The Discovery of the Baltic

*The Reception of a Catholic World-System
in the European North* (AD 1075–1225)

Nils Blomkvist

THE DISCOVERY OF THE BALTIC

THE NORTHERN WORLD

North Europe and the Baltic c. 400-1700 AD
Peoples, Economies and Cultures

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VOLUME 15

THE DISCOVERY OF THE BALTIC

The Reception of a Catholic World-System in the European North (AD 1075-1225)

BY

NILS BLOMKVIST

TUTA SUB AEGIDE PALLAS
1683

BRILL

LEIDEN · BOSTON

2005

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

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PREFACE

The idea of studying the great and seemingly all-embracing processes of change that swept over the Baltic World during the 11th–13th centuries from a discovery perspective emerged in the early 1990s. It was indeed a time of widening horizons. I was involved in making contact with (until then) little-known colleagues from other countries bordering the Sea. In due course these interesting encounters developed into the research project Culture Clash or Compromise (CCC), within which the present study has been finally written. The CCC project was generously financed by *The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation* during the years 1998–2001. In addition, particular aspects of my work on the present book have been subsidised by *Sällskapet DBW:s stiftelse, Wilhelmina von Hallwyls Gotlandsfond* and Gotland University. For all this generous support I express my profound gratitude.

To write a book of this size and character is never a one-man-job. My thanks for services rendered and for good advice are due in many directions. All participants in the CCC project have been compelled to comment on it. Some more than others, though: Muntis Auns, Riga; Marika Mägi, Tallinn; Heiki Valk, Tartu; Romas Jarockis, Vilnius, and Detlef Kattinger, Greifswald, must all be specially mentioned. Sverre Bagge, Bergen; Lars Ersgård, Visby; Lars Hermanson, Uppsala; Ingemar Jansson, Stockholm; Sven Lilja, Södertörn; Robert Sandberg, Södertörn; Enn Tarvel, Tallinn, have all read a preliminary draft; as have Bengt Ankarloo, Lund, and Eva Österberg, Lund, in a strenuous evaluation containing much constructive criticism. More recently Thomas Lindkvist, Gothenburg, read a version that I considered more or less ready, which he however convinced me to arrange in a better order.

I have had the advantage of discussing various aspects of the investigation in many scholarly environments: at the five CCC conferences in Nida 1999, Greifswald 2000, Lund 2000, Tartu 2001, and Visby 2001; at the conference *Scandinavians and Europe 800–1350* at the University of Hull in 1999; in a so-called *Ringvorlesung* at the University of Kiel in 2000; at the conference *Inventing the Pasts* in

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PART I

THE DISCOVERY APPROACH

An Introduction to the Problem and its Theoretical Framework

WHAT IS EUROPE TO THE BALTIC?
A SURVEY OF THE MAIN TOPIC AND
ITS SUB-PROBLEMS

1. *Discovery as an Aspect of Europeanization*

On the title of the book

Transeuntibus insulas Danorum alter mundus aperitur in Sueoniam vel Nortmanniam, quae sunt duo latissima regna aquilonis et nostro orbi adhuc fere incognita, writes Adam of Bremen in his *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*.[1] Roughly, he says that 'when we pass the isles of the Danes, another world appears in Sweden and Norway, two vast realms in the north, which are hardly known yet to our world.' These words recall the position, geographic as well as mental, from which the Europeanization of the Baltic world began.[2] Furthermore they tell us that Scandinavia,[3] as late as the 1070s, was scarcely part of Europe in the Roman-Catholic, Western sense of the word. On the other hand there is something in the way they are uttered that indicates a forthcoming change in these matters. The formula is, I think, hidden in the word *adhuc*, yet . . . 'until now'. Thus, the quotation confirms that there is some justification

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[1] ABG IV:21; for the translation here and below cf. Henrichsen 1930; Trillmich 1961 pp. 137–499; Svenberg et al. 1984. The Scandinavian peninsula continued to be referred to as 'another world'. In his famous patriotic speech at the Reform Council in Basle 1434, Nicolaus Ragvaldi assigns the origin of the Goths to *amplissima peninsula Scandiana (quam cosmographi 'alterum orbem' affirmant)*, see Odelman 1990 p. 290f.

[2] In this text the word Baltic will signify the Sea and at times suggest culture-oriented syntheses, such as 'the Baltic World'. The particular group of three countries nowadays referred to as Baltic will occasionally be grouped together as *Balticum* or the East Baltic peoples or lands, whereas Balts refers to an ethnically and linguistically defined group, today Latvians and Lithuanians.

[3] Here, Scandinavia must be understood as a technical geographic concept, constructed (or re-constructed) in more modern times on the classical name of Scandza. Some idea of a cultural affinity between Denmark, Norway and Sweden (including outside territories influenced by them) is manifest, however, in medieval sources, viz. the term *norðr-londum* (Sgbr k. 8) or the frequent continental references to *Northmanni*.

in the title of this book, by indicating that the Baltic was to be dis-
covered, somehow, in the near future. As discoveries tend to, this one
also had far-reaching consequences across the Baltic Rim—the sur-
rounding territories, defined in a concrete sense by the waters flowing
into the Sea.

The few words quoted above point to as well as disguise the
personal experience of the Bremen *magister*. Referring for example
to his opinion of the four wind directions, it has been shown that
this was as far as he got—to one or other of Denmark's shores.[4]
From there, his eyes could follow ships sailing further away. In his
imagination, obviously, he was on board himself, heading for a mys-
terious, overwhelmingly rich circle of isles—as was then generally
believed—in a barely known sea, covered in veils of mist. The Baltic
(or Barbarian) Sea, he explains, had not been dealt with by 'any of
the learned', except Einhard. And what this Carolingian courtier had
written was soon reported.[5] Adam would provide, so he writes, 'a
more detailed narrative of what his great predecessor had told in
brief, in order to make it better known to his compatriots'.[6]

Back home in Bremen, writing his history of its archbishops—
nominally heads of the see of Hamburg, but residing in Bremen for
centuries—he therefore provides a geographical exposition of Denmark
and the remote realms beyond. From his pen comes the first consistent
description of the Nordic and Baltic Rim peoples, the Slavs along the
southern coast of the Baltic, as well as the Götar and Svear towards
the north. Further to the east, he even identifies another group of
peoples, who are said to live right up to Russia.[7] Adam's work is

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[4] For a recent work on the life and letters of Adam, see H. Janson (1998), with
considerable new perspectives on Adam's reasons for writing. Cf. Schmeidler 1917 pp.
LII–LVII; Trillmich 1961 pp. 137–39; KL s.v. *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*,
S. Bolin; and the commented bibliography in Svenberg et al. 1984 p. 409ff.

[5] *quae de sino illo Baltico [vel Barbaro] dicerem, ciuius nullam mentionem audivi quempiam
fecisse doctorum nisi solum, . . . Einhardum* (ABG IV:20). Adam quotes Einhard's infor-
mation *verbatim*, that the southern shores were held by the Slavs, and the northern
ones by the Swedes. *Itaque latera illius ponti ab austro Sclavi, ab aquilone Suedi possederunt*
(ABG IV:14). About the Slavs, cf. also ABG II:20–23 and Schol. 12–18, about the
Russians in ABG IV:18 and Schol. 14, 122. It may be queried why Rimbert's *Vita
Anskari*, otherwise one of Adam's most frequently used sources, is not mentioned in
this context. In fact, several classic authors comment on the Baltic North, such as
Jordanes, Paulus Diaconus and others (cf. Alonso-Núñez 1988). King Alfred's Orosius
was apparently unknown to Adam.

[6] *ea, quae ille per compendium dixit, pleniori calamo nostris scienda proponens* (AGB IV:10,
cf. 11).

[7] The problem of Götar and Svear—the two main population groups of Sweden

supposed to have been accomplished in the middle of the 1070s, after which a series of comments, so-called *scholies*, began to be added by Adam himself as well as by others.[8]

Certainly, Adam wrote with a political purpose—a burning actuality now forgotten by most—which brought some obvious bias to the narrative. It is thus no coincidence that the area which he describes was the object of Bremen's missionary ambitions (see Chapter Nine). And he certainly shares the visionary delusion of the period's scholarly conventions: the mysterious North was not quite to be separated from *Scythia* or from any of the remote places where, since Antiquity, numerous exotic tribes were thought to dwell. On the other hand he can state that the proto-town of Birka is *in medio Sueoniae posita contra civitatem Sclavorum respicit Jumnem paribusque spaciis omnes illius ponti amplectitur horas . . .* 'is situated in the middle of Sweden, just opposite to Jumne, the town of the Slavs, and at the same distance from all shores of this sea'.[9] Such localizations are 'learned', aimed at the desk-top world of contemporary ecclesiastical closet-scholars, the one demonstrating blind trust in ancient authorities, the other that the Creator's work ought to be as geometrically perfect as a linear drawing.

These insertions, however, are not very difficult to sort out,[10] and the political motives of Adam and his archbishops do not disqualify the book as the main written source on the Baltic Rim of the late 11th century, nor its author's knowledge of his subject and his capacity to express it. On the contrary, these qualities must have been the prerequisite of any other use.[11] As a pioneering geographer of the Baltic,

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(ABG IV:14. Cf. Svenberg et al. 1984 p. 285 note 627; cf. Schol. 122 with note) will be thoroughly discussed in Ch. IX:2. Adam also says that, according to the Danes, it would be possible to reach Ostrogard (probably Novgorod) within a month with a fair wind . . . *Affirmant autem Dani . . . secundo flatu per mensem aliquos a Dania pervenisse in Ostrogard Ruzziae* (ABG IV:11; cf. Schol. 120). In Schol. 126, however, it is said to be possible to sail from Skåne to Birka in five days, and from there to Russia in five more days. Cf. also ABG IV:29.

[8] H. Janson 1998 p. 33ff.

[9] Adam refers to late antique authors like Solinus and Martianus Capella, who enumerate such peoples as the *Amazones, Cynocephali, Cyclopes, Himantopodes, Antropofagi,* and *Trogoditae.* Adam's contribution is in placing these names in the Baltic region; or just outside it (ABG IV:20, cf. 19; cf. generally Haskins 1968 p. 224ff.).

[10] It has been done by the various commentators on the work; cf. most recently Søndergaard 2001 pp. 51–71.

[11] To Haskins (1968 p. 264) Adam's text appears as 'one of the most informing documents offered by the Middle Ages to the history of exploration.'

Adam has no match, and although he mostly resided in Bremen, he
was able to report many eye-witness communications from colleagues
in the field, on top of which he presents a scoop—an interview with
Svend Estridsen, King of the Danes, to whose authority he refers again
and again. The actual contents and the joy of discovery in Adam's
fourth book of the *Gesta* is what keeps it still being read, translated
and discussed. What he captures is, not least, a sense of expectation.

Another learned tradition, emanating from the 'Crypt Monastery'
of Greek-Orthodox Kiev, reveals an interest in the Baltic North at
about the same period. There, a general picture of roughly the same
regions and their inhabitants was included in the cosmography which
begins the *Povest' vremennykh let* (PVL), 'Tale of the bygone years', or
'Chronicle of Nestor'. This chronicle, based on several older com-
pilations, was composed at the beginning of the 12th century.[12]

The description starts with the division of land between the sons
of Noah. The area between the Baltic and the Black Sea was assigned
to Jafet. The list of peoples living there mentions the Rus (as the
inhabitants of the Kiev-Novgorod realm called themselves) and the
Çuds (Baltic Finns, Estonians) and the many other Finnish-speaking
peoples who lived all the way to the Urals. Living near 'the Varangian
Sea' were the other East Baltic ethnic groups: Lithuanians, *Zimegoles*
(Semigalians), *Korsi* (Curonians), Latvians, Livs, *Ljachi* (Poles) and
Pruzzi. Just as Adam had tried to describe the eastern world, the
Kiev monks tell us their image of the lands in the west:

> At the same sea Varangians are living as far to the east as Sem's lot,
> and in the west their area reaches to the Anglians' and Vlachs' land
> (Gaul). Other descendants of Jafet are the Varangians, the Svear, the
> Norwegians, the Götar, the Rus, the Anglians, the Galicians, the Vlachs,
> the Romans, the Germans, the Carolingians, the Venicians, the Franks
> and other peoples who live in areas from the west to the east, and
> are neighbours to the descendants of Ham.[13]

The Kiev monks were as vague about the western world as Adam was
about *their* country: 'Those who know these regions state that peo-
ple have gone over land from the Svea realm up to Greece but such
a journey would be impossible because of the wild peoples that have

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[12] PVL; for translations, here and later, cf. Norrback 1919, Svane 1983; Oxenstierna
1998.
[13] Transcriptions according to Svane 1983 p. 237f.

to be passed', he reflects. 'Therefore they prefer the risk of sailing'.[14]
It seems that Adam really thought that the Scandinavian-Scythian
world of isles was surrounded by a sea that reached right down to
Byzantium.[15] A Russian monk would not have made the same mis-
take. The PVL tells of 'a highroad from the Varangians to the Greeks
and from the land of the Greeks back along the Dnjepr', and continues
quite correctly: 'Some way up the Dnjepr river there is a portage
reaching to the Lovat. After the Lovat the large Lake Ilmen appears.
From this lake the Volkhov River runs out into the large Lake Neva
which in turn flows out into the Varangian Sea'.[16]

Together the descriptions from Bremen and Kiev—two northern
outposts of the Mediterranean World—overlap the Baltic Rim, see-
ing their respective neighbourhoods sharply enough and screwing
their eyes up in order to spot something of the Other's. However it
deserves to be noted that the area in question was quite well sur-
veyed by many of its native inhabitants. Being a major part of what
we may call the Viking World, it was even to some extent a unit.
The period when the Bremen schoolmaster and Kiev monk(s) were
composing their works coincided with the decline of the Viking Age.
Somewhat paradoxically, this means that the ones who were to be
discovered may well have been the more accomplished geographers
and travellers.

There is rich evidence of the widespread knowledge of routes and
foreign places among Scandinavians of the period, from which I
merely quote the short runic inscription on a whetstone found on
Gotland: *ormiga: ulfua(t)r: krikiar: iaursalir: isla(n)t: serkla(n)t* . . . 'Ormika,
Ulvatr. Greece, Jerusalem, Iceland, Serkland (the land of the Saracens)'.

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[14] *Asserunt etiam periti locorum a Sueonia terrestri via permeasse quosdam usque in Graeciam.
Sed barbarae gentes, quae in medio sunt, hoc iter impediunt, propterea navibus temptatur pericu-
lum* (ABG IV:15, cf. 10–14, cf. Nyberg in: Svenberg et al., 1984 p. 325ff.).

[15] *Ex eo portu naves emitti solent in Sclavaniam vel in Suediam vel ad Semland usque in
Greciam* . . . 'From there (Hedeby) ships depart to the Slavic lands, Sweden, Sembland,
and as far as to Greece' (ABG IV:1); *Jumne celeberrimam prestat stacionem Barbaris et
Grecis* . . . 'In Jumne many wild peoples and the Greeks have an excellent harbour'
(ABG II:22); *[insula] quae Sconiae ac Gothiae proxima Holmus appellatur, celeberrimus Daniae
portus et fida stacio navium, quae ad barbaros et in Greciam dirigi solent* . . . The isle of Holm,
that is said to be near to Skåne and Götaland, is usually interpreted as Bornholm.
It is regarded as a 'secure anchoring berth for the ships that generally go to the
wild tribes and to Greece' (ABG IV:16; cf. Svenberg et al. 1984 p. 214).

[16] Following Norrback 1919 p. 4. For a more detailed description of the approach
towards Byzantium by the Rus, see Constantine Porphyrogenitus cc. 2, 9. Cf. M.G.
Larsson 1986.

The first two are men's names. The rest are no doubt memoranda to a narrative charged with extreme adventure, probably the shortest epic in history. On the reverse side of the stone is a small mould for casting an ornament somewhat reminiscent of German coins of the late 11th century, a dating which corresponds with the character of the runes.[17] Taken together these observations suggests that the horizons of, say, a Gotlandic craftsman may have been even wider than those of contemporary scholars like Adam of Bremen.

A decisive change—some concepts for its framing and the quest for its meaning

Around 1100, observers at northern outposts of the Mediterranean culture, such as Bremen and Kiev, were focusing interest on the Baltic Rim. The situation might have heralded a breakthrough, in which the South through a 'pincer movement' was to take control over and integrate the last Barbarians of the misty North. But this was not to be the case, for at that precise moment the south-north relation ceased to be the dominant dynamism in European development. Instead, new tendencies—constituting the subject of this book—engaged the socio-economic, political and cultural tension-field in an east-west encounter.

As a geographical form, Europe as we know it in modern times can be described as a triangular-like peninsula on the Afro-Asian landmass, protruding between the Mediterranean and the Baltic into the World Ocean. The waters of this continent, collected in glaciers and lakes, meandering through rills, streams and rivers, discharge either into the Mediterranean, the Baltic, or into the Ocean itself, hardly making Europe one 'natural unit', or even two, but perhaps three (or four, since the Caspian Sea basin is normally included as well). In other words, the territory that we tend to call Europe is no self-evident result of natural borders, climate or demography. It is—as the current expression goes—a cultural construction;[18] or more a result of uncountable integrative and antagonistic projects, within a long historical development.

For a long time, the roots of Europe were searched for in the high cultures of Mediterranean Antiquity. Whether the 'islands' to the north

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[17] SvR:GR 216; cf. I. Jansson [ed.] 1983 pp. 435–37.
[18] Cf. Hacking 1999.

belonged to it or not was an open question to the ancient geographers and has been little discussed in later times.[19] To modern scholars, the epoch which clearly shaped what we know today as Europe, not only as a geographic complex but even more as a characteristic cultural environment, is instead the High Middle Ages. This was when the West took the lead, when Catholic Christianity, after breaking contact with eastern Orthodoxy, began to expand in all directions.[20] In a rightly famous thesis, C.H. Haskins with some justification suggested that the 12th century was a Renaissance—a new start for the *belles lettres* and scholarship of Greek and Roman antiquity. Aristotle and others were studied and discussed once more, as well as being used to build up Catholic organisation.[21] Even so, to evoke another classic, Fernand Braudel is equally justified in seeing the beginning of the 12th century—'the enormous expansion in the countryside of the western world, and in its cities, together with the crusades'—as the starting point of the great European economic secular and global rise.[22] Albeit of a different nature, the High Medieval 'Making of Europe' was an effort of a magnitude comparable to that of the Roman Empire, and *mutatis mutandis* to some extent to the Early Modern European global expansion.[23] The period which will be under study here could thus be seen as the middle step in a staircase of three, which through cumulative development led to European world-dominance.

According to a scholarly convention, what was initiated by the continental expansion of the High Middle Ages is summarised as Europeanization. In the words of Robert Bartlett, High Medieval Europe was 'an image of a set of societies that can be seen as sharing something', whereas Europeanization conveys the point 'that there was a dramatic change in what was shared' and also in its geographic extension.[24] The concept thus refers to the emergence of

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[19] E.g. Frisch 1962; Smith 1969; cf. Hodder 1992.

[20] Johansson 1993; Bartlett 1994 p. 269ff. & passim. The importance of the 12th century in 'the making of Europe' is also evident in the series by the same name under the editorship of J. le Goff, see e.g. Rösener 1994.

[21] Haskins 1968; Dawson 1958; Arzt 1967 p. 225ff.

[22] Braudel 1986 p. 66f.

[23] Haskins 1968 pp. 3–31. 'It is often overlooked', write Ekholm and Friedman (1993 p. 62) 'that mercantile Europe operated very much like Rome in its expansion, that it accumulated and "squandered" great amounts of wealth, not primarily by producing, but by pillaging large parts of the Globe, and that capitalist production only began *within* this larger imperialistic process upon which it was, materially speaking, entirely dependent'. Cf. Fernández-Armesto 1987, and Wallerström 1995 p. 170.

[24] Bartlett 1994 p. 269f. It is thus an expression modelled on Americanization,

that European civilisation, which in high-pitched phraseology is often
named Occidental or Western; and which in Adam's day had begun
to develop some particularly progressive, dynamic, 'Faustian' (and
thus also dangerous) characteristics.

   As a concept, Europeanization may thus have its problems. It vio-
lates the common geographic definition of Europe, by leaving out
the eastern part, whereas the world Adam refers to as 'ours' (*orbis
noster*) claimed to be a continuum of the Roman *Imperium* and the
late- and post-Roman *Christianitas*, more than anything else.[25] Seen
as a concept of culture, mental outlook and ideology however, Europe
has frequently been associated with the Latinized Catholic West since
the Middle Ages, and the adjective European seems more often to
allude to the 'dynamic Western mentality' than to the Classical Medi-
terranean heritage that provides the tenor of the more extended use
of the concept.[26] With regard to the 12th century, Europeanization may
well be used as a catchword summing up the particular 'package'
of intertwined High Medieval growth processes, stemming from and
thus expanding Catholic Europe. Since I could do with a single
expression for all this, and considering that the alternatives—Latiniza-
tion, Catholicization, Westernization etc.—seem even more problematic,
I have chosen to stick with Europeanization in the following study.[27]

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implying the diverse influences that have flooded Europe (and in fact the world) in
the post-World War II era.
   [25] Schmidt 1999 pp. 39–59.
   [26] The word Europe is said to derive from a Semitic expression for 'sunset', 'land
in the west' (Nordisk familjebok s.v. Europa). The geographic concept has its roots
in classical cartography, where the river Tanais (Don) was often the border between
Asia and Europe. The connection with western Christianity seems to go back to
Alquin, see Hallencreutz 1992 pp. 163–65 with further references; Hallencreutz
1993 pp. 8–10; Johansson 1993 pp. 50ff., 54f., 70ff. Cf. Rupnik's (1985) expression
'The Other Europeans'.
   [27] Blomkvist 1998 p. 9f. Whether the CCC project should use the concept of
'Europeanization' was thoroughly debated at its Lund conference, 'The European
Frontier', October 13th–15th, 2000. The problem seemed to be whether a biased
concept may be used if the scholar is aware of its problems and points them out
to his readers. If it simplifies communication, I very much think so. Latinization
would probably signal a mainly linguistic change, Catholization *alone* on the other
hand a theological one; as for Westernization, cf. Kloczowski (2001 p. 169ff.) who
uses 'Westernization' similarly to the way Europeanization is used by Bartlett and in
this study. It sounds alright as long as he is making an East Middle European case
study. However, I prefer the Europeanization of the North, East, South and West
to their Westernization. The Westernization of the West—which would have been
the result if the author had chosen to discuss England, Spain or Portugal—would
have been altogether too complicated.

Adam of Bremen's premonition that the Northern World was soon to be better known by his fellow Europeans was indeed correct. From his own writings we know that troublesome efforts to Christianise the remaining pagans living there were already in operation during the 11th century. Around 1100, however, development accelerated. During the following century the Baltic world was not only discovered, but in a conclusive way also penetrated and economically and politically integrated with Western Europe. In the zone where Adam's and the Kiev monk's pictures of the Baltic overlapped, a cultural border emerged; at the same time Europe was subdivided into two varieties of Christian faith. Even if it had begun earlier and some decisive events did not take place until the early 1200s, most of what deserves to be called the discovery of the Baltic belongs to the interval 1075–1225, which can be called the 'long 12th century'. During these 150 years it was somehow decided that people living in and around the Baltic were to become Europeans in the Western sense, while more eastern parts of the Viking world began disappearing behind a cultural border. Hence the Time/Space focus of the investigation will be encapsulated by the two following expressions:

- The Baltic Rim—the drainage basin of the Baltic
- The long 12th century—from 1075 to 1225 AD (Figs. 1 and 2)

It is often claimed that properties fundamental to the present-day cultures of the Baltic Rim emerged in the encounter between local/pagan and European/Christian thoughts and attitudes of that period. Given that perspective, it is a remarkable fact that before long development in various countries of the Rim was heading in quite different directions. Let us summarize some of the most evident divergences in the long-term fates of these nations:

> The Scandinavians transformed into their own 'European' kingdoms. So did Poland and—considerably later—Lithuania; for a while Kievskaja Rus was on its way too, but the long-term development of these three took another direction to that of Scandinavia. A particularly sharp ethnic dimension was manifested between the Scandinavians and their Finno-Ugric neighbours, since the Danes and Swedes, after co-existing in other forms for millennia, by adopting European practices found the reason and means to conquer the Estonians and Finns respectively. Parallel to this, the Livs, Latvians and even more Estonians were conquered by the Germans and had to live under their rule up to modern times. The Vends (West Slavs) and Pruzzians (the Balt population in pre-German Prussia) underwent a similar fate, which in their case went

The Baltic Rim
Drainage system

Fig. 1. The Baltic Rim, drainage system.

Fig. 2. The Baltic Rim. Regions and places.
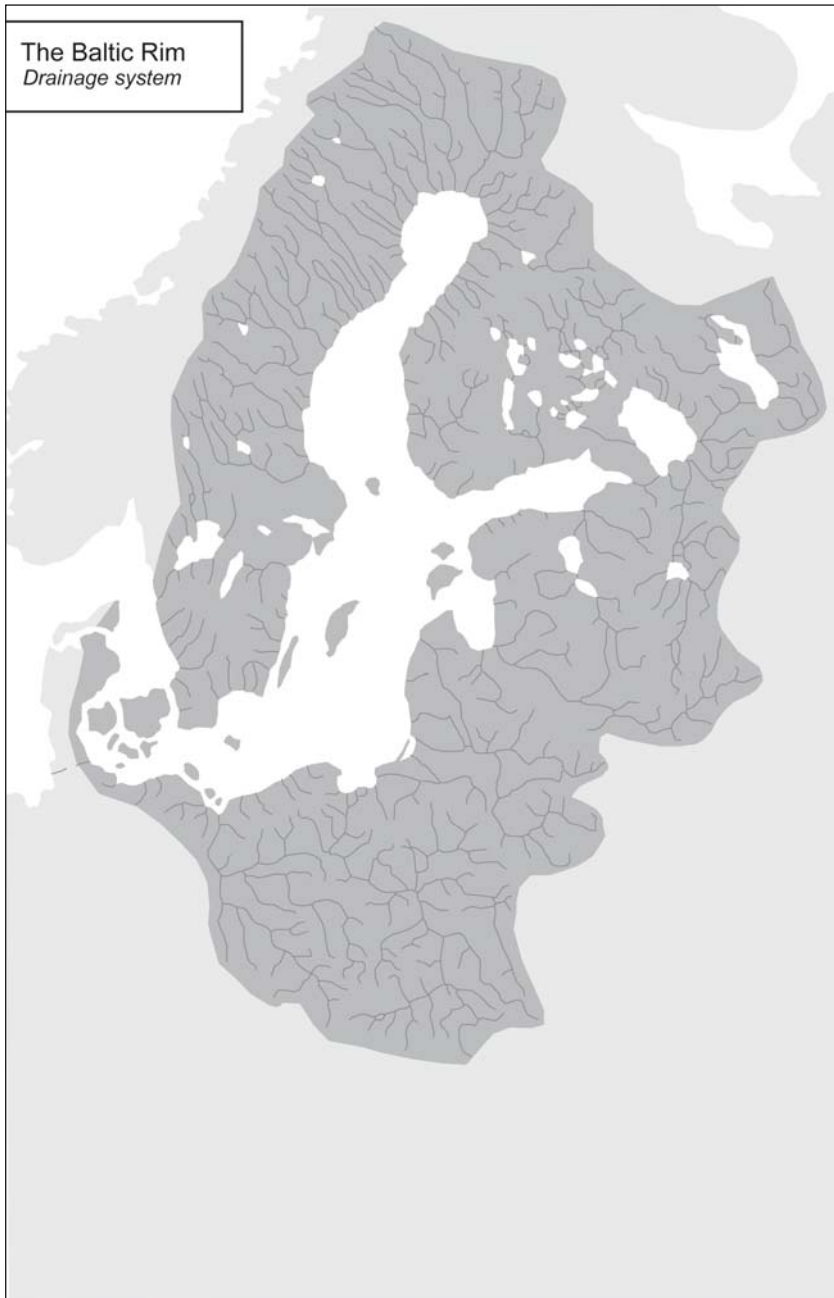
a step further, since both these groups were to disappear as nations
and become totally Germanized. The consequences were even greater
for Baltic Russia (the territories of Novgorod, Pskov and Polotsk), which
was gradually excluded from and even came to reject Western influence.

To some extent, the differences in historical experience reflect envi-
ronmental conditions. The southern and eastern coasts of the Baltic
are open and sandy, whereas those of the west and north are full of
islands, which encouraged sea-borne communications on a primitive
level. The southern and eastern mainland consists to a large degree
of billowing plains, covered in the 12th century by vast forests; the
northern and western mainland, on the other hand, is still chiefly cov-
ered with more meagre, moraine-bound forests, which are however
rich in minerals. A band of limestone crosses the Sea diagonally, pro-
ducing the large islands of Öland, Gotland and Osilia, thus forming
a border area between the dominant types of nature. The Baltic has
a fairly uniform climate on all its coasts, even if it gets colder the fur-
ther north you go. The greater climatic difference is between coastal
and inland areas. All these variations, and the many small ones that
must be omitted here, are likely to support somewhat different ways
of living, including different settlement patterns.

By 1400, the socio-economic differences were already settled in forms
well-known to posterity. Until recently Sweden and Finland formed a
small-scale rural world, open to quite differentiated economic activi-
ties. Here, the aristocracy has always been comparatively weak, and
consequently an unusual degree of personal freedom prevailed for the
lower social strata. Along the Baltic south coast, from Denmark to
Poland, on the other hand, large-scale agriculture emerged in the hands
of a powerful nobility, whose land was worked by an enserfed peas-
antry including gradually Germanized West Slavs; these large estates
interacted with a dense cluster of towns and cities. In Prussia and
Balticum, similar large-scale agriculture came into existence, socially
accentuated by the apartheid situation in which the nobility was German
(in Lithuania, Polish or Polonised) while those who worked the fields
were of various Slavonic, Baltic or Finno-Ugrian ethnic groups. The
eastern part of the Rim was not widely urbanised, but commercially
dominated by a few fairly large cities. To some degree, these cultural
borders tend to persist, even if their contents have undergone changes
and they all have a quite different colouring in the 21st century.[28]

Thus, they were all to be Europeanized, but why did their paths
diverge? However the problem is approached, it cannot be solved

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[28] For this survey I have consulted particularly the syntheses of Kirchner 1954;
Runblom 1995; Klinge 1995 pp. 39–136; Kahk and Tarvel 1997. For general theo-
retical background to these variations, see Honko 1999 p. 25ff. & passim. For the
tenacity of cultural borders, see Giddens 1995 p. 119ff.; Winberg 2000 pp. 13–28.
Cf. my article Ostsee in RGA 2002.

merely by studying the agents of Europeanization, without considering those who were to receive the new culture which wasn't theirs from the beginning. Furthermore we cannot exclude the possibility that the details of this decisive change—the way it was conducted, the challenge it meant to our forefathers and their decisions as to how it should be met—are facts that, albeit more or less forgotten, are somehow still with us. As much as habitual behaviour, inherited traditions and the micro-history of everyday life have an impact on human action, we may even presume that it is so.[29] This of course provides the ultimate reason for gathering the details of the processes of discovery and Europeanization in the Baltic and its surrounding areas, in an endeavour to understand their nature and meaning.

