of the Franks, although the Roman writers named men of this kind Hyperboreans.”¹⁶³ Due to the missions of St. Ansgar and St. Rimbert undertaken in the Northern countries Adam also has hagiographical sources for the history of the Danes and Swedes.¹⁶⁴ His fourth book however comes to deal with many of the peoples who are only meagrely mentioned in any of the earlier writings. The issues of textual authorities and tradition are most eminently present in Adam’s account of the Baltic Sea, as he claims, “no mention, I have learned, has been made by any of the learned men what I have said concerning this Baltic or Barbarian Sea, save only Einhard.”¹⁶⁵ He however comes to a conclusion that “since the names have been changed, I am of the opinion that this body of water was perhaps called by the Romans the Scythian or Maeotic swamp, or “the wilds of the Getae”, or the Scythian swamp, which Martian says was “full of barbarians.”” Establishing hence a connection between his own barbarians and those of Martian Capella – as “there, he [Martian] says, live the Getae, Dacians, Samratians, Alani, Geloni, Anthropopagi, and Troglodytes”¹⁶⁶ – Adam goes to take advantage of the patterns of Roman

Circipani, Tholenzi, and Retharii, Heveldi, Doxani, Leubuzi, Wilini, Soderani, “besides many others” (*cum multis aliis*) (*Ibid.*).

¹⁶² Relying on the Roman authorities – “if, then the Roman authors are to be believed” – Adam lists the first inhabitants of Saxony. He quotes also Gregory of Tours and Orosius on the prehistory of the Saxons, calling them the Angles after them (GHEP I.3), and relies then on Einhard on the coming of the Angles into Germany (GHEP I.4). For references to the Northmen and Slavs among the Roman authors see GHEP I.3.

¹⁶³ *Dani et ceteri qui trans Daniam sunt populi ab historicis Francorum omnes Nordmanni vocantur, cum tamen Romani scriptores eiusmodi vocent Yperboreos* (GHEP IV.12: ref. above all to *De nuptiis* vi.664-93 by Martian Capella). For the notion of *Nordmanni* applied to the Swedes (*Sueones et Gothi*) see (GHEP I.63), and both to the Danes and Swedes see GHEP II.16. For Adam’s accounts on the Viking attacks and his Frankish sources see GHEP I.39-65.

¹⁶⁴ See GHEP I.17-38.

¹⁶⁵ *Haec habui quae de sinu illo Baltico dicerem, cuius nullam mentionem audivi quempiam fecisse doctorem, nisi solum, de quo supra diximus, Einhardum.* (GHEP IV.20)

¹⁶⁶ GHEP IV.20.

geographical writing and authority, and places many of those peoples to live around the Baltic Sea.

The first and main dividing line between them and us goes between the Christians and non-Christians.¹⁶⁷ Due to the missionary call the barbarian idolatry is above all an error to be corrected, the goal of the Church of Hamburg being to “convert the people from the error of idolatry.”¹⁶⁸ As the mission and conquest start, those dividing lines start to alter, as once barbarian peoples and lands are to become Christianised, and the borders of the diocese to enlarge. The relapses into paganism, different alliances and rivalries alter the imagery even more, and as the issues of both territorial and ecclesiastical authority become more crucial, the sings of a Christian and pagan become even more so a rhetorical tool. For this reason his accounts on idolatry tend to have different functions already from the beginning of the text.

The Swedes: Gog, Magog, and the Great Temple of Uppsala

The idolatry of the Swedes is firstly defined through the signs of King Gog and his kingdom Magog. Drawing on the *Vita Anskarii*, the chronicler treats St. Ansgar’s mission to Björko as a fulfilment of that Old Testament prophecy (*prophetia*), and claims that in its success “the prophecy of Ezekiel about Gog and Magog here appears to have been very aptly fulfilled. “And I will send,” says the Lord, “a fire on Magog, and on them that dwell confidently in the islands.” Some think this and similar sayings were spoken about the Goths who captured Rome [i.e. the Visigoths under Alaric in around 410]. When, however, we consider the fact that the Gothic peoples rule in Sweden and that all this region is dispersed in islands scattered far and wide, we are of the opinion that the prophecy can be applied to them, especially since the prophets made many predictions which as yet do not appear to have been fulfilled.”¹⁶⁹ This enables him to link both the Swedish heathens and mission to them to the universal history of the Scriptures. The Bible gives only uncertain indications to identify Gog and Magog, and there have always been many various interpretations.¹⁷⁰ Signifying the foes of the church in the Revelations, Gog and Magog became the name for the enemies of the true

¹⁶⁷ The paganism often serves as a defying quality in itself, as when Adam claims the following. “How many Danish kings, or rather tyrants, there were indeed, and whether some of them ruled at the same time or lived for a short time one after another, is uncertain. It is enough for us to know that to this day they all were pagans (*paganos*) /-/-” (GHEP I.54).

¹⁶⁸ /-/- *populum converterent ab errore ydolatriae* /-/- (GHEP II.47).

¹⁶⁹ GHEP I.28: ref. *Vita Anskarii* 25; Ez 39: 6; Is 49: 1.

¹⁷⁰ Gog and Magog are mentioned in Ez 38 and 39. In Ez 38: 2 God commands the prophet “to set thy face against Gog the land of Magog” (*fili hominis pone faciem tuam contra Gog terram Magog*); for a similar command see also Ez 39: 1. While invading Israel, Gog is accompanied by the Persians, Ethiopians, and Lybyans (Ez 39: 5-6). Adam mentions the tradition to identify Gog with Goths, and Gog is sometimes identified with the Lydian king Gyges, and Magog with Syria.

faith on a more general level.¹⁷¹ During the medieval period they were one of the means to define the Other, and were connected to many of the anxieties of Christian Europe, like cannibalism, nomads, foreigners, inhabitants of the North, or heresies. The notions were most often linked to the Alexander legends, and if appeared outside them, then mainly to designate some threat within Christian Europe, later also the Saracens, Jews and Mongols (Westrem 1998: 54-8). Yet in Adam's text especially the reference in "And thou shalt come out from thy place from the northern parts" (*de lateribus aquilonis*) could have been of significant importance.¹⁷²

Also another of the most outstanding accounts of the idolatry is connected to the Swedes, when Adam represents the temple in Uppsala together with its gods and rites in his fourth book.¹⁷³ Firstly the text describes the "very famous temple called Uppsala" as "entirely decked out of gold", and continues then with the description of the gods worshipped there. For the latter Adam has used the Roman patterns to a great extent.¹⁷⁴ The text also describes in detail the hierarchy and functions among priests and sacrificial rites, as "for all their gods there are appointed priests to offer sacrifices for the people."¹⁷⁵ The temple is treated as a mean to create authority and power, in Uppsala takes place "at nine-year intervals, a general feast of all the provinces of Sweden", in accordance to which "kings and people all send their gifts to Uppsala."¹⁷⁶ The religion is pictured mainly to take place through sacrificial offerings, which are described as violent of nature, and the latter is explained as "with the blood it is customary to placate gods of this sort." The cruelty of the rituals is underlined by the habit to sacrifice humans, "even dogs and horses hang there with men."¹⁷⁷ As Adam cannot deny that by that time there were Christians among Swedes, heresy is applied to the latter, when they

¹⁷¹ "And shall go out to deceive the nations (*gentes*) which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle: the number of whom is as the sand of the sea (*quorum numerus est sicut harena maris*)" (Apc 20: 7).

¹⁷² See Ez 39: 2.

¹⁷³ GHEP IV.26-8

¹⁷⁴ There is a firm hierarchy among the gods and their functions, as "the mightiest of them, Thor, occupies a throne in the middle of the chamber; Wotan and Frikko have places on either side." Adam gives an account of their different functions, Thor "presides over the air, which governs the thunder and lightning, the winds and rains, fair weather and crops", Wotan "carries on the war and imparts to man strength against his enemies", and Frikko "bestows peace and pleasure over peoples." Here chronicler draws an analogy to the Roman gods, as "Wotan they chisel armed, as our people are wont to represent Mars" and "Thor with his spectre apparently resembles Jove." (GHEP IV.26) Also the habit "to worship heroes made gods, whom they endure because of their remarkable exploits" refers to the Roman tradition. Here Adam draws on Vita Anskarii on the example of King Eric (*Ibid.*: ref. *Vita Anskarii* xxvvi).

¹⁷⁵ If plague and famine threaten, they sacrifice to Thor, if war, to Wotan, and if marriages are to be celebrated, to Frikko. (GHEP IV.27)

¹⁷⁶ GHEP IV.27.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, yet see also GHEP VI.28.

are said to “redeem themselves through these ceremonies”, the latter being “more distressing than any kind of punishment.”¹⁷⁸

This passage reflects the collision of the papal interests and those of the see of Hamburg-Bremen as regards the mission to Scandinavia, as show in a recent study by Henrik Janson (Janson 1998). The local aristocracy of the Uppsala region being already largely Christian by that time, Adam’s representation of the Swedes as heathens and Uppsala as a great pagan temple serves here mainly the interests of the Saxon mission.

The Great Temples of the Slavs

Also the accounts of the idolatry of the Slavs are given only as connected to the greater centres and temples, albeit in the case of the city Jumne, where Adam mentions only in general that its inhabitants “still blunder about in pagan rites.”¹⁷⁹

The most dominant image is given in accordance with the temple of the Retharii, who are said to be “the mightiest of all” the Slavic people. Their city, Rethra is “a seat of idolatry” and there “a great temple was erected to the demons, the chief of whom is Redigast.”¹⁸⁰ The text also implies the taboo of entering the temple, as an approach over the bridge is allowed only to those who would make sacrifices or seek oracular advice, and here also an analogy to the Roman religion is given. “For this there is, I believe, a meaningful explanation: fitly the “Styx imprisons with its ninefold circles” the lost souls of those who serve idols.”¹⁸¹

Also in his the later description of the Slavs the military strength and authority of the Rugiani is explained through their religion, as they are said to be “the most powerful of all the Slavic peoples, without whose content nothing may lawfully be done in matters of public concern; so much are they feared on account of their familiarity with the gods, or rather demons, whom this people holds in greater veneration than do the others.”¹⁸² A similar image of the Rugiani is later developed much further by Helmold.

The Norwegian Magicians

The magicians, fortune-tellers and various magical arts dominate the images given of the Norwegian version of idolatry. Those images however are closely connected to the

¹⁷⁸ GHEP IV.27.

¹⁷⁹ *Omnes enim adhuc paganis ritibus oberrant.* (GHEP II.19)

¹⁸⁰ *Inter quos medii et potentissimi omnium sunt Retharii, civitas eorum vulgatissima Rethra, sedes ydolatriae. Templum ibi magnum constructum est demonibus, quorum princeps est Redigast. Simulacrum eius auro, lectus ostro paratus.* (GHEP II.18)

¹⁸¹ GHEP II.18: ref. Vergil *Aeneid* vi.439; here also the city itself is said to have nine gates.

¹⁸² */-/ gens fortissima Sclavorum, extra quorum sententiam de publicis rebus nichil agi lex est: ita metuuntur propter familiaritatem deorum vel potius daemonum, quos maiori cultu venerantur quam ceteri.* (GHEP IV.18)

conversion of the Norwegians and above all to St. Olaf (1016-28), whom Adam depicts as their first Christian king.¹⁸³ He is the just Christian king, *rex iustus*, who is governing his realm with judgement and justice, and his great zeal for God is expressed while he “rooted out the magicians from the land.”¹⁸⁴ There Adam states that “although all barbarianism overflows with their number, the Norwegian land in particular was full of these monsters”; and lists “soothsayers and augurs and sorcerers and enchanters and other satellites of Antichrist [who] live where by their deceptions and wonders they may hold unhappy souls up for mockery by the demons.”¹⁸⁵ Here the numerous magicians serve to glorify the martyred king, who decreed “all these and all of their kind must be pursued.”¹⁸⁶

Later the text describes also magicians who live in Norway behind the arctic tract along the ocean, and hence also mark the borders of Christianity, as all the rest of the country is described as thoroughly Christian. For the description of the arctic magicians Adam has used both the Roman authorities and the Scripture. These people are firstly, accordingly to the Roman patterns said to be “so superior in the magic arts or incantations that they profess to know what every one is doing the world over.” Yet likewise they “also draw great sea monsters to shore wit a powerful mumbling of words and do much else which one reads in the Scriptures about magicians.”¹⁸⁷

Ferocity and Cruelty of the Other: *ferocitas gentium*

The inborn ferocity and cruelty of the heathens and barbarians is connected firstly to their idolatry, which excludes them from the main Christian virtues like compassion, mercy, obedience, and love, and is also influenced by the lack of civilisation and knowledge in their societies.¹⁸⁸ Here the chronicler calls the inhabitants of Courland “exceedingly bloodthirsty

¹⁸³ Various other sources however confirm that Olaf Tryggvasson (995-1000) was the first Norwegian king to accept Christianity. See also Chapter III.

¹⁸⁴ *Dicunt eum inter cetera virtutum opera magnum Dei zelum habuisse, ut maleficos de terra disperderet, quorum numero cum tota barbaries exundet, praecipue vero Norvegia monstris talibus plena est.* (GHEP II.55: ref. Zac 13: 2)

¹⁸⁵ *Nam et divini et augures et magi et incantatores ceterique satellites antichristi habitant ibi, quorum praestigiis et miraculis infelices animae ludibrio daemonibus habentur.* (GHEP II.55) These times are later remembered even in the descriptions of the Christian Norway, which is contrasted to the previous time when “they had from the beginning all been given to the nefarious arts of magic” (*cumque nefandis artibus maleficiorum omnes ab initio servirent*) (GHEP IV.30).

¹⁸⁶ GHEP II.55

¹⁸⁷ *Eos adhuc fertur magicis artibus sive incantationibus in tantum praevalere, ut se scire fateantur, quid a singulis in toto orbe geratur.* (GHEP IV.31: ref. Virgil *Aeneid* xi.344-45, Juvenal *Satires* vi.402) *Tunc etiam potenti murmure verborum grandia cete maris in litora trahunt, et alia multa, quae de maleficis in scriptura leguntur, omnia illis ex usu facilia sunt.* (*Ibid.* : ref. Gen 1:21)

¹⁸⁸ A vivid illustration is given in the story of the exiled king Sven Forkbeard of Denmark. Sven, “a wanderer and a destitute of help” went to seek refuge from the king Tryggve of Norway. As the latter “was a pagan (*paganus*), he was not moved with compassion for the exile (*nulla super exulem misericordia motus est*).” Then

because of their inborn devotion to idolatry.”¹⁸⁹ Likewise are the heathen gods and rituals closely related to warfare, as the yet heathen Swedes, “whenever in fighting placed in a critical situation, they invoke the aid of one of the multitude of gods they worship.”¹⁹⁰ Like the knowledge, so both the virtues and emotions are applied to the barbarians after their conversion, and the latter is later sometimes also described as an act of creating emotions via the knowledge of the true faith.

The model for describing the ferocity of the pagans and barbarians (*ferocitas gentium*) is given in the descriptions of the Viking and Hungarian assaults, and here Adam also relies heavily on the earlier sources, the Frankish chronicles, annals, and saints’ lives.¹⁹¹ There it also serves to glorify the missions of St. Ansgar and St. Rimbart, as the saints went to preach among “a people so ferocious that it is hardly human.”¹⁹² As regards the assaults, the threat they posed to Christianity and all Christian lands is underlined. The earliest descriptions are those of the “piratical raids in every direction” the Northmen made into Frisia and their destruction of Hamburg in around 845.¹⁹³ Their attacks into Saxony, Frisia, Cologne and Trier that took place after the death of Louis the German (in around 876), as well as into Gaul and Britain, are described as “wild barbarianism ruling without restraint.”¹⁹⁴ The Viking assaults are accompanied by the invasion of the Hungarians, another expression of “the violence of the barbarians.”¹⁹⁵ Adam states that during that time “the pagans established their power over the Christians.”¹⁹⁶ The raids give a pattern for describing the attacks upon the Christian lands, and here besides the image of laying waste all land especially the notion of violence exercised against all Christians and the church become the dominant features. This includes torturing and killing of clerics and all Christians, taking them into captive, burning the churches and

Sven reaches the Christian king of Scotland, who “taking pity of his misfortunes, received him kindly” (*miseratus infortunii, rex Scothorum benigne recepit*) (GHEP II.32).

¹⁸⁹ /--/ *gens crudelissima propter nimium ydolatriae cultum* /--/ (GHEP IV.16). Likewise the heathen Alani (borrowed from Solinus (*Collect.* xv.v, vii.ix)) are “very cruel” (*crudelissimi*) (GHEP IV.19).

¹⁹⁰ *Si quando vero praeliantes in angustia positi sunt, ex multitudine deorum quos colunt unum invocant auxilio.* This is yet closely connected to the acceptance of Christianity. Since the Sweeds are firstly “after the victory devoted to him and set him above the others”, then later “by common consent they now declare that the God of the Christians is the most powerful of all. Other gods often fail them, but He often stands by, a surest “helper in due time in tribulation” (GHEP IV.26: ref. Ps 9: 10).

¹⁹¹ The Northmen are yet defined as “a very ferocious folk” (*gentes ferocissimas*) already when Adam lists the neighbours of the Saxons. (GHEP I.5: ref. Translatio S. Alexandri by Meginhard and Rudolf).

¹⁹² *in tam feroci, quae vix hominem vivit, natione* (GHEP I.44: ref. *Vita Rimbarti* xx). Before St. Ansgar’s mission to Denmark “there could not be readily found a preacher who would go with them to the Danes because of their barbarious cruelty – on account of which everyone shuns that people (*propter crudelitatem barbaricam, qua gens illa ab omnibus fugitur*)” (GHEP I.17).

¹⁹³ See GHEP I.23.

¹⁹⁴ /--/ *gravis barbarorum irruptio* /--/ *immaniter debaccharetur* (GHEP I.40); see also GHEP I.41.

¹⁹⁵ See GHEP I.52, 55.

¹⁹⁶ GHEP I.40.

mutilating the crosses and cemeteries. The Northmen are said to have devastated all land, set the towns in fire, and for the conclusion the chronicle states, “Why say more? Cities with their inhabitants, bishops with their whole flocks were struck down at one time. Stately churches were burned with the faithful.”¹⁹⁷ Here he signifies it namely as “the persecution which then raged far and wide against the churches.”¹⁹⁸

The Viking assaults also give a model to define all the heathens and barbarians as pirates, unjust warriors contrasted to the just Christian *militiae*. Here the Northmen are the first to be called pirates and their attacks “piratical raids.”¹⁹⁹ Later a large majority of all the barbarian peoples described in the chronicle are all defined also as pirates, either separately or as a whole, i.e. as all the pirates living along the shores of the Baltic Sea.

Laws and Customs

Also in barbarian societies Adam regards most highly the strong rulership, and loyalty towards the kings. This reflects the changes in the European society during the chronicler’s own time, when the growing central power, and the issues of legitimacy and loyalty became more crucial. Here the Swedes are said to hold the other peoples of the North in their power both due to their strength and arms, being the best fighters on horse as well as on ship, and also because they have kings of ancient lineage, and because of obedience to their rulers in war.²⁰⁰ Likewise among the tribes of the Winuli, who are all “renowned for their valour”, the Leutici stand out, as among them there “existed contention for leadership and power.”²⁰¹ Later the Christian ideals of kingship as the main guarantee for peace and order are applied to the Christian rulers of the North; the stronger central power is also mentioned in the case of the kings, who are otherwise depicted as hostile towards the true faith.²⁰² However, as the

¹⁹⁷ See GHEP I.40: ref. *Annales Palidenses*, years 880-2.

¹⁹⁸ GHEP I.41; also in this passage the “slaughtering of the Christians” dominates in the imagery. Likewise the Hungarians, who in around 915-8 attacked the areas neighbouring Bremen, were “burning churches, butchering priests before the altars, and with impunity were slaying clerics and layman indiscriminately or leading them into captivity.” Also here “the crosses were mutilated and derided by pagans.” (GHEP I.55). See also GHEP I.52, where an earlier invasion of the Hungarians is defined as “a persecution of the churches (*persecutio ecclesiarum*)”.

¹⁹⁹ Firstly Adam names the attacks of the Northmen into Frisia and Hamburg “piratical forays” (*piraticis excursiones*) (GHEP I.23), and henceforth defines their attacks steadily “piratical forays” and the Northmen “pirates” (*piratae*) throughout his account of the assaults (GHEP I.39-41). Later he, however also mentions the name “Vikings”, describing the pirates of Zealand who are “called Vikings by its the people (*pyratae, quos illi Wichingos appellant*)” (GHEP IV.6).

²⁰⁰ GHEP IV.22.

²⁰¹ GHEP III.21.

²⁰² Adam states that Hakon the Bad (around 971-995), even though both exceedingly cruel and descended from the race of the giants, was the first among the Norwegians to seize kingship whereas chiefs had ruled there before (*primus inter Nordmannos regnum arripuit, cum antea ducibus regerentur*) (GHEP II.22). From other

image of a strong rule is treated as a value in itself, then in the image of the Danes, the future rivals of the episcopal see, the notion of weak central power becomes to be a central feature in their image throughout the narrative (see Chapter III).

Even though the text does not pay much attention to the organisation of heathen societies, it however describes the barbarian marital and sexual behaviour as opposite to the Christian norms. The habit of having many concubines the chronicler applies mainly to the Danes and Swedes.²⁰³ Later this custom is applied also to the Christian rulers.²⁰⁴ In addition to excesses in sexual behaviour, the text describes the barbarians to break many of the taboos related to food, as the Sembi are said to “take the meat of draft animals for food and use their milk and blood as drink so that they are said to become intoxicated.”²⁰⁵ As regards the ultimate taboo of cannibalism, another classic sign of radical difference (Greenblatt 2003: 139), then this is attributed only to the peoples drawn on classical authors, like the Anthropophagi or the Himantopodes.²⁰⁶ Likewise the idolatry is connected to the bodily affections in general, as during St. Ansgar’s mission great many of the Danes became “freed from every bodily infirmity on being washed with the water of baptism.”²⁰⁷

Besides the negative characteristics, the text contains also many passages praising the morals and customs of the barbarians. Those claims are however closely and mainly connected to the images of Adam’s own society, and function as a mean to criticise the latter. When Adam describes the Sembi as people who “hold gold and silver in very slight esteem”, and who “regard the furs in very slight esteem”²⁰⁸ and the Swedes as people, who are “lacking in none of the riches, except pride (*superbia*)”²⁰⁹, then both of the notions are followed by the critique of Adams own society. The odour of the furs the barbarians have in abundance has “inoculated our world with the deadly poison of pride” and the carelessness the barbarians show towards them points it out “to our shame, I believe, for right or wrong we hanker after a

sources, however the first to gain central power in Norway is known to be Harald the Fairhair (around 862-932).

²⁰³ Among the Danes the habit is described as customary, as when the king Cnut of Denmark died (in around 1035) also his sons born of a concubine were allotted an equal share with the others, “as it is the custom with the barbarians” (GHEP II.72). Of the Swedes it is said that “in their sexual relationships with women do they know no bounds” (GHEP IV.21).

²⁰⁴ Even St. Olaf (1016-28) is said to have had many wives (GHEP II.73), likewise the Christian King Olaf Skötkonung of Sweden (995-1022) had both a wife (*legitima*) and a concubine (*concubina*) (GHEP II.57), and similarly the Christian prince of the Slavs, Gottschalk (early eleventh century) (GHEP III.11,20).

²⁰⁵ GHEP IV.18.

²⁰⁶ Accordingly GHEP IV.19 and IV.25.

²⁰⁷ /-/- ut aqua baptismi loti sunt, ab omni corporis infirmitate liberatos. (GHEP I.27)

²⁰⁸ GHEP IV.18.

²⁰⁹ GHEP IV.21.

marten skin robe as much as for supreme happiness.”²¹⁰ Likewise the pride the Swedes are lacking we, indeed “love or rather adore.”²¹¹ Here the ideals of abandoning the earthly riches, vanities, and power are applied to the barbarians to criticise the vices opposed to them. The latter, together with the avarice of the secular and, to lesser extent also clerical rulers, is one of the most dominant themes of the whole text.

Also hospitality and care for welfare of ones tribesmen are applied to some of the barbarians, the model already set by the Saxons, as shown above. While on the one hand it reflects the Christian values of caring not for yourself, but for the others, then on the other hand especially hospitality is not so much a permanent characteristic in itself, but more closely connected to habits, and certain situations. Here the hospitality of the Slavs in Jumne is connected to the visit of the expelled Christian king Harald Bluetooth was “kindly received by the Slavs, contrary to their expectations, because they were pagans.”²¹² Like previously stated about the yet heathen Saxons, also about the Sembi “many praiseworthy things could be said about with respect to their morals, if only they had the faith of Christ whose worshippers they cruelly persecute.”²¹³ Also the Swedes, praised for their lack of pride, are “noted for their hospitality in particular.”²¹⁴ The latter, in addition, are said to “cherish with great affection the preachers of the truth, if they are chaste and prudent and capable.” Yet also this functions as a mean of critique against the avarice of the unworthy preachers from the Swedish church, as “perhaps they might readily be persuaded of our faith by preaching but for the bad teachers, in seeking their own; not the things that are Jesus Christ’s give scandal to those whom they could save.”²¹⁵

²¹⁰ */--/ pellibus habundant peregrinis, quarum odor letiferum nostro orbi propinavit superbiae venenum. /--/ ad nostram credo dampnationem, qui per fas et nefas ad vestem anhelamus marturinam, quasi ad summam beatitudinem.* (GHEP IV.18)

²¹¹ */--/ quam nos diligimus sive potius adoramus /--/.* (GHEP IV.21) Meanwhile the Swedes “regard as nothing every means of vainglory, that is, gold, silver, stately charges, beaver or marten pelts, which make us lose our minds admiring them.” (*Ibid.*)

²¹² */--/ a quibus contra spem, quia pagani erant, humane receptus* (GHEP II.26). See also a description of the city a few chapters earlier, where Adam states that even though its inhabitants “still plunder in pagan rites (*paganicis ritibus oberrant*)”, then otherwise “so far as morals and hospitality are concerned, a more honourable and kindlier folk cannot be found (*ceterum moribus et hospitalitate nulla gens honestior aut benignior poterit inveniri*)” (GHEP II.19). Their hospitality is also closely connected to the “many other peoples, Greeks, and barbarians” who live there, yet also to the Christian Saxons, who “have the right to reside there on equal terms with the others, provided only that while they sojourn there they do not openly profess Christianity.” (*Ibid.*)

²¹³ GHEP IV.18 The Sembi are also named the “most humane people, who go out to help those who are in peril at sea or who are attacked by the pirates” (*Ibid.*).

²¹⁴ As “to deny wayfarers entertainment is to them the basest of all shameful deeds, so much so that there is strife and contention among them who is worthy to receive a guest.” (GHEP IV.21)

²¹⁵ GHEP IV.21: ref. Phil 2: 21.

The World upside down: the Roman Patterns

As indicated above, in his descriptions of the regions more far away, Adam relies heavily on the Roman authors, especially Martian Capella, Solinus, and also the early Christian writer Orosius. Due to that he has placed to live around the Baltic Sea many of the creatures known from the Roman geographical writing. Round about its shores live the Amazons, and their male offspring, the Cynocephali.²¹⁶ In that region live also the Alani or Albani (and the text gives also a third name, the Wizzi), and the Anthropophagi.²¹⁷ Unlocated in some cases, they in general serve to mark the borders of the Christian and non-Christian world. Those marvellous creatures have from antiquity served as one of the principal signs of Otherness, and functioned not only as a source of fascination but of authentication (Greenblatt 2003: 30). In the east, where Sweden touches the mountains, “there is an immense wasteland, the deepest snows, and where the hordes of human monsters prevent access to what lies beyond.”²¹⁸ Here Adam locates the Amazons, Cynocephali, and also the Cyclops and Himanopodes.²¹⁹

One particular feature as regards both the mythological creatures, and most of the people living in lands more far off, is the attention given to their outward appearance. Their outlook is described as alien, strange, and abnormal, implying mainly on the lack of something.²²⁰ Opposite to the men depicted as both pale and ugly, Adam repeats the description of the Amazons as “the most beautiful women.”²²¹ Yet in the case of the Amazons most of the attention goes to their sexual habits as they are opposed to the Christian norms.²²² Those images of the hybrids refer to the difference and sameness simultaneously, where the radically different is perceived as an inversions and antipode and hence closely linked to the

²¹⁶ GHEP IV.19: ref. Jordanes *Getica* vii-ix, Martianus Capella *De Nuptiis* vi.665, Solinus *Collect.* xvii.iii; x.i, Orosius *Historia adversos paganos* i.v). Of the Cynocephali Adam however comes to convince the reader that they have been seen in Russia as captives (*Ibid.*).

²¹⁷ GHEP IV.19: ref. accordingly Solinus *Collect.* xv.v, vii, ix; and *Vita S. Eadmundi* v, Isidore of Seville *Etymologies* ix.2, 132, Juvenal *Satires* xv.xiii.

²¹⁸ GHEP IV.25: ref. Solinus *Collect.* xxx.ix.12.

²¹⁹ GHEP IV.25: ref. accordingly Solinus *Collect.* xxx.vi, and xxx.vii-viii. Later, the Cyclops are located also to live on an island in the middle of the ocean, where claimed to be seen by the Frisian mariners (GHEP IV.40).

²²⁰ The Cyclops are “amazingly tall men” (*homines mirae altitudinis*) (GHEP IV.40), and having but “one eye on their foreheads” (GHEP IV.25), while the Himantopodes have only one leg, and are to “hop on one foot” (GHEP IV.25). The Alani are born with grey hair (GHEP IV.10: ref. Solinus *Collect.* xv.v, vii, ix), and in their case, also their society is described as opposite to the norm, as their dogs are said to defend their county (*Ibid.*). The latter holds also for the Cyclops, who have “dogs exceeding the usual size of these quadrupeds”, and they are said to have torn into peaces one of the Frisian mariners (GHEP IV.40: ref. Sallust Jugurtha lxxvi.6). The Husi are “palefaced, green, and macrobiotic” (*homines pallidi, virides et macrobii*) (GHEP IV.19: ref. Solinus *Collect.* xi.xxxvi, xxx.ix, xii; where those features are applied to a folk in Ethiopia).

²²¹ GHEP IV.19.

norm (Greenblatt 2003: 43-6). Especially at the borderlands it can be read as to reveal the anxieties concerning religions, ethnicities, races, cultures, languages, and similarly the dream of internal homogeneity (Cohen 2000b).

Also many of the non-mythological barbarians neighbouring the sea have a similar function to mark the limits of the Christian world, and as such they tend to share many similar features with the previous group. Also the Laplanders are to mark the limits of the northern realms in Sweden and Norway.²²³ Besides their outer appearance, also in their society they either have norms turned upside down, as among them women grow beards and men live in the woods, rarely exposing themselves to sight;²²⁴ or lacking civilisation, as their language is primitive and nearly understandable, as “in speaking to one another they are said to gnash their teeth.”²²⁵ Here the text also reflects the belief that the cold climate and sea can influence the outer appearance of the people, as the yet already Christian Greenlanders are “greenish from salt water”, and the Sembi, living in inaccessible swamps are “blue of colour, ruddy of face, and long-haired.”²²⁶

The people living more far off are all largely also signified as pagans. The distant islands of the Swedes are described as inhabited by idolatrous and fierce peoples. The Courlanders are “because of their stubborn idolatry shunned by everybody.”²²⁷ The Estonians, “utterly ignorant of the God of the Christians”, adore dragons and birds, and to the primitivity and cruelty of their religion also contributes the habit to sacrifice to them live men.²²⁸

The ignorance of the true faith is accompanied by the lack of knowledge about the things of the natural world. The inhabitants of Helgeland do not understand the phenomena of the solstice. Adam adds, that “to the barbarians /--/ this is astounding and mysterious” and

²²² Adam refers that these women either conceive by sipping water, or are made pregnant by the merchants passing by or various monsters (he believes the latter to be true), using in his account different above mentioned authors. See GHEP IV.19.

²²³ From the highlands there they are described to make unexpected raids to the plains, and “Whence they come, is not known. They come up unexpectedly.” (GHEP IV.25) In their case not only their appearance, but also the strength is described as unnatural, as they are “small of stature but hardly matched by the Swedes in strength or agility” (*statura modicam, sed viribus et agilitate vix Suedis ferendam*) (GHEP IV.25) and and said to “outsrip wild beasts (*feras*) in running” (GHEP IV.24) or to “fly faster than the wild beasts (*feras*)” (GHEP IV.31).

²²⁴ GHEP IV.31.

²²⁵ GHEP IV.31: ref. Solinus Collect xxx.iii; the latter describes so the Troglodytes. Also the Cynocephali are previously said to “voice their words in barks” (GHEP IV.19).

²²⁶ Accordingly GHEP IV.36 and IV.18.

²²⁷ GHEP IV.16. Here also oracular responses are sought from all parts of the world. Courland Adam also associates with the island Chori mentioned in *Vita Anskarii* xxx; stating yet that by now a church has been built also there (*Ibid.*).

²²⁸ /--/ *dracones adorant cum volucris, quibus etiam litant vivos homines, quos a mercatoribus emunt.* (GHEP IV.17)

after explaining the phenomena after the patterns of his own time, concludes “not knowing this the pagans call the land holy and blessed which affords the mortals such a wonder.”²²⁹

Hence the image of the inhabitants of the lands and islands far off signifies the idolatrous and diabolic space, and as such their image is determined by the need to function as an opposition to the Christian lands. The references to the lack of social values, knowledge, virtues, yet also the norms of civilisation in general, and above all else the lack of true religion contributes to the latter cause. Idolatrous cults, magical arts, ferocity and cruelty against the Christians, military raids and piratical assaults create the imagery of a threat haunting behind the borders, and firstly make the barbarians a dangerous neighbour, later yet also a dangerous enemy, a mission to whom and a war against whom serves to glorify our deeds. On the other hand, the image of the threatening enemy is both to legitimise the campaigns undertaken against them, and to legitimise our authority by underlining the missions and campaigns undertaken accordingly to the Christian model, as an *imitatio*.

LOCI

Adam’s chronicle contains very many geographical descriptions. Besides the accounts given throughout the narrative, the fourth book as a whole is a description of the “islands of the North” (*Descriptio insularum aquilonis*). This covers the lands of the Danes (IV.1-8), the Swedes (IV. 9), the Baltic Sea and the people neighbouring it (IV.10-12, 14-5), the Slavs, mentioning also the lands of the Poles and Russians (IV.13), the islands of the Danes and Swedes and Courland (IV.16), Estonia (IV.17), the islands near the Slavs, Fehmarn, Rügen and Samland (IV.18), the Amazons, the Cynocephali and Anthropophagi, and Björko (IV.19-20), the lands of the Norwegians (IV.20, 30-33) and the Swedes (IV.20-3, 25-9), the Laplanders and the Finns (IV.24), the Orkney islands (IV.34), Iceland (IV.35), Greenland (IV.36), Helgeland (IV.37) and Vinland (IV.38), the ocean and the island of the Cyclops (IV.39-40). Especially there the text abounds with quotations from the *Vulgata*, Roman and early Christian authors, from the *Vita Karoli Magni* by Einhard, and saints’ lives.

The text, full on colourful descriptions of lands, people and mythological creatures has been studied from many aspects. While previously it has been treated as interest in exoticism, marvels and wonders found in lands far off then recently more intention has been paid to their

²²⁹ GHEP IV.37. See also: “Thus saith the Lord /--/ be not dismayed at the signs of heaven; for the heathen are dismayed at them” (Ir 10: 2). To the wonders of the northern parts of the world Adam adds the tides, a phenomenon that “excites all with the greatest wonder, so much so that even the natural philosophers of who search out the secrets of things fall into doubt about a phenomenon of which they know no origin.” Stating that

functions in the general framework of the chronicle.²³⁰ The archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen claimed to have the missionary call for the North as their right and their see to be the see of the whole North. Hence also the geographical descriptions of the chronicle are closely bound to territorial and ecclesiastical interests, and the borders of the diocese are carefully described several times in the text.²³¹ The chronicle describing the period of expansion and conquest, the borders are in continuous change, and likewise the border between Christian and non-Christian lands. Therefore relationships between the neighbouring territories are dynamic. From the tenth century onwards the Saxons discovered, explored and became to know many of the neighbouring countries, especially Denmark and Sweden, and also the territories of the Slavs – and had various claims on their lands.

The centre of the geographical description is in Hamburg-Bremen and its audience is “our people.”²³² This also gives a zero-latitude to measure the distance of other countries, and determines the limits of the centre and the periphery. The distance of the other lands yet alters throughout the texts. Firstly, in the accounts of the missions of St. Ansgar and St. Rimbert, both the Danes and the Swedes are depicted as living “in a region so very remote, I say, from our world.”²³³ Later the lands of the Danes, Christianised first among the Northern counties, give another centre, and the location of other lands is often measured in relation to Denmark.²³⁴

The text tries to cover all the Northern countries until the end of the world and presents a continuous interest in the far off countries and especially towards the limits of the world.²³⁵ This influences the images of countries more far, as likely very little is known about them and hence the more different, strange, yet also more likely non-Christian they are depicted. Here Adam also uses the models of Roman geographical literature to describe the farer lands and their inhabitants, as shown above. On the other hand the descriptions of the limits of the world function to show that the mission of Hamburg-Bremen has completed the

no certain explanation is available, Adam quotes several Vulgata verses referring to the incomprehensibility of God’s judgements (*Ibid.*: ref. Ps 88: 10, 12, 103: 24).

²³⁰ For the earlier paradigm see Smalley 1974: 123-125; for the latter Scior 2002: 89-135. Volker Scior has shown that the whole structure of the fourth book is structured as a “missionary map” for Archbishop Liemar (*Ibid.*), yet I would argue that the structure of the text is more to emphasise the completion of the mission (see Chapter III).

²³¹ See GHEP II.15, IV.13.

²³² GHEP IV.10.

²³³ /--/ *remotissima, inquam, ab nostro mundo regione* (GHEP I.44). During the mission of St. Ansgar, the Swedes are called “the remotest peoples” (*ultimos Suenonum populos*) (GHEP I.17).

²³⁴ The fourth book starts with the description of Denmark, as the chronicler sets out “to describe the location of Denmark and the nature of the rest of the countries beyond Denmark” (GHEP III.70). After finishing the description of the Danes, the author firstly turns “our discourse towards to the Swedish and Norwegian peoples, who are close to the Danes” (GHEP IV.20).

task and brought Christianity to the utmost limits of the world, and at the end of the text Norway and Iceland are to function as the utmost Christian countries.²³⁶

This enables the author claims at the end of his chronicle that Hamburg-Bremen has become “the metropolitan church of that innumerable multitude of peoples who in great part have been converted to Christianity. There only is its preaching hushed where the world has its end.”²³⁷ This signifies the completion of the task Christ gave to the Apostles, saying “Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them /--/ and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.”²³⁸

Landmarks: the Sea, the Great Rivers, the Woods

In the description of the northern countries the sea, the great rivers and woods are the most prominent landmarks, which provided both natural borders and gateways to the foreign lands and peoples.

The most eminent among those is the Baltic Sea. This firstly serves also as a border between Christian and non-Christian world, as after the Christianisation the borders of Saxony extended to the Baltic Sea.²³⁹ However, also the ocean becomes an important landmark, signifying the farer lands and above all the limits of the world.²⁴⁰ The Baltic Sea is yet the dominant landmark throughout the fourth book. The peoples living along its shores are defined as the “barbarous tribes (*barbares gentes*) that lie spread about this sea” and they also

²³⁵ See GHEP III.23, 53, 70.

²³⁶ There Norway is described as “the farthest country in the world” (*ultima orbis provintia*), where “the tired world comes to its end” (GHEP IV.30) and “the farthestmost Northern country” (*ultima aquilonis provintia*) (GHEP IV.34). Two chapters are also dedicated to the adventures of the mariners sailing in the “dark mists” (ref. Gen 15: 17) at the limits of the ocean (GHEP IV.39-40), which are to confirm that no human inhabitation is found beyond the Christian islands of Norway, i.e. Iceland, Vinland, and Greenland.

²³⁷ /--/ *innumerablem populorum multitudinem, quorum metropolis haec facta est, labore suae praedicationis ex magna iam parte conversos habeat ad christianitatem, ibi solummodo ponens euangelizandi silentium, ubi mundus terminum habet.* (GHEP IV.41)

²³⁸ *euntes ergo docete omnes gentes baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti / docentes eos servare omnia, quaecumque mandavi vobis. Et ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi* (Mt 28: 19-20); see also Mc 16: 15: *et dixit eis euntes in mundum universum praedicate evangelium omni creaturae*. The English quotations of the Bible are given according to the King James version; the Latin ones are from the *Vulgata*. The verse is also quoted earlier in the chronicle, while describing St. Angar and St. Rimbert as the followers of the Apostles, and claiming “what the Saviour said to the Apostles is daily addressed also to us.” (GHEP I.44); see also GHEP III.32.

²³⁹ The borders of Saxony (*limes Saxoniae*), as drawn by Charlemagne, are described in GHEP II.5, and stated to go down to the Scythian lake and to the sea they call the Eastern Sea” (*usque in pelagus Scythicum et mare quod vocant orientale delabitur*) (GHEP II.15).

²⁴⁰ The ocean is “very large and exceedingly dangerous” (*mare magnum et valde periculosum*) (GHEP II.50); it is “of immense breadth, terrible and dangerous” (GHEP IV.10, 34). It “encircles the earth in boundless expanses.” The text also tries to locate its limits, whether as “behind the island of Iceland and Greenland ends the ocean called dark” (GHEP IV.10), or “beyond Vinland lay the darksome bounds of the limiting world”, and “no habitable land is found in that ocean, but every place beyond is full of impenetrable ice and intense darkness” (GHEP IV.38).

give the sea another name, namely the Barbarian Sea (*mare barbarum*).²⁴¹ In the same passage the sea is named also restless, and the stormy sea is made even more dangerous sudden and unexpected piratical raids of the barbarians.²⁴² Hence the sea provides a threatening landscape for the missionaries and the warriors, referring to the unknown and dangerous. Due to its symbolic value, especially crossing the sea becomes later on an important part of the image of the missionary landscape (see Chapter III). Adam yet has also used a similar allegory to describe the work he has undertaken himself, claiming, “Hence, even if I have foolhardily and boldly embarked upon this sea, I shall by no means appear to be acting imprudently now if I hastily put to shore. On coming to this shore I hardly discern a haven for my inexperience.”²⁴³

The great rivers of Saxony and Slavia, the Elbe, Saale, Weser and Ems Rivers provide other eminent landmarks.²⁴⁴ Among those Elbe is the largest and also most significant, posing a link to the ancient tradition as it is “reported even by the Roman authorities.”²⁴⁵ Yet it also “divides the pagans from Saxony”,²⁴⁶ and hence it is also the river that the missionaries and warriors have to cross. Henceforth, going behind the Elbe River, similarly to going beyond the sea shall come to signify going to a mission and to a war.

The lands of the Slavs, starting behind the Elbe, are signified as vast, inaccessible and impenetrable due to the thick marshes and woods. Slavia is “ten times larger than our Saxony” and, while Adam gives the description of its boundaries in the west (the river Elbe) and in the north (the Baltic Sea), in the east it “spreads into boundless expenses.”²⁴⁷ Before the conquest the region is depicted to be fertile, yet closed out from us, “very rich in arms, men and corps, it is shut on all sides by fast barriers of wooded mountains and rivers.”²⁴⁸ Even though Germany as a whole is said to be “frightful for its densely wooded highlands”,

²⁴¹ GHEP I.62. The notion of the Barbarian Sea occurs later also in GHEP II.5, IV.1, 4, 20, IV.10. The image relies firstly on the authority of Einhard, as Adam claims that “it is a gulf that stretches from the Western Sea towards the east, of unknown length (*longitudinis quidem incertae*)” and that “many nations live along the shores of this sea (*multae circumsident nationes*)” (GHEP II.16: *Vita Karoli* xii).

²⁴² Those raids start with the assaults of the Normans, yet the threat the pirates pose is emphasised throughout the chronicle, especially in the fourth book, see GHEP IV.3,4,18. Throughout the text Adam tends to define the many barbarians who “lie spread around this sea” (*hoc mare diffusi habitant*) also as pirates, see GHEP I.62.

²⁴³ “So beset is everything with the crags of envy and the reefs of detraction that what one says in praise may be carped at as if it had been spoken in flattery, while what one says in criticism of shortcomings may be put down as having been inspired by ill will.” (GHEP III.1)

²⁴⁴ The “principal rivers of Saxony” (*nobilissimi Saxoniae fluvii*) are already among the first things described in the first passages of the chronicle (GHEP I.2).

²⁴⁵ */-/ etiam Romanorum testimonio predicatur/-/* (GHEP I.2: ref. Lucan Civil War ii.51-2)

²⁴⁶ *paganos dirimit a Saxoniam* (GHEP II.19). See also: *Slavos dirimit a Saxonibus* (GHEP I.2); *paganos dirimit a Saxoniam* (GHEP II.19).

²⁴⁷ *porrigitur in orientem, infinitis aucta spatiis* (GHEP II.18).

²⁴⁸ *Haec autem regio cum sit armis, viris et frugibus opulentissima, firmis undique saltuum vel terminis fluminum clauditur.* (GHEP II.18)

then mainly the text ascribes them to the others, naming them “the densely wooded highlands of the pagans.”²⁴⁹

Sweden and Norway are likewise shut off from the world, as “beyond the Danes there opens up another world.” As those lands are “shut in by the exceedingly high mountains” makes “the two most extensive kingdoms of the north /--/ until now nearly unknown to our parts.”²⁵⁰ Yet differently from Saxony and Slavia the Northern parts of Norway and Sweden are also described as sterile, uncultivated and in some places even inhabitable.²⁵¹ As regards Denmark, then also Jutland is characterised as “a salt land and a vast wilderness”, the soil there being very sterile (*sterilis*), “everything there looks like a desert.”²⁵² There the image however is immediately contrasted to the coastal part of Jutland, a region made into a colony during the reign of Otto I the Great, where the land cultivated and it finds “very large cities.” Afterwards among the Northern countries fertility is ascribed mainly to the already Christian lands.²⁵³

Hence, behind the woods and the rivers opens up another landscape, dangerous also due to its barbarous inhabitants. During the course of the mission, the image becomes mainly bound to the general threat of the posed by the nameless barbarian tribes. Whereas “some men have passed by an overland route from Sweden into Greece”, the “barbarous peoples (*barbarae gentes*) who live between make this way difficult; consequently, the risk (*periculum*) is taken by ship.”²⁵⁴ As also the stormy and piratical sea poses a threat, it makes “one doubt whether perils by land are more easily avoided than perils by sea, and whether to prefer the former to the latter.”²⁵⁵

One of the most dominant features of the landscape of the pagans is its idolatry. The pagan religions are described as above all related to the cult of sanctuaries, sacred forests and

²⁴⁹ For Germania see GHEP IV.1: ref. Martian Capella *De Geometrica* vi.633; and for the Slav territories the same passage, referring here to the Eastern- and North-Eastern Holstein inhabited by the Danes and the Slavs. For the inaccessible swamps of Slavs see GHEP IV.18.

²⁵⁰ GHEP IV.21. The great forests of the Northern part of Norway are described also in GHEP IV.31.

²⁵¹ In the east Sweden touches “an immense wasteland, the deepest snows and where hords of human monsters prevent access of what lies beyond” (*deserta ingentia, nives altissimae, ubi monstrosi hominum greges ultra prohibent accessum*) (GHEP IV.25). Norway is depicted as unfruitful (*penuria*) and being “the most unproductive of all countries” (GHEP IV.30). Likewise “no crops are grown on Iceland” (GHEP IV.35).

²⁵² *fere desertum videntur; terra salsuginis et vastae solitudinis* (GHEP IV.1: ref. Dt 31: 10). “The land is avoided because of the scarcity of crops, and the sea because infested by pirates. Hardly a cultivated place is to be found anywhere, scarcely a place fit for human habitation.” (*Ibid.*) Jutland is named a desert also in GHEP IV.5.

²⁵³ Those include Helgoland (GHEP IV.1), the islands neighbouring Odense (GHEP IV.4), Sjöland (GHEP IV.5); Skåne (GHEP IV.7), the islands of the Danes in general (GHEP IV.16), and Vinland (GHEP IV.38).

²⁵⁴ GHEP IV.15.

²⁵⁵ GHEP IV.7. Here Adam discusses the road from Skåne into Götaland, made difficult by “the densley wooded highlands and very rugged mountains.”

idols, and hence also the landscape is depicted as closely bound to heathenism. The text locates great pagan temples both to Slavia and Sweden, as shown above. The Retharii, who are “centrally located and the mightiest (*medii et potentissimi*)” of all Slavic people, have a city called Rethra, “a seat of idolatry (*sedes ydolatriae*)” with “a great temple dedicated to the demons.”²⁵⁶ Likewise the chronicle describes the temple in Uppsala “the most eminent in the cult of their gods [i.e. of the gods of the Swedes].”²⁵⁷ Hence here Adam ascribes the great temples to the peoples resisting the mission of his see the longest, a pattern followed by the later chroniclers.

To the idolatrous and diabolic image of the lands contribute also the many magicians and monsters that the chronicle says to live in the farer lands. They are to mark the borders of Christianity, and here Adam states that around the sea live “very many other kinds of monsters whom mariners say they have often seen.”²⁵⁸ The chronicler has listed the Amazons, Cynocephali, Alani and Anthropophagi as living round about the shore of the Baltic Sea.²⁵⁹ As discussed above, they have a similar function, as besides linking the geographical description to the textual authorities of the Roman past, they also link it to the pagan past, and mark the borders of the Christian world.

Altogether the dangerous and stormy sea, the inaccessible forests and mountains with the pirates, barbarians, and monsters give a dangerous, and a diabolic horizon to the missionaries, merchants, seagoers and warriors.

On some occasions the chronicle yet mentions also the riches of the barbarian lands, as describing the pagan temples made of gold, and also the great city of Jumne (Vineta), “a most noble city, affords a very widely known trading centre for the barbarians and Greeks

²⁵⁶ *Templum ibi magnum constructum est demonibus* /--/. (GHEP II.18) Here Adam also describes the taboo of entering the sanctuary, as over the bridge “approach is allowed only to those who would make sacrifices or seek oracular (*Ibid.*).

²⁵⁷ GHEP I.62, see also GHEP IV.26-9.

²⁵⁸ /--/ *alia monstra plurima, quae recitantur a navigantibus sepe inspecta* /--/ (GHEP IV.19); here all of them, however are not held true, as “our people find it hardly credible (*hoc nostris vix credibile putetur*).” North of Sweden live “hordes of human monsters preventing the access to what lies beyond” (GHEP IV.25: ref. Solinus *Collect.* xxx.ix). Also the Amazones living round about the sea are conceived “by various monsters, which are not rare there.” (*Ibid.*) To the image contribute the various strange animals living in Norway, like “black fox and hares, white martens and bears of the same color who live under water” (GHEP IV.31), or the unusually huge dogs of the Alani (GHEP IV.19: ref. Solinus xi.xxxvi, xxx.ix, xii), and of the Cyclopes (GHEP IV.40: ref. Martian Capella *De nuptiis* vi.702, Solinus *Collect.* lvi.xvii).

²⁵⁹ GHEP IV.19. In the case of the Amazones the text refers to Jodanes (*Getica* vii-ix), Martianu Capella (*De nuptiis* vi.665, ix.925), Solinus (*Collect.* xvii.iii, x.i), Orosius (*Hist. adv. Paganos* I.v), Cynocephali are described by Martian Capella (*De nuptiis* vi.674) and Solinus (*Collect.* xxvii.lviii-lix, xxx.iv), Alani also by Solinus (*Collect.* xv.v, viii, ix), and Anthropopagi by Isidore of Seville (*Etymologies* ix.2) and Juvenal (*Satires* xv.xiii) (Tschan 1935: 200-1, notes 59-64).

who live round about.”²⁶⁰ This image, however is connected to the friendliness its inhabitants are described to have towards the “alien Saxons who also have the right to reside there on equal terms with other, provided only that while they sojourn there they do not openly profess Christianity.”²⁶¹ The riches of the Danes can yet also be described as the gold of the pirates, contributing also to the general negative image of already Christian Denmark.²⁶²

II.2 HELMOLD of BOSAU, *Chronica Slavorum*

Adam’s chronicle has largely influenced Helmold’s description of the earlier phase of the Christian expansion (HCS 1-24), and also his narrative starts with the conversion of the Saxons. However, devoting only its third chapter to the course of events, the account given is quite short and does not include a longer description of the heathen Saxons. Differently from Adam, the focus of the text is not in Bremen, but in the frontier areas near the Slavs, and covers the work of the missionaries and priests of those areas. This is the area of the bishopric of Oldenburg, a suffragan of Hamburg-Bremen, and these are the bishops of Oldenburg whom Helmold now calls “our bishops” (*noster episcopus*). The centres of the narrative are in two Christian outposts on the frontier, in Faldera and later in Helmold’s own parish in Bosau. Even though the text presents a wider awareness of us as the Germans (*Teutonicos*) and of the German empire as fatherland, Helmold more often names the Saxons, as “our land and our people.”²⁶³ The latter notion becomes especially dominant during the reign of Henry the Lion, the Duke of Saxony (1139-95), who is accordingly called “our duke.”²⁶⁴

²⁶⁰ *nobilissima civitas Iumne celeberrimam praestat stacionem barbaris et Graecis* (GHEP II.19). The city is assured to be “truly the largest of all cities in Europe (*maxima omnium quas Europa civitatum*),” “rich in the wares of all the northern nations, that city lacks nothing that is either pleasing or rare” (*Urbs illa mercibus omnium septentrionalium nationum locuples, nichil non habet iocundi aut rari*). The location of that great city, however has remained uncertain.

²⁶¹ GHEP II.19.

²⁶² As “there is very much gold in Zealand, accumulated by the plundering of the pirates” who pay tribute to the Danish king (GHEP IV.6). Adam describes also the “countless number of vessels of gold and of metals of a kind considered rare and precious by mortals” of the Cyclops (GHEP IV.40: ref. Martian Capella *De Nuptiis* vi.702, Solinus *Collect.* lvi.xvii), and here the plundering by the Frisians is depicted not as piracy but in accordance with the Roman pattern of heroes gaining treasure from the monsters.

²⁶³ For the notion of Germans as *compatriotae* see HCS 98, and Germany as *patria* see HCS 101. This is closely linked to the empire already from the time of the Ottonians, as the Germans are for Otto the Great “his people” (HCS 9). For the image of Saxony as “our land” see HCS 19, 86, 92; and for the Saxons as “us” see HCS 93.

²⁶⁴ HCS 87, 89.

PERSONAE

The text deals mainly with three peoples, the Saxons, Danes and Slavs, hence the conquerors and the ones being conquered. The chronicle starts with the describing the lands of the Slavs, as well as the nature and customs of its inhabitants in its first two chapters. Here Helmold lists many different tribes, however, throughout the text the names *Slavia* and *Slavones* signify the peoples and the lands as a whole; and the end of the chronicle is also to mark the conquest and conversion of them all.²⁶⁵

Their image is firstly and dominantly bound to their idolatry, which is to define them as a whole when in the beginning the chronicler states “of all the peoples of the northern nations, the country of the Slavs alone has remained more obdurate and slower in belief than the rest.”²⁶⁶ The text does not focus so much on the idolatry in itself but the paganism is primarily defined as the lack of true faith. It is an error (*error*) that needs to be cured.²⁶⁷ The Slavs are without God (*sine Deo*), and hence depicted as excluded them from the Christian world, as the door of faith is closed to them.²⁶⁸ That the idolatry functions as primarily as an opposite to the faith, is reflected already in the beginning of the text, where Helmold states that he is describing “how great a web of error they were entangled before their conversion, so that from the seriousness of their plight the efficacy of the divine cure may the more easily be discerned.”²⁶⁹ Idolatry means also turning away from the right path, while the mission is

²⁶⁵ See HCS 108-110. The issue of the divisions between different Slavic tribes being more than complex, the archaeologists have come to question not only the notion of homogenous peoples, but that of tribes, and suggested to treat the categorisation of Slavic tribes as above all a construction, pointing out to the heterogenous archaeological evidence (Brather 2004).

²⁶⁶ *Inter omnes autem borealium gentes populos sola Slavorum provincia remansit ceteris durior atque ad credendum tardior.* (HCS 6). Similar claim is made at the end of the chronicle about the Rugiani, who were among the last tribes to be conquered (*De omni enim natione Slavorum, /--/, sola Rugianorum gens durior ceteris in tenebris infidelitatis usque ad nostra tempora perduravit, omnibus inaccessibilis propter maris circumstantia.*) (HCS 108). The different positions of Christians and non-Christians in the practicalities of warfare are illustrated well when Bishop of Oldenburg states to the Slav Prince Pribislav “That our princes have used your people ill is not to be wondered at, as they do not think that they do much wrong to those who are worshippers of idols and to those who are without god (*in ydolatriis et in his qui sunt sine Deo*). /--/ Indeed, as you alone differ from the religion of all, so you are subject to the plundering of all.” (HCS 84)

²⁶⁷ HCS 6, 14, 52. The notion is mainly connected to converting them from error, see: *populum converterent ab errore ydolatrie* (HCS 17); *ydolum cultura errorque suersticionum* (HCS 52). Also this applied to the Rugiani in separate, as king Valdemar directed them “to renounce the errors in which they had been born” (*discederent ab erroribus suis, in quibus nati fuerant*) (HCS 108).

²⁶⁸ For the notion of Slavs being *sine Deo* see HCS 84. Likewise the missionaries prayed God “to open the door of faith as soon as possible (*ostium fidei quantocius aperiri*)” to the Slavs (HCS 47: ref. Ap 14:26).

²⁶⁹ /--/ *ut per quantitatem morbi facilius agnoscatu efficacia divini remedii /--/* (HCS 1). The notion of idolatry as a plight functions also as an explanation for the meagre success of the mission, as “but a few of the Slavs joined the faith because their sickness was very sore (*eo quod languor fortissimos esset*)” (HCS 69: ref. I Reg 17: 17). The Rugiani are once more depicted separately as very dedicated to their idolatry (*ydolatriae supra modum dediti*) (HCS 36).

pictured as “establishing the house of God in the middle of a crooked and perverse nation.”²⁷⁰ This is closely linked to the allegory of the faith as “straight a highway.”²⁷¹ Likewise the idolatry is the lack of knowledge, characterised also as the darkness and ignorance opposed to the knowledge of faith.²⁷² All longer descriptions of the Slavic idolatry are yet closely linked to the course of mission, given after the Slavic revolt and in the context of missionary trips to Slavia.²⁷³

The heathen religion is described as a polytheistic one, and closely linked to the nature. This signifies the differences from monotheistic Christianity, where one God is worshipped in sanctuaries; and cult of natural objects refers also to primitivism of the religion. Hence the conversion is firstly depicted as converting from the cult of many gods into the cult of the one God and abandoning the worship of the objects of nature.²⁷⁴ Here Helmold names “the household gods and the idols with which each village abounded.”²⁷⁵ Here he attributes greater authority to Prove, whose sanctuary the missionaries destroyed, naming him “the god of Oldenburg”; and also to Svantevit, the god of the Rugiani, as well as to their sanctuaries.²⁷⁶ The chronicle also underlines the taboo of entering the heathen sacred

²⁷⁰ *fundaretur cultus domus Dei nostri “in natione prava atque perversa”* (HCS 23, 29, 19: ref. Phil 2: 15), and here again the conquest of Rügen is seen as the final fulfillment of that goal (HCS 108).

²⁷¹ When Vicelin started his mission, “he was given for the Salvation of people, to make straight a highway for our God in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation (*directas facere semitas Dei nostri in natione prava et perversa*)” (HCS 41).

²⁷² Among the Slavic, Danish and Northman people “so deep was the darkness of their errors and so obstinate their rank of idolatry that it could be neither promptly nor easily overcome (*tanta enim fuit opacitas errorum et difficultas silvescentis ydolatriae, ut nec subito nec facile potuisset evinci*)” (HCS 4). Here the Rugiani stand out as well, as “of the whole nation (*natione*) of the Slavs /--/ the Rugiani folk alone endured even to our own times more obdurately than the rest in the darkness of infidelity (*sola Rugianorum gens durior ceteris in tenebris infidelitatis usque ad nostra tempora perduravit*)” (HCS 108). See also HCS 47, 69, 73. Likewise the conversion is characterised as “becoming informed about the worship of the true God” (HCS 108).

²⁷³ See HCS 52 and 84.

²⁷⁴ The missionaries call the Slavs “to give up their idols and worship the one God” (*ut relictis ydolis colerent unum Deum*) (HCS 84). Helmold goes to describe “the multiform divinities of the Slavs”, among whom there are the good and bad gods (*deo, boni scilicet atque mali*), and here he gives also the name of the bad god, “in their language they call the bad god (*malum deum*) Diabol, or Zcerneboth, that is, the black god” (HCS 52). He also describes the custom “to swear by trees, springs and stones”, as after the conversion the custom is forbidden among them (HCS 84).

²⁷⁵ /--/ *lucos atque penates, quibus agri et opida redundabant* /--/ (HCS 52, 84). Among the many gods there is yet a hierarchy, as “the Slavs do not deny that among the multiform godheads (*inter multiforma vero deorum numina*) whom they attribute plains and woods, sorrows and joys, one god in the heavens is ruling over the others. They hold that he, the all powerful one, looks only after heavenly matters; that the others, discharging the duties assigned to them in obedience to him, proceeded from his blood; and that one excels another in the measure that he is nearer to this god of gods (*deo deorum*)” (HCS 84).

²⁷⁶ The gods are firstly named together with Siva, the god of the Polabi, as the first and foremost (*primi et precupi*) deities in HCS 52. Later Helmold calls the sanctuary of Prove “the sanctuary of the whole land” (*sanctimonium universae terrae*) (HCS 84).

places, as it is to emphasise later the danger the missionaries posed themselves into both by entering and destroying them.²⁷⁷

Especially the authority of Svantevit is emphasised here, as among the multiform divinities of the Slavs he “stands out as the most distinguished.”²⁷⁸ The supremacy of the Rugiani is here closely bound to their god, as “so much are the Rugiani feared on account of their familiarity with gods, or rather demons, whom they honour with a greater devotion than the other Slavs, that nothing can be lawfully be done in public matters without their sanction.”²⁷⁹ The authority of Svantevit is based on his help in war and efficiency in oracular responses.²⁸⁰ This Helmold binds closely to his shrine in Arkona, to where “are sent fixed sums from all the provinces of the Slavs toward defraying the cost of sacrifices.”²⁸¹ The cult is described as heresy, and hence more condemnable than original paganism, “an error worse than the first”; since the god Svantevit the Rugiani honour St. Vitius of Corvey, to whose honour the province was dedicated.²⁸² The cult of Svantevit is described in detail also by Saxo Grammaticus in his *Gesta Danorum* (14.39); and even though many researches have tried to connect the descriptions given by him and Helmold to the Slavic or Scandinavian mythology, it is likely a local phenomenon, or even more so a combination made by chroniclers themselves to fit the campaign made against them with crusading ideology. (See Lind et al 2004: 82-8; and Chapter III). Recently this has resulted in many discussions on whether the Slavs and even more so the Rugiani should be considered heathens or Christians.²⁸³

²⁷⁷ HCS 2: ref. GHEP II.20-1; see also HCS 21, 23, 52, 84, 108.

²⁷⁸ *Inter multiformia autem Slavorum numina prepolleret Zuantevith, deus terrae Rugianorum, utpote efficacior in responsis, cuius intuitu ceteros quasi semideos estimabant.* (HCS 52)

²⁷⁹ */--/ extra qorum sententiam nichil agi de publicis rebus fas est, adeo metuuntur propter familiaritatem doerum vel pocius demonum, quos maiori pre ceteris cultura venerantur /--/* (HCS 2: ref. GHEP IV.18). See also: *primatum preferentes in omni Slavorum natione, habentes regem et fanum celeberrimum* (HCS 36). On the other hand, Helmold yet also gives another reason for the supremacy of the Rugiani, connecting it to the more centralised power, as he notes that the Rugiani are “the strongest of the Slavic peoples (*gens fortissima Slavorum*) and the only one having a king” (HCS 2: ref. GHEP IV.18).

²⁸⁰ “So strong did this superstition (*haec superstitio*) become among the Rugiani, that Svantevit, the god of the land of the Rugiani, secured a primacy among all the divinities of the Slavs (*omnia numina Slavorum primatus obtinuerit*), as being most illustrious in victories, most efficacious in oracular responses” (HCS 108).

²⁸¹ *Quin et de omnibus Slavorum provinciis statutas sacrificiorum impensas illo transmittabant.* (HCS.52). See also: “not only the land of Wagria, but all the provinces of the Slavs, even to our own age sent tribute to thither every year in acknowledgement of his being the god of the gods” (*Unde etiam nostra adhuc etate non solum Wagirensis terra, sed et omnes Slavorum provinciae illuc tributa annuatim transmittabant, illum deum deorum esse profitentes.*) (HCS.108).

²⁸² *error peior priore* (HCS 108: ref. Mt 27: 64). Their devotion to the heresy is emphasised several times, as “the hatred of the Christian and the tinned of superstition abides more fiercely among the Rani than the other Slavs (*odium Christiani nominis et supersticionum fomes plus omnibus Slavis apud Ranos invaluerit*)” (HCS 108).

²⁸³ See Lind et al. 2004: 58-60, Janson 2003, Janson 2005.

The religion itself is described through the rituals and customs, and here the central rituals are sacrifice and the casting of the lots.²⁸⁴ The custom to sacrifice humans is to underline not only the difference from Christianity, but also the threat it poses to the Christians and especially missionaries. This habit is again emphasised in the case of the Rugiani, yet all the greater gods of the Slavs are said to be very pleased with the blood of the Christians.²⁸⁵ This refers also to the blood of the martyrs, and functions also to make a clear distinction between the Christian and heathen priests.²⁸⁶

The heathen priests also carry through the ritual of the casting of the lots, which is described as the central ritual of their religion. Depicted as central in their decision-making, especially as regards warfare, it grants authority not only to the gods and temples, but also to their priests.²⁸⁷ Among the Rugiani “the reverence they have to their flamen is greater than they have to their king.”²⁸⁸ The reason is that even though the priest “depends of the command of the lots, but the king and the people demand on his command.”²⁸⁹ Also in this respect the image of heathen priests is that of a threatening enemy.