The discovery approach and its relevance to the Baltic

In 1595 Basilius Plinius, a medical student and poet deriving his name from Plön (*Pleene*) in Holstein, wrote an *encomium* to the city of Riga, in which he goes right back to the twelfth-century discovery of the advantageous site, which his imaginative mind captures in a series of detailed pictures. Half a millennium had passed since Adam of Bremen had laid down his pen. His premonition of an impending discovery of that other world in the north had long since come true. Furthermore, the discovery of new worlds had become a concept with a *colonial* meaning. Plinius lets the appraisal of his hometown follow a narrative pattern that had already been repeated for a century all over Renaissance Europe, in famous descriptions of the achievements of Columbus, Magalhães and others. It always had to begin with a heroic sailing expedition into the unknown:

Ignotos penetrare sinus & visere campos Qua venêre iuuat, carbasa dantque; Notis: Bremensis rutilas aduerso flumine Dunae Scindit aquas abies, turgida vela micant	Entering the unknown bay, seeing fields to be joyful to visit, the sails drawn by the storm, ship of Bremen moves up the current of Daugava, cutting the dark waters, the swaying sails shining.

At the end of such a journey were virgin lands waiting to be acquired together with a few superstitious 'Indians' who lived there. The great effort, all its expectations, dangers and tensions overcome, all of it

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[29] See e.g. Giddens 1995 p. 41ff.

condensed into a glorious *moment of discovery*—when a coast was spotted, some natives were encountered, and the acquisition of the territory begun. Thanks to his famous precursors the author from Riga was able to see it as if he had been there himself:

Turba cateruatim curuis stat Barbara ripis	Groups of barbarians stand on the curbed shores
Concinnatque oculos in cita transtra ratis	Staring at fast-approaching rowers.
Planipedum veluti volucrum vulpecula quando	As when the fox stalks a flock of birds
Callida sub repit, grex stupet attonitus	the silence of fear fell upon them.

Visions like this had already made thousands of contemporary Europeans put innumerable risks and uncertainties aside in order to search for their fortune on foreign continents. The particular land that Plinius had in mind was called Livonia. Just like those other territories in the Indies of the east and west, this one was . . .

. . . terra benigna, ferax.	. . . a rich and fertile land.
Non prior hac regio, vel fertilis vbere glebae	No land is better, no soil more fertile is tilled
Europae colitur qua plaga lata paret:	Anywhere in Europe, no broader fields are seen:
Ditior aut pecoris, vel apum, volucrumque, gregisque	Richest also in livestock, bees, and birds, whereas
Squamigeri, liquido quem Thetis amne, fouet.[30]	Thetis favours plenty of fish in the flowing stream.[31]

But Livonia, of course, belongs to the Baltic. And its explorers were not from very far away. Furthermore, the text is a piece of historical imagination.[32]

    Thus Livonia was never actually discovered in this way, unlike the Americas or the Pacific Islands.[33] Instead, these verses romanticize a situation which had occurred some four centuries earlier. The story of the sailors from Bremen is a paraphrase, indirectly falling back on what Henry of Latvia recorded in 1225–27 about the first encounters

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[30] The quotations are taken from B. Plinius Rigensis (1595) 1997 pp. 15–17.

[31] I have taken advantage of the translation into English by P. Cedriņš (1997 pp. 347–49), although I have used more direct expressions in several instances.

[32] See Cirule 1994 p. 124f. for further references.

[33] Alternatively, such an event could have occurred far back in antiquity; cf. Spekke 1976.

between the Germans—including an emissary from the archbishop of Bremen—and the locals, occurring in the landscape setting where the million-strong population of Riga spreads itself out today. Fortunately, Henry's chronicle was preserved and is, for obvious reasons, a far better source for these events. I will return to it in due course.

Plinius' tale reveals only stereotypes and it is mellow with hindsight perspectives.[34] Thus it is in itself of little relevance for our understanding of the twelfth-century Europeanization of the Daugava valley and its inhabitants. Its great value is to put us in the middle of the problem of European expansionism. Wherever in the post-Columbian world they occurred, the geopolitical events we can call discoveries were also an outlet for the specific western European ethos, characterised by Christian ideology and exploits, efforts at mission, acquisition and colonisation.[35] My headline claim of a discovery of the Baltic in the 12th century may be a metaphor akin to Plinius' Columbian pastiche, but it is seriously intended, encouraging the reader to reflect on the connection between the twelfth- and the sixteenth-century phases of western European expansion, and whether and to what extent they may have been cut from the same cloth.[36]

It may certainly seem so from a letter issued in 1108 by a congregation of prominent eastern Saxons, headed by Archbishop Adalgot of Magdeburg as their first name. Inspired by the recent interest in crusading against the infidels of Palestine, they write an appeal to the Western world of *Saxones, Franci, Lotaringi, Flandrigene* for assistance in a war against their own pagan neighbours. Since the text hopes for a joint venture with the Danish king, the pagans in question are likely to have been the Pomeranian Vends (see Chapters Three and Four). The letter reveals an attitude which comes close indeed to that of Plinius in sixteenth-century Riga, since it describes the objective of the expedition in the following way: *Gentiles isti pessimi sunt, sed terra eorum optima carne, melle, farina, [piscibus], avibus, et si excolatur, omnium de terra ubertate proventuum [plena][referta], ita ut nulla ei*

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[34] Chiappelli [ed.] 1976. For a concise analysis of Columbus' discoveries, and the subsequent colonisation of Hispaniola, see Bitterli 1993 pp. 70–86. Another model may have been Jacques Cartier's landing on the Bay of Gaspé in June 24, 1534, erecting a cross under the watchful eyes of gathering Indians, see Bitterli 1993 p. 88.

[35] For the omission of East Asian civilisations to launch similar projects, see Cipolla 1978.

[36] This is sometimes maintained in literature, see e.g. Biezais 1975 p. 316. Cf. Klingenstein, Lutz and Stourzh [eds] 1980.

possit comparari. Sic aiunt illi, quibus nota est . . . 'These peoples are very
evil, but their land is superb, with meat, honey, meal, [fish], birds,
and if it is cultivated, [full] of all yields from the fruitful soil, so that
no land could be compared to this one. This is told by those who
know about it.' And in the optimistic tone of dedicated salesmen its
authors conclude: *hic poteritis et animas vestras salvificare et, si ita placet,
optimam terram ad inhabitandum acquirere . . .* 'here you can save your
souls and also, if you like, acquire a superb land to live in'.[37]

The simplicity with which Plinius in 1595 described the Europeaniza-
tion of Livonia in the language of world colonisation is certainly pro-
voking. In comparison, Adam's expectation of the coming discovery
of Sweden and Norway has a very different tone, less cocksure, more
thrilled perhaps by the joy of discovery in a purer sense. The latter
was of course an eleventh-century *magister*, writing before the process had
actually begun, the former a sixteenth-century medical student, making
a versified comment after it was all over and the consequences well
known. Thus, when regarded from hindsight, as Plinius saw it, the
outcome of Europeanization may have looked a very certain thing;
but entering into it along with Adam, it would have seemed a much
trickier business.[38]

Plinius' reference to the making of a German-led Livonia through
a process of discovery, appropriation and colonisation may be explained
as a projection of contemporary issues onto a historical past. With
the East Saxon text of 1108, however, we are almost back in the
world of Adam. Only a couple of decades and the border between
two competing church provinces separate us. Yet the difference in
attitude from that of the almost contemporary Bremen colleague is
remarkable, and the similarity with Plinius' frame of reference is con-
siderable.[39] The voluptuous interest in high quality land—the incom-

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[37] Labuda 1975 pp. 234–36; cf. QOM I:19; DD I:2 39.
[38] Charles Tilly (1990 p. 4f.), in his sweep over the development of European
states AD 990–1990, claims that in the beginning, the continent 'was not a well-
defined, unitary, independent actor. For that reason, any attempt to explain the
continent's subsequent transformation in terms of its distinctive ethos runs a great
risk of reasoning backwards'. On the other hand, there may have existed a group
of people who were early practitioners of a certain mentality that was to form or
conquer what we know as Europe. Cf. the discussion of studying history from either
'behind' (as in the social sciences) or 'ahead' (as *quasi* hermeneutics) by G.B. Nilsson
(1990 pp. 47–83), with among others B. Stråth 1989 pp. 200–06.
[39] Of the Pomeranian Vends, to which the Magdeburgian letter probably refers,
Adam informs us that although they remain pagan, 'no people can be found who
are more honest and benign in character and hospitality.' *Omnes enim adhuc pagani-*

parable *terra optima* of 1108 and the matchless *terra benigna, ferax* of 1595—which is there waiting to be grabbed from 'barbarians' or 'bad people' is a common denominator. Their accord suggests some general trend in the Europeans' inclination for discoveries: a hunger for land to colonise. There is also an idea that it is theirs to be taken, justified by 'demonisation' or 'idiotification' of the previous owners. Is that the general, expansive 'Faustian' Western mentality we have been asking questions about? Or must we look particularly into the ideology of western Christendom for it? Or could the two be different sides of the same coin?

It has been shown that the 1108 letter draws heavily from one of the texts which records (or interprets) the proclamation of the first crusade in 1095 by Pope Urban II at Clermont-Ferrand. This is the version of Robert the Monk, who heard it but who, like other describers of Urban's appeal, tends to mix it up with later events— not least the notion of the so-called 'double reward' for spreading Christianity, that of personal salvation and material acquisition.[40] We do not know if the pope really suggested this possibility in his epochal address, just that it very soon became a practice, and that warnings and banns were uttered against those who took the cross *purely* out of greed. If only the undertaking was initiated in the proper spirit, however, there was strong Biblical support for material reward. The doctrine was still applied in the 15th century when the Spaniards and Portuguese began their transatlantic conquests.[41]

This noted however, there is reason to underline that so far Christian expansion into new countries had followed two very different

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cis ritibus oberrant, ceterum moribus et hospilitate nulla gens honestior aut benignior poterit inveniri (ABG II:22).

[40] Tangl 1905 pp. 183–91; Knoch 1974 pp. 1–33; Lotter 1989 pp. 275–77; Bartlett 1994 p. 262f.; Wallerström 1995 pp. 169–71. The Saxon summons of 1108 ends with the following phrase: *Qui Gallos ab extremo occidente progressos in brachio virtutis sue contra inimicos suos in remotissimo triumphavit oriente, ipse tribuat vobis voluntatem et potentiam, hos affines et inhumanissimos gentiles subiugare et in omnibus bene prosperari*. As I understand it, this must be a direct reference to God's permission. The words *in brachio virtutis sue* is a paraphrase from the Bible, Psalter 89:11, explaining the almighty power of the Lord. I thank my father-in-law C.-M. Edsman, emeritus professor of History of Religions, Uppsala, for having identified the passage in the Bible for me. An approximate translation would thus run: 'He who has triumphed with his strong arm (God), letting the Gauls advance from the remotest west towards his enemies in the remotest east, he shall no doubt give you permission and power to subject those neighbouring and most inhuman peoples and be prosperous in everything.'

[41] Lotter 1989 p. 276 note 28, with further references; for the colonial adaptation cf. Fernández-Armesto 1987; Bitterli 1993 pp. 27, 55 & passim.

patterns: one based on missionary idealism, in which preachers came
to live in a pagan community, and the other based on missionary-
conquerors taking control of the country, with many competing
motives. Neither of these was new in 1108.[42] So what circumstances
make the missionary a conqueror? Technical superiority offering the
possibility of conquest? Moral legitimacy by canonistic decrees?
Involvement in the state affairs of the secular society? Religion and
religious motives are no better than the individual carrying them.
By either cynical calculation or naïve faith they can easily become
tools for material and political ends.

Thus, the almost proverbial European mentality of discovering,
appropriating and colonising other peoples' land evidently already
had its spokesmen on the eve of the advance into the Baltic Rim.
This is reason enough to raise anew the question of the impact of
Europeanization, and in particular its mental aspect—the motives
behind it, its influence on those involved, and its lingering effects,
which are much less known than the material aspects. The *attitude*
which characterised the discovery of the Baltic has never really been
discussed as a scholarly problem.

So much for three sources, commenting on the discovery of the
Baltic from the Time and Space-bound observation posts of Bremen
in 1076, Magdeburg in 1108 and Riga in 1595. How far can we
trust observers either looking from the outside or in hindsight? They
have their own prejudices and well-understood interests to consider,
and they have their constraints.

These and other texts can reveal to us the possibilities as they were

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[42] A letter from Gregory the Great to St. Augustine of Canterbury in AD 601
is often quoted. The Pope advises the missionary (1) *quia fana idolorum destrui in eadem
gente minime debeant, sed ipsa quae in eis sunt idola destruantur . . .* 'not to destroy pagan
temples—only the idols—but to convert the buildings into churches, particularly if
they are well-built', and (2) arrange some Christian feast when the pagans gather,
so they may continue to slaughter their oxen, but to have them eating the meat
in the praise of God. 'For it is certainly impossible to eradicate all errors from
obstinate minds at one stroke, and whoever wishes to climb to a mountain top
climbs gradually step by step, and not in one leap' (BEH I:30; cf. Wolf 1966 p. 103).
On the other hand, a capitulary issued by Charlemagne in 785 (quoted here after
Halphen 1968 p. 66) threatens Saxons by punishment of death, not only for violating
churches, or killing bishops and clergymen, but also for eating meat during Lent,
burning the body of a defunct according to pagan rites, trying to evade baptism
by hiding among their compatriots or plotting with pagans against Christians, and
on top of all, this *terrible capitulaire* (Halphen) forbids any popular gatherings, apart
from those summoned by the count of the Franks.

seen in certain areas, and even (if they are early enough) what came of it. Of how indigenous peoples reacted to the advance of European high medieval culture—the stresses they felt, and the tough decisions they had to take—the sources rarely speak. To what extent the different developmental directions of various countries had been 'in preparation' since pre-European times, their authors are hardly competent to see. I am not implying any pre-determination, only the possibility that factors other than those mustered in the interests of Europeanization may have been decisive—local issues or traditions, other relations, etc.

My reason for connecting the concept of 'discovery' to that of 'the long 12th century Europeanization' is to open up a new perspective which merits research. However it also serves as a corrective. Since this thesis is written in an era when the name of Europe is again connected with a great movement of expansion, the comparison with worldwide colonialism and its consequences becomes a natural protection against tempting contemporary influences, and serves the purpose of finding an approach to the Baltic Rim's Europeanization processes which has as little dependence on Eurocentric prejudice as is humanly possible.

Expanding Europe and 'the Other'

Using the word 'discovery' in an extended, symbolic sense, the economist-historian E.L. Jones comments on the connection between Europeanization and world conquest. 'The story of the Discoveries' he writes, 'is a familiar one which, however, is properly seen as the European culmination of Eurasian technological advances and earlier European probing, and the outcome of which was a major impetus to Europe's development'.[43] Even if it is grossly misleading to see this major process as the function of mere technological development, it is useful to put the discoveries and their colonial results in the perspective of their very long gestation—in the field of technology, no doubt, but no less in the field of mentality.[44]

Commenting differently on the same majestic Time/Space perspective, a group of scholars, including Andre Gunder Frank, B.K.

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[43] Jones 1988 p. 70.
[44] For a more fundamental understanding of Europe's global expansion see also Cipolla 1978.

Gills, Kajsa Ekholm and Jonathan Friedman, have in various recent publications advocated the existence of an exchange system involving the major Eurasian civilisations and their satellites for at least five millennia. This central and hegemonic civilisation or world system, extravagantly labelled the *Oikumene*, saw western Europe as a slowly developing periphery, kept under its dominance well into the Dark Ages. This school of thought has also co-opted Janet Abu-Lughod's thesis, namely that the rise of Europe to world hegemony was conceivable only through some form of inner collapse within a High Medieval Asian world-system.[45]

The gradual rise of the Occident into world dominance was to become the main feature of the second millennium of the Christian calendar, to be followed, however, by the dissolution of European colonialism in its last half-century or so. The successive growth of the modern world-system was accompanied by a gradual feeling of European supremacy in all—or almost all—aspects of life, combined with a feeling of self-righteousness, which may have been differently shaded between European actors, but which was capable of labelling even its best efforts as 'the white man's burden' etc. Post-colonial development has demonstrated, in many different shades, that psychological subjugation counts among the worst of its legacies.

Modern scholarship often suggests that the force which provokes different cultures to clash derives from a fundamental dichotomy which most people tend to make, due to the combined psychology of fear and curiosity—differentiation between *us* and *the others*. In its simple everyday form, this antagonism may occur without many signs of actual difference or historical motivation, such as clashes between supporters of two local football teams. However, with a rising degree of factual difference in lifestyle and power resources, and the involvement of more calculated material and ideological ambitions, identification of otherness may lead to serious controversies and deteriorate further into demonisation or racism.[46] In his well-known development

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[45] See e.g. Abu-Lughod 1989; Frank and Gills [eds] 1993 with a well-balanced historiographical survey (pp. 3–55), cf. also the 'foreword' of McNeill pp. vii–xiii [7–13] and the 'preface' of Frank and Gills p. xvff. explaining among other things the etymology of *oikumene* (p. xviii); cf. also Sanderson [ed.] 1995, particularly Wilkinson's (1995 pp. 248–60) article 'Civilizations Are World Systems!'

[46] See e.g. Robertson 1993 p. 6ff.; Hylland Eriksen 1996, Palmenfelt 1999. The development of racism—in its simple, 'innocent' forms—would be little different from the growth of ethnicity or nationalism, as a natural way of channelling one's

of this perspective Edward Said has set up the vision of 'Orientalism' as a three-fold general antithesis to the Occident: (1) as an academic study in the West, but also (2) a fundamental and normative category of difference through which the West can define itself and, in a third dimension (3) a Western tool developed in the 19th century for controlling the East.[47] For medieval use, this concept is of course particularly applicable to the cultural borders established by Islam's expansion in North Africa and on the Iberian Peninsula from the 7th to 10th centuries, and by the Christian crusade movements from the late 11th century onwards.[48] With minor modifications, the perspective can be applied to the Baltic setting as well.

First and foremost, Said's counter-picture is valuable as a reminder to an all-too-dominant Western scholarship. As such it was a pioneering effort, which has been followed by several more recent 'world historians', such as Frank and Gills, Abu-Lughod and Felipe Fernández-Armesto. 'From a world system perspective', write Frank and Gills, 'medieval Europe was socially, politically, and economically quite backward or less developed in comparison with the contemporary cores in the world system, all of which lay to the East. Perhaps no other region in Eurasia suffered so deep and prolonged a retrogression after the classical period. In this sense, medieval Europe was an exception rather than the rule, and Eurocentric preoccupation with feudal social forms distorts our appreciation of real social, political and economic development in the world as a whole during those centuries. Thus, in this regard also, Eurocentrism distorts our understanding of human

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respect and fear of an unknown adversary. The contempt could be mutual between the representatives of various 'races'. An evil turn is taken when such feelings are used to promote mobilisation and war propaganda. It becomes worse when power and ruthlessness on one side become stronger than on the other, which was the case in the early modern expansion of the West. The feeling of superiority was institutionalised and the laming feeling of inferiority was taught to the Others as a natural order. E.g. see Bitterli 1976; Banton 1977, 1987; Odner 1983; 1985; Villads Jensen [ed.] 1989; Wallerström 1997 p. 299ff.; Abrahams 1999 p. 39f.; Harrison 1999 p. 246; Brather 2000 p. 158ff.

[47] Said 1978 p. 2f.

[48] Pick (1999) tends to reduce the degree of demonisation that Said supposes the crusading Catholic West held towards the Arabs, whereas she points out that his third dimension might be 'a better model for understanding certain features of the Latin Middle Ages than he (Said) would have suspected'. Pick points out that the Western expansion into Muslim Spain and the Levant—contrary to Said's assumption—had a parallel in the explosion of European studies of Arabian philosophy and science, and that numerous examples 'linking medieval colonial aspirations and academic Orientalism could be cited'.

history.' Fernández-Armesto puts it more bluntly: 'Impious counts
and bloody-minded archbishops made the Latin West perhaps the
least civilized civilization of a thousand years ago.'[49] Whether these
and similar judgements are correct, or whether they tend to idealise
non-European conditions is of minor importance. Their value lies in
the implication that there is another version of the story to be told.
In this context, the peoples of the Baltic Rim may be classed with
all other discovered peoples, since this aspect is lacking here as well.

Aspects on Baltic-rim Europeanization in previous research

Thus, the complex entity called Europe began to influence, infiltrate and
in the end invade and integrate the Baltic Rim during the 12th cen-
tury, to the effect that in due course the area became—Europeanized.
This parcel of processes has already been approached from various
angles in a medievalist literature of enormous dimensions.

In the latter part of the 19th century, North European mediaevalists
had begun to turn from purely nationalistic purposes to a field we may
call societal, both in a structural and a constitutional sense. Notwith-
standing that immense setbacks have sometimes occurred—in the
Third Reich, in USSR scholarship, in the newly-formed states of
post-1918 and to some extent also in the post-1989 period[50]—what
is called Europeanization has gradually been featured more and more
as the effect of institutional reform, development of agriculture, trade
and industry, as well as migrations and demographic change.[51]

Gradually, the medievalists' discourse has also been lifted to a
more general level through the application of social and economic
theory.[52] During the first part of the 20th century liberal pictures
were often drawn; during the latter part the spectrum broadened,
when researchers began using models of historical materialism and
anthropology, among others.[53] However, in its later decades, several

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[49] Fernández-Armesto 1995 p. 47.
[50] Cf. Höpken et al. 1996; Ekdahl [ed.] 1997; Zander 1997; Costovici [ed.] 1999.
[51] Cf. Eriksson et al. 1991; le Goff [ed.] 1993; Tägil [ed.] 1993; Törnqvist 1993
pp. 11–31.
[52] For the sake of brevity I include more recently differentiated theoretical per-
spectives, such as mentality, gender and environmental ones, in these two concepts.
[53] As for general theoretical trends in history, see Carr 1965; Torstendahl 1966;
Danto 1968; Winberg 1991; von Wright 1992; Burke 1992; several essays in Björk
and Molin [eds] 1996; Evans 2000 pp. 33–59, 89ff., 115ff. For the medievalist dis-
course some specific traits may be added. Due to the many technicalities connected

relativistic so-called post-modern approaches have occurred, in which the claims made in medieval texts tend to be taken at face value, instead of being seen as potential disguises for more opportune ends— as when discussing the motives for crusades.[54] In my view this attitude represents a new general setback, particularly given the constraints of the available source material, and should be measured against applied source critical methods.

With regard to topics, previous research has appeared within two overall themes. One broad topic may be summarized as the expansion of Europeans and of European culture, which is contained nevertheless in several separate blocks by formal academic distinctions between theologians, political and constitutional historians, economic and social historians, archaeologists and others. Fortunately, they frequently interact in many areas.

One group of studies focuses on Christianisation, the expansion of secular church organisation and the spread of religious orders, spiritual as well as military.[55] This line of research often goes hand in hand with that on the universal claims of the so-called German-Roman Empire, and the political ambitions of the German *Reich* (and its often quite independent components). Related to this field is the problem area of social organisation, notably the spread of western European feudal forms, jurisdictional ideas etc.[56] A third broad field of research is *Hansegeschichte*, together with technical topics such as

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to the evaluation and interpretation of sources, a strong positivistic trend remains, whereas at the other extreme, many medievalists seem to be Catholics engaged in defending the values of their Church. For a further focus on the present topic, cf. Blomkvist in press (CCC papers, The Weitenhagen Conference, June 15th–19th, 2000).

[54] A useful survey is in Villads Jensen 2000.

[55] See particularly Schmidt 1999; cf. the proper *vocabula* in several impressive *lexica* such as RGG; Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche; Nordisk teologisk uppslagsbok; as well as standard works like Ortwed 1933; H. Schück 1959; Seegrün 1967; 1976; Nyberg 1979; 1986. For recent studies, cf. several specialised *periodica* such as the Journal of Ecclesiastical History; Revue d'historie de la spiritualité; Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift, as well advancements as conference reports, collections like Gli inizi . . . 1989; Bisgaard et al. 2001. For the northern crusades, see Urban 1975; E. Christiansen 1980. A research group working in Odense, led by K. Villads Jensen, is at present examining Denmark's crusading efforts; see Villads Jensen [ed.] 2000.

[56] Pitz 1971; Lotter 1989. For several relevant articles in English, see Haverkamp and Vollrath [eds] 1996; Baaken 1997. This field is to some extent still dominated by great constitutional histories, to a large extent presenting a normative picture, such as Mitteis 1958 p. 415ff.; Brunner 1959 pp. 17ff., 111–64, 357–440; Appelt 1988 pp. 11–150; for the series of events, see e.g. Jordan 1973a; for current research, cf. the established national historical revues, such as Historische Zeitschrift.

the foundation of German towns on the Baltic shores, the spread of
Continental technology in agriculture, transport, warfare, metallurgy
etc., and the migration of Continental Europeans—most importantly
Germans—into the countries of the Rim.[57] Dominated by works in
German and to some extent by problem issues which can be classified
as German, they have however been increasingly treated as expres-
sions of a holistic European phenomenon in latter years.[58]

Book after book, this great literature describes an overall victory:
how the Holy Church, chiefly through German agencies, succeeded
in Christianising the peoples of the Rim, before turning the task over
to national church provinces; how the German state system reached
the southern coast of the Baltic in the middle of the 12th century;
how German merchants entered a rudimentary east-west luxury trade,
which they soon brought under their own dominion; how they,
together with renegade Scandinavians, undertook crusades against
the remaining pagans in the area; how they expelled an older Russian
influence in the Baltic countries, and how German interests came
to complete dominance in the Nordic waters in the second part of
the 13th century.

The other overall approach is national reception, a category of
studies describing the 'civilisation process' of each country. Far from
integrated in a single discourse, and to a large degree limited to the
contemporary nation-states, this literature nevertheless tends to confirm
the previous categories in each respective case, with their respective
nuances. I will limit my examples to the Scandinavian and East
Baltic countries.

The Scandinavian countries have a long tradition of studying king-
ship and the emergence of statehood, the centralisation of political
power and gradual build-up of a European administrative system, a
secular church organisation and the introduction of monastic orders,
as well as the emergence of European-style towns and cities. Many
works discuss the introduction of continental chivalry, feudal ten-
ancy, iron-tool agriculture and so forth.[59] These works may be regarded

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[57] To follow this field of research, a reference to the HGBll should suffice. I will
however particularly mention one recent work, Kattinger 1999a.

[58] Several *chef d'oevres* in this sense are Fourquin 1971; Duby 1981; Bartlett 1994.

[59] Cf. Blomkvist 1998 pp. 10–23 (a survey of literature); and e.g. E. Lönnroth 1940;
Kumlien 1953; Andrae 1960; Seegrün 1967; Fritz 1972, 1973; A.E. Christensen 1976
pp. 9–33; Lönnroth 1977 pp. 7–84; Riis 1977; Lindkvist 1979; Lund and Hørby 1980;
Gilkær 1980; Andrén 1985; Nyberg 1986 p. 79ff.; Gelting 1988; Hill 1992; Myrdal 1999.

as case studies of how the flows of influence were caught up in given societies. Resistance and national deviations have been much less discussed, apart from studies of regional opposition to centralisation. It has, however, been shown that Scandinavian notables—the *frälse*— had a relatively humble position compared to continental nobility: no *Ritterrechte*, no primogeniture, hardly any feudal titles, nor much counting of ancestor lineages, quite vague traditions regarding coats of arms, family names, founding fathers etc., though this may have prevailed a little more in Denmark than in Sweden. Certainly, the survival of old institutions such as the *thing* and the *ledung* has been of interest, as have the comparatively 'democratic' social forms in some Scandinavian regions.[60]

For the East Baltic countries which won their autonomy only in the 20th century, it has been relevant to concentrate on developments interrupted by western expansion. The Finno-Ugric and Balt societies east of the Baltic were conquered and Christianised by force. In their cases, scholarly discussion has been much focused on the problem of social stratification in the pre-European context. Judging from archaeo-topographical data, the case for a proto-nobility actually looks clearer here than in Scandinavia, connected to the dense structure of hillforts in the southeast sector of the Baltic Rim, stretching from the Vends to the Finno-Ugrians.[61] The internal history of Livonia and Pruzzia (often misleadingly called the Teutonic Order state), being little treated in Soviet and national Baltic research, has its own historiography in which these crusader foundations have been in many respects defended, mostly from a German point of view. Finnish researchers have also made some important contributions to the history of Livonia.[62]

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[60] Winberg 1985 pp. 17–30; cf. Yrwing 1940; E. Lönnroth 1959 p. 13ff.; Siltberg 1998 pp. 65–90; Lund 1996; Blomkvist and Lindquist [eds] 1999.

[61] Laakman 1933; Brackmann and Engel [eds] 1939; Johansen 1940, 1951; Moora and Ligi 1970 pp. 35ff., 54ff., 74ff.; the situation in Estonia may be the result of a 'democratisation' process, according to a case study by Valter Lang (1995); Latvijas Vēstures Atlants p. 12; Urtans 1994; Auns 1998; Jarockis 1999. For a possible aristocracy, see HCL VII:3, XI:3. This presentation largely follows the evaluation of Tõnisson 1974 p. 170ff.; Kahk and Tarvel 1997 p. 27f.

[62] See e.g. Wittram 1954; Thümmler 1955; Donnert 1963; Benninghoven 1965; Boockman 1981. For the later trend see particularly Pistohlkors 1994 pp. 13–24; von zur Mühlen 1994 pp. 25–68. Characteristic of some of the Finnish studies is their wider scope, trying to grasp the entire population, see particularly Niitemaa 1949, 1952; Ahvenainen 1963.

Why the East-Baltic countries suffered a much harsher destiny than
the Scandinavian countries is still an open question. On the one hand
this is too much discussed as a sort of canonised martyrdom in the
nationalistic discourses; on the other hand, it is too little analytically
penetrated.[63] Eric Christiansen devotes a short reflection to the prob-
lem: 'What these thought', he says about the indigenous people of
Balticum, 'can only be deduced from the number of times they tried
to shake off their masters.' Yet he finds even this evidence incon-
clusive. Some accepted their conquerors at once and remained loyal;
others succumbed to the verdict of battle, and joined forces with
them against long-standing local adversaries or other invaders. 'German
traders were, after all, a source of profit, and the natives' own tribal
chiefs had schooled them in exploitation long before the foreigners
moved in.'[64]

All in all, the state of research on Europeanization as far as the
Baltic is concerned has reached a reputable volume at a fairly mature
level. In the last two or three years a surprising number of new works
that in some way deal with the topic have appeared.[65] However, the
processes are still almost exclusively discussed from the perspective of
the penetrating western European ideas and forces, or from that of
their successful adaptation in the countries of the Rim. Both approaches
reach the same conclusion: the triumph of Western culture in 'the

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[63] Moora and Ligi (1970) deserves study as a good example: Marxist dogma exists
and its frequent companion the Russian-centred doctrine has made its mark; East
Baltic nationalism is traceable in suppressed form (the cover is an apotheosis of the
Estonian flag!), but even so it remains one of the best syntheses based on proper
source analysis.

[64] E. Christiansen 1980 p. 93, cf. p. 97.

[65] Apart from the editions of the CCC project itself (Blomkvist and Lindquist [eds]
1999; Auns [ed.] 2001) not just the doctoral thesis of Detlef Kattinger, *Die Gotländische
Genossenschaft.—Der frühansisch-gotländische Handel in Nord- und Westeuropa* (1999) has
appeared; but the works of Klaus von See: *Europa und der Norden im Mittelalter* (1999)
and Martin Kaufhold: *Europas Norden im Mittelalter.—Die Integration Skandinaviens in das
christliche Europa* (2001) have fallen on my desk. There they have disturbed the appar-
ent order between other new studies devoted to the transformation of Viking-age
kingdoms into medieval states, Baltic Rim Christianisation and the Crusades, such as
Lars Hermanson's *Släkt, Vänner och Makt.—En studie av elitens politiska kultur i 1100-
talets Danmark* (2000); Olof Sundqvist's *Freyr's Offspring.—Rulers and Religion in ancient Svea
society* (2000); the theme issue of Den jyske Historiker *Krig, Korståg og Kolonisering* (2000);
and *Medieval Spirituality in Scandinavia and Europe.—Essays in Honour of Tore Nyberg*
(2001); Peter Carelli's *En kapitalistisk anda—Kulturella förändringar i 1100-talets Danmark*
(2001); and Müller-Wille et al. [eds], *Novgorod* (2001). These titles represent just a
selection of those that seem most relevant to the present undertaking. Since keep-
ing oneself informed is an absorbing business in itself, I have decided that *literature
which I have not obtained before the end of 2002 doesn't exist as far as this book is concerned.*

North' has literally been so profound, its advantages have been considered so obvious, our acceptance so complete, that what has really been on the scholarly agenda is how perfectly the various regions adapted to the concept, which regions were slow, and which were quick in becoming Europeans. Europeanization is almost always described as a success story.[66] In all forms of history writing, however, there is a problem of perspective involved. Thus asking *whose history?* is always legitimate. The researcher should put the question to him or herself, and readers should ask it repeatedly.

Only after the collapse of the USSR and the liberation of its former East Baltic satellites has the Baltic Rim become a pivot of research in its own right. Several syntheses and surveys have appeared. The present study is, as far as I know, the first effort to balance the 'game of all forces' or *histoire totale* in an all-Rim-perspective at the breakthrough of Europeanization. The impulses to create it have to no small extent come from other fields of historical research that are up against comparable problems.

The various forms of discovery and what they do to the discovered

In a general treatment of European colonisation, Eric Wolf stresses the importance of scholars being outspoken about colonial relations, since these relations often led to the assessed societies' destruction rather than their development. Seemingly unaware of this demand, Urs Bitterli has provided a simple answer. According to him, first encounters were generally peaceful, a state of things which could never endure since the discoverers were sent out by a government or some consortium to enrich specific interested parties. With regard to further development, Bitterli sees two possible alternatives, either towards a 'clash', where the weaker part is threatened with losing its cultural identity, or towards what he calls 'relations', peaceful exchange based on mutual dependency and adjustment. The latter required a fairly advanced counterpart, with the capacity to defend itself or freeze the contact into a cold war.[67]

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[66] The statement is further qualified in: Blomkvist 1998 pp. 10–16. I am also drawing from a bibliography on medieval trade and international relations in modern Nordic scholarship, which I am preparing.

[67] Bitterli 1993 pp. 20–51; cf. Robertson's well-written Introduction to Bitterli (1993 pp. 1–19); cf. Wolf 1982; Bitterli's 'relations' come close to Compromise in the CCC vocabulary, see Blomkvist 1998 p. 18f.

The former alternative would involve stateless societies where variations in demand and interest from the part of the exploiting or colonising discoverer would rip up indigenous loyalties, cause social gaps between segments of the population and encourage the emergence of new elites.[68] In the second alternative, the dominated culture may be quite similar to the dominant one. Even so, some frustration may be expected. Oswald Spengler, and after him G.H. von Wright, speak of a historical pseudomorphosis, by which is meant 'how a foreign and imported cultural stratum is placed upon domestic forms of religious and social life, thereby prohibiting their inborn developmental possibilities and search for self-awareness and identity'.[69] In the field of economy, virtually the same idea is expressed by Douglass North under the name of path dependence, through which societies may fall into long-term passivity due to traumatic foreign influences which render them unable to respond to forthcoming economic possibilities.[70]

In an attempt to explain almost the same problem theoretically, Robert Putnam focuses on the organisation of human relations in a society. In an Italian case study he discusses two extremes:

> (1) A 'vertical' society, such as the hierarchical command structure which a conqueror would build up to channel his orders to the majority of the people, tends to diminish the decision-making ability and general responsibility of the subjects, who respond with sullen familism within the *clientela* of some powerful vassal. Such a structure leads to long-term disturbances in the social climate, obstructing innovations and economic initiatives. This is how Putnam perceives the situation in the Italian south, developing as early as under its medieval Byzantine, Norman and German invaders, to be formalized in the 'ideal' hierarchical structure superimposed by Emperor Frederick II in the 13th century. This strategy of control curbed creativity and individual initiative, with lasting effects on the region.

> (2) In a more 'horizontally' structured society, with a high level of joint responsibility and mutuality, collaboration occurs between great numbers of people. Creativity is thereby set free to a much higher degree. Democratic traditions in north Italian cities allowed many individuals to take official responsibility, together with forms of mutual control, which Putnam says was the prerequisite for the great medieval innovation in capital accumulation—credit (from Latin *credere* 'to trust'), the

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[68] Wallerstein 1974 p. 349ff.; cf. Dalton 1978; Wallerström 1997 p. 332f.
[69] von Wright 1996. The term is borrowed from geology.
[70] North 1990.

tradition of which Putnam traces back to the twelfth- and thirteenth-century urban republics. These explanatory models depart from the idea that people in both vertical and horizontal societies act in a rational way, under existing political and social conditions.[71]

Clearly, the unanimous conclusion of these scholars and thinkers is that being discovered and cultured constitutes a great danger to any people: losing their identity, having their domestic assets exploited and their indigenous abilities paralysed and transformed into pathetic self-destruction. It remains to be seen whether (and if so, to what extent) this was what happened to the peoples of the Baltic Rim back in the distant 12th century. And if the shadows of past catastrophes are as long as has been suggested by some, we may even claim it is a matter of some urgency for us to become aware of this and continue to penetrate deeper into the fundamental issues of that 'period of discovery', when the Baltic North turned European.

2. *Framing the Problem*

General aim

Under the impact of post-1945 decolonisation, the discourse of Early Modern colonialism has definitely abandoned imperialistic and patriarchal European one-sidedness in favour of a much more critical discussion, sometimes under the influence of Marxist analysis and sometimes from independent anthropological perspectives.[72] One aim of this work is to adapt a similar critical attitude towards the twelfth-century Europeanization process.[73]

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[71] Putnam 1994. The value of this study lies in Putnam's eminence as a theorist. His historical references are thin. However his theses are—as far as medieval Florence goes—beautifully seconded in a more thorough empirical study by G. Dahl (1998). Abner Greif (1994; cf. North 1997), has seemingly reached the opposite result in a comparison of twelfth-century Genoese merchants with the Jewish merchants of the Mahgreb. The difference in behaviour between Genoa and the other great cities is manifest and well known, and usually seen as an effect of different political situations (Dahl 1998 p. 39ff.). According to Greif, the secretive and hierarchical strategy of the Genoese developed much more dynamically than the collective, open, non-permissive one maintained by the North African Jews. Cf. also however Winberg 2000 p. 107ff., 121ff.

[72] E.g. Dalton [ed.] 1971; Wolf 1982; Frank and Gills [eds] 1993; Rabasa 1993. Cf. Fur 1999 for a brief survey with relevant references.

[73] For a 'colonial' attitude among scholars vis-à-vis the Baltic Rim, see Ch. V:1; cf. Brather 2000 pp. 140–49.

When I raise the question of a discovery of the Baltic, it is thus with the slightly ironical twist of a North American Indian I once met, who claimed that he had just discovered Uppsala. Some five centuries after Columbus, the overbearing 'Western' way of seeing things had left its mark with him, even if he carried it mockingly. Those who Europeanized the Baltic Rim did not—in any sense of the word—discover its inhabitants; nor did Caesar discover Britannia, Gajus Plinius *Secundus Major* (or his informants) the islands of *Scandia* and *Ultima Thule* in 'the Germanic Sea', nor, of course, did Columbus discover America. Instead these were examples of a mutual discovery—in other words cultural encounters—which theoretically might have involved mutual new possibilities. In practice they almost always brought uneven opportunities, which the more advanced partner used in one way or another to impose its way of life on smaller, but until then culturally autonomous, societies.

If the discovery of the Baltic was characterised by uneven cultural encounters of a colonial nature, what did this mean to the indigenous peoples and the cultures which have continued to grow here? The traditional scholarly attitude seems to be a deep sense of gratitude for being turned into Christians, Westerners and Europeans, although this is more controversial in the East Baltic area than in Scandinavia.[74] However the colonial parallel suggests that the Western identity of the nations around the Baltic was achieved at the cost of 'something pre-European', the nature of which was less unified and more 'indigenous'. What then might our ancestors have lost in terms of structures and functions, or in matters such as prestige and identity? That on the whole the end result can be characterised as acceptance makes it particularly relevant to study Europeanization from the point of view of its reception.

By adapting a 'discovery perspective', connoting Europeanization and colonialism, I will try to open a broad new vision on this much-discussed subject, while at the same time making an effort to avoid a few of the traps which previous research has often fallen into. The proposed course is shown by the following—grossly simplified—display:

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[74] To Kahk and Tarvel (1997 p. 35) Europeanization first and foremost meant subjugation of the East Baltic peoples, albeit 'accompanied by the replacement of barbarian tribal customs with norms and traditions of Christianity'. Cf. for Sweden e.g. I. Andersson 1960 pp. 46f.; 56ff.

Perspectives frequently used until now	Present approach
Eurocentrism	Focus on the receiving end of the process
National delimitation of study	Cross-cultural comparative perspective
Theoretical determinism or hindsight perspective	Heuristic approach, theory-supported interpretation

I will describe and discuss the long 12th century European expansionism, its material background and the spirit in which it was handled; I will even offer a theory regarding Europe's 'making' (in Chapter Two), but my analyses will focus on searching for, identifying and understanding the Baltic Rim 'natives.' As they were most certainly the Other in the eyes of the continental European beholder, he and she will often have to be studied in their absence from the extant sources—in the cautiousness, respect, fear, hatred and ridicule which they aroused among those who wrote the texts (which is quite another thing to studying them *e silentio*). What was it like being Europeanized? The book will draw together examples of that.

Specific issues

The very different development of various parts of the Rim provides ample opportunities for comparative studies, which may reveal new aspects of the nature of Europeanization—the way it was offered as well as the way it was received. However since the reception aspect of Europeanization has been rather neglected and is much harder to get at, due to the state of the source material, this study will be particularly observant of the potential dangers, trouble areas and lost causes. In putting the main focus of the investigation on what I shall call the reception problem, I raise the following (partly overlapping) subordinate or part-problems.

1. To what extent did attitudes towards Europeanization explain the internal development of Baltic Rim countries?
2. Which survival strategy did the respective indigenous peoples choose? To clash or to bid for compromise? What were the socio-economic consequences of their choice? Did it affect the climate of trust/distrust? Do we see cases of 'path dependence'?
3. What was the impact of the Viking-age legacy on the process of Europeanization? To what extent did its collective experiences determine which societies would open up to or resist Europeanization?

4. What is the significance of the twelfth-century Europeanization
   process in the *longue durée*? With respect to the various nations
   involved? And to later waves of Europeanization? Can we see it
   as a preparation for expansion in the Early Modern World?

The first three issues will have to be studied in the poorly-docu-
mented discovery phase, when the first approach of Europeanization
agents must have almost immediately created problematic decision-
making processes among the indigenous peoples. It goes without say-
ing that the fourth is of a different nature. It cannot be answered
by studies of the events of the long 12th century alone; its chief
function is rather to provoke reflection on their nature and hence
to re-connect the large number of concrete analyses now lying ahead
with the overall topic of the book.

THE CATHOLIC WORLD-SYSTEM.
A THEORETICAL APPROACH TO EUROPEANIZATION

1. *From Viking Age to European High Middle Age: A Profile of Change*

The Baltic Rim before Europeanization. A discussion

In 1973–74, when OPEC threw its weight about for the first time, a whole millennium had passed since the Arab world had disengaged from its previous economic hold over northern Europe. Rich hoard finds show that Arabian silver flowed into the Baltic Rim during the 9th and 10th centuries, the very period when Vikings held large parts of the Carolingian Empire and England in their grasp and the Rurikid dynasty was established in Novgorod-Kievian Russia. These hoards contain silver in the form of jewellery, scraps and bars as well as coins.[1] The craftsmanship of the objects shows a mostly local Nordic or Baltic accent. The coins speak a more distinct language, since they carry precise information of where, when or for which ruler they were made. Around 800, the stock of coins also contained Western examples, but during the greater part of the 9th and 10th centuries these were totally outnumbered by Arabian currency. For most of this period, the sources of this affluence lay east of the Caspian Sea, where power was held by the Samanid dynasty. Merv, Samarkand, Bukhara and Tashkent are the usual provenances of this material. Probably much of the un-minted silver in the finds has the same origin.[2]

The silver hoards of the 9th and 10th centuries form a geographical pattern along the Russian rivers to the Baltic Rim. Here they are particularly concentrated around the great river mouths and on the large islands. Nowhere are they as dense as on Gotland, where every

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[1] Arne 1914; Bolin 1953; Noonan 1994; Hårdh 1996.

[2] Whereas contemporary western coins refer to the government of a ruler, Arabian ones are dated to a precise year after *Hedjra*. The Swedish coin finds are systematically published in Rasmusson et al. 1961–. For the context, see particularly Bolin 1939, Bolin 1953, Bolin 1961; Hodges and Whitehouse 1983 p. 102ff.; I. Jansson 1997; Musset 1997 pp. 173–93.

farmstead seems to have possessed a Viking-age silver hoard.[3] However, southwest of the Elbe, hardly any hoards with Arabian content have been found. This is a concrete illustration of the socio-economic differences which existed in those days between western Europe on the one hand and the Baltic Rim and beyond on the other.[4] In other words, the watershed between the Elbe and the systems flowing into the Baltic was also a cultural border.

Several literary sources suggest that the chief reason for the eastern orientation of the Early Viking Age was *trade*. Examples are the narrative of the Arab emissary Ibn Fadlan, who in 921–22 encountered merchants of the Rus on the Volga, or the works of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus who describes the entire trading system of the Rus in *De administrando imperio* (around 950). Earning riches by doing military service in Novgorod, Kiev or Byzantium is also described,[5] whereas in the West the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and a wide range of other sources chiefly tell of Viking piracy and plunder.[6] The apparent contradiction is further complicated by the fact that very few items which could have been the fruits of looting in western Europe have been retrieved in Scandinavian soil as long as we refer to the 9th and 10th centuries; whereas there are indications that west European currency must have had a floating connection to the Islamic one, since the price gap between gold and silver shows parallel development curves in the Caliphate and Carolingian Europe.[7] The classical explanation by Sture Bolin launches Nordic east-west trade as a major factor in European relations to the Muslim world. Arabian silver was re-exported from the Baltic (and East Middle Europe) into Carolingian Europe, to be re-minted there by local rulers who allowed only their own coinage.[8]

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[3] Stenberger 1946 & 1957; Östergren 1989.

[4] Most clearly demonstrated by the map in Bolin 1962 p. 160. Cf. Müller-Wille 1997 pp. 417, 419.

[5] Birkeland 1954 p. 17ff., cf. 82; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c. 9. Cf. M.G. Larsson 1997c; Roslund 1997.

[6] See e.g. Lund 1989 pp. 41–53.

[7] Independently of Bolin this connection has also been observed by Lombard 1947, 1948.

[8] Bolin 1953, 1961. The Arabic geographer Ibrahim Ibn Ahmed at-Tartuschi found Arabic coins in circulation and oriental spices available when he visited Mainz in the middle of the 10th century. He was surprised to get a dirhem struck in Samarkand 912–913 in his hand. (See Jacob 1927 p. 31, cf. 3; Ganshof 1943 p. 24f.; Doehaerd 1971 p. 313.) The problem of whether there was a connection between the expanding greatness of the Caliphate and the setbacks and efforts towards
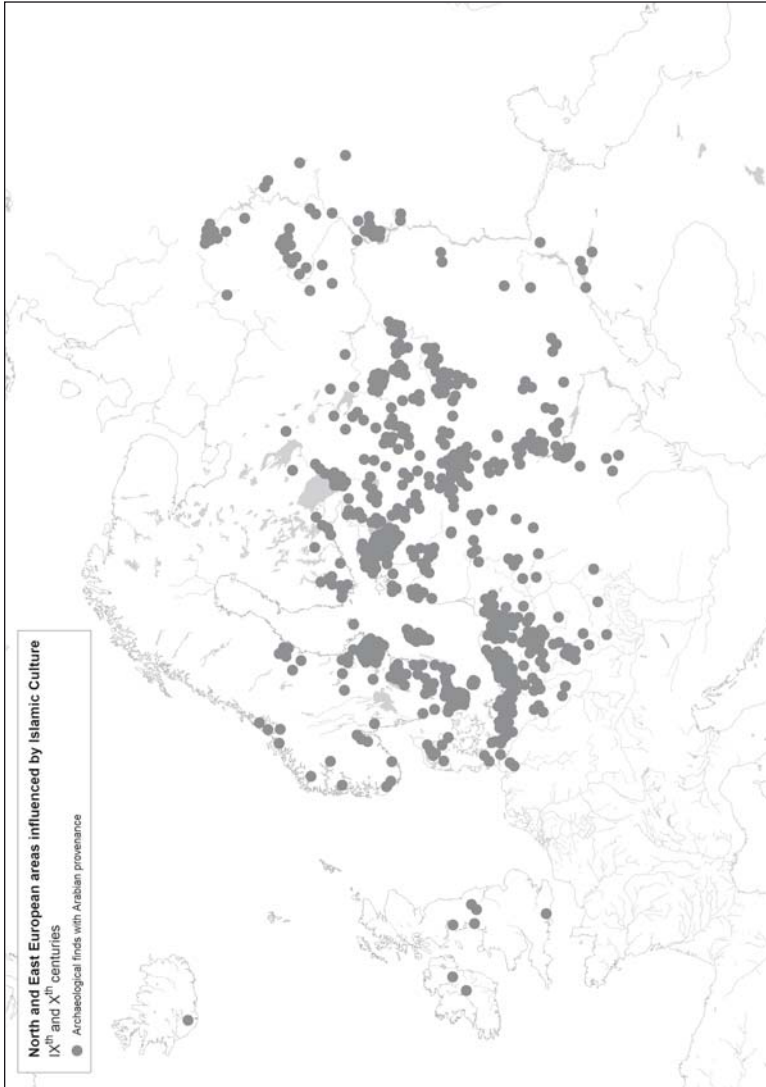
Fig. 3. Northern and eastern European areas influenced by Islamic culture, 9th to 10th centuries.

The modern discussion of Dark Age economics has shifted its focus between models of trade and gift exchange on the one hand, and models of coercion and warfare on the other. Departing from anthropology, Philip Grierson and Georges Duby drew pictures dominated by simple forms of acquisition, such as systematic plunder and gift exchange.[9] After them, renewed interest in Marxist interpretation further encouraged theories which saw violence and threat as fundamental explanatory forces, by which a plunder economy model has come to dominate the Scandinavian-British discourse; according to this Viking chiefs organised predatory raids, searching for silver for redistribution among their followers.[10]

Others have found models of gift exchange and redistribution rigid and unsatisfactory in given anthropological contexts, recognising that such practices exist, but not finding them proving that trade and markets do not. Traces of an age-old *oikumenic* exchange system stretching over the Eurasian and North African landmass also clearly reduce the significance of plunder to its proper predatory and parasitic level.[11] Recent surveys of urban archaeological results have revealed the emergence of a network of commercial nodes, spreading from northwest Gaul, the Low Countries and southern England in the 7th century, and reaching the Baltic from the 8th century onwards. Here the network included the settlements of Ribe, Birka, Aldeigjuborg, Holmgård, Hedeby, Truso—famous in literature—and many others.[12]

'revival' of western Europe during 'the Dark Ages' was first posed by Henri Pirenne in the early 20th century (Survey of the debate in: Havighurst [ed.] 1965; see most recently Hodges and Whitehouse 1983). The idea that Scandinavian commerce was the missing link between Mohammed and Charlemagne found support from Rasmusson et al. (eds) 1961; P. Sawyer 1971 pp. 86ff., 219ff.; Doehaerd 1971 p. 314f.; Hodges and Whitehouse 1983 p. 111ff.; cf. Noonan 1994 p. 215ff. Criticism in e.g. Grierson 1954, Malmer 1985; P. Sawyer 1985a, 1985b.

[9] 'All that we know of the social conditions of the time suggests that the alternatives to trade were more important than trade itself' (Grierson 1959 p. 140; cf. Duby 1981 pp. 55ff.; 81ff.; 122ff.).

[10] Lunden 1974; E. Christiansen 1980; A. Carlsson 1983 p. 116ff.; P. Sawyer 1985a pp. 143ff., 180ff.; Lindkvist 1988 p. 31ff.; Christophersen 1989 pp. 109ff., 120ff.; Andrén 1989 pp. 585–609; Hagerman 1996; P. Sawyer 1997; T. Zachrisson 1998; Sundqvist 2000 p. 186ff.

[11] Thomas 1991 pp. 1ff., 35ff., 83ff., 185ff.; Ekholm and Friedman 1993 pp. 59–80. Cf. Hodges (1989; 1988) for a detailed anthropological model of Dark Age trade. For an adaptation of Pirenne's problem of the impact of Mohammed on Charlemagne, see Hodges and Whitehouse 1983 pp. 102ff., 158ff. The argumentation falls back on Bolin, but adds a model of early medieval economic behaviour, which strengthens it.

[12] Christophersen 1989 pp. 110–114; Clarke and Ambrosiani 1991; Blomkvist 1996a; for numismatic evidence, see also K. Jonsson 1994 pp. 451–58.

Improved knowledge of these proto-towns has helped to restore the belief among scholars that some forms of trade could have been socially important.[13]

Furthermore, the sources of the period mention kingdoms of the Danes and Swedes (better named Svear since their territory was rather incongruent with the Swedish realm emerging from the 11th to 12th centuries), while younger sagas and chronicles derive the making of Norway and Kievskaya Rus from the same period.[14] These realms were largely oriented along the transport arteries and cannot be explained away as entirely haphazard and lawless.[15] Long periods when the flow of eastern silver was unbroken suggest rather that these realms had been established for the defence of the trading system, and that the plundering which existed should be regarded as a parasitic activity by those who could not get hold of 'the real thing' (i.e. the exchange network). In the late 9th and the greater part of the 10th century, the flow of Islamic silver was so strong that plunder obviously failed to stop it. Even if piracy and plunder caused disturbance from time to time, the forces defending the network were able to keep it open. If they hadn't, plunder would 'have killed the goose', which it didn't.[16]

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[13] Here it is appropriate to quote Robert Lopez (1979 p. 21), who cautions against ridiculing the (in our eyes) small quantities of early medieval trade. 'In a still atmosphere the softest breeze matters. We often hear, in early medieval sources, of "large" cities, "rich" merchants, "famous" smiths: that is what they looked like in the context of the time.'

[14] By including the Rus among the Nordic polities, I take no specific stance in the Normanist/anti-Normanist debate. The early Rus obviously contained an important element of Scandinavian descent, and as a polity it interacted with the Scandinavian ones, which is reason enough. Cf. Stang 1981 pp. 153–98; Latvakangas 1995; Franklin 1998.

[15] Choosing the Svear as an example, contemporary sources present to us a king (*rex*) who like a shrewd politician had to pilot his aims through sensitive *thing* (*placitum*) assemblies of lower and higher competence, who could summon and lead a large *ledung* fleet (*exercitus, naves*) to foreign countries, where he was accompanied by *principes* who were probably high ranking not just due to being in his service but in their own right. Furthermore the king controlled his multi-ethnic town (*vicus, portus*) Birka through a *prefectus*. When in the town he could receive a visiting *legatio* in audience, and even provide a hand-written diplomatic letter (*cum literis regia manu more ipsorum deformatis*) to the emperor. A clear division of dominion seems to have existed, since lands are said to belong *either* to the Svear *or* to the Danes (KAO:1; RVA cc. 9–11, 17–20, 25–30; cf. particularly Haendler 1969 pp. 6–11 & passim. See also Hodges 1989 p. 157ff.; Reuter 1998).

[16] The evaluation of trade has varied a great deal. See Lunden 1974; Christophersen 1989 pp. 109ff., 120ff.; Andrén 1989; A. Carlsson 1983, p. 116ff.; Hodges and Whitehouse 1983; Hodges 1989; P. Sawyer 1985a, pp. 143ff., 180ff.; Hårdh 1996; I. Zachrisson [ed.] 1997; Andrae 1985, Klackenberg 1992. Cf. Christophersen 1989

Even so, it remains difficult to tell which chain of activities brought the silver to its final depot. To be scientifically scrupulous, we should perhaps take a reductionist view and operate with the broader concept of a mobile stratum within the Viking-age economy which transported and distributed commodities over long and short distances. By simplifying the issue in this way, it is easier to see the overall conclusion that is ready to be drawn—that some law of gravitation was already at work between the Caliphate, the Baltic Rim and the Carolingian Empire in the 9th and 10th centuries, signifying that the world had begun to live under intercontinental conjunctures, i.e. socio-economic trends. It would thus seem that the aggregated Viking world was functioning to some extent as a market of a rough and very imperfect kind. It was a system of communicating regions, in which what happened at one end had consequences for the other.[17]

The Baltic Rim on its own (c. 850–c. 1100). Some cultural evidence

The conclusions just drawn would, at least in theory, call for some reflections on the position of the Rim vis-à-vis the European continent. As much as the mobile stratum of the Viking Age may have been fuelled by the early growth of Carolingian economy, the change of conjuncture in the 9th century should have turned the hierarchy of its components more or less upside-down.

Viking-age proto-urbanisation on the Baltic Rim obviously started in a western European context, but it was more and more taken over by Eastern influences. When the Baltic Rim began to be flooded with Arabian currency in the late 9th century, however, these trading

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p. 114ff.; S.B.F. Jansson 1987 p. 38ff.; Malmer 1973; Hasselberg 1953 p. 102ff.; Bolin 1962; Blomkvist 1996a; Lund 1994, 1996. It may be noted that numismatists generally, in connection with their more detailed discussion of find contents, are more inclined to identify trade; see also Noonan 1994; Hårdh 1996 pp. 161–64, 165ff.; Kilger 2000 pp. 39–43; Gustin 2001 pp. 301–10.

[17] Thus the late ninth-century peak of Viking assaults in the West coincided with a period when little new Arabian currency was brought into Russia. Peace in the West, symbolized by the forming of the Danelaw in England (886) and of Normandie in France (911), coincided with a steady influx of Samanid silver into the Baltic, which ended in the last decades of the 10th century, when a new wave of Viking enterprises—larger ones led by kings, princes and *jarls*—were set in motion around 1000 AD. Hodges and Whitehouse 1983 pp. 102ff.; 158ff.; M.G. Larsson 1997 b–c; I. Jansson 1997; cf. Noonan 1988, 1994; Musset 1997, pp. 145–211. For a comparative discussion of the forming of Scandinavian polities in eastern England and in Normandie, see Musset 1997 pp. 157–72, 467–71.

places simply continued to flourish, together with the 'power centres' nearby. Several new and similar establishments were filling out the Baltic Rim map, whereas many of their forerunners on the North Sea and Channel coasts had fallen foul of the Viking fury and other difficulties. From a conjuncture perspective, neither the flourishing of proto-towns in the North and East nor the Viking dominance on the North Sea could be considered an anomaly.[18]

We may assume that the more than century-long Eastern conjuncture had cultural consequences as well. A more general influence from Islam and Byzantium is evident. The centres with which the Northerners interacted were however too distant, in miles as well as in culture, to really be able to dominate the Baltic Rim. Instead, its inhabitants were able to develop indigenous cultural forms more freely, incorporating what they found suitable from the eastern civilisations. A good example is provided by the frequent finds of Viking-age scales and weights on the Rim. As Heiko Steuer has shown, they represent Arabian trading techniques, used on the vast northeast borders of the Caliphate. They had been kept very accurate during the period of Islamic dominance, but gradually lost their precision afterwards.[19]

We may also recall that the Carolingian efforts to implement Christianity on the Rim, begun around 830, quickly expired in the later part of the 9th century; the Nordic mind was left to gods thought to have come from the East. They were called *Asar* and several Icelandic sources indicate that they came from *Asia*, defined as east of the *Tanakvísl* or Don, where their capital *Asgarð* was to be found, according to the *Ynglingasaga*. In Snorri's *Edda*, however, *Asgarð* is identified with Troy in 'the land of the Turks'. My intention here is not to enter into the quite complicated discussion of the gestation of Old Norse religion.[20] As to the obvious disharmony between the

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[18] Nor should the presence of a Swedish dynasty in Hedeby of the early 10th century be disbelieved. This so-called Swedish dynasty is mentioned by Adam of Bremen (ABG I:68) and its Swedish origin has been thought confirmed by two runic inscriptions, some place-names and observations of burial customs in the vicinity of Haithabu (Moltke 1976 p. 301ff., 1986). In recent research Lund 1982, 1991 p. 161, supported by P. Sawyer 1988a p. 218f., has on a source-critical basis rejected the idea of this Swedish dynasty (cf. Staecker 1999a p. 353ff.). The eastern conjuncture, however, offers a good general background for a Swedish expansion towards Schleswig. In a generation or two the Swedes would easily have been 'Danified' which, after all, leaves the few Swedisms in the runic texts that survive Lund's criticism offering some support for King Sven's claim.

[19] Steuer 1987.

[20] Cf. Näsström 2001 p. 43ff.; Clunies-Ross 1998 pp. 49ff., 59–66, 103ff., 116f.

two versions of their origin, it should be observed that the Asian origin of the *Asar* rather reflects the Scandinavian area of influence during the *Early* Viking Age, which reached all the way to the genuine homelands of the Turkish tribes, the large and diffuse Turkestan; the very area from which the silver wind emanated, and from which some Turks later migrated into Anatolia.[21]

The autonomous development of Scandinavian literary culture has been particularly underlined by the German literary historian Klaus von See, who among other topics highlights Skaldic poetry in comparison to the much younger continental troubadour tradition. von See also underlines the quite complicated rules of composition in Skaldic poetry, and the existence of an audience which could appreciate it, chiefly at the courts.[22] Another obvious criterion of Nordic cultural independence is the development of the old Germanic *futhark* (runic alphabet) of 24 phonemes[23] into a more simple everyday literacy using 16 letters. This is thought to have been a deliberately planned reform carried out in the 9th century, one of several experimental solutions to some (much disputed) problem with the older version. Its result, the 'normal' form of runic writing, gradually spread over most of Denmark and Sweden during the Viking Age. It is believed that runic scripture became generally known and used for many daily purposes, on wood or birch-bark.[24] We have some literary evidence for this, such as Ansgar bringing Emperor Louis 'a letter written by the king's own hand in the manner of the Svear' from his first visit to Birka; and on the second visit his bringing a letter of introduction to the new Swedish king from his Danish counterpart.[25] The achievement of maintaining and developing literacy among the

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[21] E.g. Heimskr. Ynglingasaga k. 2, 5, cf. k. 8; Snorri's Edda prol. 2–5, I:8. Some reflection from the latter's version has also penetrated Saxo's Gesta, in which Wodan is said to have come from Byzantium (SGD I:7:1–3). These observations are somewhat inspired by Gurjewitsch 1980 p. 48ff.; Cf. also Uspenskij 1999 pp. 228–35 with notes 17–20 (p. 240ff.). CPA 1.