²⁸⁴ The Slavs have “a variety of idolatrous cults and superstitious aberrations”, and to their greater gods are “dedicated priests, sacrificial libations, and a variety of religious rites (*flamines et sacrificiorum libamenta multiplexque religionis cultus*)” (HCS 52) The chronicler emphasises the variety of different rites, as the Slavs “have many forms of idol worship (*multiplex ydolatriae modus*), for they have not all agreed upon the same superstitious customs (*supersticionis consuetudinem*)” (HCS 84). In honor of the greater gods “the men, women and children come together and offer to their deities sacrifices of oxen and sheep (*mactantque diis suis hostias*)” honor (HCS.52); and the text describes the sacrificial rites in Arkona (HCS.36), and in the sanctuary of Prove, to which “a flamen and feast days and a variety of sacrificial rites has been appointed (*sacrificiorum varii ritus*)” (HCS 84).

²⁸⁵ Even though to all the greater gods are offered the sacrifices of Christians “with whose blood they say their gods are delighted” (HCS 52); the custom “every year to select by a lot a Christian whom they sacrifice in his especial honor” is underlined as regards the cult of Svantevit, as in Rügen “the priest was accustomed at times to sacrifice a Christian, declaring that the gods were wholly pleased with the blood of such” (HCS 108). See also HCS 52.

²⁸⁶ The priests are described as the ones organising the sacrifices of the Christians; and to them Helmold also attributes the habit to drink the blood of the victims “in order to render himself more potent in the receiving of oracular devices.” (HCS 52) Later Helmold describes “a barbarian priest” of the Rugiani, who wants to sacrifice a Christian priest, announcing that “the gods are very much angered and that there was no other way of placating them than by the blood of the priest who had presumed a strange sacrifice among them” (HCS 108).

²⁸⁷ Helmold quotes Adam in his description of the casting of the lots in the temple of Rethra (HCS2, 21: ref. GHEP II.20-1). The Rugiani are said to “send their army to whatever place the lots direct.” (HCS36); and also their god Svantevit stands out from the other divinities due to being “much more effective in oracular responses” (HCS 52).

²⁸⁸ /-/ *maior flaminis quam regis veneratio apud ipsos est* /-/ (HCS 36); among them “the king is held in slight esteem in comparison with the flamen” (*Rex apud eos modicae estimacionis est comparacione flaminis.*) (HCS 108). In his description of the sanctuary of Prove, the name of the priest (Mike) is named immediately after the name of the god (HCS 69); and here the priests also lead the court that is held in the sanctuary, and only they are said to have had permanent access to the sanctuaries (HCS 84).

²⁸⁹ *Ille enim responsa perquirat et eventus sortium explorat. Ille ad nutum sortium, porro rex et populus ad illius nutum pendent.* (HCS 108)

Ferocity and Cruelty of the Slavs: *ferocitas gentium*

The dominant features characterising the heathen Slavs are the ferocity (*ferocitas*) and cruelty (*crudelitas*), and here continues pattern used already by Adam. The features are applied to all heathen peoples, as Helmold quotes Adam on the ferocity of the Saxons, Danes and Swedes.²⁹⁰ Among the Slavs the Rugiani stand out again, characterised as a “folk, rude and savage with bestial madness”, who is to be finally converted from “their natural wildness.”²⁹¹

Cruelty signifies firstly violence against the Christians and Christianity as the dominant feature of heathen warfare. Following Adam’s model, Helmold quotes his accounts of the assaults of the Vikings, Hungarians, Poles, and Bohemians.²⁹² Those are signified as an expression of the barbarian fury (*barbaricus furor*), applied both to the Danes and Slavs.²⁹³ Especially the descriptions of the Viking assaults, “the tempest of wars, which the turbulent Northmen brought upon the whole world”²⁹⁴ gave many patterns for describing the pagan warfare of later revolts and wars, and for emphasising the threat they pose to the Christian world. There the Vikings “without warning burst upon the peaceful and unsuspecting people” and ravage the Christian lands.²⁹⁵ Especially the cruelty of the Danes stands out here, connected mainly to the Viking assaults and applied later to Sven Gabelbart on his expulsion of Harald Bluetooth.²⁹⁶

Later the same images are used to describe the Slavs, as “there has been inborn in the Slavic race a cruelty that knows no satiety, a restlessness that harries the countries lying about

²⁹⁰ /--/ *gentem ferocissimam atque rebellem* /--/ (HCS 3).

²⁹¹ /--/ *gentem rudem et beluina rabie sevientem* /--/ *ab innata sibi feritate ad novae conversacionis religionem convertibat* (HCS 108).

²⁹² The Poles and Bohemians are “indeed, brave in conflict, but exceedingly cruel and hard-hearted in rapine in murder (*fortes quidem sunt in congressu, sed in rapinis et mortibus crudelissimi*); they save neither monasteries, nor churches, nor cemeteries” (HCS 1). Among the Danish and Swedish people arose many tyrants, “who visited their cruelty (*crudelitatem suam*) not only on their own Christian folk but also on foreign nations” (HCS 5).

²⁹³ Helmold mentions the *furor Danorum* in HCS 5, and the *Slavicus furor* in HCS 56, 67, 70, to the latter is applied also the barbarian fury (*barbaricus furor*) (HCS 66, 69).

²⁹⁴ HCS 7.

²⁹⁵ /--/ *improvisi super quietos et impavidos vastaverunt* /--/ (HCS 15). Here Helmold gives a story of the Saxons caught by the Vikings, and as one of them fled, then “enraged at his getting away the barbarians severed the hands of all the noble men whom they had in chains, cut off their noses, and threw them half dead on the shore.” (HCS 15)

²⁹⁶ The tyrants of the Danes (*tyrannos Danorum*) perpetrated “such carnage as exceeds the measure of belief” (*tantas strages dederunt, ut crudelitas modum excesserit*) (HCS 7); and their king Gorm is called the most cruellest worm (*crudelissimus vermis*) (HCS 8). During the revolt of Sven Gabelbart “all the wicked ones in the countries of the north stood up together, rejoicing that now the way was open to their malice – namely, for wars and disturbances – and they began to harass the neighbouring countries by land and sea.” (*Consuerrexeruntque omnes “iniqui in finibus” aquilonis gaudentes vel tunc patere locum maliciae suae, bellis scilicet et perturbationibus, ceperuntque finitima regna vexare terra marique.*) (HCS 15; ref. I Mcc 9: 23). Sven himself is said to have given “free reign to his passionate cruelty by carrying on the most grievous persecution of the Christians (*in sua crudelitate sevire cepit, gravissimam in Christianos persecucionem exercens*)” (HCS 15).

them by land and sea.”²⁹⁷ Now their warlikeness is compared to that of the Danes, as “they think nothing of the attacks of the Danes; in fact, they esteem it play to measure the arms with them.”²⁹⁸ Also their cruelty signifies above all the persecution of Christians, as “it is hard to tell how many kinds of death they have inflicted on the followers of Christ.”²⁹⁹ Their cruelty is however depicted as present in their own society as well, as the Slavs torture also their own criminals.³⁰⁰

The cruelty and ferocity of the rulers also serve to give an explanation for the slow course of the mission in Denmark and Sweden, a claim made already by Adam.³⁰¹ Among the Slavs yet their own obstinacy (*duricia*) functions as a reason why “most worthy bishops and preachers of the Gospel, Ansgar, Rimbert, and the sixth in the succession, Unni, whose great zeal for the conversion of the heathen is manifest /--/ neither they nor their ministers had achieved any success among them [i.e. the Slavs].”³⁰²

Like the Vikings before, the Slavs are depicted as the pirates (*piratae*), which is one of the dominant features in their image. The piracy is bound to their idolatry, as the Slavs are “given to idolatry, always restless and moving about.”³⁰³ Like in the Vikings, also the Slavic

²⁹⁷ *Fuit preterea Slavorum genti crudelitas ingenita saturari nescia, impaciens otii, vexans regionum adiacentia terra marique.* (HCS 52). Again, the Rugiani in separate are said to be “a fierce people” (*populus crudelis*); yet the latter is accompanied also by “their passion for dominion” (*dominacionis libidine*) (HCS 36). When bishop of Oldenburg later calls the Slavs to accept Christianity, he tells them not only to renounce their idols, but also “their evil works; namely, the plundering and killing of Christians” (*operibus malignis, predis scilicet et interfectionibus Christianorum*) (HCS 84).

²⁹⁸ HCS 109. The latter are yet immediately compared to Henry the Lion, as the Slavs “fear only the duke who has worn down the strenght of the Slavs more than all the dukes that were before him, much more than the one that was called Otto” (*Ibid.*).

²⁹⁹ *Quanta enim mortium genera Christicolis intulerint, relatu difficile est, cum his quidem viscera extorserint palo circumducentes, hos cruci affixerint, irridentes signum redemptionis nostrae.* (HCS 52). Helmold lists here various kinds of tortures, like torning out the bowels and wounding the Christians about a stake. Coming to Prove’s sanctuary the missionaries saw “the shackles and the diverse kinds of instruments of torture they were wont to use on the Christians brought there from Denmark”, and also “the priests of the Lord, emaciated by their long detention in captivity” (HCS 84).

³⁰⁰ The Slavs are said to crucify their criminals (HCS 52), and mentioned to crucify a Dane also later, as now the Duke Henry the Lion “banned this kind of punishment from the land” (HCS 84). Likewise they are claimed to take captives for ransom and afflicting the latter “with such tortures and fetter so tightly that the one who does not know their ways would hardly believe” (HCS 52).

³⁰¹ The Swedes and the Goths had “entirely forgotten the Christian religion because of the manifold perils (*pericula*) of the times and te bloody ferocity (*feritatem*) of their kings” (HCS 8).

³⁰² /--/ *dignissimi presules et ewangelici predicatores, Anscarius, Reimbertus et sextus in ordine Unni, quorum in conversione gentium ingens claruit studium, Slavorum curam tantopere dissimulaverint, ut nec per se nec per ministros aliquem in eis fructum fecisse legantur.* (HCS 6) The reason for this is “the invincible obstinacy (*invincibilis duricia*) of the people” (*Ibid.*); as the Slavs are also defined as “stiff-necked and unbelieving people” (HCS 2).

³⁰³ *ydolatriae cultui deditum, vagum semper et mobile, piraticas exercentes predas* (HCS 2). Later the prince of the Slavs in Oldenburg is depicted “very dedicated to idolatry and piracy” (*ydolatra et pirata maximus dedita*) (HCS 69).

pirates attack the unwary and threaten all the lands lying around them by land and sea.³⁰⁴ The piracy also defines the Slavic society as uncivilised, as “predatory habits have until this present age been so strong among them that they have always turned their hands to the fitting out of naval expeditions to the utter neglect of the advantages of agriculture.”³⁰⁵ There the Slavs are described as Nomad-like, the latter being one of the principal signs of Otherness (Greenblatt 2003: 122-6), as they do “not even take pains in the construction of their houses; nay, rather they make them of plaited withes, only taking counsel of necessity against storms and rains.”³⁰⁶ Next to the piracy also the habit of perpetrating robberies and thefts is a characteristic feature of their society.³⁰⁷ This functions also as an opposition for the later colonial society, as then “the road was safe for those who passed between Denmark and Slavia; women and little children walked over it because hindrances were removed from and robbers disappeared from the road.”³⁰⁸

The thieving and robbery are also to downplay their hospitality, the major virtue Helmold applies to the Slavs. The latter characteristic is however closely bound to certain situations. Firstly Helmold quotes Adam to describe the hospitality of the Prussians and the Slavs living in Jumne.³⁰⁹ Henceforth he claims on his own experience, as after his visit to the house of prince Pribislav “I learned from experience what before I knew by report”, that “no people is more distinguished in its regard towards hospitality than the Slavs” and gives a long description of their “whole-hearted generosity.”³¹⁰ However, “the longing for this display

³⁰⁴ The Vikings threatened Christian lands from the land and sea (*terra marique*) (HCS 5, 7, 15), and so do the Slavs (HCS 1, 52). They are said to be “exceedingly skilled in making clandestine attacks.” Especially the sea around the Danish islands “cannot be easily guarded from the wiles of the pirates” due to the recesses there that afford the Slavs excellent hiding-places; thence they sally unnoticed to attack the unwary from ambush. (HCS 109)

³⁰⁵ HCS.109. Hence “the ships are their only hope and the sum total of their wealth” (*Ibid.*).

³⁰⁶ HCS 109. On the classical image of Nomadism as the ultimate Otherness see Hartog 2001. Here the Nomadism classically functions also as a strategy, making the Slavs also a more dangerous enemy, since “nothing but their huts, the loss of which they regard as very slight, is exposed to the plundering of the enemy” (*Ibid.*).

³⁰⁷ The Slavs are “impelled to theft and robbery” (HCS 83). This is depicted to afflict even their neighbours, as the Sturmanians, Holzatians and Ditmarshians, all Saxons, are “on the account of being in the neighbourhood of barbarians in the habit of perpetrating thefts and robberies” (HCS 47).

³⁰⁸ *Et pacata est via transeuntibus a Dania in Slaviam (et e converso), et ambulaverunt mulieres et parvuli per eam, eo quod submota sind offendicula, et defecerint predones in via.* (HCS 110) When now the Slavic robbers yet “disquieted the Germans” (*quia Slavorum latrones inquietabant Teutonicos*) the prefect ordered to catch and put to death by hanging any Slavs found roaming the byways for no evident reason; thus the Slavs were prevented from killing and robbery (HCS 110).

³⁰⁹ The Prussians, though heathens, are endowed with “many natural gifts” (*multis naturalibus bonis*), they are “most humane (*humanissimi*) toward those in need, they even go out to meet and to help those who are in danger on the sea or are attacked by the pirates” (HCS 1: ref. GHEP I.50). As regards the inhabitants of Jumne, “so far as morals and hospitality were concerned, a more honourable or kindlier folk could not be found” (*ceterum moribus et hospitiatate nulla gens honestior aut benignior potuit inveniri*) (HCS 2: ref. GHEP I.50).

³¹⁰ “Whatever they obtain by farming, fishing or hunting, they bestow with whole-hearted generosity, considering the one who is most liberal as the most manful.” (HCS 83) Also these characteristics are applied

impels many of them to theft and robbery” and here the virtue is closely bound to the vice, as “in any case these vices are venial with them; for they are covered by the cloak of hospitality.”³¹¹ These habits result also in having different laws, as “according to the laws of the Slavs, what you have stolen by night you must on the morrow divide with the guests” and “if anyone – and this is very rare – is caught denying a stranger hospitality, it is lawful to burn his house and property.”³¹² Differently from Adam, Helmold’s chronicle yet does not present any images of the barbarians as lacking pride or desire towards the worldly wealth.³¹³

LOCI

Helmold’s geographical descriptions rely heavily on Adam.³¹⁴ Even though Helmold depends on the information given by Adam and uses many of the images and *topoi* of the latter chronicler, he is however more accurate in locations and details. Writing one hundred years later, the space has changed noticeably, as the borders have changed, the frontier area has expanded, and the lands of the Danes, Swedes and Norwegians, yet also the territories of the Slavs have become more known to the Saxon world. The conversion of the Slavs that Helmold goes to narrate is seen as a reconversion and reconquest, and this influences also the way he is to describe their lands, as the latter are treated as once Christian lands now lost to the heathens.

The centre of the geographical description and the general focus of the text are near to the borders of the Slavs, lying in the frontier area where Helmold lived most of his life. He probably spent his boyhood in Segeberg, and as the latter was destroyed during the Slav revolt in 1138, he moved to live in Faldera and later in his parish in Bosau. Being a missionary he knew the neighbouring lands of the Slavs from his own experience and travels, and most of the events recollected in his narrative take place in those areas, either on the frontier or in the land of the Slavs (*terra Slavorum*). To the latter is devoted also the first chapter of the text. On the other hand the course of events is now also connected to the wider enlargement of

once more to the Rugiani, who are “distinguished by many natural gifts (*multis naturalibus bonis*)”; there “prevails among them an abundance of hospitality, and they show due honour to their parents” nor is there “a needy person or a beggar to be found anywhere in their midst at any time.” The elderly are cared “with the utmost kindness (*plena humanitate*).” Here Helmold goes to state once more, that among the Slavs “regard for hospitality and respect for parents are the prime virtues” (*Hospilitatis enim gratia et parentum cura primum apud Slavos virtutis locum optinent.*) (HCS 108)

³¹¹ HCS 83

³¹² HCS 83

³¹³ Besides quoting Adam’s chronicle on the Prussians, who hold the gold, silver and furs in very slight esteem (HCS 1: ref. GHEP I.50). Even though he mentions that the Linguones, who are “peaceful and suspicious of no disturbance”, they function here as the opposite to the warlikeness of Mistue, the son of Emperor Henry IV (HCS 83).

Christianity.³¹⁵ While the chronicle also describes the campaigns taking place in Italy, the text presents Rome as “the capital of the world and the mother of the empire.”³¹⁶

Landmarks: the North, Great Rivers, and Woods

On a larger scale, Helmold signifies all the heathen lands as the North, similarly to Adam. The image is firstly closely linked to Hamburg-Bremen as the metropolitan see of the whole North and used to describe the earlier missions to Denmark and Sweden.³¹⁷ Applying the imagery to Slavia, Helmold also speaks of the Slavs as “the northern nations” and “the northern heathens.”³¹⁸ Here the coldness of the north (*frigus aquilonis*) corresponds to the image of the darkness of the idolatry of the heathens, and likewise the latter is to be replaced by the light of the faith, the cold is to be replaced by the warmth.³¹⁹

The most important landmarks of the chronicle are the great rivers, especially Elbe and Oder, described already in the second chapter.³²⁰ The models for crossing the Elbe River has been set by the earlier missionaries, as Helmold claims that after the conversion of the Frisians, “from that time on the way was prepared across the Elbe for the missionaries.”³²¹ Likewise Henry the Lion “crossed the Elbe and reached the confines of the Slavs” with his army “to pay back the Slavs the evil what they had done.”³²² On the other hand, during the

³¹⁴ See Scior 2002: 128-222.

³¹⁵ The idea was enlivened in the crusading period, and here also Helmold describes the three armies signed by the cross during the Second Crusade, as “the initiators of the campaign deemed it advisable to design one part of the army for the eastern regions, another for Spain, and a third against the Slavs who live hard by us” (HCS 59).

³¹⁶ HCS 80-1; and here Rome is depicted as a place where everybody “assembles from the ends of the world in honour of the realm” (*Ibid.*).

³¹⁷ HCS.4, 6: ref. GHEP I.15-6. Helmold also gives the stories of the first missionaries, who “labored for God in the northern parts (*pro Deo in partibus aquilonis laboraverunt*)” (HCS 3) and “went out to announce the gospel of peace throughout the length and breadth of the north (*annuntiare ewangelium pacis in universam latitudinem aquilonis*)” (HCS 3: ref. GHEP I.12; Is 18: 2).

³¹⁸ The author names the Danes and Swedes (HCS 6, 9, 13, 15), as well as the Slavs (HCS 85, 110) the northern nations (*boreales* or *aquilonis* or *septentriones naciones resp. gentes*).

³¹⁹ By the end of the text, “the icy cold of the north gave way to the mildness of the south wind” (*mutatum est gelidum illud frigus aquilonis in lenes austri flatus*) (HCS 110). For the description of the Slav lands as north see HCS 3, 4, 6, 13, 15, 16, 83, 85.

³²⁰ The chronicler locates the Slavs as living between the Elbe and Oder Rivers (HCS 2, 16); the Pomeranians living between Oder and Poland (HCS 40), and the Slavs living between Havel and Elbe (HCS 89); and stating in a more general way that the Slavs live between the rivers (HCS 56, 57). Also the Schwale River divides the Saxons and Slavs (HCS 25).

³²¹ /-/- tunc igitur preparatum est iter predicatoribus verbi Dei trans Albiam /-/- (HCS 3). Throughout the chronicle he describes how the missionaries are crossing the Elbe River. See HCS 25, 38, 47, 53, 81, 83. Nora Berend has pointed to a similar usage of the Danube River as the symbolic border of Christianity in the rhetoric of King Bela IV of Hungary (1235-70), where Danube is defined as the last frontier of Christianity and paganism, even though in this case the river is situated in the middle of the kingdom whereas the frontier laid in the areas east from that river. (Berend 2003: 1011-2)

³²² HCS 100.

Slav revolt prince Pribislav has the colonists in Malchow and Cuscin “safely conducted to the banks of the Elbe.”³²³

The image of the Baltic Sea is somewhat less significant in Helmold’s chronicle. The beginning of the chronicle repeats Adam’s description of the Baltic Sea and the ocean. Here he repeats also the phrase of “many nations are seated about this sea”; yet however amplifies it to the Slavs is separate, adding, “there are many tribes of the Slavs living on the shore of the Baltic Sea.”³²⁴ Later the sea becomes more significant in the image of the Rugiani, who lived on Rügen Island and resisted the longest among the Slavic tribes, only to be conquered in 1168 by Danish King Valdemar I. They are depicted as “fierce people who dwell in the heart of the sea.” Due to their location, “they impose their yoke on many, they themselves are subject to no ones yoke, since they are hard to reach by reason of the nature of their situation.”³²⁵ The latter is also treated as the main reason for their heathenism, as “of the whole of the nation of the Slavs /--/ the Rugian folk alone endured even to our own times more obdurately than the rest in the darkness of their idolatry, being inaccessible to all on account of the surrounding sea.”³²⁶

The chronicle also goes to mention the dangers of the stormy seas, yet as an even greater threat is posed by the assaults of the pirates. Here Helmold emphasises especially the assaults of the Slavs make on the coast of Denmark.³²⁷ Like the previous Viking assaults, which harassed the neighbouring countries by land and by sea, also the Slavic pirates pose a similar threat, as their restlessness “harries the countries lying about them by land and sea”³²⁸; and they pose likewise a threat to their Christian neighbours. Similarly the cold and darkness, also the restlessness of the sea has a symbolic value, as “the harassment of the sea stopped and the tempestuous storms abated”, when the final chapter of the chronicle describes the completion of the conversion of the Slavs.³²⁹

In the mission to the Slavs, the image of the woods becomes more important. The latter is the dominating feature in the landscape of the Others, and similarly to the crossing of

³²³ HCS 99. Pribislav has stated before, that the Slavs are oppressed by the avarice of the dukes, having not “a place to which we could flee. On crossing the Trave, behold, like ruin is there; on coming to Peene river, it is not less there.” (HCS 84)

³²⁴ *Slavorum igitur populi multi sunt habitantes in litore Baltici maris.* (HCS 1).

³²⁵ HCS 36.

³²⁶ *De omni enim natione Slavorum, /--/, sola Rugianorum gens durior ceteris in tenebris infidelitatis usque ad nostra tempora perduravit, omnibus inaccessibilis propter maris circumstantia.* (HCS 108)

³²⁷ Demark is “for the most part dispersed over the islands around which the sea flows” and hence “the wiles of the pirates cannot easily be guarded against for the reason that the recesses there afford the Slavs excellent hiding places.” The Slavs “sally unnoticed to attack the unwary from the ambush”, as they are “exceedingly skilled in making clandestine attacks” (HCS 109).

³²⁸ HCS 52

the rivers also the entering into the woods marks going to the mission. The woods and marshes are difficult to penetrate, and the enemies are difficult to find there.³³⁰ Especially the woods were to replace the desert and wilderness in medieval imagination. Jacques le Goff has called the woods and forests “the threatening horizon of the medieval world” that started after the habited lands, towns and villages, and came to signify no man’s land, a place for dangers and demons.³³¹ This is yet one part of the image, as the same time they were yet also a place for an adventure, for hunting, for exploring and making profit out of them.

Helmold yet holds true to the negative image. As also the Slavic heathenism is described as a religion closely bound to the sacred woods and sanctuaries, the woods also become to signify the diabolic space governed by heathen divinities. Hence the missionaries, who are about to enter into the woods, have to face a heathen landscape (see Jensen 2005). When they, and among them also Helmold enter a forest in Slavia, they see “among the very trees the sacred oaks which had been consecrated to the god of that land” and a pagan sanctuary.³³² In the same passage Helmold describes the heathen gods to “live in woods and groves” and claims the Slavs to “attribute plains and woods to their multiform divinities.” The divinities yet do not live in the woods only, but in also the villages, as there are “the household gods and the idols with which each village abounded.”³³³ For Helmold the destruction of the sanctuaries, the images and cutting down the sacred woods is to function as an important part in his the representation of destroying the idolatry.

The text also states the taboo of entering the sanctuaries is attributed to the Slavs, underlining once more the threats the missionaries posed themselves while doing so. Firstly Helmold relies on Adam in describing the Prussians who “although share everything with our people they prohibit only, to this very day, the access to their groves and springs, which, they aver, are polluted by the entry of the Christians.”³³⁴ Helmold has also included Adam’s description of Rethra, where the temple is open “only to those who would make sacrifices or

³²⁹ HCS 110

³³⁰ There the army of the Saxons and their Slav allies has to march two days “through thick forests and the hazards of streams and of a very big marsh” to reach their enemy. On their return they have to make their way through “the more difficult parts of the marsh” (HCS 37). In Slavia Count Adolph cannot find his enemies event though they search them “in the swamps and in the woods the whole day” (HCS 93). Helmold quotes Adam’s account about the Prussians who live “in inaccessible swamps (*inaccessi paludibus*)” (HCS 1) and his story how a Saxon knight who mislead the Danes “into the most untraversable parts of the swamp” (HCS 15). The forest is also a hiding place for the Slavs, as they safeguard their wives and children in the woods (HCS 84).

³³¹ See le Goff 1984: chapter 6.

³³² HCS 84.

³³³ HCS 84. The Slavs are also said to “display in the temples fantastically formed images (*simulachrorum*)” (HCS 84). Among them the golden image of Redigast is described in more detail (HCS 2, 21); as the destruction of it by King Valdemar I in 1168 is to signify the defeat of idolatry (HCS 108).

³³⁴ HCS 1: ref. GHEP IV.18.

seek oracular advice.”³³⁵ When now describing the Slavic sanctuary, he emphasises that the entrance to the courtyard “was forbidden to all, except only to the priest and to those wishing to make the sacrifices.”³³⁶ The importance of the temples is underlined also in his claims about the reverence the Slavs show towards their sanctuaries.³³⁷ The great temples also function both as signs and explanations of supremacy. The Rugiani who have their “very celebrated fane” in Arkona are also described to maintain a primacy over every Slavic tribe; and likewise “the people they subjugate by arms they make tributary to their fane.”³³⁸

Even though Helmold repeats Adam’s account of the great city of Jumne³³⁹, the dominant image of the Slavic lands is that of being fertile but deserted and uncultivated. The model of is firstly set by Adam’s description of Schleswig (Haddeby) and Wagria, where before the founding of the Saxon colony “lands were extensive and fruitful in crops but for the most time deserted.”³⁴⁰ Similar imagery is used for the lands of the Slavs in the eve of the later colonisation. Here “the Germans came from their lands to dwell in the spacious country, rich in grain, smiling in the fullness of pasture lands, abounding with fish and flesh and all good things.”³⁴¹ In his account of the conquest of Rügen the land there is also described as “rich in crops, fish and game.”³⁴² This imagery relies heavily on the Biblical description of the promised land of Canaan. The image of fertility paralleled by that of being deserted, the latter feature is also greatly influenced by Helmold’s description of the former Saxon colonies in the frontier areas, which were once already cultivated and populated, and then turned again into wilderness and deserted after the Slavic revolts. This corresponds well with the general image of Eastern Europe at the eve of colonisation, where the new inhabitants often remarked upon both the emptiness and potential fertility of those lands. (Bartlett 1993: 131-166)

Therefore the imagery of the lands of the Slavs functions primarily in close connection with the image of the mission, missionaries and colonists, and also here it is discussed further in the following chapter. As during the course of the mission and colonisation the dangerous

³³⁵ HCS.2: ref. GHEP II.20-1.

³³⁶ HCS.84.

³³⁷ Again, in Rügen they are “actuated by an extraordinary regard to this fane, for they neither likely indulge in oath nor suffer vicinity of the temple to be desecrated even in the face of an enemy.” (HCS 52) Similar claim is repeated in Helmold’s account of their own missionary trip, where the Slavs “show such reverence for their holy things that they do not allow the neighbourhood of the fane to be defiled by blood even in time of war” (HCS 84).

³³⁸ HCS 36. Similarly the sanctuary in Oldenburg and that the missionaries destroyed was “a sanctuary for the whole land” (*locus ille sanctimonium fuit universae terrae*) (HCS 84).

³³⁹ HCS 2, 15: ref. GHEP II.21-2.

³⁴⁰ /--/ *terram spaciosam et frugibus fertilem, sed maxime desertam* /--/ (HCS 12).

³⁴¹ /--/ “*terram spaciosam*”, *fertilem frumento, commodam pascuarum ubertate, abundantem pisce et carne et omnibus bonis*. (HCS 88: ref. Ex 3: 8).

³⁴² *terra ferax frugum, piscium atque ferarum* (HCS 108).

landscape is described to be turned into safe, organised, filled and penetrable; the Slavic unconquered (or even more so, already once lost) landscape primarily functions as the opposite to those qualities attributed both to the aims of the missionaries and colonists.

II.3 ARNOLD of LÜBECK, *Chronica Slavorum*

In this text, the variety and images of the Other both as peoples and lands differ in many ways from those of the earlier chronicles. The centre of the chronicle lies in Lübeck, and both the “us” and audience of the text are primarily the clerics of the bishopric of Oldenburg, and the Saxons living there. However, the focus of the text is largely determined not only by Arnold’s position as an abbot of the Benedictine monastery in Lübeck, by also by the goal to legitimise the deeds of the Duke Henry the Lion.

The neighbouring peoples, both the Slavs and Danes were already known to the Christians, and especially to the Saxons living on the frontier areas.³⁴³ Even though both of the peoples are pictured as different on a cultural level and especially as having different customs from those of the Saxons, not even the Slavs are no longer described as hostile to the Christians.

On the other hand, Arnold’s account on the crusade to Livonia contains an image of the heathens that shares many similar features with the descriptions of the Northerners and Slavs in the earlier chronicles. However, as their image is even more closely connected to the description of the conquest and conversion of both the land and peoples, the passage shall be discussed in chapter III.

However, various images of otherness are applied to the peoples living in lands more farer away, described as different, alien and strange. The text gives the narrative of Henry the Lions pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the fall of Jerusalem to the Saracens and of the Fourth crusade (1202-4), and of the lands and people in the Byzantine Empire (ACS III.18), Apulia (ACS V.19), Egypt and Syria (ACS VII.8). Those passages include a large variety of people, characterised by various degrees of otherness. The Saracens function as the enemies here, yet also the Greeks are described as different from the Latin Christians and several peoples living between the Holy Land, Constantinople and Europe are described as alien and different from the Christians in their customs, civilisation and religion.

³⁴³ Also the Nordalbingians, who were pictured as half-Christians by Helmold, are now seen as wholly integrated into Christianity and Saxony (Scior 2004: 291).

PERSONAE

The Other of Crusaders and Pilgrims

Arnold image of the Greeks reflects many of the features shared by the crusading accounts of his time. As he sets out to describe the Greeks not only as related to Henry the Lions pilgrimage, but also the fall of Constantinople to the hands of the crusaders, the image of both the Byzantine Empire and the orthodox Greeks in general becomes more crucial.

In his account of the pilgrimage undertaken by Henry the Lion, Arnold's description of Constantinople focuses mainly on the magnificence of the city, and as such, it resembles to the many travel accounts written by the Western crusaders and pilgrims since the beginning of crusading at the end of eleventh century.³⁴⁴ Here also the hospitality by which the Greeks received the Duke is underlined, and the latter, however functions also as a mean to show the latter as equal to the great rulers.³⁴⁵

Here the chronicler, however pictures the Greek Orthodoxy as controversial with the Latin Catholicism, and devotes a whole chapter to the disputation over the Holy Trinity between the Greeks and the future bishop of Lübeck, Henry.³⁴⁶

However, on the account of the pilgrimage itinerary the chronicle also includes the image of the treacherous Greeks. As on his way home the Duke has to cross a desert in Romania, the chroniclers retells the story of how during the Second Crusade (1147-9) the army of King Conrad III (1137-52) got lost in and almost perished in the same desert due to the deceitfulness of the Greeks.³⁴⁷ Also Helmold's chronicle gives the same account of how the army was lead into a very great desert through a treachery of a Greek legate, who should

³⁴⁴ *Erat autem in eodem loco curia venationis lantissima et plantissima, murata; et ad ostentandam gloriam divitiarum suarum preceperat rex principibus et optimatibus suis, ut omnes huic sollempnitati interessent. Videres igitur illic tentoria innumera erecta, bissima, purpurea, cum capitibus aureis, et pro uniuscuiusque magnificentia vario decore ornata. /--/ Erat autem strata semita quedam tota purpurea et desuper tecta aurifrigiis et ornata aureis lampadibus et coronis.* (ACS I.4)

³⁴⁵ *Veniens igitur dux gloriose suspectus est* (ASC I.4) The visit to Constantinople, however serves also as a mean to show Henry the Lion as equal to the Emperor. (Scior 2004: 299-300) Likewise the Duke is received in magnificent ways (*magnifice suspectus*) in Accaron, Accon and Jerusalem (ACS I.8); and also by the Turks (*magnifice suspectus est a Turcis*) on his way home (ACS I.9).

³⁴⁶ Titled as *De disputatione Grecorum et Heinrichi abbatis*. (ACS I.5).

³⁴⁷ As the Duke came into a deserted and very dry land, the chronicler continues "there, they say, was king Conrad with this army, and due to the dryness of the solitude land many of them, failing due to hunger and thirst could not continue" (*ubi dicitur Conradus rex stetisse cum exercitu suo, propter nimiam terre solitudinem multis ibi fame et siti deficientibus procedere non poterat*); as "all the army of the pilgrims was betrayed by the Greeks, as they poisoned their springs and sent them to this horrible solitude" (*omnem exercitum illum peregrinum Greci tradiderunt, miscentes eis venenum in fontibus et traduentes eos in horridissimam illam solitudinem*) (ACS I.10).

have conducted them into the territory of the Persians.³⁴⁸ Arnold's account is, however longer and contains more details, and here he also explains the deceitfulness of the Greeks by claiming that they were afraid of the Germans.³⁴⁹

The image of the Saracens becomes however more important as regards the description of the crusades. The Saracens function as *gentiles* and counterparts of the crusaders throughout the fourth book, which describes the fall of Jerusalem to the Saracens (1189) and the crusade by the Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1152-90) (the Third Crusade, 1189-92). Likewise they are signed as the enemies of God and Christianity in general.³⁵⁰ The latter name had by Arnold's time become widely used in the crusade proclamations, and the text states that the Emperor "collected an army to fight the enemies of the Cross of Christ."³⁵¹

Due to the defeats of the crusaders the notion of an innumerable enemy becomes even more important.³⁵² However, here the image of the great ruler of the heathens becomes more important, as Arnold describes Saladin (Salah ad-Din) many times during his account of the fall of the Holy Cities.³⁵³

The fall of Jerusalem to *gentiles* becomes one of the most significant images of the text, and similarly to the earlier chroniclers also here they are to fulfil the prophecy of Jeremiah³⁵⁴, and are also explained as the punishment for the sins of the Christians.³⁵⁵

Arnold also explains the failure of the crusaders through a reference to the Amorites, like the earlier chronicles had done in their accounts of the mission both in Northern countries and especially in Slavia.³⁵⁶

³⁴⁸ See: *Universae perierunt fame et siti, transducti in desertum maximum dolo legati regi Grecia, qui eos in fines Persarum ducere debuerat. Adeo contabuerunt fame et siti, ut incursantibus barbaris ultro cervices perbuerint.* (HCS 16)

³⁴⁹ */--/ quia vires Teutonicorum timebant /--/* (ACS I.10).

³⁵⁰ */--/ christiane religione hostibus /--/* (ACS IV.2); and as the enemies of Christ in the account of how "the Holy City fell into the hands of the enemies of Christ" (*obtinuissent civitatem sanctam inimici Christi*) (ACS IV.5).

³⁵¹ */--/ ad expugnandos inimicos crucis Christi robur militie sue convertit /--/* (ACS IV.7).

³⁵² */--/ maxime cum terra ista ferocissimis et innumeris hostibus circumdata sit /--/* (ACS IV.2). Also the Greeks are said to have payed much attention the Turks (*Turci*), because there were few of them and whom they thought to seek no evil (*quos illi primo non attendebant, quia pauci erant, nec eos malum machinari cogitabant.*) Henceforth Arnold describes how the Turks multiplied day by day, until they was as many as the sand in the sea. (*Illi vero de die in diem multiplicabantur, ac si arena maris, que pre multitudine numerari non potest, et nocte et die erant circa ipsos.*). See also: *Populus vero Dei psallebat: Domine, quid multiplicati sunt, qui tribulant me, multi surgunt adversum me, multi dicunt anime mee, non est salus ipsi in Deo eius; tu autem, Domine, susceptor meus es.* (ACS IV.11: Ps 3: 1)

³⁵³ ACS IV.3-5.

³⁵⁴ Ir 3: 25 (ACS IV.1). Also: *Sicque humiliata civitate sancta, renovatum est illud lamentationis carmen Ieremie; Quomodo sedet sola civitas, plena populo? facta est quasi vidua, domina gentium, princeps provinciarum, facta est sub tributo.* (ACS IV.5: ref. Lam 1: 1) Later Arnold uses it to describe the crusade proclamation: *Nunc cecid corona captis nostri, versus est luctum chorus noster. Sacta nostra prophanata sunt, templum Dei violatum, et coinquintaverunt illud gentes.* (ACS IV.7)

³⁵⁵ */--/ qui propter malitiam hominum terribile super terram illam exerecere volebat iudicium /--/* (ACS IV.4).

Besides the ultimate other of the Saracens, the account of Henry's pilgrimage contains also another heathen tribe. In the midst of a great wood called Burgerwalt the pilgrims meet a tribe called the Servi.³⁵⁷ They are described as different in their religion and civilisation, and the latter is also explained through their isolation from the Christian world.³⁵⁸ Likewise their image refers both to warlikeness and treacherousness of the barbarian peoples, as they act friendly at first, and then yet attack the Duke and his men in the middle of a night even though they had promised to keep peace before.³⁵⁹

LOCI

The centre of the geographical description lies in Northern Germany, the territories of the Saxons and Henry the Lion, signified as the *terra nostris* and used especially often to describe the lands as "his lands" (*terra sua*), i.e. the lands of Henry.³⁶⁰ This has a legitimising goal, as the chronicle supports Henry, and the issues of territorial power in his lands became crucial during the time of his expulsion from the country. Another geographical centre is also the town of Lübeck, where is the Episcopal see and also the Benedictine monastery, the abbot of which Arnold himself was. Also the lands of the Slavs are integrated into "our lands" now, and are hence further discussed in Chapter III.

Arnold's chronicle does not concern any the Northern countries besides Denmark, as the latter closely involved in the events taking place in Saxony and the politics of the empire in general. As Arnold's chronicle however contains a description of the crusade to Livonia, many of the patterns attributed to the Slavic lands by earlier chroniclers are transported to the image of the lands of the pagan Livs (see Chapter III).

As indicated above, Arnold's chronicle differs from the previous ones also as it contains the descriptions of many different lands more far off. The lands of the Slavs and Northern countries being both already Christian and known to the Christians, the chronicle

³⁵⁶ *Sic necdum liberata est terra repromissionis propter peccata nostra. Necdum enim completa sunt peccata Amorreorum, sed adhuc manus Domini est extenta.* (ACS IV.16: ref. Gen 15: 16, Is 5: 25)

³⁵⁷ As already their name, *Servi* (*servus*, "slave" in Latin) refers to them as a people inferior than the others (Scior 2004: 296-7).

³⁵⁸ *fili Belial, sine iugu Dei, illecebris carnis et gule dediti et secundum nomen suum immundiciis omnibus servientes et iuxta locorum qualitatem bellualiter vivendo, bestiis etiam agrestiore. Subiecti tamen noscuntur regi Grecorum.* (ACS I.3)

³⁵⁹ *ecce media nocte Sevi in unum ex omni nemore conglobati quatuor turmas et per vices in quatuor partibus ululantes invalescebant maximis vociferationibus, sperantes sic terreri exercitum ducis, ut fugientes bona sua proicerent, et illic predam raperent.* (ASC I.3)

³⁶⁰ The notion also structures the description Henry's pilgrimage to Jerusalem as an itineary (*itinera*) to from Saxony to Jerusalem and back. On a larger scale, the Saxony also functions as the structural centre of all the geographical descriptions and events, as the campaigns (*expeditio*), crusades, and pilgrimages are described as itinearies (*itinera*) between Saxony and the the lands more farer away (Scior 2004: 281).

however applies various images of otherness to the lands that are more farer away and more or less unexplored, described as different, alien and strange. The images applied to those lands are various and based on a variety of textual authorities and also characterised by different functions.

The descriptions of the Duke Henry the Lions pilgrimage to Jerusalem (1172-3), the fall of Jerusalem to the Saracens (1187), the Third Crusade (1189-92) and also of the Fourth Crusade (1202-4) include a large variety of peoples and lands, characterised by various degrees of otherness. The text also contains longer descriptions of the lands and people in the Byzantine Empire (ACS III.18), Apulia (ACS V.19), Egypt and Syria (ACS VII.8), including a variety of different images. The Saracens function as the enemies here; yet also the Greeks are described as different from the Latin Christians or even hostile to them; and several peoples living between the Holy Land, Constantinople and Europe are described as alien and different from the Christians in their customs, civilisation and religion.

The descriptions of both the Saracen lands in Asia Minor and Northern Africa, and also the territories of the Byzantine Empire present a picture very similar to the travellers accounts and chronicles describing the crusading in Levant during that period; and as they contain many various images and connotation based on a different tradition from that of the missionary chronicles, and also serve different functions, they are not discussed here. However, as the account of Duke Henry's pilgrimage the landscape functions as a pilgrimage landscape and contains many of the images similar to the representations of the missionary space in the earlier chronicles, an overview of the latter shall be given below.

Pilgrimage and Crusading Landscape

Arnold's account of the pilgrimage (*peregrinatio*) that Henry the Lion made to the Holy Land (1172-3) (ACS I.1-12) has been widely studied by many researches. One of the main issues discussed is whether the event was designed a pilgrimage, or a as crusade, or whether it was a campaign started as a crusade, but yet turned out into a pilgrimage.³⁶¹ The aim of the description is, however to present the image of the duke Henry the Lion as a

³⁶¹ For the different arguments see Scior 2004: 291-2. As common in the crusading tradition, Arnold uses the word "pilgrimage" (*peregrinatio*) to describe both the pilgrimages and the crusades, even though he names Henry's itineary both a pilgrimage and a campaign (*expeditio*), a word he mostly uses to describe the crusading warfare.

pilgrim, and that goal also determines both the imagery of the lands and peoples described and the representation of the itinerary itself.³⁶²

The centre of the itinerary (or *profectio Ierolosimitana*) and also of Arnold's account of it is Jerusalem. The aim of the pilgrimage is to visit Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulchre and to "honour the Lord in the place which his feet had touched."³⁶³ In the passages describing the Holy Land, also the nature of the expedition as a pilgrimage is underlined, as Arnold carefully lists the duke visits to the Holy Sepulchre and "all the holy places."³⁶⁴

For the account, however equally important and dominant features are the descriptions of the many perils (*pericula*) the pilgrims have to face before reaching their goal. Their account includes the rivers, sea, woods, and desert, hence all the main elements of the symbolical landscape.

Already while sailing down the Danube the pilgrims "fall into a peril" as the rocks make the way difficult and unsafe.³⁶⁵ Due to the low waters have to continue their way to Constantinople by foot.

There they have to face another difficulty, namely entering into an inaccessible and dangerous wood named Bulgerwalt. The latter is represented as "the greatest and most notorious."³⁶⁶ There both the army and their horses "have to labour hard in the deepness of the marshes"³⁶⁷ and they are also first meet and then are attacked by a people (the Servi) described as both idolatrous and uncivilised. The Duke and his men also have to make their way through a wood also on their way home. This wood, "a great forest that divides the lands of the Turks and the Greeks" has a similar function, as it is equally difficult to penetrate and the pilgrims manage to transfer it "with difficulties in three days."³⁶⁸

³⁶² For a detailed account of the structure of the itinerary (*iter*) as a pilgrimage see Scior 2004: 294-309. It is structured as an itinerary from Braunschweig to Jerusalem and back, the centre of the description being Jerusalem (ACS I.7).

³⁶³ /--/ *ut adoraret Dominum in loco ubi steterunt pedes eius.* (ACS I.1)

³⁶⁴ *Visitatis igitur omnibus locis sanctis in Isoaphat, in monte Oliveti, in Bethlehem, in Nazareth, abiit ad Iordanem, /--/, inde ascendit Quarenteram.* (ACS I.7).

³⁶⁵ /--/ *inciderunt quoddam periculum quod vulgariter skere dicitur, quia ibi scopuli immanissimi ad instar montium prominentes, aquis meandi facultate subtracta, difficillimum illic navigantibus transitum fecerunt /--/* (ACS I.3).

³⁶⁶ /--/ *intraverunt nemus illud maximum et notissimum, quod Bulgerewalt dicitur /--/* (ACS I.3).

³⁶⁷ /--/ *ubi multum laboraverunt tam ipsi quam equi eorum in profunditate palustri /--/* (ACS I.3).

³⁶⁸ /--/ *venit ad nemus maximum, quod dividit terram Turcorum et Grecorum. Quod triduo cum difficultate transiens /--/* (ACS I.10).

Arnold description of Constantinople focuses mainly on the magnificence of the city, and as such, it resembles to the travel accounts written by the Western crusaders and pilgrims since the beginning of crusading at the end of eleventh century.³⁶⁹

After leaving Constantinople the pilgrims come to another peril, as “a wind arouse on the sea and because of that very great storm everyone feared their end was nearing.”³⁷⁰ The latter is a quote from a Gospel verse that describes the storm which caught the Apostles and from which the Lord saved them.³⁷¹ Also here the sea functions not only as a dangerous landscape, but also a place where the Lord protects his people. Here Virgin Mary appears to one of the seagoers in a vision. From “the waves of the sea he saw a most beautiful virgin, who told him: “Are you afraid of the perils of the sea?” He answered: “Mistress”, he claimed, “we are caught in trouble, and whether God does not notice us, we shall be perished.”³⁷² The Virgin assures that they shall be saved, and as “the vision does not fail” the Holy Spirit “calms the waves and suddenly the ships continue their way and everybody praises the Lord.”³⁷³

On his way home the Duke has to cross also the desert, “a land deserted and too dry” as he comes to Romania.³⁷⁴ This is to complete the sufferings of the pilgrims, yet here Arnold compares the itinerary of the Duke also to that of king Conrad and his army during the Second Crusade (1147-9), and retells the story of the betrayal of Conrad and his army by the

³⁶⁹ *Erat autem in eodem loco curia venationis lantissima et plantissima, murata; et ad ostentandam gloriam divitiarum suarum preceperat rex principibus et optimatibus suis, ut omnes huic sollempnitati interessent. Videres igitur illic tentoria innumera erecta, bissima, purpurea, cum capitibus aureis, et pro uniuscuiusque magnificentia vario decore ornata. /--/ Erat autem strata semita quedam tota purpurea et desuper tecta aurifrigiis et ornata aureis lampadibus et coronis.* (ACS I.4)

³⁷⁰ *Et factus est motus magnus in mari, ita ut pre nimia tempestate omnes mortem sibi proxemam formidaret.* (ACS I.6: ref. Mt 8: 24) On his account of Frederick Barbarossa's crusade (1190) Arnold also mentions the crossing of the sea (*transmeare*) (ACS IV.10-11), but describes no perils the crusaders would have to face.

³⁷¹ “And, behold, there arose a great tempest in the sea, insomuch that the ship was covered with the waves: but he was asleep. / And his disciples came to him, and awoke him, saying, Lord, save us: we perish. / And he saith unto them, Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith? Then he arose, and rebuked the winds and the sea; and there was a great calm.” (Mt 8: 24-26)

³⁷² *inter /--/ pelagi fluctuationes vidit astantem sibi virginem pulcherrimam, que dixit ad eum: “Times maris periculum?” Et ille: “Domna,” inquit, “clarissima, tenet nos angustie, et nisi Deus celi respexerit nos, quantocius peribimus.” Et illa: “Confide”, inquit, “quia non peribitis, sed propter orationes cuiusdam, qui in hac navi me invocare non cessat, ab instanti periculo liberi eritis.”* (ACS I.6)

³⁷³ *Nec fefellit visio. /--/ Cumque nimis turbarentur, aspexerunt naute lapides patentes quasi hostium, et dixerunt velum contra ipsum, et ecce cecidit spiritus procelle et siluerunt fluctus eius, et subito navis pertransiit, et laudaverunt Dominum, /--/* (ACS I.6). Arnold compares the accident to the previous in Danube: *Denique facto die invalescebant procelle, et navis in medio mari iactabatur fluctibus. Et inciderunt periculum marinum, ut superius in Danubio, quod dicitur skere, et timuerunt naute vehementer.* (ACS I.6)

³⁷⁴ */--/ venit in terram desertam et aridam nimis /--/* (ACS I.10). Rumania is described as a desert is also later (*Rumeniam, terram desertam et invaniam et inaquosam*) in the account of the crusade undertaken by Frederick Barbarossa (ACS IV.11).

Greeks.³⁷⁵ Here the desert is described as a “solitude land” (*terrem solitudinem*) and as a “the most horrible solitude” (*horridissimam solitudinem*), similarly to the imagery used by Helmold to describe the deserted colonies after the Slav rebellions.

The chronicle also explains the various meanings of the desert as a symbolic landscape. The next chapter retells the story of the conquest of Jerusalem (1099) during the First Crusade (1096-9) and this includes also a speech given by one of the leaders of the crusading army, Godfrey of Bouillon. In his speech given to the crusaders, the latter lists the many wars and perils where God’s grace has stood to protect his people and here he reminds also of how “God lead his people through the desert by the hands of Moses.”³⁷⁶ Later Arnold connects the desert also to the tradition of the desert dwellers, referring to the St. John the Apostle as the first hermit.³⁷⁷

II.4 HENRY of LIVONIA, *Chronicon Livoniae*

Henry’s chronicle is above all a narrative of the mission of the church in Riga, describing the “enlargement of the faith among the pagans” (*dilatatio fidei in gentibus*) year by year from 1198 until the year 1227, save only the earliest phase of the mission (around 1184-97). This aim determines the focus of the whole chronicle, as it serves to legitimise the ecclesiastical authority and territorial power of the new church against the many rivals.

PERSONAE

The timescale the narrative covers is rather short, however the Livs and Latvians were converted before the Estonians, Semigalls, and Kurs; and therefore also their image is more positive. As Henry’s own parish was in Rubene (Latvia), especially the image of the Latvians stands out as that of good Christians. Being a priest of the neophytes, Henry also had the experience of a missionary and a crusading priest, and he had seen many of the events described in the chronicle, and had some contact with most of the people described there. The image of the latter is however from the start determined by that of the Germans, as the agents

³⁷⁵ /--/ *ubi dicitur Conradus rex stetisse cum exercitu suo, propter nimiam terre solitudinem multis ibi fame et siti deficientibus procedere non poterat* /--/ (ACS I.10). Arnold recounts the story of the “detestable conspiracy of the king of the Greeks, who betrayed all the army of those pilgrims, sending them away from the springs and leading them to the most horrible solitude” (*omnem exercitum illum peregrinum Greci tradiderunt, miscentes eis venenum in fontibus et traducentes eos in horridissimam illam solitudinem*) (*Ibid.*). The same event is also described by Helmold, see HCS 60.

³⁷⁶ /--/ *Deus qui per manum Moysi transduxit populum suum per desertam* /--/ (ACS I.11).

³⁷⁷ The reference is given in his piece over the “detestable pride of the monks” (*De superbia detestabili monachorum*). *Hanc precursor Domini Iohannes, primus heremiticam vitam ducens, docuit, Christus in deserto*

of a higher culture, whose duty is to convert the native peoples to the Christian faith (Brundage 1961: 15-6).

The Livs, Estonians, and the Pirates beyond the Sea

Before their conversion all the local peoples and tribes living are defined as heathens (*gentes* or *nationes*) in general. One of the particular features of the chronicle is, however, that the text pays very little attention to describing the heathens as regards their religion, customs, or society in general, and hence the idolatry tends to define them in general and in total.³⁷⁸ Their relationship to the new ecclesiastical and secular rulers was however different among the peoples, and the latter also becomes the main differentiator as regards their image. I would argue that it is not their attitude towards Christianity that determines Henry's attitude towards local peoples (see Kala 2001: 15-19), but rather it functions as a rhetorical tool. Likewise the *perfidia* is not so much a characteristic of the pagans (*pagani*) (see *Ibid.*) but of the apostates.³⁷⁹

The "ferocity of the pagans" (*ferocitas gentium*) is a notion closely bound to the image of the Estonians, Kurs, and Lithuanians, and to a lesser extent also to the Semgalls, yet missing as regards the Livonians and Latvians.³⁸⁰ As such, it reflects the changing course of the warfare, and is applied to the enemies perceived as the most dangerous, likewise later also the descriptions of their warfare are dominated by the image of violence posed against Christianity.

The mission started firstly among the Livs, and they are also the first heathens described in the text. Here Henry names them "the idolatrous Livs" whom the divine providence aroused of the confusion of their paganism.³⁸¹ As yet pagans, they are defined

ieunans confirmavit, chorus heremitarum signis et virtutibus extulit, et cenobitarum innumera multitudo toto orbe terrarum dilatavit. (ACS III.10)

³⁷⁸ The general notion occurs often in the beginning of the chronicle, where also the crusaders travelling to Livonia are pictured as equally eager to attack the Osilian pirates, claiming that there is "no difference between the Estonian pagans and Livonians" (*nullam inter Estonos paganos et Lyvones differenciam*) (HCL VII.2). Henry pays very little attention to the social relations among the heathens; for his indications on differentiated social structure and his usage of the terms *seniores*, *meliores*, *divites*, *dux*, *princeps*, and *rex* on local peoples see Tarvel 2004.

³⁷⁹ For studies about the image of the local peoples in Christian sources from the thirteenth century see Kala 2001: 15-19, Kala 1997. The most common definitions for local peoples are *barbari*, *pagani*, *gentiles*, *neophyti*, *infideli*, *scismatici*, and *rustici vel incole terre*. (Kala 2001: 15-19)

³⁸⁰ Applied to the Semgalls, Lithuanians, and Curonians (HCL XXIII.14), the Estonians (HCL XIX.4, XXVI.13), the Estonians, Lithuanians, and Osilians (HCL XXIII.3, XXX.4); and also heathens in general (HCL XXIII.4). Leonid Arbusow has pointed out that the same expression is yet also often used in liturgical texts (Arbusow 1950: 127-8).

³⁸¹ *Divina providencia, memor Raab et Babilonis, videlicet confuse gentilitatis, nostris et modernis temporibus Livones ydolatras ab ydolatrie et peccati sompno taliter igne sui amoris excitavit* (HCL I.1). Here, however the chronicle mentions also the friendly relationships of the German merchants with the Livonians (HCL I.2).

“the people untamed and very dedicated to the pagan rites” and the text usages also the image of the darkness (*tenebris*) of their idolatry.³⁸² As for the most part the chronicler treats the Livs as apostates, therefore also the dominant features of their image become those of deceitfulness and faithlessness; and shall be discussed in chapter III. Henry does give any descriptions of the society and customs of the Livs, besides on one occasion, where he notes that formerly they were “most perfidious and everyone stole what his neighbour had.” Yet this is to underline that the situation turned towards the opposite after their conversion, as then “theft, violence, rapine, and similar things were forbidden as a result of their baptism.”³⁸³

Differently from the Livs, the Semgalls remained heathens for a long time. However, their image is more complex than that of the pagans in general, as they were among the first allies of the Christians. The people themselves are warlike, and in many times they are said to invite the Rigans to make a war against the Lithuanians.³⁸⁴ Despite the alliances their warfare differs from that of their Christian allies. In the battles they are described to act cowardly, which enables Henry to attribute all the glory for the victory both to the Christian army and to God fighting for the latter. When the Semgalls saw the great multitude of the Lithuanians “many of them trembled and, not daring to fight, wished to seek safer places.”³⁸⁵ Similar imagery is repeated as the next campaign against the Lithuanians takes place (in 1208), even though there is such “a great multitude” (*infinata multitudo*) of the Semgalls, and the Germans are said to “still have had faith” in them. Yet after having proceeded “boldly” (*audacter*) to Lithuania in the battle the Semgalls “suddenly fled, one after the other”, and “the whole weight of the battle was turned against the Germans.”³⁸⁶

The next great group of heathens described in the chronicle are the Estonians, and as them the mission reached only after the conversion of the Livs, also their image differs significantly from that of the Livs.³⁸⁷ Differently from the Livs they are defined as “the enemies of the Christian name” and “the enemies of the name of Christ.”³⁸⁸ Likewise also the

³⁸² /--/ *gens indomita et paganorum ritibus nimis dedita* /--/ (HCL IX.14: ref. breviary)

³⁸³ /--/ *gens enim Lyvonum erat perfidissima et unusquisque proximo suo quod habebat auferebat ja prohibita sunt violencia, rapina, furta et hiis similia* /--/ (HCL X.15).

³⁸⁴ See HCL IX.2, XII.2; also their chieftan Viesthard is characterised as “a warlike man” (*vir belliosus*) (HCL IX.2: ref. I Sm 16: 18).

³⁸⁵ /--/ *tremefacti et pugnare non audentes* /--/ (HCL IX.3). Only after seeing how the Lithuanians are frightened by the armory of the Germans, the chieftan of the Semigallians calls his men to boldly (*viriliter*) join the battle again (*Ibid.*).

³⁸⁶ /--/ *in fugam conversi alius post alium semet ipsos conculcando opprimunt, alii silvas et paludes querunt, et totum pondus prelii versum est in Theuthonicos* /--/ (HCL XII.2).

³⁸⁷ The Estonians are named the *nationes* in HCL XIV.9,XV.3,XXV.1: ref. Ps 149: 7.

³⁸⁸ /--/ *christiani nominis inimici* (HCL XIX.8); also: “working at all times against the cultivators of the Christian name” (*inimicicias exercentes omni tempore contra christiani nominis cultores*) (HCL IX.4), and “one heart and mind against the Christian name” (“*cor unum et anima una*” *contra nomen christianorum*) (HCL XIV.8: ref. Ap

Kurs who were to accept Christianity even later are named “the enemies of the name of Christ.”³⁸⁹

Like the tradition before him, also Henry names most of the heathens, the Estonians, Kurs, and Osilians also the pirates.³⁹⁰ Yet also this feature does not apply to the Livs or Latvians. The piratical raids are to underline the threats the heathens impose both on the crusaders coming to Livonia by the sea, and to the young church and congregation established there. In addition, also the descriptions of the raids made by the Estonian and Curonian pirates to the other Christian lands function as a mean to underline the threat they impose on Christianity in general, and hence also give a cause to take war against them. In each of his description of the pirates the chronicler carefully notes that the booty was taken from the Christian lands, and emphasises especially the treasures the heathens have stolen from the churches. This pattern is vividly illustrated in the case of the Kurs as pirates, whom the crusaders met in Gotland. In this passage Henry describes, “the plundering of the lands of the Christians”³⁹¹, emphasises the need to take a revenge on the Oesilians and later also “the great joy over the vengeance made upon the heathens.”³⁹² Like in Helmold’s chronicle, also in Henry’s text Denmark and Sweden function as the Christian victims of the pirates.

The notion of a pirate becomes most dominant in the image of the Oesilians who lived on the Ösel Island and were the last of the Estonian tribes to be conquered and converted. The threat the Oesilians and Kurs posed to Riga was no doubt there, as the town was situated at the mouth of the Dvina river at the Gulf of Riga, and both of the neighbouring tribes could prevent sailing to it easily (Kala 2001: 5-6).

The Oesilians are firstly mentioned when the bishop Albert sees “the pagan Estonians of the island of Ösel” in Denmark.³⁹³ Henry describes how the Oesilians had “recently burned a church, killing some men and captured others, laid waste the land and carried away the bells and belongings of the church, just as both the pagan Estonians and Kurs had been accustomed to do heretofore in the kingdom of Denmark and Sweden.”³⁹⁴ The text emphasises the fact

4: 32; here Henry curiously enough uses the verse describing the unanimity of the primal congregation to describe the heathens).

³⁸⁹ HCL XIV.1.

³⁹⁰ The chronicler names piratical (*pyratice*) the ships of the Estonians (HCL VIII.3), Kurs (HCL XIV.1), and Osilians (HCL XIX.5).

³⁹¹ *de terris christianorum spoliaverunt* (HCL XIV.1).

³⁹² *leticia magna de vindicta facta* (HCL XIV.1). Here the ships are said to appear suddenly on the coast (*subito in litore maris apparuerunt*), which is yet another typical feature in the descriptions of the piratical raids.

³⁹³ *paganos Estones de Osilia insula* (HCL VII.1).

³⁹⁴ *recenter ecclesia combusta, hominibus occisis et quibusdam captivitatis terram vastaverant, campanas et res ecclesie asportaverant, sicut tam Estones quam Curones pagani in regno Dacie et Suecie hactenus facere*

once more, describing the piratical ships of the Oesilians “loaded with bells, sacerdotal vestments, and captive Christians.”³⁹⁵ The image of pirates is attributes to the Oesilians throughout the text; and especially it stands out before the campaign to Ösel, as they “were accustomed to visit many hardships and villainies (*multas miserias et nequicias*) upon their captives, both the young women and virgins, at all times, by violating them and taking them as wives, each taking two or three or more of them.” By this they have allowed themselves the unlawful, as “it is not right that Christ be joined with Belial, or is it suitable for a pagan to be joined a Christian.”³⁹⁶ Likewise the chronicler states here, that the Oesilians also have the habit to sell the Christian women they have taken into captive to other heathens.³⁹⁷

Also the campaign against the Oesilians in 1227 is described as a separate crusade undertaken both to revenge the plundering of Christian lands and release the Christian captives taken into Ösel. In 1226 the crusade is proclaimed as a vengeance upon the heathens, and it is done by the papal legate William of Modena in Gotland, where the legate had heard from “all the evil the Oesilians had done in Sweden, namely burning the churches, and killing the priests, taking away and violating the sacraments, and other similar miseries.”³⁹⁸ The chronicle refers steadily to that releasing the Christian captives is the main aim of the undertaking, and later the conditions for peace posed to the Oesilians include also the “releasing of the Swedes held in captive.”³⁹⁹ The great joy over their release is expressed in the next chapter (the latter being also the ending of the whole text), where the chronicler lists and rejoices over the triumphs of the crusaders and Rigans.⁴⁰⁰

The Oesilians pose an interesting parallel to the Rugiani in Helmold’s chronicle, as both of the peoples are described to be the strongest among the heathens, and have both military and religious supremacy over other tribes. Needless to say, both of them also lived on an island, and this results also in a similar imagery of the heathens stronger due to their inaccessible location. Likewise in both cases the strongest enemy is depicted as most idolatrous, and to have not only military, but also religious authority over other local tribes. In

consueverant. (HCL VII.1). Here also deceitfulness and treachery contribute to the negative imagery of the Oesilians, as they “said deceitfully that they had made peace with the people of Riga.”

³⁹⁵ HCL VII.2.

³⁹⁶ /--/ *licitantes sibi illicita, cum “non sit coniunctio conveniens Christi cum Belial” nec pagani copula congrua cum christiana* /--/ (HCL XXX.1: ref. II Cor 6: 15).

³⁹⁷ HCL XXX.1.

³⁹⁸ /--/ *“omnia mala, que fecerant” in Suecia, ecclesiis videlicet incensis et sacerdotibus interectis et sacramentis delatis et violatis et similibus miseriis* /--/ (HCL XXX.1: ref. Dt 31: 38, I Mcc 7: 23); here the the Oesilians are also named both evildoers (*malefactoris*) (ref. I Pt 2: 14) and perverse (*perversis*).

³⁹⁹ HCL XXX.5.

both chronicles even the descriptions of the campaigns made against them occur to be similar, as both the campaign against the Rugiani in around 1138 and the latest campaign against the Oesilians in 1227 took place during wintertime. Here both of the accounts underline the perils on the armies had to undergo on the icy sea, on their way to make war with the heathens.⁴⁰¹

Rites and Rituals: the Error of Idolatry

The chronicler does not give any more detailed descriptions of the pagan religion before the conversion, and as Henry later describes both the Livs and Estonians dominantly as apostates, the latter notion becomes to determine their image in general. Likewise are all the pagan rites and cults exercised during the relapses into paganism treated not as a sign of paganism, but of apostasy.

The text still mentions a few rites of the yet pagan Livs and Estonians, yet even those descriptions are mainly to underline the threats idolatrous cults posed to the missionaries or Christians in general. The practice to humans to the pagan gods is applied to the Livs, when Henry describes how they want to sacrifice their missionary Theoderic.⁴⁰² The human sacrifices are later mentioned once more when the revolting Livs are said to have sacrificed the captured crusaders.⁴⁰³ There is however no contemporary archaeological evidence to prove the habit of sacrificing humans among the Estonians and Livs.⁴⁰⁴

The other dominant ritual is the casting of the lots, which is again closely related to the Christians, as the pagans are mainly described to cast the lots before going to the campaigns against the Rigans. This custom is attributed to the Estonians and Semigalls alike.⁴⁰⁵ Among the Livs the ritual is described as a part of their plan to sacrifice the missionary.⁴⁰⁶ In the case of the Latvians the ritual takes place, as they have to decide upon their conversion, and here they “cast the lots and asked the advice of their gods, whether to

⁴⁰⁰ As the chronicler rejoices over the grace of God, Christ and Virgin Mary, who have given their servants “such a joy” (*talia gaudia*), namely “to win the rebels, convert the humble, and to release all the Christian captives” (*captivos omnes christiani nominis restituere*) (HCL XXX.6).

⁴⁰¹ *procederunt in glacie versus Osiliam. /--/ in equis et vehiculis suis glaciem maris calcantes sonitum tamquam tonitruui magni faciebant ex collisione armorum et vehiculorum concussione et motu strepituque virorum et equorum cadentium et iterum surgentium had et illac super glaciem, que plana erat tamquam vitrum, ex australibus et pluviosis aquis, que tunc incudaverant, et de gelu, quod subsequebatur. Et magno labore mare transiverunt /--/* (HCL XXX.3). See also: HCS 38 (*tota die ambulantes in glacie et nive multa circa nonam tandem apparuerunt in terram Rugianorum*).

⁴⁰² */--/ diis suis immolare proponunt /--/* (HCL I.10).

⁴⁰³ */--/ diis suis immolantes /--/* (HCL IX.12).

⁴⁰⁴ All the archaeological evidence which might refer to the habit comes from a far earlier period in around 500-50 BC (Joonuks 2002).

⁴⁰⁵ Here the Estonians decide not to siege Riga because the lots of their gods had fallen to the opposite (*cedidit sors deorum ipsorum in partem contrariam*) (HCL XX.2); and the Semigallians decide their campaign against the Lithuanians after a similar manner (HCL XII.2).