[22] von See 1999 pp. 193–274, particularly p. 224f.

[23] The old *futhark* had been developed in contacts with the Mediterranean scripture cultures in the Roman period and had been used among several Germanic tribes, obviously as a rather exclusive magical competence, see e.g. Askeberg 1944 pp. 38–94; KL s.v. Runer, A. Liestøl; S.B.F. Jansson 1963 p. 9ff.

[24] KL s.vv. Runer, A. Liestøl; Runinskrifter, S.B.F. Jansson; S.B.F. Jansson 1963 p. 26ff.; Lagman 1990; Williams 1990 pp. 10–14.

[25] RVA 12, 24. Cf. Uddholm 1990 pp. 109–15; Uddholm 1991 p. 103f. Trillmich 1961 p. 42 is of the opinion (influenced by RVA c. 26 and ABG I:26) that some kind of seal (token, 'passport') and no runic letter is intended, whereas others believe exactly that. Uddholm (1990 p. 114) has even presented a reconstruction of its text.

Scandinavians, quite independently of contemporary Greek and Latin, creates a strong argument in favour of the hypothesis that the Baltic was quite secluded from dominant west European influences during that period.

How had the East Baltic territories fared through this period of Nordic and Russian strength? Very little is known from the texts of the period, apart from the fact that they were targets for raids now and then. Neither written nor archaeological sources suggest they were penetrated in any deeper sense, even if some signs of cultural influence are evident. The eastern conjuncture had obviously secluded them from Western influences, but to a large degree they had been left alone by the more dominant indigenous forces as well. The question is how such conditions may have influenced their societal level of development and, in turn, what the consequences may have been with regard to their Europeanization.[26]

The Baltic never remained entirely undiscovered by the more advanced civilisations which had emerged over time in the Mediterranean and in western Europe, but through this Arabian intermezzo the Rim was released from European socio-economic and cultural dependency for a good century.[27] This conclusion provides, in a technical sense, the justification for talking of a Western 'discovery' in the 12th century.

In the 970s, however, the input of Eastern silver into the Baltic Rim was dramatically reduced and came to a halt after a few years. In its place a steady flow of German and English silver coins poured in. Many causes for this change have been suggested, but one thing is indisputable: the mutual exclusions and quick replacements of silver currencies clearly mark the shift of conjunctures. This shift in the 970s 'mirrors a change of position for the Nordic countries, that could only be called enormous', wrote Bolin in 1945. He meant that the North thereby began to become a part of Catholic Europe.[28] Whatever the details of the procedure, the silver wind had started to blow in the backs of the Westerners.

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[26] Moora and Ligi 1970; articles by Tõnisson, Jarockis and Tarvel in Blomkvist [ed.] 1998 pp. 37–53, 192ff.; Žulkus 1999b pp. 137–54.

[27] An undeservedly forgotten observation of this phenomenon is made by the linguist Fritz Askeberg (1944, see particularly pp. 95–114, cf. pp. 1–37). Somewhat influenced by Bolin's economical theory, Askeberg endeavours to interpret its linguistic and general cultural consequences.

[28] Bolin 1945 pp. 135–37.

There are other ways of observing this rather sudden change. The parallels with the quick breakthrough of Christianity around the North and Baltic Seas are obvious. To evaluate it, we must again remember that a Christian mission had been successfully started at the beginning of the 9th century or even earlier,[29] but had then been given up. Thus, the build-up of a proto-urban nodal system, the great changes in conjunctures and the successes and failures of the Christian mission seem quite correlated. The visit of Archbishop Unni in 936 to a Birka flooded by Arabian coins, and his subsequent death there, looks like the extinction of a last flickering candle light.[30] But just 40 to 50 years later, the entire situation was changing.

Bohemia in 955/973, Denmark in 960/980, Poland in 966, Hungary in 973, Russia in 988, Iceland in 1000, Sweden in 1000/08, Norway in 1030. The traditional dates of the decisive and lasting conversions of entire nations make—especially if you display them on a map— a rather convincing impression of a quick expansion process. Some of these dates are no doubt unreliable and they tell hardly anything about the spiritual status of the respective peoples. But the years of conversion are not vastly mistaken, and what they reveal has more to do with Christianity getting the upper hand in the politico-ideological struggle than of full mental conversion.

However, eleventh-century history does not show any complete change. The western continent remained occupied with its inner struggles for a good century more. Influences from Byzantium were still balancing Western ones, although Arabian culture disappeared quite quickly over the eastern horizon. Baltic Rim polities remained relatively powerful. As late as 1040, Rim powers still controlled the northern seas from England to Novgorod. The Christian mission remained fairly tolerant, and the converts quite syncretistic.[31] In the sense that I use here, the Baltic was to remain undiscovered (i.e. by western Europeans) all through the 11th century.

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[29] Staecker 1998, 1999a.

[30] ABG I:61, 62, III:72, Schol. 127, 142.

[31] B. Nilsson 1992 pp. 9–47. Hultgård 1992 p. 57ff.; Brown 1996 p. 299ff.; Müller-Wille [ed.] 1997; Staecker 1998, 1999a; H. Janson 1998; a good survey of recent Scandinavian research on Christianisation is also in Dahlbäck [ed.] 1997. In connection with a tenth-century treaty between the Rus and the Greeks, the heathen Rus swore an oath (to respect the agreement) on the hill where the (figure of the god) Perun stood, while the Christian Rus swore the oath in Saint Elias' church, 'it was the parish church, because many of the Varangians were Christian', the notice ends (Svane 1983 p. 55).

The twelfth-century Continental European expansion

The Europeanization of the Baltic began only around 1100, but when it happened it was firm and decided like nothing before it. This was due to a remarkable development on the Continent itself, and a brief survey of this phenomenon will also be necessary.

As early as the 11th century, many of the impulses for change which were to ripen fully in the 12th had already appeared on the European Continent. In fairly recent research the main interest has focused on the breakthrough of a new agrarian system, in which the landowner offered personal freedom to former slaves and gave them a plot to till under their own responsibility, in return for which they paid him rent. Through economic pressures, former free men were also drawn into tenancy. In addition, forests had begun to be cleared and large areas of new land were cultivated. The upper echelons of society—great landowners (ecclesiastical institutions included) and regional holders of imperial or royal power—were able to organise a new type of large estate, where they could live on rents rather than domestic production. At the same time these groups were developing traditions of chivalry, nobility and feudal order.[32]

A previous discourse, which had its heyday from the early 20th century until around 1970, saw the explosive rise of trade as the 'prime mover'. Groups of traders and craftsmen who settled at points of good communication had much more to do. They increased in numbers and started to claim their freedom to establish self-governing towns. To a previous generation of scholars, adherents of the Pirenne thesis, the growth and spread of towns and cities had been the essence of the formation of Europe. In the 1950s, however, the intra-Marxist dispute known as the 'Dobbs-Sweezy controversy' heralded a more orthodox explanation model, according to which the high medieval expansion was seen as chiefly agrarian and feudal, an argument which was largely accepted, e.g. by the Annales school.[33] In any case, the chains of interdependence got longer, and the social

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[32] Gurevitj 1979; Duby 1981 pp. 167ff., 192ff., 220ff.; Bois 1992 pp. 94ff., 135ff.; Bartlett 1994 pp. 106ff., 133ff.; Rösener 1994; Myrdal 1997 pp. 302–05; Blomkvist 1999 pp. 9–30, 293–314.

[33] Hohenberg and Hollen Lees 1995. For the thesis of Henri Pirenne and the extraordinary long discussion, cf. Havighurst 1965; Lopez 1979; Hodges and Whitehouse 1983 pp. 1–19; for the controversy between Maurice Dobbs and Paul Sweezy and its continuation, see Merrington 1978 pp. 172–75 & passim. Cf. Duby 1981.

network grew into an intricate, three-dimensional web. The most venerable scholarly tradition naturally concerns the top of the social pyramid, where princes formed offices around themselves in the shape of (still quite mobile) courts, offering *ministeriales* (dependant or even indentured officials) qualified commissions and political influence. Fearing a loss of power, the leaders of the regional aristocracy were in turn forced to do service themselves at the court, either in the budding administration or at the heart of this lifestyle, in the armoured cavalry.[34] The unstable kingdoms of the Early Middle Ages were thus developing constitutional forms and institutions that guaranteed a higher level of stability.[35]

The role of the Church is always much debated in this process, although she was seeking autonomy from the worldly powers herself. Catholicism was developing a well-organized, strictly hierarchical administrative network, creating a professional clergy which involved everyone in a pedagogic and disciplinary programme. They were to some extent helped in this by monastic orders of a new dynamic type—notably the Cistercians, with the mendicant orders following by the turn of the 13th century. For more physical challenges they were seconded by religious military orders. The crusades (and similar 'holy warfare') claimed Europe's heritage in Jerusalem, claimed Spain from the Moors, and brought Christianity to the remaining pagans in the North and East. Universities gathered people in higher education for the further recruitment of competence for both State and Church.[36]

All these emerging functions and institutions were somehow intertwined by more or less visible dependencies. They were carriers (or maybe foremost users) of a common new technology and new forms

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[34] Bloch 1967 pp. 283–92, 379ff., 421f.; Ganshof 1964 p. 60f., 160–67; Bullough 1969 pp. 3–18, particularly 16f.; Winberg 1985 pp. 21–28; Borgolte 2002 pp. 27ff., 46–70.

[35] Le Goff 1982; great discussion has been devoted over the years to the interaction of these various socio-economic processes; some of the major works have been Elias 1991; Dobb 1978; North and Thomas 1973; P. Anderson 1975; A. Borst [ed.] 1989; Bartlett 1994.

[36] Dawson 1958; Gurjewitsch 1980. Duby 1985 pp. 76ff., 92ff. & passim; Tellenbach 1988 pp. 116, 272; Buttimer 1989; le Goff 1990 pp. 130–234 & passim. Bartlett 1994 p. 226ff.; Vauchez 1997 pp. 313–45; Southern 1995, 2001; RGG s.vv. Heiligenverehrung II Christliche Heligenverehrung, R. Klausen; Heiligsprechung, H. Barion; cf. s.vv. Heilig, G. Lanczkowski et al.; Wallfahrt und Wallfahrtsorte, II. Im Katholizismus, F. Schmidt-Clausing. On the ideas behind the crusades, see Erdmann 1935; F.H. Russell 1975 pp. 195–212 & passim; Eco 1987; for a survey of recent trends in crusade research, see Villads Jensen 2000. For case studies of the build-up of ecclesiastical organisations, see e.g. H. Schück 1959, Benninghoven 1965; Dinzelbacher 1998.

of art and architecture. The way in which churches and castles rose over the humble huts of a city, or commanded an agricultural plain, demonstrated a new world order. In the countryside, local churches offering smaller versions of the programme were built on a broader scale, and parishes were plotted out. Naturally, princes and their vassals also realised the psychological powers of architecture. The remains of this building competition still demonstrate the distribution of power in a dichotomy of worldly and spiritual authority that structured Europe during the long 12th century.[37]

Of course this general breakthrough had had a long gestation. Christianity and the traditions of technology went back into antiquity and borrowed elements from Asia; the secrets of capital accumulation had been learnt from the Arabs; the demographic push had something to do with under-exploitation of resources prior to the 10th century. It was all lying in wait, so to say, but had to be combined into a new system before being put into broader use. By the second half of the 11th century at the latest, these series of socio-economic and cultural innovations were being integrated into a general growth process. Demographic growth was turned into spatial expansion (*cum* intensification), and ended up in economic per capita growth, which is thought to be a rare occurrence in pre-modern history.[38] The result has been given many labels, from 'The Revival of the West' to 'The Making of Europe'. Its nature has been continuously debated, and it can be labelled a 'logistic' or 'commercial revolution' as well as an 'agrarian boom'. It was all this, and more.[39]

All in all, a sort of material and mental chain reaction was going on in the 11th century, which brought extraordinarily strong socio-economic and cultural development to central areas of the western

[37] For technology, see particularly White 1978 pp. 217–53. A useful survey of the discussion in English, in: Götlind 1993 pp. 1–16. For building, e.g. Biller 1981 pp. 55–86; Kunst 1981 pp. 87–102; Nilsén 2000 pp. 11–23; Zeitler 2000 pp. 25–31.

[38] The scholarly discourse on the problem of twelfth-century economic growth was largely settled by work done in the 1960s and 70s. Among these I particularly favour Fourquin 1971 p. 127ff.; J.C. Russell 1972; Lopez 1979 and Cipolla [ed.] 1978b. For more pointed stances in the then ongoing cold war of the academic Marxist-Neo Classic liberalist contest, cf. particularly North and Thomas 1979; P. Anderson 1975. For continued discussion to the present cf. Jones 1987 pp. 45ff.; 70ff.; 85ff.; 104ff.; Blomkvist 1982 pp. 41–44; Jones 1988 p. 28ff., particularly pp. 38–41, and Lal 1998 pp. 19–21; 75ff. A remarkable case study of how the change came about on the local level is offered by Bois 1992, from the vicinity of Cluny.

[39] Lopez 1979; North and Thomas 1979; Bartlett 1994; Borgolte 2002.

Continent. This is a necessary prelude to the following discovery of the Baltic, not least by providing the mental background for expansion, filling continental Europeans with an awareness of superiority, impelling force and legitimacy. Soon it produced expansion tendencies in all directions. Thus in the 12th century continental Europeans appeared on the Rim, brought there by gradually accumulating and favourable winds of conjuncture, bringing a variety of prospects and challenges.

Shift of 'conjonctures' or 'change qualitative'?

More than other scholars, Braudel has demonstrated the interdependence between *longue durée* (cultural permanence), the cyclic movements of *les conjonctures* (socio-economic trends), and the back-and-forth flow of *événements* (events).[40] Even if *longue durée* behaviour stems to no small degree from the land itself, its climate, rhythm and general conditions for life, and even if these aspects are similar all around the Baltic, we cannot claim here the almost eternal permanence which Braudel tended to see in the Mediterranean Basin. The structures of the Baltic Rim are certainly old, but not so old that we cannot date their origin and follow their emergence.

Here, agriculture and village life, the forms of redistribution and exchange, the growth of urban life, as well as the emergence of elites, are variables that have continuously undergone change influenced by larger socio-cultural processes—such as the spread of Christianity from Byzantium and Rome, the forming of kingdoms in the area, the *Drang nach Osten* of German colonists, the establishment of crusader states in Prussia and Livonia, the heyday of Hanseatic dominance from the 13th to 15th centuries which almost created a Baltic cultural entity, the Polish-Swedish great-power intermezzo, which split it up again, followed by the Russian struggle for access to the Sea during the last three centuries. Thus the Baltic Rim has undergone definite structural change in historic times. It is an arena in which the 11th to 13th centuries introduced a socio-economic frontier, which has since then spread, been halted, forced to retire, and struggled back, until in the end it became more or less stabilised as a cultural border.[41]

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[40] Braudel 1986:3 pp. 60–75.
[41] This paragraph boldly endeavours to summarise the content of six CCC conferences held in 1998–2000, see the reports by Blomkvist and Lindquist [eds] 1999;

The changes that set the Baltic free from a dominant continental influence in the Viking Age and then turned it back into one around 1000 were clearly conjunctural; they appeared and disappeared at decisive moments. The complex of changes which we call Europeanization also appeared suddenly but remained and continued to develop according to its own preferences for some eight or nine centuries. Hence it seems a bit improper to call Europeanization a *conjoncture*, and yet it may not be 'eternal' enough to be labelled a phenomenon of the *longue durée*. It appears that Braudel's great 'rhythms of history' fail to work properly in this northern context. Europeanization may represent a quality in between, which is surely to some extent understood but not really mentioned in Braudel's construction and which we may perhaps (seeking a Braudelian formulation) name *change qualitative*.[42]

In a conceptual sense 'qualitative change' may be distinguished from 'conjunctures' just as 'quantity' as a category is said to be reducible or transmutable into 'quality' in the mathematical sciences.[43] As a rough practical assessment of 'qualitative change' for social-historical use, I equate it with the birth of a new civilisation (or 'World-system', cf. below). It would have the function of quantitative growth in the great societal variables, including demography, land use, knowledge and per capita economy. Such change would occur when some field of activity developed significantly, and in a synergic way 'fertilized' society as a whole, until it entered a new era. It is thus a rare occurrence in history.

Auns [ed.] 2001 and the three volumes still in preparation. Efforts to identify a 'Baltic culture' (e.g. Bonsdorff 1990; Beyer 1997) usually look into periods when the cultural border runs east of the coast. The adaptation of the nineteenth-century concept of frontier to medieval colonisation is suggested by e.g. E. Christiansen 1980 pp. 48–69; Bartlett et al. 1989; Wallerström 1995 pp. 267–306.

[42] This concept, intended as a modification of Braudel's clockwork model, was presented at the CCC Weitenhagen Conference June 15th–19th, 2000 and is now in press. *Change qualitative* is closely related to that of long-term growth—an accumulative process whose progression follows secular troughs and peaks which nevertheless tend to rise over an extended time period, due to qualitative changes of system. When Braudel wrote his second *chef d'oevre*, on civilisation and capitalism 1400–1800, the discussion of long term growth was rather fashionable (cf. Rostow 1960, Fourquin 1971 pp. 137–41, 316–26, 328ff., 429f.). He clearly discusses the phenomenon in *Le Temps du Monde*, however calling it secular waves or trends, and thus seeing it as a conjuncture (Braudel 1986 p. 69ff.). He is rather vague about the reasons for its occurrence, however. On the causes and importance of growth, see particularly Jones 1987, Jones 1988; Lal 1998.

[43] Cf. PhW s.v. Quantifizierung, Quantifikation.

Leaving the problems of Neolithisation and Bronze Age integration to the pre-historians, we may discern three or four consecutive cases of *change qualitative* involving this part of the world during the last two millennia. These were the Roman expansion in the first three centuries, the Europeanization process of the 12th and consecutive centuries, the Great Discoveries and global conquest beginning around 1500 and, of course, industrialism taking off in the late 18th century. This was a major new impetus in its own right, but also very much a function of Europe's world dominance. However the concept of *change qualitative* concerns not only the original change, but also enters the equation when civilisations expand. Thus it will be at issue every time representatives of the civilisation in question debark on a 'virgin' shore, or when some indigenous 'savages' set their startled eyes on its achievements for the first time. Following the details of Europeanization on the Baltic Rim would thus be identical to creating a profile through a classical case of *change qualitative.*

2. *Searching for a Model for the 12th Century*

Mediaevistics in the spirit of social sciences

The problem of *how* Europeanization was spread brings us to a discourse in which the mechanisms of power and individual decision-making as well as the forming and structuring of social entities are studied, chiefly by sociologists. One obvious model is that of a centre-periphery system, in which the core passes through a phase of expansion, sending strong new impulses for change along its theoretical radius towards the peripheries. The impetus for such impulses may derive from technological advances or from ideologies suggesting organisational specialisation, hierarchies and disciplines, which thus have qualitative change as a paramount source. Whether or not organised in centralised projects with high-level authorization, further distribution would depend on individual agents finding an incentive to bring the impulses in question to regions where they have not been implemented so far.

Acting as agents of (in this case) Europeanization, their interest would lead them into encounters with the inhabitants of the peripheries, more or less thoroughly organised by vested core area interests. Being *événements* in a Braudelian sense, these encounters may well assume

a routine nature, but if the agents of Europeanization pursue their intentions, sooner or later they are likely to force the other parties to decide whether they see themselves as 'neophyte' Europeans or as defenders of the old order, leading in the end to clashes of some kind.

Such a scenario would also be consistent with Anthony Giddens' outline of the so-called theory of structuration, which (appearing in 1984) has already been applied several times to historical studies. Even if Giddens' priority lies not with the dynamics of expansive systems, but with the routinized character of human daily life forming the basis of societal *longue durée*, it seems quite conceivable to apply some of his conceptual apparatus to cases where a historically established social order comes under pressure to restructure, due to impulses like those mentioned above. This in turn suggests a method which seeks out and analyses encounters on different levels of society, in which the elements of Europeanization were launched and subjected to the positioning of their potential recipients. Constrained by the conditions that Pierre Bourdieu refers to as the *habitus*, the field and capital of the agent, each potential recipient (of a European identity) had to take a stance.[44] This procedure, given that it was conducted under stress, may well be labelled the formation of a 'survival strategy'.

I believe the study of the twelfth-century Baltic Rim will always remain a discipline of its own, demanding a rather broad compe-tence, yet limited by the general fragmentary nature of the source material, which only allows qualitative discussions. There is no room for statistical confirmation. Even so, the application of socio-economic theory to this material may be of great help. Not in the sense of testing the theory, but for the purpose of normalisation. It's there to suggest that the 12th century (*mutatis mutandis*) functioned like any other period of time; that its generations of people tended to develop normal opportunism, normal altruism, normal wisdom, under the period's specific constraints and prerogatives. This may be a truism to readers of this book, but it certainly isn't to everybody (particu-larly since many twelfth-century texts have a flair for expressing

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[44] Cf. Giddens 1995 pp. 110–44. I anticipate fairly compatible scholarly oppor-tunities in the approach suggested by *game theory*, see e.g. Rasmusen 1989. For the concepts of Bourdieu, in which the *habitus* represents the bundle of strategies which gives the individual or group a certain limited freedom of action under given cir-cumstances, the *field* is the social arena into which he/she/they are admitted, whereas the *capital* subsumes their resources not only in an economical sense, but accounts for status and other intangibles as well; see Broady 1991 p. 227f.

extraordinary idealism). The procedure may help to establish the existence of routines or types (of events, of transactions, of attitudes) with which the complex of hypothetical interpretations can be fortified.

The first priority is to find an explanation model suitable to the actual problem, and preferably one that has been well tested in richer and better source materials. This could function as a sort of framework, onto which I could hang the stray pieces of genuine information from the long 12th century Baltic Rim, in search of their context. I have already suggested that a centre-periphery perspective might be useful. In itself a very general mode of explanation, exploiting the impact of distance, time-cost etc. upon the organisation of society, it is frequently a help in understanding uneven development and dominance complexes over brief as well as truly immense Time/Space distances. As noted, the aim can never be to confirm or falsify the theory from the sources available, merely to try the explanatory logic it suggests as a potential context. This is why a solid model, systematizing the larger, more obvious patterns of human behaviour, is preferable to a more sophisticated one, which would need a richer source material to function meaningfully.

The World-system model

A well-known, general adaptation of the centre-periphery perspective to the problem of discoveries and appropriations has been made under the concept of the World-system (or in a more limited sense a world economy). Developed by Fernand Braudel and Immanuel Wallerstein, it was designed, first and foremost, to explain Europe's Early Modern rise to global dominance, and thus also the breakthrough of capitalism. According to Braudel, a world economy is 'an economically autonomous, essentially self-subsisting part of the world that shows some organic unity in communications and in internal exchange'. Wallerstein stresses that a World-system is an antithesis of an empire. Instead of conquering the surrounding nations and forcing them to conform as the Romans did, the capitalistic centre or core area of a World-system links them together in a spatial division of labour— without necessarily establishing direct political control.[45] In later

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[45] Wallerstein 1974 pp. 15ff., 347ff.; 1993 p. 294. Braudel (1986 p. 16) briefly treats other aspects of the term's etymology, which is derived from German *Weltwirtschaft*, introduced by Fritz Rörig. Braudel finds the expression clumsy. So do I. Would

debate, the concept has been used in a wider sense, and has often been written 'world system', without a hyphen. Wallerstein has been compelled to comment: 'My "World-system" is not a system "in the world" or "of the world". It is a system "that is a world". Hence the hyphen, since "world" is not an attribute of the system'.[46]

A World-system has a centre of accumulation, and an ongoing hegemony-rivalry. It is separated into (1) a *core area*—characterised by wealth, a high level of knowledge, specialised production, pluralism and powerful yet restricted authorities; (2) a *semi-periphery*—with a good material standard and knowledge, a certain degree of specialisation, a more hierarchical and disciplined society; and (3) a *periphery*—with general exploitation, a low level of knowledge, forced labour, great class differences and mass production of raw material and goods. To establish a World-system the core area must possess a surplus of goods and skills, demanded by the others. The rest is achieved by implementing core area attitudes to economic organisation on the semi-periphery and periphery, and making them coordinate their policies and regulations in order to abort socio-cultural frictions. To some extent these aims would be achieved by economic mechanisms, particularly by higher prices in the core area. To prevent 'irrationalities' these market forces would be supported by ideology, further enforced by military and political means. As to its peripheries, the core area thus enjoys many advantages of an empire in its conquered territories, at much lower cost and much less risk than it would take to conquer and govern them.[47]

World-systems would thus be spatial representations of the great organisation *cum* ideology complexes (or more bluntly, exploitative systems) of their day. As a general, robust and well-tested explanatory principle, the World-system model seems suitable as the theoretical basis for a study of twelfth-century Europeanization.

When applying it to medieval Europe and its northern 'expansion area', we must note that while most scholars, including Braudel, see

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'economic world' be a better solution? Here, however, I retain the usual expression to avoid confusion. For useful surveys of later debate, cf. Frank and Gills [eds] 1993 p. 3ff.; Ekholm and Friedman 1993. I would also like to point out the remarkable similarity to this general idea, which is described in the novel *Världsstaden* (The Global City) by Ludvig Nordström in 1920.

[46] Wallerstein 1993 p. 292ff.
[47] Braudel 1986 pp. 35–37, p. 40; Wallerstein 1974 p. 15ff.; cf. Blomkvist 1998 pp. 16–18.

the World-system as a general model for the distribution of power
and resources within interacting units of the highest order, applicable
to almost any epoch in history, other scholars, among them Wallerstein,
depart from the same general assumptions but see it as a specific
explanation model for the Early Modern World-conquest of West
European capitalism, requiring capitalism and bulk-trade as necessary
criteria.[48] Any medieval application would of course follow from the
Braudel line. However it would also carry interest from the angle of
Wallerstein's more narrow definition, since he suggests the Middle Ages
are a prelude to that which in his view constitutes the real thing.[49]

The present application: some delimitations, reservations and qualifications

I see the World-system model as an explanatory tool with some char-
acteristics suitable for the present purpose, but I take no responsi-
bility for all the ways the concept has been used.[50] What I recommend
is a fairly conservative approach, making use of its chorological and
systemic fundaments. It is built up by basically hierarchical networks,
binding together nodes which in turn control or influence their respec-
tive territory. To qualify as a system, the components must interact
more with each other than with any outside agency. It is an open
system in the sense that components *can* leave it, while outsiders *may*
join it. The nodes can thus get feedback from or even become
influenced by the territory they endeavour to control. It is further-
more a system that crosses political borders.

For the present purpose, its most important quality will be the
distinction it provides from empires and states.[51] It models a system
of domination which depends neither necessarily nor solely on vio-

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[48] Braudel 1986 pp. 16ff., 29ff. Ekholm 1981; Abu-Lughod 1989; Frank and Gills
[eds] 1993; Sherratt 1993; Sanderson [ed.] 1995; Westlund 1996. For the Wallerstein
line, see Wallerstein 1995 pp. 239–60; cf. Nitz [ed.] 1993.

[49] The medieval prelude shows 'at least two smaller world-economies, a medium-
sized one based on the city-states of northern Italy and a smaller one based on the
city-states of Flanders and northern Germany. Most of Europe was not directly
involved in these networks.' (quotation from Wallerstein 1974 p. 37f.).

[50] My use for example does not claim its falsifiability, 'in terms of the relative
number of hours needed for equally productive workers in different countries to
obtain a given basket of goods' (Jones 1988 p. 88). I merely use it as a framework
for comparing qualitative (and sometimes rather soft) data.

[51] It goes without saying that such a distinction has never been fully upheld in
real life. Empires also try to spread their ideology and integrate their economy,
while World-system core areas take to coercion if other means fail.

lence or coercion, but allows for voluntary agreement and mutual advantage, by means of spatial division of work or 'functions'. It requires mutual obligations to maintain a certain level of common order, not often achieved without indoctrination, development of discipline, equalisation of jurisdiction and civil conduct. Thus it gives concrete meaning to hazy concepts like Civilisation and Culture, by pointing to the somewhat more subtle domination and disciplinary processes which aim at winning over opponents rather than conquering them.[52]

The problem of whether by taking up the World-system model one also aligns oneself with economic determinism I like to solve along with Braudel, who provides the equation $E=PSC$ (E=economy, P=politics, S=society, C=culture). This formula, he says, could be rewritten in every possible way, indicating that these entities are just different aspects of the same reality, even though economic factors can be more easily observed than the others. In most cases, the economic dimension leaves the most concrete traces in the landscape as well as in the archives. We may add that with rising quantities— whether in transport, distance, costs of procuring, or human sacrifice— economic factors tend to gain greater importance, and that deviation due to inspired human dedication or whim becomes less incalculable.[53]

In an application to the Middle Ages it may not be advisable to use capitalism as a key concept, even if scholars have viewed it lately as a more general phenomenon than the traditional Marxist definition.[54] Reflecting on this problem, Braudel states that wherever there is a World-system there is also an elite, positioned on top of existing hierarchies, allowed privileges and the means to form monopolies or cartels, thus controlling the flows between foreign and domestic production and consumption areas, and having the means to influence

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[52] Sanderson [ed.] 1995 pp. 261ff.; Wilkinson 1995 pp. 248–60.

[53] Clarke 1977 p. 9ff.

[54] According to Frank and Gills [eds] 1993 pp. 81ff., 200ff., as well as Ekholm and Friedman 1993 p. 59ff., it should however be perfectly possible. The latter two complain over the general tendencies 'to divide world's history into distinctive market/non-market or capitalist/pre-capitalist systems. We feel that such "substantivist" and "historical-materialist" categorizations are based on false abstractions from reality that obscure some of the essential continuities of social evolution from the rise of the first civilizations. Our own point of view is that there exists a form of "capitalism" in the ancient world, that there are "world economies," and that many properties of the dynamics of such systems are common to our own world economy.' Cf. Fourquin 1971 p. 279f.; Carelli 2001 p. 367ff.

monetary systems and financial policy. These persons have exclusive access to inside information, are in command of the mass media of the period, and can proclaim whatever they wish as proven truth. That they have access to enormous funds and military power hardly needs mentioning. These spiders in the web are seen more often in select meetings where strategic decisions are taken, rather than leading an army, launching a mercantile adventure or raising the masses through the use of demagogy. Of this broader phenomenon, capitalism (as Braudel describes it) is only a specific application, becoming more frequent in the Late Middle Ages.[55] If adapted to the 12th century, he seems to have painted a group portrait of the higher clergy, not forgetting the incumbents of the central monasteries, together with their closest friends in the lay aristocracy and upper urban echelons, all belonging to the European core area between North Italy and the Low Countries.

Although the World-system model is very useful for analyses of suppressive forces and exhaustion techniques, it has been rightly criticised for looking at the peripheries only from the perspective of the decision-makers of the core area.[56] This problem is illustrated by a comparison with another explanation model, developed in parallel by Charles Tilly and many associates. Contrary to the World-system, this model specifically sets out to explain the formation of the European (nation-) state system. These scholars see as the driving forces the capacity for violence, the propensity among rulers for coercive extraction, the preparations for war within and between political entities, together with the political game of forming alliances. The model was launched together with categorical criticism of other explanatory solutions—'mode of production' and 'World-system' included.[57] Gradually modifying it over the years however, Tilly and his colleagues have come quite close to the World-system model. A more recent book 'explores the possibility that the variable distribution of

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[55] These reflections are founded in Braudel 1988 pp. 42–66.

[56] The shortcomings of the 'World-system school' (references mention Wallerstein 1974 and Wolf 1982) are criticised by Jones (1988 p. 87ff.) for being Eurocentric, neglecting on the one hand 'the possibility of independent growth elsewhere', and over-emphasising the (damaging) effect on non-Western peoples, thus putting too much stress 'on the dynamism and sinfulness of Europe'. These points I can easily sympathise with, but prefer to modify the model rather than abstaining from the helpful analytical framework it provides.

[57] Tilly 1990 p. 11.

cities and systems of cities by region and era (. . .) constrained the multiple paths of state formation. It argues that states, as repositories of armed force, grow differently in different environments and that the character of urban networks within such environments systematically affects the path of state formation'.[58]

By confronting the mainly urban forces that tend to build up networks for exchange with the mostly rural forces which rule over territory and hence can breed armies, Tilly has—albeit without saying so—to some extent united the two models. And by defining a field of tension between 'capital-intensive' urban clusters in the centre, a middle way area of 'capitalized-coercion', and the large and mostly rural one of 'coercion-intensive' states on the exterior of a 'roughly concentric pattern of European state formation',[59] he virtually presents a version of the World-system model, shaded in reverse like a photographic negative. In my view his effort becomes a valuable improvement of the World-system model in two ways: by stressing the combination of antagonism, mutual interest and theoretical exchangeability of 'power' and 'market forces',[60] and by demonstrating the constraints in terms of latent opposition, which even the most superior central capitalists and despotic rulers were up against.[61]

So far, so good. But we can hardly rest satisfied with a comparison of two alternative systems of dominance, one network, the other territory; nor with the confrontation of two elite groups, the one 'entrepreneurial', the other 'coercive'. For our purpose it is also necessary to apply an 'underdog perspective', providing room for the willpower and reactions of the many who were subjected and integrated into the World-system.

Reaction to action: the forming of survival strategies

The problem of whether a convert has understood the message and accepted it, or if he is just pulling the missionary's leg, shifts the focus

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[58] Tilly 1994 p. 6.

[59] Tilly 1994 pp. 12ff., 23.

[60] I was already vaguely reaching for this in Blomkvist 1984.

[61] These advantages would also have been achieved if the more abstract structuration theory presented by Anthony Giddens (1995) had been applied. It is however explicitly constructed for the modern society. I have judged it to be far too sophisticated for adaptation to the type of very general plausibility conclusions that the twelfth-century sources allow. Thus I see the rougher qualities of the World-system model as a practical advantage.

from the Europeanization agent to the Baltic Rim *re*-agent. This is
due not only to religion, but to persuasion attempts for a new agri-
cultural system or a new economic order. However I think the first
subordinates of a World-system would be found not in the periphery,
but in the core area itself, in as much as the dominance complex
had to be developed there before being 'exported' towards the lower
labour costs and other advantages in the peripheries. The gradual
spread of a more differentiated social spectrum and the organisation
of economic transferences from the broader working 'masses' to the
higher echelons—the problem that has occupied so many recent stu-
dents of medieval statehood—is in this theoretical context to be seen
as an indication of the expanding World-system frontier.[62]

Whether the convert undertakes the new learning of his own free
will, because he has seen the light, fears the worst or sees no other
way out of a crisis; or whether he does it voluntarily to promote his
commercial interests, or succumbs to the inevitable after a military
defeat[63]—anyway he is expected to give up something of what was

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[62] The 'underdog perspective' covers serfs, peasants, wage labourers, hired hands,
lower craftsmen, manufacturing workers, industrial proletariat, mining labourers, sailors
everywhere. For some reason studies of popular resistance strategies are, so far, more
frequent for the late medieval and early modern period, cf. Blickle 1979, 1981; Blickle
and Kunisch [eds] 1989; Blickle 1990; cf. several articles on peasant movements in
Folkets historia 1995, 23:2–3 (ed. C.-M. Wendt). See also modern classics like Bakhtin
1968; Le Roy Ladurie 1982; Ginzburg 1988a. This literature shows that even estab-
lished class societies, sheltered by firm laws and commanding means of severe repres-
sion, have left niches for 'underdog opposition' including ideological criticism and
ridicule as alternatives or complements to outbursts of raw violence. One reason
why focus has been more on the latter Middle Ages and later periods, apart from
the source situation, may be that popular resistance of previous periods may not
have been understood as such, but rather as religious or regional dissent.

[63] For the present purpose I find insufficient the approaches based on concepts
like *innovation* (Hägerstrand 1953; Bringéus 1968; S. Svensson 1969; cf. Winberg
2000 pp. 163–182) and *acculturation* (Herskovitz 1938; Redfield 1955; cf. Medick
1982 and particularly Schjødt 1989 p. 187ff.). Suitable for studying the spread of
new technology, integration of immigrants, adaptation of new consumption habits,
and thus potentially also the spread of a new religion, they are constructed chiefly
for the study of manifest, winning processes. Schjødt (1989 p. 193) has however
pointed out how tricky the aspect of acculturation is when applied to a shift in reli-
gion. The sources offer mostly aspects of expression, often filtered through the eyes
of a missionary and depending on how he wishes to evaluate his work. What invites
measurement is a series of visible changes, which may lead to the conclusion that
religious transformation has occurred. In spite of that, many other qualities may
remain unchanged, such as 'the lower mythology.' Schjødt raises three questions:
(1) Are we interested in the viewpoints of missionaries or those of the converts? (2)
Do we want the official attitude of society or that of the individual? (3) Is this the
level of expression or conception that we're asking for?

once his. Assuming that human beings generally prefer to keep their inherited identity and have it accepted and respected by others, all kinds of conversions stand out as cases of cultural subordination. We now approach the problem which scholars like von Wright, North and in particular Putnam have described as forms of non-cooperation, which tends to be rational behaviour under the given organisation *cum* ideology complex. Searching for the indigenous choice of survival strategies, however, I would prefer to phrase it in terms of active response.

A group of anthropological models offers an approach to this under the name of deprivation theory. Among possible reactions to deprivation I would particularly point out so-called nativistic, revitalization and millenarian movements as potentially useful to the present problem. The first two deal with traditional customs and practices that are reawakened as symbols for resistance to foreign cultural dominance, whereas millenarianism has been compared to revolution. Instead of classifying such upheavals as irrational or primitive, these theories accept them as rational, given the circumstances.[64] These well-established theories may be easily linked to the dichotomy of 'us' as opposed to 'others that are different' in modern culture-clash discussion.

Taking into account that an expanding World-system tended to cultural subordination almost by definition, it seems plausible that survival strategies forming in (e.g. nativistic) reaction to it would lead in the direction of popular and/or societal mobilisation, into broad and well-known problem areas such as ethnification[65] and growing

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[64] Lessa and Vogt 1979 p. 414, departing from 'the assumption that religious change grows out of psychological, social, economic or political deprivation'. A nativistic movement has been defined (by Linton 1979 p. 415) as 'any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture'; revitalising movements (by Wallace 1979 p. 422) as 'any deliberate, organised, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture' (cf. Carter Bentley 1987; Wallerström 1997 p. 333). On millenarian movements, see Hobsbawm 1979. I would like to thank my son Torsten Blomkvist, the Department of Theology, Uppsala, for opening my eyes to these schools of thought.

[65] Ethnicity is a modern scientific concept, in which traditional ideas of a primarily biological heritage as the constitutional element of tribal and regional groups have been replaced by those of social construction. Apart from very primordial properties such as religion, language and biological relation, it works with cultural particularities, symbols, demands of loyalty to adapted value judgements. The discourse of ethnicity analyses to what degree these in fact *are* inherited or created by vitalizing movements. Ethnicity is thus seen as a specific culture, marking and demanding solidarity to a given community, the possible genetic unity of which could be the result of later marriage restrictions as well as signs of a common origin. It

nationalism.[66] Although both these concepts refer to strong emotional expressions among given peoples in defence of their identity, collective honour etc., ethnicity may be seen as a stronger, literally more exclusive and 'tribal' reaction. Nationalism tends to be used for larger multi-regional groups, who tolerate greater divergences within the framework of a linguistic and cultural unity. It almost always implies the existence of a well-defined polity, or at least the ambition to create one.[67]

Discussing this problem, Peter Sahlins suggests a difference between state patriotism and ethnicity/nationalism. Patriotism is propagated from above, he claims, and aims at loyalty to a polity. National identity on the other hand is interactive, relational and emerges first and foremost in the form of opposition to those who are different.[68] The distinction may not be as clear as the suggestion presupposes—the leader and the patriotic ideology can be much-longed for in a community harassed by foreigners (such as King Alfred's England, or Jeanne d'Arc's France). In Chapter Nine, we shall see an East Baltic people begging Vladimir of Polotsk to play a similar role in vain. Either way the propagandists of patriotism will be quick in referring to the 'otherness' of foreign state citizens, and will soon have *caused* cultural differences that conform with state boundaries.[69]

A World-system action/reaction model

My working hypothesis is that, by subordinating peoples of the peripheries, a World-system would sooner or later provoke a reaction—the forming of some ethnical, national or otherwise expressed survival strategy,[70] just as at some time it stirred the populace of the core

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has also been stated that the upkeep of ethnicity will need 'the Other'. See further Barth 1969, Armstrong 1982 pp. 4ff., 14ff., 201ff., 241ff.; Odner 1983, 1985; Wallerström 1997 pp. 299–303; Honko 1999; Brather 2000 p. 158ff.

[66] B. Anderson 1991; Tägil [ed.] 1993; Ehlers 1996; Zientara 1997; Abrahams 1999; Schöpflin 1999.

[67] To my mind, ethnicity differs from nationalism in being more visible, audible, in short more evident, whereas nationalism is an inclination for a country which is moulded and kept under international co-existence and intercourse, not necessarily very ostentatious, but able to mobilise in times of need.

[68] Sahlins 1989; cf. Linde-Laursen 1995.

[69] Reuter 1998.

[70] Honko 1999 discusses the need to defend Finno-Ugrian sub-cultures in present day Russia using precisely the term 'survival strategy'. This is a different use than mine. Under threat of cultural subordination one alternative would no doubt

area to form an oppositional social under-class.[71] This reaction may be proportional to the degree of stress and deprivation felt by each group, and potentially to the ability of the group (or its elites) to profit from the challenge. Again I recall Bitterli's generalisation that strong societies could regulate the exploitative forces, while weaker ones tended to destroy themselves through devastating clashes. Although Bitterli doesn't claim it, this of course has some similarity to the orders of semi-periphery and periphery of the World-system model as well as to the concepts of ethnicity and nationalism in my action/reaction application, at least in as much as it implies different types of society behind different kinds of reaction.

We can thus count on two main types of characteristic reaction to an expanding World-system. Meeting small, segmented or chiefdom-type societies, the cultural gap is quite wide, and the repudiating reaction would hypothetically lead to a survival strategy of societal enclosure and ethnification.[72] In encounters with stronger and more organised societies, the reaction would probably be further strengthening of their polity organisation in combination with nation-building efforts.[73] In the core area itself the corresponding phenomenon would take the shape of underdog opposition in various forms. These reactions should thus be seen not primarily as adaptations to core area action, but rather as survival strategies offering gradually more harsh and uncompromising resistance. On the other hand, some modern theories of social power describe antithetical tensions between dominant and dominated groups as poles in a related field of tension, the one in need of the other for the forming of their respective identity.[74] With that in mind, I put forward a theoretical picture in which the friction of opposition gets harsher with each of the three orders of a World-system.

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be to vitalize the inherited culture, but in my vocabulary a survival strategy could equally well include giving up an ethnic group, and joining some larger context.

[71] I stress that the under-class was *formed* by the will of its members to co-ordinate their mutual interests.

[72] Wallerström (1997 pp. 234–237) suggests that Europeanization may have marginalized some peoples, challenging them to intensify ethnification, only in turn—when their Christianisation was judged to be impossible—to lead to their penetration.

[73] Tilly (1975; 1994 p. 4) expresses second thoughts about the term *nation-building* because as an engineering metaphor it implicates foresight and direction. However I use it here and elsewhere to express precisely conscious intentions to build up emotional sentiment for a territory and its properties.

[74] Scott 1990. Cf. B. Svensson 1993 pp. 48–59.

World-system hierarchy	World-system survival strategies
core area	popular resistance & niche opposition
semi-periphery	state formation & nation-building
periphery	closed society & ethnification

In its simplicity, this theoretical display may be a formula for the making and structuring of any multi-national culture or 'civilisation', such as medieval 'Europe'.

To anticipate a possible misunderstanding I repeat that the creation of social classes in the peripheries and the parallel introduction of what historical materialists call the feudal mode of production is seen here as a property of expanding World-system subordination. I wouldn't rule out the possibility of 'popular resistance and niche opposition' emerging as survival strategies in the peripheries as well, but I find it more likely that such sentiments remained embedded in nativistic or revitalizing 'programmes' in the early stages of the process—as in the long 12th century of the Baltic Rim. In my World-system application, popular resistance is likely to be 'exported' into the peripheries much later, when the system had become fully established there.[75]

Some would object that factors like ethnicity and nationalism were weak in the Middle Ages,[76] whereas internationalism was very strong. If that is so, it is a confirmation of ongoing World-system subordination. It may also be a function of the scarcity of medieval sources. In many countries the issue of medieval nationalism has hardly been raised on a serious basis, while there may have been propagandistic misuse in some. Nevertheless no-one would deny that many of the countries which later emerged as nation states appeared for the first time as political entities in the Middle Ages, and that their polit-

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[75] For example, who could say whether the great Livonian insurrection in 1343 was of a social or an ethnic nature? The same goes even for the Engelbrekt insurrection of Sweden 1434–36, which can be and has been interpreted in trade-political, socialistic and nationalistic colours. In these revolts, all of these reactions occur.

[76] According to Armstrong (1982 p. 4) 'the right of individuals . . . to establish territorial political structures corresponding to their consciousness of group identity' emerged as the dominant political doctrine and a principal theme of political analysis only in the 18th–19th centuries. Why scholars often see nationalism as beginning out of the blue in that period is, he continues, 'because the epoch of Absolutism that immediately preceded European nationalism involved, at least for elites, an exceptionally strong rejection of ethnic differentiation'. Many scholars seem to share the view that the forces of ethnicity and nationalism *did* exist, but were of secondary importance 'to religion or dynasty or late feudal bonds of loyalty', to quote a recent statement from Schöpflin (1999 p. 49; cf. Smith 1986).

ical organisation was markedly enforced from the 12th century onwards. Where identity aspects have been studied, results often indicate this as a factor of importance.[77]

On the strength of this, I shall outline an adaptation of this action/reaction model to the medieval making of Europe. Establishing a World-system is a method for a technically advanced, free and 'capitalistic' centre to create, at lowest cost, the advantages of an empire, without having to deal with its disadvantages. Is this not exactly what (a) the Papal Curia and (b) the North-Italian, Low-Country and proto-Hanseatic urban networks were doing in the long 12th century?

3. *A Catholic World-system Forming in the Long 12th Century?*

Christianitas

The Polish scholar Benedykt Zientara has explained how ideals of the long-lost unity of imperial Rome, along with the misfortunes of the Carolingian reconstruction effort, were gradually replaced by *Christianitas* as a new concept of diversified unity. A model was seen in the Biblical story of the Tower of Babel from which all languages were dispersed, along with the restoration of understanding among true believers by the miracle of Pentecost. This was a beautiful parable for the hard political struggle by the reform popes to implement ecclesiastical universalism, according to which the Catholic Church would penetrate the borders of kingdoms and empires independently of the actors of the mundane world. In this endeavour, they found a powerful instrument in St. Augustine's historical vision of a *civitas Dei*, written some 700 years earlier.[78]

These theologians addressed the political leaders of the day, notably the German-Roman emperors of the 11th and 12th centuries, in the well-known and much-discussed controversies over investiture, immunities etc. By checking and balancing the powers of emperors and

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[77] 'Manifestations of national ethnicity seem to reflect the rise of national states between the 9th and 12th centuries', the Norwegian anthropologist K. Odner (1985 p. 9) states bluntly. Cf. Bagge 1995; Jakobsson 1999.

[78] Zientara 1997 p. 14f.; Dawson 1958 p. 120ff. (on the role of St Augustine's writing, particularly p. 135f.) Artz 1967 pp. 227, 366; Bartlett 1994 p. 243ff.; cf. F.H. Russell (1975 p. 16) for some bibliographic advice; H.-W. Goetz 1984.

kings, the Papal Curia and its chief allies the Cistercians achieved a political equilibrium that spread over Catholic Europe in the 12th century and lowered the friction between realms and peoples.[79] This was quite a remarkable manifestation of *civitas Dei* in the real world, stretching across the borders of the evil, worldly powers and attempting brotherly peace among believers.[80]

Many medievalists, whether applying a theoretical perspective or not, see the Reform Papacy as an epochal step in the making of a west European *Kulturkreis* and in the formation of a European *Staatensystem*— implying the dynamically interacting 'Unity of Church and State authority that characterises the Occidental Middle Ages', as Gerd Tellenbach wrote in 1947.[81] This remarkable so-called reform had begun as a 'liberation' that took political control of the papacy out of the hands of the local Roman aristocracy.

The process began during the pontificate of Leo IX (1049–54). The background was political, namely the establishment of a Norman polity in south Italy, areas hitherto dominated by Greek and Muslim influences. Papal recognition of the Norman realm accelerated existing tensions with the Christian Orthodox Church, culminating in the great schism of 1054 which still exists. Formally this was a subtle theological dissension, but it drew energy from deep mental differences that may have gone back at least to the partition of the Roman Empire in 395. Since then, the two versions of Christianity had gradually grown away from each other, and we can see the disobliging Roman attitude as part of the attempt to restore the position of the Eternal City in the arena of great power politics.[82] However, this was only the beginning.

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[79] Tellenbach 1936 is still fundamental; Tellenbach 1947 p. 125ff.; see also Dawson 1958 pp. 140ff., 161ff., 199ff.; Jordan 1980 pp. 154–69; Bartlett 1994 pp. 243–68; Schmidt 1999 pp. 11ff., 39ff. & passim; most recently Borgolte 2002 pp. 75–94; cf. for Scandinavia, Andrae 1960 pp. 3–19; H. Janson 1998 p. 60ff. & passim.

[80] For the entire problem, see Tellenbach 1988. For *civitas Dei* as prime ideological model, Artz 1967 p. 366; H.-W. Goetz 1984 p. 5f., cf. 235ff. Some popes apparently had further ambitions, coming close to creating a new kind of empire. Bartlett (1994 p. 252) observes that the early efforts included practices of nation building, perhaps intending to create a Christian ethnicity, or as Gregory VII expressed it, a *christiana gens*. Saxo (XIV:3:5) offers another good example of this particular attitude.

[81] *Einheit von Kirche und Staatlicher Gewalt, die das abendländische Mittelalter auszeichnet*, Tellenbach 1947 pp. 125, 127.

[82] Tellenbach 1947 pp. 127–30. Cf. Sherrard 1995 pp. 48ff., 73ff. & passim; I. Jonsson *sine anno*; G.H. Karlsson *sine anno*; Jordan 1980 p. 155f.; Braudel et al. 1985.

The agents of this new deal were immigrant intellectuals who came chiefly from north Italy, (greater) Lorraine and Burgundy, where Christian reform was already being preached from centres like Cluny and Gorze. These northern Italians, Frenchmen and Germans were possessed by the idea of realising the age-old universal claims connected to the Church of Rome. According to Karl Jordan, another specialist in the field, they represented three political claims: (1) *universal episcopate*, meaning that the pope should be seen as bishop everywhere and hence the local ones as his vicars; (2) *curial fealty*, implying that all kingdoms should be given to the temporal kings as a benefice from the chair of St Peter; and (3) the *regimen universale* within *Christianitas*, implying general papal supremacy. In the middle of the 11th century, representatives of this group emerged as cardinals and popes, and the previous local horizons of the papacy were soon transformed into European vistas.[83]

An important prerequisite for any such ambitions was a series of organisational reforms. The College of Cardinals developed from a gathering of the Roman clergy to a highly qualified papal council, which in turn made the system of papal legates possible, through which high-level contacts were to be upheld with virtually all countries of Europe. Also, in the second half of the 11th century, a papal chancery was organised, which in turn was to develop the sophisticated charter system of the Curia. The administrative modernisation included the introduction of a *camera apostolica* to take charge of the still rather limited papal finances; said to have been much more humble than those of the contemporary kingdoms, which the reformists were challenging.[84]

The geographic reach and degree of political interference are best illustrated by the correspondence. Bartlett displays a statistical overview of Gregory VII's correspondence, which shows that of his known letters (more than 400), the majority (268) were sent to clergy within the former Carolingian borders; the second largest number (63) were sent to lay aristocrats within the same borders, while only a small fraction (10) were sent to its rulers. Of the many fewer letters directed to the territories outside the 'Imperial world' however, a clear majority

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[83] Jordan 1980 pp. 156f., 162.
[84] Tellenbach (1947 p. 131ff.) and Jordan (1980 p. 158ff.) describe the administrative improvements in quite compatible terms.

(50) were sent to kings and other rulers.[85] These bare figures illus-
trate very well the papal strategy of undermining secular govern-
ment in the Holy Roman Empire (and France), both by entangling
strong internal groups in anti-government alliances, and by efforts
to influence rulers outside these realms.

Albeit all the demands were never fulfilled, the reformist programme
was to have an enormous impact on the future of Europe. In a
series of concordats—with the Normans of Sicily, the various Christian
kingdoms on the Iberian Peninsula, and France and England—var-
ious compromises were reached with monarchs and national churches,
before the most prestigious was settled with the Roman-German
emperor in Worms in 1122. Only a year later, the first Lateran Council
was inaugurated, in a sense putting the entire European clergy on
the benches of a reform school.[86]

Explicitly, the reformist issue was spiritual and legal. The new power-
holders of the Curia proclaimed a centralised order in liturgy and
rite, successfully fighting remnants of Greek practices in south Italy
and Mozarabian ones in Spain. Other dramatic developments came
in the fields of dogma and canon law, with the definition of sin in
all its appearances, including simony and slack habits in monastic
life, as well as the spiritual guidance of laymen, not to mention the
rule of laymen over churches. To follow Tellenbach's words again:
'At synods in all countries, in canonical text collections, in an all-
too-opulent literature, from subtle theological treatises to vulgar pro-
paganda in day-to-day politics, for decades to come it was to be
discussed and disputed whether kingship was of a spiritual nature
and directly connected to God or whether kings were laymen and
papal subjects, if clergymen could be invested by laymen and might
even receive feudal benefices from such, and how, in fact, *spiritualia*
should relate to *temporalia*'.[87]

In due course the reformists looked beyond the palaces and cathe-
drals and addressed the broad masses of Catholic Europe; hence the
development of purgatory as a mid-condition or place where the
great majority of mediocre sinners could be purified, with good hopes

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[85] The impact of western Christendom upon economic development has partic-
ularly been underlined in the works of R.W. Southern (1953, 1970, 1995–2001).
See also Bartlett 1994 pp. 243–50.
[86] Jordan 1980 pp. 154, 163ff.
[87] Tellenbach 1947 pp. 132ff., 138.

of admission into paradise. As Jacques le Goff points out, this was a compromise worked out by twelfth-century theologians to soften the early reformist dogmatism of the Curia.[88] The hard binary position of early Christianity, taken by St. Augustine not least, would then dissolve. The Catholic Church would evade fanaticism, and *civitas Dei* could encompass *civitas terrena* or *mundi*.[89]

There is a clear link from this doctrine to the possibility of redeeming personal sins by collecting resources and putting life at risk in order to save the soul of the Other. This idea was definitely worked out in time for the proclamation of the First Crusade in 1095. Participants were granted *indulgencia plena*, meaning total redemption from their sins and direct access to paradise, should they fall in combat. Certainly, there were many motives for enlisting for a crusade, material as well as political, but these were generally worked into a system of legitimacy. Gradually the rules of a *bellum iustum* were also developed, and added to the canonical system. Claiming the land from a pagan was thus an option, as we have already seen, even if it wasn't always possible to achieve. However, the system also provided salvation for the innocent pagan, the one who meekly converted to Christianity. He was to be saved from eternal damnation, although often at the price of giving up his land to his saviour.[90] The tendency common to these reforms seems to be the equalisation of all peoples through a set of supra-national values and rules, together with a system of sanctions for their maintenance; a forceful, thoroughly analysed jurisdictional and philosophical structure, soon to become the unbreakable whole that was rounded off by St. Thomas Aquinas.[91]

It is a characteristic function of any system that while it reduces friction in communication between its components, it raises walls against other systems outside—a recognised political adaptation being to focus on a common enemy in order to create a *Wir-gefühl* and maintain peace at home. To encourage brotherly love between the interested parties of the core area, the ideologists of *Christianitas* may thus have invented (or rather borrowed) the idea of a holy war. The political instrument of crusade ideology, presented by Urban II in 1095,

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[88] Le Goff 1990, p. 1ff.; see also Harbsmeier 1989 p. 202ff.
[89] Le Goff 1990, p. 130ff. (cf. below).
[90] F.H. Russell 1975; Lotter 1989; for a longer perspective cf. Bitterli 1993 p. 45ff., 55f.; See also Villads Jensen 1993 pp. 30f., 33ff.; Bysted 2000 pp. 30–47.
[91] RGG s.v. Thomas 2. von Aquino (W. Pannenberg).

was implanted into the Iberian and Baltic environment in 1147, through the efforts of Bernhard of Clairvaux.[92] In these aspects it appears that Catholic universalism, although expressed in a different language, already has something fundamental in common with a World-system.[93]

Systematisation: Church reform and the forming of a western European commodity market

The reform programme allows a notion of relativity, almost of abstraction, to all forms of worldly power. These are presented as institutions within the framework of God's world order and their temporal holders are reduced to casual stage-players. The impact of these ideas on the general behaviour of Europeans must have been considerable.[94] They certainly challenged autocratic rule wherever it was found, influencing the institutionalisation and regulation of legitimate power. Of course, the arguments for establishing Catholic universalism were chiefly religious, or ideological if you prefer, and those who worked them out were chiefly popes, cardinals, bishops and abbots—but even so, it was a new political order with an immense economic potential which started to spread over Europe.[95]

At least as by-products, the reform achievements—e.g. the reduction of tensions between Catholic Christians, equalisation of legislation between countries and implementation of common attitudes—must have had a stimulating effect on economic life, allowing a compar-

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[92] Ch. IV:2.

[93] Seeing *civitas Dei* as a World-system ideology is of course far from claiming that St Augustine was the first capitalist! Quite the contrary, his aim had rather been to refute rumours that the sack of Rome in 410 was due to the desertion from the pagan altars. He did that by highlighting the evil tendencies of mundane political and economic life, easily observed in Biblical and Roman history. *Nullus christianus debet esse mercator* was the ecclesiastical recommendation of his day (Artz 1967 p. 83f.; Jaspers 1965 p. 151f.; Roll 1978 p. 44ff.). The animosity towards trade goes back to Aristoteles, who counted trade as an unnatural way of earning one's livelihood, whereas agriculture, animal husbandry, fishing, hunting and plunder are natural, obviously since they are based on locally available resources (Blomkvist 1999 p. 19) Later, when activities of trade became extremely prosperous and important to the community as such, it found less and less theological resistance.

[94] Which seems not sufficiently appreciated by Elias (1991 p. 13f.).

[95] This was at least obvious to Bernhard of Clairvaux, (*De Consideratione* II:6) himself one of the keenest reformists, but worried about recent tendencies in the curia: 'Is not all Italy a yawning gulf of insatiable avarice and rapacity for the spoil it offers? So that the church has become like a robber's cave, full of the plunder of travellers.' Quoted from Dawson 1958 p. 202.

atively free flow of people, goods and capital within *Christianitas* (Catholic Europe). It was a form of early European union, permitting economic transactions to be operated at much lower costs and risks than had been the case in the Early Middle Ages.[96]

It can hardly be a total coincidence that the long 12th century also witnessed the development of a great secular achievement of multinational integration. I have already pointed out that the urban system of what became Catholic Europe virtually exploded during this period, with the foundation of thousands of market towns. Their emergence as autonomous or semi-autonomous settlements was probably helped by the division of power brought about by the Church reform, which made urban activities and transport less dependent on kings and local magnates. Many previously existing cities such as Venice, Milan, Paris, Cologne and Brügge doubled their size once or several times, becoming metropolises in a centrifugally-expanding web.[97] The counterpart of the reform programme in the material world was, as I see it, the establishment of a rough but largely functioning western European commodity market.

Certainly there had been important trade routes long before, as well as embryonic specialisation on a regional basis, which allowed an exchange of valuable objects. Parallel to the launching of Christian universalism, however, merchants began to draw together the production of luxuries, weapons and other high-tech objects on an entirely different scale. There was a wide variety of refined textiles and wines from northern Italy, western Germany, eastern and northern France and the Low Countries, in addition to wool from England, beer from northern Germany, butter, hides, live horses and oxen, salted fish from the North Sea and Southern Baltic coasts, iron, copper, and in some cases silver, from Spain, east Saxony, mid-Sweden, southern Poland, Austria and Hungary. Products of the wide woodlands and wildernesses in the north and east included falcons, eiderdown, walrus tusks, seal oil, furs, wax, honey, hemp, tar and pitch.

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[96] See not least Southern 1970 pp. 16, 34f. & passim.

[97] Ch. I:3; Christoffer Dawson (1958 p. 199ff.) points out that the Church reform movement was deeply involved in the political liberation of the north Italian city-states. For details of the urban expansion, see e.g. Mumford 1975 pp. 282–394; Hohenberg and Hollen Lees 1995 pp. 1–98. R.W. Southern (2001 pp. 3–6 & passim) approaches the problem from the opposite angle by studying the emergence of scholastic debate as a fruit of growing wealth and population in western Europe.