⁴⁰⁶ HCL I.10. Yet here the lots favour the missionary and the latter is saved.

subjugate themselves to the baptism of the Pskov Russians or Latins.”⁴⁰⁷ Similarly to the rituals, which precede the wars, Henry mentions also the rituals for making peace, and describes the changing of pikes between the parties or the blood as the signifier of peace.⁴⁰⁸ Those are the rituals in which also the Christians took part in, and on the other hand the descriptions also reflect the importance of peace treaties.

Henry also gives more importance to the funeral rites, yet the latter become more important later, where restoring the pagan burial customs come an important part of the image of the apostates.⁴⁰⁹ While Henry stresses the opposition between the pagan fire burials and the Christian habit of corps burials, then recent studies by archaeologists have shown that by the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries besides burial by fire also the latter habit was already among the local peoples.⁴¹⁰

The idolatry means the ignorance about the true God, and likewise Henry attributes to the heathens the lack of knowledge about the natural world. These occasions, however are closely connected to the missionary activities, and signify also the fear the pagans feel towards the Christians, who possess both the knowledge about the true God and all the other things. The Estonians did not understand the solar eclipse, and have wanted to kill the missionary Theoderic whom they thought had eaten the sun.⁴¹¹ The Livs believe an image carved out of wood to be “the god of the Saxons” (*Saxonum deum*), and fear the latter to bring them both flood and plague.⁴¹² The Kurs, for their part, are frightened when they hear the sound of the new church bell in Riga; believing the God of the Christians wants to eat them.⁴¹³

The Lithuanians

The heathen Lithuanians were the strongest enemy of the Germans, and this has also influenced the image given of them. Differently from the all the other peoples described in the

⁴⁰⁷ Here, however the lots were in favour of the Latins (HCL XI.7).

⁴⁰⁸ When the peace treaty was made with the Livonians, “the pikes were exchanged according to the custom” (HCL II.5); then likewise the bishop Berhold sends the pike back to the Livonians to tell them of his wish to end the peace (HCL II.5); see also HCL XVII.2, where the Lithuanians tell the Christians about the ending of the peace in a similar way. The Curonians are said to confirm the peace, “like it is the custom of the pagans (*mos paganorum*), with blood” (HCL V.2); and with the Semigallians the Christians confirm peace “accordingly to the customs of the pagans” (*more gentiliū*) (HCL VI.5).

⁴⁰⁹ After the battle in Riga the Kurs are said to have been more worried about the corpses of their people than about continuing the fight (HCL XIV.5). Henry also describes the funerary rituals of the Livs, and mentions their habit to celebrate it with drinking feasts (HCL II.8).

⁴¹⁰ See Mägi 2002. Heiki Valk has studied the issue of changes in burial customs in Estonia thoroughly, see for example Valk 1996.

⁴¹¹ HCL I.10

⁴¹² HCL II.8.

⁴¹³ HCL XIV.5.

text, their image also stays unchanged throughout the chronicle, as neither were the missions directed to them, nor did they join any treaties with the Christians.⁴¹⁴

As heathens against whom the crusaders were to take war, the Lithuanians are signified as “the enemies of the Christian name.” The most dominant features in their image are focused on their military strength, and already in the first chapters of the chronicle they are described to plunder (*vastare*) the lands of the then yet heathen Livs.⁴¹⁵ After the conversion of the latter, the assaults of the Lithuanians are defined as undertaken against Christian lands, and now also the setting the churches on fire becomes an important element of the descriptions of their campaigns.⁴¹⁶ Due to the latter, yet also due to killing the Livonian and Latvian neophytes the Lithuanians are described to attack also the church.⁴¹⁷ Likewise they are said to hinder the mission in general, as it is due to the ferocity of the Lithuanians that the Semigalls do not dare to accept Christianity.⁴¹⁸ The notions about the violence directed against the Christians, both the Germans and local neophytes is here also a significant part of the crusading ideology, and enable the bishop Albert of Riga to proclaim a crusade against the Lithuanians signified as the enemies of the church.⁴¹⁹

However, namely the sufferings of the neophytes become the most significant part of the imagery, which stresses the threat the Lithuanians pose to the Christians. Here especially the perils the Latvians had to undergo during their assaults are emphasised.⁴²⁰ To this contributes also the imagery where the neophytes are signified as sheep and the Lithuanians as wolves. This is applied mainly to the newly converted Livs and Latvians, and is closely connected to the image of the Rigans as the ones who are to save the newly baptised peoples from the hands of the pagans.⁴²¹ The imagery is based on a quote from the parable of the lost

⁴¹⁴ Besides one early peace treaty between the Rigans and Lithuanians, yet even this one the Lithuanians are described to break soon (HCL V.3).

⁴¹⁵ HCL I.5.

⁴¹⁶ Firstly as regards the campaign to Livonia that took place around 1207, here the Lithuanians “plundered (*vastare*) the churches” (HCL XI.5).

⁴¹⁷ Here their assaults are signed also as “all the evil the pagans did to the young church” (*omnia mala, que pagani novelle intulerunt ecclesie*) (HCL XI.5).

⁴¹⁸ */--/ propter /--/ Letonum ferocitatem /--/* (HCL XXIII.3).

⁴¹⁹ */--/ in remissionem peccatorum /--/ ecclesiam liberent ab inimicis /--/* (HCL XI.5).

⁴²⁰ Here Henry describes how the Latvians “leaving their homes behind seek refugee from the Lithuanians in the hiding-places of the forests, yet even there they cannot escape from them, always laying in the ambush in the forests, the Lithuanians caught them and killed and took into captive, and plundered all their belongings.” (HCL XIII.4)

⁴²¹ After the a battle with the Lithuanians in 1207 the neophytes and Germans together thank God for the “lost and newly found sheep, or the sheep torn out from the throat of the wolves” (*de “ove perdita et inventa” sive de ovibus luporum faucibus ereptis Deo gratias referunt*) (HCL XI.5: ref. Lc 15: 4, 6). The Latvians are also said to be “like food for the Lithuanians and like the sheep in the throat of the wolves (*cibus et esca Letonum et quasi oves in fauce luporum*), if they are left without their pastor” (HCL XIII.4); and here God sends the pastor, that is the bishop Albert of Riga who saves his sheep (*Misso igitur pastore liberavit Deus oves suas Lyvones et*

sheep in the Gospel, where the allegory of a sheep lost and then found again is used to describe the joy over a repented sinner.⁴²² Later the same image is applied also to the newly converted Estonians, when their priest is said to have went after the neophytes captured by the yet pagan Oesilians in order “to save his sheep from the throats of the wolves.”⁴²³ On one occasion, the image is however also turned upside down to mark the defeat of the Lithuanians, as the latter are said to have “scattered around the road like sheep” after they had lost a battle to the crusaders.⁴²⁴

In general, the Lithuanians are however pictured as the strongest military force, as the text states that the latter were “in those lands on a ruling position over all peoples, both Christians and pagans.”⁴²⁵ Even the Russians are said to be afraid of them, and yet in their case Henry uses a rather different imagery, stating that the Russians “took flight from the Lithuanians, escaping through the villages and woods, even if there was a small number of them, like the rabbits take flight from the hunter.”⁴²⁶ The Lithuanians are characterised as faster and crueller than any of the other peoples, and to fight vigorously.⁴²⁷ Their armies are described as vast, and here one of the Lithuanian chieftains is even to say, “this town is not comparable even to a handful of our people.”⁴²⁸ The latter feature, however is also to glorify the victories of the crusaders and Rigans, and the victory over a vast multitude serves here as a proof of God’s grace and is used as one of the main legitimising tools for the crusaders and especially the Rigan church they are to defend throughout the chronicle.

Likewise the violence of the Lithuanians is directed not only towards the outer enemies, but it also serves to define their own society. The Lithuanians who have lost the battle hang themselves in the forest, “for not to go back to their land.”⁴²⁹ Similarly the wives of the fallen Lithuanians are described to hang themselves.⁴³⁰ However, the notions about

Leththos iam baptizatos a faucibus luporum /--/) from the throat of the wolves. Yet also the yet deceitful Livonians compare themselves to sheep, trying to persuade their bishop Meinhard not to leave the land (HCL I.11).

⁴²² “say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance” (Lc 15: 7).

⁴²³ /--/ *oves suas luporum facibus eripere cupiens* /--/ (HCL XXI.7).

⁴²⁴ /--/ *per viam tamquam oves disperguntur* /--/ (HCL IX.3).

⁴²⁵ *Erant etiam tunc Lethones in tantum omnibus gentibus in terris istis existentibus dominantes, tam christianis quam paganis, ut vix aliqui in villulis suis habitare auderent, et maxime Lethi.* (HCL XIII.4).

⁴²⁶ /--/ *fugerunt Rutheni per silvas et villas a facie Letonum licet paucorum, sicut fugiunt lepores ante faciem venatorum* /--/ (HCL XIII.4).

⁴²⁷ /--/ *velociiores et crudeliores aliis gentibus, se vigilare ad preliandum predixerant* /--/ (HCL XI.5 Here Henry does not describe only the Lithuanians themselves are said to be faster, but gives also many vivid descriptions of the fast horses they have, see HCL XI.5, XII.2.

⁴²⁸ /--/ *pulvis civitatis illius pugillo populi nostri sufficiet* /--/ (HCL IX.1: ref. III Reg 20: 10).

⁴²⁹ /--/ *necque redirent in terram suam* /--/ (HCL XXV.4: ref. IV Rg 3: 27).

⁴³⁰ HCL IX.5. This refers also to idolatry, as their wives believed to see their husbands in the next life.

their cruelty tend to be contradictory on some occasions, as the text describes how the Lithuanians attacked the Rigan fishermen, “raging in fury like wolves” and plundering their belongings.⁴³¹ Then the same passage mentions how the fishermen got however their property back, and were hence still alive and well.

Like it was the case of Semigalls, on some occasions also the warfare of the Lithuanians is characterised as cowardly, as “like they are fast to take fight, so they are fast to take flight.”⁴³²

The Russian Princes

The imagery of the Russians is more dynamic than that of the Lithuanians. During the early phase of the mission the chronicle deals mainly with the Russian princes governing the areas neighbouring Livonia, in Polotsk, Jersike, and Kokenhusen. Their interests collided with those of the Rigan missionaries in many ways, and this is reflected already in the first descriptions given.

As the “yet pagan” (*adhuc pagani*) Livs are said to be tributary to the Prince Vladimir of Polotsk, this refers also that the Christian prince is mainly interested in tribute, and not in the conversion of the heathens.⁴³³ Likewise the Prince Vsevolod of Jersike appears firstly with negative connotations, when his army together with the Lithuanians comes to steal the herds of the Rigans, and here they are said also to have captured two priests and killed a knight.⁴³⁴ Already in the beginning of the text starts to develop the image of the treacherousness and deceitfulness applied to the Prince Vjatschko of Kokenhusen. The latter, learned that “a strong army of the crusaders” has landed, comes to make “a firm peace” with them. The peace however is said not to last too long, as the prince breaks it soon afterwards.⁴³⁵

LOCI

The geographical centre of the chronicle lies in Riga, and also the lands of the Latvians are also more in focus than the other parts of Livonia. The descriptions of Estonia mainly involve those of the missionary works and military expeditions. However, in general the amount of geographical descriptions is rather small. Henry’s accounts are however those

⁴³¹ /--/ *quasi lupi rapaces in ipsos seviunt* /--/ (HCL V.3). Similarly Henry describes how the messengers of the bishop fell into the hands of Livonian robbers, yet made their way to Polotsk “unhurted and well” (*corpore tamen sani et incolumes*) (HCL X.1).

⁴³² /--/ *sicut agiles ad bellum, sic veloces efficiuntur ad fugam* /--/ (HCL XI.5).

⁴³³ HCL I.3. See also HCL VII.4.

⁴³⁴ HCL VII.5

⁴³⁵ /--/ *pacem firmam, que tamen parvo tempore stetit* /--/ (HCL IX.10); see HCL X.12.

of a partaker and eyewitness, as he was a priest of the neophytes himself, and he also had the experience of a missionary and a crusading priest, and he had seen many of the events described in the chronicle, and had had some contact with most of the people described in the chronicle.

Landmarks: the Sea and Woods

Henry quite often defines Livonia and Estonia as the lands as lying beyond the sea, the notion of which becomes more significant during the course of the mission and crusading, where the crossing of the sea becomes an important part of the imagery of both the crusaders and missionaries.

During the crusades to Estonia, the island of Ösel was the last part to be conquered and converted.⁴³⁶ Here the image of Oesilians, as pirates and dangerous enemies living beyond the sea, inaccessible due to their location on an island, becomes an important part of the crusading imagery as well. As such it can be compared to the image of the Rugiani in Helmold's chronicle.

Next to the sea also the rivers serve as landmarks, they are used to describe the routes taken by both the Rigan armies and the enemies, and become yet more important during the mission to Estonia.

The most dominating features attributed to the landscape of Livonia and Estonia is the woods. They are described as hiding-places for the Livs and Latvians, as already in the first book of the chronicle bishop Meynard is to entrust himself to the woods together with the Livs during the attack of the Lithuanians.⁴³⁷ The hiding-places in the woods (*silvis latibula*), often described also as dark (*tenebrosa*) become the dominant and also almost the only feature of the local landscape. They provide refugee for Livs both against the attacks of the Lithuanians and against the crusaders during their revolts and relapses into paganism.⁴³⁸

The chronicle also refers to idolatrous or demonic nature of the space.⁴³⁹ Henry describes how priest Daniel met a Liv coming out from one the "dark hiding-places of the woods (*de latibulis silvarum*) and told him of a vision he had seen during the night. "I saw", he claimed, "a god of the Livs, who tell us the fortune, he was an image growing out of the

⁴³⁶ See HCL XXX.5-6.

⁴³⁷ */--/ idem predicator cum Ykescolensibus silvis committitur /--/* (HCL I.5).

⁴³⁸ The Livs are said to take refuge from the Lithuanians in the hiding- places of the woods (*silvarum latibulis*) (HCL XI.5). Yet also during their revolts, especially in 1206-7, they are said to "leaving behind the villages went back to the hiding-places of the woods (*silvarum latebras*)" (HCL IX.8), see HCL IX.9, X.11, XI.9, and also HCL XII.2.

⁴³⁹ For a thorough analysis of the diabolic space in Henry's chronicle see Jensen 2005.

tree.”⁴⁴⁰ Henry also describes the sacred woods of the Estonians in Vironia where there was “a mountain and a most beautiful wood, where the locals told to be born the great god of the Oesilians, who is called Tharapita, and to have flown from this place to Ösel.”⁴⁴¹ This contributes to the image of the Oesilians as the strongest and threatening of the Estonians, underlining also their pagan cult and god as the most influential. There is yet little knowledge about the sacred forests from the medieval period. The oral data collected during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries refers to about four hundred and sixty holy forests, mainly in Southern Estonia, yet the representability of data remains a crucial issue here. From the medieval period there are no sources about the activities of the church when it comes to holy natural objects, the earliest account are from the sources of the Jesuits and Lutheran church from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see Valk 2004). Should this refer to the co-existence of Christian and semi-Christian holy sites together with the passive tolerance of the church and vice versa remains an issue still debatable.

The woods are also a dominant part of the many descriptions of the warfare between both the Estonians and Livs and Latvians, as the armies are described to attack the enemy in their hiding places in the woods.⁴⁴² To the Christians the woods pose a constant threat, as “from a dense forest” the Livs are described to attack the crusaders⁴⁴³; and also in the forests is hiding the army of the Estonians before the battle at the Ymera river (in 1210), which is represented as one of the greatest defeats for the crusaders.⁴⁴⁴ Likewise it becomes the landscape of the defeated enemy, to where the latter, the Lithuanians, Estonians, and Russians are described to take refuge, to get lost in and perish.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴⁰ “Vidi,” inquit, “deum Lyvonum, qui nobis futura predixit. Erat enim ymago excrescens ex abrore (HCL X.14). The god had told him that the army of the Lithuanians is coming the next day, and for that reason the Livonians did not dare to come and listen to the preaching of the priest. The priest however realised it to be “an illusion of the demons” (*demonis illusionem*), and as the Livonians did not see the phantasm (*fantasma*) to come true, they came to the priest, who “detested the idolatry and explained that such phantasms are the illusions of the devils” (*ydolatriam detestans huiusmodi fantasmata demonum illusionem affirmans*). Henceforth This is followed by the Livonians are “abrenunciating the devils and their deeds and promised to believe in one God” (*diabolo et operibus eius abrenunciant et in unum Deum credere se promittunt*) (*Ibid.*: ref. also to the baptismal vow (*Abrenuntias Satanae? Abrenuntio. Et omnibus operibus eius? Abrenuntio /--/ Credis in unum Deum /--/ Credo*))

⁴⁴¹ /--/ *ubi erat mons et silva pulcherrima, in qua dicebant indigene magnum Deum Osiliensium natum, qui Tharapita vocatur, et de illo loco in Osiliam volasse /--/* (HCL XXIV.5).

⁴⁴² As the Estonians persecuted the Livs “both in the hiding-places of the woods and in the fields (*in latibulis silvarum quam in stangnis et in agris*)” (HCL XIV.12).

⁴⁴³ /--/ *in nemore densissimo /--/* (HCL IX.11). See also HCL IX.12, where the Livonians, lurking in the woods” (*Lyvonibus instidiantibus in silvis*), kill a group of crusaders.

⁴⁴⁴ /--/ *exercitum Estonum in silvis apud Ymeram latitantem /--/* (HCL XIV.8)

⁴⁴⁵ HCL XIV.10. Likewise the crusaders are described to follow their enemies throughout the swamps and woods (*paludes et silvas*), like the Russians and Latvians in HCL XII.1.

III TO CONQUER

This chapter discusses the changes in the imagery during the mission and conquest. The missionary and crusading warfare relied on the Christian understanding of the just war, the just cause for which was the defence of Christian lands, the church and the Christians. As the mission reflects an understanding of Christianity as a universal and egalitarian religion, bound neither to geographical regions nor social groups (Geary 2002: 64-7) and addressed to all people, then the missionary wars themselves, aimed here mainly at whether converting or perishing the heathens (*compelle intrare*), were in contradiction with the ideology of the just war. The practice of them had however started already during the wars against the Saxons, and continued henceforth throughout the period the chronicles are describing. Neither in the case of a peaceful mission, or missionary warfare, the Other is treated as a subject in itself. The Christians possess the truth, and even if both the Christians and heathens have to obey the same rules, the Christians are here the ones who determine them (Todorov 1982: 133-51).

The process of conversion and conquest was long and took place in permanent interaction with the other, including not only conflicts but also peaceful contacts, and alliances. The nature of the interaction determines the imagery to a large extent and brings dynamics into it. The images available for the others are not only determined by the enemy of Christianity or the convert, but there are also the neophytes, the ones who have apostised and the ones who have not, the ones who are our allies and the ones who never were, the ones who have betrayed us and the ones who did not. Here the notions of revolting against the Church and/or secular authorities, and revolting against the true faith start to intermingle; and likewise the notions of obedience and fidelity are closely linked both to the faith and new authorities (see also: Janson 2003: 252-5, Janson 2005).

As the conquest of new lands brought along conflicts over territorial and ecclesiastical power, the imagery of the Christians becomes more heterogeneous as well. Besides the heathens, there are enemies among your own people and among strangers, who conflicted with the church and missionary activities. Here the interests of their dioceses determine the representation of events, peoples, persons, and their deeds; and especially the issues related to their mission provide here both criteria for evaluation and also a sign to legitimise not only the ecclesiastical power and rulers, but also the secular ones. The princes are pictured as a mean to solve disorder and exercise justice by force, to solve conflicts and create peace and harmony between temporal and spiritual order (Bagge 1996: 365-6).

Similarly the landscape also starts to change, as the missionaries, soldiers, princes and colonists enter it and start to explore the territories and peoples. The frontier starts to mark exclusion and inclusion, being both closed and open, enabling entering and in the need of defence (see Berend 2003). While the new Christian centres are created (by military enforcements, sacred places, towns etc.), and the Christian and idolatrous landscape start to intermingle, the latter starts slowly to withdraw. The medieval geographical imagination has been a research field largely studied from various aspects.⁴⁴⁶ Research has also come to underline the understanding of the church not only as a spiritual, but a spatial concept alike (compare to Mt 16: 18), bound to material constructions like churches and other sanctuaries, cemeteries etc. (Lauwers 2005). During the recent decades more attention has been given on how the Christianisation of the landscape as represented on the textual level, where the Christening of lands, objects, and space in general is often treated as a process parallel to baptizing the peoples.⁴⁴⁷ In texts dealing with the peripheries, frontiers and settlement, the issues become yet more crucial, as shown by a recent analysis on the Christianisation of the physical world in Henry's chronicle by Carsten Selch Jensen (see Jensen forthcoming). As regards those regions, the spiritualization of the land offers a mean to represent sanctioned authority and dominance over it (Ross 1998: 159), and here the Christianisation of the land can be treated as a mean to mark the land, as symbolic act or a ritual of possession (Greenblatt 2003: 52-8). On a textual level this is yet paralleled with connecting the new lands to the universal Christian geography and space via the intertextual links to the ancient and Christian geographical authorities (Mortensen 2005).

The images of lands and peoples under conquest are however often closely interlinked. The latter being a process of territorial possession-taking, the representation of the original inhabitants as Others, reduced to the lower level of pagans, apostates, beasts etc., becomes closely bound to the representation of the claims and rights of the new inhabitants and/or rulers over the same lands (Greenblatt 2003: 66-70, 135).

⁴⁴⁶ For recent studies on the medieval Nordic geography see: Engel-Braunschmidt 2001.

⁴⁴⁷ See Bartlett 1993; and also Bartlett 1985. A recent collection of articles focusing on "the medieval geographical desire" provides many studies treating the geographical descriptions as means to create authority and subordination (see Tomasch 1998), and here an analysis on the representations of obtaining and sanctifying the land in medieval Iceland shows many interesting counterparts to the patterns used by the Saxon chroniclers (Clunies Ross 1998).

III.1 ADAM OF BREMEN, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*

Prologue II: the Saxon Wars

The missionary wars to the Saxons provide the prologue and model for further conquests and conversions. Its narrative, given in GHEP I.8-15 contains many of the signs, motifs and themes linked to the otherness dominating throughout the description of the following missionary activity. As the wars start, the image of the Saxons turns more towards the negative, they are now described “fierce by nature and given to the worship of idols” and “hostile to the true religion.”⁴⁴⁸ During the course of the wars the resistance is explained as an expression rebelliousness⁴⁴⁹ and faithlessness towards the true faith⁴⁵⁰, and henceforth it becomes the dominating image of the Saxons. The stubbornness of the Saxons (*gens dura*) and perfidy (*perfidia*) are the main reason for the wars not to end earlier.⁴⁵¹ Likewise it gives a model for describing the revolts not only as rebellions against true God, but also as violence against the Christians and a persecution (*persecutio*) of them.⁴⁵²

Similarly it gives a pattern for describing the ending of the resistance and revolts, as the Saxons have to subdue themselves totally both to the faith and to the secular power.⁴⁵³ In parallel the land is subdued to ecclesiastical power and taxes, and divided into bishoprics with firm boundaries.⁴⁵⁴ Here next to the division of the land also the building of the churches is of primary significance.⁴⁵⁵ The Christianisation of the land is signified also by devoting the

⁴⁴⁸ *Erant enim, sicut omnes fere Germaniam natura feroces et cultui demonum dediti, veraeque religioni contrarii, neque divina neque humana iura vel pollulere vel transgredi inhonestum arbitrabantur* (GHEP I.8). Also a longer description of their idolatry is given in the chapters preceding the story of the missionary wars (GHEP I.7-8), so the reader could know, of what kind of error they were freed (*a quantis errorum tenebris per Dei gratiam et misericordiam sint liberati*) (GHEP I.8). Same characteristics are applied to all Germanic peoples, called *ferocissimos Germaniae populos* (GHEP I.10), and *ydolum cultui deditas* (GHEP I.11); and to the Frisians in separate (GHEP I.12).

⁴⁴⁹ The name (*rebellionis Saxonum*) applies to the Saxon revolt lead by Widukind (779/80, 783-5) (GHEP I.12-3). The Saxons are described as rebellious also later, as they are said to have no ruler besides the emperor due to their rebelliousness (*propter veteres illius gentis seditiones*) (GHEP II.7). See also GHEP I.54, 55, 57, 63, II.13-20.

⁴⁵⁰ */--/ ipsique Deo et nobis tamdiu rebelles /--/* (GHEP I.13).

⁴⁵¹ GHEP I.9 See also GHEP I.13.

⁴⁵² GHEP I.12.

⁴⁵³ They are subdued to Charlemagne (*omnibus igitur cui resistere solebant profligatis et in suam potestatem redactis*) (GHEP I.10); and baptised (*ad fidem Karoli venit, baptizatusque est cum aliis Saxonum magnatibus*) (GHEP I.12).

⁴⁵⁴ */--/ inter episcopos certo limite disterrantes /--/* (GHEP I.12). In the manner of ancient Romans (*antiquo Romanorum more*) all of Saxony is made into a province and divided into bishoprics (GHEP I.12), and the latter division relies also on the authority of St Boniface (see GHEP I.11). Similar ideas are present in a document made during the reign of Archbishop Adalbert, where victory is brought along by the help of God and the arms (*victi eam, Deo gratias, et armis et fide*); and their land is made tributary not to the Franks (*omni nobis debito censu solutos*), but made tributary (*tributarios*) and subdued (*sublegales*) to God, hence to pay the church (*omnium suorum iumentorum et fructum totiusque culturae decimas ac nutriturae*) (GHEP I.13).

⁴⁵⁵ */--/ summa imperii Romani et divini cultus reverentia viget et floret, ecclesiis, doctrina virtutibusque illustravit /--/* (GHEP I.11).

Northern Saxony to Christ and St. Peter.⁴⁵⁶ This results in uniting the Saxons not only with the faith and church, but also with the Franks.⁴⁵⁷

PERSONAE

Res nostrae inter barbaros: Martyrs, Missionaries and the Apostles of the North

The main theme of the chronicle is how the church of Hamburg-Bremen “was raised up and the Christian religion spread among the pagans”; and the goal of *nostra ecclesia* is that of converting the heathens, seen as “our cause among the barbarians.”⁴⁵⁸ Therefore the missionary goal, *legatio in gentes* also determines the relationship with the others, both as regards the institution and its representatives.

During this process the missionary church had to face many rivalling forces fighting for territories and for both the ecclesiastical and secular power, and here the questions related to the legitimacy are among the most crucial ones. The representation of the *legatio in gentes* is determined by closely bound ideas. Among them the most significant ones are the Christian ideology of a just war, undertaken by a just cause (i.e. to protect Christianity) and administered by Christian kings, and the missionary ideology that sees it as a fulfilment of God’s providence. As such they determine largely also the relationship of the church, her mission and its representatives to the others, who are to give the war a right cause, and for the missionaries the audience providing both the challenge and the converts.

The missionary goal can be treated a legitimising tool in itself, as it is never an undertaking one can take up personally, but a process where God works via His representatives and hence a privilege. Here Adam firstly connects the story of the latter to the sacred history of the Scripture, presenting the course of Hamburg’s mission as a fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecies.⁴⁵⁹ Here the heathens are compared to the Amorrites, an

⁴⁵⁶ GHEP I.12.

⁴⁵⁷ As the Saxons, “renouncing the worship of devils and abandoning their ancestral rites, they should receive the sacraments of the Christian faith and, joined the Franks, make one people with them” (*abiectione demonum cultu, relictisque patriis ceremoniis, christianae fidei sacramenta susciperent et Francis adunati, unus cum eis populus efficerentur*) (GHEP I.10).

⁴⁵⁸ /--/ *ecclesia exaltata et christianitas in gentibus dilatata est* /--/ (GHEP Praef.); and /--/ *res nostrae inter barbaros* /--/ (GHEP II.25).

⁴⁵⁹ The destruction of Hamburg by Slavs (1066) is compared with the destruction of Jerusalem, stating “there was fulfilled the prophecy for us which runs, “O, God, the heathen are come into thy inheritance; they have defiled thy holy temple and the other saying which prophetically bewail the destruction of Jerusalem.” (GHEP III.50: ref. Ps 78: 1); and here the prophecy is even accompanied by a fearful comet (*Ibid.*) Similarly the fire in the Cathedral of Saint Peter in Bremen (GHEP II.77) is compared with “the burning of the temple” and the reconstruction with “the building of the temple” (GHEP II.78).

ancient people from the Old Testament, who inhabited the land of Canaan before the advent of Israel.⁴⁶⁰

In wars the firm signs of the grace of God are the victories over an outnumbered enemy. This idea occurs firstly as the victories over the persecution of the Normans (*persecutio Nortmannorum*) are treated as God's revenge for the blood of his servants.⁴⁶¹ The notion is closely linked to the ideals of Christian kingship, where the king is treated as God's representative on earth, and who is to subdue the heathens both to his power and to Christian faith. Following the model of Charlemagne, the function is later applied to the Ottonian emperors, as shown in Chapter I. The good Christian rulers provide peace, support the churches and enable missionary activity. Peace in itself is treated here both the goal of missionary wars and also an assumption for the mission, and similarly it also functions as the sign of a Christian ruler. As regards the Others, these ideas result in the image of them as a vast multitude, either as the hordes confronting the Christians or the thousands killed in the battles. This is firstly used to describe the innumerable armies of the Normans and Hungarians, and applied to the heathens also later on.⁴⁶² Like Charlemagne had converted the Saxons, so are the later Christian kings and rulers pictured to foster the conversion of a whole nation or a multitude of people, and here the patterns are set King Henry I (919-36) and the Emperor Otto I the Great (936-73).⁴⁶³

The administrators of the missionary goal (*legatio in gentes*) are the missionary bishops and priests, represented as the followers of the Apostles and early martyrs and missionaries. Especially going among the barbarians and placing oneself to threats function here as the signs of the *imitatio*, and likewise the conversion of many heathens and also the

⁴⁶⁰ Besides their name, anything more certain is not known about the Amorrrhites. Palestine is called the land of Amorrrhites in Am 2: 9,10, Gen 48: 22, Ios 24: 15,18. The name is often applied to all non-Israeli peoples and tribes of Canaan (Ios 11: 19; 15: 63; 18: 28; III Reg 7: 14; IV Reg 21: 2; Idc 1: 21; Ios 10: 5,6; Ez 16: 3; Gen 14: 13; 23), yet also treated as one tribe among the Canaanites, or a separate tribe. The name associates with the idolatrous rites of the ancient inhabitants of Canaan, and that people is also to represent Israel's foes in battle (Deut 2: 11, 20; 3: 11, 13), and to represent warlike, strong, and wicked characteristics. For the beginning of the tenth century Adam claims, "For as yet the iniquities of the Amorrrhites are not at the full," nor had the time to favor them come yet" (GHEP I.52: ref. Gen 15: 16, Ps 101: 14), and gives similar explanation after the revolt against Prince Gottschalk, GHEP III: 49: ref. Gen 15: 16; Ps 101: 14; Mt 18: 7; I Cor 11: 19). The references to the tribes of Canaan are made also during the same Slav revolt in an earlier passage, see GHEP II.42: ref. Deut 7: 1, Idc 3: 1, Act 13: 19.

⁴⁶¹ /--/ *Domino vindicante sanguinem servorum suorum* /--/ (GHEP I.49: ref. Ps 78: 10, Apc 19: 2). See also his account on the attack of the Hungarians attacked on Bremen in around 915 (GHEP I.55), and God's intervention in a battle held against a vast enemy in Frisia in around 884 (GHEP I.41).

⁴⁶² See GHEP II.15,18,28,38,75, III.18-22.

⁴⁶³ Henry subdued the Slavic peoples at the battle of Lenzen in around 929, "that the rest – and just a few were left – of their own accord promised the king that they would pay tribute, and God that they would be Christians" (GHEP I.58). During the reign of Otto I the Great in Slavia "the whole of the pagan folk (*totus gentilium populus*) was baptised" (GHEP II.5), see also GHEP II.13.

miracles God performs through the missionaries are interpreted as signs of His grace. The glory gained by martyred missionaries also contributes significantly to the image of the missionary church, and hence the representation of their deeds serves also as a legitimisation of the church and her missionary goal. Here both the patterns of *imitatio* mentioned above, and the need to create ecclesiastical authority influence also the images of the others to a large extent. The models set by the deeds of the Apostles and martyrs both determine also their function, as they are treated either as a persecutor or a convert.

Hence, as one cannot go among the barbarians without constructing a barbarian first, and as the going among the barbarians is the ideal valued most highly in the chronicle - as it shows willingness to martyrdom – the image of the barbarian becomes crucial issues of the chronicle. The pattern is firstly adapted from the *vitae*, and henceforth followed through out the whole text. Introduction to St. Ansgar’s mission to the Danes illustrates the idea well, as “there could not readily be found a preacher who would go with them to the Danes because of their barbarous cruelty /--/ the blessed Ansgar, inspired, /--/ by the Holy Spirit and desirous of obtaining martyrdom in whatever way he could /--/ being ready to go not only among the barbarians but also “to prison and to death”” for Christ.”⁴⁶⁴ The model continues in the representation of the archbishops and of the clerics of Hamburg-Bremen.⁴⁶⁵

Next to the image of the other as a persecutor there is the image of the other as a convert, and the representation of the multitudes converted can be followed throughout the chronicle. The acceptance of Christianity took place collectively, however, the conversion of a vast multitude is a sign of both a good missionary and a successful mission, and as such a sign of the grace of God. The pattern starts with the first missions and is based on the *vitae* of early missionaries.⁴⁶⁶ Here it also gives a model for the later missions to come, and henceforth continues in the descriptions of the missionary activity throughout the chronicle.⁴⁶⁷ By the end

⁴⁶⁴ /--/ *nemo doctorum facile posset inveniri, qui cum illis ad Danos vellet pergere, propter crudelitatem barbaricam, qua gens illa ab omnibus fugitur, s/ anctus Anscarius divino /--/ spiritu accensus, et qui ad martyrium aliqua occasione mallet pertingere /--/ non solum inter barbaros, veum etiam in carcerem et in mortem pro Christo ire paratus.* (GHEP I.17: ref. Lc 22: 33). Late the text describes the persecution of Ansgar by the barbarians (*persecutio barbarorum*) (GHEP I.19). See also: on St. Rimbart, who “very frequently underwent perils of this kind” (*saepe etiam alia pericula sustinuit*) (GHEP I.38).

⁴⁶⁵ Archbishop Unni (919-36) “deeming nothing hard and laborious (*nihil asperum et grave*) if undertaken for Christ, he determined to go in person through the length and breadth of his diocese” (GHEP I.60: ref. Lc 22: 33). Similary archbishop Lievizo “prosecuted his mission to the heathen with great zeal even though he was hindered by evil days” (GHEP II.27).

⁴⁶⁶ The chronicle describes how St Willehad converted “many thousands” (*multa milia*) in Frisia (GHEP I.12); and St. Ansgar, who converted “many of the heathen” (*multos ex gentibus*) and “a great multitude” (*magna multitudinem*) in Denmark and many (*multos*) in Sweden (GHEP I.17), and “an innumerable multitude of pagans” (*innumerabilem gentis multitudinem*) both in Demark and Transalbingia (GHEP I.19).

⁴⁶⁷ Archbishop Unni “commended the multitude (*multitudinem*) of believers” in Denmark (GHEP I.61); Archbishop Adalbert of Magdeburg (968-81) converted “many (*multosque*) of the Slavic peoples” (GHEP

of the chronicle Hamburg has become “the metropolitan church of that multitude of peoples who in great part have been converted into Christianity by its preaching.”⁴⁶⁸

Hence also the main reason for describing the other peoples are the missions directed to them. After the conversion of the Saxons, the chronicler describes the early missions to the Danes and Swedes. This is followed by his account of the conversion of the Slavs during the reign of Otto I (936-973), the conversion of King St. Olaf of Norway (1016-28) and King Eric the Victorious of Sweden.⁴⁶⁹

Firstly the unifying sign of the Others is that of pagans (*gentiles*), which differs and excludes them from the Christians.⁴⁷⁰ Their images are however determined by the process of their conversion, and depend also on whether they accepted Christianity voluntarily or resisted it, and how long their resistance lasted, are they described to have relapsed back into paganism or not; and, not the less significant, on their relationship with the church of Hamburg-Bremen. Here above all else the Danes, Swedes and Slavs are represented as peoples resisting and revolting the true faith over a long period of time. As Adam refers to the early mission to the Danes and Swedes, he also treats them as apostates and defines most of the military action undertaken by them as attacks both against the neophytes of their own land and the Christians abroad. As the enlargement of Christianity was a process that lasted a long time and took place in a perpetual line of conquest and withdrawal, the Christians and non-Christians lived side by side at many places, and also many converted kings and princes ruled over a pagan people.⁴⁷¹ This results in the large variety of otherness and varies the audience of

II.13); during the reign of Archbishop Adaldag (937-88) “nearly all (*fere omnes*) the Slavs were at that time converted to Christian faith” (GHEP II.17); see also GHEP II.33-4. Yet also Prince Gottschalk “turned a great part of Slavia to the divine religion” (GHEP III.49), and by the King Sven Forkbeard of Denmark (985-1014) “Christianity was diffused far and wide among the farther peoples” and “many of among the barbarian nations had been converted into Christianity” (GHEP III.53).

⁴⁶⁸ /--/ *innumerabilem populorum multitudinem, quorum metropolis haec facta est, labore suae praedicationis ex magna iam parte conversos habeat ad christianitatem* /--/ (GHEP IV.41).

⁴⁶⁹ As Adam starts with his survey on the Slavs, stating that “we do not think it is improper to say something about the nature and peoples of Slavia by way of an historical survey, especially since it is related that nearly all the Slavs were at that time [around 970] converted to the Christian religion by our archbishop Adaldag.” (GHEP II.17); see also the end of it: “these remarks about the Slavs and their country may suffice, because /--/ they were all at that time converted into Christianity” (GHEP II.20). For the early missions to the Danes and Swedes see GHEP I.17-19; the Swedes GHEP I.28, and the Danes GHEP II.3-4; for the mission among the Slavs see GHEP II.5, 13-20. The conversion of St. Olaf is described in GHEP II.34-5. Erik however is said to have relapsed into paganism, and generally the King Olaf Skötkonung (995-1022) is held to be the first Christian king of Sweden (baptised in 1008). Adam also does not hold the King Olaf Tryggvasson of Norway (995-1000) as a proper Christian, however the latter is traditionally seen as the first Christian Norwegian king.

⁴⁷⁰ As expressed by the notion of opening the door of faith, as in the case of the mission of St. Willehad, during which “the Almighty God opened the door of faith (*ostium fidei aperuerat*) unto the Frisian nation as well as unto the Saxon” (GHEP I.13: ref. Act 14: 26).

⁴⁷¹ The King Olaf Skötkonung of Sweden (995-1022) is said to have managed to establish a church and an episcopal see only in Western Gothia, not elsewhere in Sweden (GHEP II.56); king Canute of Denmark (1016-35) was “very dreadful in his power over the barbarian peoples of three realms” (GHEP II.63); also the

the missionaries, as they are to convert the heathens, to strengthen the neophytes liable to fall back into paganism and to win back the apostates.⁴⁷²

The most eminent features in the image of the pagans and barbarians are connected to their military actions, and the latter is above all described as an attack against Christianity and church, and as a persecution of the Christians. It refers to the opposite of peace, and disturbs the missionary activity.⁴⁷³

The first descriptions of the assaults of the Normans and Hungarians set the pattern for describing the warfare of the pagans and, later of the apostates; and here the most dominant features are the killing of the Christians, burning of the churches, laying the land waste, which results also in the disturbance of the order and peace on a larger scale. Mainly it is accompanied by and explained as a wish to exterminate Christianity. Described as fierce in themselves that is by nature the fierceness and cruelty of the barbarians, however always signifies violence that is directed against the Christians. Adam has carefully described the early missions to Denmark and Sweden, and this enables both to signify the later assaults as relapses into paganism and aimed not only against the Christians abroad, but also against the neophytes at home.

As the chronicle has described the Northmen or Viking raids that took place in around the 880s, those are to set a model for the relapses and revolts of the later times. Adam states, “the Danes and Northmen had been subjected to the pastoral care of the Church at Hamburg”, and hence the enormities of the raids are seen as even greater, and described as “pagans establishing their power over the Christians.”⁴⁷⁴

The Danes are described to relapse into paganism during the revolt against the Christian king Harald Bluetooth in 974. The leader of the rebellion was Harald’s son Sven

Christian chieftan of the Slavs, Ratibor is said to have been “a man of great influence among the barbarians” (*iste christianus erat, vir magnae potestatis inter barbaros*) (GHEP II.75). Likewise the chronicle describes the Laplanders living at the northern realms of Sweden and Norway as pagans (GHEP IV.31), and in Norway and Sweden the preachers still are “go about the county, drawing as many as one can into Christianity” (GHEP IV.33).

⁴⁷² The archbishop Adalbert sets about to “bring the tidings of salvation to peoples not yet converted or impart perfection to those already converted” (GHEP III.70); in Sweden the bishop of Dalby (and later of Lund), Egino “administered consolatio to those who believed in Christ and to the unbelievers he preservingly announced the word of God” (GHEP IV.9)

⁴⁷³ The strife with the Danish king Gotafrid “very seriously retarded” Charlemagne’s purpose to establish an episcopal see at Hamburg (GHEP I.16). St. Ansgar’s “zeal in preaching was checked by a persecution of the barbarians” (*persecutione barbarorum*) (GHEP I.19); from Sweden bishop Gauzbert “was driven out by the fury of the heathen” (*zelo gentilium*) (GHEP I.23); and, St. Ansgar “restored the faith among the Nordalbingians who had wavered before as a result of the persecution” (*in fide reformavit, quos ante persecutio turbavit*) (GHEP I.25). The missionaries were expelled also from Sweden; save only Herigarius, the prefect of Björko, who alone “upheld there the Christian religion” and “saved many thousands of pagans” (*multa paganorum milia*) (GHEP I.23).

⁴⁷⁴ */--/ pagani super christianos extenderint potentiam suam /--/* (GHEP I.40).

Forkbeard (985-1014), whom Adam names an apostate, and describes the revolt as “a conspiracy to renounce Christianity”, and “worse than civil war.”⁴⁷⁵ However, from other sources it is known that Sven was a Christian ruler according to the patterns of his own time; and the revolt was in itself not a rebellion against Christianity, but aimed against the lordship of the German Emperors (see Janson 2003: 251-2, Janson 2005).

Similar patterns dominate in the descriptions of the Slavic revolts (around 983-1018), as the barbarians are firstly said to have “ravaged the whole province with impunity.”⁴⁷⁶ During the revolt lead by Mistisvoi and Mizzidagi “the rebel Slavs wasted the whole of Nordalbingia with fire and sword, going through the rest of Slavia, they set fire to all the churches and tore them down to the ground. They also murdered the priests and the other ministers of with diverse tortures and left not a vestige of Christianity beyond the Elbe.”⁴⁷⁷ Also here the other sources confirm that the revolt was not aimed against Christianity, but primarily against the Saxon church and nobility (see Janson 2003: 250-1, Janson 2005).

Especially the notion of cruelty (*crudelitas*) signifies primarily violence against the Christians. This is applied especially to the northern rulers. Firstly the King Horic II of Denmark is said to have “raged with inborn ferocity against the Christians, expelling the priests of God and ordering the churches to be closed.”⁴⁷⁸ Even more dominant becomes this imagery in the case of the Danish ruler Gorm (Gorm the Elder, 935-45), who is named “the most cruel.”⁴⁷⁹ He is titled also “a savage worm” (*crudelissimus vermis*; as his name is *Worm* in Latin) and described as “not moderately hostile to the Christian people /--/ set about to destroy Christianity in Denmark, driving out priests of God from its bounds and also torturing very many of them to death.”⁴⁸⁰ The fierceness of the northern rulers, that signifies their hostility against the Christians, is also used to explain the little success of the missionaries both among the rulers and their people.

Likewise, during the Slav revolt in around 1011-3 in Hamburg “many clerics and citizens” are said to have been “led off into captivity, and even more were put to death out of hatred for Christianity.”⁴⁸¹ Here the chronicle also describes in detail the martyrdom of the

⁴⁷⁵ GHEP II.25.

⁴⁷⁶ GHEP II.29.

⁴⁷⁷ GHEP II.40. See also the descriptions of the later Slavic revolts (GHEP II.75; III.16,18).

⁴⁷⁸ /--/ *ingenito furore super christicolos efferatus, sacerdotes Dei expulit et ecclesias claudi praecepit* /--/ (GHEP I.30).

⁴⁷⁹ /--/ *crudelissimum* /--/ (GHEP I.61). Earlier also Ingvar is said to have been “the most cruel” of the Danish tyrants (*tyranni*), and to have “tortured Christians to death” (*christianos ubique per supplicia necavit*) (GHEP I.39). Likewise the King Hakon the Bad of Norway (around 971-995) is named “the most cruel” (GHEP II.22).

⁴⁸⁰ /--/ *christianorum populis non mediocriter infestus* /--/ (GHEP I.57).

⁴⁸¹ /--/ *propter odium christianitatis* /--/ (GHEP II.41).

priests in Oldenburg, as sixty of them were kept for mockery and tortured to death, the rest “had been slaughtered like cattle.”⁴⁸² Similarly is described the revolt lead by the later good Christian, the Slavic chieftain Gottschalk. After he had rejected the faith and joined the enemies of God (the Winuli), “he attacked Christians and /--/ struck down many thousands of the Saxons.”⁴⁸³

Warlikeness and cruelty remain to characterise the Christian rulers of the Slavs and the northerners also later.⁴⁸⁴ The warlikeness may be characterised as braveness, like it is the case in the battle held between Harald Bluetooth and Otto I the Great in Haddeby (Schleswig), “manfully contested at both sides”⁴⁸⁵; or in the battle between the Saxons and the pirates in Stade, also “manfully contested on both sides.”⁴⁸⁶ Primarily the bravery of the others however signifies the battles won by the Christians, and here the manfulness of the others serves to underline our bravery and glorify the victory.

Like in the case of the Saxons, apostasy adds to the image of the others also perfidy (*perfidiae*) and rebelliousness (*rebelles*), as it is described as relapse into paganism and neglecting Christianity.⁴⁸⁷ The revolt of the Danes under king Sven is described not only a persecution of the Christians (*magnam persecutionem christianorum*), but also as a rebellion against God (*regem Deo rebellem*).⁴⁸⁸ Besides ferocity (*ferocis animus*) and cruelty, Sven is also described as perfidious.⁴⁸⁹ Adam also uses the parable of the sower to illustrate Sven’s activity and to sing him as an enemy of the Christians.⁴⁹⁰

This enables also to underline the need to protect Christianity among the barbarians and to describe attacks made against them as revenge for the evil done to Christians and Christianity in general, the latter idea closely bound to the idea of the vengeance of God.

⁴⁸² GHEP II.41

⁴⁸³ /--/ *arma corripuit, amneque transmissio, inimicis Dei se coniunxit Winulis. Quorum auxilio christianos impugnans multa milia Saxonum prostrasse dicitur in patris vindictam* /--/ (GHEP II.64).

⁴⁸⁴ Cruelty (*crudelitas*) is applied to the Christian chieftain of the Winuli (GHEP II.64); and likewise the Danish king Canute the Great (1016-35) and St. Olaf of Norway held “continual war, and it did not cease all the days of their lives” (GHEP II.55: ref. III Reg 14:30; 15:6,16).

⁴⁸⁵ /--/ *utrisque viriliter concertantibus* /--/ (GHEP II.3). Here Adam, however attributes to Otto I the campaign held by Otto II in 974.

⁴⁸⁶ /--/ *viriliter utrisque certantibus* /--/ (GHEP II.29). Also the Duke of Saxony, Bernhard is said to have captured the leader of the revolt of the Winuli, Gottschalk, yet as he “respected him as a man of great bravery” (*virumque arbitrans fortissimum*) the duke made an alliance with him and let him go (GHEP II.64).

⁴⁸⁷ The notion occurs in the text especially often. See GHEP I.54,55,57,63; II.13-20.

⁴⁸⁸ GHEP II.27. Aslo as a conspiracy against God, as the Danes *sölmivad vandenöu* (*conspiratione*) to renounce Christianity (*christianitatem abdicantes*) (GHEP II.25).

⁴⁸⁹ /--/ *in sua crudelitate ac perfidia sevire cepit* /--/ (GHEP II.27).

⁴⁹⁰ /--/ *pulcrisque divinae religionis initiis invidens inimicus homo superseminare zizania conatus est* /--/ (GHEP II.25: ref. Mt 13:25)

Neophytes – the Functions of the Young Congregation

The neophytes are described as weak in faith and liable to fall back into paganism. The image of the neophytes is closely bound to the general pattern of explaining the course of the mission; as they serve both as the reason to protect the church established in their land.⁴⁹¹ Yet they provide also a mean to explain the relapses into paganism as an expression of their weak faith.

The apostasy is described as forgetting the true faith in the case of the Danes and Swedes.⁴⁹² The cruelty of the Danish and Swedish rulers, which is described as violence against the neophytes of their own land, serves here as the reason why the Danes and the Swedes have relapsed into paganism.⁴⁹³

Later the need to strengthen the converts is applied to the Slavs.⁴⁹⁴ However, here Adam also uses the name bad Christians and pseudo-Christians, to underline their liability to relapse into paganism.⁴⁹⁵ The Slav rebellion is also described as “cutting themselves off from the body of Christ and of the Church with which they had before been joined.”⁴⁹⁶

Neophytes are also linked to idolatry and magic, yet also here this is mainly connected to the Norwegians, and even more so, to the image of St. Olaf. Adam describes the first Christian king of Norway, Olaf Tryggvasson (995-1000) as half Christian, stating that “some relate that Olaf had been a Christian, some that he had forsaken Christianity, all, however, affirm that he was skilled in divination, was an observer of the lots, and had placed all his

⁴⁹¹ Especially in the case of Denmark, as St. Rimbart “had a church built in Denmark for the young Christendom (*novellae christianitati*) in a place called Schleswig” (GHEP I.43); and even later “in spite of so many changes in rulers and so many barbarian inroads, there was left in Denmark a little of the Christianity which Ansgar had planted there and which did not entirely disappear”(GHEP I.54).

⁴⁹² Like it is the case with the Swedes, to whom the mission of bishop Unni was “unfamiliar” (GHEP I.63); later also the King Stenkil of Sweden claims that the newly converts could “quickly relapse into paganism” (GHEP IV.29).

⁴⁹³ Again, here the Sweeds “had entirely forgotten the Christian religion and could by no means be easily persuaded to believe, because they had lived through the period of barbarian invasion when in a few years many kings held bloody sway over them” (GHEP I.63). Later the Sweeds are also defined as neophytes, easily corrupted by unsound teaching (GHEP III.14).

⁴⁹⁴ Bishop Willeric went “about his diocese, baptising the heathen and strengthening the faithful in Christ” (*gentiles baptizando et fideles in Christo confortando*) (GHEP I.20). The weakness of their faith is expressed also when Adam lists the bishops of Oldenburg “in whose reign the Slavs still remained Christians” (*quorum tempore Sclavi permanserunt christiani*) (GHEP II.24). Later the chronicle stresses the need “to strengthen the untutored folk in the Christian religion” (GHEP III.20). Yet also in the case of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden both the need “to faithfully keep the churches” and “fearlessly to forward the conversion of the pagans” is underlined (GHEP III.11).

⁴⁹⁵ Two of the leaders of the Winuli are named pagans (*pagani*), the third “a bad Christian” (*male christianus*); and the revolting tribe in general is described as “the enemies of God” (GHEP II.64). Likewise the Slavs who destroyed Bremen are signified as “pseudochristians” (*pseudochristianes*) (GHEP III.1).

⁴⁹⁶ *Omnes igitur Sclavi, qui inter Albiam et Oddaram habitant, per annos 70 et amplius christianitatem coluerunt, omni tempore Ottonum, talique modo se absciderunt a corpore Christi et ecclesiae, cui antea coniuncti fuerant.* (GHEP II.42)

hope in the prognostication of brides.”⁴⁹⁷ The king “was also given to the practice of magic arts and supported as his household companions all the magicians, with whom the land was overrun.”⁴⁹⁸ To this is closely bound and contrasted the image of St. Olaf of Norway, who “rooted out the magicians from the land.”⁴⁹⁹ Here the text also states the need to expel magicians and idolatry completely, as the blessed king is said to have “believed that God had restored him to his kingdom in order that henceforth no one should be spared who either would persist in sorcery or would not become a Christian.”⁵⁰⁰ The imagery is also closely linked to the martyrdom of St. Olaf, as the survived sorcerers are said to have struck the king down in revenge for those whom the king had condemned.⁵⁰¹

The magicians are replaced with Christian priests, as St. Olaf had with him many priests and bishops from England.⁵⁰² Yet the king is also said to have sent to “our archbishop” to send him bishops, “that they might strengthen the rude Norwegian people in Christianity.”⁵⁰³

In some cases the text reflects the co-existence of black and white magic, describing also many Christian rulers who are known for their magic skills.⁵⁰⁴ A yet more eminent version of it is the pirates, who “would gladly have carried off the body [of St. Willehad] because of the miracle-working power of our confessor.”⁵⁰⁵

On the other hand, “since it is the way of barbarians to seek after a sign”, as Adam puts it, they are more easily convinced to accept baptism by miracles.⁵⁰⁶ The miracles God performs through the missionaries are described in the text many times, and as such, function also as signs of God’s grace and the electedness of the missionaries. Although the chronicler claims that “it is in vain to look to the saints for signs and wonders which evil men also can

⁴⁹⁷ GHEP II.38.

⁴⁹⁸ */--/ artis magicæ studio deditus, omnes, quibus illa redundat patria, maleficos habuit domesticos /---/* (GHEP II.38). The king however was deceived by the magicians, and perished (*Ibid.*)

⁴⁹⁹ */--/ maleficos de terra disperderet /--/* GHEP II.55.

⁵⁰⁰ */--/ ad hoc se credidit in regnum a Deo restitutum, ut iam tunc nemini parcere debuisset, qui vel magus permanere vellet aut christianus fieri nollet /--/* (GHEP II.59).

⁵⁰¹ GHEP II.59. Previously St. Olaf had been driven out from the throne “by a rebellion of the nobles whose wives he had apprehended for sorcery”; yet restored his power. Adam refers also to the different versions about St. Olaf’s death; supporting himself the belief that the king was “secretly murdered for the favor of King Canute.” (*Ibid.*)

⁵⁰² GHEP II.55. The priests were to direct the king’s subjects; yet also sent to preach the word of God to the barbarians (to Sweden, Gothia, and all the islands beyond Norway).

⁵⁰³ *rudem Nortmannorum populum in christianitate confortarent* (GHEP II.55).

⁵⁰⁴ The Christian prefect of Björko, Herigarius was “himself distinguished for his miracles and wonder-working powers.” (GHEP I.17); and in that town the decision on their conversion was made both “with the consent of the people and according to the casting of the lots and the response of the idol” (*Ibid.*). Likewise their later bishop, Adalward was “renowned for miraculous powers” (GHEP IV.23).

⁵⁰⁵ */--/ propter virtutem miraculorum confessoris nostri corpus auferre maluerunt /--/* (GHEP I.20).

⁵⁰⁶ */--/ cum barbari suo more signum quaerent /--/* (GHEP II.33).

perform, because /--/ it is a greater miracle to convert from sin a soul, which is to live for eternity, than to raise up a from death a body, which is to die again,”⁵⁰⁷ the text includes the miracles done by the greater early missionaries, and henceforth describes the miracles taking place during many other missions.⁵⁰⁸ The model is given by St. Rimbert who is said to have “worked many miracles in the manner of ancient saints”, and here Adam lists that the saint “often stilled stormy sea by his prayer, and gave sight to a blind man /--/ and freed a king’s son from a devil.”⁵⁰⁹ These cover all the major miracles of a saint after a hagiographical pattern, as Christ set the model for them already, as described in the Gospels.⁵¹⁰

The process of conversion in general is described as turning the opposites upside down (not knowing vs. knowing, pride vs. humility, fury vs. obedience etc); explaining the resistance of the heathens as an expression of the main Christian sins and the conversion as an expression of obtaining the main virtues. Hence the resistance signifies pride, and accepting the faith is a sign of humility.⁵¹¹ Especially the voluntary acceptance of baptism functions as an expression of humility, and here in some cases Adam signifies the missionary preaching also as a process of awakening the feelings of the barbarians. During the mission of Egging, bishop of Dalby, the people living in the island of Bornholm are said to have been “moved to tears by his preaching and to have manifested such sorrow for their error that they immediately broke up their idols and of their own accord hastened to be baptised.”⁵¹²

Hence at the end of the chronicle Adam can claim that “Behold the fierce race of the Danes, of the Norwegians, or of the Swedes which /--/ “knew nothing else but in barbarianism to gnash its teeth, has long since learned to intone Alleluia in the praise of God.” Behold that piratical people, by which, we read, whole provinces of the Gauls and of Germany were at

⁵⁰⁷ *Frustra in sanctis signa et miracula quaruntur, quae habere possunt et mali, quia /--/ maius miraculum est, animam, quae in aeternum victura est, a peccato convertere, quam corpus, quod denuo moriturum est, suscitare a morte.* (GHEP I.42: ref. Gregory the Great, *Homilia* ii.xxix)

⁵⁰⁸ Among them stand out the miracles that were performed by the legate of the archbishop of Hamburg, Poppo in Schleswig. Poppo held a red-hot iron in his hands, and yet made another miracle “in order to clear away that people’s paganism”, cladding himself into a waxed tunic and directed himself to be set on fire. The man remained unharmed, and “because of this unusual miracle many thousands them believed” (*Cuius novitati miraculi et tunc multa milia crediderunt per eum*) (GHEP II.33). In Uppsala Virgin Mary is said to have given back a sight to a pagan priest, who had become blinded due to his worship of idols by which he had offended God (GHEP IV.28); this, however is also part of the imagery of Uppsala as a seat of idolatry.

⁵⁰⁹ /--/ *antiquorum more sanctorum quaedam fecisse miracula* /--/ (GHEP I.42).

⁵¹⁰ See also: “And these signs shall follow them that believe; In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; / They shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.” (Mc 16: 17-8)

⁵¹¹ This is influences also patterns for describing the missionary warfare, as it is aimed “to spare the humbled and to tame in war the proud” (GHEP III.31: ref. Virgil *Aeneid* vi.854).

⁵¹² GHEP IV.8; the people are also said to have given “all their valuables and everything they had” to the bishop. The Sweeds in Götaland, according to Adam, were the first to accept Christianity during the reign of king Olaf,

one time devastated and which is now content with its bounds /--/ now that the native fury of its folk has been subdued, the preachers of the truth /--/ and with the universal acclaim now everyone proclaims the name of the Christ.”⁵¹³

Here they can say “with the Apostle, “For we have not here a lasting city, but we seek one that is to come” and “We believe to see the good things of the Lord in the land of the living””; yet not to speak with their own voice.”⁵¹⁴

Allies and Enemies

The enlargement of Christianity and the conquest of new lands brought along both allies and enemies to the Hamburg-Bremen church, and this results also in a greater variety among the images of the others.

Firstly dominantly the non-Christians are treated as the others. However, as the struggle over the new territories starts and the legitimisation of one’s right over land, people and tribute becomes more and more important, also the representation of the Christian rivals comes more crucial. On the other hand, the church and her missionary goal gained also many allies amongst the rulers of previously barbarian and pagan territories.

Hence, during the course of the mission also the imagery of them and us is redefined. The process, however does not take place only by applying the sings used for the pagans and barbarians to the enemies and rivals, but rather the imagery of the allies and enemies develops in close interaction.

The Enlargement of Christian Ideals of Kingship

The chronicler describes carefully the small congregations of the neophytes on the previously barbarous lands, as they are also to stress the need to protect Christianity in their lands. During that time, however the conversion and support of the kings and rulers was more important for the actual course of the mission.

The text pays attention to the conversion of kings and in this respect refers also to the idea that the conversion of a ruler meant also the conversion of his people. Likewise the death or expulsion of a Christian king could bring along the relapse into paganism, like during the

and this he interpretes also as a sing of them being noble peoples (*duos nobiles populos Gothorum*) (GHEP II.56).

⁵¹³ GHEP IV.42: ref. Gregorius *Moralia* iv.42.

⁵¹⁴ GHEP IV.42: ref. Heb 13: 14, Ps 26: 13

revolt against the King Harald Bluetooth in Denmark or among the Slavs after the murder of the Christian prince Gottschalk.⁵¹⁵

The conversion of the pagan rulers is also seen as a merit achieved by the missionaries and taking place through God's grace. The model is set by St. Ansgar's mission to the Danish ruler Horic II, as the missionary "did not fear to go to him and, because he was attended by divine grace, so far placated the grim tyrant that the himself accepted the Christian faith and /- /- ordered all his followers to become Christians."⁵¹⁶ Similarly bishop Unni is said, "by his preaching to have won" king Harald Bluetooth of Denmark (converted around 935-6), and made him "so faithful that, although he himself had not yet received the sacrament of baptism, he permitted the public profession of Christianity."⁵¹⁷

The converted barbarian kings also create a need for a new image, and change the lines drawn between the Christians and barbarians. While some of them may relapse into paganism, then the others become the defenders of the faith in lands still pagan. Here the latter start to take over many of the signs previously applied to the great Christian kings.

Among them the first are the Danish kings Horic II and Harald Bluetooth, as well as king Helge of Norway. They are to defend Christianity and the missionaries in lands yet largely pagan, to convert many of the pagans and build churches.⁵¹⁸ Similarly to the great Christian kings, they are described as pious and just, and to rely on God's grace in the war and in all their deeds.⁵¹⁹ Here firstly the image of king Harald Bluetooth stands out the most,

⁵¹⁵ The conversion of Harald Bluetooth in around 960 is mentioned twice (GHEP I.17, II.3). The significance of the event is underlined, when Adam states that "his memory (*memoria*) and that of his wife, Gunnhild, will remain forever with us." (GHEP II.26). He describes the conversion of St. Olaf of Norway (1016-28) (GHEP II.34), and how King Olaf of Sweden had his two sons baptised together with his wife and people (*populo*) (GHEP II.57), likewise King Olaf Trygvasson of Norway was "with his people" (GHEP IV.33). For the revolt against Harald Bluetooth in around 985-6 see GHEP II.25-8. Adam states that due to that reason "Christianity in Denmark was thrown into confusion(*turbata est*)" (GHEP II.25). For the revolt against Gottschalk see GHEP III.49-50; here the prince was "slain by the pagans whom he was trying to convert into Christianity" (in around 1066) (GHEP II.19).

⁵¹⁶ *Ad quem /-/- venire non trepidans, comitante gratia divina, crudelem tyrannum sic placatum reddidit, ut Christianitatem ipse susciperet, suisque omnibus, ut Christiani fieret /-/- mandaret.* (GHEP I.31)

⁵¹⁷ */-/- ita fidelem Christo perfecit, ut christianitatem /-/- ipse haberi publice permetteret, quamvis nondum baptismi sacramentum percepit.* (GHEP I.61)

⁵¹⁸ During the reign of Horic II "a countless multitude of heathen accepted the faith" (*Infinita gentilium credidit multitudo*), and the king is said to have erected a church in Schleswig (GHEP I.27). Harald Bluetooth gave aid to the bishop Unni on the latter's mission to Denmark, and ordained many priests for the several churches in Denmark (GHEP I.61); and besides admitting Christianity to his kingdom he is said to have made King of Sweden, Emund Ericsson (Slemme) "favourably disposed towards Christianity" (GHEP II.22). Later King Sven Estridsson of Denmark is noted to have "diffused Christianity far and wide among the farther peoples" (GHEP III.53).

⁵¹⁹ The King Helge of Norway was "a man beloved by the people for his justice and sanctity (*iusticiam et sanctitatem*)" (GHEP I.50). During the revolts aimed against them, Harald Bluetooth "placed all his trust in God (*totam spem in Deo posuerat*), he then also most particularly commended to Christ the issue of the event (*commendans Christo eventum rei*)" (GHEP II.25); and St. Olaf was "placing all his trust in God" (*totam spem suam in Deo ponens*) (GHEP II.59).

as the king is also said to be “the first to proclaim Christianity to the Danes”, and to have held it firm unto the end.”⁵²⁰ The king himself is also “noted for his piety and bravery”, and to have strengthened his rule “by holiness and justice”; and here Adam names Harald also another David.⁵²¹ As during the revolt the king was killed, Adam signifies him also as a martyr.⁵²²

In Adam’s chronicle, St. Olaf of Norway is the second great king among the Northern rulers. His image is in accordance with the model of a just Christian king, as he “governed his realm with judgement and justice” and “among other virtuous characteristics of his was a great zeal for God.”⁵²³ The latter is expressed also in St. Olaf’s fight against idolatry; and as shown above, the expulsion of magicians forms an important part of the image of the saintly king. Adam also describes the martyrdom of the blessed king (in 1030), and notes that on his sepulchre in Trondheim “even today” numerous miracles and cures take place. Here, the sacralisation of Norway is described not to take place only through the space, yet also through sacralising the time and especially the ritual time, as the feast of St. Olaf’s passion (July 29) is “worthily recalled with eternal veneration on the part of all the peoples of the Northern Ocean, the Norwegians, Swedes, Goths, Sembi, Danes, and Slavs.”⁵²⁴

St. Olaf also has an alter ego and a counterpart in the chronicle, as Adam names the King Olaf Skötkonung of Sweden (995-1022) “the other Olaf” (*alter Olaph*) and claims that he was “filled with similar devotion to religion” and having a similar desire to convert the people subject to him to Christianity.⁵²⁵

Similar characteristics are attributed also to the Slavic prince Gottschalk. The latter was converted already in his early years, and spent his boyhood at the monastery of Lüneburg. On learning about his father’s death (by a Saxon deserter), Gottschalk rejected the faith, joined the revolt and attacked the Saxons out of revenge.⁵²⁶ Later on Gottschalk, however accepted the faith newly, and henceforth Adam describes how under his reign “our

⁵²⁰ Accordingly *populo Danorum christianitatem primus indixit* *populo* (GHEP II.26); and *c/ onstanter retinuit usque in finem* *populo* (GHEP II.22: ref. Heb 3:14).

⁵²¹ *regnum suum sanctitate et iusticia confirmans* *populo* (GHEP II.22: ref. Eph 4: 24). During the revolt, Harald went to war “like another David, mourning for his son Absalom” (GHEP II.25: ref. II Reg 18: 33, 19: 1).

⁵²² GHEP II.26. Here he describes also the healings and other wonders that took place at the king’s sepulchre after his death.

⁵²³ Accordingly *iudicio et iusticia* *populo* (GHEP II.55) and *inter cetera virtutum opera magnum Dei zelum* *populo* (*Ibid.*). The “most Christian king” had “firmness toward his enemies and justice towards his own people” (*fortitudine in hostes et iusticia in suos*) (GHEP II.59).