Initially rotating around the famous fairs of Champagne, ideally located to link the Mediterranean sphere to that of the northern seas, the exchange grew with the urban network to involve an even larger area than Christianity itself. Right from the start, Oriental luxuries such as silk and spices were prime commodities, mainly channelled over the eastern Mediterranean.[98]

If by its reforms the *ecclesia* provided the zeal and the mental climate for the making of a European World-system, the efforts of long-distance merchants, medium- and local-range tradesmen, drapers, mining masters, transport workers and all those we might collectively address as *mercatura* were endeavouring to organise the spatial division of labour necessary to such systems. In due course this division entered a more regulated phase when types of agricultural production were exported from the core areas to peripheral districts, following the expanding colonisation frontier.[99] I believe this order of events demonstrates that the aristocratic or 'feudal' land hunger and its impact on agricultural production was actually a secondary factor in the making of Europe. If a functioning commodity market hadn't already existed, feudal acquisition would have been left to rot in the barns, and the aristocrats would have had great trouble in purchasing the luxury objects such as weapons and elegant clothes which their standing depended on.

It is obvious that the expansion of the *ecclesia* and *mercatura* went hand in hand to some extent, not least because they were deeply involved in the joint political ventures known as the crusades. Such observations are sometimes met with revulsion from scholars who like to think of the Catholic Church as a purely spiritual assembly. With respect to such reactions, I emphasise there is no claim of a cynical masterplan to launch religious reform with economic objectives in mind. Instead I would apply a perspective much closer to the long 12th century mind, in which *religio* is no mere sector within society, but an omnipresent world-vision.[100] The reformists were get-

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[98] This point is first and foremost made by Lopez 1979; See also le Goff 1969. Fourquin 1971 pp. 136–280; Blomkvist 1982 p. 42ff.; Lal 1998 p. 75ff.

[99] E.g. Ahvenainen 1963.

[100] It is not my aim to make the concept of religion a problem, and I am not in any way addressing its sacramental and cult components. For these aspects I can however refer to the doctoral thesis of my son, Torsten Blomkvist, which was defended in the autumn of 2002, at the Department of Theology, Uppsala.

ting over their Christian contempt for commercial activities (a heritage from late Antiquity) and became allied with the merchants in their struggle against princes and other worldly potentates.

In this sense it could be maintained that what was taking form during the long 12th century under the name of Catholic universalism, together with more general achievements known as 'the Revival of the West', 'the Making of Europe' and similar labels, was in fact the creation of a European World-system—and hence worthy of being called a Catholic World-system.

The 'making of Europe' to previous research—civilisation or culture?

When Wallerstein denied that the European Middle Ages had been a World-system, he called the Catholic achievement 'a set of parameters within which social action took place', and concluded: 'Feudal Europe was a "civilisation", but not a World-system.'[101] The distinction is not taken any further and raises some doubt. Is the integration of a civilisation not 'economic enough'? Or is its aim not exploitative enough? That would be a rather narrow-minded point of view.[102]

This is where I also disagree with Bartlett, whose elegant study *The Making of Europe* treats the forces of Europeanization in some detail. He singles out an inner area from which outer territories were penetrated, yet he rejects the possibility that the outcome was a centre-peripheral arrangement (the term World-system is not mentioned). Instead he stresses the exodus nature of the movement—younger sons of the aristocracy carrying peasant colonisers towards an expanding frontier, where piece by piece, they recreate the core area institutions and thus avoid functional submission as a periphery.[103] This follows (I would say) from putting too much stress on the feudal element, while underestimating the explosive development of multinational arrangements, and playing down his own observations in the chapters on 'colonial towns and colonial traders' and on 'the Roman church and the Christian people', respectively.[104]

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[101] Wallerstein 1974 p. 18.

[102] In later debate, these concepts have been more thoroughly examined together. Notable here is the defection of the doyen of civilisation studies, McNeill (1993, 1995), into the World-system camp. See furthermore Wilkinson's study (1995).

[103] Bartlett 1994 p. 306f.

[104] A chapter devoted to urban networks and trade (Bartlett 1994 pp. 167–96) ends with the conclusion: 'The big maritime cities were wealthy and cosmopolitan centres that bound together far ends of the northern and southern seas, so that the

Above, I took the liberty of co-opting some aspects of Tilly's the-
oretical argumentation into the World-system model, which may not
be appreciated by adherents of his school of thought. V.L. Burke,
for example, has tried to mould his focus on coercion and militarism
into a 'civilisation struggle model', in which states are seen as functions
of internal power showdowns, as well as arrangements set up with
other states (and emerging states) outside their geographical vicinity.
'This development', he writes, 'created webs of influence and systems
of social, economic, cultural, political, geographical, military, and lin-
guistic gestalts—sets of exchanges, conflicts, and barriers to exchanges
among the various polities in the emerging European state system.'[105]
What remains problematic is the obvious dynamics of the period;
the demographics, land-use and even economic per capita growth,
which can hardly be explained by power contests and warfare alone.
The build-up of tension by mutual military threat is more a com-
plementary development, an emerging friction within an existing
World-system, than the driving cause of the European state-system.

The economic historian E.L. Jones goes a bit further, defining
medieval European culture in systemic terms: 'There was greater
similarity within Europe than between any part of it and places out-
side. There was plenty of exchange among the constituent regions.
The location of the most advanced region, or country, varied from
time to time, but this was only a change within a system which con-
tinually levelled up and can, for our purposes, be treated as a unity.'
Jones takes the mere existence of economic growth in this period as
a proof which allows consideration of Europe as a single economic
system. 'Tackling each country in Europe separately would not give
us the same chance of coming up with an explanation of growth.
The emergent nation-states were too alike in fundamentals, and too

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news of London and Riga, or Valencia and Trebizond, could be exchanged and
compared. *The unity of the medieval West was, in part, a traders' unity.*' Another chapter
on the build-up of church organisation (Bartlett 1994 pp. 243–68) concludes quite
similarly: 'The *international stage on which the papacy and the Latin Church moved was con-
tinually expanding* in the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries, and previously quite uncon-
nected regions were being brought together in unexpected ways: the funding of an
offensive against Egypt from the profits of Livonian trade and agriculture was one
such connection.' (The quotations are from p. 196 and p. 268 and the italics are
mine. The last point refers to a previous observation that in 1219 the clergy of
Riga made contributions to the campaign against Damietta.) Of course, these inter-
activities meant more than exchange of news and expressions of Christian solidar-
ity. The fact that various European peripheries were actually *interacting* quite proves
the case for an active centre.
    [105] V.L. Burke 1997 pp. 2f., 11ff.

good at imitating one another, too affected by the same stimuli, for that particular comparative approach to be adequate. It cannot give a view of the circumstances under which growth may emerge.'[106]

The conclusions of the development economist Depak Lal go even further. He attributes the growth to the political role assumed by the Catholic leadership—'the identification of the church with the whole of organized society'—seeing a crucial change from the time of Gregory VII's revolution. By taking an ideological lead, establishing cultural unity in a politically divided continent, and establishing peace and order along the trading network, the papal revolution provided the infrastructure for the Western economic dynamic.[107] As I see it, short of actually referring to it, this is a description of the Catholic World-system model.

Particularly when seen from the standpoint of those in the periphery, the approaching networks of church, political supra-national interaction and commerce clearly demonstrated World-systemic traits, the one enforcing the necessary codes of international behaviour, the other securing the necessary instruments of sanction, the third forming a western European commodity market. None of the above opinions effectively refutes the application of a World-system model to the medieval making of Europe—particularly not a *Catholic* World-system model. However adaptation of such a model would not necessarily lead to total rejection of the quoted opinions, but rather to the conclusion that the World-system theory has qualities of a super-ordained explanation model, encompassing many sub-explanations. In the words of Wilkinson 'cultures' actually '*are* World-systems'.[108]

4. *The World-system Structure of Catholic Europe*

A joint venture of 'ecclesia' and 'mercatura'

The new west European society of around 1100 certainly developed a geographic structure answering to the requirements of a World-system. The contours of a periphery are already outlined in the

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[106] Jones 1988 p. 38f.; cf. Jones 1987 p. 104ff.
[107] Lal 1998 p. 80f. Basically describing a model and not being a historian by profession, Lal does not explain the sources of papal power.
[108] Wilkinson 1995 pp. 248–260.

correspondence of Gregory VII. Later, the components of the early periphery obviously consolidated into Christian states, and were hence promoted to semi-peripheral status as the expansion continued. By using systematic crusades and other more anonymous mechanisms the core area then made efforts to subdue a 'full' periphery.

Again, I am not claiming that all this was solely and uniquely the work of the reform papacy. The societal formula of Braudel, quoted above, tells us that economy, social order, politics and culture are nothing but different aspects of the same society. If $E = SPC$ can be rewritten in any other way, it means that the rise of the West would probably have occurred anyway, at least to some extent. Yet the revolutionary intellectuals who took power in Rome in the middle of the 11th century were able to create a mobilising spirit and also undertake sharp political measures that in many ways seem unique to world history.

Under their impact, and driven by a recently-achieved technological superiority that had entirely different causes, entrepreneurs of the *ecclesia* and *mercatura* in the most advanced parts of the continent began to organise the surrounding world in ties of dependency, in a particularly expansive *Sendungsbewusstsein* (awareness of calling). Almost immediately the process tended to arrange the emerging Catholic Europe in the characteristic concentric order. As predicted theoretically above, there are signs to show that this was not entirely in the interests of the core area entrepreneurs, but a function of resistance. I will demonstrate that the crude subdivision into core area, semi-periphery and periphery actually makes rather good sense when applied to the period (Fig. 4).

The core area

The core area of the Church reform movement and hence of the Catholic World-system was the borderland between Germany and France, which had once been the heartland of the Carolingian Empire. Its metamorphosis into borderland began with the partition of the empire among three rival grandsons of Charlemagne in 843. The chief interest of this event ought not to be that it produced what was to become France and Germany, but rather the remarkable corridor in between—*Francia Media*—allotted to the elder brother and remaining emperor, Lothar. Not only did it have a different form, it was a different kind of country altogether—a communication cor-
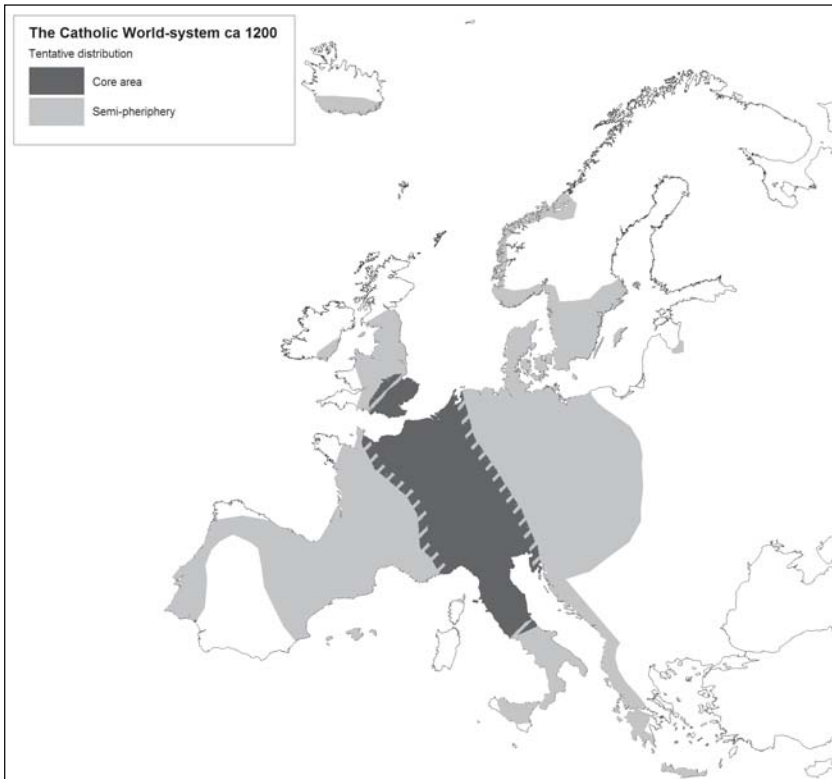
Fig. 4. The Catholic World-system ca. 1200.

ridor, a chain of cooperating cities and important institutions, the
home of several languages and cultures, linking the North Sea coast
of the Low Countries with the Mediterranean coasts of Provence
and northern Italy. Stretched out between Dorestad (Wik by Duurstede)
in the northwest and Venice in the southeast, it was, or at least had
the appearance, of a network polity or trading nation.

As a political unit, Lothar's realm was short-lived however. The
latter part of the 9th century was not an appropriate period for
founding a kingdom based on trade in western Europe. Its further
partition in 855 between his three sons proved fatal.[109] It lingered
as a name, Lorraine (*Lothringen*); surely also as an *idea*, allowing a
cultural climate of a more cosmopolitan character. Thus in the 11th
century, Lothar's former kingdom—with famous cities like Cologne,
Trier, Liège, Verdun, Strasbourg, Besançon, Basle, Lyon, Marseille,
Florence, Milan and Venice—was to become the backbone of that
slightly broader transcontinental corridor in which western European
commerce and industry took off into its explosive high medieval
development. There is no need to dwell any further on this chain
reaction between agrarian expansion, trade, and industry: radiating
from Venice into the eastern Mediterranean, from Genoa towards
the Iberian peninsula, from the Champagne fairs into France, from
Cologne towards the northeast and the Baltic, and from the Low
Countries into Britain and the North Sea world. We just have to
note that only a century after the collapse of Lothar's realm, roughly
the same territory became the cradle of present-day Europe.[110] It is
easy to see a connection between such an economically successful
yet politically vulnerable area, and movements intended to imple-
ment a supra-national community of Catholic Christians.

These efforts had already begun in the middle of the 9th century,
at the precise moment when the west European decline made itself
felt. Thus far—ever since Pippin le Bref had snatched *Patrimonium
Petri* from the Lombards a century earlier—the secular Church of
the West had been an instrument for imperial policy. It had pros-

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[109] Halphen 1968 p. 262ff.; my previous treatment of the subject was read as a
keynote speech at the conference 'Kalmar between Verdun and Maastricht' held
in Kalmar 1997 to commemorate the 600th anniversary of the Kalmar Union. So
far it has only been published in Swedish (Blomkvist 1997).

[110] So it remains today, as any comparison with the notorious 'Blue Banana' of
the EU planners will show. See Blomkvist 1997; cf. Buttimer 1989, pp. 11–40.

pered from the situation, particularly under Louis the Pious. When the empire cracked in 843, the Church organisation still remained, the bishops met at synods, their exercise of moral judgement continued over the rather uncertain new borders. Around 860, the archbishop of Reims, Hincmar, and Pope Nicholas I, made the first efforts to become, in the words of Louis Halphen, *arbitres de l'occident* (judges of the Western World). This was where and when the struggle for *libertas ecclesiae* began.[111]

In the centuries to come, and against the background of accelerating economical recovery, its efforts were launched not only through the secular church organisation—which was not to be trusted in every country—but foremost by the more ideologically-motivated religious orders. Their most important development centres, such as Cluny, and Citeaux and its four daughters, were situated in east-central France, on the border of former Lotharingia, right in the middle of the 12th century core area. In this corridor emerged the academic tradition of disputing over the nature of God, the sacraments and the Holy texts, by Rupert of Deutz, Anselm of Laon and others, which led to scholasticism and eventually the growth of universities. At the beginning of the 13th century, the Franciscan and Dominican movements arose in northern Italy and southern France respectively.[112] Thus all these reform centres had grown in the same transcontinental corridor, and it would seem that they had all been inspired in their supra-national outlook by a culture that had existed there long before.[113]

For the north Italian cities, the actors at the Champagne fairs, the merchants of Cologne and Westphalia preparing for expansion

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[111] Halphen 1968 pp. 317ff.; 327ff.; a main strategy was to sharpen the demands on kings and other notables with regard to matrimony, cf. Duby 1985 p. 28ff. The Cluny reform of 910—to which is often attributed epochal significance—was more the follower of an already ripe tradition, notably in the same border corridor.

[112] See particularly Southern 2001 pp. 7ff., 25ff. Another heart of ecclesiastical reformism in the 11th and early 12th centuries was greater Lorraine, with Cologne as a centre, where the northern-Italian monk Hildebrand (later to become Gregory VII) studied canonical law before he became its most loyal champion, see H. Janson (1998 p. 49ff.).

[113] Here it is suitable to quote Reynolds' (1997 p. 257) observation that around 900 AD Regino of Prüm, characteristic of the Lotharingian he was, had already wrestled with the problem of *diversae nationes populorum* . . . 'peoples of different nations' having different *moribus, lingua, legibus* . . . 'customs, language, laws' and also (which was worse) different ecclesiastical practices. In Regino's eyes the situation was saved by their 'unity of faith'.

towards the North Sea and the Baltic, and the Church organisation itself, it was a rational idea to spread this internationalism to as many regions and states as possible. This was largely what was set in motion during the long 12th century, when the urban system, the agricultural system and the core area political system began to spread in all directions in the footsteps of the pioneering missionaries, all carrying the colours of *Christianitas*, if not the Cross itself.

At the same time, superior core area development in the fields of technology and organisation was also taking its tribute. The great medieval contribution in this field, the social division of labour, led to the enserfment of agricultural labour and the creation of a proletariat within proto-industry as early as the long 12th century. Northern Italy, northern France and the Low Countries thus created their first 'periphery' at home, by the formation of social underclasses.[114]

Imperium on the defensive

It is of great interest, not least from a theoretical point of view, that Christian universalism grew as a revolutionary movement freeing itself from an empire—even *the* Empire, claiming heritage from Rome and Charlemagne. In interpreting the papal reform policy as the formation of a Catholic World-system, I must somehow dispose of the Empire.[115]

What we see in Bartlett's instructive computation of Gregory VII's correspondence (described above) is to some extent the undermining of the Empire. Some scholars have convincingly stressed the systemic, strategic character of this correspondence. It has largely to do with the forming of a gigantic alliance, both within and around the Empire.[116] This may have been an effort inspired by the political situation: Gregory *war kein systematischer Geist*, says Tellenbach, but a dedicated man of action.[117] Even so, by supporting the weak and unstable polities in the first European periphery (later to become semi-periphery) and offering them stern advice on how to conduct Christian rule, he definitely draws the outline of a system of European states.

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[114] I.e. the manorial system of agrarian production, the proto-industrial way of organising large enterprises for textile production, and the autonomous exclusive towns were achieved, however at the same time gradually abolishing slavery. Particularly clear in Bois 1992; Nyström 1955; Merrington 1978.

[115] In particular Gerhoh von Reichersberg's *De Quarta Vigilia Noctis*, quoted from Dawson 1958 p. 199ff.; cf. Artz 1967 p. 281ff.; 367.

[116] Seegrün 1976 p. 98ff.; Holtze 1990; Riley-Smith 1997; H. Janson 1998 pp. 49ff., 105ff., 223ff.; cf. Bartlett 1994 p. 247f.

[117] Tellenbach 1947 p. 135f.

To go into details of the great discussion over the papal-imperial controversy is not possible here. In short, however, the Catholic 'liberation' and the following investiture controversy had led to a kind of stalemate. The consequence of this, which I think should be underlined, is that the high medieval Roman-German Empire failed to maintain its strong centralised political entity of Ottonian times. It was doomed to function as a federation, which in many practical ways was entangled with the surrounding countries. Many a German emperor made plans to take full control over Rome and to integrate its Church, but it was always difficult to find unanimous support for such action.

Nevertheless, a remarkable effort to sort out the theological problem was undertaken by Bishop Otto von Freising, who happened to be an uncle of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. In a treatise on world history, *Chronica de duabus civitatibus*, he undertook an extended discussion of St Augustine's concepts of *civitas Dei* and *civitas terrena*, working for a synthesis or reunion between these two 'realms'. The empire ought to function as the mundane representation of God's earthly kingdom, whereas the pope was to care for spiritual matters and hence the two core area super-authorities should join forces as a *civitas permixta*. The suggested formula is concord, in particular between pope and emperor, who should be like father and son— but also within the mundane realm, where a good emperor governs with the aid and approval of the territorial lords, and the empire hence becomes *unum corpus*. Later summoned to be a historiographer for Frederick, Otto outlines an organic, corporate kind of aristocratic representative state theory in one.[118]

The entire theorem is neatly exemplified in the narrative of Frederick's election to king at Frankfurt and the following coronation, which, although the author describes it as an inspired whim, may have been a carefully planned piece of political playacting. Accompanied by only a small, chosen entourage, Frederick set off for Aachen. 'Next day' Otto relates,

> he was brought by the bishops from the palace into the Church of St. Mary, where, with consent from all those who were present, he was crowned by Archbishop Arnold of Cologne, supported by other bishops, on the chair of the Frankish empire that had been brought

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[118] H.-W. Goetz 1984 pp. 203ff., 235ff., 257f., pp. 285–98; Bagge 1996b p. 366ff.; In the words of Sverre Bagge (1996b p. 377) his later work Gesta Frederici prescribes 'the fundamental principles on which Frederick's government should be based'.

to this church by Charlemagne. It aroused no small surprise that many
princes and nobles had appeared at such short notice, not just from
the kingdom, but some also from western Gallia, where the rumour
of the event, so they thought, could hardly have reached.[119]

Thus, using clear historical references, Otto stages no less than a
revival of the Carolingian Empire.[120] But that is not all. The same
day, the newly-elected Bishop of Münster, whose name was also
Frederick, was consecrated in the same church by the same bishops
who had crowned the monarch.

> . . . one day saw the consecration of the two persons in one church
> who—according to the custom of the New and the Old Testament
> should be anointed by the sacraments and thereafter justly be called
> 'the Lord's anointed'.[121]

Thus the two highest offices *rex et sacerdos* had been ceremoniously
joined, and the compromise of *civitas permixta* had come within sight.

In practice, the empire lacked an efficient centre and had, but for
the charismatic endeavours of Frederick, been about to fall apart
into its substantial regions. In 1159, when his uncle Otto was dead,
Frederick challenged the newly-elected Pope Alexander III and his
supporters, the Cistercians, claiming the leadership of *Christianitas* for
himself.[122] After Frederick's death the complicated power game of
Staufen and Welf shows a broadening political stage upon which
increasing numbers of actors took their chances. The papacy became
more and more indispensable as a moral-juridical arbiter. At the
same time, for erudite imperial candidates like Otto (IV) of Welf,
Philip of Staufen and the latter's nephew Frederick (II), seeking papal
advice and encouragement had become an element of the empire's
political culture. Also the need to possess a direct resource base was

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[119] OFG II:3, p. 286: *Sequenti die . . . ab episcopis a palatio in ecclesiam beate Marie . . . deductus cum omnium qui aderant applausu ab Arnaldo Coloniense archiepiscopo, aliis cooperantibus, coronatus in sede regni Francorum, que in eadem ecclesia a Karolo Magno posita es, collocatur non sine multorum stupore, quod in tam parvo temoris spatio non solum tanta principum seu de regno nobilium confluxerat multitudo, sed et quod de occidentali Gallia, ad quam nondum huius facti rumor pervenisse putabatur, nonulli advenerant.*

[120] Frederick took this to his heart, and during the conflict with Pope Alexander, he had Charlemagne's bones enshrined as a saint (December 29, 1165). See Jordan 1973b p. 139.

[121] OFG II:3, p. 288: *. . . in una ecclesia una dies duarum personarum, que sole novi ac veteris instrumenti institutione sacramentaliter unguntur et christi Domini rite dicuntur, vidit unctionem.*

[122] H.-W. Goetz 1984 p. 298f.; Ehlers 1996 p. 517ff.; Fleckenstein 1989 pp. 302–418; cf. Jordan 1973a pp. 159–168.

becoming increasingly important, which explains the role played by the polarised kingdoms of Sicily and Denmark in the early thirteenth-century struggles. As the *Landesfursten* consolidated their territories and the mercantile cities did their best to form network leagues, the empire had actually ceased to function as such.[123]

In those days Walther von der Vogelweide came forth as an imperial protest singer, sharply condemning the internationalising structures: *ir pfaffen, ezzet hüenr und trinket wîn, unde lât die tiutschen vasten*[124] ... 'you priests, eat hens and drink wine, and let the Germans fast!' The old honourable feudal ways were becoming ineffective, the poet seems to think. A dirty, violent greed was taking its place. Something was rotten in the German state.

Ich hân gemerket von der Seine unz an die Muore	'I have had my eyes open from Seine to Mur, from Po to Trave.
von dem Pfâde unz an die Traben erkenne ich al ir fuore:	I know what they are all doing. Most people do not care how they come to their property.
diu meiste menege enruochet wies erwirbet guot.	Should I obtain it thus, then goodnight, my high-mind!
sol ichz alsô gewinnen, sô ganc slâfen, hôher muot.	Goods were always agreeable, but honour came before goods.
guot was ie genæme, iedoch sô gie diu êre	But now goods have become so venerated, that violence instead of honour brings it before the
vor dem guote: nu ist daz guot sô hêre, daz ez gewalteclîche vor ir zuo den vrouen gat, mit den	women, with the princes to the kings in their council.
fürsten zuo den künegen an ir rât.	Woe betide you, property! What has become of the Roman
sô wê dir, guot! wie roemisch rîche stât! du enbist niht guot: dû habst dich an die schande ein teil ze sêre.[125]	Empire! You are not doing well! You have come too close to shame.'

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[123] Ganshof 1964 p. 163f. See e.g. Miethke and Bühler 1988; Baaken 1997; Schmidt 1999; Moraw (1994 pp. 100–104) mentions three other reasons for the 'constitutional dualism' of the Empire: (1) its great size, (2) insufficient level of modernization failing to provide centralized means of power, (3) numerous misfortunes and accidents disturbing dynastic continuity. These points are quite commensurate with my view that the investiture struggle had a particularly damaging effect, which together with other built-in conflicts, offers support to Moraw's third and vague point. Krieger 1996 pp. 151–68. The entire period is excellently surveyed in Jordan 1973a and Grundmann 1988; for the failure of the Empire or *Reich* to consolidate, see particularly Moraw 1994 pp. 100–127 and the collected articles by Joachim Ehlers (1996 pp. 325–447), cf. the quoted works by Tellenbach; cf. also Reuter 1998 p. 57ff. & passim for an interesting comparative discussion. For Denmark's role in the politics of Otto IV, see Hucker 1987 pp. 42ff., 48ff.

[124] WvdV 51 [34,4].

[125] WvdV 74 [15,3].

Thus, the German effort at reconstructing the Roman Empire failed
as a true empire. Its rather independent provinces had to conform
to the emerging universalism, like a differently shaded portion of the
World-system. The greed Walther observed may be a poetical metaphor
for just that. In fact no emperors were elected or crowned for a
long time after Frederick II; apart from a few unsuccessful efforts,
it took until 1355.[126]

The forming of a Catholic semi-periphery—the emergence of medieval statehood?

It could be said that the encounter between pope and emperor
resulted in both super-leaders losing their grip over the continent.
The long-term winner was a third party which had been embedded
in their universal claims, and which many would characterise as the
medieval European state system. In Chapter Four several definitions
are quoted, signifying that medieval statehood would answer for rel-
atively centralised, institutionalised, hierarchical and class-based poli-
ties, which were often subjected to efforts at nation-building as well.

   In the words of Tilly, states are formed by interaction and thereby
they affect each other's fate. They develop 'out of competition for
control of territory and population, they invariably appear in clus-
ters, and usually form systems'. Tilly furthermore claims that the
states which took shape from AD 990 onwards, in a Europe which
at that time had 'no coherent existence', introduced the 'system of
states that now prevails almost everywhere on earth'.[127] However he
meant that the World-system in Wallerstein's sense had failed to pro-
vide an explanation for 'the mechanisms within the world to the
organization and practice of particular states'.[128] I will definitely not
defend all the uses that the World-system has been put to, but in
my view, the Catholic World-system as I define and use it is capa-
ble of refuting Tilly's objection.

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[126] Grundmann 1988 p. 85.
[127] Tilly 1990 p. 4. The concept of statehood was developed in the Renaissance,
with reference to centralised, autonomous government having established borders,
military forces, law and order, monopoly on the use of violence, taxation of the
subject's net production etc. Its application to ancient and medieval polities has to
do with scholars finding or thinking they have found political systems showing sim-
ilar qualities. See also Balandier 1972 p. 123ff.; Service 1975 p. 71ff.; Claessen and
Skalnik [eds] 1978, 1981; Claessen and van de Velde [eds] 1987; cf. Lee Burke 1997
pp. 1–29 for an exhaustive survey, and most recently Borgolte 2002 pp. 24–220.
[128] Tilly 1990 p. 11.

That long-term development would favour the rise of the peripheries would have seemed unlikely to observers in the 12th century. However, they might have noticed the gradual formation of some 20 centralised and differentiated polities in a centrifugal wave from the European core corridor during the 9th–12th centuries: at the least, Sicily, Croatia, Hungary, Austria, Bohemia, Poland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Scotland, England,[129] France, Aragon, Castilia, Leon, and Portugal ought to be mentioned as such, probably with some components of the empire.[130] Hence, in one sweep, a family of smaller realms came to surround the Northern Italy-Burgundy-Lotharingian core area. But were they really the work of papal reformism alone? In Chapter Four I will discuss the problem of what these polities had been previously, by references to the Nordic examples. They may have been 'preservative kingdoms' which hardened into states in reaction towards the papal claims. And no-one would deny that a recently-established, centralised Church organisation in close contact with the Papal Curia counted among the foremost characteristics of the emerging states.

Statehood is still chiefly investigated on a national level and studies duly underline the local preconditions leading to its formation.[131] However synchronic development in different countries also signals some common mover. Scholars making an overview of the European scene point out two or three alternatives. They tend to feature either feudal and/or commercial dynamics leading to demographic and economic growth;[132] or warfare and preparation for it in times of peace by formation of alliances and establishing lines of conflict.[133] Perhaps there is no need for these explanatory models to exclude

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[129] Some scholars would claim that England (or at least the southeast parts) already belonged to the European core area. See Bartlett 1994 p. 20; cf. Sayles 1967 pp. 167–278; Reuter 1998. As for the making of an English state, in the sense mentioned, one would suppose that the Norman Conquest was the difference that mattered (e.g. Sayles 1967 p. 212ff.).

[130] Collins 1986 p. 2f. & passim; V.L. Burke 1997 p. 48ff.; cf. Bartlett 1994 pp. 24ff., 39ff.

[131] On the insufficiency of 'statistical' analysis of statehood, cf. Tilly 1990 p. 10ff.; Tilly and Blokmans 1994 p. 3f.

[132] For comparative studies, see Gurevitj 1979, Duby 1981, Zientara 1997 p. 215ff., p. 228ff.; Hodges 1989 p. 185ff.; Jones 1988 p. 38f.; Bartlett 1994; Lal 1998 p. 80f. For a closer discussion, see below.

[133] See particularly Tilly [ed.] 1975; Tilly 1990 pp. 17ff., 31ff.; Collins 1986 p. 2f. & passim; V.L. Burke (1997 pp. 2f., 11ff.) has tried to mould these ideas into a civilisation struggle model, in which the development of European states is seen as functions of internal power showdowns as well as arrangements set up with other states (and emerging states) outside their own geographical vicinity.

each other, and instead we may see the emergence of statehood as a centrifugal 'domino effect' or 'pecking order,' according to which the more effective states scared the elites of lesser realms into undertaking changes.