⁵²⁴ GHEP II.59

⁵²⁵ Accordingly *simili religionis amore* *populo* and *sibi populos ad christianitatem convertere volens* *populo* (GHEP II.56). This is manifested in his desire to destroy “the temple of idols at Uppsala”, yet the king is said succeeding to establish a church and a see only in Western Götaland (*Ibid.*). He and later also the King Stenkil of Sweden (d. around 1066) are called “the most Christian king (*christianissimus rex*)” (GHEP II.56; III.25).

Church in Hamburg enjoyed peace, and Slavia abounded in priests and churches.”⁵²⁷ Also Gottschalk became a martyr, as he was slain in Lenzen during the Slavic revolt (in 1066), and here Adam names him also “our Maccabee.”⁵²⁸

The Danes

In the northern countries soon the Danes, and the Danish church became a serious rival for Hamburg-Bremen, when they want to establish an episcopal see in Lund.⁵²⁹

The negative imagery of the Danes, however, is steadily developed throughout the chronicle. The Danes are involved in the devastating Norman assaults, and from that time their warlikeness is emphasised throughout the text. An even more defining sign of the Danes becomes that of having continuous power struggles and civil wars in their country. The latter are described to take place among the Danish rulers already during the time of the Norman assaults.⁵³⁰ And later also used to describe the revolt against Harald Bluetooth as “deplorable and worse than civil war.”⁵³¹ Later the kings Canute the Great of Denmark (1016-35) and St. Olaf of Norway are said to have been in “a continual war that did not cease all the days of their lives.”⁵³² Here again namely the Danes are described as “struggling for dominion” and the Norwegians “in truth, fighting for their freedom.”⁵³³ Also the pirates have not become inexistent among the Danes, as in Zealand live the pirates who “pay tribute to the king to plunder the barbarians”, and are yet said to have “misused the license granted to them with respect to enemies against their own people.”⁵³⁴

⁵²⁶ GHEP II.64

⁵²⁷ GHEP III.18. In GHEP III.18-22 Adam gives a long description of the prosperity of the church and Christianity in Slavia. Of the prince himself “no mightier and more fervent propagator of the Christian religion has ever arisen hither in Slavia.”

⁵²⁸ GHEP III.49.

⁵²⁹ GHEP III.32.

⁵³⁰ The power struggles among the Danes are described already in GHEP I.17. After the attack against the Franks the Northmen are said to have “turned their victorious right hands against their own vitals” and while disputing with each other, to have made “such a great slaughter on both sides that the whole people perished” (GHEP I.30). Here the first expression is a quote from Lucan’s *Civil War* (i.3).

⁵³¹ */-/ miserabili et plus quam civili bello -/-* (GHEP II.25).

⁵³² */-/ continuum fuit bellum nec cessavit omnibus diebus vitae eorum/-/* (GHEP II.55: ref. III Reg 14:30; 15:6,16); and also St. Olaf “fought on perpetual warfare against Canute, the king of the Danes, who had attacked his kingdom” (*contra Chnut, regem Danorum, qui regnum suum impugnaverat, perpetuo decertabat praelio*) (GHEP II.59).

⁵³³ *Accordinl -/-/ pro imperio certantibus -/-/ and -/-/ pro libertatem -/-/* (GHEP II.55: ref. Sallust *Jugurtha* xciv.5). This, however is also closely linked to the image of St. Olaf, who is said to have had “the juster cause”, since “the war was for him necessary rather than voluntary” (*iustior -/-/ causa Olaph, cui bellum necessarium magis fuit quam voluntarium*) (GHEP II.55).

⁵³⁴ GHEP IV.6.

A more negative imagery is applied also to the Danes in general, as they “both in their laws and in their customs run contrary to what is fair and good.”⁵³⁵ Likewise the Danes are shown to have no mercy, feelings, nor compassion for one’s fellow beings, as “tears and complaints and other forms of compunction, by us regarded wholesome, are by the Danes so much abominated that one may weep neither over his sins nor over his beloved dead.”⁵³⁶ Also the habit of continuous drinking and feasting is contributes to the negative characteristics applied to the Danes.⁵³⁷

Oneself as the Other - the Avarice of the Saxons

Even though the Slavic revolts are mainly explained as a result of the rebelliousness and perfidy of the Slavs, on a more general level they are also punishment for the sins of the Christians. Here also the destruction of Hamburg is seen as “vengeance for its sins.”⁵³⁸ Likewise the great Slav revolts (in around 983-1018) take place by the judgement of God, as He “willed now to harden a small amount of the heathen through whom He might confound our faithlessness.”⁵³⁹ As Adam also compares the Slavs with the seven tribes of Canaan, the perils of the Saxons during the revolts are compared to the ones of the people of Israel.⁵⁴⁰

This is connected also to one of the most dominant themes of the chronicle, the avarice of the secular rulers. This makes them put heavy tribute and taxes on the neophytes, and Adam treats the heavy burdening of the Slavs also as the main reason for the revolts and relapses into paganism. Here the princes are opposed to the clerical rulers, as the first are pictured to care for the tribute only, and the latter for the salvation of souls.⁵⁴¹ The avarice of the princes is also to explain the meagre success of the mission, as Adam claims, “it is clear to me that because of the efforts of the priests the Christian religion would long ago have become strong there [among the Winuli] if the avarice of the princes had not hindered the

⁵³⁵ GHEP IV.6; here Adam emphasises especially the habit to sell women they have violated, and the cruel punishments for criminals, as the latter “would rather be beheaded than flogged.” (*Ibid.*)

⁵³⁶ GHEP IV.6.

⁵³⁷ See GHEP III.17, 70. Wven the most Christian king of Demark, Sven is pictured as keen on worldly pleasures and luxuries (GHEP III.53).

⁵³⁸ As the metropolitan city, once “happy in its fields and crops” is now turned into wilderness, “suffering vengeance for its sins” (*peccatorum vindictae patens*) (GHEP II.15).

⁵³⁹ Referring to the providence, Adam states in his explanation also “truly the judgements of God over men are hidden: “Therefore He hath mercy on whom he will; and whom He will He will hardeneth” (GHEP II.42: ref. Rm 9:18).

⁵⁴⁰ As “He /--/ who of old wiped out in the sight of Israel the seven tribes of Canaan, and kept only the strangers by whom the transgressors might be punished – He /--/ willed now to harden a small part of the heathen trough whom He might confound our faithlessness” (GHEP II.42: ref. Dt 7: 1, Idc 3: 1, Act 13: 19).

⁵⁴¹ Like in the case of the archbishop Alebrand (1035-43) and the Duke Bernhard of Saxony, who “worked at cross purposes (*diverso modo*) among the Winuli people; the duke /--/ striving to increase the tribute; the archbishop to spread Christianity” (*duce scilicet pro tributo, pontifice vero pro augenda christianitate laborantibus*) (GHEP II.69).

conversion of the folk.”⁵⁴² Similar claims are made throughout the chronicle, all of them referring to that “the Slavic peoples without doubt could have been converted into Christianity long ago but for the avarice of the Saxons.”⁵⁴³

The text reflects the conflict between the old aristocracy and the empire, imperial church, and new aristocracy. (Janson 2004: 356-60, 1998: 314-20)

During the time Helmold is describing the interests of the Slavs, the princes and the bishops were controversial indeed. While the Slavs had to stand up against the growing power of the Saxons, the princes were interested in tribute and military alliances with the Slavs, and the bishops were interested in enlargement their ecclesiastical authority and spreading the mission. (Smalley 1974: 123-125) On the one hand, Adam pictures most of the Saxon princes as opposed to the clerical rulers, and even claims “the ill will of the dukes of this land” to be hostile to the church in general.⁵⁴⁴ On the other hand their image alters as due to the various local interests, social networks and personal allegiances, and loyalties. Of the latter, their relationship and loyalty to the church determines the image of the secular rulers to a large extent. Hence, even when the chronicler describes the many sins of the Saxon princes, their “addiction to drink”, the maligning and blaspheming, feasting, adultery, and even incest, then still his utmost concern here is that the princes are not loyal to the archbishop Albert.⁵⁴⁵ Likewise the negative imagery is more dominant during the conflicts between ecclesiastical and secular powers, and as indicated above, during the revolts of the Slavs.

As such the imagery of the avaricious princes is also opposed to the great and pious Christian kings, as they are pictured not defending the church or Christianity, nor do they support the mission, or take any interest in the salvation of the pagans.

The most important figures being the dukes of Saxony, their image is also the most complex and dominates. The first of them, the Duke Hermann Billug governed the province “with judgement and justice and to the end of his life remained “zealous in the defence of the holy churches”⁵⁴⁶ Yet, already here Adam states that namely “this man and his progeny /--/ set up the utter ruin of the church of Bremen as well as other churches.”⁵⁴⁷ The theme is

⁵⁴² /--/ videtur mihi iam dudum studio sacerdotum christianam religionem ibidem convaluisse, si conversionem gentis avaricia principum non praepediret /--/ (GHEP II.69).

⁵⁴³ GHEP III.22. Same arguments are made also in GHEP II.40,46,74,III.23; and the avarice of the princes is seen also the main reason for the wars in the 1050s (GHEP III.30), and for the conflict of secular and clerical power during the reing of the archbishop Adalbert (GHEP III.54).

⁵⁴⁴ GHEP III.54.

⁵⁴⁵ GHEP III.55.

⁵⁴⁶ GHEP II.8. Also his son duke Benno is later said to have been “a good and valiant man” (*vir bonus et fortis*), even though in his case Adam mentions also the “burdening with people with exactions” (GHEP II.21).

⁵⁴⁷ GHEP II.7.

further developed when during the reign of archbishop Adalbert the issues of the power and liberties of the church became even more topical, yet even here Adam explains the conflict also as based on the old hatred the Saxon dukes have against the church.⁵⁴⁸ Here the image of the Duke Bernard of Saxony (1010-1059) stands out, who together with his sons is described as “most hostile to him [the archbishop Adalbert] and our church.”⁵⁴⁹ The chronicler attributes to Bernhard also many of the negative signs that are previously used for the pagan and barbarian rulers, as besides his “fondness in Mammon” he is said to have “declared with a sigh that he and his sons were by the fates destined to destroy the church of Bremen.”⁵⁵⁰ Likewise the warfare undertaken by the duke and his followers is characterised as being both cruel and rebellious, and directed against the churches and Christians in general.⁵⁵¹

This influences also the image of the Slavs, as in his critique of the princes the Slavs are pictured as the victims of the avarice of the latter, and in the case of the Winkle (in around 1030) their revolt is explained by the need “they had to take up arms in defence of their freedom.”⁵⁵²

As regards the fights for the ecclesiastical power and authority, also the rivalling archbishops are characterised accordingly to the similar pattern, and described as interested only in gaining more territorial power and suffragans, and neither in the salvation of the heathens nor in the missionary activities. This image is especially dominant in Adam’s accounts about the deeds of the archbishops of Cologne.⁵⁵³

The rivals of the Hamburg-Bremen church included also the English priests and bishops, who were active in their missions to Denmark and Norway. Adam’s account of their

⁵⁴⁸ As both the Duke Bernhard and his followers “kept in mind the old hatred which their fathers had borne toward the church (*antiqui memores odii, quod patres eorum exercuerunt in ecclesiam*) and did not stop attacking our people” (GHEP III.8).

⁵⁴⁹ GHEP III.40. Here also another reason is given to explain the hostility of the duke, as he “envied the successful enterprises of the church” (GHEP III.25).

⁵⁵⁰ GHEP III.41.

⁵⁵¹ The duke Bernhard was “terrorising and throwing into confusion all the churches in Saxony”; and is also named “the rebellious prince” (*rebellis princeps*) (GHEP II.46); and in the same passage his cruelty is underlined also as regards the Slavs, as the “cruelly oppressed the Winuli” (*Ibid.*).

⁵⁵² *Tunc vero et Sclavi a christianis iudicibus plus iusto compressi, excusso tandem iugo servitutis, libertatem suam armis defendere coacti sunt.* (GHEP II.40)

⁵⁵³ Here Archbishop Herman of Cologne is described as “troubling our Adalgar with much wrongs (*magnis iniuriis*) in an effort to subject Bremen to Cologne” (GHEP I.51). Later, the archbishop Bruno of Cologne “renewed the old-time dispute (*veterem de Brema querelam*) about Bremen” in order to take over not only the see of Hamburg-Bremen, but now already the suffragans of the latter as well (GHEP II.5). The rivalries between the Archbishops Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen and Anno of Cologne are described in GHEP III.33-4, 45; here the latter is described as “noted for his avarice, devoted everything he could lay hands on either at home or at court to the embellishment of his church.”

deeds aims mainly at showing them as subordinate to the church of Hamburg-Bremen.⁵⁵⁴ As the King Canute the Great of Denmark (1016-35) brought with him many bishops from England into Denmark, then “our archbishop [Unwan] took offence at this.” The following description stresses the close union of the church of Hamburg-Bremen and Denmark, both as one of the English bishop of Zealand, Gerbrand is said to have become “very intimate” with Unwan, promising fidelity and subjection; and also the King Canute “entered into such close union with the archbishop that thenceforth he gladly would do everything to Unwinds satisfaction.”⁵⁵⁵ Likewise Adam mentions the “many bishops and priests” whom St. Olaf brought along with him to Norway; and yet later states that St. Olaf also sent to messengers with gifts to “our archbishop [Unwan] entreating him graciously to receive these bishops and to send his bishops to him.”⁵⁵⁶ The image of the English missionaries however is not only negative, as Adam also describes their mission among the barbarians of the Northern countries.⁵⁵⁷

The Feminine Imagery

As regards the rivalling churches, missions, and missionaries, the chronicler has also used the female imagery, and represents the relationship between Hamburg-Bremen and the suffragans as that of between mother and children. Even after the destruction of the city, Hamburg “still retains its strength, consoled for the misfortune of its widowhood by the progress of its sons.”⁵⁵⁸ To the latter is aimed also Adam’s own undertaking, as in the prologue he hopes that with this endeavour he “might help a mother spent of strength.”⁵⁵⁹ After describing the work of the English missionaries in Denmark and Norway, the chronicler

⁵⁵⁴ This is firstly stated, when Adam describes archbishop Unwan to send to Norway and Sweden also “other bishops, who had been consecrated in England”; yet here they are also said to have gotten many gifts from the archbishop, “making them willing to acknowledge subjection to the church of Hamburg.” (GHEP II.47).

⁵⁵⁵ GHEP II.53.

⁵⁵⁶ GHEP II.55.

⁵⁵⁷ St. Olaf commanded the English bishops to go to Sweden, Gothia, and all the islands beyond Norway, preaching the Word of God /--/ to the barbarians” (GHEP II.55). Adam describes also how in Sweden another English missionary, Wolfred “with great courage preached the word of God to the pagans” (*verbum Dei paganis cum magna fiducia praedicasse*) and “by his preaching converted many (*multos*) to the Christian faith” (GHEP II.60).

⁵⁵⁸ /--/ *vires adhuc retinet metropolis, viduitatis suae dampna consolans in provectu filiorum, quos per totam septentrionis latitudinem suae legationi cotidie videt accrescere* /--/ (GHEP II.15). The relationship between the bishops, priests and the church also uses similar imagery; describing the bishops as the husbands and fathers of the church, as after the death of bishop Leuderic (in around 845) the church “remained widowed (*viduata*) for a long time” (GHEP I.25), or in the case of archbishop Lievizo (988-1013), who “cherished their mother in Hamburg with fatherly love” (*matrem Hammaburg paterno fovit amore*) (GHEP II.27).

⁵⁵⁹ /--/ *laboris nostri monumento exhaustam viribus matrem potuerim iuvare* /--/ (GHEP Praef.).

can therefore claim, “if this is true, the mother church in Hamburg did not, I say, look askance even at strangers if they bestowed grace upon his children.”⁵⁶⁰

This reflects the widespread imagery of the church (*ecclesia*) as a female figure, the Bride of Christ (see Bynum 1984, Spreadbury 1998). The tradition to represent the church as a woman goes back to the Scripture and is reflected in the devotional writing and iconography throughout the Middle Ages. The notion of the church as the Bride of Christ became common in early Christian and medieval theology, and many writers developed it with reference to the Song of Songs and the wedding feast described in the Revelation.⁵⁶¹ It yet developed significantly throughout the Middle Ages, especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and was also closely connected to the image of the church as opposed to the Greek Orthodoxy, the Jewish religion, and heretics (Spreadbury 1998).

The World upside down II: the Apostolic Patterns

The Christian lands and islands more far north are described as ideal Christian societies and congregations, accordingly to the model set by the primal congregation in the Acts of the Apostles. This is influenced by their being more distant, and as such can be seen as similar to the description of the farer non-Christian lands, which is based on the Roman authorities. In either cases Adam uses an analogy to translate the unknown using known images and textual authorities. On the other hand their function is to show that the mission to the North, i.e. the mission of the church of Hamburg-Bremen has reached its utmost borders. In addition they also function as a mean of critique for Adam’s own society, lacking the ideals of *vita apostolica*.

The Norwegians, before “all given to the nefarious arts of magic”, are now described as good Christians, as they “in simplicity confess with the Apostle, “Christ and him crucified.””⁵⁶² Their image differs from that of the Slavic neophytes who are weak and unfaithful in their faith, as the Norwegians, and also the Icelanders are only described to be in

⁵⁶⁰ /--/ *non invidet inquam mater Hammaburgensis ecclesia, si filiis suis benefecerint etiam extranei* /--/ (GHEP II.35). Here, however the motifs of the other missionaries are doubted, as Adam quotes the Apostle Paul: “some preach out of envy and contention, some also for god will and love. But what then? So that by all means, whether by occasion, or by truth, Christ be preached and /--/ in this also I rejoice /--/” (GHEP II.35: ref. Phil 1: 15,18).

⁵⁶¹ The canonical source for the notion is the Pauline argument in the Epistle to the Ephesians (Eph 5.21-33) that the union of husband and wife is modelled on the mystery of the relationship between Christ and his church. For the Biblical (Ies 49: 1,15, 66: 11-33, I Cor 3: 1-2, Hbr 5: 12, I Pt 2: 2) and patristic (Clementine, Origen, Irenaeus, John Chrysostomos, Abrose, Augustine) background see Bynum 1984: 125-9. This is closely connected to the Eucharist, as the *Mater Ecclesia* is to make the Body of Christ present for the faithful (Spreadbury 1998).

⁵⁶² GHEP IV.30 The abolishment of idolatrous rites and magicians is applied to Norwegian kings, St. Olaf and also to Sven *destructo ritu ydololatriae, christianitatem in Nortmannia per edictum suscipere iussit*. (GHEP II.39)

need of further teaching and example.⁵⁶³ Adam applies to them also another Christian virtue, the obedience both to the church and priests. Here the Norwegians are said to have “such reverence for the church and priests”, and also the Danes. The image of the obedient neophytes enables Adam, however also to criticise the avarice of the priests belonging to the rivalling churches of Denmark and Norway (Scior 2002: 109).⁵⁶⁴

Poverty is another Christian virtue and ideal projected to the Norwegians. Their land is “the most unproductive of all the countries” and their poverty is also used to describe their piratical raids.⁵⁶⁵ Since accepting Christianity, they have “learned to love the truth and peace and to be content with their poverty – indeed to disperse what they had gathered, not as before to gather what had been dispersed.”⁵⁶⁶ In addition also the virtues of frugality and modesty is applied to the Norwegians.⁵⁶⁷

Similar imagery is used for the Icelanders, who live “in holy simplicity, because they seek nothing more than what nature affords, they can joyfully say with the Apostle: “But having food, and wherewith to be covered, with these we are content.”⁵⁶⁸ The analogy with the time of the Apostles and primal congregation is used also in the statement that “they have all things in common, with strangers as well as natives.”⁵⁶⁹ Likewise they have “many meritorious customs”, like charity, and holding their “bishop as a king.”⁵⁷⁰ They are a “blessed folk” both for their “poverty no one envies” and also “most blessed because all have now accepted Christianity.”⁵⁷¹

Both of the congregations, neither of them converted by Hamburg-Bremen missionaries, are also described to ask priests from Bremen. Hence the archbishop sends “on

⁵⁶³ The newly converted Icelanders “can salutarily be instructed” (GHEP IV.33).

⁵⁶⁴ In addition, “he who does not daily make an offering at a Mass which he hears is hardly considered a Christian. /-/- baptism and confirmation, the dedication of altars and the ordination to holy orders are all dearly paid for among them [i.e. the Norwegians] and by the Danes. This, I think proceeds from the avarice of the priests.” As the barbarians still do not know about the tithes, they are fleeced for other offices. Hence “their moral character /-/- is corrupted only by priestly avarice” (GHEP IV.30). See also GHEP IV.23.

⁵⁶⁵ “Poverty has forced them thus to go all over the world .“ This also serves as mean of critique against the Danes, as the Norwegians are compared with the Danes, who being “just as poor” assail the Norwegians, whereas the latter “live in terms with amity with their neighbours, the Sweeds.” (GHEP IV.30).

⁵⁶⁶ GHEP IV.30

⁵⁶⁷ “They also are the most continent of all morals, with all diligence prizing frugality and modesty, both to their food and to their morals.” (GHEP IV.31)

⁵⁶⁸ GHEP IV.35: ref. I Tim 6: 8. In Iceland, “the supply of food is very meager. On this account the people dwell in underground caves, glad to have roof and food and bed in common with their cattle.” The lack of civilisation is treated here as a merit, as “instead of towns they have mountains and springs as their delights.”

⁵⁶⁹ GHEP IV.35: ref. Act 2: 44, 4: 32 and Nm 9: 14; 15: 29

⁵⁷⁰ GHEP IV.35. “They hold as law whatever he ordains as coming from God, or from the Scriptures.” Here even the “natural law” in which the Icelanders lived before receiving the faith, is described as “not much out of accord with our religion.” (*Ibid.*)

⁵⁷¹ GHEP IV.35

the petition of the Norwegian peoples” priests to Norway⁵⁷² and also “on their petition” to Iceland.⁵⁷³

LOCI

The description of the landscape is dynamic both by the missionary activity and due to the enlargement borders, the goal of the text being also the legitimisation of the obtained new territories and borders.

The church in also has the image of the young missionary church surrounded by pagans and barbarians, exposed to the constant threat due to their attacks. The latter provides also a cause for missionary wars, seen as just wars defending Christianity against the heathens. Here the landscape functions as a missionary landscape, both providing a proper setting for missionaries and martyrs, and creates an image of a wilderness to be filled with faith and sacred places. The missionary activity brings along dynamics to the landscape of pagans and barbarians, as it starts to alter, and to become slowly Christianised.

On several occasions the text describes the borders of the diocese⁵⁷⁴; and also the borders of her suffragan bishoprics. The centres of the description are the churches and Christian congregations in Hamburg and Bremen. Especially Hamburg has the image of the small Christian church in barbarian lands. The city was destroyed soon afterwards its founding, and the inhabitants were driven out by barbarians.⁵⁷⁵ Bremen Adam calls also the city of the Apostles (*urbs apostolorum*)⁵⁷⁶, and it has a similar image. Already the first bishop of Bremen, St. Willehad claims in the text that the diocese “can by no means suffice, because of the danger from hostile barbarians and of the diverse incidents which habitually take place in it.”⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷² GHEP IV.33. The bishops were consenecrated to Trondheim and Seward; “and even to this day the Word of God wins through these bishops so many souls that Holy Mother Church is enjoying prosperous increase in all the provinces of Norway.”

⁵⁷³ GHEP IV.35, bishop Islef (consenecrated in 1055).

⁵⁷⁴ GHEP II.15. The borders were the British ocean in the west, the Peene river in the east, and the Eider in the North (dividing the Danes from the Saxons).

⁵⁷⁵ Hamburg was destroyed and her clerics expelled by the heathens (*depulsos a gentibus*) already during the reign of St. Ansgar (GHEP I.25); see also GHEP I.32. Henceforth the city was destroyed during the Slav revolt in the late tenth century (GHEP II.40-3). Later the archbishop Adebrand started to rebuild and fortify the town, as “somewhat stronger defence against the frequent incursions of the enemies was necessary for an unprotected place” (*adversum crebras hostium incursiones aliquod fortius praesidium pro inopia loci*) (GHEP II.68).

⁵⁷⁶ GHEP II.75. Bremen is also called *civitas Dei* (GHEP III.46), and compared both to Jerusalem (GHEP III.50) and Rome (GHEP III.23, 70).

⁵⁷⁷ */--/ propter barbarorum infestantium pericula /--/ ad sustentacula sive stipendia Dei servorum inibi Deo militantium minime sufficere posse /--/* (GHEP I.13). See also: */--/ in his partibus, quae barbaris confines sunt terminis /--/* (GHEP II.7). Even the great temple Rethra is only four days journey from Hamburg (GHEP II.18).

The imagery is firstly based on the description of the assaults of the Normans, Hungarians and Slavs during the ninth and tenth centuries, describing Christianity as surrounded by barbarous fury. In the early tenth century not only Hamburg was laid waste (*demolita*) by the Slavs (around 906) and Bremen by Hungarians (around 915), but all of “Saxony was overwhelmed by a most frightful persecution, as from one direction the Danes and the Slavs, from the other the Bohemians and Hungarians wrought havoc with the churches.”⁵⁷⁸ This hinders also the mission, as the invasions and the persecution of the churches, “the violence of the barbarians scarcely admitted of priests staying among them.”⁵⁷⁹ The threat imposed by the barbarians is also underlined by mentioning many of the Christian prisoners whom the missionaries meet among the barbarians.⁵⁸⁰ The assaults that took place in the late tenth century are described following a similar pattern, as the whole land is ravaged and the pirates thereafter “frequently made warlike sallies into that region.”⁵⁸¹ The text states “all the Saxon cities were terrified.”⁵⁸²

The threat posed by the heathens and the barbarians however create not only hindrance to the missionary activity and church, but the sufferings and constant threats also create authority and legitimise their cause. The church of Hamburg, “established amid so much danger from the heathen, should suffer harm from no one, but rather was worthy of fostered by affection and consolation and of being honoured everywhere by all the churches.”⁵⁸³ An equally important legitimising claim, however, is also her missionary call.

For that the missionaries have to go among the pagans, the model set by the first missionaries.⁵⁸⁴ By this they both enter the landscape of the barbarians and let the other to

⁵⁷⁸ /--/ *inmanissima persecutio Saxoniam oppressit* /--/ (GHEP I.54). During those days (the 910s) the whole Christianity is in danger, as the Hungarians did not devastate (*demoliti*) only “our Saxony” and the other provinces on this side of the Rhine, but also Lotharingia and Francia across the Rhine (*trans Rhenum*) (GHEP I.57). The Danes, with the Slavs as allies, “plundering (*vastantes*) all Transalbingian Saxons and then the country this side of Elbe, made Saxony tremble in great terror (*magno* /--/ *terrore quassabant*) (GHEP I.57).

⁵⁷⁹ /--/ *vastacio barbarica vixdum presbyteros inter se morari consenserit* /--/ (GHEP I.52).

⁵⁸⁰ Rimbert had at hand priests from whom both the heathen might hear the word of God and Christian captives receive solace (*solatium*) (GHEP I.38; ref. *Vita Rimberti* 16). Likewise Bishop Unni was preaching in Denmark for the heathens and comforting in Christ the faithful whom he found captive there (*evangelizans* /--/ *gentilibus et fideles, quos invenit illic captivos, in Christo confrontans*) (GHEP I.61). St. Rimbert is described to ransom the captives in GHEP I.41, 43.

⁵⁸¹ /--/ *pyratarum crebra et hostilis eruptio facta est in hanc regionem* /--/ (GHEP II.31). See also GHEP II.29-30.

⁵⁸² *In metu erant omnes Saxoniae civitates*; /--/; yet also: “so great was the fear in all parts of this diocese” (*Tantus erat timor in omnibus finibus huius parrochiae.*) (GHEP II.31).

⁵⁸³ /--/ *quae in tanto gentiliū periculo constituta sit, non debere laedi ab aliquo, verum dignam esse, quae omni consolationis amore foveatur et celebretur ab omnibus ubique ecclesiis* /--/ (GHEP II.5)

⁵⁸⁴ St. Ansgar was concerned about his congregations at home “whenever he was free from preaching to the heathen without” (*si quando a praedicatione gentiliū foris liber erat, domi congregationum suarum curam legit*) (GHEP I.32); and was “solicitous not only as to his own people lived but also as to others lived” (*Nec*

enter our space, as they open the door for the pagans.⁵⁸⁵ Taking the step of going among the pagans is an act regarded most highly throughout the chronicle, the mission is the more valuable the more far abroad it takes place – and likewise the ideal missionary is “an Apostle abroad.”⁵⁸⁶ As described in accounting the missions of St. Ansgar and St. Rimbart, the threats the pagans impose on the missionaries function to glorify their deeds, suggesting that they are not afraid to go to prison nor death.

Here also the landscape must correspond to the apostolic model. This is firstly ascribed to the mission by St. Ansgar and Rimbart, as “we find it scarcely possible to believe that anyone, even an apostle, should dare to go to a people so ferocious that it is hardly human, in a region so very remote, I say, from our world.”⁵⁸⁷ Their deed is described as in accordance with the Gospel, as “what the Saviour said to the apostles is daily addressed also to us, “Go ye into the whole world. And behold, I am with you all the days, event to the consummation of the world.”⁵⁸⁸ This goal is reached at the end of the chronicle, where Hamburg-Bremen has become “the metropolitan church of that innumerable multitude of peoples who in great part have been converted to Christianity by its preaching. There only is its preaching hushed where the world has its end.”⁵⁸⁹

Before entering the world outside the Christian world, the missionaries have to cross the physical boundaries. In the case of the Northern countries the sea contributes significantly to the imagery. The mission takes place in the lands beyond the sea, and for reaching the pagans the missionaries have to cross it, the itinerary made difficult by many storms and pirates that live along its shores. St. Ansgar and his priests administered “churches situated afar off among the heathen” and “a, most serious consideration, had to be reached by way of dangerous seas.”⁵⁹⁰ Going into perils to visit the churches behind the sea is attributed to many

solum erga suos, verum et alios quomodo viverent, sollicitus.) (GHEP I.35). Likewise St. Rimbart actively preached the word of God to the heathens (GHEP I.38).

⁵⁸⁵ /--/ *ostium fidei gentibus apertum esse* /--/ (GHEP I.60: ref. Act 14: 26; 2 Cor 2: 12). See also GHEP I.13.

⁵⁸⁶ GHEP IV.29. St. Ansgar went to the Swedish peoples most far (*ultimos Suenos populos*) (GHEP I.17). And so was the Archbishop Unni “famous home and abroad” (*domi forisque clarus*) (GHEP II.58).

⁵⁸⁷ /--/ *ut in tam aspero persecutionis tempore, in tam feroci, quae vix hominem vivit, natione, in tam remotissima, inquam, ab nostro mundo regione, quisquam vel apostolus auderet accedere* /--/ (GHEP I.44)

⁵⁸⁸ /--/ *cotidie et nobis dici, quod Salvator ait apostolis: “Ite in orbem universum, et ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem seculi”* /--/ (GHEP I.44: ref. *Vita Rimbarti* xx, Mt 28: 19-20, Mc 16: 15)

⁵⁸⁹ GHEP IV.41. Adam also quotes Psalms, “from the rising and from the setting of the sun, from the north and from the sea, the name of the Lord is worthy of praise” (*a solis ortu et occasu et ab aquilone et mari*) (*Ibid.*: ref. Ps 106: 3)

⁵⁹⁰ /--/ *ad ecclesias inter ipsos paganos longe constitutas, quodque gravissimum erat, marinis discriminibus adeundas* /--/ (GHEP I.38)

of the later bishops and missionaries, as well as the care of “the churches beyond the sea” (*ecclesias transmarinas*).⁵⁹¹

The nature of the sea as a missionary landscape is even more underlined through its symbolic meaning, as it sings the *imitatio* of the Apostles and a place where God manifests His will and support for his people. Here Adam compares St. Rimbart with the Apostle, as he “frequently underwent perils of this kind, like the Apostle often suffering shipwreck” and also with the ancient saints, as he “often stilled stormy seas.”⁵⁹²

While going to the sea signifies the missions to Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, crossing the river Elbe marks then entering into Slavia. As regards the image of Slavia, one of the most dominant features is its vast.⁵⁹³

The missionary landscape is however not characterised only by the threats the heathens impose on the missionaries, yet also by the nature of the space in itself as idolatrous. Christianising the space takes place by destroying the idolatrous signs such as sanctuaries and images. Here also the early missionaries, like St. Boniface who destroyed the sacred oak dedicated to Thor and built a chapel from its wood, set the model.⁵⁹⁴ Likewise St. Willehad destroyed many idols in Frisia⁵⁹⁵ and bishop Unwan built churches in the formerly revered places, like sacred groves.⁵⁹⁶

In addition the martyrdoms also contribute to Christianising the space, linking it into the history of the early church and the ancient saints. Here the first great martyr is St. Boniface. The chronicle names, and often describes in detail many of the martyrdoms of the missionaries, and also of Christian people in general during the revolts; the martyrs include

⁵⁹¹ Bishop Unni crossed the sea in the footsteps of St. Ansgar, reaching Björko with difficulties (*non sine labore*) (GHEP I.62); and he underwent “such perils by sea and by land” (*per tanta pericula maris et terrae*) (GHEP I.65). Bishop Liafdag of Ribe preached beyond the sea (*transmarina*) (GHEP II.23). Later Odinkar was the only one who visited “the churches beyond the sea” (*transmarinas ecclesias*) (GHEP II.47).

⁵⁹² *Quae discrimina saepe ipse frequentius sustinens, cum apostolo saepe naufragium pertulit* (GHEP I.38: ref. *Vita Rimbarti* 16; 2 Cor 11: 25). He worked miracles “in the manner of the ancient saints” (*antiquorum more sanctorum miracula*), as “he often stilled stormy seas by his prayer” (GHEP I.42).

⁵⁹³ */--/ quae gentes trans Albiam Hammaburgensi pertinentes sint dyocesi /--/* (GHEP II.15). Crossing the Elbe can yet have a contradictory meaning, when Gottschalk, rejecting the faith, crossed (*transmisso*) the Elbe River and joined the revoltors (GHEP II.64). Slavia is “a very large province of Germany” (*amplissima Germaniae provintia*), “ten times larger than our Saxony” (*Decies maior /--/ quam nostra Saxonia*); and towards the east “it reaches boundless expanses” (GHEP II.18).

⁵⁹⁴ Similarly missionary Wolfred destroyed the image of Thor (*ydolum gentis nomine Thyr, stans in concilio paganorum coepit anathematizare; simulque arrepta bipenni simulacrum in frusta concidit*) (GHEP II.60).

⁵⁹⁵ *in circuitu provinciam cum discipulis perlustrans, ydola confregisse* (GHEP I.12)

⁵⁹⁶ *omnes ritus paganicos, quorum adhuc supersticio viguit in hac regione, praecepit funditus amoveri, ita ut ex lucis, quos nostri paludicolae stulta frequentabant reverentia, faceret ecclesias per diocesim renovari* (GHEP II.46). The need to destroy the heathen sanctuaries is also attributed to the temple of Uppsala, as king Olaf of Sweden is said to have had the wish to destroy it (GHEP II.56).

also the Christian rulers of the Northern countries, like Harald Bluetooth and St. Olaf.⁵⁹⁷ Especially the Slav revolt is described as to bring along many martyrs⁵⁹⁸ and here the chronicle gives an image of Slavia as a land filled with martyrs.⁵⁹⁹

Here the barbarians are to provide not only a landscape for mission, but an also for martyrdom. The text preserves their memory and glory and creates a tradition of the missionary history, which is linked to the imitation of Christian past, and serves also to the legitimise the episcopal church.

After the conquest and conversion the land is divided into bishoprics and parishes, and the bishops and priest are named to take care of the spiritual needs of the newly baptised people.⁶⁰⁰ In parallel also the secular borders are marked and the secular rulers appointed to govern the newly gained territories.⁶⁰¹

The following Christianisation of the landscape took place through filling it with churches and other sanctuaries like monasteries, and in those also the sacred relics of the martyrs and missionaries were preserved. The sanctity has to be physically present in order to effect a change (Ross 1998: 175). This is attributed especially to the archbishop Adaldag, who is said to have had three goals: besides conversion of the heathens and saving the souls the third was building the churches.⁶⁰² Besides Christianising the landscape the churches also marked the borders of the diocese and its ecclesiastical power. The symbolical meaning of building the church is also reflected in the prologue of the chronicle where Adam states that Hamburg is in the need of “the hands of many builders.”⁶⁰³ Throughout his chronicle Adam pays significant attention to describe the building of the new churches and monasteries both in the Northern countries and in the territories of the Slavs.⁶⁰⁴ The number of churches also

⁵⁹⁷ For the martyrdom of Harald Bluetooth see GHEP II.26 and that of St. Olaf in GHEP II.58-9. For martyred missionaries see GHEP II.41, 60, III.49-50, IV.29.

⁵⁹⁸ In Hamburg clerics were killed for the hatred against the Christian name (*propter odium christianitatis*); the text describes in detail also the martyrdom of the clerics of Oldenburg (GHEP II.41).

⁵⁹⁹ *Multa in hunc modum per diversas Sclavorum provincias tunc facta memorantur, quae scriptorum penuria nunc habentur pro fabulis. De quibus cum regem amplius interrogarem: 'Cessa', inquit, 'fili, tantos habemus in Dania vel Sclavania martyres, ut vix possint libro comprehendere'.* (GHEP II.41)

⁶⁰⁰ The division into bishoprics, the consecration of bishops and their subjugation (*subiugatio*) to Hamburg-Bremen is described to take place in Denmark (GHEP I.61, II.3; also in IV.1-2), in Denmark, Skåne and Sweden (GHEP II.4; and again in GHEP IV.8), in Slavia (where however five suffragan bishoprics of Magdeburg and one of Hamburg (Oldenburg) were founded) (GHEP II.14, 44,62).

⁶⁰¹ King Henry set the bounds of the kingdom (*regni terminos ponens*) in Schleswig (Haddeby), appointed a margrave and ordered a colony of Saxons to settle there (*Saxonum coloniam habitare praecepit.*) (GHEP I.59).

⁶⁰² *Nempe studium patris Adalagai totum fuit in conversione gentium, in exaltatione ecclesiarum, in salute animarum.* (GHEP II.6).

⁶⁰³ */--/ multis egere constructorum manibus /--/* (GHEP Praef.).

⁶⁰⁴ Archbishop Willeric built the churches throughout his diocese and rebuilt the church in Bremen (GHEP I.20). King Horic of Denmark built a church in Schleswig (GHEP I.27) and Ribe (GHEP I.31), St. Ansgar in Björko (GHEP I.28). During the reign of Otto I churches were built in Slavia for the first time (GHEP II.5); and later

signifies the Christian land, as the end of the chronicle states, “since the altars of the demons have been torn down, it builds churches far and wide and with the universal acclaim everyone proclaims the name of Christ.”⁶⁰⁵ In addition, he carefully lists into which churches the remnants of the saints and bishops were buried, and describes the other relics brought to the churches.⁶⁰⁶ Both the cult of relics and burial customs were significant throughout the medieval culture, and gave coherence to many of the local identities (Bynum 1994e: 239-97).

As both Hamburg and Bremen were destroyed many times, like also the smaller churches and congregations, the imagery of building the churches and Christianising the land becomes that of building, destroying and restoring. Here is Hamburg “at one time mighty in men and arms, happy in its fields and crops; but now /--/ turned into a wilderness.”⁶⁰⁷ Both after the attacks of the Normans and later those of the Slav revolts the text gives an imagery of the Christian lands turned into a vast solitude and electedness.⁶⁰⁸

To describe the Christianisation of the land, Adam also uses the imagery of seeding and planting that becomes more even more prominent in the texts of the later chroniclers. This includes the imagery of seeding the word of God, which is used to describe the work of the first missionaries and applied later to the bishops of Bremen, as already St. Ansgar “disseminated the word of God among both his own people and others.”⁶⁰⁹ Firstly Hamburg is described as the new plantation⁶¹⁰ and the image of the Lord’s vineyard signifies her

erected throughout the land (*ecclesiae in Sclavania ubique erectae sunt*) (GHEP II.24). Harald Bluetooth filled the whole North with preachers and churches (*totum septentrionem ecclesiis et praedicatoribus replevit*) (GHEP II.26), and King Olaf of Sweden built a church in Västgötaland (GHEP II.56). For the monasteries see GHEP I.45, II.11, II.24.

⁶⁰⁵ GHEP IV.42. The fourth books also describes the Northern lands are described as “full of churches”, like in the case of Skåne (GHEP IV.7).

⁶⁰⁶ In the church of Peter in Bremen were buried Willehad (GHEP I.14, 20, 32), Leuderic (GHEP I.25), St. Ansgar (GHEP I.36), St. Rimbert (GHEP I.46), Adaldag (GHEP II.26), Unwan (GHEP II.60), Thorgaut, Folcward, Harich, Odinkar and Poppo (GHEP II.62), Alebrand (GHEP II.78). Into the church of St. Michael were buried Adalgar (GHEP I.52), Hoger (GHEP I.54) and Reginward (GHEP I.55). Archbishop Unni however was buried in Björko, but his head was brought to the church of St. Peter in Bremen (GHEP I.64). The text also mentions that Otto I is buried in Magdeburg (GHEP II.21) and Harald Bluetooth in Roskilde (GHEP II.26). Adam also lists the relics St. Ansgar brought with him across the Elbe (*trans Albiam*) and placed to Hamburg (GHEP I.20); and later the relics archbishop Adaldag brought from Rome and spread throughout the churches of his diocese (GHEP II.11). Besides Saxony and the frontier areas, in the Northern countries the grave of St. Olaf of Norway is depicted as the greatest Christian sanctuary (GHEP II.59).

⁶⁰⁷ /--/ *olim viris et armis potens, agro et frugibus felix; nunc /--/ in solitudinem redacta est /--/* (GHEP II.15: ref. Vergil *Aeneis* i.531). As the also the attacks of the Normans (830s) had “utterly destroyed” (*tota disperiit*) the town (GHEP I.23).

⁶⁰⁸ GHEP III.63, 67.

⁶⁰⁹ /--/ *verbum Dei, /--/ tam suis, quam alienis infatigabiliter seminavit /--/* (GHEP I.25) Willehad was ordained as a bishop of Bremen to seed the divine word to the heathens (*populi divini semina verbi /--/ dispensando*) (GHEP I.13).

⁶¹⁰ /--/ *Hammaburg novellae plantationis /--/* (GHEP I.22).

missionary field.⁶¹¹ Likewise Adam uses the parable of the tares to describe idolatry and relapses into heathenism as over sowing the seeds of the words of God and the new plantation with the tares of idolatry.⁶¹² Yet, here they also become to signify the ecclesiastical authority over other lands. Hence, when the image of the new plantation is used to describe Christianity in Denmark and Sweden, it serves to legitimise their subjugation to the episcopal see of Hamburg-Bremen, whose missionaries are described the first to plant and seed Christianity there.⁶¹³

For describing the following success Adam also the refers to God as the one who gives the new vineyard and plantation its increase (*incrementum*) and fruits, which refers to God's help to the missionaries, and also marks the selected ness of the church and legitimises its power.⁶¹⁴

III.2 HELMOLD of BOSAU, *Chronica Slavorum*

Relying on Adam's text, Helmold firstly presents the narrative of the conquest and conversion of the Saxons (HCS 3), and retells the early missions to the Danes and Swedes (HCS 5). The main narrative of the chronicle forms, however the conversion of the Slavic tribes. Helmold describes it as the process of a reconversion, or as he puts it in the foreword, the story of "the kings and preachers by whose assiduity the Christian religion was first planted in these parts and afterwards restored." In this image he refers on the early missions to

⁶¹¹ As the bishops of Hamburg-Bremen "were not idle in the vineyard of God" (*in vinea Dei non ociosis*) (GHEP II.70: ref. Mt 20:1-16).

⁶¹² During the Saxon revolt St. Willehad prays that the seeds would not be oversowed with the tares (*ne iactum in eis semen verbi Dei inimicus homo zizaniis oppleret*) (GHEP I.12: ref. Mt 13: 25). The image of idolatry as a disturber of growth is reflected also then, when St. Olaf hopes that after the expellion of the magicians "Christianity can have a firmer root (*firmitus coalesceret*) in his kingdom" (GHEP II.55).

⁶¹³ In Denmark, Christianity "was planted by St. Ansgar" (*a sancto Ansgario plantata est, aliquantulum remansisse, non totam defecisse*) (GHEP I.54); the Swedes and the Goths were "planted into faith firstly by St. Ansgar" (*a sancto Ansgario primum in fide plantati*) (GHEP I.63). See also, king Sven of Denmark and Olof of Sweden entered into a pact "to hold Christian religion, which had planted in their kingdoms" (*christianitatem in regno suo plantatam retinerent*) (GHEP II.37).

⁶¹⁴ St. Willehad prayed that he might "plant and water until Almighty God /--/ grants to give increase" (*interim plantet et riget, quousque /--/ incrementum det omnipotens Deus*) (GHEP I.13: ref. I Cor 3: 6-7). For the imagery linked to St. Ansgar see also: *ut apud Deum intecedatis, quatinus haec legatio crescere et fructificare mereatur in Domino* (GHEP I.35), to the archbishops Adaldag: *quod alii in lacrimis seminarunt, ipse in gaudio meteret* (GHEP II.2: Ps 125:5), and Bernard in *populo Sclavorum multum praedicando fructum attulit*. (GHEP II.47) The imagery is also applied to the mission of St. Ansgar in Denmark, as there "such increase followed the beginnings of heavenly mercy, God working with them, that the churches of the Danes are seen to abound in manifold fruits of the northern peoples from that day until this day" (*haec quidem initia coelestis misericordiae seculum est tale incrementum, Deo cooperante, ut ab illo tempore usque in hodiernum diem ecclesiae Danorum multiplici borealium gentium fructu redundare videantur*) (GHEP II.4).

the Slavs, the Saxon colonies on the frontier area and on the conversion of the Slavs during the reign of prince Gottschalk.⁶¹⁵

PERSONAE

The geographical focus of the text lies in the frontier areas, and so does the centre of the events. The missionaries, who go to “preach the word of God among the Slavic folk and in his name to extirpate idolatry”, determine the main focus of the latter.⁶¹⁶ Hence also the contacts with the Slavs were different from those of Adam, and significantly closer. Helmold also reflects the problems that a mission among foreign people, who had different language and customs, brought along.⁶¹⁷ However, here he also speaks of a priest Bruno who “delivered sermons composed in Slavic speech.”⁶¹⁸

The mission being a work of God, and likewise its fulfilment is determined by providence and its success a sign of God’s grace.⁶¹⁹ Among the most eminent signs of the latter are also the conversion of a multitude of heathens by the missionaries, and the victory over an outnumbered enemy by the secular rulers.⁶²⁰ Helmold also uses the notion of the peace as the main aim of both the mission and the wars, and treats the rulers as the main guarantees for granting peace.⁶²¹

⁶¹⁵ This enables the bishop of Oldenburg to call the Slavs to “return to the Christian worship” (*recurrere ad ritum Christianitatis*); and likewise Helmold can treat the further events as “how the service of the house of God the reestablished (*restaurata*) /--/ about ninety years after the destruction of the earlier church, which took place when the pious prince Gottschalk was killed” (HCS 84).

⁶¹⁶ As Helmold puts it in his description of the start of Vicelin’s mission (HCS 46).

⁶¹⁷ The latter is also closely connected with the need to establish colonies, as the bishop of Oldenburg prevailed the count to settle a colony of Saxons there, so that the priest Bruno “might have the solace of a people whose language and customs he knew” (*esset solacium sacerdoti de populo, cuius nosset linguam et consuetudinem*) (HCS 84). See also HCS14, where the bishop of Oldenburg, Wago, after he stayed for a while among the Abodrites, returned to the land of the Wagiri, a place which was more convenient for him and where he was out of danger, since the Slavs “were by nature untrustworthy and prone to evil (*animi naturaliter sint infidi et ad malum proni*), had to be guarded against.”

⁶¹⁸ /--/ *iuxta creditam sibi legacionem sufficienter amministravit verbum Dei, habens sermones conscriptos Slavicis verbis, quos populo pronuntiaret opportune* /--/ (HCS 84). See also: “And these signs shall follow them that believe;/--/; they shall speak with new tongues” (Lc 16: 17). Likewise the Prince Gottschalk had “often made discourse in the church /--/ because he wished to make clearer in the Slavic language matters which were abstrusely preached by the bishops and priests” (HCS 20).

⁶¹⁹ This idea is firstly expressed relying on Adam’s narrative, as both the triumph of the king Henry over the Hungarians and bishop Unni’s mission are treated as an expression of God’s grace (HCS 8).

⁶²⁰ As regards the Slavs, the chronicle describes how was baptised “the whole of the pagan folk” (*totus gentilium populus*) (HCS 9), “many of the Slavic people” (*multos Slavorum*) (HCS 11, 12), “a multitude of pagans” (*infinita gentilium multitudo*) (HCS 20), “many thousands of pagans” (HCS 22), and later “the whole tribe” (HCS 40), “a multitude of pagans” (HCS 47), and also Vicelin’s aim is to convert “the whole Slavic race” (HCS 53). Among the secular rulers the model is set by the victory over the Vikings (in around 890s) (HCS 7); see also HCS 34, 64, 67, yet also attributed to the campaigns the Emperor Friedrich held in Italy (HCS 106).

⁶²¹ As firstly among the Slavs there was “continuous peace” under the rule of Otto the Great (HCS 15); and later under the Emperor Lothar “not merely in Saxony, but in the whole realm things were tranquil, there was an abundance of things, peace ruled between the throne and priesthood”, and “the Slavic people also walked in the

The image of the missionaries and the function of the others are firstly set by the patterns used by Adam, as the beginning of the chronicle describes the first among those “who laboured for God in the Northern parts.”⁶²² The image of the latter has influenced the representation of the later missionaries, yet also the secular rulers who, like count Adolph also “fought the battles of the Lord so that the worship of the house of God might be furthered among an unbelieving and idolatrous folk.”⁶²³

The image also determines the image of the heathen Slavs; and the image of a missionary going among a cruel and ferocious folk, ready for sufferings and martyrdoms both serves to glorify the mission and legitimise them. Helmold attributes to the priest the “spirit thirsted for labours and dangers in the preaching of Gospel” and the later also signifies the willingness to serve God “in hunger, and in thirst, and in nakedness.”⁶²⁴ This means also the imitation of the Apostles, and an indirect reference to the first Christians is also given in one of the *Vulgata* quotations most dominantly used in the chronicle. In the statement about the (re) establishment of the house of God “in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation”, the latter also has an opposite, as the Apostle refers to the first congregations “That ye may be blameless and harmless, the sons of God, without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, among whom ye shine as lights in the world.”⁶²⁵

Similarly to Adam, also Helmold explains the course of events through the Old Testament history, and uses its models especially for the revolts and wars. Helmold treats both the expulsion of king Harold of Denmark and the Slav revolt at the turn of tenth and eleventh centuries as a punishment for men’s sins⁶²⁶ The Slav revolt, is also explained through providence, as “truly the judgements of God over men are hidden: “Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will and whom he will, he will hardenth.”⁶²⁷ Yet Helmold here refers also to the people of Israel, as “He /--/ who of old wiped out in the sight of Israel the seven tribes of Canaan, and kept only the strangers in whom He tried Israel – He, I say, willed now to

way of peace” (HCS 41); likewise the time before the reign of the Duke Henry the Lion is characterised as that of many wars and no peace (see for example HCS 67) and his rule to restore the peace.

⁶²² /--/ *qui pro Deo in partibus aquilonis laboraverunt* /--/ (HCS 3); Adam’s model is repeated by Helmold most significantly in HCS 1, 4, 6, 8, 16.

⁶²³ HCS 101.

⁶²⁴ HCS 84: ref. Dt 28: 48.

⁶²⁵ /--/ *in medio nacionis pravae ac perversae* /--/ (HCS 41, 84, 108: ref. Phil 2: 15). Also, the church in Oldenburg was dedicated to John the Baptist (HCS 84).

⁶²⁶ As “because of the sins of men in those days God permitted the peace which was with the Danes and Slavs to be disturbed (*permittente Deo propter peccata hominum perturbata est apud Danos et Slavos tranquillitas*) (HCS 15). See also HCS 69.

⁶²⁷ *O vere occulta super homines Dei iudicia, qui “miseretur cui vult et quem vult indurat”!* (HCS.16: ref. Rm 9: 18). See also: *videmus eos ad paganismum relapsos esse, qui primi crediderunt, illos autem conversos ad Christum, qui videbantur novissimi.* (*Ibid.*)

harden a small part of the heathen through whom He might confound our perfidy.”⁶²⁸ The idea of a general opposition between the Christians and non-Christians, and also that of the God and Satan is present in the description of how Vicelin was sent “into the land of want and hunger where was Satan’s seat and the hold of every foul spirit.”⁶²⁹

The story consists of an perpetual line of victories, defeats, withdrawals and reconquests, focusing largely on the image of restoring the faith, or, as he puts it in the foreword how “the Christian religion was first planted in these regions and afterwards restored.”⁶³⁰ During the conquest the image of the Slavs starts to vary, as among them there are the neophytes, the apostates, the reconverts, also the allies and the enemies. However, a more general opposition between the Slavs and the Saxons is reflected both as regards the warfare and tribute⁶³¹, yet also in the cases of intermarriage where the Slavs are regarded as unequal and unsuitable to marry the Christians.⁶³² Later the image of the colonists is to make the picture even more complex, and among the latter also the Flemings are described as “foreign people.”⁶³³

The enlargement of Christianity and church to Slavia took place in a perpetual line of victories, defeats, conquests, revolts, and reconquests. Even though researches have claimed that Helmold is interested in how the different situations, locations and societal norms influenced their acceptance of the Christian faith (Smalley 1974: 125-8), then rather the opposite can be perceived, as the way peoples accepted Christianity determines also largely the description of their society, habits, and morals. As the Slavs are depicted to pose a stronger resistance to Christianity than other peoples, their image is dominated by the notion

⁶²⁸ *Ille /--/ qui olim deletis coram Israel “VII gentibus Canaan” solos reservavit allophilos, in quibus experiretur Israel, ille, inquam, modicam gentilium portionem nunc indurare voluit, per quos nostra condunderetur perfidia.)* (HCS.16: ref. Act 13: 19) Similarly he has taken from Adam the comparison between the Slavs and Amorites (HCS 22). Meanwhile the Saxons are compared to the people of Israel (HCS 34), and to the Maccabees (HCS 64).

⁶²⁹ *in terram egestatis et famis, ubi erat sedes Sathanae et habitatio omnis spiritus immundi* (HCS 69: ref. Io 2: 13, 18: 2). See also: “for who does not know that wars and storms, plagues and other misfortunes of mankind are brought by the machinations of devils” (HCS 55).

⁶³⁰ *Christiana religio his in partibus primum plantata et postmodo restaurata fuerit* (HCS Praef.).

⁶³¹ When Helmold describes how the Duke Henry was “saddened in spirit” over the situation in Slavia, then after a battle with the Slavs in around 1164, “the field was covered with heaps of the dead” and “the exceeding great slaughter of Slavs, numbering up to twenty five thousand, mitigated his grief” (HCS 100). Likewise the reason to save their lives is the future tribute (HCS 56), even though Helmold is highly critical of the avarice of the princes as regards the tribute.

⁶³² Here the friends of Wago, the bishop advise him not to marry her sister to a chieftan of the Abotries, Billog for “it is not right that the most beautiful virgin should be united with an uncultured and boorish man” (HCS 13). Likewise the margrave Dietrich opposes that the niece of duke Bernhard should be given to Mistisvoi, chief of the Winuli, because “a kinswoman of a duke should not be given to a dog” (HCS 16).

⁶³³ The expressions *populus advenarus* and *advenae* are given both in the speech of the Slavs against the colonists, yet also in the account of the events (HCS 98: ref. I Mcc 7: 46; II Reg 10: 14).

of apostasy, which was considered to be a greater sin than heathenism. While the conversion signifies here an union with the Christian faith and church, and the apostasy “cutting themselves off from the body of Christ and of the Church into which they had before been united”, the church is yet not the Christian church in general, but the Saxon Church with its see in Hamburg-Bremen⁶³⁴ (Janson 2005, 2003: 252-3).

Due to the revolts and apostasy the rebelliousness and infidelity becomes the most eminent signifier for the Slavs throughout the chronicle. Here Helmold firstly quotes Adam’s notion of the Saxons as “the most ferocious and rebellious folk”⁶³⁵ and then applies it to the Slavs, naming them the most “stiff-necked and unbelieving folk” and also a “rebellious” already in the beginning of the chronicle, as they are “by nature untrustworthy and prone to evil.”⁶³⁶ Henceforth the rebelliousness of the Slavs is emphasised throughout the text; and their revolts are above all defined as rebellions.⁶³⁷ Helmold also notes that the Slavs are very liable to rebellions, willing to take advantage of the situations and to strive immediately against both the divine and secular laws in the case of a weaker on a suitable occasion.⁶³⁸

Like the Slavs are rebellious and their faith is “changeable” and “uncertain”, so treachery and deceitfulness are also applied to their deeds in general. The Slavs are treacherous as they betray their allies, and do not keep their word, as the a priest addresses to the Frisian colonists “do you suppose that /--/ the barbarians shall keep their word?”⁶³⁹ In the

⁶³⁴ *se absciderunt a corpore Christi et ecclesiae, cui ante coniuncti fuerant* (HCS 16). For the previous union with the faith and church see HCS 11. This relies on the general and fundamental concept of the church as the Body of Christ (*Corpus Christi*); the phrase in Gen 2: 24 “the two shall become one flesh” is interpreted in Ephesians as referring to Christ and the church. This is connected to the image of the church as being born from the side of the Christ as he slept in death on the Cross, just like Eve had been formed from Adam’s side. The blood and water issued from His side were seen as a type of Sacrament, and also as a type of the church who is giving the Sacraments in present as the Body of Christ, participating in the offering of the Eucharistic Body of Christ. (Spreadbury 1998)

⁶³⁵ /--/ *gentem ferocissimam atque rebellem* /--/ (HCS 3). Following Adam’s text, the rebelliousness is applied also to the Danes (HCS 5 9).

⁶³⁶ /--/ *animi naturaliter sint infidi et ad malum proni ideoque cavendi* /--/ (HCS 14). See also: *gentes rebelles et inredulae* (HCS 2, 9); and *Slavones rebelles* (HCS 9).

⁶³⁷ However, especially as regards the later revolts (see HCS 89, 93-4, 98, 100, 102). The revolt lead by Gottschalk is depicted as both “rejecting the faith” (HCS 19), and likewise the later revolt against him (HCS 24). Prince Pribislav, the leader of the later revolt, is called “the author of the rebellion” and driven by his “madness” (*insania*) (HCS 102).

⁶³⁸ During the Italian wars of Otto II and Otto III the Slavs revolted “trusting the advantage of the situation” (*temporis opportunitate freti non solum divinis legibus, sed et imperatoriis iussis cepissent paulatim obniti*) (HCS 14). And later the prince Henry “deemed it necessary to take up arms against them [the Brizani and Stoderani] for the fear that the defiance of two peoples would bear a litter of rebellions in the whole east” (*ne forte duarum gentium insolentia toto orienti rebellionis materiam parturiret*) (HCS 37).

⁶³⁹ HCS 64. See also: /--/ *fidem enim Slavorum quam sit mobilis, quam incerta* /--/ (HCS 25). One of the most characteristic illustrations of the matter is the story of bishop Wago’s visitation to Mecklenburg. There Billug and other chiefs of the Abodrites firstly received the bishop “with pretended devotion” (*simulata devocione*), and asking the bishop to exchange an episcopal thithe against some villages. The bishop agreed, not noticing “treachery (*dolum*) concealed in the fine words of the cunning man.” The bishop returned home, and Billug started to lay waste the episcopal possessions. The bishop finally perceived “the machinations and villainies” and

last third of the chronicle, besides faithfulness to the church also that to Duke Henry the Lion becomes an important criterion.⁶⁴⁰ First of all the notions are yet connected to the Slav revolts. The model for describing the latter is given by Adam's accounts on the assaults of the Vikings and Hungarians, which describe the devastating of the land, yet more dominantly the violence against the Christians and burning of the churches. Here Helmold quotes Adam both in his description of the assaults and in the earlier Slavic revolts.⁶⁴¹ Equally the Slavs are defined as "the enemies of the Christian name" and both the persecution of the Christians and the burning of the churches also dominate in the account of the Slavic revolts.⁶⁴² The image of the leaders of the revolts also follows the same patterns, as firstly the image is set by Gottschalk whose cruelty and savagery "exceeded all measure"⁶⁴³; and later most prominently both the princes of the Wagiri and Polabi, Pribislav and Niclot are said to have been "turbulent beasts, intensely hostile to the Christians."⁶⁴⁴

This applies also to the revolt described as aimed not against the true faith but against the colonists in Mecklenburg in 1164. Here the Slavs even address before the battle to God to favour them victory, yet slew every male in the fortress and "left of the foreign people not one."⁶⁴⁵ At the end of the chronicle, when the Slav revolts posed a threat to the colonists, their warfare is characterised to be cowardly and treacherous, as they make secret assault and

was "deeply moved with amazement and fear", discovering "he had found the most atrocious plotters those whom he had thought his best friends." Billug however managed to persuade "the simple man" once more of his innocence, and broke the promise after the bishop had left at once more. (HCS 14)

⁶⁴⁰ Before Emperor Frederick's campaign into Italy (in 1159) the Danish king Valdemar asked the Duke Henry the Lion to procure a peace for him with the Slavs "who without intermission were devastating (*vastabant*) his kingdom." The duke bound the Slavs by oath to keep peace with the Danes and commanded all the pirate ships to be bought to Lübeck. However, the Slavs being "their own masters by reason of the absence of the princes" by "their accustomed foolhardy boldness" both produced only a few ships and broke the peace. (HCS 87)

⁶⁴¹ For the assaults of the Vikings, Hungarians etc. see also Adam's account, discussed in previous subchapter. Helmold uses the largely the same pattern to describe the Danish rulers Gorm (HCS 8) and Sven Forkbeard (HCS 15). Likewise the image is applied later to the Slavs, as Gottschalk perpetrated "slaughter on Christian people" (*strages Christianae plebis*) (HCS 19), and the chieftain of the Abotrites, Billug "threatened to death all the settlers, should they fail to leave" (HCS 14).

⁶⁴² For the Slavs as the enemies of Christian name see HCS 25, 34. The killing and torturing of the Christians is described in HCS 55, 88, 100; likewise in the revolt described as aimed not against the faith but the Fleming colonists (HCS 98). The accounts of the Slavs burning the churches are given in HCS 16, 19, 52, 55, 63, 64, 98, 102, 109. On the other hand, the plundering of their lands is described later on (HCS 67, 100). See also the accounts of the early revolts in HCS 16, 24.

⁶⁴³ */-/ crudelitas omnem modum excesserit /-/* (HCS 19) Here Helmold also refers to the blood of the Christians, as the prince is said to long "to slake his cruel (*crudelitatis*) thirst with our blood" (HCS 19). This is yet also the reason for his reconversion, as he, "shuddered at the work of his own savagery (*crudelitatis opus*)" and regrets "that he has done God and the worshipers of Christ so much wrong" (HCS 19).

⁶⁴⁴ */-/ truculentae bestiae, Christianis valde infesti /-/* (HCS 52). See also HCS 98, where Pribislav leads the massacre of the Flemings.

⁶⁴⁵ */-/ non reliquerunt de populo advenarum vel unum /-/* (HCS 98: ref. I Mcc 7: 46, II Reg 10: 14).

attack unexpectedly.⁶⁴⁶ It is also his description of the later phase of the conquest and the beginning of the colonisation, that the chronicle gives many accounts of the Slavic pirates.⁶⁴⁷ On the other hand it also functions as a mean to criticise the princes, who take care not of converting the Slavs, but only of money and tribute, and force the suppressed Slavs to piracy, and glorifies the rule of the Duke Henry the Lion who is pictured to forbade the Slavs from plundering.⁶⁴⁸

The image of the Slavs being both rebellious and imposing a threat due to their warlikeness implies also a need for a strong ruler to tame them. The meagre success is firstly explained through the avarice of the princes, as a result of which “their hearts not inclined to bridle the hearts of the rebels.”⁶⁴⁹ This is contrasted to the later period of the expansion, when the Duke Henry the Lion is pictured as a strong leader imposing his yoke on the rebels and a good Christian ruler protecting the churches and promoting the missions. For they “fear only the duke who has worn down the strength of the Slavs more than any of the dukes that were before him” and “has put the bridle in their jaws and he leads them wherever he wishes.”⁶⁵⁰ To a lesser extent the image is shared also by the margrave Albert the Bear, yet also by the Danish kings Sven and Valdemar I the Victorious, who are all also pictured to rule the rebels with a strong hand.⁶⁵¹ Now also loyalty is applied to the Slavs, as the Duke “declares peace

⁶⁴⁶ To lay a siege on Mecklenburg, Pribislav “secretly collected an army and came unexpectedly” (HCS 98). After the siege they turned to take over Ilow, and seeing the fortress could not be taken without much bloodshed, they withdrew the siege (HCS 98). See also HCS 99, 100.

⁶⁴⁷ As the text states, “to this day they cross the sea and despoil the lands of the Danes; they have not yet departed from the sins of their fathers” (*adhuc mare transfretabant et vastabant terram Danorum, necdum recesserat a peccatis patrum suorum*) (HCS 84: ref. II Reg 13: 6). Here Helmold also describes the unexpected attacks of the Slavic pirates on the unwary Danes (HCS 109).

⁶⁴⁸ As during the early years of the reign of Duke Henry the Lion the Slavs both performed sacrifices to their demons and continued to make “piratical incursions (*piraticas incursaciones*)” into the land of the Danes (HCS 68). Yet the duke himself sends the Slavs to revenge the Danes with a piratical attack, and the Slavs obeyed him with joy and restored their piratical ships (HCS 109); and when they were later restrained from making attacks upon Denmark, the Slavs “became very sorrowful” (*sunt vultus Slavorum subristes*) (HCS 110).

⁶⁴⁹ /--/ *ad edomanda corda rebellium* /--/ (HCS 69); see also the previous chapter HCS 68.

⁶⁵⁰ *Solus eis dux est formidini, qui protrivit robur Slavorum super omnes duces, qui fuerunt ante eum* (ref. I Reg 14: 9, 16: 25,30) /--/ *misit frenum in maxillas eorum* (ref. Is 30: 28, Ez 29: 4, 38: 4) *et quo voluerit, declinat eos*. (HCS 109) Here Helmold depicts the duke as “the prince of the princes of the earth” who “trode up the necks of the rebels and broke up their strongholds, he extirpated the men who had revolted and made peace on the land” (HCS 102). Hence the military strength is also the basis of his the Dukes lordship over all the land the lands of the Slavs (*universa terra Slavorum*) (HCS 68, 88, 93, 105).

⁶⁵¹ When in around the 1150s Albrecht the Bear “put under his yoke” many tribes living between Havel and Elbe, he “curbed the rebellious ones among them” (*misit sub iugum et infrenavit rebelles eorum*) (HCS 89). King Sven is characterised more generally as “a most powerful man, whose bridle was in the jaws of all the people of the northern nations” (*frenum in maxillis populorum omnium borealium nationum*) (HCS 85: ref. Is 30: 28); and King Valdemar to have conquered the land of the Rugiani “with a strong hand” (*in manu potenti*) (HCS 108: ref. Ps 135: 12).

and they obey: he orders war, and they say, “Here we are.”⁶⁵² However, the latter is based on his strength, as also their prince Pribislav is pictured “to gave up his obstinate and long-drawn-out rebelliousness and remained quiet and contended with his lot” namely since “he saw that there was no advantage in his kicking against the pricks.”⁶⁵³ Besides accepting the faith and the lordship of secular rulers, also the Christian laws, taxes and tithes become the signs of accepting Christianity.⁶⁵⁴

The Slavic neophytes are yet signed as bad Christians (*male Christianus*), or half Christians.⁶⁵⁵ Firstly he adapts Adam’s model for describing the rude spirit (*rudia anima*) of the newly converted Christians in general.⁶⁵⁶ The imagery is applied not only to the Slavs, but also the Nordalbingian Saxons, “a boorish and uncultivated folk, having nothing of religion saving only the name of Christianity” and describing their manifold errors and superstitions.⁶⁵⁷ The Slavs can accept Christianity either falsely, or then surrendering to the strong rulers.⁶⁵⁸ Here especially the Duke Henry the Lion stands out, even though even in his strong rule the Slavs firstly blasphemously want to make a god out of Duke Henry, and not subjugate themselves to the true god.⁶⁵⁹ The image of heretics applies, again especially to the Rugiani, who began to worship St. Vitus as god. This is yet a greater error, since as they “stood out of the light of truth, their error became worse than the first.”⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵² *Loquitur pacem, et obtemperant; mandat bellum, et dicunt: “Assumus.”* (HCS 109: Ies 30: 28; Ez 29: 4, 38: 4) See also HCS 109. Even though the Slavs promise to fight loyally with the Saxons already earlier (HCS 34), then they are contrasted to the more faithful Nordalbingians (HCS 37, 38).

⁶⁵³ *Pribizlavus quoque, deposita diuturnae rebellionis obstinacia, sciens, qua non expedit sibi calcitrare adversus stimulum, sedit quietus et contentus funiculo portionis sibi permissae* /--/ (HCS 110: ref. Act 9: 5, 26: 14).

⁶⁵⁴ This is most vividly expressed in a speech given by the prince Pribislav, who asks to let “the rights of the Saxons in respect of property and taxes be extended to us, and we shall willingly be Christians, build churches, and pay our tithes” (HCS 84). The importance of tithes and taxes is reflected throughout the text (HCS 1, 3, 18, 34, 56, 71, 88, 92), and later also in the conflict over the Rügen Island between Henry the Lion and Valdemar I of Denmark (HCS 108-10).

⁶⁵⁵ See HCS 19, where it applies to their chieftan Udo.

⁶⁵⁶ As regards both the Saxons (*ad imbuendas rudes in fideo animas verbo et exemplo sufficerent*) (HCS 3: ref. GHEP I.12) and the Slavs (*rudes enim adhuc in fide gentilium populos*) (HCS 16).

⁶⁵⁷ HCS 47

⁶⁵⁸ After the siege of Demmin in around 1147, the Slavs “falsely received baptism” from the Danes, and here Helmold also notes that abandoning the faith is a greater error than heathenism, claiming that they “immediately afterwards became worse: they neither respected their baptism nor kept their hands from ravaging the Danes” (HCS 65).

⁶⁵⁹ Niclot, the ruler of the Abotrites tells in his blasphemous speech (*verbo blasphemiae*) to the Duke: “Let the god, who is in heaven, be your God; you be our god, and “it sufficeth us. You honor Him; in turn we shall honor you.” (*Sit Deus, qui in celis est, deus tuus, esto tu deus noster, “et sufficit nobis.” Excole tu illum, porro nos te excolemus!*) (HCS 84: ref. Io 14: 8)

⁶⁶⁰ /--/ *a luce veritatis aberrarunt, factus est error peior priore* /--/ (HCS 108: ref. Mt 27: 64). By honouring the martyr, they worshipped as God a servant of God, and hence “the creature more than the Creator” (*Ibid.*:ref Rm 1: 25). See also HCS 6.

Like in Adam's text, similar imagery is shared also by the Nordalbingians. It is described as "a boorish and uncultivated folk, having nothing of religion saving only the name of Christianity, for there existed among them the manifold error of groves and other superstitions." Likewise they share another characteristic of the Slavs, namely hospitality.⁶⁶¹ Their error is explained through their location, as "on account of being in the neighbourhood of barbarians they are in the habit of perpetrating thefts and robberies."⁶⁶²

The aim of the mission is to abolish the idolatry together with its rites, customs, and rituals; and Helmold emphasises on the replacement of the old rituals by the new ones, as the Slavs were "forbidden to swear by trees, springs, and stones, and they were to bring to the priest those accused in crimes" and "bade to transfer their dead for the burial on the courtyard and on feast days assemble in the church."⁶⁶³ Especially the ending of the text presents a picture of a whole people converted and land conquered. This applies both to "the all country of the Slavs" and to Rügen in separate.⁶⁶⁴

Here the opposites are to be turned upside down, as "there was great gladness among all the people of the northern nations; cheer and peace began at the same time. The icy cold of the north gave way to the mildness of the south wind, the harassing sea stopped and the tempestuous storms abated."⁶⁶⁵ Here grief is replaced by joy, war by peace, ignorance by knowledge of the true faith, darkness by light, coldness by warmth; and also the warlikeness and rebelliousness of the Slavs ends. The passage involves all the dominant signs that applied to the Slavs, and functions to mark both the end of the conversion and mission. The image of the cold north links it to the previous missionary tradition, as has Helmold used it firstly in his representation the mission of Hamburg-Bremen, as "the word of God was preached among all the Slavic, Danish, and Northman people and the icy cold of the north was replace by the

⁶⁶¹ HCS 47. Here all three Nordalbingian peoples (the Strumanians, Holzatians, and Ditmarshians) "not differing much either in customs or in speech", are holding only to the laws of the Saxons and to the name of Christian (*Saxonum iura et Christianum nomen*)" (*Ibid.*)

⁶⁶² /--/ *propter barbarorum vicina furtis et latrociniiis operam dare consueverunt.* (HCS 47: ref. *GHEP* II.15) Also "to steal and to be liberal is a boast among the Holzatians. He, indeed, who does not know how to make away with plunder is stupid and inglorious." (*Ibid.*)

⁶⁶³ HCS 84.

⁶⁶⁴ Especially in HCS 110. Similar model is given already by Adam, as during the reign of Otto the Great, when "all the Slavic country was conquered and reduced into a province" and "the congregation of the faithful (*populus fidelium*) grew" (HCS 12). See also Helmold's account of the conquest of Rügen. An even more vivid description of the latter is given by Saxo Grammaticus in his *Gesta Danorum* (14.39), where he describes the temple and cult of St. Vitus in detail, and differently from Helmold ascribes the success of the conquest and mission mainly to Archbishop Absalon of Lund (Lind et al. 2004: 74-9).

⁶⁶⁵ /--/ *facta est leticia magna omnibus populis borealium nationum, iocunditas et pax simul orta est. Et mutatum est gelidum illud frigus aquilonis in lenes austri flatus, et cessavit maris vexacio, et detumuerunt procellae tempestatum.* (HCS 110)

warmth of the Word of God.”⁶⁶⁶ Also the allegories of the faith as light and idolatry as darkness are used throughout the text.⁶⁶⁷ Likewise the ignorance of the Slavs is opposed to the knowledge and truth of the true faith.⁶⁶⁸ The true faith signifies also the way of truth (*via veritatis*), into which the heathens or the apostates are to be directed.⁶⁶⁹ The teaching of the knowledge of faith on some occasions also moves the heathens, and brings to the faith the understanding.⁶⁷⁰ The chronicle itself serves a similar aim, as the author states in the prologue, “in the dark haze of this world everything would be hidden if the light of letters failed.”⁶⁷¹

The Others in the Colonial Society

On the other hand, the imagery of the opposites turned upside down is closely bound to the imagery of the new colonies and colonists who are described both to take the land of the Slavs and their place. The condition for the change, and most noticeably the replacement of idolatry by faith and war by peace is that “all the country of the Slavs /--/ was now through the help of God all made, into one colony of the Saxons.”⁶⁷² As the colonial identity was more closely bound to the land, it shall be examined in the next subchapter. Even though the opposites of the latter imagery are applied to the Slavs throughout the text, as shown above,

⁶⁶⁶ /--/ *dissolutum est gelidum illud frigus aquilonis a calore verbi Dei* /--/ (HCS 4).

⁶⁶⁷ Already the text in itself is dedicated to the praise of those “who at different times by deed, word, often even by shedding their blood have lightened (*illustrarunt*) the province of the Slavs” (HCS *Praef.*). See also HCS 47, 69, 73, 108, 109. The image is once more is used to signify the conversion of the Rugians, as from the whole nation of the Slavs that folk alone “endured even to our own times more obdurately in the darkness of idolatry (*in tenebris infidelitatis*)”; and due to their heresy are described to have “strayed out from the light of the truth (*a luce veritatis*)” (HCS 108). Now after their conversion “the churches were erected and enlightened (*illustratae*) by the presence of the priests” (HCS 109). The image is used also in the case of the Nordalbingians, as by Vicelin “the darkness of sin was dispelled by the brightness of the illuminating grace of God (*diffugeruntque tenebrae peccatorum ab illustratione irradiantis gratiae Dei*)” (HCS 47).

⁶⁶⁸ As “very often and in many ways have great emperors and priests ingeniously tried somehow to bring this stiff-necked and unbelieving people to a knowledge (*agnicionem*) of God’s name” (HCS 2); and likewise in the north vast areas are brought to knowledge of divine faith (*ad fidem divinae cognicionis*) by the king Harald of Denmark (HCS 15).

⁶⁶⁹ Described more significantly in the mission of Vicelin, who begun “to declare to the barbarians the way of truth, which is Christ, exhorting them to give up idols and hasten to the washing of regeneration” (*proponere barbaris viam veritatis, quae Christus est, adhortans eos ut relictis ydolis suis festinarent ad lavacrum regenerationis*) (HCS 69: ref. I Ih 5: 6, II Pet 2: 2, Tit 3: 5).

⁶⁷⁰ When Jaromir, the prince of Rügen was “informed (*audita*) about the worship of the true God and the Catholic faith, he came quickly to be baptised”, and henceforth bade all his people to do so, becoming himself a Christian “in truth so strong in faith” (HCS 108). Similarly the Nordalbingians are described to become “deeply moved at the novelty of the teaching it had not understood (*incogniti*)” by Vicelin’s preaching and had recourse in to the cure of penance (HCS 47).

⁶⁷¹ *In huius enim seculi tenebrosa caligine, si desit lucerna scripturarum, ceca sunt omnia.* (HCS *Praef.*) The classic definition of history as the *lux veritatis* was given already by Cicero in his *De oratore* (2.36: cf. Knappe 2000: 24). The images of darkness and light can also serve to illustrate the issues of clarity and obscurity. The *obscuritas historia* was attributed primarily to pagan and Jewish history, and as such they were contrasted to the light of Christian history, and here it refers firstly to Genesis. (Mehtonen 2000: 52-60)

⁶⁷² HCS 110.

the final chapter poses in itself, indeed a paradox, as the other whose features are shown to be turned upside down has at the same time described to vanish.

Here the image of the Slavic people especially during the last twenty chapters of the chronicle, it is greatly influenced by the image of the arriving of the colonists, whom both Helmold describes to take the place of the Slavs, and who yet also replace the Slavs in his own text. Firstly in Wagria “the Slavs /--/ withdrew and Saxons came and dwelt there; and the Slavs little by little failed in the land.”⁶⁷³ Also, as the margrave Albert the Bear brought large numbers of colonists into his lands the Slavs are said to “gradually decrease in number” and to have been “everywhere crushed and driven out; a people strong and without number have become from the bounds of the ocean [Helmold refers here to the Hollanders, Zealanders, Flemings], and taken possession of the territories of the Slavs.”⁶⁷⁴ By the end of the chronicle the text refers to the constantly decreasing number of the Slavs, stating that “if there were any last remnants of Slavs remaining, they were on account of the want of grain and the desolation of the fields so reduced by hunger that they had to flee together to the Pomeranians and to the Danes who, showing them no mercy, sold them to the Poles, Sorbs, and Bohemians.”⁶⁷⁵

The Avarice of the Saxons

Throughout the chronicle relapses into heathenism and revolts of the Slavs are explained as a result of burdening them with taxes and tribute is treated as, and here Helmold uses and also develops the *topos* of the avarice of the Saxon princes much further than Adam. The need to relieve the latter is already emphasised in the case of the Saxons, where Charlemagne, “with great consideration and with thought of the supernal reward determined to relieve the Saxon people, although they ill deserved it, of all the tribute they owed /--/ last perchance, overburdened with taxes and tribute, they be moved to rebel and relapse into paganism.”⁶⁷⁶ Hence the greedy princes are opposed to the noble princes, the latter being both the defenders of the churches and “tempered in their rigour towards those about whose salvation they were zealously concerned.”⁶⁷⁷

The heavy burdening of the Slavs by the princes is described throughout the chronicle, as “the unhappy greed of the Saxons” serves as an explanation already for the relapse into

⁶⁷³ HCS 84.

⁶⁷⁴ HCS 89. Here the land of the Abotrites “began to be inhabited by foreign peoples who had entered upon the land to possess it” (HCS 92).

⁶⁷⁵ HCS 101.

⁶⁷⁶ HCS 3.

⁶⁷⁷ HCS 16. Here the dukes of Saxony, Benno and Bernhard are contrasted.

paganism that took place after the death of Gottschalk. Here the Slavs “drew off the yoke of servitude and endeavoured to defend their freedom with such obstinacy of spirit that they preferred rather to die than to resume the name of Christian or to pay tribute to the Saxons.”⁶⁷⁸ Here the text also for the first time states, “they [i.e. the princes] burdened the Slavic tribes, whom they had subjected either by wars or treaties, with the imposition of such heavy taxes that they were from bitter necessity driven to resist the divine laws and the service of the princes.”⁶⁷⁹ Henceforth many similar descriptions are given.⁶⁸⁰

One of the most characteristic features of those passages is the usage of the speeches of the Slavic chiefs as a mean to criticise the Saxon princes. This influences not only the image of the Slavs to a great extent, one of their main functions becoming the object of the princes and a rhetorical tool against them, but the voice of the Other also results in the greater plurality of the view points in the text.⁶⁸¹ However, the speeches being also apologies for the revolts, they mainly still function as aimed against the secular rulers and for legitimacy of the ecclesiastical authority and mission. The speeches of the Slavic chieftains occur steadily throughout the chronicle.⁶⁸² Here the revolts, described as rebellions, are at the same time claimed to be the defence of freedom against the yoke of the princes.⁶⁸³ Many of the most characteristic speeches are given by the prince Pribislav, who says that the Slavs are “outdone and oppressed even to the point of exhaustion”, and especially one of his speeches is highly emotional, claiming “Where there but a place where we could flee!”⁶⁸⁴ In the latter Pribislav is also given the opportunity to justify the piracy, as “What remains, therefore, but to leave the land and take to the sea and live with the waves? Or what fault is it of ours, if, driven out from our fatherland, we have troubled the sea and got our livelihood by plunder /--/ Will not this be the fault of the princes?”⁶⁸⁵ If this functions as a critique of the princes, then yet the

⁶⁷⁸ HCS 25.

⁶⁷⁹ HCS 25.

⁶⁸⁰ See especially HCS 69, yet also already in HCS 16.

⁶⁸¹ As another characteristic feature of the text, Helmold also attributes the memory to the Slavs; as he speaks of “the old men of the Slavs who remembered all the deeds of the barbarians” (HCS.16), and uses here the same phrase as Adam, who spoke of the king Sven Estridsson of Denmark, “who remembered all the deeds of the barbarians. However, in Helmold’s

⁶⁸² See HCS 13, 14, 16, 19, 25, 49, 53, 62, and 84.

⁶⁸³ Here Helmold firstly relies on Adam, picturing Margrave Dietrich and Duke Bernhard to pursue the Slavs “with such cruelty that they finally threw off the yoke of servitude and had to take up the arms in defence of their freedom (*tanta crudelitate insectati sunt, ut excusso tandem servitutis iugo libertatem suam armis defendere cogentur*)” (HCS 16: ref. *GHEP* II.42). Duke Bernhard is said here “through his avarice” to oppress the Winuli and to have driven them back to paganism, and the villainy of both of the princes to have forced the Slavs into apostasy (*Ibid.*).

⁶⁸⁴ *Si tamen locus esset, quo diffugere possemus.* (HCS 84).

⁶⁸⁵ *Aut quae culpa nostra, si pulsi patria turbaverimus mare et acceperimus viaticum a Danis sive insitoribus, qui mare remigant? Nonne principum erit haec noxa, qui nos propellunt?* (HCS 84: ref. Ps 138: 8)

pattern to use the speeches to explain the motivations of the others continues also during the revolts against the colonists, as Pribislav claims “both me and my people have been expelled from the land of our nativity and dispossessed from the inheritance of our fathers.”⁶⁸⁶

Helmold claims the main reason for the suppression to be the avarice (*avaritia*) of the princes, and emphasises the feature throughout the text.⁶⁸⁷ Firstly he quotes Adam on the avarice of the duke Bernard II of Saxony (1011-1059) and margrave Dietrich.⁶⁸⁸ Likewise Helmold repeats Adam’s claim that the princes not only drove the Slavs back to heathenism, but also were not interested in their conversion at the first place, as “through the perseverance of the priests Christianity would long ago have grown in the esteem in Slavia, if the avarice of the Saxons had not stood in the way.”⁶⁸⁹ Likewise the mission, the rulers are described as hostile to the church herself, as “the Christian religion and the service of the house of God made little headway, since it was hindered by the avarice of the Duke [Bernhard] and the avarice of the princes, who in their rapacity left nothing remain either for the churches or for the priests.”⁶⁹⁰

This is to change during the reign of the Duke Henry the Lion, and also his contemporaries count Adolph and the margrave Albert the Bear. Yet during the early years of Henry’s rule in the campaigns “the young man has so far undertaken no mention has been made of Christianity, but only of money.”⁶⁹¹

Here the princes obtain many of the features attributed to the barbarians, most eminently the hostility towards Christianity and churches, and bringing war instead of peace.⁶⁹² They also hinder the mission and faith both by not taking interest in the conversion

⁶⁸⁶ Both of the expressions, *terra nativitatis* and *hereditata patria* being also quotations from the *Vulgata*, accordingly Gen 11: 28, 24: 7 and I Mcc 15: 33 (HCS 98); see also HCS 99.

⁶⁸⁷ Most noticeably in HCS 18, 19, 21, 25, 56, 69, 84. The notion is present already in Adam’s chronicle (see GHEP II.66, 77, III.23).

⁶⁸⁸ Bernard “through his avarice cruelly oppressed the nation of Winuli and sheerly drove it into paganism (*per avariciam crudeliter opprimens ad necessitatem paganismi coegit*); and both “cruelly” (*tanta crudelitate*) and “grievously oppressed the Slavic people (*graviter affixit*), as their “villainy force the Slavs into apostasy” (*ingavia coegit Slavos fieri desertores*) (HCS 16: ref. GHEP II.42,48).

⁶⁸⁹ *Decor enim Christianitatis sacerdotum instantia iam dudum in Slavia convaluisse, si Saxonum avaricia non prepedisset.* (HCS 21)

⁶⁹⁰ *Christiana religio et cultus domus Dei parvum recepit incrementum perpediente avaricia ducis et Saxonum qui omnia coorodentes nec ecclesiis nec sacerdotibus quicquam passi sunt esse residui* (HCS 19: ref. GHEP II.66,71).

⁶⁹¹ */--/ nulla de Christianitate fuit mentio, sed tantum de pecunia /--/* (HCS 68). For similar claims see also HCS 56,74.

⁶⁹² The model set by the Duke Bernard, during whose reign “discord and turbulence (*discordia et perturbacio*) never ceased in this country”; and who “rose against Christ and brought terror and confusion upon all the churches of Saxony” (*surgens in Christum omnes ecclesias Saxoniae terruit atque turbavit*) (HCS 16).

of the Slavs and driving them back to heathenism.⁶⁹³ Besides their image contains also many of the other characteristics aimed firstly and mainly to signify the pagan and barbarian rulers. The princes and their warfare are pictured as dominated by cruelty⁶⁹⁴, and also as an expression of rebelliousness.⁶⁹⁵

As they are seen as careless towards the mission, also unfruitfulness is applied to their image, in contrast to the fructification of the church they oppose.⁶⁹⁶ The pose the opposite of the Christian rulers also in the respect that they do not fear God, and likewise forget that the victory is both given by God and belongs to Him.⁶⁹⁷ Here later the image of Widukind of Dasenburg stands out, who raged against the duke and is called “prompt in evil from his very youth” and “a singularly fierce man.”⁶⁹⁸

Also the image of the converted Slavic chiefs can become more positive, as it is opposed to the Saxon princes and functioning mainly as a mean of critique. By this, a Slav and Saxon can even change places as regards to the role of a good Christian, and here Helmold especially develops the image of the Abotrite prince Gottschalk as a good Christian ruler even further.⁶⁹⁹

The imagery however cannot be treated only as transferring the sins of the others or otherness to us, but mainly as reflecting the Christian values and their opposites, applied accordingly to the promoters and rivals of the church and mission in question.

⁶⁹³ As explained also in a speech by Pribislav, “Your princes rage against us with such severity that, because of the taxes and most burdensome services, death is better for us than life. /--/ How, therefore, shall we, /--/ be free for this new religion and to receive baptism.” (HCS 84).

⁶⁹⁴ And here the cruelty is directed not towards the Saxons, but the Slavs, however mainly Christian: as cruelty applies both to Bernard and Dietrich, both of them also suppressing the Slavs cruelly (*crudeliter*) (HCS 16).

⁶⁹⁵ Helmold names the Saxon deceitful and rebellious both in the description of the events, naming it also “our perfidy (*nostra perfidia*)” (HCS 16), and applies it also especially to the Nordalbingians (HCS 67); and in the speeches of the Slavs, who call the Saxons both a deceitful and greedy folk (*gentem perfidam et avaram*) (HCS 16), likewise in HCS 62.

⁶⁹⁶ The Saxon chiefs “sprung from Christian forefathers and reared in the bosom of Holy Mother Church, are found ever sterile and empty in the work of God” (*Christianis provanis geniti et gremio sanctae matris ecclesiae foti steriles semper et inanes in opere Dei sunt inveniti*) (HCS 21). Their unfruitfulness (*sterilitas*) is mentioned also later (HCS 75); likewise their hatred and envy “could not bring forth fruits pleasing to God” (HCS 74).

⁶⁹⁷ The Saxon princes “did not give glory to God who had awarded them victory” (HCS 21), also HCS 25; and hence their defeat is a sign that they are “abandoned by God” (HCS 25). Later especially the Count Henry of Thuringia, who coveted the property of the priest, is said to have feared “neither God nor man” (HCS 107).

⁶⁹⁸ /--/ *singularem ferum* /--/ (HCS 107: ref. Ps 79: 14).

⁶⁹⁹ As Helmold both praises the merits of Gottschalk, and opposes the Christian born Saxon princes to him; concluding “let commendation and unbounded praise be heaped upon the most worthy Gottschalk, who, sprung from the barbarian peoples, restored his race the gift of faith, the grace of belief through the abounding fervor his love” (*Predicetur igitur et omni laude excolatur dignissimus ille Godescalcus, qui barbaris gentibus editus munus fidei, credulitatis gratiam suae genti cum pleno dilectionis fervore reparavit.*) (HCS 21) Similarly also Margrave Dietrich is contrasted to Mistisvoi, the chief of the Winuli (HCS 16).

The imagery reflects both the rivalry for the taxes, tribute, and tithes, yet also the growing authority of the bishops of Oldenburg, due to which the rulers were concerned that the authority of the latter might become equal to that of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen.

Also the views as regards the Slavs were different for those of the secular and ecclesiastical rulers. The German and Saxon nobility was not interested in the conversion of the Slavs, even the tribes they had subdued. In stead they cooperated with the Slavic rulers, for collecting the tribute and fighting against their enemies, among whose there were the Slavs, the Germans, hence both Christians and heathens. The Germans living in the frontier areas served both the Saxon and Slav rulers, and fought side by side with their Slavic allies, regardless whether they were Christians or not (Lotter 1989: 283-5). Contrary to their interests was firstly the missionary and crusading ideology, which started during the first crusade against the Western Slavs, as, preached by St. Bernard of Clairvaux, according to which the Slavs should be either converted or exterminated. (Smalley 1974: 125-128)

This however changed after the collision of the alliances, when the Slavs started to attack the frontier areas. To eliminate the threat, the Saxons started to fight against the Slavs, and the lower clergy, who had had to face the fact that the peaceful mission did not gain almost any success among the Slavs, asked for the help of the secular rulers. Now the forces of the secular and clerical forces were joined, albeit that the higher clergy still wished to convert the Slavs by preaching. The latter had been successful among the Pomeranias, yet when it failed constantly among the Slavs living around the Elbe River; even they started to search for new means to proceed with the mission (Lotter 1989: 283-5).

The situation is made even more complex by the power struggles inside the church and the diocese, especially the rivalries between the bishops of Oldenburg and the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen. Likewise the conflicts between ecclesiastical and secular power influence the imagery of the clerical authorities, firstly as regards the conflict between the emperor and the archbishops of Hamburg.⁷⁰⁰ Even more so influences the conflict between the Duke Henry the Lion and the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen the imagery of the latter. The rivalry was especially disadvantageous to the bishopric of Oldenburg, as it became so costly to the diocese that the see had no means to support her suffragans. The text is especially critical towards the archbishop Hartwig, both as regards his participation in the conspiracy (in 1166) against Duke Henry and the politics of the see that hindered the mission

⁷⁰⁰ For the conflict between the emperor and the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen see: *HCS*.83.

during the time that preceded the death of Vicelin.⁷⁰¹ Helmold names the conspiracy also a civil war (*bellum civilis*) and applies the signs of rebelliousness, treachery and ferocity to all its participants, and among them also to the bishop Conrad of Lübeck.⁷⁰² Here as well, to the conspirators is opposed the Slavic prince Pribislav, who swore in pledge of his fidelity to the duke and remained loyal to him.⁷⁰³

The Princes of the Slavs

Hence the expansion brought along new imagery for the Slavs as well, especially as regards their Christian rulers. Adam also gives the model for the latter in his account of the prince Gottschalk. Quoting Adam, Helmold also describes him as a good Christian ruler.⁷⁰⁴ His story albeit pictures the dynamics of the other most vividly, as the prince is pictured as firstly Christian, then an apostate and rebel, and then a reconvert.⁷⁰⁵ Later Helmold describes also Henry, the king of the Slavs as he names him a good ruler, “a granter of peaceful times.”⁷⁰⁶ The image of another great leader of the Slavs, Pribislav is however negative throughout the text, as he is pictured to be the leader of the many rebellions. Yet, by the end of the text he is described to give up his rebelliousness and become the faithful ally of the Duke Henry the Lion.⁷⁰⁷ A more dominant positive image is applied to the prince of the Rugiani, Jaromir. However, he functions here as a sign of the conversion of the Rugiani, and Helmold does recount any of his deeds neither before nor after the conversion. The prince is described as to have become “quickly baptised” after he had been “informed about the worship of the true God and Catholic faith”, and also to have “bade all his people to be reborn with him in holy baptism.” The chronicler names him a second Paul, as the converted prince was “so strong in faith and so settled in his preaching” that he acted “in the capacity of an apostle.”⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰¹ HCS 104-5,107.

⁷⁰² See HCS 103-5. Bishop Conrad is pictured as treacherous, and careless towards the mission (HCS 97, 105).

⁷⁰³ HCS 103.

⁷⁰⁴ The most eminent features of the imagery are his preaching and mission among the heathens (HCS 19-20). The work of God prospers in his hands and is guided by the grace of God (HCS 20, 22); and besides being pictured as a martyr, the prince is named both a *vir bonus et cultor Dei* and faithful (*fidelis*) (HCS 25), and also a second Maccabee (HCS 22).

⁷⁰⁵ HCS 19-20

⁷⁰⁶ HCS 46; the chronicle also mentions “the probiety and piety of the prince (HCS 48). His imagery, however also functions as an opposite to that of his sons, Zuentopolk and Cnut, whose reign brought along many domestic wars (HCS 46-8).

⁷⁰⁷ HCS 103; and the last chapter of the text states that he “gave up his obstinate and long-drawn-out rebelliousness and remained quiet and contentd with the portion that was his lot” (HCS 110).

⁷⁰⁸ *Ipse vero factus Christianus tam in fide firmus quam in predicatione erat stabilis, ut secundum Paulum iam a Christo vocatum videres. /--/ fungens vice apostoli /--/* (HCS 108). Here the prince is also described as the one converting the whole of his folk. See also: Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum* 14.39.

As regards both Pribislav and Jaromir, then for them the conversion and cooperation with Christian rulers was above all also mean and a guarantee to keep and grant their power. The relationship with the Slavic rulers remained still complex and manifold relationships in the frontier areas, as various interests and conflicts resulted also in different alliances between both the Saxons and Slavs. Even though Helmold pictures the Duke Henry the Lion as the good Christian ruler aiming to promote the mission, church and Christianity above all else, his politics resulted in treating both the Saxon and Slavic nobility as either his allies, vassals, or enemies, and aiming at the destruction of all his enemies, regardless of whether they were the Saxons or Slavs⁷⁰⁹ (Lotter 1989: 297-8, see also Lotter 1980).

The Danes

The image of the Danes in Helmold's chronicle is rather complex; and here the Danish people in general and the Danish rulers tend to function differently.

Firstly, relying on Adam, Helmold describes the rulers of the Vikings as "the enemies of God", and applies similar imagery to the later Danish kings Gorm (around 945) and Sven Forkbeard (in around 986-1014).⁷¹⁰ Similarly Helmold emphasises the power struggles and domestic wars of the Danes, stating that they "ever agitated by domestic strife, had no strength to foreign wars."⁷¹¹ Among the negative features applied to the Danish kings are cruelty and deceitfulness; likewise in their warfare the Danes are characterised as cowardly.⁷¹²

From Adam he has taken the image of the first Christian king of Denmark, Harald Bluetooth and describes also king Canute as a good ruler.⁷¹³ The image of the Danish king Valdemar I the Great (1157-82) more complex, especially as regards the conquest of the Rügen Island in 1168. Firstly pictured as a good Christian king subduing the heathens with the help of God, his image turns towards the negative when he does not want to share the profits of the conquest with the Duke Henry the Lion. Still, as the Duke sends the Slavs to make a vengeance on the Danes, the image of the latter becomes that of the victims suffering

⁷⁰⁹ Even though in 1163 Henry declared the goals of his campaign against the Slavs as according to the model of the just missionary war, where the obedient shall be converted and resistance of the prouds shall lead them to death; his political aims and skills were aimed at mainly gaining the supremacy over both the Slavs and Saxons. (Lotter 1989: 297-8)

⁷¹⁰ For the image of the Viking rulers as *hostes Dei* see HCS 7, 8, and for King Sven HCS 15. The imagery presented here is the same as it was in Adam's text.

⁷¹¹ *Dani enim semper bellis laborantes domesticis ad forinseca bella nullam habuere virtutem.* (HCS 85) See also HCS 50-1, 70.

⁷¹² For the Danes are "pugnacious at home, unwarlike abroad" (HCS 65), see also HCS 51, 85. Likewise the Danish rulers show no honour to God, as the king Magnus took fight on the holy day of the Pentecost, regardless of the pleas of the bishop (HCS.51). The same characteristics apply also to their society, as the King Sven is said to oppress his people cruelly (*crudeliter*) (HCS.85).

⁷¹³ For Harald Bluetooth see HCS 7, 15, and for Canute HCS 49.

through the hands of the barbarians, as the Slavs “seized all land, overturned the churches, made captive the people, and with the edge of the sword slew all that resisted.”⁷¹⁴

This reflects one of the most dominant features in the image of the Danish people, as throughout the text they are contrasted to the Slavs and described as the victims of their piratical raids, functioning as a mean to emphasise the warlikeness of the Slavs and to justify the attacks on them as the defence of Christian lands and people. Therefore his text does not represent that there were widespread networks between the Danish and Slavonic princes, which played significant role in the Danish politics from the eleventh century onwards, that ceased only at the end of twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries (Hermanson 2004, Lind et al. 2004: 29-48).

During those late assaults of the Slavs, King Valdemar I is now described as inactive, “unmindful of the ruin of his folk.” Only “at length” Valdemar is said to have “aroused from his sleep” and to have sent an army to revenge the Slavs.⁷¹⁵ Here Helmold also sums up his image of the Danish kings, stating that they, “dilatory and dissolute, always drunk between their rounds of feasting, sometimes are hardly aware of the strokes of the wounds.”⁷¹⁶

LOCI

Helmold describes the subjugation of Slavia mainly as a reconquest, and this results also in a complex image of the space, as here the landscape of the Others hides in itself also the signs of the earlier Christian inhabitants.⁷¹⁷ The latter are to confirm their claims and give a just cause for the war (Fletcher 1997: 445-6).

The conquest of the space takes place through rebuilding of the once destroyed sanctuaries and towns, hence through restoring the Christian space. Likewise the revolts are described as the destruction of Christian space, as the land is laid waste, and churches are burned down.⁷¹⁸ The image of the once Christian landscape becomes especially that of a deserted and vast solitude. This is used first already to describe the destruction of the Saxon

⁷¹⁴ HCS 109

⁷¹⁵ HCS 109. Here Helmold also mentions the habit of having concubines, as Valdemar’s son Christopher was “born of a concubine.”

⁷¹⁶ *Reges enim Danorum segnes et discincti et inter continuas epulas semper poti vix aliquando sentiunt percussuras plagarum.* HCS 109: ref. Is 30: 26.

⁷¹⁷ In Schleswig, in a land of “vast and scarcely penetrable solitude” one can see the traces of furrows among the trees, and there the wall structures “indicate the plans of the towns.” (HCS.12) Helmold states that before the first revolt all but three of the counties of the Slavs were converted (HCS14), and then even the Rügen Island was once converted (HCS 108). See also the preface of the chronicle (*ad laudem ipsius scribam conversionem Slavicae gentis, quorum scilicet regum sive predicatorum industria Christiana religio his in partibus primum plantata et postmodo restaurata fuerit*) (HCS Praef.).

⁷¹⁸ See especially in HCS 19, 22, 24, 26, 56, 83-4, 88.

colonies in Schleswig (Haddeby) and Wagria, lands once deserted, then made prosperous and populated during the reign of Otto I and then made into a solitude again after the assault of the Danes.⁷¹⁹ The notions of deserted land and solitude become even more important during his description of the later Slav revolts. Especially the image of “a vast solitude” becomes to signify the Christian lands conquered by the Slavs relapsed into paganism, and as a quote from Jeremiah’s prophecy it compares those lands with Babylon.⁷²⁰ Yet another analogy with the Old Testament history is used to describe the destruction of Hamburg and the Saxon colony in Schleswig during the Slav revolt, as those events are compared with the prophecy over the fall of Jerusalem into the heathens.⁷²¹

The reconquest of the Christian lands functions also as cause for the just war, and by Helmold’s time similar claims were also used to proclaim the liberation of Jerusalem by the first crusaders. In his account of the First Crusade Helmold focuses on the reconquest of the Holy City and Christian lands, both in the description of its proclamation and course.⁷²² Those are the typical elements of crusading rhetoric and historiography. However, here the chapters concerning the First Crusade are preceded by a description of how the Saxon towns fell into the hands of the Slavs, giving hence an indirect comparison to the fall of Jerusalem.⁷²³ Whereas the First Crusade to the Holy Land aimed to liberate both the peoples (the Christians of the Eastern churches), and land, i.e. the city of Jerusalem) (Riley-Smith 1984a: 67-8, Erdmann 1935, Cowdrey 1970: 177-88), then the later missionary and crusading warfare in Slavia can in this light be seen also as aimed at liberating the Christian lands. The notion of a

⁷¹⁹ /--/ *terram spaciosam et frugibus fertilem, sed maxime desertam, eo quod inter oceanum et Balthicum mare sita crebris insidiarum iacturis atteretur. Postquam autem misericordia Dei et virtute Magni Ottonis matura pax omnia possedit, ceperunt habitari deserta Wagriae et Sleswicensis provinciae, nec ullus iam angulus relictus fuerat, qui non esset conspicuus urbibus et vicis, plerisque etiam monasteriis.* (HCS 12).

⁷²⁰ HCS 101. “Because of the wrath of the Lord it shall not be inhabited, but it shall be wholly desolate: every one that goeth by Babylon shall be astonished, and hiss at all her plagues” (*ab ira Domini non habitabitur sed redigetur tota in solitudinem omnis qui transit per Babylonem stupebit et sibilabit super universis plagis eius*) (Ier 50: 13)

⁷²¹ “There was fulfilled for us the prophecy which runs, “O God, the heathen are come into Thine inheritance; Thy holy temple have they defiled” and other sayings which prophetically bewail the destruction of the city of Jerusalem.” (HCS.24: ref. GHEP III.51, Ps 79: 1)

⁷²² The passage contains very many phrases referring to it: “to liberate the Holy City which was held by the barbarians” (*liberatio civitatis sanctae, quae tenebatur a barbaris*); “the City must be liberated which was trodden by the heathens” (*liberanda esset civitas, quae calcabatur a gentibus*); and describes the reconquest of “the many cities” (Nicaea, Antioch) that “were held by the barbarians” (*civitates a barbaris possessas recipere*) and, finally Jerusalem, as “they liberated the Holy City from barbarians” (*civitatem sanctam de manu barbarorum liberaverunt*) (HCS 31). See also Helmold’s account of the sermons of Peter the Eremit, who exhorted people “to liberate the Holy City which was held by the barbarians” (*liberato civitatis sanctae, quae tenebatur a barbaris*), claiming that “the times of the nations are fulfilled and that the City must be liberated which was trodden down by the heathen” (*impleta sunt tempora nacionum, et liberanda esset civitas, quae calcabatur a gentibus*) (HCS 30: ref. Lc 21: 24).

⁷²³ HCS 22-6.

vengeance upon the heathens is yet present both in the crusades to the Holy Land and in the Northern missionary wars.⁷²⁴

One of the main characteristics of the chronicle is also the clear awareness of living in the neighbourhood of the barbarians. As regards the *patria*, the chronicler states constantly that Saxony is situated at the borders of the Slavs and describing the many threats the latter pose to it, and likewise the Second Crusade in 1147 is also directed against “the Slavs on our frontier.”⁷²⁵ Often the author describes the Christian lands as being surrounded by the barbarians both by land and by sea (*terra marique*).⁷²⁶

However, even more than the *patria* it is the young church (*novella ecclesia*) and her missionaries, the fathers of the young church that determine the focus of the text. As such, Helmold values most highly also the first generation of frontier missionaries (namely those who came to mission together with Vicelin), “who had first come to these regions and who had grown old under the burden of the day.”⁷²⁷ Here the chronicler also presents a development of a frontier identity, as the text speaks of “the very brave men because of through their location on the border.”⁷²⁸ The enlargement of the young church takes place firstly by establishing safe outposts for the missionaries, such as Faldera, which was situated against the borders of the Slavs. In Faldera Helmold had spent a large part of his life, and it is also one of the main centres of events in his chronicle.⁷²⁹ While archbishop Hartwig gave it to Vicelin, he says in the chronicle “If it is your purpose to work in Slavia, /--/ take charge of their church, because it is situated on the borders of both provinces and you will have a home wherein to stay as you go into and out of Slavia.”⁷³⁰

⁷²⁴ Jerusalem and the Holy Land were interpreted as Christ’s personal possession and their occupation by the Muslims as an injury to Christ himself, referring often to the verse “God, pagans have invaded Thy heritage” (Ps 79). This interpretation was influenced by the *vendetta*-tradition and the knightly obligation to revenge injury done to their kin or lords. (Riley-Smith 1984a: 67-8, Riley-Smith 1980: 190-2)

⁷²⁵ See HCS 62, and similarly he describes the crusade in the Iberian peninsula as aimed to protect the Christian frontier (HCS 61). The Slavs “many times terrorised the Saxons frontiers” already during the reign of king Otto I (HCS 9). For the later period see HCS 14, 71. As the Saxons live “along the Slavic border” (HCS 34), and Saxony is “in the neighborhood of the barbarians” (HCS 47), there is also a constant need to “guard our country” (HCS 67).

⁷²⁶ HCS.15,51,63

⁷²⁷ HCS 75. See also HCS 78, 94.

⁷²⁸ HCS 12. In the frontier areas, people must be “patient” as well as “ready to shed blood” (HCS 66, 75) and be “courageous” (HCS 92). Here the Holzatians claim the right to pay smaller taxes, due to “the neighbourhood of the barbarians (*vicinia barbarorum*) and the time of the war” (HCS 92: ref. Prov 3: 8). See also HCS 52, 67, 92.

⁷²⁹ Mentioned very often in the text as the centre of missionary activity (HCS 47, 66, 69, 78, 79, 83). Besides Faldera Helmold describes the founding of several other outposts in the frontier area (see HCS 55, 57, 84), one of the most important of those being the fortification of Segeberg (HCS 53, 57). Later on also Helmold’s own parish in Bosau stands out as the centre of activity (HCS 70, 71, 73, 75, 83).

⁷³⁰ *Si tibi propositum est laborandi in Slavia /--/ potire ecclesia eorum, eo quod sita sit in terminis utriusque provinciae, sitque tibi intranti et exeunti Slaviam locus et stacio.* (HCS 47)

The mission here starts with going into and out of Slavia, and hence also with entering into an unknown landscape and posing oneself into threats. The land the missionaries enter is described as wild, deserted and inhabited by the folk “boorish and uncultivated.”⁷³¹ This applies also to the frontier areas, as on his coming to Faldera Vicelin observed “the appearance of locality and the fields, frightful as a wasted and unproductive heath.” Here he starts to live “in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation” and “in a desert land, and in the waste of howling wilderness.”⁷³²

The mission is often described to start by entering into the forests of Slavia, which are dangerous due to being very dense, easy to get lost in and become assaulted by the enemies. However, the woods can also hide the remnants of the previous Christian habitation, as in Schleswig “remain to this day numerous indications of that old occupation, especially in the forest.”⁷³³ Here the forest is also defined as “a vast and scarcely penetrable solitude” where “traces of furrows which had separated the lowlands of former times may be descried among the stoutest trees of the woods.”⁷³⁴

Both the howling wilderness and the vast solitude refer to the desert, especially as the first of them is a Bible quotation referring to the desert, which the Israeli people had to cross before coming to the land of Canaan. Likewise the woods were used as an analogy to the desert especially during the High Middle Ages. The desert signifies the suffering-landscape, referring to the perils of the Israelis, Christ, the Apostles and the early desert dwellers, like St. Anthony. In Helmold’s text those connotations contribute to the image of missionaries, which is built upon the *imitatio* of the models mentioned above. As the forests are described to hide many idolatrous signs in them, entering into the forest meant also entering the idolatrous landscape. This also contributes to the analogy of the desert, as the desert is a place where Christ and the early desert dwellers were haunted by demons. Also on his mission to the wastelands of Faldera Vicelin was sent “into the land of want and hunger where was Satan’s seat and the hold of every foul spirit.”⁷³⁵ The idolatrous nature of the landscape is underlined by describing the religion of the Slavs as closely bound to nature. Their demons live in the

⁷³¹ /--/ *nacio prava atque perversa* /--/ (HCS 27, 47, 73).

⁷³² *Cumque pervenisset ad locum destinatum, perspexit habitudinem loci campumque vasta et sterili mirica perorridum, preterea accolarum genus agreste et incultum, nichil de religione nisi nomen tantm Christianitatis habens. Incipiens igitur habitare “in medio nacionis pravae et perversae”, “in loco horroris et vastae solitudinis”* (HCS 47: ref. Phil 2: 15 ja Dt 32: 10). See also HCS 73.

⁷³³ /--/ *restant antiquae illius habitacionis pleraque indicia, precipue in silva* /--/ (HCS 12).

⁷³⁴ /--/ *cuius vasta solitudo et vix penetrabilis inter maxima silvarum robora sulcos pretendit, quibus iugera quondam fuerant dipertita.* (HCS 12)

⁷³⁵ *in terram egestatis et famis, ubi erat sedes Sathanae et habitacio omnis spiritus immundi* (HCS 69: ref. Rev 2: 13, 18: 2).

forests and groves, depicted to be so numerable that the whole landscape abounds in them.⁷³⁶ Namely the sacred forests are described to be one of the main sanctuaries of the Slavs. The danger that entering the forests and sacred places, and even more so the destroying of them brought along, is also underlined by the taboo of entering into heathen sanctuaries Helmold has carefully described.

One of the most characteristic and detailed accounts is the description of a mission to Slavia in 1156, in which Helmold had taken part. Here the missionaries firstly “crossed into farther Slavia” (*transivimus in ulteriorem Slaviam*) and came into a forest, where they saw “among the very old trees the sacred oaks which had been consecrated to the God of that land, Prove.”⁷³⁷ It is namely in the context of this missionary trip that Helmold also gives a longer description of the religious customs of the Slavs. Then he continues with the account of the abolishment of the idolatrous space, as bishop Gerold “exhorted us to proceed energetically to the destruction of the grove” Together they “broke in pieces the decorated fronts of the gates and, entering the courtyard, we heaped up all the hedging of the enclosure about those sacred trees and made a pyre of the heap of wood by setting fire to it.” This however is done not “without the fear that perchance we might be overwhelmed in a tumult of the inhabitants.” Helmold gives another detailed account, as he describes the destruction of the idol Svantevit in Rügen by Danish king Valdemar I in 1168, and the latter event is also to signify the completion of the conversion of the Slavs in his chronicle.⁷³⁸

Besides the woods, the sea is another landscape of the barbarians, where the pirates attack the seagoers, and beyond which they hide after their assaults. Later even the Christian Slavs still ride the Danish lands.⁷³⁹ The Rugiani are the only heathens to live beyond the sea. They resisted Christianity and conquest longer than the other tribes, and the chronicle has pictured them as stronger and more powerful than any of the other tribes. Especially the

⁷³⁶ The deities “live in the woods and in the groves” and the people have multiform godheads to which “they attribute plains and woods” (HCS 84). Even among the Saxon Christians living in Faldera there existed “the manifold error of groves and springs and other superstitions” (HCS 47).

⁷³⁷ The wood, called a place of profanation (*profanacionis locum*), is claimed to be a sanctuary of the whole land (*sanctimonium universae terrae*) (HCS 84). The chronicle provides several other less detailed accounts of the destruction of idolatrous sanctuaries and idols. The prince of the Obodrites, Niclot demolished a very celebrated fane with its idols and with all its superstitious rites (*fanum celeberrimum cum ydolis et omni superstitione demoliti*) (HCS 71). Priest Bruno was “cutting down groves and doing away superstitious rites (*ritus sacrilegos*)” (HCS 84).

⁷³⁸ Valdemar had “that most ancient image (*simulachrum antiquissimum*) of Swantewit, which was worshiped by every nation of the Slavs, brought out, and ordered a rope to be fastened around its neck”. Then he commands the image to be “dragged through the midst of the army in the sight of the Slavs” and to be “hacked to pieces and cast into fire.” By this he “destroyed the fane with all its apparatus of worship.” (HCS 108)

⁷³⁹ The Slavs “this day, indeed, they cross the sea and despoil the land of the Danes” (HCS.84), and King Sven of Denmark claims that there is no chance to fight the Slavs, because “they are fleeing from us and are going over into the outer parts of the sea” (HCS 85).

expedition, which King Henry undertook into Rügen together with his Slav allies in around 1123/24 stands out here as a war against the heathens beyond the sea.⁷⁴⁰ Here King Henry underlines the dangers that an expedition to an island brought along, stating in his speech, “Behold, we are surrounded on all sides by the sea: enemies before us, enemies behind us, and refuge by flight has passed from us.”⁷⁴¹

The Christianisation of the land takes place by filling it with churches, monasteries and also with castles, towns, and market places. The process being a reconquest, the Christianisation of the landscape is also that of rebuilding and restoring, that of rising the church “from its ruins to its heights.”⁷⁴² In Slavia hence the “service of the house of God was re-established “in the midst of the crooked and perverse nation about ninety years after the destruction of the earlier church, which took place when the pious prince Gottschalk was killed.”⁷⁴³ The chronicle follows the restoration of the episcopal see in Oldenburg, firstly in 1149 and gives then a long description of the re-establishing of the bishopric during his own times, where the churches were rebuilt and priest appointed throughout the bishopric.⁷⁴⁴ And now also the converted Slavs themselves are to build churches and fortifications; and his account how Rügen was filled with twelve churches is to mark the final Christianisation of the land.⁷⁴⁵

The final phase of Christianising the space however is pictured to take place through colonisation. The model for describing the colonies is given already in Adam’s text, on which Helmold relies in his description of the establishment of the Saxon colonies in Schleswig and Wagria during the reign of Otto the Great. The chronicle describes here how peace was

⁷⁴⁰ HCS 38. That taking place in winter time, the army “tramped the whole long day over the ice and through the deep snow” to reach their enemy. The campaign was followed by another one next winter (*Ibid.*)

⁷⁴¹ *Ecce mari unigue conclusi sumus, hostes ante nos, hostes post nos, peritque a nobis “fugae presidium* (HCS 38: ref. Idh 15: 1). That and the later expeditions to Rügen can now be compared also with the crusades to the Holy Land, where the crusading armies had to cross the seas as well (see Helmold’s account in HCS 60).

⁷⁴² HCS 74.

⁷⁴³ *Et restauratus est cultus domus Dei in medio nacionis pravae ac perversae anno quasi nonagesimo post excidium prioris ecclesiae, quod contigit occiso Godeschalco pio principe.* (HCS 84: ref. Phil 2: 15)

⁷⁴⁴ Firstly Archbishop Hartwig determined “to reestablish (*reedificare*) the episcopal sees which the barbarian fury (*barbaricus furor*) had in times past destroyed in Slavia”, namely those of Oldenburg, Mecklenburg and Ratzeburg (HCS 69). For the later restauraton see HCS 84, 89. The example for describing the processes are set by earlier phase of the mission, when “all the land of the Wagiri, of the Abodrites, and of the Kicini was filled with churches and priests, with monks and nuns dedicated to God” (HCS 12), and “churches were erected everywhere in Slavia and many monasteries were built where men and women served God” (HCS 14). See also HCS.84, 89 which are describing the multiplication of churches in Polabia, Brandenburg, and Havelberg; and here Helmold also depicts vividly how the bishop of Oldenburg “marked out the sites on which the churches were to be built” (HCS 84). Now the Slavs are also bade to “transfer their dead for burial in the chuchyard” (*Ibid.*). See also HCS 20, 34, 75.

⁷⁴⁵ Firstly as a critique against the Saxon princes Pribislav states that the Slavs cannot “be free and build churches for this new religion” (HCS 84). Later, after he himself subdued to the duke, he was to build the strongholds of Mecklenburg, Ilow and Rostock (HCS 110). For Rügen see HCS 108-9.

brought into the land, and it was made prosperous by colonists, as here the fertile, yet empty land is filled with people, towns, churches and monasteries, and the number of Christians is growing.⁷⁴⁶ From the later period Helmold describes the settlement of newly conquered Wagria by Count Adolf II in the 1140s, and the colonisation carried through during the reign of Albert the Bear and Henry the Lion.

The image of the first Saxon colonies yet emphasises their small number of inhabitants and location in a hostile environment.⁷⁴⁷ As such, their image is similar to that of the new church, and Helmold names both the church of Oldenburg a new church (*novella ecclesia*), and the town of Lübeck a new town (*civitas nova*).⁷⁴⁸ On the other hand, as since the subjugation of the Slavs in the 1160s an intensive colonisation of the land started, the last twenty five chapters represent a strengthening colonial identity, which is to overcome the missionary ideology dominating in the first two thirds of the chronicle. Colonists were invited to live in the Slav territories, towns and market places established.

The Christian colonists are shown to contribute significantly to the church, as they provide solace to the priests and enlarge the number of Christians.⁷⁴⁹ The colonists fill the land with churches and support the bishoprics through larger church taxes.⁷⁵⁰ Through colonisation the landscape is not altered only through filling it with churches, towns and villages, but through the colonists the image of it becomes Christianised and the old landscape is replaced entirely. Helmold claims in the last chapter of his chronicle that the “all the country of the Slavs /--/ a region once feared for its ambushes and almost deserted, was now through the help of God all made, as it were, into a colony of the Saxons. And cities and villages grew up there and churches were built and the number of the ministers multiplied.”⁷⁵¹

Likewise the space is safe now, as “the way was safe for those who passed between Denmark and Slavia; women and little children walked over it because hindrances were

⁷⁴⁶ See HCS 12, 15. “When, however, through the mercy of God and the valour of Otto the Great a lasting peace was everywhere established, the deserted places of Wagria and the country of Schleswig began to be repeopled. and there was not left any corner which was not conspicuous for its towns and villages, and for its many monasteries.” (HCS 12)

⁷⁴⁷ See HCS 38, 55, 63, 64, 99, 100. Helmold also mentions the small Christian colonies in the Iberian peninsula (HCS 61). Helmold also mentions the Christian colonies in the Iberian peninsula (HCS.61).

⁷⁴⁸ Accordingly HCS 80, 84, 88 and HCS 69, 79. Also the number of priests is small as well (HCS 80,94). Especially the founding (HCS 48) and refounding (HCS 71, 86) of Lübeck stands out; as regards other towns, the chronicle also describes the founding and refounding of Plön (HCS 56, 75 and 84) and Schwerin (HCS 88).

⁷⁴⁹ Accordingly HCS 73, 75 and HCS 84, 88, 89, 92.

⁷⁵⁰ *multiplicarentur ecclesiae, et decimarum succresceret /--/ Et confortatus est vehementer ad introitum advenarum episcopatus Brandenburgensis necnon Havelburgensis, eo quod multiplicarentur ecclesiae, et decimarum succereret ingens possessio.* (HCS.89). See also HCS 73, 75, 84, 88, 89, 92.

⁷⁵¹ HCS 110

removed and robbers disappeared from the road.”⁷⁵² In the same passage Helmold also explains the Christianisation of the land to take place as via greater and fundamental changes in space, as “There was great gladness among all the people of the northern nations; cheer and peace began at the same time. The icy cold of the north gave way to the mildness of the south wind; the harassing of the sea stopped and the tempestuous storms abated.”

Here both the Slavs and their land are taken over, as the Saxons come to live in their villages, as the latter “came and dwelt there; and the Slavs little by little failed in the land.”⁷⁵³ “A people strong and without number have come from the bounds of the ocean, and taken possession of the territories of the Slavs. They have built cities and churches and grown rich beyond all estimation.”⁷⁵⁴ The colonists started to cultivate new lands, cutting down the forests, drying the land, and the once empty and deserted land is made into fertile, cultivated plantation rich in crops.

Here Slavia is compared with Canaan, and hence the colonists to the Israelis, as “the Germans came from their lands to dwell in the spacious country, rich in grain, smiling in the fullness of pasture lands, abounding with fish and all god things.”⁷⁵⁵ The imagery signifies both the colonial and Christian enlargement and refers to the Biblical imagery of the Israelis coming from the desert to the land of Canaan, as the verse states “I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land unto a good land and a large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey /--/.”⁷⁵⁶ Likewise God had led the people of Israel from the desert of Egypt into the land of the plenty, so has he now led His faithful to the fertile lands of the Slavs.

This is yet closely linked also to the previous image of the Slavic lands as vast solitude and desert, and hence Slavia is to function in both ways, as the landscape for suffering, signifying the desert, and also as the reward for the sorrows, the Promised Land. In this respect it signifies also the spiritual triumph of the priests, who have come through the sufferings of the desert, solitude and the demons, and reached the triumph over a new

⁷⁵² HCS 110. The mean for achieving the latter being however the extermination of the Slavs, as “any of the Slavs found roaming on byways for no evident reason” were “ordered to put to death by hanging.” (*Ibid.*)

⁷⁵³ HCS 84. The Slavs “gradually decreased in number”, they are “everywhere crushed and driven out” (HCS 89). See also in HCS 71, 92, 101, 110.

⁷⁵⁴ *Slavi usquequaque protituti atque propulsi sunt, et venerunt adducti de finibus oceani populi fortes et innumerabiles et obtinuerunt terminos Slavorum et edificaverunt civitates et ecclesias et increverunt divitiis super omnem estimationem.* (HCS 89: ref. Joel 1: 6)

⁷⁵⁵ /--/ *confluerent de teris suis homines Teutonici ad incolendam terram spaciosam, fertilem frumento, commodam pascuarum ubertate, abundantem pisce et carne et omnibus bonis.* (HCS 88: ref. Ex 3: 8)

⁷⁵⁶ *et sciens dolorem eius descendi ut liberarem eum de manibus Aegyptiorum et educerem de terra illa in terram bonam et spatiosam in terram quae fluit lacte et melle ad loca Chananei et Hetthei et Amorrei Ferezei et Evei et Iebusei* (Ex 3: 8)

congregation. During the twelfth century imagery of mechanics (building houses, stamping out patterns etc.) was often used in parallel to the organic imagery of burgeoning or flourishing (Bynum 1984: 82-109). There are similar examples of the use of wilderness *topos* from other colonial (Bartlett 1993: 133-66), as well as from the Cistercian founding narratives of that time, and similarly to Helmold the notions of wilderness and desert are above all used to create legitimacy, and give cohesion for newly established identities⁷⁵⁷ (Bruun 2004b). Robert Bartlett has pointed out that cerealization was a natural image for to describe the expansion of Latin Christendom in the High Middle Ages, as the spread of cult and the spread of cultivation went hand in hand. The latter phenomenon perhaps overemphasised by him, one can yet but to agree that in the newly colonised lands it the settlers had good reasons to paint the past as a primitive period, a foil to the current order. For this the motif of a scarcely agricultural past, a wild and wooded emptiness is particularly valuable, as it gives drama to the story of a “new plantation” in a “place of horror and desolate solitude”⁷⁵⁸ (Bartlett 1993: 152-6).

For describing and signifying the missionary work, conversion and building of the new church Helmold has also used namely the imagery of growth and fertility. This includes the image of planting the faith, although here the process is described as that of planting and replanting.⁷⁵⁹ Here the image of the new plantation is used to signify the new church, and the founders of the plantation are above all the missionaries, described also as the seeders, by whom “the word of God was spread among all the Slavic, Danish, and Northmen peoples.”⁷⁶⁰ Henceforth Helmold explains the attacks against the young church in terms of disturbing the

⁷⁵⁷ Mette Birkedal Bruun has pointed out in her analysis of the Cistercian founding narratives from the High and Late Middle Ages, that even though the latter assert that the monasteries were established in utterly remote and uninhabited wilderness, archival and archaeological evidence show that they did not. The notion rather functions to connect the present with the biblical past (Moses, the Israelis, Christ, and the first desert dwellers in the desert and wilderness), and to reflect the monastic life that was to be led there (Bruun 2004b; see also Bruun 2004a).

⁷⁵⁸ According to Bartlett the latter phrases are used as clichés to describe the new settlements and wilderness preceding it in chroniclers and charters especially among the Cistercians. Their usage is not limited to Eastern Europe, as Bartlett draws also on the sources from the Iberian Peninsula. The phrases have biblical antecedents, Ps 144: 12 (*fili sicut novellae plantationis*) and Dt 32: 10 (where God found the children of Israel in *loco horroris et vaste solitudinis*).

⁷⁵⁹ Starting to write about the conversion of the Slavic race (*conversionem Slavicæ gentis*), Helmold is writing, “that is to say, of the kings and preachers by whose assiduity the Christian religion was first planted in these parts and afterwards restored” (*primum plantata et postmodo restaurata*) (HCS Praef.)

⁷⁶⁰ /--/ *disseminatus est verbum Dei in omnes Slavorum, Danorum sive Northmannorum populos* /--/ (HCS 4: ref. Gen 9: 19, 10: 18). The image of *novella plantatio* is used for Saxony” (HCS 3), the bishopric of Oldenburg (HCS 2, 14), and henceforth also to Slavia in general: “The seed plot of the new plantation of Slavia was thus sown (*seminarium novellae plantacionis in Slavia*) through the mercy of God and the virtue of Caesar Lothar.” (HCS 54), as well as to the Rügen Island in separate (HCS 109).

new plantation.⁷⁶¹ Yet also here not only the heathen or the apostates are not to disturb the fructification of faith, but also the Saxon princes, as the efforts of Vicelin had been “in vain because of the unfruitfulness of the princes.”⁷⁶² The enlargement, on the other hand is characterised as the increase of the new plantation and the sowed seed bringing fruit. The images are firstly used to describe and legitimise the authority of their church among the Danes and Swedes, due to the early mission, where “the seed of the Word of God which had been scattered among the Danish and Swedish peoples began to bear richer fruit.”⁷⁶³ Later Helmold uses similar imagery to describe the mission among the Slavs, describing the enlargement of faith and increase of the number of believers in Slavia.⁷⁶⁴ The imagery is pictured vividly by a description of a vision seen by priest Bruno, “he saw a chrismal in his hands from the cover of which a fresh green sapling grew and, gathering strength, waxed into a stout tree.”⁷⁶⁵ “And very truth it turned out as he thought,” Helmold adds here.

III.3 ARNOLD OF LÜBECK, *Chronica Slavorum*

PERSONAE

In Arnold’s account the image of the Slavs and Danes as the Others is different from that of the earlier chronicles. Even though both peoples are pictured as different on a cultural

⁷⁶¹ During the revolt against Harald Bluetooth, his son Sven desired “to root out (*exterminare*) entirely the work of the divine plantation from the territories of Denmark”, and Helmold describes him as “a wicked man to try oversow with tares the fain growing grain of divine religion” (*pulchris divinae religionis incrementa inimicus homo superseminare zizania conatus est*) (HCS 15: ref. Mt 13: 25). During the Slav revolt “the new plantation languished from its very beginnings” (HCS 55: ref. Ps 143,12). Later the Investiture Contest put “manifold hindrances in the way of the new plantation” and Vicelin cannot be “devoted to those through whom the fructification (*fructificatio pullurare*) of church could come about” (HCS 69).

⁷⁶² */--/ frustrato labore propter sterilitatem principum /--/* (HCS 75). Infertility is applied to the Saxon princes already in the beginning of the chronicle, as Helmold states that they, “sprung from Christian forefathers and reared in the bosom of Holy Mother church, are found ever sterile and empty (*steriles semper et inanes*) in the work of God” (HCS 21). Later both the Duke and Archbishop Hartwig are depicted as “shackled by hatred and envy, could not bring forth no fruits (*fructus*) pleasing to God.” (HCS 75).

⁷⁶³ */--/ semen verbi Dei in populis Danorum atque Suenonum uberius fructificare cepit /--/* (HCS 5). Here Helmold also states that despite the cruelty of the Danish tyrants, Christianity has “from the very beginnings of its establishment in Denmark and Sweden to have grown so strong that it */--/* never failed entirely”, and “the riches of divine grace thus gradually increased (*incrementis*) in the Danish folk” (*Ibid.*); likewise “such increase (*incrementum*) followed these beginnings of heavenly mercy that the churches Danes seem to abound in the manifold fruits (*fructu redundare*) of the northern nations from that time even to this day.” (HCS 9)

⁷⁶⁴ He speaks of “the increase of the new plantation” (*novellae plantacionis incrementio*) in the lands of the Wagiri, Polabi and Abodrites (HCS 20: ref. GHEP III.21); and later of the “progress of the new plantation” (*novella plantacio incrementum*) of the in Wagria “by the grace of God the new plantation gradually made progress” (HCS 71). The mission of bishop Bernhard had “much fruit (*multum fructum attulit*) in preaching among the Slavic people” (HCS 17: ref. GHEP II.48, 49); and the mission of Otto of Bamberg among the Pomeranians “continued to bear fruit (*fructificatio*) even to this day” (HCS 40). To this also the secular rulers can contribute, like Count Adolph of Holstein who was “extirpating the superstitions of idolatry and furthering the work of the new plantation that is should fructify (*fructificet*) unto salvation”(HCS 101).

level and especially as having different customs from those of the Saxons, they are no longer seen as hostile to the Christians. Differently from Helmold, also the Nordalbingians are now seen as wholly integrated into Christianity and Saxony. The text yet treating with the conversion of another previously unknown territory, Livonia, it presents an interesting transmission of many the earlier images.

The Slavs

Compared to the earlier chronicles in Arnold's text the imagery of the Slavs has altered; and as regards the narrative as a whole, the attention given to them is significantly smaller. The Slavs are pictured as a people already conquered, and they play no significant role in the events described by Adam. Their image however has an important role as regards the ideology the text represents as a whole. The latter is determined by the main aims of the text, to record the history of the bishopric of Oldenburg and to legitimise the rule of the Duke Henry the Lion. Here the Slavs function as a memory of a glorious past both for the missionary activity of the church and the deeds of Henry the Lion.

Arnold mentions the subjugation of the Slavs (*subiactio Slavorum*) in his prologue. Yet this is treated as a task already completed, and closely bound to the image of the Duke Henry the Lion, by whom the subjugation of the heathens took place. Likewise Arnold mentions the stubbornness of the Slavs (*duritia Sclavica*) that the duke had overcome, and hence this notion is likewise attributed to the Slavs of the past times and serves to glorify the memory of the duke's deeds. For the second time Arnold uses similar notions in his praise written for the duke on his death. Here the duke is said to have "tamed the Slaves to the worship of God, who were furious through the Satan's teachings."⁷⁶⁶ In the prologue Arnold mentions the Emperor Henry, "by whom God widened the borders of the empire greatly."⁷⁶⁷ By this he refers also to the older history of the enlargement of Christianity on the borderlands of Saxony, and compares the duke with the emperor, who was also the ancestor of Henry the Lion.

Likewise Arnold describes the North as Satan's seat, and also this notion is treated as connected to the past, as the Satan is said to have distended from it by the mercy of God and

⁷⁶⁵ /--/ *viderat namque nocturna visione crismale in manibus suis, de cuius operculo succreverat novella plena viroris, quae confrontata validam crevit in arborem* /--/ (HCS 84).