In the new type of realm, the clergy tended to form a learned and teaching ecclesiastical estate, while previously powerful chieftains and notables began to form a military one. The rest, in most countries, were bundled together as 'workers', establishing the so-called tripartite society of *oratores, bellatores* and *laboratores*. Le Goff has explained this formal differentiation in the light of monarchical ideology. 'Like every conceptual tool', he says, 'it did not aim merely to define, describe, and explain a new situation. It was also a new instrument of social action. In the first place, on the most obvious level of action, it was an instrument of propaganda.' In most European countries the king received religious legitimacy and could fall back on support from the clerics, and the two parties had a mutual understanding. The king's leadership of the *bellatores* was even more basic. They needed an arbiter, and his power, if anybody risked a challenge, was founded on their horses and strong arms. The problems rest with the *laboratores*, who le Goff suggests were a working elite, the ones who cleared new land from the forests, but later emerged as a threat. The tri-partite scheme, le Goff concludes, aimed at 'harmony, interdependence and solidarity of classes and orders.'[134] These words indicate that states were formed to solve tensions and rivalries, some representing supranational interests, others more decidedly local.

A similar perspective is discussed by Lunden, who sets out to formulate a strategy of Norwegian kings (950–1260 AD). Their problem lay in overcoming religious and political pluralism, Lunden argues. Leaning on the sociologist P.L. Berger, he compares the old Scandinavian religion 'in which the hero reveals his outstanding heroism and excellence as a man' with Christianity, whose sole God was 'all-creating, all-mighty and all-good, though suffering' and thereby offering vindication of the death and suffering of all men equally, not only an upper stratum of heroes. The majority of his subjects, the 'new masses' as Lunden calls them, could readily identify with the dying Christ on the cross, and rejoice in the hope of resurrection.[135] Le Goff and Lunden depart from the kings' own actor-perspective,

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[134] Le Goff 1982.
[135] Lunden 1997 pp. 91ff., 96f.; cf. Berger 1990.

only to conclude that the development of social classes in fact decided the limits of their field of activity. Clearly they both have the warrior class and the Church in mind.

However, the fact that the emergence of statehood was usually accompanied by intensive urbanisation, in which the burghers enjoyed a fairly high degree of autonomy, is often overlooked—as le Goff and Lunden do. This trend in modern research is quite misleading. In the long 12th century expansion, the mechanisms linking traditional land-controlling feudal forces to international mercantile strength—in which the trading towns were instrumental—are of paramount importance. The leading burghers, quite often immigrants from the core area, had close links to the contemporary commodity market, via 'peripheral metropolises' such as Lübeck, Magdeburg, Prague, Ragusa, Bari, Barcelona, Lisbon and London.

Thus the problem of the emergence of the European state-system is brought back to the Catholic World-system. It cannot be a question of separate processes in each country. Instead, the forming of statehood in the long 12th century had the look of a repeatedly-sought solution to an unavoidable controversy, provoked each time the expansive networks of *ecclesia* and *mercatura* collided with a set of territorial power-holders in the peripheries.

The new states, emerging around the core area, were evidently cast in more or less the same mould and under pressure from the supranational agencies of the day. However, kings and their competitors were certainly ready to put national or regional interests above ideology. The Church remained under royal control in many states, and even if versions of the investiture struggle were fought in most,[136] the idea of a *civitas permixta* was far closer to being realised in these states than in the empire.

These reflections recall a vintage hypothesis in Swedish scholarship, suggesting that the competing twelfth- and thirteenth-century dynasties of 'Sverkers' and 'Eriks' represented papal reformism and the national Church respectively, and that their century-long struggle mirrored the ongoing conflict in greater continental countries. The idea was put forward by K.B. Westman in 1915, and, although criticised for disregarding the role of *Realpolitik*, its systematic analysis

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[136] See e.g. Andrae 1960.

of an ideological issue has remained interesting to later scholars.[137]

In order to classify the actions and strategies of political leaders, one must clearly employ several parameters. The dichotomy of 'us' versus 'the others'—in other words, nationalism—may also have won over universal ideas, due to 'comparative advantages' that were missing between pope and emperor at the highest level:

• personal relations crossing over different elite networks
• mutual economic involvement (e.g. vis-à-vis tenants in the same region)
• mutual political interests (e.g. vis-à-vis neighbour states)

The interests of small country elites thus tended to glue together in overlapping patchworks.[138] The early nation state favoured efficiency in power contests and pooling of influence, primarily as a chain of meeting places for councils, attended by lay notables and the higher clergy, and headed by the ambulant monarch. Under a diligent leadership—which required a psychologically well-balanced king, who kept up relations with the most influential bishops and one or two leading magnates—these new states could easily turn into absolute central powers, the school-example being Valdemarian Denmark (Chapters Three and Four). If a functional leadership failed to form (which often happened) the country in question was easily lamed by civil war.

In the generalised terminology of our Catholic World-system model, the development of comparatively well-organised kingdoms northeast and southwest of the core area corridor answers admirably to the criteria of a semi-periphery. As members of an internationally-interacting community (i.e. the Catholic World-system) their kings and princes were to some extent subordinated, like players in an orchestra conducted from the core area.

They were obviously prepared to pay at least some respect to Catholic universalism, for example by paying dues to the Papal Curia, admitting at least some *libertas* to their *ecclesia*, founding and suitably endowing religious orders, and obeying calls for crusades towards pagans (if advantageous), as well as making the required adjustments to their civil codes to facilitate internationalism.[139] Some paid homage

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[137] Westman 1915; cf. e.g. Lönnroth 1959 p. 22.
[138] Cf. Hill 1992; Hermanson 2000.
[139] Jordan 1958; Tellenbach 1936, 1947.

to the emperor and accepted the German way of doing things, which became an alternative route to semi-peripheral status.[140]

These princes were, after all, running their organisations in their own interests. Whether they tried to satisfy papal commands or raise counter-arguments claiming some God-given *regale*, they clearly had their own position and polity in mind. In this sense, the emerging semi-peripheral states of the long 12th century were hardly running errands for the core area, but conducting the milder form of opposition that we have named compromise. The emergence of the European state-system thus represents a dispersion of political power between many centres, which is clearly one aspect which makes the history of Europe different to that of other continents.

Potential periphery or clashes with the Other

Outside the semi-periphery, full periphery was to follow, according to the theory. In Braudel's (and Wallerstein's) vision of a World-system, this area is backward, despotically governed and socially restrained. Scarcely having a monetary economy, its peasants engage in multifarious activities. Prices are low, as are the costs of living, and those who live there passively allow others to exploit them. Free peasantry, Braudel claims, is unthinkable anywhere other than in the heart of the Western world.[141] Saying this, he has forgotten the remaining difficulty of long distances, which not even the great popes could abolish. Let us first do a quick survey.

In its southeast regions, the Catholic core area was denied a periphery by clashes with two other world cultures, Islam and Orthodox Byzantium, who were as much heirs of the Roman Empire as Occidental Catholicism. In the southwest, the Islamic world again offered strong competition, postponing European penetration into northwest Africa by three centuries.[142] Westward, the Atlantic awaited penetration. Here, Wales and Ireland were conquered by the Anglo-Norman state and turned into forms of dependency that might resemble full peripheries, while Scotland was gradually roped in by a mixture of processes.[143] The chain of North Atlantic islands up to

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[140] The nature of 'cold war' would be typical of the Catholic World-system, in which full warfare was often saved for pagans.

[141] Braudel 1986 p. 29ff.; quotation p. 33.

[142] Bartlett 1994; Bitterli 1993.

[143] I can refer here to the works of Steven Ellis, National University of Ireland,

Iceland and Greenland were claimed by Norsemen and here, to some extent, a periphery was forming which was dependant on the British and Nordic motherlands in many ways, rewarding in some aspects (most of all culturally), but so very meagre in most.

Turning to the Baltic Rim and Norway, the North was a vast area for the collection of furs, hides, antlers, wax, honey, hemp, as well as salmon and other fish. This booty was brought down to the entrepôts provided by semi-peripheral organisations. These products of the free, sometimes hard life of the periphery were sought-after in the centre, and could be traded for technically-advanced items that only the latter was able to make.[144] However these territories remained free and quite prosperous. Their comparative success was greatly aided by the vast distances involved.[145] Thus the concept of periphery could be more complex than Braudel and Wallerstein suggested, seeing their World-system very much from the core area perspective. In the Catholic World-system of the long 12th century, the periphery was not yet characterised by a command structure. Instead, the dynamic asymmetry was produced by the great differences of lifestyle and culture that separated the socio-economically and ecclesiastically well-organised and controlled centre and semi-periphery from those half-pagan or eclectic Christians who inhabited vast areas of the northern periphery.[146]

The territories east of the Baltic were also peripheral. There, as

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Galway, which he surveyed at the conference 'Writing European History from the Periphery' in Odense, May and June 2002.

[144] Blomkvist 1986, 1996b; I. Zachrisson [ed.] 1997; Klackenberg 1992; Grundberg [ed.] 1994.

[145] Grundberg [ed.] 1994, Blomkvist 1996b. Recently a Swedish archaeologist, Mats Mogren (2000 pp. 54–57) has picked up two distant adaptations of centre/periphery models, and applied them to the North Swedish region of Hälsingland as two qualitative stages in the approach of a periphery. The first one is 'the outpost model' applied by Guillermo Algaze to ancient Mesopotamia. It suggests that the prospect of short-term gains can make local elites in the periphery accept the establishment of centre groups. As a consequence of cost-effectiveness, outposts are thus established, from which some form of supremacy arises, not needing military means. The transformation of such forms into a real World-system grip is explained according to E.M. Shortman and Patricia Urban, who from a study of Meso-America have found that the subordination of a periphery will require the monopolisation/centralisation of (1) exports from the periphery and imports to the periphery (2) supremacy in transport and production technology, and (3) the capacity for long-distance military threats. Ambitions concerning the establishment of these qualities failed dramatically however in the regions bordering the Gulf of Bothnia around 1400.

[146] In this discussion of the properties of a World-system periphery, I have been greatly helped by several essays in Nitz [ed.] 1993.

we shall see, trade contacts had been followed by Catholic mission and church-political claims, which culminated in a series of crusades and the formation of the crusader state of Prussia/Livonia. Even after the conquest a certain freedom is said to have remained, and the early phase of Europeanization is often thought to have brought benefits to the indigenous population. However, the next step was exploitation and the creation of a full periphery. The historiography of this process remains difficult, as it is influenced by the nationalistic and ideological confrontations of more recent days. No one seems to deny however, that from the 15th century onwards a restructuring process turned (in particular) East Germany, Livonia, Poland and western Russia into a kind of plantation economy, with an enserfed peasantry in fulfilment of the periphery-criteria quoted from Braudel.[147] It appears that the cases of Europeanization on the Baltic Rim are highly relevant for an approach based on the Catholic World-system model.

The Catholic dimension

So what was the Catholic contribution to all this? Crucial indeed! With expansion to the north and east around 1000, then to the southwest in Spain and Portugal; the establishment of autonomy from Greek Orthodoxy in 1054; the launching of crusades with exalted religious and civilising ambitions in 1095 and their spill-over into the Baltic in the 1120s–40s, the outline of Catholic Europe as an ideological unity was already drawn. Within these borders the extremely successful implementation of Catholic organisation had begun immediately. It was an ethical-administrative pyramid which maintained personal contact with each living Christian, from kings and queens down to crofter families, supplying to all the sacraments of life from baptism to burial, and thereby creating a centralised system of education and social control that perhaps has remained unsurpassed in history.[148]

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[147] Moora and Ligi 1970; cf. Tarvel 1983; Kahk and Tarvel 1997.

[148] This is almost entirely disregarded by Norbert Elias (1991:2 p. 13f., cf. pp. 21ff., 283ff.), although he identified the beginning of a civilizing social process in the High Middle Age. However he saw the driving force for this in the rising demands for self-control, 'good manners' and courtesies in a more centralised state life. Even if Elias' trust in the normative power of lay institutions may be more justified in Germany than elsewhere, one must certainly add the parallel development of Christian piety, self-sacrifice and responsibility into his psychological cocktail of *Zivilizierung*.

H.J. Schmidt, who has particularly studied the Catholic approach to territory, claims that the *ecclesia*, by building on Roman administrative habits, was way ahead of vernacular polities of the Middle Ages in adapting a *zweckorientierte Logik*, or 'rationalisation' according to Weber's terminology. By establishing a hierarchic, land-covering and concentrically controlling and curative apparatus, legitimated by (Schmidt argues) a by all means ritually curbed yet always active Charisma emanating from its religious basis, the Catholic spatial subdivision (*circumscription*) came to function as a model for most states. The centrally-directed action was successful thanks to its precise division of competences. No other medieval *Herrschaftsform* achieved anything similar.[149]

The observation seems correct to me. Through specialisation on the spiritual and moral planes, the Church managed to build up its control of territory, at first without any means of sanction and thus harmless to and compatible with the secular power. The emperor should be given what was rightfully his. Most of the build-up of ecclesiastical power in medieval Europe is well-known. I shall refer only to three further aspects, each of which firmly underlines that twelfth-century Catholicism was not only an ideology but also a social system, worked out into details.

(1) The emergence of a Catholic-feudal kingship was thus to a large extent promoted and it seems to some extent even organised by the Church, and enforced by religious legitimacy; this kingship is *Dei gracia* and its holder is the Lord's anointed.[150] This was not an outflow of the reform papacy's programme, but rather a construction at the national level, in response to its claims of *regimen universale*. The reform Church's ecclesiastical policy from Gregory VII to at least Innocent III clearly stimulated the formation of statehood by structuring Europe into church-provinces often equal to a realm or country, with a divide and rule policy which quite consciously helped the weaker ones. On the other hand, it became strong enough to seriously cripple any government that tried to do without it. Archbishops and bishops in most European countries generally functioned as leading political personalities closely involved with the government, having seats in royal councils or holding high administrative

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[149] Schmidt 1999 pp. 39ff., 229ff.; 513f.
[150] Kantorowicz 1957; KL s.v. Regimen regale; Bagge 1996a; cf. Tellenbach 1947; Jordan 1958; Andrae 1960.

functions, particularly in the chanceries. This may be partly explained by their recruitment from leading families, and also by their frequent study at foreign universities, which gave them superior competence in many matters. They were furthermore the chief target of papal diplomacy, and were compelled to reach an acceptable level with regard to rites, canonical obedience etc. When in due course the ecclesiastical bodies grew rich in their own right, the option of pursuing a career independently of family background increased, as did the ability of the *ecclesia* to maintain autonomy in worldly as well as spiritual matters.[151]

(2) Independently of this so-called secular Church, a number of monastic and military orders developed, each having its particular rule and usually putting the local institution under the command of its own 'vicars general' or 'general chapters', who in turn were responsible only to the Papal Curia (and not to kings, regional magnates or bishops). Since these central institutions were generally located in the European core area, they contributed particularly to the build-up of a systemic structure of Europeanization. In the 12th century, this is true to a particularly high degree of the Cistercians, who from the five mother monasteries of Cîteaux, La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux and Morimond, clustered in Burgundy just by the Lotharingian corridor, emerged under the charismatic leadership of Bernhard of Clairvaux from just a handful to some 350 foundations in the first half of the 12th century. They reached the Norwegian Lyse (1148) in the north, the Polish Jendrzejow (1149) in the east, the Italian St. Stefano (1150) in the south and the Portuguese Alcobaca (1148) in the west. In all the countries where they operated, they functioned as ideological and intellectual centres, and thus as carriers of ideas central to the Catholic World-system which were of particular importance in more neophyte areas. Yet they were so flexible and adaptive that they came to be of great importance in the respective state and nation-building processes.[152]

(3) Perhaps the most thorough legacy of the establishment of a Catholic World-system was the general programme of public building,

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[151] RGG s.v. Kirche, IV: Dogmatisch (R. Prenter), V: Praktisch theologisch (W. Janasch), VI: Rechtlich a) Kath. Kirche (H. Barion). Cf. KL s.v. Biskop, J. Gallén for survey; Andrae 1960.
[152] Elm 1989 pp. 127–170; Schmidt 1999 pp. 348–61. Cf. Ehlers 1996 pp. 502–05 for a condensed survey, with rich further references, of the beginnings of the Cistercians; see also KL s.v. Cistercienserordenen, L. Gjerløw et al.

notably the ideologically-founded and deliberate realisation of church
architecture. Great cathedrals in Romanesque style were built across
the continent, and art historians cautiously follow the spread of
influences. These ritual shrines were at the same time centres of ped-
agogic art, demonstrating a previously unknown splendour. The
expansive spirit of the 12th century is however most splendidly illus-
trated by the sky-scraping competition found in the north of France
that resulted in the Gothic building technique, which in turn spread
over the European landscape from around 1200. The rising towers,
majestic church aisles and the more refined secular palaces mark a
new psychological dimension in building. In themselves these build-
ings were institutionalised mass media, containing all kinds of politico-
pedagogic information expressed in sociologically worked out code
systems, via architectural styles and pictorial schemes.[153]

Encountering a church tower with some characteristic regularity
is such a natural experience to travellers in European landscapes
that we hardly ever reflect on the processes that put them there,
and something similar may be said of the entire long 12th century
Catholic legacy. It is there, it is a structure, a rhythm, and it is a
fundamental colouring of west European life—even in the parts that
have been Protestant for half a millennium.

With the latter perhaps as the most obvious example, all three aspects
demonstrate the Catholic capacity to acquire the influence of an empire
over a politically dispersed territory, almost by sheer persuasion and
without having to struggle with all its burdensome complications.

Always present when this variety of a World-system evolved was
the organising, legitimising influence of the Papal Curia. This is not
to claim that individual popes or their staffs of cardinals and clerks
were forming a secret *camarilla* to monitor development. Some of
them certainly wished to, and even succeeded to some extent, but
not as a rule. The point I wish to make is that the *ecclesia* soon grew
out of its organisers' hands, and became foremost a medium—a
medieval internet. In the web of the *ecclesia*, the number of multi-

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[153] Kunst 1981 pp. 87–102, particularly 93ff.; Duby 1976; Svanberg 1983; Wienberg
1983 pp. 7–14, 32ff.; Buttimer 1989; Nilsén 2000. Cf. KL s.v. Kyrka, E. Cinthio
et al. According to Müller (1998 p. 17) the chief function of official architecture is
to organize places and spaces to make them represent political or ideological (also
cultic) relations and traditions, for their possible use in unifying, mobilising ceremonies.

national undertakings grew—Lateran councils, crusades, formations of spiritual and military orders, peregrinations, ordinary secular diplomacy, not to mention international trade, use of local saints' festivals for market congregations. In the end it tied up the various European powers through bonds of interaction and competition and thus drew them into the formation of a multinational state and status system.[154]

[154] Cf. Collins 1986 p. 2 & passim; V.L. Burke 1997 p. 48ff.

PART II

FACING THE OTHER

A Heuristic Approach to Discoveries

CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS ON THE BALTIC.
CONTEMPORARY DESCRIPTIONS OF THE EXPERIENCE
OF EUROPEANIZATION

1. *Concepts, the Quest for Sources and Methods*

The reception problem and the choice of survival strategies

When a dominant foreign influence exerts pressure on a community to make it adapt to a particular lifestyle and 'way of doing things', a situation occurs which we can call the reception problem. This pressure puts the indigenous community in the position of choosing whether to resist or accept the proposed adaptations. In practice, whether the encounter ends in a clash or a compromise may have been planned by the challenger and realised by means of his attitude and behaviour. Formally, however, acceptance or rejection is always decided by the receiver. Thus it was not for the missionary but for the potential proselyte to decide, whether the offer was a new religion, a new agricultural technique or an entire civilisation containing both. In order to understand such decisions, the scholar must come to terms with the perspective of the receiving party.

Peoples on the Baltic Rim were not yet Europeans; nor did they know of the European world dominance to come, or foresee their own fates within it. Many cultural and political implications, which have long since been taken for granted, were not even considered. Unless these peoples felt wholehearted relief and gratitude for being saved from the barbaric darkness under which they had been living—which may be how the missionary, following an ethnocentric propaganda idea, chose to describe his result back home—they had to form a survival strategy, weighing the parameters *pro* (Europeanization agents brought many interesting possibilities, which appealed to at least some indigenous elements) *et contra* (Europeanization agents aimed at dominance for themselves and subordination of the indigenous peoples). A possible reaction, by leaders and usurpers of leadership in particular, would have been to become Europeanization agents

themselves. However, this would have made them responsible for undermining the indigenous culture, so even those in favour of change may have had difficult decisions to make.[1]

Of course the strategy decisions of the indigenous populations were not the only factors that decided the course of Europeanization, but these decisions may have had an enormous impact on the long-term self-image of the respective peoples. Hence the choice of strategy must be considered as one of the most important effects of Europeanization at the receiving end. For this reason all the active forces—dominating as well as dominated—will be studied from the assumption that people were pursuing their own interests rather than fulfilling some historical determination, and that therefore the antagonists were to some extent partners in mutual need of each other. I will not search for answers solely with the agents who brought the European 'package' to these shores; nor just in the different levels of domestic development and 'need' for change within different Baltic Rim entities; but in the actual encounter between the Europeanization agent and the domestic re-agent, and the decision processes which followed on both sides. To approach them from their own point in time, trying to see what they saw, will be the aim of this first part of the study.

For those individuals and groups who brought new continental ideas, practices, technology and organisation into the Baltic of the long 12th century, I have already used the term Europeanization agents, irrespective of their nationality and whether they were pursuing their own interests or acting upon orders from some European authority. Regarding local people, on the receiving end of the process, I have settled on the term re-agents. It must be underlined that due to the lack of relevant sources there is no question of searching for individual personality traits here. The search is for collective experiences and expressions—culturally established attitudes and norms of conduct. What lies realistically within reach under these circumstances is to (1) identify the alternative choices people had and discuss their respective *pros* and *cons*; (2) examine real cases and contemporary generalisations or stereotypes, and (3) reflect on what might have been contemporary normality.

Whatever their nature, transactions between agents and re-agents of Europeanization constituted cultural encounters. Such meetings tend

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[1] Wolf 1982; Robertson 1993.

to be rich in premature judgements and misunderstandings; on the other hand descriptions of them may be rich as well, fuelled by the impact of the unexpected. Under such circumstances it will be necessary to pay close attention not only to the choice of source material, but also to the problem of how to approach it.

The scarcity and constraints of primary sources

The greatest difficulty of the investigation is finding suitable source material. For agents as well as re-agents I would be delighted to know their material conditions, their respective social organisations, their structures of command, procedures of decision-making and, most of all, their attitudes towards each other.[2] The ideal material would be contemporary texts devoted to the cultural encounter itself, written by somebody who was there. Such sources we might justly label discovery reports.[3] Do such texts exist?

The hope of finding primary sources, i.e. trustworthy bureaucratic lists noted on the occasion, diaries, ships' lists, or any other documentation intended to function within the process itself, can be abandoned at once. Study of the long 12th century Baltic Rim is doomed to be based on very few first-hand documents. Scholars have already read over and over most of these from every possible angle.

Much of their effort has ended in deadlock disputes over the many technical problems surrounding interpretation. The very introduction of formal documentation to the Baltic Rim is an aspect of Europeanization in itself, and chancellery customs and formal rules were settled only gradually. Twelfth-century charters are often imprecise and fail to mention what was generally known to those present when the letter was issued. Much research in these sources still deals with pure text interpretation, solving problems of who, what, when and where,

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[2] Cf. Bitterli (1993 p. 72f.) on West Indian reflections on Columbus' landing.

[3] I am playing with the concept of real discovery reports, not found until the 18th century when Western powers equipped genuine scientific discovery expeditions (Bitterli 1976 p. 28ff.). My aim is to encourage an eyewitness-like reading of the sources. I do not use the word in the same sense as Brown (1995 p. 309f.), when he talks of the Carolingian 'discovery of Germany'. His topic is the learned efforts of the Frankish clergy in collecting old tribal epics, 'under the single rubric of "Germanic" tales', as well as bringing forth classics like Tacitus' *Germania* for new, nation-building purposes. In scholarly idiom this is more frequently termed 'construction of a nation'. Cf. Ehlers 1996 p. 325ff.; Sørensen and Stråth 1997 p. 19ff. & passim.

within a discourse that is mostly decided by their explicit content.[4]
Many of these documents constitute major scholarly problems in
themselves, over which hearty and involved disputes have been ongo-
ing for decades.[5]

Their worst deficiency, from the scholar's point of view, is the
very limited socio-economic perspective they convey. Documents may
be modestly informative regarding problems of religious conduct, church
organisation, secular government and international treaties, the landed
property of churches, monasteries, military orders and aristocracy,
and to some extent on jurisdiction, urban constitution and adminis-
tration. Add some variation as to types of transaction and some
information on the institutions holding the archives and genealogies
of the actors concerned, and we have more or less covered what
these texts reveal explicitly.

Nevertheless, a few hundred of these documents will be quoted here
as directly or indirectly relevant to our topic. By doing so, we are
approaching the subject largely under the conditions of Europeanization
agents, since they are almost alone in having left written messages
for us to read.[6] It requires a much greater effort for us to find the
indigenous re-agents. To the authors of the surviving texts, these
people were almost always the Other. This suggests that we should
not only accept that various forces might have an impact upon each
other, but that we should try to capitalise on this. The working
hypothesis is that expressions of material and mental worlds are
somehow interdependent. This will have practical consequences, inso-
far as expressions of ideology and outlook, which are over-repre-
sented in the period due to the religious character of literacy, may
be used as indicators of their material preconditions.

A medievalist studying the twelfth-century Baltic, from the reversed
perspective of the indigenous peoples, finds himself in a similar posi-

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[4] This refers to the practice of issuing charters (*Urkunden*, diploma) as evidence
of decisions, verdicts, transactions, etc., intended for preservation in archives. This
began in government and institutions and gradually spread to the private sphere. Cf.
KL s.vv. Diplom, J. Liedgren; Diplomatik, G. Johannesson; Diplomskrift, E. Kroman,
Diplomspråk K. Pirinen. The use of writing for daily communication purposes,
which we know existed mostly thanks to archaeological finds, may be even more
useful to the present task. However I have left them out since their study is very
new and specific to locales.

[5] E.g. the Artlenburg privilege, which will be discussed in Ch. VII:3.

[6] In Scandinavia, runic inscriptions bear witness to indigenous thinking and allow
us to study the advance of Christianisation in the 11th century.

tion to those anthropologists and world historians who, in the words of Richie Robertson, seek to 'write colonial history from the viewpoint of its victims'.[7] There may be many obstacles to such efforts. Some may be institutional, some well-meant in defence of science. In a recent critical article, Gunlög Fur, a historian herself, claims that institutional history writing too often works as a definition of 'us', defining borders separating 'us' from 'them', who we regard as objects for anthropological study.[8] This is a problem of academic competence, but her point is important in that both 'insider' and 'outsider' perspectives must be retained to pursue a true world history, which requires many forms of border crossings.

The anthropologist Brian M. Fagan has described what world historians are up against: they 'must venture far beyond documents and government archives into a realm of multi-disciplinary scholarship' he states. Since explorers' accounts, missionary journals and other Western sources tell but one side of a complex multi-dimensional story, we are up against a systemic injustice: 'How can we correct this historical imbalance, and examine the clash of cultures from both Western and non-Western perspectives, when many of the societies we study have completely different perceptions of history, and of the world around them?' The question proves rhetorical, and Fagan leaves the answer to the future: 'A new generation of multi-disciplinary scholars searches for fleeting clues.'[9]

Working in an inter-disciplinary context myself, I can easily sympathise with Fur and Fagan, but precisely because the inter-disciplinary approach is best served if each specialist cultivates his own craft, this book will leave the archaeology to the archaeologists, with one or two necessary exceptions.[10] Even if the present study aims at cross-cultural comparison and wide border-crossing perspectives, it will be constrained to the 'one-sidedness' of a single academic discipline, that of traditional history. Some encouragement may be found when comparison is made with the classical Age of Discovery around 1500 AD, as source material may not be particularly helpful even to students of that

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[7] Robertson 1993 p. 15f.

[8] Fur 1999 p. 640ff.

[9] Fagan 1998 p. 29f. He adds: 'The detective work involves a quartet of major sources—historical sources, ethnohistory, anthropology, and archaeology—as well as insights from many other academic disciplines.'

[10] The CCC project follows similar principles in the study of medieval Baltic Rim topics, pooling archaeology, history and human geography; cf. Blomkvist 1998 pp. 27–30.

more advanced stage of literacy. Although much richer than that of
the twelfth-century Baltic, the period remains poorly furnished with
logbooks, receipts and other sources of the actual events. According
to Bitterli, one often has to settle for a bewildered eyewitness or a
scholar-propagandist.[11] If the material from the long 12th century is
examined more closely, wouldn't there be at least some fragments
of that kind?

The documents from the Baltic Rim are explicit enough to certify
that the Rim was heavily Europeanized in the period from 1075–1225,
but they are insufficient or at least very biased as to how and under
what mental conditions it was achieved. Scholars can handle this
problem in different ways, and the alternatives may be compared to
the dilemma of the night wanderer who has dropped his key: should
he restrict his search to areas where streetlamps illuminate the ground,
or try to penetrate the darkness where he probably lost it, using
methods allowing for greater uncertainty?

Under the circumstances I cannot afford to be very particular, and
have chosen to call any piece of text a discovery report if it contains
a reasonably contemporary description of a people considered different
from the author, in which he (it is highly unlikely that we will find
a female author) has noted some of their characteristics, whether as
eyewitness impressions or as symbols and signs which help to distinguish
their otherness. One minimum requirement would be the presence
in the text of the indigenous Baltic Rim 'Other'. Another would be
that the author was in a position to know something about what he
described. Using the value-loaded word 'discovery' is a way of under-
lining that most contemporary written sources are hopelessly conta-
minated with cultural biases. Not knowing whether a record is a
first-hand observation or an aggregated piece of stereotyping reduces
the accuracy of any result—but better a low resolution picture than
no picture at all!

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[11] Discussing sources for sixteenth-century Portuguese discoveries, Bitterli (1976
pp. 24–27) offers two contrasting examples. (1) The chief source for Magelhães'
discoveries, Antonio Pigafetta, was a nobleman-traveller who kept a private diary;
his peculiar and fairly exact (*eigentümlichen und im Wesentlichen exakten*) reports are con-
vincing due to their naive and simple style. His antithesis is (2) Azurara, court his-
torian to Henry the Seafarer, who relates the Portuguese discovery of Guinea, having
talked to those who made it, read their writings, and put it into the broadest con-
text of Christian-nationalistic *Sendungsbewusstsein*. Pigafetta, Bitterli notes, might reveal
the helplessness of a witness who has had too many impressions, while Azurara
tends to see the slightest incident as part of the general plan.

Even if remnants scarcely exist,[12] the period is not altogether poorly illuminated, because there is also (albeit with all kinds of obscurities) the rich and colourful light radiating from the so-called narrative sources. The formal distinction between remnant and narrative source, once strictly upheld (at least in Scandinavia), is a mere illusion. Charters are no simple remnants, since they frequently contain invented or retold information. On the other hand narrative sources are no mere re-telling of stories and traditions, since they are also the remnants of one or several aims. Both categories are potential remnants as well as potential narrative sources, depending on the way the researcher uses them. Nevertheless the concept of narrative sources has a practical value and should be maintained. In this category I include chronicles, genesis histories, saints' lives, sagas and, in some aspects, even legal texts.[13] Together they form the most comprehensive source material available from the twelfth-century Baltic Rim. Within their suggestive and fascinating contexts, I am sure to find stories of cultural encounters, but as their use as historical sources will always remain controversial, it remains important to explain how they can be used.