⁷⁶⁶ *Ad cultum Christi tu Sclavos perdomuisti / Qui per doctores Sathane sprevere furores / Adque Dei cultum satagunt attolere vultum.* (ACS V.28).

⁷⁶⁷ /--/ *glorioso imperatore Heinrico, per quem Deus terminos imperii, ut dictum est, multum dilataverat* /--/ (ACS VI.1).

erected a see for himself in the heart of the proud ones.⁷⁶⁸ Here the Slavs are also not named the pagans (*gens* or *gentiles*), yet the notion is present in Arnold's chronicle as well as he uses it to describe and define the Saracens and also the Livs.

However, the chronicler does not give almost any descriptions of the Slavs of his own time. One reason for the latter might be, that relying on the tradition created during the missionary wars, and above all on Helmold's chronicle, the image of the Slavs was already established and by mentioning the Slavs Arnold already refers to the existing image (Scior 2004: 291). On the other hand due to the course of events the chronicle is narrating, there is also no further need to describe them, and hence that of glorifying the past determines their image.

Similarly to Adam and Helmold, also Arnold uses the Slavs as a general name for all the different tribes, even though the text uses also the names of different tribes, especially in the descriptions of military campaigns where all the different counterparts are listed.⁷⁶⁹ From the leaders of the Slavs Arnold still mentions the prince Pribislav, yet his image is also closely connected to his subjugation to Henry the Lion, as from an enemy he has become the friend of the duke.⁷⁷⁰

At the beginning of duke's rule Slavia is described also as a land where "peace was firm", as Arnold quotes here Helmold on his description of the state of events at the end of his chronicle.⁷⁷¹ As the peace is soon turned into a revolt against the duke, which resulted in his expulsion from the land, and even though here he also names the Slavs who had joined with the revolts, they are treated as the allies of the princes organising the campaigns and their partake in the warfare is not discussed separately at most times.⁷⁷²

The conquest and subjugation of Slavic lands is in the chronicle also closely connected to the Danish kings, however, differentiating from Helmold he does not criticise their attempts to conquer the Slav territories. The chronicle describes the campaigns the

⁷⁶⁸ *Tu autem, diabole, in lateribus aquilonis sedem tibi parabas, sed credo, quod sedem materiale non affectasti, sed per hoc a caritate Dei discedens et in frigore malitie perdurans, tronum tuum super filios superbie erexisti* /--/ (ACS III.10).

⁷⁶⁹ Here he mentions the Obodrites (ACS Prol., I.1, VI.9), Polabi (ACS Prol.), Rugiani (ACS III.4, VI.9,17), Pomeranians (ACS III.4, V.7,13), and Circipani (ACS III.4). (Scior 2004: 290)

⁷⁷⁰ /--/ *inimico factus est duci amicissimus, sciens quod nil prevalerent adversus eum suscepta molimina, considerans etiam viri magnificentiam, et quocunque se vertebat in omnibus fortuna favente prevalebat* /--/ (ACS I.1)

⁷⁷¹ *Confirmata igitur pace in terra Sclavorum* /--/ (ACS I.1: ref. HCS II.7).

⁷⁷² ACS II.4, 10, 17, III.4, 7. As on some occasions Arnold still describes the Slavs plundering the duke's lands (*Sclavi excitati a duce omnem terram illius vastaverant*) (ACS II.10), their military action is not characterised by any specific features.

Danish King Canute IV (1182-1202) made into Slavia.⁷⁷³ The chronicler even names the Danish king “the king of the Danes and Slavs and Nordalbingians.”⁷⁷⁴ Besides the Danes, also the Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1152-90) claims to have a right for the Slavic territories, as he says the greater part of Slavia to belong to the Empire.⁷⁷⁵

Hence the description of the Slavs is mainly connected to the different rulers who either gained or aimed at gaining lordship both as regards the territories and tribute, and the Slavs are not seen as to take an active part in the rivalries anymore.

The Danes

The image Arnold gives of the Danes is by far more positive than that of the three other chronicles discussed here. Many of the researches have concluded from this that the author might have belonged to the party the Danish friendly party in Lübeck. On the other hand the favourable image is more likely to reflect the general tolerance among the citizens of Lübeck during that time, as their political and economic interests were closely connected to Denmark (Scior 2004: 285-7).

The positive image comes out most clearly in the chapter titled as “The honesty of the Danes.”⁷⁷⁶ In this passage Arnold, however also gives criteria for applying valour upon them, as in the latter the Danes are seen as the imitators of the Germans. The virtues and skills of the Danes are the result of living in the neighbourhood of Germans.⁷⁷⁷ Here the armoury, military skills, and especially their naval force are said to make them stand out amongst the other peoples.⁷⁷⁸ Arnold points out also their achievements in merchandise and fishing, yet stresses even more the eagerness of the Danes towards the knowledge both in theology and in secular sciences.⁷⁷⁹ Stating that among the Danes “the religious vigour flourishes greatly”⁷⁸⁰; Arnold praises the archbishop Escil of Lund as “the most pious man” (*vir summe pietatis*), and

⁷⁷³ ACS III.4, 7.

⁷⁷⁴ */--/ rex Danorum et Sclavorum et Nordalbingia /--/* (ACS VI.17).

⁷⁷⁵ */--/ se dicebat dupliciter a Kanuto rege iniuriatum, et quod ab eo coronari noluerit, et quod Scalvos, imperio subditos, suo domino per tributum et hominum subdirerit /--/* (ACS III.7). See also: *Quod Kanutus graviter accipiens, manifestas ex illa die inimicitias contra imperatorem exercere cepit, ita ut omnem terram Wagirorum, Holsatorum, Sturmariorum, Polaborum usque ad Albiam sui iuris esse et eam per Sclavos, quos sibi astrinxerat, frequenter vastaret. /--/ Unde etiam magis instiumlatus, iustam se causam contra Theuthonicos habere arbitratus est.* (ACS III.21)

⁷⁷⁶ *De honestate Danorum.* (ACS III.5)

⁷⁷⁷ *Siquidem Dani usum Teutonicorum imitantes, quem ex longa cohabitatione eorum dicerunt /--/* (ACS III.5).

⁷⁷⁸ */--/ vestitura et armatura se ceteris nationibus coaptant; et cum olim formam nautarum in vestitu habuissent propter navium consuetudinem, quia maritima inhabitant /--/* (ACS III.5).

⁷⁷⁹ *Scientia quoque litterali non parum profecerunt, sed quia nobiliores terre filios suos non solum ad clerum promovendum, verum etiam secularibus rebus insituendos. Parisius mittunt. Ubi litteratura simul et idiomate lingue terre illius imbuti, non solum in artibus, sed etiam in theologia multum invaluerunt.* (ACS III.5)

⁷⁸⁰ */--/ religionis vigor apud eos multum flolere /--/* (ACS III.5).

especially his follower, the archbishop Absalon, to whom he says the God has given so many virtues, that Arnold compares him even to the Apostles.⁷⁸¹ Differently from Adam, Helmold, and Henry also the promotion and extension of the faith by the archbishop of Lund is depicted as positive in this text.⁷⁸² Likewise Absalon is praised for strengthening faith and church in Denmark as well, as Arnold stresses especially the unification of the church that was formerly in discord.⁷⁸³ Differently from the images of many Danish archbishops in the other chronicles, Absalon is characterised also as a granter for peace in general, who in his lifetime “restored many discords into peace,” and here Arnold refers to Absalon’s partake in the crusading warfare of the King Valdemar the Great, as the bishop “himself leaded the army of Christ, the founder of peace.”⁷⁸⁴ And also Absalon’s follower at the episcopal see, Andreas Sunesson is characterised as “a humble, and peaceful, and virtuous man.”⁷⁸⁵

The positive image, however is not reserved only to the clerical authorities, as the image of the Danish king Canute IV (1182-1202) is likewise that of a good Christian ruler, whose “kingdom was strengthened by God.”⁷⁸⁶ Similarly to his description of the rule of the Duke Henry the Lion, also here the Slavs function as the once threatening past. Arnold contrasts “the great peace Canute is (Valdemar the Great), during which “the Slavs brought many calamities to his fatherland.”⁷⁸⁷

As Adam does not criticise the conquest of the Slav territories by the Danes, as shown above, he also praises the Danish mission for “extending the branches of Lord’s vineyard not only to the sea, but beyond the sea, filling with them even Slavia.”⁷⁸⁸

A more controversial picture of the Danes is given as regards the conflict between the Emperor Frederic I Barbarossa (1152-90) and the Danish King Canute IV (1182-1202), who had married the Emperor’s daughter Gertrud, and later refuses to become the Emperor’s

⁷⁸¹ /--/ *qui cum a Domino multis virtutum polleret donis* /--/ (ACS III.5). Also on in his praise of the late archbishop Absalon Arnold calls him “a man religious and with great will, directed from the high and particularly honest” (*vir religiosus et magni consilii, summe directionis et precipue honestatis*) (ACS V.18).

⁷⁸² /--/ *zelo iusticie accensus et armatura Dei procingitus, in promovenda religione nequamquam segnior fuit* /--/ (ACS III.5).

⁷⁸³ *Huius industria omnes ecclesie totius Danie prius discordantes uniformes in officiis divinis facte sunt.* (ACS V.18) Here also the building of a church in Lund, and founding a monastery in Zealand are noted as part of laying a firmer foundation for the church in general.

⁷⁸⁴ /--/ *multos discordantes ad pacem in vita sua reformaverat, ipsius exitum Ihesu Christo, pacis auctori, commendabat* /--/ (ACS V.18).

⁷⁸⁵ /--/ *humilis et quietus et pudicus* /--/ (ACS V.18). Later Arnold also points him out as one of the ardent supporters of the mission to Livonia (ACS V.30).

⁷⁸⁶ /--/ *ideo Dominus regnum illius firmavit, ut cum tempore avorum suorum in regno Danico triarche vel etiam tetriarche fuerint* /--/ (ACS III.5). Here Arnold quotes also the verse Prov 5: 8 (*Per me reges regnant*).

⁷⁸⁷ *Kanutus ergo multam pacem habens in regno suo, animadvertit, quod Sclavi in diebus patrum suorum multas calamitates terre sue intulissent.* (ACS V.30)

⁷⁸⁸ *Que quasi cedrus Lybani multiplicata, sed ut vineam Domini Sabaoth extensis palmitibus usque ad mare, immo ultra mare, etiam Sclaviam replerunt.* (ACS III.5: ref. Ps 92: 13)

vassal. Even though the latter brought along a conflict between the rulers, and Canute is said to have declared himself the enemy of the Emperor, laying waste the lands of the Slavs (in Pomerania in 1184), Arnold claims also here that the Danish king “had a more just cause against the Germans.”⁷⁸⁹ The chronicler however mentions the vice of feasting and drinking that is applied to the Danes already in the earlier texts, as he describes the drinking parties the Danes have during the Christmas time.⁷⁹⁰

The Livs

The mission to Livonia is described in one long chapter (ACS V.30), and hence the latter also gives a concentrated picture of many of the images, themes, and issues used to describe the *legation in gentes*.⁷⁹¹ Arnold describes the earlier part of the mission and crusading, covering the years from the arrival of the missionary Meynard in around 1184 until the year 1210. However, differently from the other chronicles discussed here Arnold’s account of both the mission and crusading emphasise the rapid success, and likewise the growth of the new church. As the passage also focuses mainly on the missionaries, crusaders, and building of the new church, the image of the Livs is not further developed. Discussing the same events that are to give the main topic to Henry’s chronicle, their focus is yet different, Henry being a participator and an eye-witness also his text is more vivid and presents more details, yet Arnold’s passage on the other hand is valuable as an earlier report, written by a person better acquainted with the bigger politics (Kolk 2004: 70). As the reasons for including the Livonia chapter in the chronicle have not been thoroughly analysed yet, I would however disagree with the claims that this passage can merely be taken as a praise for the spread of Christianity (Kolk 2004: 37-8), as the rather short passage however carefully records all the important events in the institutional development of the Rigan church (Kolk 2004: 48).

The reason for describing the mission and later crusade is the devotion and labour of the missionaries, as Arnold starts his account with stating, “I see it as my duty to preserve in the memory of the faithful the devotion and labour, what many clerics have seen among the pagans who are called Livs /--/ and laboured hard so that that folk would abandon the cult of

⁷⁸⁹ *Quod Kanutus graviter accipiens, manifestas ex illa die inimicitias contra imperatorem exercere cepit, ita ut omnem terram Wagriorum, Holsatorum, Sturmariorum, Polaborum usque ad Albiam sui iuris esse diceret et eam per Sclavos, quos sibi astrinxerat, frequenter vastaret. /--/ Unde etiam magis instimulatus, iustam se causam contra Teutonicos habere arbitratus est.* (ACS III.21). See also: ACS III.2.

⁷⁹⁰ */--/ festum nativitatis, quod Dani festis potationibus honorare solent /--/* (ACS VI.14).

⁷⁹¹ Recently Kaspar Kolk has argued convincingly that the placement of the passage in ACS V.30 by J.M. Lappenberg is debatable, as the earlier printed versions place it in ACS VII.8-9 (and so did Lappenberg in the first version of his edition, placing it between the seventh and eighth chapter). In almost all the manuscripts the passage is also in the seventh book, besides two manuscripts which place it in the fifth book. (Kolk 2004: 74-7)

idolatry.”⁷⁹² The text focuses on the work of three missionaries, and all of them have somewhat different images. First among them is Meynard, “the first founder of this undertaking.”⁷⁹³ He is also the one to convert the first neophytes. Arnold, and later also Henry both emphasise Meynard’s own initiative in the undertaking (Kolk 2004: 38-9). Bishop Bertold is pictured both as an ardent missionary and also a martyr, killed by the Livs in 1198.⁷⁹⁴ The image of the following bishop, Albert is focuses both to preaching and organising the crusade, and establishing and enlargement the bishopric.

Next to the missionaries the rest of the participants are described as their helpers, and here Arnold emphasises their large amount already as in the beginning of the mission.⁷⁹⁵ When the text starts to describe the arrival of the crusaders it is to emphasise their number even more, as bishop Albert had “many helpers at the vineyard of God” and “a large multitude and a plentiful army of knights” followed him to Livonia.⁷⁹⁶ The latter is a *topos* that occurs often his other crusading accounts.

The undertaking in itself is described as a mission turned into a crusade, and this is to influence also the imagery applied to the Livs. The Arnold names it a pilgrimage (*peregrinatio*), a pilgrimage route (*iter peregrinationis*), and simply a route (*iter*).⁷⁹⁷ Meynard’s aim was firstly to preach and to “announce the peace of God to this unbelieving folk.”⁷⁹⁸ Arnold describes carefully all the procedures needed for organising the crusades,

⁷⁹² *Oportunum arbitror, memorie fidelium commendare nec silentio preterire devotionem et laborem multorum religiosorum, quo apud gentiles, qui Livones dicuntur, desudatum est, qui /--/ ipsum populum ab idolatria cessare laboraverunt.* All the quotations in this subchapter are from ACS V.30, if not indicated otherwise.

⁷⁹³ */--/ princeps huius institutionis auctor /--/*

⁷⁹⁴ The later tradition places the time of his death on July 24-5. Arnold’s account differs from that of Henry in many aspects; as he tells only of the crusade to Livonia lead by Berthold, and does not mention his first visit (see HCL II.2-3), accordingly to the hagiographical *topoi* states that from the beginning bishop was “flamed with the desire to death” (*occiditur et, ut speramus, gloria et honore coronatur; erat enim flagrans mortis desiderio*), notes that the dead body of the bishop remained untouched and unharmed also on the next day, while the other corps were found “full of worms”; and places his grove in Riga, and not in Üsküll (see HCL XXIX.5). (See also Kolk 2004: 46-8.) For a recent study on bishop Berthold see Hucker 1989.

⁷⁹⁵ Here, again the reason for them to come is the ardent work of the missionaries, as firstly Meinhard is to have “many helpers” due to his assiduity (*propter eorum instantiam multos cooperatores existere*); and later also Berthold, due to whose assiduous preaching “many nobles undertook the route to pilgrimage” (*Cuius predicationis instantia nonnulli sublimes et nobiles /--/ iter peregrinationibus arripiunt.*)

⁷⁹⁶ Accordingly */--/ in vinea Domini cooperatores habebat plurimos /--/* and */--/ multitudo maxima et militum manus copiosa /--/*. Here Arnold lists also the secular rulers and prelates who supported the campaign, including also the archbishop Andreas of Lund. Here the text mentions also, that whether Albert should find clerics and the preachers of the word of God from among the orders of monks or regular or other religious (*/--/ sive de ordine monachorum, sive regularium canonicorum vel aliorum religiosorum /--/*), he can use their help; and is likely to refer to the papal privilege given to Albert by Innocent III in 1204 (LUB I no. 14) (Kolk 2004: 83, 51). For a classic study on bishop Albert see Gnegel-Waitschies 1958, see also Bauer 1959.

⁷⁹⁷ Throughout his texts Arnold calls the crusades the pilgrimages, and also in this text he notes that “since there were no other campaigns or pilgrimages to Jerusalem” (*profectio sive peregrinatio Iherosolimitana*), the secular rulers were willing to go on a pilgrimage to Livonia.

⁷⁹⁸ */--/ eidem populo infideli pacem Domini nunciaret /--/*

mentioning the preaching, taking the cross by the crusaders, and later also both the confirmation of the crusade by the Pope Celestine III (1191-8) in 1198 and the privileges equal to those given to the crusaders in the Holy Land.⁷⁹⁹ The crusader is aimed at both suppressing and converting the heathens, as the crusaders are said “signed first the holy sign of the cross, undertook the pilgrimage route to suppress the strength of the heathens, or rather to subjugate them to the worship of Christ.”⁸⁰⁰ On the whole, the descriptions of both organising the crusades, the arrivals of the crusaders and also the warfare are the longest in the narrative, and hence far longer than those of the enemies or the neophytes.

The image of the Livs is firstly determined by defining them being the pagans, who are practicing “the cult of idolatry.”⁸⁰¹ As such, they are opposed both to the peace and faith, as with his mission Meynard starts to “announce the peace of the Lord to that unbelieving folk and to inflame it with the warmth of faith.”⁸⁰² Another typical image of the heathens, the “stubbornness of the pagans” (*duritia gentilium*) is attributed to the Livs as well. Previously, in his prologue Arnold has mentioned the stubbornness of the Slavs.⁸⁰³ The aim of the mission is to break the stubbornness, and firstly it is described to take place both through the preaching, and pious example of the first two missionaries. Here the text stresses the personal impact the missionaries had on the heathens. Meynard, “seeding humbly and piously the seeds of the word of God to his listeners, asserting, imploring, yet more imploring, with the grace of God, leaded their hearts, not less by the gifts than by encouragement, there where he wanted.”⁸⁰⁴

Here the Livs are described as the good and thankful audience, ready to accept the word and to follow the example of their teachers. As the chronicle states also that Meynard “felt that the devotion of his listeners was very great”, the devotion of the newly converted

⁷⁹⁹ Stating that the pope “promised for a support of this labour, that all who have taken the vow to go to the named pilgimage, would join the route, if it only suits them, and they shall get no lesser remission for their sins from God”(ad supplementum huius laboris domnus papa Celestinus indulserat, ut quicunque peregrinationi memorate se vovissent, huic itineri, si tamen ipsis complacuisse, se sociarent, nec minorem peccatorum remissionem a Deo perciperent). The proclamation has not been preserved, yet the passage can be compared to Henry’s account of the same event in HCL II.3.

⁸⁰⁰ /--/ signaculo sancte crucis insigniti, ad deprimendas gentilium vires, vel potius ad cultum Christi perdomandas, iter peregrinationis arripiunt /--/

⁸⁰¹ /--/ gentiles, qui Livones dicuntur, and also populus infidelus /--/

⁸⁰² /--/eidem populo infideli pacem Domini nunciaret et ipsum paulatim calore fidei scintillaret /--/

⁸⁰³ /--/duritia Sclavorum /--/ (ACS Prol.).

⁸⁰⁴ Ipse igitur humilis et devotus suis auditoribus verbi spargens semina, arguendo, obsecrando, magis tamen obsecrando, duritiam gentilium frangens, ipsorum corda non minus muneribus quam exhortationibus paulatim ad quod volebat, Deo annuente, perducebat. Likewise the text stresses the Berthold preached the word to the heathens “not less actively” (*labori non impiger se ingrebat*).

Livs also functions here to legitimise the further missions.⁸⁰⁵ They also give a reason to create a new bishopric, as Meynard is said to have reported the prelates of Bremen both “about his intentions and the devotion of the listeners, so that he should not further the work already started not without the authority nor consent.”⁸⁰⁶ Bertold is firstly also said to have been “by the grace of God, very welcome among some of the pagans.” The reason for the latter is that the Livs “noticed in this man the graceful way of life, staid moderateness, patient modesty, virtue of abstinence, assiduity of preaching, friendly kindness.”⁸⁰⁷ Arnold lists here many of the Christian and especially monastic values and virtues, and here the latter are now applied also to the yet pagan people.

The image of the neophytes yet also has a counterpart, the pagan Livs who threaten their newly converted tribesmen, and hence also serve to underline the need to protect the new congregation. The text includes a martyrdom of the neophytes, who were by “enemies amongst their own people, who tried to call them back to their previous error by gifts and threatening.” The neophytes, however “persuaded by no means, but held true to the sacraments of faith, were killed by incredible torturing.”⁸⁰⁸

In the descriptions of crusading the image of the Livs alters towards the more hostile, yet also more stereotypical, as they are to function as the proper enemy for the just war. When bishop Bertold arrives together with the crusaders to Livonia (in 1198), he leads the army “against the infidels who lie in ambush for servants of Christ.”⁸⁰⁹ During the crusades undertaken at bishop Albert’s reign the Livs are also named “the enemies of the cross of

⁸⁰⁵ /--/ sensit /--/ auditorum suorum devotionem plurimam /--/ As differently from Henry (see HCL I.10-3, and the next subchapter) Arnold speaks nothing of the difficulties and misfortunes faced by the early missionaries, the reason for this lies in the role attributed to the neophytes in his rather short account; yet Kaspar Kolk has also pointed to the possible influence of the papal letters about the conversion of Livonia where the success of the missionaries is emphasised (Kolk 2004: 44-5, see also LUB I no. 11), and has a similar legitimising function.

⁸⁰⁶ /--/ suam intentionem suorumque auditorum devotionem /--/ exposuit, ut non sine auctoritate vel consilio cepto labori insisteret /--/. For a discussion on Meinhard’s consecration, as well as on his relationship with the Hamburg-Bremen see, and Archbishop Hartwig II see Kolk 2004: 38-9.

⁸⁰⁷ *Cosniderabant sane in viro gratiam convesationis, temperantiam sobrietatis, modestiam patiente, virtutem quoque abstinentie, instantiam predicationis, iocunditatem affabilis.* Compare to ACS I.13, III.3, 5, V.11,18 (Kolk 2004: 46).

⁸⁰⁸ *Nam cum quidam neophytorum ab inimicis sue gentis comprehensi fuissent, muneribus, blandimentis ad pristinum errorem eos reinvitare satagebant. Quibus cum nulla ratione consentirent, sed suspecte fidei sacramenta inviolabiliter constantissime observare decrevissent, incredibili tormentorum genere eos trucidabant.* Their death shows here also the strenght of the newly founded church and congregation, and also a sing of “the grace of God, which strenghtened many in their belief” (*In qua confessione multus confortabant, quia per eos plurimi Deum glorificabant.*) Their death is also mentioned in a letter by Innocent III from Jan. 31 1208, and the account of their martyrdom likely reached the curia via Anders Sunesen (Kolk 2004: 53-4). See also HCL X.5-6.

⁸⁰⁹ /--/ presul beatus exercitum produceret contra infideles Chrsiti cuitoribus insidiantes /--/ During the campaign the bishop is to become martyred himself “in the hands of the wicked” (*in manus impiorum*).

Christ” against whom the crusaders are to fight.⁸¹⁰ Similar imagery is applied to them as Arnold describes the founding of the order of the Sword Brothers, who are “to fight only for God” and who are said to have “frightened with not little fear the enemies of God.”⁸¹¹

The enemies of God included also other peoples besides the Livs, as the bishop Albert “took the army against the enemies of the cross, subjugating not only the Livs, but also other barbarian peoples, so that he took hostages from among them and they made peace treaties with him”, but the text does not refer to any folk in particular and also no mention of any missionary activity among any other peoples is made.⁸¹²

Yet the chronicle mentions the Prince of Polotsk, as Arnold after a description of the successful crusades and growth of the young church mentions “indeed, besides this prosperity there were also the adversities.”⁸¹³ The prince, who “previously had had the habit to collect the tribute from the Livs” and which the bishop now forbade him, is said to make “serious attacks” upon the new church. No serious defeats are, however not described, as the text states that “God always protected his people in the time of need”, this is also to legitimise the authority of the new bishopric.⁸¹⁴

LOCI

In this text, the image of the people and lands of the Slavs and the Danes is different from that of the earlier chronicles. Even though both the peoples are pictured as different on a cultural level and especially as having different customs from those of the Saxons, they are no longer seen as hostile to the Christians. However, the images of otherness are applied to the peoples living in lands more farer away, as was shown above.

⁸¹⁰ */--/ crucis Christi inimicis /--/*

⁸¹¹ Accordingly */--/ soli Deo militare cupientes /--/* and */--/ inimicis Dei terrore non parvo formidabiles effecti sunt /--/*. This is reflected also by their emblem, the sword which is “the sign of their their vow */--/* with which they fight for God” (*signum in forma gladii, quo pro Deo certabant*).

⁸¹² */--/ frequenter estivo tempore exercitum produceret contra crucis inimicos, non solum Livones, verum etiam alias barbaras nationes ita sibi subiecerat, ut ab eis obsides acciperet et pacis conditiones cum eo facerent /--/* Kaspar Kolk has suggested that the tribes mentioned here could have been the Latvians, Wends, and Idumeans, who are mentioned in a letter by Innocent III from Jan. 31 1208; the latter he also draws back to the information of the Archbishop of Lund, Anders Sunesen (Kolk 2004: 51-3).

⁸¹³ *Verum inter hec prospera non defuerunt adversa*. Here Arnold does not describe the complicated relationship and struggles with Polotsk over the Livonians any further, emphasising the success of the Rigan church. For the relationships between Polotsk and Riga see Selart 2002: 59-65, and the next subchapter on Henry’s Chronicle. There is another adversity mentioned by Arnold, namely the strife between the Sword Brothers and Bishop Albert over the lands, yet it cannot be determined in certain on which sources Arnold is relying (Kolk 2004: 55). See also HCL XI.3, XIV.13.

⁸¹⁴ *Sed Deus “audiutor in oportunitatibus” suos semper protegebat*. (Ref. Ps 9: 10)

Slavia

Like Adam and Helmold, also Arnold uses the terms *Slavia* and *Slavones* as general ones and it can thus mark the lands of different tribes; yet differently from the earlier chroniclers he never gives an account of the territories and borders of Slavia (*Sclavia* or *terra Sclavorum*).⁸¹⁵

The lands of the Slavs, once deserted and now filled with churches are functioning in the text as the glorious past, similarly to the once perfidies and idolatrous Slavs. As such they also serve to legitimise the rule of Henry the Lion, who is described as the founder and protector of these lands, under whose rule the churches “have had peace and progress.”⁸¹⁶ In this context, likewise the notion of Christianising the north is still present, as Arnold describes the building of the new church (devoted to John the Baptist and St. Nicholas) in Lübeck by Duke Henry as a part of the work of the new plantation on the region of the North.⁸¹⁷

Arnold also uses the image of a deserted land made into the one filled with faith, inhabitants and cities is used, as the citizens of Lübeck address the emperor during the siege of the town (1181) that they have received from “our duke Henry, who has built this to the glory of God and to strengthen the Christianity in this place of horror and vast solitude, which we now hope to be the residence of god, but what by the error of the pagans used to be a seat of Satan.”⁸¹⁸ However, in his description of the following wars in Saxony Arnold also uses the image of the deserted land again, to describe the lands laid waste by the enemies of the duke.

In Arnold’s chronicle the dominant image for the lands of the Slavs is the new plantation, which signifies the newly established church in their lands. In the prologue of the chronicle he names the bishoprics of Ratzeburg, Lübeck and Schwerin that were established on lands of the Slavs “the church of the new plantation” (*ecclesias novelle plantationis*), “founded by the memorable Henry the Lion, given increase by God” and to which the bishops

⁸¹⁵ Volker Scior has listed the different Slavic tribes whose lands Helmold describes as *Sclavia* in general; and shown that Helmold uses freely the term *Sclavia* either to the areas around Demmin (ACS II.4, VI.10), or the lands of the Pomeranians (ACS III.7, VI.10), Liutizi (ACS II.17) or the Abodrites (ACS III.4) (Scior 2004: 289-91).

⁸¹⁶ /--/ *per eum ecclesia sua pacem vel profectum habuisset* /--/ (ACS II.7). Likewise by him “the church has received much and the peace and the increase of the religion” (*per eum ecclesia multum accepisset et pacis et religionis incrementum*) (*Ibid.*).

⁸¹⁷ /--/ *omni studio novelle plantationi in regione aquilonari insistebat* /--/ (ACS I.13).

⁸¹⁸ *Civitatem istam hactenus ex munificentia domini nostri Heinrici ducis possedimus, quam etiam ad honorem Dei et robur Christianitatis in loco hoc horroris et vaste solitudinis edificamus, in qua ut speramus nunc habitatio Dei, sed prius per errorem gentilitatis sedes Sathanae fuit.* (ACS II.21)

have “planted the doctrine and watered by their labour.”⁸¹⁹ The idea of the increase given by God is expressed also later in the text.⁸²⁰

The care for the Lord’s vineyard and plantation are ascribed especially to bishop Henry, as on the occasion of his death he is described as “not little disquieted about leaving this new plantation.”⁸²¹ Here the founding of Arnold’s own monastery, devoted to Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist) in Lübeck (in 1177) is described as part of the work of the new plantation, as the bishop “starts to create a firm basis for the work of the new plantation in Lübeck.”⁸²² Later the monastery is also described as the vineyard of the Lord, planted newly in the monastery.”⁸²³

Here Adam signifies here not only the bishops, but also duke Henry as the good Christians doing the work of God. On other occasions the image describes the pastoral care of the bishops and the priests for their church, like in the case of archbishop of Bremen, Bertold who “brought manifold fruits to the church.”⁸²⁴

Arnold also uses similar imagery from the parable of the sower, describing the loss of Jerusalem to the hands of the Saracens as the enemy sowing tares among the wheat.⁸²⁵

Livonia

Since the mission to Livonia is discussed in one chapter (ACS V.30), it provides summarised version of many patterns used to describe the conquest and conversion of a land. Here Livonia is represented mainly as a land already obtained, and partly to be conquered and obtained in the near future. The ground for obtaining (*optinere*) the land is the conversion,

⁸¹⁹ /--/ *ecclesias novelle plantationis, quas Heinricus dux memoratus instituit, Domino incrementum dante, doctrina plantare et opere irrigare* /--/ (ACS Prol.) Here he names the bishops of Ratzeburg, Lübeck and Schwerin. See I Cor 3: 6 “I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase” (*ego plantavi Apollo rigavit sed Deus incrementum dedit*).

⁸²⁰ The bishopric of Ratzeburg “has received the increase through God” (*per Deum incrementum accperat*) (ACS III.3).

⁸²¹ /--/ *de desolatione huius novelle plantationis non modicum conturbor* /--/ (ACS III.3). Also: *Cumque viri Dei iam certamen certasset, cursum consummasset, fidem servasset et iam de certo coronam iustitiae sibi repositam non dubitaret, cepit tamen de vinea Domini, quam noviter plantaverat in monasterio beate Virginis genetraxis et sancti evangelisti Ioannis anxari.* (ACS III.3)

⁸²² /--/ *cepit fundare opus novellae plantationis in Lubeka* /--/ (ACS II.5). *Sed quia propter paucos redditus episcopales large eam ditare non poterat,* /--/ (*Ibid.*) *Et ita omni devotione ipsi novellae plantationi insistebat, non sine magna emulatione quorundam qui eius studiis invadebant. Ipsam tamen quasi imperfectam reliquit, quia paucis supervixit tempore.* (*Ibid.*)

⁸²³ *Cumque viri Dei iam certamen certasset, cursum consummasset, fidem servasset et iam de certo coronam iustitiae sibi repositam non dubitaret, cepit tamen de vinea Domini, quam noviter plantaverat in monasterio beate Virginis genetraxis et sancti evangelisti Ioannis anxari.* (ACS III.3)

⁸²⁴ /--/ *multum in ecclesiam fructum facere potest* /--/ (ACS II.8).

⁸²⁵ *Nam propter inimici zizania, messem Christi suffocantia, spinarum multiplicantur scandala, ita ut sancte ecclesie area, raro tritico, tota squalescat in palea.* (ACS IV.1: ref. Mt 13: 25). The role of the *inimicus* is applied also to Mohamed: *qui post semen bonum apostolorum in terra vestra superseminavit zizania* (ACS IV.4).

presented in the description of an argument between bishop Albert of Riga and the Sword brothers about the lands not yet conquered, but to be obtained by the bishop “either by preaching the word or by the violence of the expedition.”⁸²⁶ Also the attack of the prince of Polotsk is described as an attack on the already Christian lands, to “that land and to that often mentioned city” which are protected by God.

Christianising the land involves the founding of the episcopal see in Riga in 1186 and placing the bishopric under the protection of the Virgin Mary.⁸²⁷ By the time of bishop Albert Livonia is characterised by the most prominent features of Christian space, as it is “well arranged in priests, parishes and monasteries.”⁸²⁸ It also already has its own martyrs, Bertold, the second bishop of Livonia, buried in Riga, and also the martyred Liv neophytes mentioned in the text.

One of the most significant features in the imagery of the new church is connected to its see in Riga. The land neighbouring it is “abounding in many riches due to the beneficence of the soil” and being “fertile in fields, abounding in pasture lands, watered with rivers, also sufficiently rich with fish and forests.”⁸²⁹ The imagery is similar to the one used by Adam and especially by Helmold to describe the newly conquered lands as the promised land of Canaan, yet the image contains another feature. As the place name Riga (*Riga* also in Latin) where the see is founded, together with the phrase immediately following it “watered with rivers” (*irrigua pascuis*) refers here also to the mission, i.e. watering (*rigare resp. irrigare*) the heathens with the baptismal water. Here the etymology is used to strengthen the image of the Rigan bishopric as a missionary see and to legitimise it. The imagery is further developed in Henry’s Chronicle of Livonia, as there it clearly serves as a legitimising feature against the claims and missions of the Danes, Swedes and the Russian princes.⁸³⁰

Similarly to Slavonia, the new church in Livonia is pictured through the imagery of sowing, planting, and watering in the new vineyard and plantation of God. The description as a whole given only in one chapter, the images dominate the general picture to a great extent.

⁸²⁶ /--/ *vel verbo predicationis vel violentia expeditionis optinere potuisset* /--/. All the quotations in this subchapter are from ACS V.30, if not indicated otherwise.

⁸²⁷ /--/ *initulata patrocinio beate Dei genitricis Marie* /--/

⁸²⁸ *Crevit igitur ecclesia Dei in Livonia per venerabilem virum Albertum, bene disposita prepositis, parrochiis, cenobiis.*

⁸²⁹ *idem locus beneficio terre multis bonis exuberat* /--/ *Est enim eadem terra fertilis agris, abundans pascuis, irrigua fluviiis, satim enim piscosa et arboribus nemerosa.* Ref. Nm 13: 21, Nm 24: 6, Idc 1: 15.

⁸³⁰ HCL IV.5. Differently from Henry Arnold however does not mention Üksküll as the first centre for the bishopric (for a discussion on the various possible reasons see Kolk 2004: 43-5); for a comparison of the image given of Riga by Arnold and Henry see next subchapter.

The preaching is described as “sowing the word of God”⁸³¹ and the idolatry of the Livs as tares, as the goal of the mission is that “the crops of Christ would rise fruitful and by plenteous harvest suffocate the tares of the devil.”⁸³²

Both the imagery of planting (*plantare*) and watering (*rigare*) is ascribed to the mission of bishop Meynard, when the prelates of Bremen hope that “by planting and seeding he shall bring forth increase to the Lord”⁸³³ The watering is an important feature in the image of the see in Riga, and the text once more states that due to the fertility of the lands neighbouring Riga “there has never been a lack of the servants of Christ neither the planters of the new church.”⁸³⁴ In this passage the image of the growing new plantation, which signifies primarily the spiritual increase of the new church, is also connected directly to the fertility of the land herself.

The many servants are also mentioned, as the chronicle states that bishop Albert has always had “many helpers at the vineyard of God.”⁸³⁵ Arnold also speaks of the growth of the new church in general, however the growth is not described as given by the God in general, but the church in Livonia is described to “grow through the venerable man Albert.”⁸³⁶

The wide spread of the imagery of planting, watering and growing as a mean to describe pastoral care is also reflected in the two letters by Pope Innocent III that are included in Arnolds chronicle. The first of those letters concerns the replacement of the archbishop Adolph of Cologne by the new bishop Bruno in 1205 and presents a critique of the former archbishop, who has forgotten that “not the one who plants nor the one who waters, but the one who gives the increase, God.”⁸³⁷ The letter presents a full imagery of planting, watering,

⁸³¹ The chapter mentions the preachers who were “sowing the word of God” (*verbi Dei semina spargentes*); the first bishop Meinard, who “sowed /--/ the seeds of the word to his listeners” (*suis auditoribus verbi spargentes semina*) and bishop Berthold who “devoting himself to spreading the word to the pagans” (*ipse verbi gentilibus spargere studens*).

⁸³² /--/ *ut seges Christi fructuosa consurgeret et multa messe diaboli zizania suffocaret*. The phrase “plenteous harvest” (*multus messis*) is a quote from *Vulgata* referring to Ier 40: 12, Mt 9: 37, Lc 10: 2; the later verse is part of the Christ’s speech to the Apostles. The tares here once again refer to the parable of the tares (Mt 13: 24-30,36-40). See also LUB 1/1 no. 13.

⁸³³ *Qui sperantes ipsum plantando et rigando incrementum Domini percipere, ipsum ad predicandum gentibus miserunt /--/* (Ref. I Cor 3: 6-8).

⁸³⁴ /--/ *numquam ibi defuerunt Christi cultores, et novelle ecclesie plantatores /--/*

⁸³⁵ /--/ *in vinea Domini cooperatores habebat plurimos /--/*

⁸³⁶ *Crevit igitur ecclesia Dei in Livonia per venerabilem virum Albertum*.

⁸³⁷ *Cumque multiplicatis intercessionibus obtinuisset a nobis, ut in favore ipsius regis deferremus honore ecclesie Coloniensis, cepit in eiusdem devotione tepescere, ac manum suam ab aratro retrahens occasiones frivolas invenire a nobis, ne quod plantaverat irrigaret, quatinus cito arasceret planta eius, cum sollicitudinem suam manus subraheret plantatoris. Verum quia neque qui plantat neque qui rigat est aliquid, sed qui incrementum dat, Deus, invaluit nichilominus per gratiam Dei novus palmes, et cum extenderet iam ramos suos et pulluraret, vidit plantator invidus et invidit et non potuit duitius occultare virus suum, quia nequam mentem iniqua operatio revelavit et arbor agnita est in fructu.* (ACS III.3: ref. I Cor 3: 7)

and giving increase and bringing fruits, similar to the ones discussed above. The second letter dates from 1203 and is addressed to king Otto, containing also the same phrase “not the one who plants nor the one who waters but the one who gives the increase, God” and who “grants fruitful increase to what we have planted and watered, like the seed of the mustard, what the women had sowed in her place, likewise our plants grow into a big tree, and in its the branches the birds, given by God rest, and under the branches the animals of the earth shall rest.”⁸³⁸

III.4 HENRY of LIVONIA, *Chronicon Livoniae*

The conversion of Livonia and especially that of Estonia is characterised by many power-struggles between several forces with various different interests. The position of bishops of Riga and Estonia was too insecure to speak of bishoprics in a canonical sense, and even though bishop Albert appealed several times that Riga should be made into an archbishopric, he yet not succeeded. Still he established in Northern Estonia the bishopric of Reval in 1219, and South-Eastern Estonia the bishopric of Dorpat in 1224 (Kala 2001: 10-3). Besides the Sword Brothers were an important force, and their relationship with the bishopric was characterised by many power struggles.⁸³⁹ The interests of Russian princes were already present in Livonia on the arrival of Saxon missionaries and crusaders, and the Danish and Swedish ones accompanied them already from the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. At the background there was a dispute over the throne of German king between Philip of Swabia (1198-1208) and Otto IV (1198-1218), as well as the struggle of Danish and German interests in Northern Germany.

Henry's focus being very local, it is also closer to the Others, and this can be perceived already from the many detailed accounts, the several Livs and Estonians he has mentioned by name and from the many phrases in the local languages he has added to his text.

⁸³⁸ *Quamvis autem neque qui plantat neque qui rigat sit aliquid, sed qui incrementum dat, Deus, gaudemus tamen in eo, qui dat omnibus affluenter, quia ei quod plantavimus et rigavimus incrementum benignum indulsit, ita ut sicut granum synapis, quod mulier in orto suo legitur seminasse, planta nostra in arborem magnam iam crevit, et in cuius ramis volucres celi, dante Domino, in brevi sedebunt, et sub cuius umbra bestie terre quiescerent.* (ACS III.4: I Cor: 3: 7, Iac 1: 5, Lc 13: 19)

⁸³⁹ Finally the order and bishop Albert managed to agree upon the division of Livonia, and Innocent III acknowledged their agreement in 1211 (see HCL XIV.13, LUB 1/1 no. 16; cf. Kala 2001: 13). For the role of papacy in the Livonian and Estonian mission see MacCarone 1989.

PERSONAE

The position of the Others as the heathens (*gentes*) is determined by the missionary goal of the Rigan church, and by the crusading ideology. The Rigan church claims to follow the order given by Christ to his followers, “Go ye therefore, and teach all nations (*omnes gentes*), baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.”⁸⁴⁰ The aim of the church is both “the conversion of the pagans” and “the extension of the church among the pagans”, and that of the crusaders is alike to “fight the wars against the pagans.”⁸⁴¹

Therefore many of the features in the image of the church and crusaders develop in close interaction with the image of the Others defined as the pagans. Yet there opens a larger variety of different crusading targets, as shall be shown below. At the same time baptism, in accordance with the rites and ceremonies accepted in Saxony, is to become a sign of surrender to German domination (Brundage 1961: 10-11); and the baptisms of all other missions are treated as unorthodox in some way. Likewise the spread of faith and church in Livonia, similarly to the process in Slavia and the Northern countries developed in many phases, and had to face many defeats. Therefore the images of the Others are varied to a large extent, and not only those of heathens and neophytes, but also the many rivals of the Rigan church alter the picture. Here both the orthodox Russians and the Catholic Danes are to become signified as the enemies of the church in Riga.

The primary line dividing them and us is yet drawn between the Christians and non-Christians, and also later the chronicler emphasises the division in his accounts of several sieges, where the neophytes are said to have left unharmed.⁸⁴² However, a more significant aspect differentiating the images of the local peoples is the way they came to accept Rigan baptism, as the Livs and Estonians, who surrendered to military supremacy, are differentiated from the Latvians, who are claimed to have accepted Christianity voluntarily.

⁸⁴⁰ Mt 28: 19, as quoted by Henry in HCL XVI.2.

⁸⁴¹ For the aims of church as regards *conversio gentium* see HCL XI.6, XIX.7, XIX.8, and for *ecclesia in gentibus dilatare* see HCL XIX.7. The crusaders are said “to fight against Estonians and other pagans” (*cum Estonibus et aliis gentibus bellare*) (HCL XIV.9); and “to fight the battles of the Lord against the pagans (*prelia Domini preliari contra paganos*)” (HCL XXV.1: ref. I Sm 25: 28).

⁸⁴² HCL X.9, XXVII.6. Also the defeated Russians are left alive, as the crusaders “did not dare to take their lives due to the name of Christ” (HCL XI.8), see also HCL XIII.4.

The Livs

Firstly the models according to which Henry describes the early mission determine the image of the Livs. Primarily those focus on the hagiographical image of the early missionaries and emphasise the perils they were drawn into among the pagans.⁸⁴³

Already from the start of the mission the Livs are also described to surrender and accept baptism only in the fear of the crusaders.⁸⁴⁴ This is firstly explained through the malice (*malicia*) of the Livs, and functions as part of the crusading ideology, when bishop Albert of Riga claims, “among this people one cannot make a headway without the help of crusaders.”⁸⁴⁵ The malice is treated as aimed against the Christians, the Livs being “eager to serve the goal of destroying the Christians”, and later especially as regards their revolts Henry steadily develops the image of the Livs as hostile to Christians and seeking evil against them.⁸⁴⁶ Here also the martyrdoms become both a sign of the persecution of Christians, and a cause to protect Christianity, as the chronicler describes in detail the cruel torturing and death of bishop Bertold, and several other martyrdoms.⁸⁴⁷

Like the chronicler compares the Rigans and crusaders with the people of Israel, then similarly he gives an analogy between the Livs and the Philistines, the enemies of the Israelis. There the chieftain of the revolting Livs addresses his men, “like the Philistines of ancient days, saying: “Fight valiantly, brothers Philistines, so that you should not serve the Hebrews.”⁸⁴⁸

Due to the early missions there are yet many neophytes among the Livs already from the beginning of the chronicle. On the one hand the neophytes function as the goal and cause to protect Christianity among the Livs, the latter need being underlined by the “hatred” (*odium*) the revolting Livs have against the faithful ones.⁸⁴⁹ Faithfulness becomes the dominant signifier of the neophytes, emphasising their fidelity both to the faith and new authorities during the revolts. Differently from the earlier chronicler Henry yet also describes many of the true neophytes closely, and he gives also the names of the first Livs baptised by

⁸⁴³ As regards Meinhard see HCL I.9, I.11. The Livonians are said to plan to kill Berthold already in HCL II.2, and his martyrdom is described in HCL II.6. For the other early missionaries see also HCL I.10, II.9-10, VII.6, IV.2; and for recent studies on the mission of Meinhard see Helmann 1989a, Helmann 1989b, and Jensen 2001.

⁸⁴⁴ Noted already during the mission of Meinhard (HCL II.7), and developed later in HCL IV. 4, IX.9.

⁸⁴⁵ */--/ sine auxilio peregrinorum in gente illa non posse proficere /--/* (HCL IV.6).

⁸⁴⁶ */--/ perdicioni fidelium Christi deservire parati /--/*, as for this cause they are said to make an alliance with the Prince of Polotsk (HCL X.3). The Livonians “seek evil” (*ocius mali exquisitores*) (HCL X.4), “do all evil” (*fecerunt omnia mala*) (HCL X.8), and characterised by “cunningness” (*astucia*), “stubbornness” (*pertinancia*), and malice (*malicia*), they in general aim at “expelling the Christians” (*de christianorum eiectione*) (HCL X.5).

⁸⁴⁷ For Berthold see HCL II.6. Martyrdom of crusaders is described in HCL IX.12, and those of Livonian neophytes in HCL X.5, 7.

⁸⁴⁸ HCL X.10: ref. I Rg 4: 9.

Meynard.⁸⁵⁰ Among them the Liv chieftain Caupo stands out, his image being that of a heathen ruler turned Christian, and hence whose faithfulness and eagerness as regards the new church and mission are constantly emphasised.⁸⁵¹

A greater part of the Livs is, however depicted as weak in faith, and due the many revolts apostasy becomes the most dominating feature in their image.⁸⁵² The latter signifies a greater sin than the original heathenism, and from here on deceitfulness and rebelliousness become the signifiers of the Livs. Also their revolts are explained as aimed primarily against the new faith, as the Livs “neglect the sacraments, forget the baptism, throw away the faith, not caring for the peace, they start the war again.”⁸⁵³ Here especially neglecting the sacraments and blasphemising both God and the church with the pagan rituals become significant.⁸⁵⁴

A goal to destroy Riga and to kill all the Christians is likewise attributed to them, especially during the revolt in 1210, when the Livs send messengers to the Kurs, Estonians, Lithuanians, Semigalls, and Russians, “seeking all council how to destroy Riga and to kill all the Germans.”⁸⁵⁵ The already Christian Livs are pictured often to make alliances with the pagans, and persuade also the latter to both break the peace and attack the Christians. Yet they

⁸⁴⁹ HCL X.5

⁸⁵⁰ Naming the first ones baptised both in Üksküll (HCL I.4) and Holmis (HCL I.7). Henry also gives the names of two martyred Livonian neophytes (HCL X.5), and those of the chieftans who remained faithful during the revolts (HCL X.8, XIV.10).

⁸⁵¹ Here Henry describes as crucial his voyage to meet the Pope Innocent III, after which Caupo had become “the most faithful (*fidelissimus*)” (HCL VII.3). The text describes both the persecution (*persecutio*) from the Livonians the faithful man had to suffer (HCL X.10), and notes that the chieftain was willing to lay a siege against his own, yet still pagan relatives and friends on his own castle in Toreida (HCL X.10). See also HCL XIV.5, 8.

⁸⁵² In general they are described as apostates (*apostantes*), “double-hearted and weak” (*duplici corde et inconstantes*), even though there were among them “a few who remained still faithful” (HCL XVI.4). They have either forgotten the faith or care little for baptism (HCL IX.8), and this results in them being depicted also as “rebellious and unfaithful” (*rebeldes et increduli*) (HCL IX.11: ref. Nm 20: 10).

⁸⁵³ */--/ immemores sacramentorum suspectorum, obliti baptismi, fide abiecta, pacem non curantes, bellum innovantes /--/* (HCL X.6). Similar claim is made when the Estonians revolt (*baptismi sui sacramenta violaverant, qui fidem Iesu Christi reiciendo ad paganismum redierant*) (HCL XXVIII.3). See also HCL XXI.5.

⁸⁵⁴ This is given often in the speeches by bishop Albert of Riga, who in 1212 blames the revolted Livonians both for “rejecting the sacraments” and the wish to lead Livonia back to idolatry (*ad ydolatriam retrahere*), yet especially “for contempting the God and all Christians thrown goats and other animals to our face, sacrificing them to pagan gods” (HCL XVI.4). See also HCL X.6.

⁸⁵⁵ */--/ querentes omne consilium, qualiter Rigam deleverent et Theuthonicos omnes dolo tenerunt et occiderent /--/* (HCL XIV.5) Here Henry emphasises the deceitfulness of the already Christian Livonians (*iamdudum baptizati, perfidie sue felle repleti*) (*Ibid.*). See also HCL XIV.12. The Livonians ally also with the heathen Lithuanians, and it is namely the chieftain of the Livonians who is said to be “the inventor of all this treachery and all evil (*totius traditionis et omnium malorum exstiterat auctor*), who called the king of Polotsk, Lithuanians and the whole Livonia to fight against the name of Christ (*ad bellandum contra /--/ nomen christianum*) ” (HCL X.8). See also HCL X.6.

also seek the help of the Christian Prince Vladimir of Polotsk, wanting him to expel the Germans from Livonia.⁸⁵⁶

Their revolts of are also opposed to peace in general, as the latter is pictured as the main goal of the mission and crusades. The Livs are either do not to care for the peace, or then to break it often, so that the peace with them is also signified as infirm. Likewise their revolts are depicted as “breaking the peace during the time of peace” and the Livs themselves as the ones who “did not know how to be the children of peace, breaking the peace all the time.”⁸⁵⁷ In contrast, the Christians are described as always not only to keep the peace, yet but firstly also to trust innocently in the infirm peace with the Livs.

Besides the general notions of opposing the faith and peace, the revolts are also explained though deceitfulness, and this vice is among the most dominating features applied to all the local heathens and apostates. It signifies the Livs already during the early mission of Meynard, when they let themselves to be baptised only falsely, in the hope that the latter will build a stone castle to them.⁸⁵⁸ Similar pattern continues throughout the chronicle, and is applied both to the Livs and Estonians.⁸⁵⁹ Also treacherousness (*perfidia*) is applied firstly to the Livs, and comes henceforth to signify all the peoples, who had revolted.⁸⁶⁰

Firstly the innocence of the early missionaries is opposed to the deceitfulness and treachery of the newly converted Livs, above all in the case of bishop Meynard. The story of their betrayal of bishop Meynard refers directly to Judas, as the Livs firstly “deceitfully and by tears” ask the bishop not to leave them, and then to address the returning bishop “with the

⁸⁵⁶ For the latter cause the Livonians are said to pose many lies upon the Christians, and here the messengers of the bishop, who had come “for peace and friendship (*pacis et amicitie causa*)” are here contrasted to the Livonians, whose “mouth is full of taunting and bitterness” and who call the prince “rather to make war than peace” (*Quorum os maledictione et amaritudine plenum est, magis ad bella struenda, quam ad pacem faciendam cor et animum regis incitant.*) (HCL X.1: ref. Rm 3: 14).

⁸⁵⁷ Accordingly */--/ infra pacem sepe fecerant pace interrupta /--/*, and */--/ filii pacis esse nescientes, pacem omne tempore disturbabant /--/* (HCL X.13). The Livonians are claimed to break already the peace made with Meichard (HCL II.5, 8, 9), and also many of the treaties afterwards (HCL IV.3). Their revolts are a sign for “not caring about the peace (*pacem non curantes*)” (HCL X.6); later the phrase applies also for the Estonians (*nec pacis innovatione curarent*) (HCL XVIII.5), who are also said to have “condemned the peace of the Christians (*contempnebant pacem christianorum*)” (HCL XXVIII.3).

⁸⁵⁸ So did the Livonians in Üksküla (HCL I.6), and the ones in Holm “betrayed with a similar promise” (*promissione prefatum circumvenientes*) the bishop (HCL I.7), see HCL I.9.

⁸⁵⁹ Firstly the Livonians make “deceitfully” (*dolose*) a peace with the Germans (HCL IV.2); and later have a deceitful (*dolus*) plan against them (HCL IX.8), or want to betray the Sword Brothers deceitfully (*dolo tenerent et defraudarent*) (HCL XVI.1: ref. Mc 14: 1; Mt 26: 1).

⁸⁶⁰ The treacherousness of the Livonians (*perfidia Lyvonum*) resp. “the treacherous Livonians” (*perfidi Lyvones*) are firstly mentioned already in HCL II.8, and henceforth in HCL VI.4, X.8, X.12, XVI.1.4. Later it is applied to the chieftan of Estonians, Lembitu who is the most treacherous (*perfidissimum*) (HCL XVIII.7), and to the Estonians in general (HCL XIX.8, XVIII.7); yet also to Estonians and Livonians together (*omnes perfidos de Lyvoniam et Estonia*) (HCL XXVIII.6).

greeting of Judas and in the spirit of Judas, saying “*Ave, rabi.*”⁸⁶¹ Later also the Estonians are said to give a Judas’ greeting to their priest, giving him “only the greeting by mouth, not by heart.”⁸⁶²

Malice and deceitfulness are interpreted also as the expressions of stubbornness and pride. Likewise their subjugation is explained to happen through breaking those vices, as a result of the Livs becoming “confused in spirit and mind.”⁸⁶³ Here the opposites are to turn upside down, as Henry draws on the *Vita Willehadi* from the breviary, and describes “the people untameable and utterly dedicated to pagan rites is led to the yoke of the Lord” and “leaving behind the darkness of their paganism they see through the faith the true light that is Christ.”⁸⁶⁴ Later “the fear of God” (*timor Dei*) is described to seize all Livonia, and for this reason the Livs are to send Riga to ask for peace.⁸⁶⁵ As the revolts of the Livs ended, they are “quieten in their pride and humiliated in their arrogance.”⁸⁶⁶

Now also unfaithfulness turns into faithfulness, and here the crusader army faithfully (*fideliter*) has mercy on the unfaithful (*infidelibus*) Livs so that they might henceforth become faithful (*fideles*).⁸⁶⁷ The idea of their conversion as a process turning the opposites over is most vividly expressed in a speech given by their priest Alebrand, where he states that the Livs, “should they indeed want to turn over to God, the God shall henceforth be with them, so that they, who had been two-folded in heart and insecure, shall become now straight in their ways.”⁸⁶⁸

⁸⁶¹ /--/ *salutatuione et animo Iude salutant, dicentes “Ave rabbi”* /--/ (HCL I.11: ref. Mt 26: 49). This is in sharp contrast with the innocence of the missionary (*credit innocens omni verbo*) (HCL I.11: ref. Prv 14: 15). The later missionaries are already said to be aware of their deceitfulness, as the chronicler emphasises constantly that the newly converted are not to be trusted. This is vividly illustrated in Henry’s account of the peace making process with the revolted Livonians, where their priest Albebrand sees their deceitfulness (*perfidia*), and calls them repentent. The treaty is still made, bishop Albert of Riga is afraid that “their promises are full of deceits and treacherousness” (*plenam esse omni fallacia et dolorum machinatione*) (HCL XVI.4: ref. Ecl 1: 40). Later the Rigans are also to warn the Swedish crusaders for “not to believe the treacherous words (*dolosis verbis*) of the Estonians” (HCL XXIV.3).

⁸⁶² *salutasque est salutatione oris et non non cordis, qualiter Iudas Dominum salutavit* (HCL XV.9).

⁸⁶³ *animos consternati* (ref. I Mcc 3: 31, 4: 27) *et mente confusi* (ref. Dn 2: 3; Act 2: 6) (HCL IX.13). See also on the subjugation of the Livonians at Sattesele in 1212, where they are said to subjoin their necks (*colla sua subiciunt*) (HCL XVI.4: ref. I Mcc 3: 31; Tn 2: 3).

⁸⁶⁴ /--/ “*gens indomita et paganorum ritibus nimis dedita*” *pedentim ad iugum Domini ducitur, relictis gentilitatis sue tenebris, veram lucem, qui Christus est, per fidem intuetur* /--/ (HCL IX.13: ref. breviary; *Vita Willehadi*).

⁸⁶⁵ HCL X.13: ref. I Sm 11: 7; Lc 14: 32.

⁸⁶⁶ /--/ *quiescere fecit Dominus superbiam eorum et arroganciam forcium humiliavit* /--/ (HCL XV.3: ref. Is 13: 11). Here even the attacks of the heathen Estonians function as a mean to humiliate the Livonians, as they both humiliate their treacherousness and make them hence more faithful, see HCL XIV.12.

⁸⁶⁷ HCL XVI.4

⁸⁶⁸ “*Facite ergo fructus aliquos penitentiae*” (ref. Mt 3: 8) *et, si vere Dei converti volueritis, Deuri erit utique vobiscum, ut qui hactenus “duplici corde et inconstantes”* (ref. Jk 1: 8) *fuistis, nunc sitis constantes in viis vestris, ut “videatis auxilium Domini super eos”* (ref II Par 20: 17). (HCL XVI.4)

The Latvians

Quite to the contrary, the image of the Latvians, whose priest the chronicler himself was, is rather static. Christian virtues are applied already to the heathen Latvians, “still pagan, yet approving the life of the Christians, and wishing them all well.”⁸⁶⁹ Later the still pagan Latvians greets the priest, who is Henry himself, rejoicing (*gaudentes*) over his arrival. The many sufferings are another feature of the Latvians, when “the Lithuanians had often plundered them and the Livs suppressed, and hoping to gain relief and protection from the Germans, they with joy (*cum gaudio*) accept the word of God.”⁸⁷⁰ Humility and patience are to characterise the Latvians, and hence most of the main Christian values are applied to them, “humble and despised, suffering from much unjust from the Livs and Estonians.”⁸⁷¹ Later also the papal legate William of Modena praises the humility and patience of the Latvians, pointing out that they never relapsed into paganism, this yet being also a proof of the good pastoral care Henry has taken of them.⁸⁷²

Similar imagery of a good Christian is applied also to the Wends, who are said to have come to seek refugee from the Latvians from the persecution of the Kurs, and are also described as both humble and poor.⁸⁷³

The Young Congregation

Already during the revolts some of the Livs were defined as faithful (*fideles*), and after their subjugation the notion is attributed to all of them.⁸⁷⁴ The image has many functions, as firstly it is to underline the unity and unanimity (*unamitia*) of the young church, especially during the later period when the rivalry between the Rigan and Danish mission grew stronger.⁸⁷⁵ It also points to the success of the Rigan mission, and at the end of his text the chronicler takes to praise the newly converted peoples as good Christians.⁸⁷⁶ After the

⁸⁶⁹ /--/ *adhuc pagani, vitam christianorum approbantes* /--/ Here they are said to have refused “the conspiracy (*colloquium*) of the Livonians and Russians against Riga”, and “not even the gifts the Russians offered could not make them do evil do the Germans” (HCL X.3).

⁸⁷⁰ HCL XI.7: ref. li 12: 21. The notion of joy is connected to the Latvians also later, as they rejoice both over the arrival of the priests (*magis gaudebant*), and henceforth rejoice with the Christians over one law and one peace (*eodem iure et eodem pace omnes simul gauderent*) (HCL XII.6).

⁸⁷¹ /--/ *humiles et despecti et multas iniuras sustinentes a Lyvonibus et Estonibus* /--/ (HCL XII.6).

⁸⁷² HCL XXIX.3)

⁸⁷³ /--/ *humiles erant eo tempore et pauperes* /--/ (HCL X.14). Also they are said to have rejoiced (*gavisi sunt*) over the arrival of the priest, and accepted the faith (*Ibid.*).

⁸⁷⁴ The criterion for this is faithfulness towards the Germans, as illustrated well in Henry’s account of the siege of Holm. There some of the Livs show themselves faithful (*fideles se exhibentes*), as they “wished more the success of the Christians than that of their unfaithful (*perfidorum*) Livs” (HCL X.8). Yet the chronicler divides between the faithful (*fideles*) and unfaithful Livs (*perfides*) also later, as for example during the battle near the Ümera River (HCL XIV.5).

⁸⁷⁵ Now all the people of Livonia argued against the Danes unanimously (*unaminiter*) (HCL XXVI.2).

⁸⁷⁶ HCL XXV.2.

campaigns against the Estonians started, the notion of the Livs and Latvians as the brothers (*fratres*) of the Germans serves also as a cause for the just war, as the crusaders are to “go and help their brothers Livs, and to make a revenge upon the pagan Estonians.”⁸⁷⁷

Now also the neophytes take part in the goal both to fight against the heathens and expand Christianity, as the text states that the Rigans should “place their trust in God and to go fight the pagans together with the already converted Livs and Latvians.”⁸⁷⁸ Henceforth the “banner of the Blessed Virgin was carried to all the surrounding pagans by the Livs, Latvians, and Germans.”⁸⁷⁹ Now also the signs that characterise the Christian warfare are applied to the Livs and Latvians. Among them the grace of God distinguishes most clearly, and the latter is expressed mostly in the blessings and praise the united armies bestow upon God after their victories.⁸⁸⁰ The chronicler also imposes special value on the revenge upon the heathens that takes place through the hands of the newly converted.⁸⁸¹

The text emphasises that the wars against the heathens were undertaken together and unanimously by the Germans and the newly converted peoples, as especially in his praise for Virgin Mary he underlines “the Latvians, Livs, or any of the newly converted peoples who have carried the name of Her son to the heathens and shall do it henceforth with us.”⁸⁸² Here also the joined campaigns function as a sign to create and emphasise the shared identity of all the Christians living in Livonia. When Henry speaks of the unanimous resistance of all them (including the prelates, clerics, citizens, merchants, Livs, and Latvians) to the lordship of the Danish king Valdemar II in 1221, then in their speech they are to mention all the battles they have underwent together against the heathens.⁸⁸³ On the other hand the Livs and Latvians are always still mentioned separately, while the Germans are defined as us. As regards the recruitment of the troops, battles themselves, the fallen ones, and the ones returning home, all

⁸⁷⁷ /-/ *peregrinis et omni populo in remissionem peccatorum iniungunt, ut fratribus suis Lyvonibus subveniant et vindictam faciant Deo donante in Estonum nationibus* /-/ (HCL XV.3). See also HCL XXVII.1.

⁸⁷⁸ /-/ *in Domino sperandum et cum Lyvonibus et Leththis iam baptizatis audacter ad omnes gentes procedendum* /-/ (HCL XII.3). See also HCL IX.5, 7.

⁸⁷⁹ /-/ *vexillum beate Virginis deportatum est a Lyvonibus et Leththis et Theuthonicis in Ugauniam et sic deinceps ad omnes Estones et gentes in circuitu, Deo cooperante, qui solus omnia regna superavit.* (HCL XII.3)

⁸⁸⁰ See HCL XII.6, XIV.10, XXIII.10. For the first time the Latvians are described as the Christian warriors when the Estonians laid a siege on their stronghold Beverin in 1208. There also the chronicler himself was at place, praying to God, and playing an instrument. When the Estonians ask the Latvians the reason for their joy (*letitia*), and the Latvians answer to joy and praise God whom they see to protect them after they have received baptism. (HCL XII.6) For Henry's interest in music instruments see HCL XII.6, XIV.5 and Brundage 1961: 9, 15.

⁸⁸¹ After plundering the Estonians, the Latvians give unanimously thanks to God that He had done such a revenge among the heathens by the hand of the newly converted (*[per] noviter conversos Dominus tantam fecerit “vindictam” eciam ceteris in nationibus*) (HCL XII.6: ref. Ps 149: 7).

⁸⁸² *Lyvones et Lettos sive quoscunque neophytos, /-/ “qui nomen Christi filii sui deportaverunt hactenus ad alias gentes” et adhuc portabunt nobiscum* /-/ (HCL XXV.2: ref. Act 9: 15). See also HCL XXVIII.5.

⁸⁸³ HCL XXV.1.

the different peoples are listed separately.⁸⁸⁴ Cruelty still remains to signify the warfare undertaken by the Livs and Latvians, dividing them from the German warriors.⁸⁸⁵ Hence in war the newly converted warriors are pictured to kill all, yet “accordingly to the customs of these lands, they save only the girls.”⁸⁸⁶ A more serious mistake is the plundering of the already Christian Estonians, and also that the Livs are said to have sometimes done, opposite to the Germans, never described to attack the already converted peoples, albeit the apostates.⁸⁸⁷ The neophytes are yet also described to act cowardly in their warfare, to escape from the battles, leaving the warfare, yet hence also the glory to the crusaders.⁸⁸⁸

Besides faithfulness and the features of the Christian warfare, now also the sufferings and sorrows are applied to the Latvians and Livs. This means mainly the sorrow over the neophytes killed by the heathens.⁸⁸⁹ Here the chronicler describes the many deaths of the neophytes through the hands of the pagans as martyrdoms; and also later William of Modena praises the Latvians, “who had carried the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to the Estonians and other pagans, having many amongst their people killed as martyrs.”⁸⁹⁰ The mourning however serves to unite the neophytes and Rigans, as when “in Riga all the evil done to the Livs and Latvians became known, everybody cried and mourned over their dead fellow brothers.”⁸⁹¹

Besides mourning, another eminent sign of the Christians, joy becomes a part of the image of the neophytes. Firstly it signifies the acceptance of baptism, where the Latvians and later Livonians are described to accept baptism with joy.⁸⁹² The Latvians, however stand out

⁸⁸⁴ Often Henry covers all sides, as in the case of a battle against the Lithuanians (in 1221), where there were “only fifteen Germans, the Latvians were more, and together one less than ninety, and of the pagans six hundred” (HCL XXV.4). When bishop Albert heard of killed crusaders, this meant “the killing of his” (*suorum interfecione*) (HCL XI.9). Also the Sword Brothers call themselves “brothers Germans” (*fratres Theuthonici*), or speak of “our people” (*gens nostrum*) (HCL XIV.8).

⁸⁸⁵ The notion is especially vividly present in the descriptions of the raids the Latvians made into Estonia, where they “killed all, until their hands were weakened by the killing of people”, and until all the villages were colored with the blood of the pagans (HCL XII.6). In war they are “more cruel than other peoples” (*crudeliores aliis gentibus*) and they “do not know, like the servants of the Gospel how to have mercy (*misereri*) on one’s fellow servants.” They killed all, and colored all the places with the blood of the heathens. (HCL XVIII.5: ref. Mt 18: 33).

⁸⁸⁶ HCL XII.6.

⁸⁸⁷ See HCL XXIII.9.

⁸⁸⁸ This they are said to have done in the battle at the Ūmera River, and are here opposed to the Sword Brothers, who are called then to “gather, brothers Germans, and shall not let the shame come upon our people” (HCL XIV.8: ref. I Mcc 9: 8,10).

⁸⁸⁹ After the defeat at the Ūmera River the Livonians and Latvians sorrowed and mourned over that they, newly converted, were killed by the pagans (*tristes eo quod nuper baptizati a paganis sint trucidati*) (HCL XIV.8). See also HCL XII.6, XV.3.

⁸⁹⁰ /--/ *qui nomen domini nostri Iesu Christi ad Estonas et ad alias gentes lete portantes, multos de gente sua propter eandem fidem christianam occisos in martirium /--/ consortium transmiserant.* (HCL XXIX.3). Henry calls the fourteen Latvians who were killed at the Ūmera River martyrs (HCL XIV.8). See also HCL XII.6.

⁸⁹¹ HCL XXVII.1.

⁸⁹² For the Livonians see HCL X.14. And for the first Livonian neophytes in Holm, who are said to have rejoiced with their priest see HCL VII.6.

here as well, and on this occasion Henry can also use an alliterative connotation while speaking of the joyful Latvians (*Letti*, “the Latvians”, and *leti*, “joyful” in plural).⁸⁹³ Joy, and especially rejoicing together, which firstly signified the unity of the crusaders and Germans, marks now the unity of all the Christians in Livonia, and it signifies joy over the success of the Livonian mission, as “the greater became the joy of the Christians, the more grieved and confused was the multitude of the pagans.”⁸⁹⁴ Joy becomes an important unifying sign especially often during Henry’s account of the visit the papal legate William of Modena made to the newly converted lands (1225).⁸⁹⁵

Later the notion of utmost joy is also to mark the end of the chronicle, and the completion of the mission to the heathens, as the Osilians in 1227 are to be converted after the crusade made against them. Here the priests baptised the people with joy (*cum gaudio*), and great joy (*cum leticia magna*), they rejoiced (*gavisi sunt*) over the conversion, and had tears in their eyes for joy (*pre gaudio*). There also the crusading army rejoiced (*gaudet*), and likewise the Osilians both leaded the priests to their stronghold with joy (*cum gaudio*) and accepted Christianity with “utmost joy” (*cum summo gaudio*).⁸⁹⁶

The Estonians

The sufferings and misfortunes that the Estonians have caused to the newly converted Livs and Latvians function also as the cause for the crusade. Henry describes how the Latvian neophytes send messengers to the Estonians “to claim what is just, for all the unjust done upon them.”⁸⁹⁷ The refusal of the latter to compensate the unjust gives now also the cause to take up war against them. The same passage mentions also the unjust done upon the Rigans, and here the messengers remind the Estonians especially the goods they had robbed from the German merchants. Yet also in this case the Estonians do not want “to give back wanting

⁸⁹³ See: *Lethi* /--/ *leti* in *Beverin redierunt* (HCL XII.6). William of Modena preached with joy (*cum leticia*) the joyful (*letam*) doctrine to the Latvians, and made them, the joyful (*letos*) to rejoice very (*letificavit*), who they had with joy (*lete*) carried the name of Christ to the pagans (HCL XXIX.3). The chroniclers plays with words have been pointed out by many reseachers; and James Brundage has even claimed that they betray the author’s sense of humor. For the humor in Henry’s text see also HCL XXIV.5 and XVI.4. (Brundage 1961: 15)

⁸⁹⁴ /--/ *quo magis augetur leticia christianorum, eo amplius dolet et confunditur multitudo paganorum*. (HCL VIII.2). For joy as a unifying sign see, the Rigans rejoicing over the arrival of the crusaders and their bishop (HCL IV.2, VII.2, VIII.1, XI.1, XII.5, XXII.1, XXX.1), and then all the Christians of Livonia rejoicing over the victories in the campaigns against the heathens (HCL X.8, XII.6, XIV.9, 10, XV.2, XXII.3, XXVIII.6). Firstly also the Danes rejoiced (*congaudebat*) together with the Rigans (HCL X.13), and even the heathen Semigallians (HCL X.10).

⁸⁹⁵ The legate both to preaches with joy (*cum gaudio resp. cum leticia*) to the newly converted peoples who now also include the Estonians, and the latter likewise accept him with joy (*cum gaudio*). See HCL XXIX.2-3.

⁸⁹⁶ HCL XXX.5

⁸⁹⁷ /--/ *requirere que iusta sunt de omnibus iniuriis sibi illatis ab eis* /--/ (HCL XII.6).

what was taken unjustly.”⁸⁹⁸ These claims, as well as the refusal of the Estonians reflect well the crusading ideology, as not only the reconquest of the Christian lands, but also claiming back the property taken from the Christians can function as a just cause for a war. (Riley-Smith 1992: 22-4) Yet here namely the Latvian neophytes are the ones to declare the conditions for peace for the Estonians, according to the patterns set by the earlier missionary wars, claiming that “there cannot be one heart and one soul among the Christians and pagans otherwise than you shall accept the yoke of Christianity and eternal peace with us and worship the one God.”⁸⁹⁹

Henceforth the hostility against the Christians becomes the most significant feature in the image of the Estonians, and as such it reflects the ideology and rhetoric of the crusades as it was described also in the crusading proclamations and preaching. Henry many times mentions the preaching of the Livonian and Estonian crusades by the bishop Albert of Riga, where the latter calls his audience to come and protect the Livonian church from the assaults of the pagans.⁹⁰⁰ Similarly the Danish crusades (both in 1206 to Ösel and 1219 to Northern Estonia) are described as a vengeance upon the pagans; and the reason for the latter is “the great war of the Estonians and Russians against the Livs.”⁹⁰¹

The resistance of the Estonians is also treated primarily as an opposition to the true faith and church, and explained as an expression of pride and stubbornness. Here they are described as to “walk with raised necks and not to obey the Germans nor any other nations.”⁹⁰² Similarly, the unwillingness to revolt is treated an expression of humility, when the Estonians of the Viru and Jerva county do not dear to join the rebellion, since they are “simple-minded people” and “more humble than the other Estonians.”⁹⁰³

⁸⁹⁸ /--/ *nolentibus iniuste ablata restituere* /--/ (HCL XII.6). Henceforth the following campaign to Estonia is named a vengeance for the unjust (*iniurias vindicantes*) (HCL XII.6). Likewise the goods they have robbed from the German merchants are constantly reminded to the Estonians both here and during the later campaigns, HCL XII.6, XIII.5, XIX.4.

⁸⁹⁹ *Sed neque inter christianos et paganos unum cor et una anima neque forma pacis firma esse poterit, nisi recepto nobiscum eodem iugo Christianitatis et pacis perpetue unum Deum colatis.* (HCL XII.6)

⁹⁰⁰ While bishop Albert describes “with tears the damages of the church” (*ecclesie dampna lacrimando indicat*) (HCL XI.9), the crusaders are called to become “the defenders of the church” (*ecclesie defensores*) (HCL XI.9), and “to defend the young church from the assaults of the pagans” (*novellam ecclesiam a paganorum tuerentur insultibus*) (HCL XIX.7). See also HCL XXII.1.

⁹⁰¹ Accordingly HCL X.13 and HCL XXII.1. The same claim is used before the first campaigns to Estonia, as then the Estonians together with the Russians “have made all council to destroy her [i.e the Rigan church]” (*qui omnes consilium fecerunt in unum, ut eam destruerunt*) (HCL XIV.7: ref. Ps 71: 10, Act 9: 23).

⁹⁰² /--/ *adhuc “collo” incedere “erecto” et nec Theuthonicois nec aliis gentibus obedire* /--/ (HCL XVI.8: ref. Ii 15: 26). Likewise they are said “not willing to hear the word of salvation” (HCL XIII.5: ref. Act 13: 26), and likewise unwilling to hear the name of the Christian God (*Deum ac nomen christianorum omnino audire dedignant*) (HCL XIV.11).

⁹⁰³ Accordingly *homines simplicis* and *humiliores aliis Estonibus* (HCL XXVI.5).

The cruelty of the Estonians is closely bound to the killing and torturing the Latvian neophytes, and here Henry also describes in detail the martyrdom of the fourteen Latvians cruelly tortured by the Estonians.⁹⁰⁴ Similarly are their assaults described as directed against the churches, and here Henry pays special attention to the burning of his own church in 1211.⁹⁰⁵ Similarly to all the other peoples, also the Estonians act cowardly in warfare. When they plunder the empty villages and churches in Latvia, they are later said to have left in a hurry without wanting to fight with the army of the Rigans and Latvians.⁹⁰⁶

These features turn to the opposite after the conversion of the Estonians, and now also in their image humility, faithfulness and obedience are emphasised.⁹⁰⁷ When the bishop Albert of Riga asks for the help of the Danes (in 1218), then he does it namely “that the Estonians could be humbled more.”⁹⁰⁸ And after the Danish crusade to Northern Estonia Henry can state that the “proud hearts of were humbled to Christian faith.”⁹⁰⁹

The subjugation in itself is described to take place through frightening the stubborn enemy with warfare, and the latter is closely bound to the notion of the fear of God (*timor Dei*).⁹¹⁰ Here the Estonians who were laid under siege in Fellin (Est. Viljandi; in 1211) make peace and “confess your God greater than ours, by surpassing us, He has inclined us to His worship.”⁹¹¹ Hence the fear of both the crusaders and their God is also the first emotion applied to the heathens, and as such it also signifies the start of their conversion.

After the conquest of the stronghold Valjala in Ösel, that marks the end of the subjugation of the heathen lands in Henry’s text, also the Oesilians “once children of pride” are now described become the “children of obedience.” Here the ones “who once were

⁹⁰⁴ /--/ *crudeli maritirio cruciaverunt alios vivos assaverunt, alios nudantes vestimentis suis et gladiis suis in dorsis eorum crucibus factis iugaverunt et in martyrium consortium ut speramus in celum transmitterunt* /--/ (HCL XIV.8); here the Estonians are also said to have killed many others among the Latvians, and likewise during their earlier assault, where they did much evil (*multa mala*) to them, and killed many cruelly and burned (*trucidaverant et cremaverant*) (HCL XII.6). See also HCL XIV.12.

⁹⁰⁵ The Estonians are said to have plundered also all the priest’s own belongings (HCL XIV.12).

⁹⁰⁶ /--/ *cicius exierunt de terra et conflictum christianorum non exspectaverunt* /--/ (HCL XIV.10).

⁹⁰⁷ The phrase “to obey in everything” (*per omnia obedire*) (ref. Kl 3: 22) occurs already in the case of the subjugation of the Livonians (HCL X.6,13); and later they Semigallians are said to have come faithfully and obediently to accept baptism (*sicut promiserant, fideliter obedientes convenerunt*) (HCL XXIII.3). The Estonians promise accept Christianity “faithfully” (*fideliter*) (HCL XXIII.7), and finally the Oesilians come to ask baptism in humble manner (*humiles se redunt*) and “suppliantly” (*suppliciter*) (HCL XXX.5).

⁹⁰⁸ /--/ *ut magis humiliati Estonenses* /--/ (HCL XXII.1)

⁹⁰⁹ /--/ *superba corda ad fidem christianam humiliavit* /--/ (HCL XXIII.10).

⁹¹⁰ The fear of God (*timor Dei*) (ref. I Sm 11: 7) overwhelmed all the Livonians (HCL X.13); yet also the Lithuanians (HCL IX.3); and later the Oesilians (HCL XXX.5). However, also the crusaders themselves “create fear” (*timorem incutiunt*) among the Latvians (HCL XI.6), and a great fear among the Oesilians (*terrorumque forte habentes*) (HCL XXX.5); and likewise do the Latvians among the Estonians (*Lettorum iam magnum ceperant habere timorem*) (HCL XII.6).

⁹¹¹ /--/ *cogniscimus Deum vestrum maiorem diis nostris, qui nos superando animum nostrum ad ipsius culturam inclinavit* /--/ (HCL XIV.11).

wolves, become lambs. Who once were the persecutors of the Christians become their fellow brothers.”⁹¹² The text praises the joy given to the Rigans from the high, and here the cause for such a great joy is namely “to win the rebels, baptise the ones coming voluntarily and humbly.”⁹¹³

Making peace with the Christians and accepting baptism is signified also as establishing the fraternal love with the Christians.⁹¹⁴ Mainly the fraternal love of the Germans is meant here, yet also sometimes both of the Germans and Latvians.⁹¹⁵ Joy and rejoicing becomes another sign for their baptism, as the subjugated Estonians are described already to accept Christianity with joy (*cum gaudio*).⁹¹⁶ The signs of good Christians however do not have the time to grow so dominant in the image of Estonians as in the case of Latvians and Livs. Yet there are but a few exceptions, as the newly converted Estonian women are said to have had hit the Oesilians, claiming “Let the God of the Christians strike you.”⁹¹⁷ There is also an Estonian named Kyriawan, who asks from the missionaries a good god (*bonum deum*) for himself, since up till then he had had a bad god (*malum deum*) and the man had been very unhappy (*infelicissimus*) in all his deeds. After the conversion is said to have become most happy (*felicissimus*).⁹¹⁸ Likewise the papal legate William of Modena found in Estonia (in Ugandi) a “church of the faithful, both the Germans and Estonians alike.”⁹¹⁹ Similarly to the Livs and Latvians, it is a crusade undertaken together against the heathens that is to unite also the Estonians finally with the Christians. At the end of the chronicle besides the Livs and Latvians, now also the converted Estonians can rejoice together with the Rigans before the crusade to Ösel that they are about carry the name of the Christian to the not yet baptised Oesilians.⁹²⁰

⁹¹² *Fiunt Osiliani filii obedientie* (ref. I Pt 1: 14), *qui quondam filii superbie*. (ref. I Mcc 2: 47) *Qui quondam lupus, modo fit agnus. Qui quondam persecutor christianorum, modo fit confrater*. (HCL XXX.5)

⁹¹³ */--/ vincere rebelles, baptizare sponte et venientes humiliter /--/* (HCL XXX.6).

⁹¹⁴ The fraternal love (*fraternatis nostre caritate* or *amor*) (ref. I Pt 1: 22, II Pt 1: 7) is mentioned as a part of the conditions for peace treaties with the besieged Estonians. See HCL XIV.11, XVIII.7, XIX.4, XIX.8 XX.6, XXI.5, XXI.5, XXIII.3, XXIII.7, finally for the subjugation of the Oesilians, which takes place via establishing brotherly love (*fraternitas amor*) among them and the crusaders (HCL XXX.5).

⁹¹⁵ When the Estonians ask for the perpetual brotherly love (*perpetuam fraternam dilectionem*) of both the Germans and Latvians (HCL XIX.4).

⁹¹⁶ See HCL XVI.1, XIX.8, XX.6, XXI.5.

⁹¹⁷ *Te percutiat Deus christianorum!* (HCL XXIII.9).

⁹¹⁸ And also “all prosperity came to him with the baptism” (*omnia prospera venerunt ei pariter cum baptismo*) (HCL XXIII.7: ref. Tr 7: 11).

⁹¹⁹ */--/ ecclesiam fidelium tam Thethonicorum quam et Estonum /--/* (HCL XXIX.3).

⁹²⁰ *Gaudent et Lyvones Lettique et Estones baptizati, ut ad Osilianos non baptizatos deferant eciam nomen christianum*. (HCL XXX.1)

Allies and Rivals

During the course of her mission the interests of the Rigan church collided with those of the many other neighbouring forces, and besides the heathen Lithuanians those included also the Russians, Danes, and Swedes. Due to the missionary activity of the latter also the imagery of the local neophytes is varied. Firstly there are the Livs who have accepted baptism from the Orthodox Russians.⁹²¹ After the Danes had established themselves in Northern Estonia (in 1291), many of the Estonians were to accept Christianity from them. How the former allies can turn into enemies, is vividly expressed by the chronicle when he describes how the bishop Albert of Riga was seeking “advice and help both against the king of Denmark and the troublesome incursions of the Russians and other pagans”⁹²²

The Russian Princes and the Orthodox Church

The image of the Russian orthodoxy differs to a large extent from that of the Catholic faith and church. While the confrontation of the German, Danish and Swedish, i.e. Catholic and Russian Orthodox Church was rather that of ecclesiastical and political power not of theology (Selart 2001: 152-4), the different views on orthodoxy, especially as regards baptism, however became crucial when it came to downplaying the other side on a textual level. Even though the orthodox Russians are named as to be our fellow Christians at some points, the imagery of both the Russians and the Orthodox Church are mainly negative.⁹²³

Here Henry claims that “it is the custom among the Russian kings that when they have subdued any of the pagans, not to subjugate it to the Christian faith, but to force them to pay them tribute and money.” This is illustrated on the example of Prince Vladimir of Polotsk, who hinders also the mission of the Rigan church among the Livs, trying with flatteries and threats to stop the bishop Albert of Riga from baptising the Livs, claiming that “it is in his power whether to baptise his servants the Livs or not.”⁹²⁴ Here the argument of the Russian

⁹²¹ Like the Livonians living in Tolova, who however gave them under the power of the bishop of Riga (*in potestatem episcopi*) in 1214 and promised to change the Christianity accepted from the Russians to the custom of the Latins (*fidem christianam a Ruthenis suspectam in Latinorum consuetudinem commutare*) (HCL XVIII.3).

⁹²² /--/ *consilium et auxilium tam contra regis Dacie quam Ruthenorum sive paganorum aliorum importunam infestationem* /--/ (HCL XXIV.4).

⁹²³ When the prince Vsevolod wants to make a peace treaty with the Rigans, he addresses the Latins as his brothers fellow-Christians (*omnes Latinos quasi fratres conchristianos*); yet to this the bishop replies that the help is granted only if the prince will keep away from the heathens (the Lithuanians) and does not ruin “our church” with them nor plunder the land of “his fellow Christians, the Russians” (*si paganorum consorcia deiceps vitare volueris, ita ut per oes ecclesiam nostram non destruas, simul terram Ruthenorum tuorum conchristianorum per Letones non vastaveris*) (HCL XIII.4). For the image of the Russians in Henry’s chronicle see also Tamm 1997, Selart 1998b, and Selart 2002: 56-112, 163-8.

⁹²⁴ /--/ *affirmans in sua esse potestate, servos suos Lyvones vel baptizare vel non baptizatos relinquere. Est enim consuetudo regnum Ruthenorum, ut quamcunque gentem expugnaverint, non fidei christiane subicere, sed ad*

ruler is contrasted to the universal appeal to baptise all the pagans the Rigan mission claims to hold. The passage yet text reflects the conflict of many territorial, ecclesiastical, and economic interests, as by conversion the neophytes went under the authority of their baptiser, and here the prince opposes the Rigan mission due to the fear of losing the tributary Livs, like Prince Vsevolod of Jersike had already lost the Latvians of Tolova tributary to him.⁹²⁵ The emphasis on taxes is likely to reflect the long struggle with the Prince of Polotsk over the Livs.⁹²⁶

The image is not bound only to the neighbouring princes, but applied to the Russian church in general, as Henry claims the “Russian mother always sterile and unfruitful, who subjugates territories not in the hope of the regeneration in the faith of Jesus Christ, but in the hope of tribute and booty.”⁹²⁷

However, the see in Riga formed many alliances with the Russian princes, and the chronicle also reflects the importance of the treaties, stating that all the Rigans rejoiced over the peace with the Prince Vladimir of Polotsk, since “now they can more securely fight wars with the Estonians and other pagans.”⁹²⁸ As regards their relationships in the alliances, the dominant image of the Russian princes becomes that of breaking both the treaties and the peace in general, and making alliances with the heathens instead. This is firstly applied again to Prince Vladimir of Polotsk, who is said to have had many conspiracies with the Livs against the Rigans.⁹²⁹ The prince is described as deceitful himself as well, the one “who talks flattering words in the manner of a pigeon, yet bites like a serpent in the grass.”⁹³⁰ Likewise is he a disturber of peace and church, as Bishop Albert asks him “not to disturb the young

solvendum sibi tributum et pecuniam subiugare. (HCL XVI.2). Later also the Novgorodians are said to have baptised some of the Estonians, and yet to have gone back after the tribute was collected, and not sending the priests to the Estonians as they had promised; yet the chronicler adds here, that the Estonians accepted later the priests of the Rigans, and were enlisted among the Rigans (*postea sacerdotes Rigensium susceperunt et baptisati sunt ab eis et connumerati sunt cum Rigensibus*) (HCL XIV.2).

⁹²⁵ See HCL XIII.4

⁹²⁶ See Selart 2002: 59-65. Henry mentions the taxes already in HCL I.3, and the struggles over the taxation of Livonians are described in HCL VII.4, X.1-4, 12, the treaty making with Polotsk in HCL XIV.9-10, XVI.2. See also Kolk 2004: 54-5.

⁹²⁷ */--/ sterilis semper et infecunda, que non spe regenerationis in fide Iesu Christi, sed spe tribulorum et spoliatorum terras sibi subiugare conatur /--/* (HCL XXVIII.4: ref. Ex 23: 26; breviary).

⁹²⁸ */--/ gavisii sunt omnes /--/ securius cum Estonibus et aliis gentibus bellare valeant /--/* (HCL XIV.9).

⁹²⁹ Henry mentions their conspiracy (*consilium*) (HCL X.2), yet also states that namely the Russians call both the Livonians and Latvians to rebel against the Rigans (HCL X.3). When the Russians and Livonians laid siege on the castle of Holm in 1206, the Livonians conspired with the Russians daily, “how to possess them [i.e. the Germans] deceitfully (*dolo tenerent*) and to lead them to the hands of the Russians” (HCL X.12).

⁹³⁰ As here he sent messengers “with peaceful words, yet deceitfully” (*cum verbis pacificis /--/ in dolo*) (HCL X.3). Later the prince receives the Rigan messengers “benignly, rejoicing with them over the tranquillity of peace, yet deceitfully” (*pacis tranquillitate congaudens, licet in dolo*) (HCL XIV.9).

church with his wars.”⁹³¹ Likewise is Prince Vsevolod of Jersike described as deceitful, he is breaking the peace treaties with the Rigans, having conspiracies with the Lithuanians.⁹³² His image is also as that opposed to peace, he was “always having hostilities and wars against the Rigans, and condemned the peace with them”, and his stronghold in Jersike is “as if a trap and a great devil to everybody living in round about the Dvina River, both for the baptised and non-baptised alike” in Henry’s account of the destruction of his stronghold in 1209.⁹³³ The most negative is the image of Prince Vjatschko of Kokenois, who is described to have betrayed a peace treaty with the Rigans and to have attacked the servants of the bishop.⁹³⁴ On that Bishop Albert proclaims a crusade against him, and a joined campaign of the crusaders, Livs and Latvians “converted already long ago” (however only a few years ago) goes to a war against the prince, “remembering the murderous deed he had done.”⁹³⁵ The prince, described as “always the enemy of the Christian name and especially the Latvians” becomes for a while the main enemy of the crusaders.⁹³⁶ As the Prince takes later hold of the stronghold in Dorpat, and allies with the apostised Estonians, he and his men are described to “disturb all the lands round about” and the chronicler names him also the “the root of all evil.”⁹³⁷ During this time the imagery of the Russians and Estonians intermingles to a great extent, as the Estonians are said to have “condemned the faith of Christ on the advice of the pagans and Russians”⁹³⁸; and

⁹³¹ /--/ *ne bellis suis novellam turbaret ecclesiam* /--/ (HCL XVI.2).

⁹³² Even though he has said to have promised to always be a faithful servant of Virgin Mary and to keep away from the conspiracies of the pagans (*ecclesie beate Marie semper esse fidelem et paganorum consilia vitare*). See HCL XIII.4. As the prince was married to a daughter of one of the Lithuanian noblemen, Henry claims that “he was as if one of those (*unus ex eis, utpote gener ex eius et eis omni familiaritate coniunctus*)” (*Ibid.*).

⁹³³ Accordingly /--/ *semper inimicicias et bella contra Rigenses excercens et pacis federa cum eis inire contempnens* /--/ and /--/ *in laqueum et quasi in dyabolum mangum omnibus in ipsa parte Dune habitantibus, baptizatis et non baptizatis* /--/ (HCL XIII.4: ref. ref. I Mcc 1: 37). An analogy with the story of the Maccabees is also developed even further when the prince is later described to mourn over the destruction of his town (*O hereditas patrum meorum!*) *o inoptatum excidium gentis mee!* “*Ve michi! Ut quid natus sum videre incendium civitatis mee, videre contritionem populi mei!*”) (HCL XIII.4: ref. I Mcc 15: 33, 2: 7). See also LUB I no. 15, Selart 2002: 82-6.

⁹³⁴ The treaty was confirmed in 1207 (HCL XI.8). The prince made the treaty with a joyful face, yet meditating deceitfulness in his heart (*leta quidem facie, licet dolos meditaretur in corde*) (*Ibid.*); and after the crusaders had left, he could not keep his deceitful tricks (*perfidie sue dolos*) in his heart, but attacked the unarmed servants of the bishop (HCL XI.9). See also HCL IX.10, XI.2.

⁹³⁵ /--/ *recordatus mortificationis illius* /--/ (HCL XIII.1). See HCL VII.5.

⁹³⁶ /--/ *christiani nominis et maxime Latinorum semper inimicus* /--/ (HCL XIII.4). The cause for the crusade being the all evil (*omnium malorum*) the prince with the Lithuanians had done to Riga, Latvians, and Livonians (*Ibid.*).

⁹³⁷ Accordingly /--/ *disturbabat* /--/ *omnem terram in circuitu* /--/ (HCL XXVIII.1); and /--/ *radix malorum omnium* /--/ (*Ibid.*: ref. I Ti 6: 10).

⁹³⁸ /--/ *paganorum ac Ruthenorum consiliis fidem Christi contaminastis* /--/ (HCL XXI.5)

also the Danish king Valdermar II (1202-41) is said to have asked to take a war on Estonia so that the Estonians together with Russians would stop from attacking the Livonian church.⁹³⁹

The Danes

During the period Henry is describing the two main efforts to establish Danish rule in Estonia were the campaigns to Ösel in 1206 and Reval in 1219. The Danish interests in the area were however earlier. Fulco, the earliest missionary in Estonia in the 1170s, was appointed due to Archbishop Eskil of Lund; and in the last decades of the twelfth century the Danes made several military campaigns into Estonia and Finland in 1184, 1191, and 1196. The Danish archbishops were leading figures in northern church politics and mission, and also Anders Sunesen of Lund (1210-28) was, together with king Valdemar II Sejr, aimed to secure the Danish interests in the Baltics.⁹⁴⁰ Anders was appointed a papal legate in 1204, and in 1206 Innocent III allowed him to ordain a bishop in a city that the bishop could Christianise in an expedition against the pagans. Similar privileges were granted to him newly in 1212 and 1213.⁹⁴¹ This is connected to the papal efforts to diminish the influence of the archbishopric of Bremen in the Baltics, as Innocent III made bishopric of Riga exempt from Bremen and Albert was placed directly under papal supervision.⁹⁴²

Henry treats the Danes firstly as the allies of the Rigan mission, and their crusade to Ösel in 1206 as a just war, when Andreas “bestowed the sign of the cross upon a great multitude, which were to take vengeance on the pagans and subject the nations to the Christian faith.”⁹⁴³ The notion of vengeance is connected to Henry’s report about the Estonian pirates ravaging Denmark and Sweden in 1203 (see Nielsen 2001: 103-4, Kala 2001: 9). Also

⁹³⁹ /--/ *Lyvonensem ecclesiam cum Ruthenis impugnare cessarent* /--/; and here the chronicler speaks about “the great war of the Russians and Estonians against the Livonians” (*grandem guerram Ruhtenorum atque Estonum contra Lyvonenses*) (HCL XXII.1).

⁹⁴⁰ Anders is often compared to his predecessor Absalon, and opposed to the great missionary and crusading bishop as a quiet theologian. This approach has been however questioned by Torben K. Nielsen, who has shown the leading role of the Archbishop in the Danish crusade and mission during the first decades of the thirteenth century. Also Henry shows not King Valdemar II, but Archbishop Anders as the main leader for the Danish missionary warfare in the Baltic. (Nielsen 2001, Nielsen 2000) For the Danish mission in Estonia see Johansen 1933, the studies of Peep Peter Rebane (Rebane 1984, Rebane 1989).

⁹⁴¹ *Diplomatarum Danicum* 1/4 no. 109: cf. Nielsen 2001: 100-1. Here Innocent III states that the Archbishop “has decided to punish the injuries against the Christians and go forth against the pagans” (*de Christiani nominis iniuria vindicanda /--/ contra paganos decreveris proficisci*). The privilege was likely granted on the initiative of Anders himself, and is interpreted as a continuation of the crusading and missionary tradition of the previous Danish archbishops (*Ibid.*). Anders was appointed as a papal legate newly in 1212 (*Diplomatarum Danicum* 1/5 no. 13: cf. Nielsen 2001: 111), and in 1213 the pope gave Anders the right to appoint a bishop to the newly converted regions of Sakkala and Ugaunia (*Diplomatarum Danicum* 1/5 no. 38: cf. Nielsen 2001: 112).

⁹⁴² See LUB 1/1 no. 26, also LUB 1/1 no. 36 for a similar grant made a year earlier. Cf. Nielsen 2001: 112.

⁹⁴³ /--/ *in remissionem peccatorum infinitam multitudinem signo crucis signaverat ad faciendam vindictam in nationibus et ad subiugandas gentes fidei christiane* /--/ (HCL X.13: ref. Ps 149: 7). Even though Henry states at

Anders' role in the early mission he depicts in terms of co-operation, not of contradiction, which differs from his general critical attitude towards the rivals of the Rigan mission. Henry does not record any competition between the Danes and Germans, and also Bishop Albert seems to take advantage of their support.⁹⁴⁴ After the campaign to Ösel Anders came to Riga, where he spent the winter 1206-7. There he gave instructions in theology, and the Danish fleet scared off a Russian force from the River Dvina and provided provisions.⁹⁴⁵ Henry's image of the Danish crusaders in Ösel however alters from that of the Rigan ones already from the beginning. After building a stronghold there, Valdemar II "could find no-one, who, in the face of the attacks from the pagans, dared to remain there", burned the fort and returned home.⁹⁴⁶ This contrasts to the image of the Rigan crusaders, who are described holding up a small Christian community surrounded by the hostile pagans.

The next Danish campaign Henry describes as undertaken on Bishop Albert's request, when the latter asked Valdemar II to make a campaign against the heathen Estonians and Russians to help the Rigan church.⁹⁴⁷ The crusade however was more likely undertaken on the initiative of the Danes themselves. Henry's attitude to the Danes however changes when the Danish conquest and mission started in Northern Estonia after 1219, and the issues of ecclesiastical rule grew crucial.⁹⁴⁸ (See Jensen 2001: 76-7). Henry's account is to downplay the Danish mission, and for the latter reason he claims it firstly to be unorthodox, as the Danish priests "baptised some villages and sent their men to the others to which they could not come so quickly, ordering great wooden crosses to be made in all the villages; and they sent the rustics with baptismal water and ordered them to baptise the women and children, they tried thereby to anticipate the Rigan priests and sought in this manner to put the land into

the same passage that the campaign was lead by Valdemar II, the issue of his partake has been debated (see Nielsen 2001: 103).

⁹⁴⁴ Bishop Albert of Riga had visited the Danish King Canute IV and Archbishop Absalon of Lund already before first visit to Livonia in 1199 (see HCL III.2, ACS V.30).

⁹⁴⁵ See HCL X.12-3; and also Nielsen 2001: 106-7.

⁹⁴⁶ */--/ non invenirentur, qui contra insultus paganorum ibidem manere auderent /--/* (HCL X.13). In the same passage Henry points to the Rigan church, which God "in the middle of pagans in such a small number of men still preserves" (*in medio gentium in tanta paucitate virorum suam semper conservat ecclesiam*).

⁹⁴⁷ HCL XXII.1. Bishops Albert of Riga, Dietrich of Estonia, and Valdemar II had met in Schleswig in 1218, yet nothing certain is known from the meeting. However there does not seem to be any necessity to call for help from a military point of view, as the Rigan crusaders and Sword Brothers had conquered Southern Estonia and forced the Estonians to surrender after a battle near Fellin in September 1217. (Kala 2001: 9)

⁹⁴⁸ Bishop Anders Sunesen named two new bishops for Reval and Dorpat. On the behalf of the Rigan church Bishop Albert appointed his bishops to Estonia, his brother Hermann as the bishop of Dorpat in 1220 (see LUB 1/1 no. 51) Hermann he was yet not able to arrive to Estonia before 1224 because Valdemar II blocked his departure from Germany (see HCL XXIII.11). However on his arrival he was confirmed as Bishop of Leal (the later first residence of the bishops of Ösel-Wiek), and while his first residence was in Odenpäh, he could move to Dorpat only at the end of 1224. (Kala 2001: 10-13)

the hands of the Danish king.”⁹⁴⁹ The Rigan claims on the Northern-Estonia to rely also on the memory of the earlier crusading and mission, a noticeable element of which are the perils and sufferings, as the lands are baptised “by the zeal of the crusaders and labour of the Rigans” and “by the blood of many and the many misfortunes of wars.”⁹⁵⁰ As shown above, the many misfortunes Henry has excluded from the Danish crusaders already in his account on their crusade to Ösel.

Valdemar II however blockaded the harbour of Lübeck in the autumn of 1219, despite the costs the blockade caused (as the town was under Danish rule since 1203), it also prevented crusaders to ship to Riga and left the city without the reinforcements for the winter of 1209-20. (Jensen 2001: 76-9) Lacking papal and royal support, Bishop Albert had to accept Danish supremacy in Livonia and Estonia in 1221.

Henry’s account of the events focuses on “deceitful plans” of Valdemar II, as his messengers are said to disturb the “not at all insignificant matter of the Rigan church in the Roman curia and to advance his own not very reasonable matter.”⁹⁵¹ The Danes are now compared to the Russians, when Bishop Albert seeks council and help both against the Danes, Russians, and pagans.⁹⁵²

The fortunes of the war however changed for the Danes, as the Estonians started to revolt in 1222 and in May 1223 Valdemar II was taken captive by Count Henry of Schwerin, and was released only in 1225. These events also marked the beginning of a period of decrease for the Danish military power.⁹⁵³ The Danes were forced to give Northern Estonia under papal authority 1227, and here Henry describes the treaty established between the Danes and William of Modena according to the models he has used before for the treaties made with the local heathens, as the Danes had to “give up wars” and be “obedient”; and

⁹⁴⁹ HCL XXIV.2. Henry claims that the Danish called the Estonian peasants to baptise themselves also later, when he describes the next mission of the Rigan priests to Northern Estonia, and there the Danes are also said to have built churches to many villages which Henry claims to be “already baptised by us” (HCL XXIV.5).

⁹⁵⁰ Accordingly */--/ studio peregrionrum et Rigensium labore /--/* and */--/ sanguine multorum et bellorum incommodis multis /--/* (HCL XXIV.2). Later the text, however once refers to the “misfortunes and wars” of the Danes, as the latter are said to describe them to the papal legate Guillelmus of Modena (HCL XXIX.3).

⁹⁵¹ HCL XXIV.4. The image of Archbishop Anders yet differs somewhat, as Henry tells of him coming to ask for help from bishop Albert; and in 1221 he is told to have promised to support Albert and Sword Brothers with Danish king (HCL XXV.1). Torben K. Nielsen has explained with Anders’ discomfort with the politics of Valdemar and his own willingness for co-operation (Nielsen 2001: 115).

⁹⁵² HCL XXIV.4. Later they are mentioned together also with the Oesilians, as William of Modena sent messengers both to “the Danes and the Oesilians that they would stop the wars and accept peace from him and pay obedience to him” (HCL XXIX.4).

⁹⁵³ See Jensen 2001: 78-81. During this time many of his vassals started to revolt, and the King also lost his rule over the city of Lübeck, as the city was subjected to the Emperor Frederick II Barbarossa (1212-50). Valdemar tried to take over Lübeck once more, but was defeated at the battle of Bornhöved in 1227.

likewise the notion that they “dared not to kick against the goal” is to signify the peace made with them.⁹⁵⁴

The Swedes

Henry’s image of the Swedes is not so outstanding as that of the Danes, yet it is also to downplay their valour as crusaders. Firstly Henry describes the crusade aimed against the Kurs in 1197, in which the Germans, Gotlanders, and Swedes are said to have taken part in. Due to a storm the crusaders land on the coast of Estonia, and, however while “the Estonians were discussing over the accepting the faith”⁹⁵⁵ a Swedish “after collecting rather tribute from them, raised the sails and sailed away, much to the disturbance of the Germans.”⁹⁵⁶

The chronicle gives another account of the crusade the Swedes made to Leal in Western Estonia in 1219, that was lead by King Johan Sverkersson (1216-22) and accompanied by the bishop of Linköping. Similarly to Henry’s accounts of the Danish missions, he emphasises also here that the region was already earlier conquered and “initiated in the rudiments of faith” (i.e. the people were not yet baptised) by the Rigans.⁹⁵⁷

Also the image of Gotlanders and especially that of the inhabitants of Visby contribute to the general image of the Swedes as not too eager in converting the heathens. They are claimed to have too friendly relationships with the heathen pirates, as the Rigan bishops and crusaders constantly blame them on letting the Estonian and Kur pirates to sail through their harbour, “wishing rather to rejoice over the security, which the peace granted to them.”⁹⁵⁸

At the end of the chronicle, crusading valour is reserved entirely to the Germans. When William of Modena preached in Gothland the crusade against the heathen Oesilians who had attacked the Christians in Sweden, “the Germans obey, and take the cross,

⁹⁵⁴ *Dani vero non audentes contra stimulum calcitrare promiserunt se curie Romane fideliter obedire* /--/ (ref. Act 9: 5; 26: 14). See HCL XXIX.4 and HCL XXIX.6. Northern Estonia was now given to the Sword Brothers by the pope as an ecclesiastical fief. The rivalries over Estonian lands between the bishops, the Sword Brothers, and the Danish King continued throughout the first half of the thirteenth century. With the treaty of Stensby Northern Estonia was returned to the Danes in 1238, by the intervention of the papal legate William of Modena (Kala 2001: 10, see also Jensen 2001: 80-1).

⁹⁵⁵ /--/ *de fide recipienda tractarent* /--/ (HCL I.13). The crusade was however left without a lasting impact, as the Oesilians attacked the Swedish fortress in 1220, and forced them to withdraw. During the attack also the bishop was killed. (HCL XXIV.3) For the impact of Swedish mission in Estonia see Johansen 1951.

⁹⁵⁶ HCL I.13. The duke mentioned here was likely *jarl* Birger Brosa (Lindkvist 2001: 121).

⁹⁵⁷ HCL XXIV.3. The mission of the Sweeds is however described in accordance with the Apostolic model, as they “went round about the province, teaching and baptising them and building churches” (*Ibid.*: ref. Mt 4: 23; 9: 35).

⁹⁵⁸ /--/ *magis pacis securitate cum eis gaudere volentibus* /--/ (HCL VII.2). Gotland was an important outpost, which the crusaders and pilgrims used as a base on their way to and from the Eastern Baltic. Here the fleets of the crusaders could gather, equip and pass the winter. The heydays of the town came during the crusades against the Eastern Baltics, Finns, Carelians, Estonians, Livonians, Letts, Curonians and Prussians, and the city relied

Gothlanders give a refusal, Danes do not hear the word of God.” Henry concludes, “only the German merchants want to deserve the heavenly things.”⁹⁵⁹

The Enemies and Servants of Virgin Mary

The claim that Virgin Mary is the patroness of their mission becomes here their main legitimising tool used by Henry (Arbusow 1951: 61-5), and Henry starts to emphasise Virgin Mary as the patroness of the Rigan mission especially after the year 1219, when the Danish mission started in Northern Estonia, and during the 1220s, when also the the Swedish and Russian interests were present in Estonia.

While also the Danish King Valdemar II is said to have come to a crusade to Estonia in 1219 “both for the honor of the Blessed Virgin and for the remission of his sins”⁹⁶⁰; in the following struggles the Blessed Virgin becomes solely the defender of the Rigans, who have conquered and converted the land under “the banner of the Blessed Virgin.”⁹⁶¹ As in 1221 not only Estonia but also Livonia were delivered into the power of the Danish King, Henry goes to state the unanimity of the Rigans, who, “very much disturbed and all alike cried out with one voice”, and claim that they “have fought the battles of the lord in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and His beloved mother, and not in the honour of the Danish king, and that they would rather leave the land than to serve the king mentioned above.” The Rigans mentioned here include now also the neophytes, as “the prelates of the convents, the men of the church, the citizens, the merchants, the Livonians and Letts, all protested, saying that hitherto they had fought the Lord’s battle against the pagans for the honor of our Lord Jesus Christ and His beloved mother, not for the honor of the king of Denmark, and that they would rather forsake the land itself than obey the king.”⁹⁶²

largely on war-economy. Yet the islanders could profit from both trade with the crusaders and peoples Henry calls the heathens and pirates. (Weinberg 2004: 293-6)

⁹⁵⁹ *Obediunt Theuthonici, crucem recipiunt; Gothi renuunt; Dani verbum Dei non audiunt. /--/ soli mercatores Theuthonici celestia sibi desiderant mercari /--/* (HCL XXX.1).

⁹⁶⁰ */--/ tam ad beate Virginis honorem quam in peccatorum suorum remissionem /--/* (HCL XXII.1).

⁹⁶¹ Volquin, the master of the Sword Brothers declared in Reval in 1220 that he knew nothing of “the gift of Estonia to the king of Denmark” and recounted how “Estonia had been subjected to the Christian faith by the Rigans under the banner of the Blessed Virgin” (*vexillo beate Virginis a Rigensibus ad fidem christianam subiugatam*), save only for the province of Reval and the Ösel Island (HCL XXIII.10). The Rigan priests repeat the claim, saying to the Danish priests, “this land was in the power of the Rigans (*in Rigensium potestate*)” by “the zeal of the pilgrims and the labor of the Rigans through the Blessed Virgins banner (*per vexillum beate Virginis*)” (HCL XXIV.2). Later the Sword Brothers, on their takeover of the fortifications in Virumaa and expulsion of the Danes, claim that “this land had first been made subject to the Christian faith by the Livonians with the banner of the Blessed Virgin (*terram ipsam primitus a Lyvonensibus vexillo beate Virginis ad fidem christianam subiugantes*)” (HCL XXIX.6).

⁹⁶² */--/ ad honorem domini nostri Iesu Christi sueque dilecte genetricis “prelia Domini preliari” contra paganos /--/* (HCL XXV.1: ref. I Sm 25: 28). Similarly on their meeting with the Danish King in 1222, Bishop Albert, the master of the Sword Brothers, and other messengers from Livonia “all unanimously dissented, as

During that time the accounts of warfare and mission taking place in Estonia emphasise the role of Virgin Mary, as many of the victories of the crusaders and the Sword Brothers in Estonia are said to have taken place on the feast the Blessed Virgin's Assumption on August 15, and likewise Henry states that the conquered lands are given over not only to the Rigan church but to the Blessed Virgin alike.⁹⁶³ The subjugation of Valjala on the Ösel Island in 1227 is the last great victory given by the Blessed Virgin, when "the glory of God, of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Blessed Virgin Mary gives such joy to His Rigan servants on Ösel."⁹⁶⁴

The culmination of the rhetoric is however given already earlier, in Henry's *Lobpreis* to Virgin Mary, where he praises Her as patroness of Livonian lands and people, granter of victories in war and revenger on the enemies of Her servants.⁹⁶⁵ Here the many rivals of the Rigan mission, heathen, Catholic, and Orthodox alike are defined as "the many kings who were fighting against Livonia whom the Virgin has afflicted."⁹⁶⁶ Those include Vladimir of Pskov, the princes of Novgorod, Vsevolod of Gerzika, Vetseke of Kokenhusen, the Swedes, King of the Danes, the elders of the Letts, Livonians, and Estonians; and here all their defeats, and other misfortunes are interpreted as happening according to the will of Virgin Mary in her wish to protect the Rigan church. The criteria of enmity are here the attacks

they had been instructed by all the people living in Livonia" and besought the king "to desist from troubling Livonia and to allow the land of the Blessed Virgin to remain free" (*contradixerunt omnes unanimiter, prout edocti fuerant a cunctis habitantibus in Lyvoniam, et supplicabant ei, ut a tali inequatione Lyvonie cessaret et terram beate Virginis liberam relinqueret*) (HCL XXVI.2: ref. Id 1: 11).

⁹⁶³ On that day the crusaders invade the Harju county in Northern Estonia (HCL XX.2), fell the siege on Fellin (HCL XXVII.2), and the crusaders started a siege on Tartu (HCL XXVIII.5). Similarly in the beginning of the siege "each man hurried to go up first so that he might exalt the glory and praise of Jesus Christ and His Mother Mary" (HCL XXVIII.6). Here the five elders from the five provinces of Vironia are said to have come to Riga where they accepted baptism and "gave themselves and all of Vironia to Blessed Virgin and the Livonian church" (*tradiderunt se totamque Vyroniam beate Marie et Lyvonensi ecclesie*) (HCL XXIII.7).

⁹⁶⁴ HCL XXX.6.

⁹⁶⁵ "Thus, even thus, the Star of the Sea always guards Livonia. Thus, even thus, the Lady of the world and the Empress of all lands always protects Her special land." (HCL XXV.2: ref. missal, breviary). The Mother of God "so gentle to Her people who serve Her faithfully in Livonia, always defended them from all their enemies and how harsh she is with those who invade Her land or who try to hinder the faith and honor of Her Son in that land! /--/ how often She has given Her people victory over the enemy! Up to this time, indeed, She has always defended Her banner in Livonia, both preceding it and following it, and She has made triumph over the enemy." Here the enemies are called to "fear this gentle Mother of Mercy. Adore and give satisfaction to Her, Who takes such a cruel revenge upon Her enemies. Do not wish henceforth to attack Her land, so that to you She may be a mother, Who has hitherto been an enemy to Her enemies, She Who has always more afflicted those who afflict Her people in Livonia." (HCL XXV.2)

⁹⁶⁶ /--/ *reges multos* "contra Lyvoniam pugnantes exacerbavit /--/" (HCL XXV.2: ref. I Mcc 3: 7). See also "“what kings of pagans or of Danes or of other nations, have fought against Livonia and have not perished?”; “how many princes and elders of treacherous pagans She has wiped off the earth” (*Ibid.*).

upon Livonia, and all enemies signed as treacherous (*perfides*) are opposed to the faithful (*fideles*) Rigans.⁹⁶⁷

Yet besides the outer enemies also not all the Rigan Christians are included among the faithful servants of the Blessed Virgin, as Henry addresses his speech also to the secular rulers, calling them “not to unduly oppress the poor (*pauperes*)” and opposes them to neophytes as the servants of the blessed Virgin.⁹⁶⁸ Similarly also their death and misfortunes are shown as happening according to Her will, and the claim “She Who has always more afflicted those who afflict Her people” applies both to the outer and inner enemies.⁹⁶⁹ Henry emphasises here the need for a light yoke and burden, a notion that illustrates his accounts on the conflicts between the thithes and tribute throughout the text and is used to criticise the interests of secular rulers.⁹⁷⁰ Therefore I would argue that the passages do not so much give witness for Henry’s symphathy for the burdened local peoples, but reflect the bishopric interests against those of the secular ones. While Leonid Arbusow has argued that Virgin Mary and her servants alike have clear national, i.e. German connotations in the text (Arbusow 1951: 5), then Paul Johansen, on the other hand, sees the Blessed Virgin as a mediator between the Germans and neophytes (Johansen 1953). The common ground yet could be not on the national level, but determined by the interests of the church and see. As Virgin Mary is closely connected to the issues of dominance over land and people, Henry presents a complex and interesting image where her feminine and maternal characteristics (gentleness, compassion, tenderness, love) are closely bound authority, judgement, dependence, and rule.

⁹⁶⁷ As Henry concludes his list, “all those who remained in their treachery (*perfidia sua*), did they not all perish.” (HCL XXV.2), and calls the kings to “Behold how the Mother of God, so gentle to Her people who serve her faithfully (*fideliter*) in Livonia, always defended them from all their enemies and how harsh She is with those who invade Her land or who try to hinder the faith and honor of Her son in that land!”

⁹⁶⁸ Naming “the poor Livonians and Letts, or any other converts, the servants of the Blessed Virgin, who have hitherto borne the name of Christ Her son to the other peoples and who still bear it with us.” (HCL XXV.2)

⁹⁶⁹ Alike the secular rulers are called to “give deep, fearful consideration and recall to your mind’s eyes the cruel death of some who were harsh to their subjects” (*Ibid.*).

⁹⁷⁰ As “the Blessed Virgin does not, indeed, delight in great tribute which converts are accustomed to give /--/ nor does She wish to impose upon them a heavy burden, but one that is sweet and easily borne” (HCL XXV.2: ref. Mt 23: 4), and Henry refers to the Gospel, as “Her Son says, “My yoke is sweet and My burden light”” (*Ibid.* Mt 11: 30). See also similar claims from Arnold in his moral piece given in ACS III.10 (*dum eos ambitiose vivere cogis, qui iugum Christi suave et onus eius leve ferre detrectantes, iugum tuum gravanter suscipiunt, commensationibus et ebrietatibus servientes, in superbia vite ambulantes*). On the conflict of the magistrate office between the lay and clerical interests see HCL X.15, XI.4. For the notion of the sweet and light yoke (*iugum suave et leve*) as a quote from Mt 23: 4 see HCL X.1, XXV.2, XXIX.3, and as a quote from Mt 11: 30 HCL XXV.2, XXIX.3. The idea occurs especially often in Henry’s account of William of Modena’s sermons (HCL XXIX.3, 5), where also the need for an unanimity of both the neophytes and Germans new their new congregations is undrelined.

LOCI

Most of the geographical descriptions given in Henry's chronicle are closely bound to both to the course of the mission and to the imagery of the missionary church. The mission relied on crusading warfare, and consisted of a constant process of conquests, victories, defeats and reconquests. The descriptions of the campaigns made firstly against the Livs, Latvians, Semigalls, and later Estonians form a very large part of the narrative in general. Being very stereotypical in the phrases, language and quotations used, they give the text a constant rhythm of entering into the landscape of the pagans and retreating from it. This is characterised well in the case of the master of the Sword Brothers, Volquin who "fought with joy the battles of the Lord, and marched in and out against the neighbouring heathens."⁹⁷¹

The focus of the text is in the Riga, which is above all depicted as a missionary centre, and called by Henry the City of God (*civitas Dei*). The image of the latter as a new church (*novella ecclesia*) relies heavily on the small number of the Christians.⁹⁷² Likewise important parts of its identity are the goal to enlarge the faith among the pagans (*fidem in gentibus dilatare*), and the image of a church situated among the pagans. This refers both to the notion of a suffering church and the help of God, who "among the pagans still holds his church through such a small number of men."⁹⁷³ Likewise it is the dominant feature of crusading rhetoric, as the campaigns are aimed to help the church situated "among the neighbouring pagans and Russians, who all have made a plan to destroy her."⁹⁷⁴ Hence the goal of the crusaders is above all to "protect the young church from the assaults of the pagans."⁹⁷⁵ Similarly it serves to legitimise the order of the Sword Brothers, founded in fear that "the multitude of the pagans cannot be resisted", and to "preserve the church among the

⁹⁷¹ /--/ *preliabatur prelia Domini cum leticia et egrediebatur et regrediebatur ad gentes in circuitu* /--/ (HCL XIII.2)

⁹⁷² For the notion of *civitas Dei* see HCL IX.4; and for the notion of *novella ecclesia* HCL X.8, XVI.2, XIX.7, XXII.1, XXIV.4. For the church of Livonia depicted as "yet small" (*adhuc parva*) see HCL XII.5, for the Estonian church as "yet small and weak" (*parvula adhuc infirma*) HCL XXVIII.4. For the importance of the urban centers (Riga and Lübeck) in organising the crusades see Jensen 2001.

⁹⁷³ *in medio gencium in tanta paucitate virorum suam semper conservat ecclesiam* (HCL X.13).

⁹⁷⁴ /--/ *in medio plurimarm nationum ac Ruthenorum adiacentium, qui omnes "consilium fecerunt in unum", ut eam destruerunt* /--/ (HCL XIV.7: ref. Ps 71: 10; Act 9: 23). For similar imagery see also HCL VI.4, VII.2, VIII.1, X.13, XII.6, XIV.4, XIV.7, XVII.1, XIX.7, XXII.1. Due to the perfidy of the Livs the church is depicted as threatened both from inside and outside, like the crusaders in Holm are to "guard it from the friends inside and from the enemies outside (*de amicis infra quam extra de imicis*)", likewise the Rigans are at the same time having "fear inside for the city" (*timores intus propter civitatem*) and "fear outside (*timores extra*) for those who were under the siege" (HCL X.12). See also HCL XIII.3, XVII.1.

⁹⁷⁵ /--/ *novellam ecclesiam a paganorum tuerentur insultibus* /--/ (HCL XIX.7). See also HCL XXII.1. (*defenderunt ecclesiam novellam ab impetu paganorum*).

pagans.”⁹⁷⁶ To both of them is also applied the role to “stand as the wall in front of the house of God”, and ⁹⁷⁷ this becomes literal indeed in the case of the crusaders, who are to fulfil their crusading vow by building the city walls of Riga.⁹⁷⁸ As pointed out by Carsten Selch Jensen, Riga was above all a frontier settlement that dependent on the provisions brought by sea, and likewise its defence relied on the crusaders who normally came there for one year. Especially during the early years the crusaders were the only real military force, as later the townspeople (*cives*) might have taken part in the campaigns next to the Sword Brothers and crusaders (Jensen 2001: 85-7).

Being a few can yet also mean to be elected, as here the author compares the campaigns of the Rigans with the wars of Israel, especially those of the Maccabees. Likewise their small number draws an analogy between the Rigans, Apostles and first congregations, as stated most eminently by Christ in his speech to the Apostles, “The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few.”⁹⁷⁹ The image of the Livonian church is to remain that of a *novella ecclesia*, and *novella plantatio fidei Catholicae* among the pagans still in the late decades of the thirteenth century.⁹⁸⁰

Missionary Landscape

Like in the chronicles discussed above, the sea is an important part of a missionary and crusading landscape in Henry’s text. The crusaders came to Riga via Lübeck and Visby on Gotland. Every year around Easter the ships arrived with crusaders and provisions, and other ships transported the crusaders back after they had spent one year in Livonia. (Jensen 2001: 76-9) As the chronicle is also structured after Easter time, then most of the books start with either the crusaders coming or leaving by sea, accompanied often by bishop Albert of Riga. Henry also defines Livonia and Estonia as “the lands beyond the sea” (*terrae*

⁹⁷⁶ Accordingly *multitudini paganorum non posse resistere* and *ad multiplicandum numerum fidelium et ad conservandam in gentibus ecclesiam fratres quosdam milicie* (HCL VI.4). The number of knights among Sword Brothers was however relatively few, and they could not replace the crusader army from the west. (Benninghoven 1965: 45-6; cf. Jensen 2001: 86)

⁹⁷⁷ /--/ *murum se pro domo Domini ponere* /--/ (HCL XI.5, 9: ref. Ez 13: 5). See also HCL XIV.4; for the Sword Brothers see HCL XI.3 (*se murum pro domo Domini die ac nocte ponerent*).

⁹⁷⁸ HCL XIII.3. Henry also describes the building of the city walls in HCL XI.1 and XII.1.

⁹⁷⁹ *messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci* (Mt 9: 37).

⁹⁸⁰ However it tends to grow more eminent during the conflicts between not only local peoples and new rulers, but also between the latter (Kala 2001: 15-19). Similar imagery can yet to be found also in the vivid account given by Robert Bartlett around eight hundred years later, according to whom the city in the 1230s “lay only a few days’ ride from pagans who would happily sacrifice Christians to their God’s” (Bartlett 1993: 195-6; see also the comments by Carsten Selch Jensen in Jensen 2001: 85-6).

transmarinae), and likewise he describes bishop Albert's crusading sermons as a call "to take the sign of the cross to go beyond the sea."⁹⁸¹

Going to the sea also signifies giving oneself to perils. This applies especially to bishop Albert who year after year journeyed back to Germany to recruit another levy of crusaders and "who was not afraid to suffer nor good neither evil for God, gave himself to the stormy sea."⁹⁸² Likewise the clerics and crusaders are described as "giving themselves to the perils of the sea" by travelling into Livonia.⁹⁸³ The sea is also dangerous not only because of the storms, but also due to the pirates, and here Henry gives many vivid pictures.⁹⁸⁴

The sea signifies also a place where becomes know the will of the Lord, "who commands the winds and the sea."⁹⁸⁵ Therefore seagoing is often depicted as governed from High, as at the sea "the Lord keeps his people from the dangers", rescuing the crusaders both from the stormy and the calm sea, as well as from the Estonian pirates.⁹⁸⁶ The sea symbolises here "the various tribulations Almighty God does not cease to send to his elect ones, testing them like gold in fire, nevertheless He does not desert them entirely, but rather, rescuing them from all evils, creating even greater fear among their enemies."⁹⁸⁷ Henry also refers to the sea as symbol of the church, comparing the church of Livonia both to the arc of Noah and the boat of St. Peter.⁹⁸⁸

The image of the church beyond the sea is even more closely connected to Virgin Mary, the patroness of the Livonian mission, as Henry calls Her also "The Star of the Sea" (*maris stella*) after the church anthem "The Hail Star of the Ocean" (*Ave Maris Stella*). Like in wars, also at sea the Livonians are to be saved by the Blessed Virgin, "like She has saved

⁹⁸¹ /--/ *crucis signum sibi affigeat, ut mare transeat* /--/ (HCL XIV.4). Livonia is named *terra transmarinae* in HCL XV.4, XXV.2.

⁹⁸² /--/ *pro prospera et adversa pro Deo pati non formidans fluctuanti pelago se committit* /--/ (HCL VII.1). Later Henry describes how him "neither the sun burns nor the moon disturbs by night, so he did not cease to serve God neither on sea nor on land (*terra marique*)" (HCL X.11: ref. Ps 120: 6). See also HCL VIII.1.

⁹⁸³ /--/ *nobiles quam plures, milites et clerici cum omni populo, qui se omnes periculis maris commitentes in Lyvoniam devenerunt* /--/ (HCL XIII.1).

⁹⁸⁴ When the Kur pirates take a siege on Riga, then "the sea was as if covered with a dark cloud (*mare quasi nube tenebrosa perfusum*) (HCL XIV.5); and likewise the Oesilian pirates appear to be so many that "the whole sea appeared dark (*tenebrosus apparuit*) in front of us" (HCL XIX.5).

⁹⁸⁵ *qui imperat ventis et mari* (HCL IX.6: ref. Lc 8: 25).

⁹⁸⁶ See HCL VII.2, VIII.3, XI.6. When there was a famine in Riga, then the Lord sent priest Daniel to Riga by the sea with two ships filled with food (HCL X.9). Yet He can also prevent the crusaders from leaving Livonia by adverse winds, as when later their help is needed to protect Riga from the assault of the Russians HCL XI.8.

⁹⁸⁷ /--/ *omnipotens Deos electos suos in variis tribulationibus positos quasi aurum in igne probare non desinat, nunquam tamen omnino deserit, immo ex omnibus malis eos eripiens maiorem hostibus eorum timorem ingerit.* (HCL VIII.4)

⁹⁸⁸ The suffering Livonian church is compared to "the arc of Noah, which is rised by the waves, but yet not wrecks" (ref.: Gen 7: 17) and "the boat of St. Peter, which is shaken by the waves, but does not go down" (ref.: Mt 14: 22-33) (HCL XIV.8).

all the Livonians from all the troubles until to this day.”⁹⁸⁹ The legitimising role of Virgin Mary becoming more important in the 1220s, here Henry presents a storm that caught the messenger of the Danish king as revenge, for he “has offended the Mother Mary, who is called the Star of the Sea.”⁹⁹⁰

In addition to the sea, also the crossing of the Emajõgi River (*Mater Aquarum*) to Estonia becomes an element of Henry’s image of the missionary work. However, this is mentioned only in the descriptions of the missions he had taken part in himself.⁹⁹¹

Christianising and Heathenising the Landscape

The chronicle gives a few accounts on how the heathen idols were destroyed by missionaries, as in Estonia the priests “cut down the images the images of their gods and their faces, and they [the Estonians] wondered that no blooded flooded, and believed more the preaching of their priests.”⁹⁹²

Yet the Christianisation the land tends to take place on a more abstract and symbolic level. After the conquest of their fortification the Oesilians are twice demanded to “throw out Tharapita, the god of the Oesilians.”⁹⁹³ The latter is also to mark the completion of the conversion, as “casting out Tharaphita” signifies also the “submersion of the Pharaoh.”⁹⁹⁴ Also during the conquest and conversion of Estonia in general, the chronicle does not describe baptism of the people, save only the rulers. On the other hand an important part of the representation are how the fortifications and people were “tinged” (*tingere*) or “besprinkled” (*aspergere*) with baptismal water. A similar emphasis is often given to raising the flag of Virgin Mary (*vexillum beate Marie*) to the conquered strongholds.⁹⁹⁵

⁹⁸⁹ *Et “liberavit nos in illa die” beata Virgo, sicut et omnes Lyvones hactenus “liberavit ab omnibus angustis” suis usque in hodiernum diem.* (HCL XIX.5: ref. Ex 14: 30 ja 1 Sm 26: 24). The first of the verses is from the description of the crossing of the Red Sea, where the people of Israel were saved by God from the hands of the Egyptians. The passage describes the bishops on their way to the Lateran council, held in Rome in 1215. Attacked by pirates in Ösel, bishop Philip of Ratzeburg prayed to Virgin Mary, as Henry quotes from the anthem, “Show Thyself a mother” (*Monstra te esse matrem, monstra te esse matrem.*) The Blessed Virgin “showed indeed to be a mother” (*revera monstravit esse matrem*), as one of the ships of the pirates sank.

⁹⁹⁰ */--/ quod Mariam matrem eius offendat, que maris dicitur stella /--/* (HCL XXV.2: ref. anthem *Ave Maris Stella*).

⁹⁹¹ See HCL XXIV.1, XXIV.5.

⁹⁹² */--/ succidens “imagines et similitudines” deorum suorum ibi factas, et mirabantur illi, quod sanguis non efflueret, et magis sacerdotum sermonibus credebant /--/* (HCL XXIV.5: ref. Gen 1: 26).

⁹⁹³ */--/ ut Tharapitham, qui deus fuit Osilianorum, eiciant /--/* (HCL XXX.5).

⁹⁹⁴ */--/ Tharaphita eiecto, Pharaone submerso /--/* (HCL XXX.6: ref. Ex 15: 4).

⁹⁹⁵ For besprinkling the strongholds see HCL XI.6, XIV.11, XXX.5; and for the flag or banner of the Blessed Virgin see HCL XI.6, XIII.3, XVI.4, XXIII.8. A similar watering motif is given when during the conversion of Ösel the notion of the submersion of the Pharaoh is to refer to the Israelis crossing the Red Sea and to symbolise the submersion of the devil in the waters of baptism, as here Henry draws on the Easter Liturgy (Arbusow 1950: 125).

The newly erected churches and monasteries are likewise to signify the Christian landscape, and the latter representation is dominant already in Henry's account of bishop Meynard who managed to build a church and two castles in Livonia.⁹⁹⁶ The construction of new strongholds can yet be accompanied by the demolishment of the former ones. Besides them providing refuge for the rebels and enemies, the former inhabitants can also have a symbolic influence on the space, as illustrated well in the case of the deserted Russian stronghold in Kokenhusen, which the crusaders find "due to the filthiness of the former inhabitants full of worms and snakes."⁹⁹⁷ As regards the replacement of holy sites on the landscape, there is also some archaeological evidence on new sacred places being built on the old ones.⁹⁹⁸

Also the many martyrdoms described in detail contribute to Christianising of the landscape.⁹⁹⁹ Similar function is ascribed to the founding of Christian cemeteries, and here Henry both emphasises the difficulties of rooting the new habit among the Livs, who were used to burn their dead, and describes carefully the Christian funerals of the missionaries, carried out by the Liv neophytes.¹⁰⁰⁰ The unfaithful Livs, on the other hand, want either to burn, murder or sink bishop Bertold on the consecration of the Christian cemetery in Holm.¹⁰⁰¹

Also the relapses into paganism are described as taking place through expelling the Christian signs from the landscape, posing hence an interesting counterpart. Here the Estonians not only took back the wives from whom had they had been divorced, but also "dogged out the corpses of their dead, who had been buried in cemeteries, from the graves, and cremated them according to their original pagan custom; and they washed themselves, their houses, and their forts with water, and cleaned them with brooms, trying thus to erase

⁹⁹⁶ Bishop Meinhard is said to have build a church (HCL I.3) and a stone castle (HCL I.5-6) in Übsküll, as well as a stone castle in Holm (HCL I.7-9). The castle in Übsküll is later found by the crusaders, still "strong, but empty" (HCL IX.11). For the churches built during the later period see HCL X.14, X.15, XI.2, XI.7, XIII.3; and for the Cistercian monastery in Dünamunde HCL VI.3, IX.7.

⁹⁹⁷ HCL XIII.1. Here bishop Albert orders to clean it, and to build a new strong castle on its place. For the demolition of the stronghold of the Selians, a refuge for the Lithuanians (HCL XI.6).

⁹⁹⁸ Whereas the information of parish churches located nearby to non- or semi-Christian holy sites remains in some cases debatable (dating back to the oral tradition of nineteenth and twentieth centuries), there is archaeological evidence of the parish churches built on Late Iron Age cemeteries (Valk 2004: 302).

⁹⁹⁹ The most eminent martyr being bishop Berthold, yet also the martyred Livonian neophytes, who were buried in Übsküll next to the bishops Meinhard and Bernhard (HCL X.6).

¹⁰⁰⁰ Bishop Meinhard was buried by the Livonians in "following all the customs" (*celebratis secundum morem exequiis*) (HCL II.1); and monk Siegfried was buried according the custom of the believers (*fidelium more*) (HCL VII.6). The chronicle also mentions the "corps and bones" of priest John, buried in the church in Riga (HCL X.7).

¹⁰⁰¹ HCL II.2. To the Estonians the chronicle attribute "many villanies exercised around the churches and the graves of the dead Christians by their sacrificial offerings" (*nequicias multas circa ecclesias et sepulchra mortuorum christianorum immolatiis suis exercuerunt*) (HCL XIV.10).

the sacrament of baptism from in their territory.”¹⁰⁰² This custom of washing off the baptismal water, a rite pictured as opposite to baptism, is attributed already to the Livs, when they claim “to remove the baptism, which they had taken in water, by washing themselves in the Dvina River, sending it back to Germany.”¹⁰⁰³ In all cases it is closely bound to the territories, treated as a wish to expel Christianity from their borders and send it back to Germany.¹⁰⁰⁴

The Imagery of Growth and Fertility

The dominant images that represent the conversion and conquest are linked to the allegorical notions of growth and fertility of the new church. While they are to signify the changes taking place in space and landscape, the new imagery also starts to reposition the emphasis from the *locus* of the Others to ours.

Already the alliterative association of the place-name Riga with the verbs *rigare* (“to moisten”) and *irrigare* (“to water”) enables Henry to stress that Riga’s main aim is to baptize the heathens, i.e. to water and moisten them with baptismal water.¹⁰⁰⁵ These connotations frame the whole text, from the opening verse of the chronicle, which claims Riga “to water and to give the holiest heavenly gifts to the land”, to the last chapter, where the author rejoices over the fulfilment of their goal, as after the conversion of Ösel the Rigans have

¹⁰⁰² /--/ *corpora mortuorum suorum, in cemeteriis sepulta, de sepulchris efforderunt et more paganorum pristino cremaverunt et se et domos suas et castra lavantes aquis, et scopis purgantes, taliter baptismi sacramenta de finibus suis omnino delere conabantur* /--/ (HCL XXVI.8).

¹⁰⁰³ /--/ *baptismum, quem in aqua susceperant, in Duna se lavando remove putant, remittendo in Theuthonicam* /--/ (HCL I.9). A similar description is given in HCL II.8, and the events are mentioned once more in HCL IX.8. Yet there is no source material to determine whether for the Livonians or Estonians the watering rites were seen as complementary to Christian ones, or as an opposite to it (Valk 1997: 29-35). See also Lind et al. 2004: 163-4.

¹⁰⁰⁴ /--/ *de finibus suis extrimere* /--/ Likewise the Livonians send over to the leaving merchants an head-like image they believe to be a “god of the Saxons” (*Saxorum deus*) together with the Christian faith (*cum fide christianorum post recedentes Gothlandiam per mare transmittunt*) (HCL II.8).

¹⁰⁰⁵ When Riga was established in 1201 as the new centre for mission in Livonia, the Livonians are said to have called the place Riga, “either because of the lake Riga or because it is watered, because it has both the lower and the higher watering (*vel a Riga lacu vel quasi irriguam, cum habeat inferius irriguum ac irriguum superius*). It has the lower watering because it is watery due to the springs of water and pasture lands, or because the full redemption of sins to the sinners and hence the higher watering, which is the heavenly kingdom, is given there, or because Riga is moistened with the new faith, and because of that the neighbouring people are watered from the holy baptismal font. (*Irriguum inferius, eo quod sit aquis et pascuis irrigua vel eo quod ministratur in ea peccatoribus plenaria peccaminum remissio et per eam irriguum superius, quod est regnum celorum, per consequens ministratur; vel Riga nova fide rigata et quia per eam gentes in circuitu sacro baptismatis fonte rigantur.*)” (HCL IV.5: ref. I Cor 3: 6; Ios 15: 19) Similar alliterative world-play is used by Arnold of Lübeck (*/- in loco qui Riga dicitur /- abundas pascuis, irrigua fluvis /- /*) (ACS V.30), and while Kaspar Kolk has claimed that the reason for this is a common source used by both authors (possible the charter for the transmission of the centre from Üksküll to Riga, which is now lost), arguing that while Henry developed the alliterative and metaphorical connotations further, Arnold has not used similar images elsewhere in his text (Kolk 2004: 43-4), I would point here to his description of Damascus: *Habet enim irrigum intra et extra pro voluntate hominum quasi ad modum paradisi terreni* /--/ (ACS VII.8). Previously Leonid Arbusow has argued that alliterative connotations are characteristic to Henry only (Arbusow 1926-7: 247).

watered all the neighbouring heathens.¹⁰⁰⁶ Throughout the text those notions are frequently used to describe the missions, especially to the Estonians.

The notion is closely bound to the images of growth and fertility, when Henry describes the mission as seeding, cultivating, and watering the land. Here he uses the image of a plantation and vineyard for newly converted lands, and this enables him to speak of Estonia, which the Rigan priests leave as “the vineyard, planted and watered (*rigatam*) from the holy font, into the hands of God, who is going to give increase.”¹⁰⁰⁷ Watering can yet refer not only to baptismal water, but to the blood of the faithful, as when William of Modena rejoices over “the new vineyard of God”, the latter is “watered with the blood of the faithful.”¹⁰⁰⁸ At the same time it is still linked to the watering and cultivation of plants. Similar images of the vineyard, plantation and sowing are used also elsewhere in the text. The vineyard signifies both the newly baptized land and the authority the church in Riga has over it.¹⁰⁰⁹ The notion is to contribute both to the image of the young church and its missionaries, due to its many meanings as the symbol of the people of Israel and God’s care for his elect people. Also the rhetoric to support the Rigan claim over Estonia against the Danish mission is largely built upon the vineyard imagery.¹⁰¹⁰ The Rigans being presented here as planters, sowers, and waterers, together with the image of baptized land and people as farmland, it creates a dynamic imagery for the whole process of conversion, depicting it as a process of cultivation.

¹⁰⁰⁶ “Thus, thus Riga always waters the heathens (*Riga semper rigat gentes*)! Thus did she now water (*rigat*) Ösel in the middle of the sea Ösel. By washing (*per lavacrum*) she purges from sin /--/ She furnishes both the higher and the lower irrigation (*Altius irriguum donat et inferius*) (HCL XXX.6: ref. Ios 15: 19). For the opening verse see: *irrigui sacra donaque celicavult dare terra*.

¹⁰⁰⁷ *vineam plantatam et sacro fonte rigatam Deo, qui incrementum daturus erat* (HCL XXIV.5: ref. I Cor 3: 6). He also uses the analogy with sowing (*semen seminare*) for mission and preaching, either in describing the missions in which he himself had taken part in (see HCL X.14, XXIV.1), or in his account of the first legateship of William of Modena in 1225-6, see HCL XXIX.3, 5, XXX.1.

¹⁰⁰⁸ /--/ *vineam Dei tam gloriose plantatam et ecclesiam fidelium sanguine multorum irrigatam* /--/ (HCL XXIX.2).

¹⁰⁰⁹ In the early years of mission the Riga bishop Albert wishes “to spread the branches of Lord’s vine among pagans (*vinee Domini palmites extendere in gentibus*) (HCL IX.7: ref. Ez 17: 7; Ps 79: 12). Twenty years later, in 1225, the papal legate William of Modena already finds “the Lord’s vineyard (*vineam Dei*) so gloriously planted /.../ and so big and so widely spread (*tantam et in tantum dilatatam*)” that its “branches reach (*extenderet*) ten days journey” (HCL XXIX.2: ref. Ez 17: 7). Henry also uses the image of “the planted vineyard” (*vineam plantatam*) to refer to recently baptized lands and villages (HCL X.14, XXIV.5: ref. Ps 107: 37; Is 65: 21); see also HCL XXIII.4. Similarly the image of the new plantation (*novella plantatio*) is used to describe the spread of Christianity and the growth of the young church. See HCL VI.5, XXIV.4, XXIX.8: ref. Ps 143: 12

¹⁰¹⁰ Here the Rigan priests “claim that the vineyard [i.e. the baptized parts of Estonia] is planted (*vineam* /--/ *plantatam*) under the flag of the Holy Virgin with the ardour of the crusaders and with the labour of the Rigans (*per vexillum beate Virginis studio peregrinorum et Rigensium labore*) and the Danes have come here as if to take away “another’s harvest (*alienam missem*)” (HCL XXIV.2). When the Danes on their behalf tell the Rigans that they should not “gather the grapes that hang down” (*Ibid.*: ref. Lv 19: 10; Dt 24: 21), bishop Albert answers, “the vineyard of Estonian church is planted (*plantatam*) a long time ago before the Danes, it has been cultivated with the blood of many people and the misfortunes of wars (*sanguine multorum et bellorum incommotis multis excultam*)” (*Ibid.*).

Robert Bartlett has pointed out that cerealization was an image used widely among the prelates, as they contemplated on the expansion of Latin Christendom in the High Middle Ages (Bartlett 133-66), and likewise it stands out prominently in the language of Henry's contemporary Pope Innocent III (1198-1216).¹⁰¹¹

The images of growth and fertility are also linked to the feminine imagery, when Henry uses the allegory of a woman and a bride to describe the young church. Here he compares the Rigan church to the birth-giving woman from the Revelations, who pursued by a dragon.¹⁰¹² On the one hand the image stresses the perils that the young church has suffered, as the more universal parallel behind it compares two suffering bodies, Christ suffering on the Cross and woman suffering for her child. (Bynum 1994c: 79-119) On the other hand the dominant feature here being that of a fertile woman, a mother and a birth-giver, the imagery emphasizes her active and productive role, as it refers to giving birth to a new church and a congregation. Here the image is also connected to the issues of ecclesiastical authority over the newly baptized people, as it also describes their relationship as that between the mother and children.¹⁰¹³ The issues of authority and power rise more eminent when the strife over Estonian lands begins with the Danes and Russians, and here not only the neophytes, but also the whole Estonian church, which Henry treats as a suffragan of Riga, is described as a daughter of the Livonian church.¹⁰¹⁴ The image emphasises once more the fertility of the

¹⁰¹¹ When Innocent III appointed archbishop Anders Sunesen as a papal legate in 1212, his letter contained many references to the words of Jeremiah about uprooting and knocking down, destroying and overthrowing, building and planting. (*Nos enim liberam tibi concedimus potestatem ut iuxta verbum propheticum evellas et destruas et edifices et plantes prout utrumque secundum deum videris faciendum.*) (*Diplomatarum Danicum* 1/5 no. 13 cif. Nielsen 2001: 111) Similar imagery continues also in the letters of Pope Honorius III (1216-27) on the conversion of Livonia, especially in the one written to all the abbots and bishops of Livonia and Estonia in 1220, where the pope speaks of "the hardness of the hearts of Liv pagans, like a vast desert land, has been watered by the showers of divine grace and cultivated by the ploughshare of holy preaching, the seed of the Lord is blessedly shooting up into a crop, nay, the lands are already white for the harvest." (LUB 1/1 no. 51) See also his letter on the appointment of William of Modena's legateship (LUB 1/1 no. 59).

¹⁰¹² After a defeat in 1210 the church is depicted as "a woman whom dragon pursues, yet not suppresses" (HCL XIV.8: ref. Apc 12: 13); and also in 1224, when the Russian troops had caused many losses to Rigans, as "a woman suffering from anguish and pain during giving birth, whose offspring the dragon pursues" (HCL XXVIII.4: ref. Io 16: 21; Apc 12: 4,13). Henry speaks of Behemoth; a monster often associated with heathen Livonia also in papal letters (see Innocent III's letter from 1204 (LUB 1/1 no. 14) and Honorius III's from 1217 (LUB 1/1 no. 39)), and for a similar imagery about Leviathan, see also ASC III.10. The dragon is to signify the heathen forces here, and especially in the twelfth century sources both Behemoth (Iob 40: 15) and Leviathan (Iob 40: 41) were often connected to the Antichrist. The latter being depicted both as the king of the Children of Pride (Is 33: 34), and as a sea serpent or a sea monster, it seems to have appealed especially to sea-bound communities (Wright 2001).

¹⁰¹³ When the Livs rebel, they are described as "the bloodthirsty sons who tear off the breast of their mother, the church" (HCL XVI.1). In medieval devotion breasts were connected to milk, vine and grapes, a symbol of Eucharist and the sufferings of Christ. (Bynum 1994c: 79-119) As regards pastoral care, here Christ in His role as the Saviour nurtures every soul with His blood like the mother nurtures with milk. (Bynum 1984: 129-35)

¹⁰¹⁴ Henry claims the Livonian church to have always been the true and first mother (*vera et prima semper mater*) of Estonian church (HCL XXVIII.4). Likewise to say that the Rigan church has given birth to the Estonian church "through the hardships of conquest" and "the washing of regeneration in the faith of Jesus

Livonian church, as such rhetoric is necessary because of the “many mothers”, who have tried “to take possession of the daughter falsely and by lies”, one of them being “the Russian mother”, who is yet “always sterile and unfruitful.”¹⁰¹⁵ The other mother, here not directly referred to, is Danish. However, in another passage Henry refers to the infertility of the Danish church as well. When the Danish queen dies during childbirth, it is said that now “the young church, which is passed over under the rule of the Danish king and which was daily ready to bear spiritual offspring, is with no doubt going to be in danger in the time of his rule.”¹⁰¹⁶ Hence the Rigan church is described as fertile, and its productivity can only be disturbed by alien disturbance, but it cannot be unfertile by oneself, which also contributes to her legitimacy. The other missions, by contrast, are represented infertile, unable to give birth as they are, they can only try to take a part in another’s harvest. The Rigan mission reaches its triumph at the end of the chronicle, when in Ösel the Rigan priests can rejoice, “they have given birth to so many thousands of spiritual offspring to the Lord through the washing of regeneration, a new dear bride from among the pagans.”¹⁰¹⁷

The usage of the notions of fertility reflects the increase of feminine imagery and the feminisation of religious language in the writings of the twelfth and thirteenth century religious writers, especially among the Cistercians, the most celebrated examples of which are the writings of St. Bernard of Clairvaux (Bynum 1984: 135-46). There female and maternal imagery was applied to male authority figures, as metaphors used to explain and define leadership among ecclesiastical rulers.¹⁰¹⁸ Henry uses these images both to connect the Estonian church and the neophytes to the Rigan church and to acclaim supremacy.

Henry’s claim that Virgin Mary was the patroness of the Livonian mission and her role steadily emphasized in the chronicle make the feminine imagery even more easily applicable to the Rigan church. As a patroness of a crusade She has active characteristics, as she is to help the missionaries to give birth to a new church and to protect the Rigans in military actions. Henry does not highlight the pastoral care, as for the latter bridal and

Christ” (HCL XXVIII.4: ref. Tit 3: 5; I Cor 4: 15), is also to declare her rights to Estonian lands. See also HCL XXVIII.5.

¹⁰¹⁵ *mater Ruthenica sterilis semper et infecunda* (HCL XXVIII.4: ref. Ex 23: 26).

¹⁰¹⁶ HCL XXIV.4.

¹⁰¹⁷ */--/ Domino tot milia genuerunt per lavacrum regenerationis prolem spiritualem, Deo dilectam sponsam novam ex gentibus* (HCL XXX.5: ref. Tit 3: 5).

¹⁰¹⁸ The twelfth-century authors applied the female figure to a male figure, persons or institutions, which taught or used authority, and developed the associations between teaching and pastoral care, as well as maternity and nurturing. This contributed to, yet not replaced the old image of a ruler and his subjects or followers. Twelfth-century Cistercian writers like St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and also the Benedictines used the maternal images of for men who held authoritative positions, like abbots, bishops etc. St. Bernard depicted as mother Jesus, Moses, Peter, Paul, prelates, and abbots. (Bynum 1984: 146-54)

maternal imagery was most often used during the twelfth century (Bynum 1984: 138-9), but ascribes it to the conversion, mission, and episcopal authority, and here he uses it both for the clerics and church in general. Using several images borrowed from the uniquely feminine experiences, he focuses on giving birth and the need to protect the child. The image of a birth-giving woman nevertheless involves also suffering and pain. This signifies the hardships the mission had to undergo, which is one of the dominant themes of the text, as shown above. It deals with the questions of power and domination, and also supports the authority and legitimacy of the new institution. Such imagery is influenced by its context, as the crusade and the mission give the text a clear and vigorous context. It is dynamic, expanding, and active. It is the time of expansion and fighting, not yet of settlement, hence the imagery is active and dynamic as well.

It also reflects the increased usage of female imagery in liminal situations as a mean to support authoritative claims (Bynum 1994: 27-51, Bynum 1994d: 119-50), as we can consider the missionary, crusading, and colonial experiences represented and justified here being above all namely frontier experiences.

Some Concluding Remarks

To point out the obvious, the Other is the *sine quo non* for a mission and crusade. The images of the Other given in these chronicles yet come to illustrate how their authors have solved the problem of finding means to describe the different and what kind of patterns they have used for it. As analogy and comparison are used to define the unknown and to make it understandable for the audience, namely the textual authorities are to give many images for the Others. Firstly the Roman tradition was to provide many patterns for describing the lands and people yet unknown. The hagiographical models gave not only a model for a martyr or a saint, but also a model for his counterparts and the proper setting for his sufferings. Besides the representations of the Others in the later chronicles are influenced by the crusading ideology. The biblical models are present in all four texts, the Other being always already present in the sacred discourse, where the story of pagan and heretic errors is not opposed to the latter, but an integral part of the history of faith.

An analogy being never an analogy in itself, those comparisons contain many values, judgements and claims. From the issues of *imitatio*, *traditio*, and *auctoritas* namely authority should be emphasised here, as the authors only could not, but they would not write without references to the *traditio*. The images of the Other based on textual authorities are used to explain and legitimise the territorial and ecclesiastical claims of the institutions they represent, and to create tradition for the new dioceses in the need of their own histories. As such, the texts reflect the territorialisation and consolidation of episcopal power in the High Middle Ages, and are comparable to the rhetoric accompanying the territorialisation of royal power.

The values attributed to personal behaviour, based on the hagiographical and biblical authorities and treated as an *imitatio* of the Apostles, martyrs, and the people of Israel, can be seen as one of the main means determining both the imagery of the Other and legitimisation of the new ecclesiastical authorities. The imagery of martyrs, missionaries, and crusaders contributes significantly to the collective identity of a missionary church, as individual behaviour and valour applied to an institution. This results in a complex relationship where the persons serve as a mean to create a link between an institution, tradition and authority. Like those texts present the timely and geographical enlargement in experiencing the Other, they also represent the changes in the rhetoric of the Otherness. As such, they enable to follow the developments in missionary and crusading ideology, where the valour, connected firstly exclusively to the great missionaries and kings, is later applied to the crusaders as a collective

whole. Secondly they show the developments in the universal call to fight the enemies of Christ, presenting the flexibility of the latter notion and means to adapt it to a large variety of peoples.

As the emphasis of the individual valour is constructed as opposed both to the Others on the level of *personae* and *loci*, it hence determines largely the image of the peoples and lands seen as the counterparts and subjects of mission, crusading, and colonisation.

The main characteristics applied the Others function here to legitimise mission and warfare, and the dynamics of the representation of the Others are determined by the course of their conversion and conquest. All the main features are based on the Christian values, virtues, and vices, and as such they are largely based on the binary oppositions. Hence they present one having the characteristic and the Other its opposite, and provide the opportunity to describe and to create the identity of both the described and the describer at the same time. The norm being set by the one side only, the characteristics applied to the Others tend firstly to indicate the lack of virtues and features, and as such not tell anything about the object in itself. During the course of the mission the Christian values and virtues are applied to the converted and conquered peoples, and present the achievement of the previously lacking characteristics by conversion, which function here primarily as a sign of becoming a Christian.

As regards the ultimate dynamics of the others, then although the missionary goal is directed towards Christianising the Other and likewise the texts are aimed to represent the Christianisation of both the peoples and their lands, and even though one can become a good Christian on a personal level (like the rulers or the few neophytes legitimising the warfare undertaken to protect them), the opportunities for the Other as a whole to be regarded as us, i.e. as the Christian society are rather limited. This involves being either in lands far away, like the Norwegians or Icelanders in Adam's representation, or then the replacement of the Other, like the Slavs of Helmold's and Arnold's chronicle are replaced by the colonial society. The Livonian and Estonian neophytes is replaced with the imagery of us as a young Christian congregation, which becomes an integral part of a rhetorical and legitimising tool for the new church.

The imagery and interest towards the conquered lands yet tends to dominate over the one shown towards the people, and here the land depicted as Christian often far earlier than the people living on it. While the societies are described as in contrast with the right order of the world, then in the case of conquest and colonisation an opposition between the wealth and beauty of the land and the barbarian character of its inhabitants is emphasised. This results in

a permanent emphasis on the loose connection between the lands under conquest and their inhabitants, especially as regards their rights over the land. This is influenced by the biblical imageries of the land of Canaan, used a legitimising tool for colonial activities, and by the notions of growth and fertility used to create new ecclesiastical authorities and identities. These are bound and paralleled to the feminine imagery as a mean to depict issues of ecclesiastical authority, and here the notions of care and compassion are closely connected to issues of authority and judgement.

Therefore ultimate issue determining the representation of the Others can be described as connected power over land and peoples, both as regards secular and ecclesiastical authority. The variety of images, metaphors, allegories, and analogies used in those representations are hence presenting both what the authors perceived and what they would have liked to perceive. They are part of a wider network of traditions, images, and metaphors, and at the same time closely bound to the context and interests of each author and his audience, yet also to the experiences of persons, communities and institutions. Therefore, while the images and symbols largely function to give cohesion to new communities, one comes to face the problem rather unavoidable while looking at these chronicles, and the one I had to face often while writing this study, namely that at a closer reading the Other tends to disappear, or sometimes vanish completely. What remains left there, are the ideals, experiences, anxieties, and needs of the missionaries, colonists, crusaders, and above all else, of the learned ecclesiastical elite.

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Abbreviations

ACS	Arnold of Lübeck, <i>Chronica Slavorum</i> .
GHEP	Adam of Bremen, <i>Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum</i>
HCS	Helmoldi of Bosau, <i>Chronica Slavorum</i>
HCL	<i>Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae</i>
LUB	<i>Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundebuch</i>
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica

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RESÜMEE

Käesolev magistritöö – “Barbarite ootel: Teise kuvand, funktsioonid ja dünaamika Põhja-Saksa misjonikroonikates, XI-XIII sajand. (Breemeni Adami *Gesta Hamaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, Bosau Helmoldi *Chronica Slavorum*, Lüübeki Arnoldi *Chronica Slavorum* ja Henriku *Chronicon Livoniae*.)” – käsitleb Slaavi, Skandinaavia ja Baltikumi maade ja rahvaste kuvandit kõrgkeskaegses ajalookirjutuses. Töö eesmärk on vaadelda Teise representatsiooni kristliku Euroopa ekspansiooni, piiskopkondliku võimu konsolideerumise ja territorialiseerumise ning misjoni- ja ristsõjajadeoloogia taustal. Ent laiemalt haakub see ka küsimusega, kas ja mida me võime teada saada Läänemere äärsetest “paganarahvastest” misjonikroonikate põhjal, mis on nende kohta peamiseks jutustavaks allikmaterjaliks.

Töö tekstikorpuse moodustavad neli Hamburg-Breemeni peapiiskopkonna kroonikat, mis kajastavad kristluse laienemist Läänemere ruumis enam kui kaheksa sajandi vältel. “Hamburgi peapiiskoppide ajalugu” on kirjutatud ca. 1075-6 Breemeni toomkiriku kanooniku Adami poolt ning see kajastab misjonit Saksimaal, Skandinaavias ja lääneslaavlaste aladel Saksa kiriku vaatenurgast. Bosau kogudusepreester ja misjonär Helmold kirjutas oma “Slaavlaste kroonika” jätkuna Adami kroonikale umbes sada aastat hiljem, ca. 1167-8 ja 1172 ning kirjeldas selles misjoni ja kolonisatsiooni laienemist lääneslaavlaste aladele. Helmoldi kroonikat jätkas XII sajandi lõpukümnel omakorda Lüübeki benediktlaste kloostrilise abt Arnold, kelle kroonikat on hilisema traditsiooni kohaselt hakatud samuti nimetama “Slaavlaste kroonikaks.” Keskendudes eelkõige Oldenburgi piiskopkonna aladele nagu Helmoldki, on selle kroonika huviväärtus siiski mitte enam misjonilugu, vaid Saksa keisririigis toimuvad võimuvõitlused, millele lisanduvad ülevaated Püha Maa ja Liivimaa ristsõdade kohta. Kroonikate geograafiline haare laieneb Läänemere idakaldale Ümera kogudusepreestri ja misjonäri Henriku teosega “Liivimaa kroonika”, mis jäädvustab samuti Hamburgi sufragaanina loodud Riia piiskopkonna misjoni ja ristsõdade kulgu Liivi- ja Eestimaa ca. 1180 aastatest kuni 1227. aastani. Tekstikorpuse loomise aluseks on seega nii autorite kuuluvus samasse kiriklikku traditsiooni, kajastatavate sündmuste ajaline ja ruumiline järgnevus ning peateema, milleks kõigil peale Arnoldi kroonika on misjon paganate seas. Sellele lisaks võimaldab selline kooslus jälgida Saksa misjonitraditsiooni arengut ning muutusi misjoni- ja ristsõdade ideestikus laiemalt.

Misjoni, vallutussõdade ja kolonisatsiooni puhul kujuneb vastaspoole kujutamisest erineva ja võõrana ehk Teisena üks olulisemaid aspekte traditsiooni, legitiimsuse ja identiteedi loomisel. Antud analüüs vaatleb nii seda, millised on kristianiseeritavate maade ja

rahvaste kuvandi funktsioonid misjonitraditsiooni loomisel ning misjoni- ja ristisõja jutustuses, kui küsib ühtlasi ka selle järele mil määral määratlevad ülaltoodud eesmärgid Teise kuvandi piirid.

Lisaks vorminõutest tulenevatele jaotustele jaguneb uurimus kolme peatükki. Esimene peatükk jaguneb viieks alapeatükiks. Esmalt tutvustatakse allikmaterjali ja antakse lühike ülevaade Põhja- ja Ida-Euroopa misjoni- ja ristisõdadest IX – XIII sajandil. Seejärel määratletakse käesoleva töö küsimuseasetused antud hetke uurimisseisu taustal, kus seda nähakse haakuvat eelkõige ristisõdade uurimisparadigmas toimunud muutuste ja kroonikate uue ülelugemise lainega, samuti uurimissuunaga, mis keskaegsete rajamaa ühiskondadele ja nende rollile Euroopa identiteedi kujunemises laiemalt. Neljas alapeatükk käsitleb misjoni- ja ristisõjatradsiooni kujunemist kui suures osas intertekstuaalsel põhinevat fenomeni ning tutvustab siin käsitletavate kroonikate tekstilisi eeskujusid ja autoriteete. Viies alapeatükk juhtatab sisse Teise probleemistikku ja annab ülevaate keskaegse Teisesuse retoorika kujunemisest.

Teise kuvandi puhul on analüüsitud eraldi rahvaste (*personae*) ja maade (*loci*) kujutamist, sellele lisaks on nende representatsioonide dünaamikat vaadeldud kahes osas, avastamise ja vallutamise faasis. Seega analüüsib teine peatükk iga krooniku poolt antud Teise avastamise kuvandit, pöörates tähelepanu esmastele intertekstuaalsetele mudelitele, mille kasutuses segunevad nii Rooma geograafide ja ajaloolaste loodud traditsioon kui piibellikud ja hagiograafilised eeskujud. Kolmas peatükk käsitleb muutusi Teise kuvandis vallutuse ja interaktsiooni käigus, analüüsides vallutuse käigus muutuvate huvide ja võimuhete mõju Teise kuvandile, ning näidates, et antud faasis Teisesuse representatsiooni mudelid laienevad ja hõlmavad endasse erinevaid gruppe. Siinne analüüs töö välja Teise kuvandi paindlikkuse, näidates, et seda on kohaldatud erinevate Läänemere rahvaste kõrval ka piiskopkondlike huvidega vastanduvatele kristlikele gruppidele, eelkõige Saksi valitsejatele, rootslastele, taanlastele ja õigeusklikele venelastele. Ühtlasi juhib antud töö tähelepanu pagana, apostaaži ja kristlase märkide retoorilisele kasutusele, näidates et sageli on need mõjutatud eelkõige kiriklike alluvussuhete kujunemise käigus aset leidnud konfliktidest.

Analüüsi tulemusel tuuakse välja, et Teise kuvand on suuresti mõjutatud tekstiliste autoriteetide poolt, milleks on esmajoonel hagiograafiline mudel misjonärist kui märtrist, piibellikud mudelid iisraellaste õiglasest sõjast uskumatute vastu ning teekonnast Egiptuse vangipõlvest Tõotatud Maale. Need eeskujud sisaldavad endas mudeleid nii “meie” kui “nende” kujutamiseks, ning viimase puhul determineerivad seda eelkõige märtri ja õiglase sõja kujutamise poolt seatud eeldused Teisele. See on tihedalt seotud piiskopkondliku

autoriteedi küsimusega, mille aluseks on selle esindajate kujutamine apostlite ja märtrite järglastena. Kahele hilisemale kroonikale on avaldanud mõju risticõjaideoloogia konsolideerumine, mille tulemusel varem eelkõige misjonäridele ja kristlikele kuningatele personaalselt omistatud väärtused laienevad risticõdijate armeele tervikuna.

Selle kõrval on Teise kuvand määratletud eelkõige binaarsete opositsioonide kaudu, mille puhul saab esmatahtsaks kristliku Euroopa kultuuriliste ja religioosete normide vastasmärkde omistamine Teisele. Sellest tulenevalt on Teise dünaamika puhul tegemist eelkõige nende märkide ümberpöördumisega, mille puhul omistatakse juba ristitud *resp.* kiriklikule autoriteedile allutatud maadele ja rahvastele kristlikud märgid. Siin kerkib esile ka maade kristianiseerimise kujutamisele pööratud suurem tähelepanu ning maa ja selle põliskasukate omavahelise nõrga seose rõhutamine vallutuse ja kolonisatsiooni käigus. Teise kuvandi üle domineerivad siin eelkõige kirikliku, kuid kohati ka ilmaliku autoriteedi legitimeerimise vajadused, küsimus võimust maa ja inimeste üle, ning selle kõrval ka loomisjärgus olevate piiskopkondade identiteedi loomise ja kindlustamise eesmärk. Seega tuleks misjonikroonikates avalduvad Teise kuvandit vaadelda eelkõige kristliku Euroopa identiteediloomelise olulise osana ning kitsamalt näha selles piiskopkondliku traditsiooni konsolideerumise ühte kesket aspekti.

Töoga kaasnev Lisa annab täiendava ülevaate käsitletud kroonikate käsikirjalisest pärandist, editsioonidest ja historiograafiast.

APPENDIX

THE TRANSMISSION OF TEXTS, EDITIONS, AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*

Adam's original manuscript is no longer extant. The text in use now is a restoration of the original by Bernhard Schmeidler. He divided the manuscripts into three classes (A, B, and C), arguing that Adam had three original manuscripts, none of them extant. These include firstly his working version (manuscript A), secondly the manuscript presented to Liemar (ms. a), and a finally a third copy, that Adam retained and to which he added complementary notes (*scholia*) (ms. X).

The manuscripts belonging to the representative class A contain fewer additions and chapter divisions. In addition Schmeidler relied on their usage of the first person singular or plural, and on some words and phrases he considered peculiar to Adam. Among them the most important is the so-called Vienna 521 manuscript (ms. A1) from the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This Schmeidler argued to be transmitted from ms. A and ms. a. The other class A manuscripts include a copy of ms. A1 Vienna from 1451 (preserved in Vatican), and the *Codex Vossianus Latinus* from around 1100 (preserved at the University of Leiden Library). The latter is a copy of a slightly later version of ms. a, that was made in Bremen (ms. a') and is no longer extant. The *Codex Vossianus Latinus* contains seven chapters from the second book of the chronicle and the fourth, the latter however including also *scholia* from the manuscript X. Besides there is a group of three closely related A-class manuscripts from a later period, namely the Copenhagen codex from the fifteenth century, and two copies at the city library of Hamburg. All three likely had a same parent-manuscript (ms. a''), that is no longer extant and seems to have been derived from the ms. a'.

The class B and C manuscripts include derivations from the late medieval and early modern transcripts, printed books and class A manuscripts. They are based on ms. X and include also the *scholia* added to the manuscript after Adam's death in the early 1080s.

All the class B manuscripts are either in Denmark or have likely a Danish origin. According to Schmeidler they all derive from a copy (ms. B), that was made out of ms. X soon after Adam's death. This included several changes in style and meaning, and Schmeidler argued on namely those differences to divide class A manuscripts from the ones belonging to B and C. He also divided class B manuscripts into two groups. The first group relies on the so-called text y and the second on codex z. Codex z originates likely from around 1161/2 and was made in the Cistercian monastery of Sorø in Zeeland. From there it passed to the Copenhagen University Library and was perished in a fire in 1728. The codex however has around twelve copies, some of which are still extant.

According to Schmeidler all class C manuscripts are derived from yet another copy of manuscript X that was made in Bremen in the end of the twelfth century (codex C). Also the latter contained many grammatical and stylistic revisions. All three extant versions of class C manuscripts rely on it. Ms. C1 was made in the beginning of the thirteenth century and is preserved at the Royal Library of Copenhagen. Ms. C2 is lost, yet there has preserved a printed version from 1595. Ms. C3 is a fragment from the first book that was made in the early fourteenth century and is preserved at the Royal Library of Copenhagen.

Schmeidler's edition is unlikely to be changed substantially by any new edition, yet many of his views on the manuscript tradition have been challenged.¹ Therefore it is now held that the text

¹ Store Bolin, Ebehard Otto and John Danstrup have proposed corrections on the relations between different manuscripts (see Bolin 1932). Later Anne Kristensen has argued that also the Vienna 521 manuscript is not derived from an edition by Adam himself, but from a later edition by a scribe who has eliminated as many of the *scholia* as possible (Kristensen 1975). See also Scior 2002: 29-37. C. A. Christensen, who also published manuscript C1 in lithography in 1948, argued that in between the C-archetype and 1180 another manuscript of the chronicle was brought to Denmark, and namely the latter is an ancestor of the number of lost codices and likewise the C1, C2, and C3 manuscripts.

was in permanent modification already during Adam's own lifetime and beyond it, and hence any of surviving manuscripts is neither derived from or represents the definite and finished version by Adam himself.

There are several early printed versions of the chronicle mainly from the seventeenth century.² The first critical edition by Johann Martin Lappenberg was based on ms. A1 and published in the MGH *Scriptores* Series in 1846. It was republished the same year in the MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* Series without the critical apparatus, and the same text was published also in *Patrologia Latina* by J. P. Minge. The Lappenberg edition was later revised by Georg Waitz and republished in the MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* Series once more in 1876. As indicated above, the edition still in use today was made by Bernhard Schmiedler. It was firstly published in MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* Series in 1917, and has been reprinted in 1977 and 1993.

The chronicle being of interest to historians and philologists from many countries, the number of translations is equally large. The first German translation was published by Carsten Miesegaes in Bremen in 1825. The second German translation by J.C.M. Laurent relied on the Lappenberg edition, and it was published firstly in *Die Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit* Series in 1850. Later the translation was revised by Wilhelm Wattenbach accordingly to the Waitz edition, and published newly in the same series in 1888 in Leipzig. After the Schmiedler edition was published in 1917, a new German translation was published by S. Steinberg in 1926, also in the same series. Schmiedlers editon has also been published with a facing German translation by Werner Trillmich in a collection *Quellen des 9. und 11. zur Geschichte Hamburgishcen Kirche und des Reiches* in 1961.

As regards translations into Scandinavian languages, there is a Swedish translation of the fourth book only by Johan Fredrich Peringskiöld (1688-1725). The Swedish translation of the whole text by Emanuel Svenberg from 1984 is based on Schmiedler's edition and accompanied by extensive commentaries. There are several Danish translations, the first by P. W. Christensen dating back to 1862, the second was published by Carsten L. Henrichsen in 1930, and the most recent translation by Allan A. Lund in 2000. There is also a Danish translation of the fourth book only by Carsten L. Henrichsen from 1968. Ten years later Allan A. Lund published the Latin version of the fourth book, following Schmiedler edition, along with a facing Danish translation in 1978.

English translation by Francis J. Tschan, following Schmiedler's edition, was published the Records of Western Civilisation Series in New York in 1959, and from the latter there is also a reprint from 2002. Recently Ileana Pagani has published an Italian-Latin edition in 1996, with a Latin text based on Schmiedler and Trillmich editions and accompanied by a facing Italian translation.

Bernahrd Schmiedler still remains the canonic auhtor as regards the transmission of the text, its language and structure (Schmiedler 1933, Schmiedler 1918, Schmiedler 1917), even though many of his claims have been questioned by later research, as indicated above. The Swedish translation from 1984 is accompanied by many and extensive commentaries from various authors, providing hence one of the best commentaries to start with. Another classic reference is Werner Trillmichs preface to his edition (Trillmich 1961). There Trillmich took also interest in Adam's classical models (Trillmich 1961: 147-50), and namely this field has become a growing field of study (see Buchner 1965, Brugnoli 1994, also Mortensen 2005).

To a yet greater extent the recent scholarship has focused on Adam's understanding of politics, this being paralleled by an interest on his use of history as a mean to legitimise the present

² Manuscript C2 was printed by Erpold Lindenberg in 1595 and republished in his *Scriptores rerum septentrionalium* Series in 1609 and 1630. Joachim Jonnes Mader from Helmstadt published a revised version of the latter in 1670, and the same edition came out newly by J. A. Fabricus in Hamburg in 1706. The fourth book was published by Johannes Messinus in Stockholm in 1615, by Stephanus Johannes Stephanius in Leiden in 1629, and a third version was published the same year, of the latter however no further information has been preserved.

claims of his diocese. Here especially the studies by Rudolf Buchner (Buchner 1963), Anders Piltz (Piltz 1984), Gerhard Theuerkamp (Theuerkauf 1988a), and Hans-Werner Goetz (Goetz 1993) stand out.³

Adam's representation of the peoples of the North and the Slav territories has been another topical issue in the focus of many recent studies, which differently from earlier research that praised his scope as an ethnologist have come to emphasise the partiality of the picture Adam is giving.⁴ Adam's account of Sweden, Swedish church, and especially that of the temple in Uppsala has been of interest for the Swedish researchers, who have come to question Adam's account to a great extent (Hallencrutz 1984a, Hallencrutz 1984b, Johannesson 1984, Nyberg 1991, Janson 1998, see also Sawyer 1993). A recent study by Volker Scior gives a thorough analysis of the many aspects of the self-identities presented in the text (Scior 2002: 38-88) and also of the descriptions of the alien lands and peoples, especially as regards the overall structure of their representation (Scior 2002: 89-134).

Another traditional part of Adam-scholarship has been the claims that Adam takes interest in the study of different characters and the impact of personalities on history. Here his chronicle has been often called a breakthrough in the medieval genre biography (Smalley 1974: 123-125, for an overview see also Tschan 1959: xvii). Especially the third book, devoted to the pontificate of Archbishop Adalbert has been of interest to many researchers. Here Adalbert's biography (Johnson 1934), his politics and plan to turn Hamburg-Bremen into a patriarchate (Fuhrman 1955 and Fuhrman 1961), and Adam's the dynamic representation of both his rise and decline (Bagge 1996b) have been studied from various aspects.

Longer bibliographies on various studios are given in the Trillmilch edition (Trillmilch 1961) and in the foreword of the English edition (Tschan 1959), more recent overviews can be found from reprint of the English translation from 2002 (see also its introduction (Reuter 2002)), and in the study by Volker Scior (Scior 2002: 29-37). A broader overview of bibliography is provided also along the commentaries of the Swedish translation from 1984.

Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica Slavorum*

Helmold's chronicle relies heavily on Adam, yet as he used it rather freely, one cannot determine with certainty which version he used. However it must have been a codex from one of the old versions of class A manuscripts.

Helmold's original manuscript is no longer extant. According to Bernhard Schmeidler there are two manuscripts (manuscript x and the slightly older ms. y), which divide the original from the oldest preserved manuscripts. Before 1400 ms. y was copied to the so-called Boeckel Codex, and is preserved at the University of Copenhagen Library. A copy was made of it in around 1472, known as the Bordsesholm Codex and is preserved also at the University of Copenhagen Library. During the fifteenth century a copy was made also from manuscript x, preserved at the City Library in Lübeck.

Another copy from manuscript y, marked by Schmeidler as manuscript z is no longer extant; yet the first printed version of Helmold's chronicle, published by Sigmund Schorkel in Naumburg in 1556 is based on it. The second early edition was made by Reinerus Reineccius, and was based on the Lübeck codex, the Schorkel edition, and one no longer extant recension by Christian Distelmeier. This was published in Frankfurt in 1581 and reprinted in 1631 also in Frankfurt. The third edition was made by Henry Bangert and published in Lübeck in 1702. He had used the

³ The forgeries of charters of the archbishopric, some of them presented also in Adam's text, have provided another interesting field of study (see Theuerkauf 1988b).

⁴ There is also a retrographically published dissertation on the topic by Johannes Nowak, *Untersuchungen zum Gebrauch der Begriffe populus, gens und natio bei Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bosau* (University of Münster 1971), which unfortunately has not come hand.

Schorkel and Reinicus editions, as well as the Boeckel and Lübeck codices, and another codex, which was likely destroyed in a fire in a Stettin gymnasium in 1677.

Helmold's chronicle remained the most important source for the history of Lower German areas before 1170, and was widely used by the later historians. Those include firstly Arnold of Lübeck and the chroniclers of the St. Michael monastery in Lüneburg. During the Hansaetic period nearly all historians of the Lower Germany based their accounts on the earlier period on Helmold, like Hermann of Herford (d. 1317) in his *Liber de rebus memorabilioribus sive chronicon*, Hermann of Lerbeke in his *Chronicon comitatus Schawenburgensis*, and Ernest of Kirchberg, author of the Mecklenburg Rhymed Chronicle, *Chronicon Mecklenburgicum seu Magnopolense rhythmicum* (1378).⁵ Also the authors of the early modern period draw on Helmold, and here especially the historical works of Albert Krantz from the first half of the sixteenth century stand out.⁶

Johann Martin Lappenberg published the first critical edition of Helmold's chronicle in the MGH *Scriptores* Series 21 in 1869. The same edition without the critical apparatus was published by Georg Heinrich Pertz in the MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* Series already in 1868. A revised edition by Bernhard Schmeidler was published in 1909, and reprinted in 1937. The newest full edition by Heinz Stoob is also based on Schmeidler, and published together with a facing German translation in 1963.

The first translation based on a critical edition was made by J.C.M. Laurent and published in the *Die Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit* Series in 1852. This relied on the Lappenberg edition, even though the latter was to be published only in 1868. Wilhelm Wattenbach published a revised print of the translation, based also on Lappenberg edition, in the same series in 1888. After his own edition was published, Bernhard Schmeidler came out with the second revision of the translation, which was published in 1910 also in the same series.

As regards other languages, there is an old Danish translation from 1881 by P. Kierkegaard. There is also an early Polish translation from the year 1862, and a rather new one from 1974. An English translation based on the Schmeidler edition by Francis J. Tschan was published in the Records of Civilisations Series in 1935, and a Russian translation dates back to 1963.

As regards the transmission and structure of the text, the studies published by Bernhard Schmeidler on Helmold's text and language (Schmeidler 1911, Schmeidler 1912, Schmeidler 1937) still remain the canon.

The early research included also many discussions on the trustworthiness of the text, where Helmold has been blamed for partiality on behalf of the Oldenburg church, most noticeably in the works of Carl Hirsekorn, Carl Schirren, and Wilhelm Ohnesorge who compared the chronicle with the charters of the monasteries (Stoob 1963: 16-7). These claims were later however questioned by Bernhard Schmeidler (Schmeidler 1937) and Karl Jordan, and it must be pointed out that Helmold's text shows is by no means more partial than those of any of his contemporaries. Also Helmold's biography has been a point of interest, and there are many different claims (see Stoob 1963: 2-10).

Previously the chronicle has been interpreted as above all a glorification of the deeds of the missionaries, and the histories of campaigns and colonies are treated as subthemes (Smalley 1974:

⁵ See Hermann von Herford, *Liber de rebus memorabilioribus sive chronicon*. Ed. Potthast. Göttingen, 1859; Hermann of Lerbeke in his *Chronicon comitatus Schawenburgensis*. – Meidom (ed.). *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* I, 1688, pp. 497-521; and Ernest von Kirchberg, *Chronicon Mecklenburgicum seu Magnopolense rhythmicum* – E. J. de Westphalen (ed.), *Monumenta inedita rerum Germanicarum, praecipue Cimbricarum et Megapolitensium*. Leipzig, 1739-45, IV, 593-840.

⁶ The Lübeck city chronicler Hermann Korner (d. 1438); the *Chronicon Oldenburgensium archicomitum* (1504) by Johann Schiphouwer (see Johann Schiphouwer, *Chronicon Oldeburgesium archicomitum* – Meibom (ed.), *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* 2. 1688, pp. 123-94), as well as the anonymous *Chronicon Holzatiae* (reaching the year 1428; see *Chronicon Holzatiae* – Johann Martin Lappenberg (ed.) in MGH *Scriptores* 21. 1869, pp. 251-376), and the *Chronicon Slavicum* (reaching the year 1483; see *Chronicon Slavicum*. Johann Martin Lappenberg (ed.) and Theodor Mayer (series ed.). *Quellensammlung der Gesellschaft für schleswig-holsteinische Geschichte* 3. 1865). See also Stoob 1963: 17-9.

125-8, Christiansen 1997: 62-3). Even though many researches previously praised Helmold for his ethnologic scope and claimed that his aim is to study the impact of different locations and societal norms on the acceptance of Christian faith, then rather the opposite can be perceived, as the ways they accepted the faith and the Saxon church also determined largely the description of their society, habits, and morals (Janson 2003). By now Helmold's account on the divisions between Slavic tribes, their customs, and religion has been of interest to many scholars, and questioned by archaeologists.

The chronicle being one of the main sources for the mission among Slavs, eastern colonisation, and the early years of the reign of Duke Henry the Lion, it has been discussed widely among the historians of that period, and here especially Karl Jordan and Friedrich Lotter have been giving many fruitful approaches to the politics of co-operation between Henry the Lion and the Saxon (Lotter 1980, Lotter 1989). Here also the recent study by Volker Scior analyses the representation of different loyalties and frontier identities (Scior 2002: 147-94), and there he also provides a study on the representation of different Slavic tribes in Helmold's text (2002: 195-218). As regards the ideology and course of the mission among the Slavs, especially the studies of Hans-Dietrich Kahl have brought along many new approaches (Kahl 1953, Kahl 1962).

A rather good overview of the older bibliography is given in the English translation from 1935, and more recent ones are given in the preface to the latest German translation (Stoob 1963), and alike by Volker Scior (Scior 2002: 138-46).

Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*

There is still much uncertainty as regards the textual transmission of Arnold's chronicle. Accordingly to Johann Martin Lappenberg (Lappenberg 1869: 106-112), the manuscripts of the chronicle can be divided into two groups.

The first group consists of two late thirteenth-century fragments, the Prague fragment covering what is now ACS III.5-10, and the Nürnberg fragment covering ACS IV.2-V.27. Together they form what is left of the so-called manuscript 1. However a likely accurate copy of manuscript 1, which was made in 1579, has been preserved (ms. 1').

The second group involves all other manuscripts, altogether seven. While manuscript 2 is from the thirteenth century, all the other manuscripts (mss. 4, 5, 7, 8, and the copy of the latter, ms. 9) are from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Ms. 2 from the *bibliothecae Ranzovianae*, the library of Heinrich Rantzau (1526-98), has however been missing since the eighteenth century. Ms. 3 was found from the cathedral of Havelberg in 1837, and it dates back to the late thirteenth century, covering ACS I.11-VII.19. Ms. 4 is the Boeckel Codex from before 1400, containing both Helmold's chronicle and the beginning of Arnold's chronicle only. Ms. 6 is a copy of ms. 4 from 1472, and is known as the Bordsesholm Codex. Differently from ms. 4 it however contains four more passages from the later books of Arnold's chronicle. Ms. 7 comes from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, preserved at the Royal Library of Copenhagen. Ms. 8 is the Lübeck codex containing also Helmold's text, and Arnold's chronicle as a continuation of the latter; and ms. 9 is the codex that was likely destroyed in a fire at the Stettin gymnasium in 1677, and contained also both chronicles. Ms. 10 dates back to the seventeenth century. Being previously preserved at the Library of Vatican, it is however also missing.

In his edition Johann Martin Lappenberg relied heavily on ms. 1' and likewise on the two fragments of ms. 1 as the presumably oldest version. The traditional division of is however problematic. He used as the main differentiator the better language, style, and accordance with the *Vulgata* characteristic to texts placed to the second group; arguing that they were the result of changes made by a copyist. The presentation of the events and locations however shows similar accuracy in both groups. Therefore it is equally possible that the mistakes in style and language were made by a later copyist; or even if the manuscripts of the first group are earlier, Arnold could

have reworked the first version himself, the result of which being the second version (Kolk 2004: 75-6).

Differently from other chroniclers discussed here, another writing by Arnold has been preserved, namely his Latin translation of the *Gregorius* by Hartmann von Aue.⁷

Compared to Helmold, the use of Arnold's chronicle among the historians of Nordalbingia and Lübeck was however rather meagre during the following centuries (Lappenberg 1869: 105). There are however traces of Arnold's text in the *Chronicon Repgawiensis*, and his account of the pilgrimage of Henry the Lion was used in the chronicle of the bishop of Brandenburg (*Chronicon episcopatus Brandenburgensis*), the fourteenth-century history of Duke Henry the Lion, the *Chronicon* of Hermann Korner (1435), and in the chronicle of Bishops Henry, Conrad II, and Theoderic of Lübeck (*Chronicon episcoporum Lubicensium*) written by Albert de Crummendyk (Lappenberg 1869: 105-6). Arnold's chronicle was also used by German humanist theologian and historian Albert Krantz (1450-1517) in his *Saxonia* (1502), which deals with the history of Lower Saxony until around 1500, as well as in his *Metropolis seu historia de ecclesiis sub Carolo Magno in Saxonia instauratis* (1548), covering the period 780-1504, and *Vandalia* (1519), covering the history of Slavic and Northern peoples until 1502 (Arbusow 1926-7: 296-301).

The first almost full printed version dates back to 1581, when Reinerus Reineccius published Arnold's text together with his edition of Helmold's chronicle. Also the next edition includes both Helmold's and Arnold's chronicles, published together by Henry Bangert in 1659. The only critical edition of the text is an edition by Johann Martin Lappenberg and L. Weiland, published in the MGH *Scriptores* Series in 1869. The same edition was published a year earlier by Georg Heinrich Perzt in the MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* Series without the critical apparatus. There have been attempts to publish a new edition already from the beginning of the twentieth century, and later from the 1970s-80s by H. - J. Freytag, yet he could not finish his work (Kolk 2004: 74).

There is an early Danish translation from 1885 by P. Kierkegaard. The German translation by J. C. M. Laurent was published in *Die Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit* Series in 1853, and relied on the first version of Lappenberg edition (Kolk 2004: 74). Lately, in 2004 Kaspar Kolk has translated Arnold's account on the mission to Livonia (ACS V.30) into Estonian, accompanied with extensive commentaries (Kolk 2004).

Arnold's text has been studied less than other chroniclers discussed here, likely also due to a lack of a modern critical edition.⁸ As regards the transmission of the text, the preface by Johann Martin Lappenberg still remains the classic source (Lappenberg 1869). Little is known about Arnold's sources; and while its trustworthiness has been debated, it has yet reached a positive decision by R. Damus (Damus 1876). However Kaspar Kolk's recent study on Arnold's sources for the mission and crusade to Livonia (Kolk 2004) has shown that his account relies mainly on written sources, and hence proven that there is yet much to be done in the study of Arnold's source material in general.

Arnold's biography has been of interest to many researchers alike (Damus 1876 and Grabkowsky 1993, see also Lappenberg 1869). Yet also here close reading of the text as a biography could prove to be a fruitful approach (Kolk 2004: 71-2). Previously especially the question whether Arnold participated in the pilgrimages and campaigns to the Holy Land in 1172 and 1196/7 have been the issue discussed most widely, and even though it seems more likely he did not, no wider consensus has been reached so far.

⁷ See *Arnoldi Lubicensis Gregorius peccator*. Ed. G. Buchwald. Kiel: Homann 1886; and J. Shilling, *Arnold von Lübeck, Gesta Gregorii Peccatoris: Untersuchungen und Edition*. Göttingen, 1986. (Cf. Kolk 2004: 71.)

⁸ There are also two dissertations on Arnolds text, "Die Slavenchronik Arnolds" by R. Damus (published in 1872 at the Göttingen University), and "Kritik Arnolds von Lübeck" by J. Mey (published in 1912 at the Leipzig University) (Kolk 2004: 71 note 4, 74 note 32), they however have not come to hand.

Arnold's sympathies for the Guelphs have been another widely discussed issue, and here Berndt Ulrich Hucker has come to claim that the chronicle was written for Otto IV, and the text itself as *historia regum* of the Guelphs, i.e. Otto IV and Henry the Lion (Hucker 1988: cif. Kolk 73), yet Kaspar Kolk has convincingly shown that most of Hucker's claims rely on an inaccurate basis (Kolk 2004: 73-4).

This approach has influenced the study of the chronicle as a whole, which until recently has been read mainly as a record of Henry the Lion's reign, and not that of the history of Nordalbingia and Lübeck during the time of the Danish expansion and of the bishoprics of Nordalbingia (Scior 2002: 228, see also Kolk 2004: 73-4). Here Volker Scior's study can be seen as one of the first attempts to study it as an expression of Nordalbingian identities (Scior 2002: 231-80).

Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon Livoniae*

The original manuscript of the chronicle has not been preserved, and the text as we have it now is the restoration. There are sixteen manuscripts dating from the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries. The manuscript studies rely on the work of Leonid Arbusow younger.⁹ Among them five are independent (the *Codex Zamoscianus*, *Codex Skodeiskianus*, *Codex Gymnasialis Revaliensis*, *Codex Toll*, and *Codex Oxenstierna*), and all of them can be drawn back to a hypothetical thirteenth-century archetype. Among them the oldest is the late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century *Codex Zamoscianus*, a copy of a thirteenth-century archetype.¹⁰ The manuscript has not been preserved fully, as it ends with passage HCL XXII.8 and has many omissions, yet it gives the core for the restoration of the original as done by Leonid Arbusow. The other independent manuscripts Leonid Arbusow draws back to a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century copy of the archetype. From that two copies were made in the fifteenth century, either of them extant. From one of them another copy was made in the seventeenth century, the so-called *Codex Skodeiskianus* or *Codex Rigensis* preserved in the Library of Latvian Academy of Sciences in Riga. Next to the *Codex Zamoscianus* this is the second most well preserved version of the chronicle, which Leonid Arbusow used to fill the gaps in the *Codex Zamoscianus*. A manuscript originating from the same fifteenth-century source is the *Codex Gymnasialis Revaliensis* from the 1660s onwards, used by Leonid Arbusow, yet no longer extant. From the second fifteenth-century copy has preserved a copy from the seventeenth century, the *Codex Toll* preserved in the Estonian History Museum in Tallinn (Arbusow 1926-7: 197-231).

Also all the interpolated manuscripts rely on this fifteenth century copy, and are all drawn back on a late sixteenth-century interpolated manuscript, the *Codex Oxenstierna* preserved in the Library of Lower-Saxony in Hannover. Among the interpolated manuscripts the most important ones are a late seventeenth-century manuscript from the collections of A.F.J. Knüpfert preserved in the Estonian Literary Museum in Tartu, and a manuscript done by Johannes Witte in 1635 in Riga, preserved in the Library of Latvian Academy of Sciences in Riga (Arbusow 1926-7: 231-285).

Henry's text was used in later historical writing from the fourteenth century onwards. These authors include firstly Hermann Wartberge, a chronicler of the Teutonic Order and an author *Chronicon Livoniae* from 1378, and a Rigan Dome Provost Theodor Nagel who used Henry in his legal treatise in 1454. Among the later authors drawing on Henry's work are Thedor Krantz (1450-1517), who used it for his *Vandalia* (1519), *Saxonia* (1502), *Metropolis seu historia de ecclesiis sub Carolo Magno in Saxonia instauratis* (1548), and *Chronica regnorum aquilonarum Daniae, Sueciae et Norvegiae* (1546) (see previous subchapter); a Pomeranian historian Thomas Kantzow

⁹ See firstly Arbusow 1926/7, and also Bauer 1955, Tarvel 1982: 10-16, Vahtre 1990: 7-22. For the stemma see Arbusow 1926-7: 125-173.

¹⁰ The manuscript was found in 1862 in Warsaw from the collections of the Zamoyski family, and is preserved at the Polish National Library in Warsaw. The most thorough study of the manuscript, *Der Codex Zamoscianus, enthaltend Capitel I-XXIII 8 der Origines Livoniae*, was published already in 1865 by Carl Schirren.

(d. 1542); a Livonian humanist Augustin Uverfehrt whose historical poems from the 1560s show references to Henry, Heinrich of Tiesenhausen (d. 1600), the chroniclers Mortitz Brandis (late sixteenth century), Thomas Hiärn (1638-1678), and Hermann of Brevern (1663-1721) (Arbusow 1926-7: 285-341).

Until 1862 the first editions of the chronicle were relying on the *Codex Oxenstierna*. Firstly Henry's chronicle was published in print by Johann Daniel Gruber in his *Origines Livoniae sacrae et civilis seu Chronicon Livonicum vetus* in 1740. August Heinrich Hansen published Gruber edition newly in the first edition of *Scriptores rerum Livonicarum* Series in 1853, he however added to it the corrections made by Johann Gottfried Arndt, and a new German translation. As the *Codex Zamoscianus* was found in 1862, a new edition (relying besides the latter also on the *Codex Skodeiskianus*, *Codex Gymnasialis Revaliensis*, and *Codex Oxenstierna*) was made by Wilhelm Arndt, and was published in 1874 both in the MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* and *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* Series. As already mentioned above, the edition presently in use is a textual restoration by Leonid Arbusow. However as Arbusow died in 1951, his work was finished by Albert Bauer. The edition was published in 1955 in the MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* Series.

The first German translation, relying mainly on the Gruber edition, was published by Johann Gottfried Arndt in 1747. The new translation by Eduard Pabst from 1867 relied mainly on the *Codex Zamoscianus*, yet partly also on the *Codex Gymnasialis Revaliensis*, and *Codex Toll*. The Arbusow-Bauer Latin edition was published with a facing German translation by Albert Bauer in 1954, and the same edition was reprinted in 1959 in the *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters* Series.

The first Russian translation by Jevgraf Tšešihhin-Vetrinski was based on the Arndt edition and published in 1876. The second Russian translation Genrik Latvieskii, *Chronika Livonii* was accompanied by a new Latin edition based on the *Codex Zamoscianus*, both by Sergei Anniskii, and published in 1938.

The first Estonian translation dates back to the years 1881 and 1883, when it was published by Jaan Jung and relied on the German translation by Eduard Pabst and the Latin edition by August Hansen. The second Estonian translation relied on Arbusow-Bauer edition and was published by Julius Mägiste in 1962. The Arbusow-Bauer edition was published with a facing Estonian translation by Richard Kleis and commentaries by Enn Tarvel in 1982. A re-edited version of the latter translation only was published by Enn Tarvel in 1993. There however was another Estonian translation by Rudolf Laaneste, yet its author fell in 1941 in the Second World War and the manuscript perished in the war alike (Vahtre 1990:14).

The first Latvian translations are based on the Arndt edition, the first by M. Siliņš was published in 1883, and the second by Jānis Krīpens, in 1936. The latest Latvian translation by A. Feldhuna and E. Mugurevičs was published in 1993. There is also a recent Lithuanian translation from 1991.

A translation into English was published in 1961 by James Brundage, and is based on the Arndt edition, containing many mistakes and inaccuracies. There is also a recent reprint of the latter from 2003. So far the newest is the first Finnish translation by Maijastina Kahlos and Raija Sarasti-Wilenius, published in 2003.

The historiographical studies on Henry's text are abundant.¹¹ The first thorough study of the text was a dissertation by Heinrich Hildebrand (Hildebrand 1865). The classic studies on Henry's text are by Leonid Arbusow. Firstly those include his analysis of the manuscript tradition (Arbusow 1926-7), a study of the contemporary reports on the Livonian and Estonian mission and crusades (Arbusow 1938).¹² His later studies focused on the intertextual aspects of Henry's text, resulting in a general analysis on the role of quotations in Henry's text (Arbusow 1950), and a study

¹¹ For an overview of the earlier studies see Arbusow 1926-7: 189-97, Bauer 1955: lix-lxii. For the newer research see Vahtre 1990: 7-19, Vahtre 2001, and also the latest Latvian edition from 1993.

¹² See also his reports from the Vatican archive (Arbusow 1928-33), and Arbusow 1939.

on the impact of liturgy on historical writing (Arbusow 1951). The latter, listing and analysing around one hundred liturgical quotations, was to be of significant importance to the studies of medieval historical writing in general (Guenée 1980: 53).

The quotations in *Chronicon Livoniae* have however been analysed by many authors, and here the ground-study is that by Vilis Bilkins, cataloguing around 775 quotes (Bilkins 1928; for an overview see also Bauer 1955). Yet the studies have tended to focus largely on the quantitative analysis, and not on the function of the quotations in the text. It is only later that Jaan Undusk came to emphasise their role as a mean to sacralise Henry's text by linking it to the sacred discourse (Undusk 1990). Both Jaan Undusk and Enn Tarel have also come to point out Henry's creativity in what comes to including the quotes into his narrative and developing the biblical *topoi* further in his own text (Tarvel 1987, Undusk 1990; see also Kaljundi 2004a and Kaljundi 2004b).

The question of Henry's authorship and nationality were an issue debated widely during the nineteenth and at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Even though it has been much disputed that he was of Liv or Latvian origin, save only educated in Germany, those claims are no longer held likely. As a proof of this the name *Heinricus de Lettis* (HCL XVI.3), and the positive image of the Latvians has been pointed out.¹³ By the 1950s however the counter-arguments posed by Friedrich von Keussler, Robert Holtzmann, Paul Jordan, Leonid Arbusow and Paul Johansen had established themselves firmly. They are based mainly on his use of language, good knowledge of German affairs, and expressions of German identity, stated most explicitly in passages where Henry lists the Latvians and "ours", i.e. Germans separately (Johansen 1953: 7, Bauer 1955: vi; see also Tarvel 1982: 5-6, Vahtre 1990: 14). Here especially Paul Johansen's study of the text as a biography proved to be a fruitful approach (Johansen 1953), even though a further close reading of the text with that perspective in mind could bring about many new and interesting results. An earlier attempt to place the author into the context of his time is a study by Heinrich Laakmann (Laakmann 1932/4).¹⁴

The initiative behind the chronicle has been another widely debated issue.¹⁵ Albert Bauer has argued that Henry wrote the chronicle on his own initiative, with the support of his fellow missionaries and priests. While Albert Bauer excludes Bishop Albert's initiative, referring to the critique Henry poses on him (Bauer 1955: xviii-xxi); Enn Tarvel has however argued convincingly that the interests of the see in Riga determine the whole focus and structure of the text (Tarvel 1982: 7, see also Vahtre 1990: 10-1). By now the research however has come to emphasise that Henry intended to give his to the papal legate William of Modena (Lind et al. 2004: 160, 163-4).

As regards the ideologies and values presented in the text, the studies so far have remained on a more general level. The research tends to emphasise the dominance of the missionary focus in the text (Hildenbrand 1865: 26, Tarvel 1987: 8-9), on the other hand Leonid Arbusow has also argued that the chronicle starts out as a missionary account, yet turns into a crusading chronicle and a record of the history of the crusader state (Arbusow 1951: 5). The earlier research discussed also the impact of the Augustine notions of *civitas Dei* and *civitas terrena* on the text (Bilkins 1931, Zutis 1949, Tarvel 1982: 9-10, Tarvel 1987). During the recent years the chronicle has been pointed out as a brilliant source for the more complex crusading ideologies of his time (Tyermann 1998: 33-4), and especially as regards the ideas behind the missionary wars (Kahl 1978: 68); and here a further close reading could be an especially fruitful approach. During the recent decade the studies by Danish scholars have already brought along many new results, especially by Carsten Selch Jensen (Jensen 2001, Jensen forthcoming), and Torben K. Nielsen (Nielsen 2000). During the recent

¹³ For an overview of the debate see also Vahtre 1990: 7-11. The claim of his Latvian origin was posed firstly by Johann Daniel Gruber in 1740. Later especially Arvids Švābe argued on behalf of Henry's Latvian origin (Švābe 1938 and Švābe 1940 : cf Vahtre 1990: 14).

¹⁴ For other Estonian pre-war studies on Henry's chronicle by Hans Oldekop, Arno Rafael Cedeberg, Juhan Luiga, Harri Moora, Hans Kruus, and Lemmit Mark see Vahtre 1990: 14-15, 30-41.

¹⁵ For an overview see Bauer 1955: xviii-xxi.

decades the scholars especially the Danish crusading effort on the Baltics has been of interest to many reserarchers (Rebane 1984, Rebane 1989, Rebane 2001, Nyberg 1983, Nyberg 1998, Nielsen 2001, Lind et al. 2004), and this has provided many interesting comparisons to the partial and German-focused picture Henry is giving of the Livonian and especially of the Estonian crusade.

A study by Marek Tamm has on the miracle-stories presented in the chronicle (Tamm 1996) has pointed out an interesting topic that had not studied so far, yet also raised again the issue of Henry's sources for the earlier period of the mission (for the latter see also Kolk 2004). Another fruitful field of interest could be the image of Virgin Mary, especially as during the recent decades the image of Virgin Mary has become a rapidly growing research topic.¹⁶

¹⁶ Here Leonid Arbusow has done a close textual analysis on the related liturgical sources (Arbusow 1951: 64-74, see also Arbusow 1950), while Paul Johansen and Enn Tarvel have pointed out the general similarities with the popular devotion of the Holy Virgin (Johansen 1950, Tarvel 1987). For a bibliography on the Marienland and discussion on the initiative behind the Mary devotion in Livonia see the recent overview by Ivar Leimus (Leimus 2002: 21-2).