The Great Epics of the long 12th Century

There is a remarkable line of contemporary narrative texts dealing with the Baltic Rim of the long 12th century, many of them famous in the canons of national heritage. As mentioned in Chapter One, Adam of Bremen completed his history of the German mission in the Scandinavian countries around 1075. As for the Vends (Polabian Slavs) on the southern shore of the Baltic, no less than three relatively contemporary works describe the life and work of Pomerania's apostle Otto von Bamberg in the 1120s. They form a rich treasury of ethnological knowledge. East of the Baltic, several chronicles were under continuous production in the major political and religious centres of Kievskaya Rus. All of these had their common roots in the *Povest' Vremennyk Let* of the early 12th century (cf. Chapter One).

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[12] Even in the age of discovery four to five centuries later, the sailors' degree of education together with circumstances onboard and in harbours usually proved counterproductive regarding source material for future research; see Bitterli 1976 pp. 24–27.

[13] Law texts are not only narrative, but also normative; here I will use them as model descriptions of behaviour.

Although conceived in Kiev, the text is based partly on material from Novgorod, and its continuation in Novgorod was its most prominent successor, of great interest from a Baltic perspective. Around 1170, the German conquest and territorial formation northeast of the Elbe was described by Helmold of Bosau, Holstein, in his *Chronica Slavorum*. Around 1210 it was continued from an urban point of view by Arnold of Lübeck.[14]

In Denmark, a breakthrough in national historical literature appears with Svend Aggesen and Saxo, and of course in Norway, where indigenous writers and above all Icelanders contributed to a golden era in the period 1150–1250. Above the rest rise the Norwegian kings' sagas collected in Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla* from around 1225–30. An anonymous Icelander even conceived a Danish king's saga in the 13th century, the *Knýtlinga saga*, which may go back to a 12th century prototype.[15]

In Livonia, a remarkable, almost contemporary chronicle describes the German conquest and formation of a federal religious state. Its author was Henry, vicar among the Latvians of Ymera, and a loyal subject of the father of this emerging polity, Bishop Albert of Riga. More or less the same story, with different shading in the evaluation of events, is told in another work, *Die (Ältere) Livländische Reimchronik*, written around 1280 in the German vernacular, by an author pleading the cause of the Teutonic Order.[16] In most emerging political realms around the Baltic, the breakthrough of Europeanization was mirrored in one or more historical works.

However, it is worth noting that throughout the Middle Ages there remained nations on the Rim that might be called 'peoples without history', using a phrase coined by Eric Wolf.[17] Among these were most Baltic and Finno-Ugrian peoples, who shared the experience of having been conquered by foreigners. More remarkable is that almost no traces of twelfth-century history writing are found in Sweden, a fact that is most often interpreted as an indication of postponed

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[14] MPH SN VII:1–3; PVL; HCS; ACS.

[15] This is not the place to study the historiography of the long 12th century in detail. Texts used here will be presented when they appear. Most are discussed in an article in KL; many are translated with introductions. For more recent works on Scandinavian texts, see C. Weibull 1976; Johannesson 1978; Skovgaard-Petersen 1987, 1990; Sawyer and Sawyer 1993 p. 214ff.; von See 1999.

[16] LRC; E. Christiansen 1980 pp. 89–93; Tarvel 1984.

[17] Wolf 1982.

development and provincial backwardness. Birgit and Peter Sawyer have recently suggested that the boom in Nordic history writing just before 1200 might reflect the increasing efficiency of royal power, and that the case of Sweden consequently mirrors the weakness of the Swedish kings. There is much in favour of this suggestion, but we can also consider other reasons, depending on which role or function we ascribes to these historical works.[18] I shall offer a more detailed explanation in Chapter Nine.

'Scriptores' and their attitudes

The emergent history-writing of the long 12th century in and around the Baltic represents several different narrative traditions or genres and is rarely discussed as one interacting Time/Space phenomenon. But what all these works seem to have in common is that they somehow mark the expansion of European culture. The almost contemporary appearance of able writers (I will call them *scriptores*) in all these countries testifies not only to the advancement of Christian literacy, but also to the routes, distribution centres and general course of Europeanization. In spite of their mental and technical differences, they seem to carry the same overriding theme of social and spiritual change: how the earlier heathen world vision was replaced by the celestial order distributed from Rome or Byzantium, and how princely power triumphed over regional chiefdoms and nations were consolidated or constructed. Thus they could be seen as expressions of crisis in the lands under pressure of Europeanization; possibly expressions of cultural nationalism, or instruments by which kings could overcome political and mental pluralism.[19]

The American Peter Brown, a thorough analyst of cultural change processes, observes that 'entrepreneurial kings', whose legitimacy largely depended on the heathen culture, introduced Christianity into northwest Europe. They conducted its rites, but had to live up to the standards of the past in character as well as in splendour, and their lineages were often thought to stretch all the way back to the gods. These were the men who accepted Christianity, which is why the early generations of clergy, coming to assist these chieftain converts,

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[18] Sawyer and Sawyer 1993 p. 230ff.; cf. Blomkvist 2002 p. 220ff.
[19] Regarding Snorri, see particularly von See 1999 pp. 345–72. Cf. the opinions of Lunden (1995, 1997); Bagge (1995, 1996a) and Jakobsson (1999).

had to find a formula that did not rob the lay masters of their sources of power.[20] The heathen past had not lost its solemnity. The solution was 'to treat it, simply, for the first time as the past. By ceasing to be a god, Woden was condemned to history.' The gods, Brown adds, became 'imposing figures of an *ancien régime.*' This was the background for the composition of Germanic epics east of the Rhine, and *Beowulf* in England, which with its 'gripping vignettes of loyalty and courage, of tragic conflict and ceremonious good cheer' in Brown's description was spliced to form 'the moral "gene-pool" of a warrior-aristocracy'.[21]

Using another approach but reaching a similar conclusion, Joachim Ehlers sees the writing of certain peoples' histories in the framework of nation-building. Their function was to create a loyal and elite body of powerful families. They had to be flexible and adaptable, in order to suit current political needs. Of course, dynasties had to live up to their traditions as well, so a moral gene-pool was certainly needed. Another requirement was the creation of a theory of kingship that integrated the king with the country; yet another was the development of a historiography in which the old oral epics were blended with *politische Willensbildung.* Lastly, a politico-geographical terminology was developed that made identification easy, and raised awareness of belonging among the inhabitants.[22] According to the Danish archaeologist Lotte Hedeager, the genre of genesis histories goes back to the Ostrogothic court in Ravenna, where the Germanic conquerors of Rome endeavoured to develop a myth of their Scandinavian origin to compete with the Romans' own genesis myths, such as Vergil's Æneid.[23]

Thus it appears that the relative abundance of *scriptores* within the Time/Space limits of the discovery and Europeanization of the Baltic, and the fact that many of them also describe and pass verdicts on some of its sub-processes, will form the best grounds for my present purpose.

The source critical problem

History writing from the long 12th century belongs to a complex tradition of national identity-production, with its roots in late Antiquity.

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[20] The opposite strategy could be expected in cases where Christianity was introduced by the coup d'état of an usurping elite or by a crusade.
[21] Brown 1995 pp. 305–12, quotations 308, 310.
[22] Ehlers 1996 p. 358f.
[23] Hedeager 1997 p. 37ff.

Having been rejected and rediscovered many times, it creates a challenge with many intricate problems. Age-old models of how to collect and creatively develop narratives and myths obviously existed, in order to fulfil such programmes as have been observed by Brown, Ehlers and others. These aims demanded a creative use of symbols. National successes, native regions, the provenance of heroes or saints, their pious sacrifices and heroic deeds, their attributes, attitudes and formal proficiency were vital components in building up a national genesis history. Some authors claim detailed knowledge of bygone events—conversations between princes, court intrigues, matrimonial complications, exchanges of verbal scorn, as well as bloody cuts and blows on battlefields. These stories can be anything from 'itinerant traditions' to purely fictitious constructions, and to put it briefly, they are no good for *histoire événementielle*.[24]

With twelfth-century *scriptores* we must always suspect that some super-ordained motive guided their writing, whether the ideological or political ideas of their patron, the demands of a genre, rules of rhetorical ornamentation, or respect for a religious dogma or dictum. *Scriptores* with a theological background had a particularly sophisticated awareness of how to handle information. It was thought a text had a four-dimensional meaning: the literal (manifest or historical), the allegorical (a mirror), the *tropologia* (the moral lesson) and the *anagogia* (its eschatological meaning). Or in the verses of Augustinus de Dacia: *Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria. Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia* . . . 'The word teaches what happens, what you believe is the allegory. How to act is the moral, where it all ends, the anagogy'.[25]

For the better part of the 20th century many of these historical narratives have been regarded with scepticism by most professional historians. For events contemporary with the *scriptor* the verdict has

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[24] On source criticism, see Torstendahl 1966 pp. 89–103. For a more recent, considered judgement of the schools of thought involved, see B. Odén's introduction to Burke 1992. On verification in literary genres, see Ginzburg 1988b. Cf. also Hedeager 1997 pp. 42–80. The importance of source criticism as a principle is still demonstrated, cf. Klinge 1985, Mickevicius 1994.

[25] Piltz 1979 p. 31f. The paradigmatic or *exemplum* technique is described in Johannesson 1978 pp. 19–23. For typological interpretations, see Skovgaard-Petersen 1969 p. 66ff.; Riis 1977 p. 136ff.; Bagge 1996b pp. 345–48 & passim; Edsman 2000 p. 66ff. On Augustinus de Dacia, cf. KL Supplementum s.v. Latinsk litteratur, A. Karker and E. Odelman. The didactic disticon verses of Augustinus de Dacia, OP (died 1285), are quoted from Edsman 2000 p. 69.

been somewhat more permissive. At times descriptions may fall back on actual experience, whether that of the *scriptor* himself, or of somebody in his environment, but equally it may be just some tale that had floated through the country. The details may even have been drawn out of the letter chests of his patron or sampled from the authorities in his library, but—alas!—within an intellectual discourse that at times allowed or compelled the *scriptor* to create the most amazing 'learned constructions'.[26]

   As for cultural encounters, particular dangers may have lured the writer of pious travels, as he subdued eyewitness testimonies in order to fulfil an *interpretatio Biblica.* Another difficult genre is that of pure fantasy literature, which wallowed in encounters with the strangest creatures.[27] In other cases, an encounter may have been part of some political enterprise of the author's patron.[28] He may have selected the information he allowed through in order to promote an aim. Even if no such motives existed, how can we know that what we read is a true description, and not a current stereotype? And so on.

Resorting to source criticism as the only tool may be a trifle pigeon-eyed and narrow-minded when applied to *belles lettres* of the first order, as many would call them. They must have qualities that could be better used than to provide the historian with dates, places and events. Better than ordinary remnants, they could teach us about

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[26] Rosén 1962 pp. 103–114; Bagge 1991; cf. e.g. Dahlbäck [ed.] 1993. Some histories carry a higher critical source value as they were written or dictated by first-hand witnesses (even if the manuscripts were written later). They are revealed by concrete information on where, when, and who, together with a more day-to-day style. Among relevant literary texts, Sverri's saga and the chronicles of Helmold of Bosau and Henry of Latvia possess these qualities. Their authors were on the spot, more or less contemporary with the events they describe, and they had talked to some of the main actors. That does not automatically make these texts first class-sources, since they may be laden with intention, written on behalf of central political actors as they all are.

[27] Le Goff 1982 pp. 189–200; in the *peregrinatio* genre (Campbell 1988 pp. 2–9, 23ff.), visitors to Palestine rarely noticed contemporary features, which were always overshadowed by the monuments of the Biblical Holy Land, presented by an already vigorous pilgrimage industry. At the other extreme, travel and fantastic discovery stories are exemplified by Mandeville's travels, see e.g. Hamelius [ed.], 1919–1923. The tradition could be followed in travel descriptions from Antiquity and throughout the Middle Ages (Hortbøll 1981). Harrison (1999 p. 21f.) claims it continues today in the form of science fiction.

[28] See e.g. H.-W. Goetz (1984) and Bagge (1996b) on Otto von Freising's historical authorship, or H. Janson's (1998) analysis of the circumstances behind Adam of Bremen's history.

world visions, outlook and attitudes, structures of daily life and ways of behaviour. As early as 1945, Aksel E. Christensen suggested that Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta* should be read as a chief source for his period's mentality.[29] With such observations in mind, more appreciation for sagas and histories has developed in recent decades. When applied to the study of societal structures, mentalities and long processes, these texts have proven to be highly useful.[30] For such approaches, it is of little importance whether the information refers to real or constructed events.

Thus it should not be seen as a total disadvantage that these texts were written by accomplished authors. Such writers had the ability to comment upon the great processes of their day, and they might do so in detail. The simple assumption that what the *scriptor* presented was intended to convince or amuse his contemporary readers would make scenes of daily life or psychological tension quite valuable. These descriptions can suggest attitudes held by readers, and there is also the *scriptor's* personality to be reckoned with, his pride in his craft, and zeal to convince.[31]

Discovery reports = pictures of early cultural encounters

How can information from such complicated texts qualify as discovery reports? How should we handle the potential risk that what the *scriptor* expresses has its actual meaning in a paradigmatic dimension? We must accept that these texts were written according to the state of the art in their time; source criticism should not be used to 'kill' sources but to reveal what is distorted in order to rescue what useful information remains.

In the events they present and the inner logic they demonstrate, the stories in general appear untrustworthy, being mainly fiction, heavily loaded with ideological and political trends, even when they

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[29] A.E. Christensen 1945 p. 42; see also Gurjewitsch 1980.

[30] Hastrup 1985; Latvakangas 1995; H. Janson 1998 pp. 17–48; Bagge 1999 p. 319.

[31] The argument comes close to *ekphrasis*, the ancient technique of verification through *enargheia*, vividness, applied in Thucydides' description of the plague in Athens, as well as simple *ekphraseis ton topon* . . . 'descriptions of places' (Ginzburg 1988b p. 10f.). Quality of writing to some extent depends on a capacity to tell what people consider to be truth. It may not always be exact on place, time and identity, and not be as clearly expressed as one would wish, but it will certainly be the deeper truth of commonly shared emotions and attitudes. Without this, they would not have been considered good authors.

seem to be based on oral narratives or poems. In some works, such as
Sverre's saga or Henry of Latvia's chronicle, where the *scriptor's* con-
nection to the events is known to be direct, we may go further, how-
ever with rising awareness of risk for built-in bias. If the material is
contemporary (which even an author's learned speculations in a sense
must be) it is at least uncontaminated by wisdom of hindsight; if the
author of a source took part in the event, he must at least have got
its layout right, even if he might be blind to some vital aspect. In
addition, stereotypes are 'not falsehoods, but simplified models which
are necessary if we are to cope with the multiplicity of experience.
The error lies not in using stereotypes, but in supposing that stereo-
types are fully adequate representations'.[32]

   As for lampposts, the scholar must accept that the available sources
have been placed by history itself in an 8–900 year sequence of hap-
hazard coincidences. Some lamps twinkle, others throw an oblique
light on a distant spot, others dissolve into prismatic patterns; they
must be negotiated individually, according to their respective pre-
dispositions.[33] Any study of the twelfth-century Baltic Rim has a *habi-
tus* of its own, and any observation the scholar thinks he can make
has to be tested by turning the 'secured facts' over until each rele-
vant item finds its position in a coherent pattern, and no single one
of them contradicts it.

The approach involves two main steps: where there are seemingly
coherent narratives of cultural encounters, they must undergo double
reading. The first reading follows their manifest story and pays atten-
tion to their deliberate focus by observing the selection of events, their
disposition, value judgements, ideal figures etc., in order to identify
their respective 'programmes'. This means submitting every item to
individual source critical testing, by verifying the author's compe-

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[32] Robertson 1993 p. 7.
[33] Identification of *discovery reports* is a positive adaptation of source criticism, pre-
viously just a method which often resulted in deconstruction of an interpretation.
This had to be followed by a new interpretation, offering at best a more standfast
synthesis of the problem in question. The traditional method of interpretation—one
of its renowned masters, Lauritz Weibull, disarmingly called it composing poetry
over secured facts (*att dikta över säkra fakta*, cf. Söderlind 1989 p. 12)—gave a sense
of stability, as long as it was practised in a discourse where the scholars had a fairly
homogenous background in education and values. For more recent trends, see Bagge
1991 p. 57ff. A broadly-accepted improvement has been to interpret 'secured facts'
against social theories, which brings a greater degree of intellectual openness to the
procedure. The procedure is of course no stronger than the theories, and in some
hands runs the risk of sacrificing specifics to prove the theory.

tence in the actual case, his dependence on other texts, his bias etc.

The second reading aims to find traces of the 'Others', their way of life, their reactions to Europeanization, and indications of their formation of strategies. When the quest is for 'people without history', or for any group likely to be the victim of the source's bias, we must continue looking, whether the author has pointed them out or not. As Fur says: 'To train one's historic ear to pick up the alternatives offered by other cultures becomes a necessity in order to break the colonial pattern'.[34] During the second reading, a more intuitive interpretation approach, rather akin to hermeneutics, should be allowed. This method focuses on concrete, particularly distinguishing cultural markers. The approach is far from new. Carlo Ginzburg in particular has highlighted the method of observing the significant detail in the study of little-known, suppressed cultures and the attitudes of its bearer. After identifying such a group's potential marker—e.g. the way its members look, behave or talk—it should be compared to all possible 'related knowledge' in order to find the plausible context within which it fits and functions as a marker.[35]

In my adaptation I will capitalize on the fact that the texts at my disposal are generally by quite accomplished authors. When it comes to their content of verbal pictures, such as daily life at a homestead, how a commercial transaction is conducted, how to row a ship in the *ledung* service, the conduct of foreigners, the characteristic look of a village somewhere—it matters little if such descriptions are made in the literal sense, or on a higher metaphoric level, or as an *exemplum*. Even if the *scriptor* applied rhetorical techniques of vivid description to convince the reader of his *autopsia* (direct view), or put together the material to form a picture of Higher Truth, the details of human behaviour had to be worked out with great care in order to convince the contemporary reader.[36] When we turn to works with a lower degree of abstraction, such as a Norse saga or a chronicle, the literal level should be richer and the difficulties fewer. When the narrative has its background in a genuine cultural encounter, there may be reason to expect more direct description. I will demonstrate by a few concrete cases.

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[34] Fur 1999 p. 653.
[35] Gadamer 1997 p. 109ff.; Ginzburg 1985, 1988a pp. 8–23, cf. 87ff. & passim, 1989, 1990; Evans 2000 p. 96ff. Cf. B. Svensson 1989.
[36] For the rhetoric tradition, cf. Ginzburg 1988b pp. 3–19; on medieval authorship, cf. Bagge 1991 p. 23ff., pp. 61–63.

Demonstrating the method

The penetration of cultural borders, from what Adam of Bremen calls *orbis noster* into unknown surroundings, has been preceded by fantasy tales since the emergence of literature. As mentioned, such descriptions developed into a popular entertainment genre. Since narratives of 'outside worlds' and 'other people' are important sources for the present task, these genre products represent a potential danger. I have already quoted a romanticised narrative of the first German discovery of Livonia from the sixteenth-century poet Plinius. Although some echoes from Henry of Latvia's chronicle remain, Plinius' tale is told as a stereotypical version of the transatlantic discovery story which had spread over Europe in his own day. What makes Plinius' effort worthy of further comment is its demonstration of how false reports of discovery situations normally stand out quite clearly. There are usually very obvious pointers to literary models, often much older but in Plinius' case more recent, which are quite unrealistic in the context. However, there are cases that are more difficult to judge.

Take the classic Norse discovery report, *Eiriks saga rauða*. This story is preserved in two manuscripts, of which the oldest dates from the 14th century. Seen as an entity, the story reveals some Icelandic knowledge of the North American continent, but the details of how it was reached can scarcely be worthy of immediate trust.[37] I would not regard the saga in its entirety as a true discovery report. Most of it has been embroidered into a general Icelandic sea-voyage epic, based on excellent knowledge of seamanship but stereotypical in that all voyages are described similarly. Some significant details may remain as fragmentary discovery reports, at least in the encounter with the *Skrælingar* and possibly in the much-discussed information about *vin* (probably not meaning wine but meadow-lands). If we look for related knowledge, we learn of the find of a Norse settlement on Newfoundland. This archaeological confirmation is immensely important for the basic credibility of the saga, but conveys little more than that.[38]

A more rewarding example—a broad picture of a cultural encounter belonging to the Baltic Rim—could be chosen from Saxo Grammaticus' detailed description of the Danish conquest of Rügen in 1168. It offers many details among which holy shrines and multi-faced wooden

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[37] KL s.v. *Eiriks saga rauða*, S.B.F. Jansson; KL s.v. Opdagelserejser, þ. Vilmundarson et al.

[38] H. and A.S. Ingstad 1977; KL s.v. *Skrælinger*, F. Gad; Stefánsson 1999. For greater optimism, see M.G. Larsson 1999. Cf. J.P. Strid, SvD 2000–04–23.

gods are convincingly described. Obviously pro-Danish and pro-Christian tendencies are interwoven here, but also a rich fund of somebody's (Saxo's? Bishop Absalon's?) eyewitness observations. Or I could choose the blow-by-blow description, offered in first person plural, of a battle around and inside the village of Kareda in Järvamaa, southern Estonia, by Henry of Latvia, which I will quote later in the chapter for its trustworthy description of the village.[39] What makes these narratives useful for our purpose is the relatively short distance between the observing eye and the writing hand.

For the sake of obtaining a pure enough example to demonstrate that a 'discovery report' stands in its own right, I will choose a simpler and more precise picture, which explores the characteristic behaviour of the Vends in warfare. It can be singled out in a context which in itself may be completely untrustworthy, the story of the mythical battle of *Brávellir* which happened far back in pre-history. It is described in a couple of narrative sources as having had enormous proportions, but source criticism has killed almost all interest in these texts and few believe the battle ever took place. If it is mentioned at all nowadays, it is as an example of the flamboyant Nordic storytelling tradition.[40]

One of the sources is a fragment, from around 1300, of a Norse saga. The text is thought to come from the heyday of classical saga writing in the 12th century. Its anonymous author could have no factual knowledge of this battle, if it happened at all. However, when he mentions a large force of Vends (*mikill Uinda-heR*), he specifies that they were easily recognised by the following fact:

þeir hofðu long suerð ok buklara, en þeir hofðu eki langa skiolldu sem aðrir menn.[41]	they had long swords and bucklers but they had not long shields like other men.

In all likelihood this is a genuine discovery report. We cannot say how many intermediaries the observation has passed before reaching the reporter, but we can be reasonably convinced it reflects a description by somebody who had seen the Vends going into battle. Since similar information is omitted in other cases, this observation

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[39] SGD XIV:39:1–47; cf. Skovgaard-Petersen 1997a p. 284ff.; HCL XXIII:9; cf. Blomkvist 1999 pp. 10–13 and Ch. IV:3.
[40] Cf. Aili, Ferm and Gustavsson [eds] 1990 p. 228ff. See however Ch. IV:3.
[41] Sgbr k. 8.

is likely to reflect some true peculiarity in the armament of Vends, perhaps also in their art of fighting. But not in the ancient era of *Brávellir*.

The long shields, well known from the Bayeux tapestry and the Lewis chessmen, are known to have been introduced into Scandinavia during the 12th century. According to Fred Sandstedt, they were intended for cavalry and were normally carried only by 'nobles'. Their being mentioned reveals an aristocratic aspect. The word *buklari* might be even younger. Around 1200 it signified a small round shield carried on the left arm during fencing.[42] Thus, the observation belongs to the period of the saga (12th century?), or possibly even that of the preserved fragmentary copy (14th century).

During the later 11th and the first half of the 12th century, the Vends went through an aggressive 'Viking Age', which is known to have affected Norway as well.[43] Under these circumstances I find it quite credible that the paragraph goes back to an eyewitness report of Vendic arms and behaviour and that the Vends of this period were in fact lightly armed, more in the fashion of the Viking Age when the art of fencing is considered to have been more mobile than later on.[44] The unprovoked sentence probably reflects empirical observation following early military encounters between Vends and Scandinavians, even if only remembered from talk in market places and at drinking tables in Norway or Iceland. Thus, this little phrase qualifies as a 'discovery report'.

Around 1200, Saxo Grammaticus re-tells the same story, obviously based on a Norse source quite similar to the preserved fragment. This is how he treats the same passage:

Wisnam—Sclava stipaverat manu—. Ceteri vero ex eadem cohorte corpus clipeolis tecti praelongis ensibus aeriique coloris parmulis utebantur, quas belli tempore aut in tergum repellentes aut impedimentorum gerulis dantes—.[45]	Visna . . . was closely followed by a Slavic force,. . . . Those belonging to this cohort protected their body with small shields and had very long swords. The round shields were the colour of heaven. In the battle, they either threw these over their backs or handed them over to their squire.

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[42] KL s.v. Sköld, O. Cederlöf et al; Sandstedt 1998 p. 205f.
[43] L. Lönnroth 2001.
[44] KL s.v. Fäktning, N.E. Hellsten et al.
[45] SGD VIII:2:5.

Saxo, at first, offers more or less the same information as we have from the Norse fragment, using the diminutive form *clipeolis* for shield. Then, however, he disregards the comment about what other men carried (if this was in his Icelandic source),[46] in order to tell us the colour[47] of the little shield and the way the Vends sometimes handled it, this time calling it *parmulis*.[48]

This again carries the mark of observation from another 'first encounter'. Saxo had independent knowledge of the Vends in connection with Danish expeditions in the latter half of the 12th century. When he read the description in his Norse source, he obviously recognised the information, and chose to add some traits to it. Even if this may have been a conscious attempt to achieve 'the-vividness-that-convinced', he had to consider that many of his intended audience were likely to know about these things, so he would do well to check his statement. His reaction reinforces the former source's reliability. Of course we might still doubt whether the bravado of hanging the little round shields on their backs was genuine custom or merely poetic licence.

These discovery reports consist of two short passages describing the equipment and arms of the Vends during the 11th and 12th centuries. There is a dependency relation between them that in this case, instead of weakening its worth, has led to a second testing and clarification of the first report. Although both are akin to the stereotype, they appear as true reports as far as they go, expressing amazement at how Vends behave in combat. They also exemplify the dictum that stereotypes are not falsehoods, but model simplifications of a more complex reality.

As regards additional knowledge, these conclusions are open to archaeological evaluation, which at present does not provide any contradicting circumstances.[49] However I have found a comparable discovery report

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[46] Where the Norse text compared these fighting Vends with aristocratic Western warriors, the reference to their *geruli* . . . 'squires' by Saxo confirms that they were themselves thought to be an elite.

[47] Possibly covered in some blue-greyish hide?

[48] There is no question of the Vends having two types of shield, since he goes on to say that they were fighting with unprotected breasts.

[49] On classifications of medieval swords, there is a huge amount of material available. Viking-age sword blades, however, seem to be of more or less the same type all around the Baltic, cf. Sarmowska 1955; KL s.v. Sverd, A. Liestøl et al. The discussion of shields suffers from rather limited material, and is to a large degree influenced by written evidence, see Sandstedt 1998 pp. 200–207, 209f.

of independent origin. Around 1160, when the Bamberg Benedictine monk Herbord wrote one of the three existing *Vitae* of Bishop Otto, he had access to a vivid local tradition from the latter's expeditions to the Vends in the 1120s. Among Herbord's many detailed observations is the remark that a Vendic *miles . . . * 'knight' *sine scutifero militat, manticam per se gestans et clipeum, agiliter satis et strennuo sic militie sue officium exequentes . . . * 'fights without a *scutifer* (shield carrier, "squire"), carrying his *mantica* (a haversack to be hung over the shoulder) and his round shield himself, and thus being vigorous and agile in his military action'.[50] It can be seen that Herbord was as astonished as his Scandinavian colleagues. Although contradicting Saxo in the point of them being assisted by squires, Herbord makes it clearer that the Vends are compared to the mounted military elite in western countries, and his sense for detail even provides a clue to what Saxo tries to tell us: the *clipeus* would have been tied to the *mantica*, and hence easily pushed over the back. As much as this confirms the independent value of Saxo's observation vis-à-vis the Norse tradition, it makes one doubt that his information was founded on *autopsia*.

The detail of Vendic arms has proven to be significant as a marker of the 'otherness' of the Vends, which we have also been able to demonstrate as having 'old-fashioned' and even 'Viking-age' connotations, compared to what was normal for the aristocratic Norse reading audience. What Saxo added was a few strokes of 'savage panache', pointing to his further treatment of the Vends in the more contemporary books of his work.[51] It has allowed us to witness a cultural encounter, a stereotyped one of the many that brought 'Europe' into the Baltic.

Summing up the handling of discovery reports

For the use of long 12th century narrative sources, my working hypothesis is that frequent text elements which we may call pictures or descriptions *per se*—in which *dramatis personæ* are depicted talking, meeting or attending to business in a more or less clearly defined

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[50] Herbordi dialogus II:23.
[51] Gradually this type of fighting became stereotyped, denoting dangerous heathen easterners. Another example is given below, also from Saxo, in King Valdemar's warnings on the fighting tactics of Baltic pirates; the light, flexible warfare is turned into a *tropologia* of their untrustworthiness. Cf. also Nikžentaitis 1994.

environment—are potentially good sources of structures of behaviour, mentality and appearance for the Time/Space of which the author had direct or nearly direct knowledge. I make my claim mainly for the case of culture encounters. Their dramatic character, the surprise or sudden understanding they may convey, along with their general actuality and curiosity, would vouch for an interest in hearing as well as reading about them. I believe their being in some sense genuine sensations reduces the desire of a first-hand witness to 'improve' the stories, but on the other hand, opens them to misunderstandings when it comes to hearsay. The *scriptor* possessing only secondary information would have ample opportunity to extract markers from current tales and ordinary conversation, and thus display stereotyped objects and behaviour taken as symbols for the group in question. This was after all the era that developed heraldry. Thus I will normally not bother with the untrustworthy context of the story, but concentrate on verbal pictures. Since not only literal descriptions, but those used to form allegories, metaphors and other literary images may be equally useful, the total number of such verbal pictures will be considerable, but of very varied quality.

High-value criteria might be evidence of the bewildered eye, vivid surprise, even shock, since they are likely to derive from the discoverer's personal experience, whether we have it first, second or even third hand. I admit that separating an honestly bewildered exclamation from a hypocritical one belongs to interpretation, but if the narrative is detailed enough, there is hope that curiosity and excitement led the writer to be more generous with the evidence.[52] In order to trust a text as a true discovery report, I would like it to include at least some of the following criteria:

- News value; exclamations of sensation etc.
- Abundance of realistic details, rhetorical or not, of the geography as well as in narratives of daily life, ceremonials and day-to-day development of events.

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[52] I suggest that first meeting reports would be governed largely by the psychology of sensation. Is it likely that someone who experienced something truly unusual would lie about it? The classic case is Marco Polo, who told the truth about thirteenth-century China, even if his contemporaries did not believe him. Or, according to a recent study (Larner 2001), they did believe him, but Late Medieval posterity, having looked too deeply into Mandeville's travels, did not. H.C. Andersen's 'from feather to hen' syndrome deals with defamation, i.e. an interpretation spread with malevolent intent, which would not normally be applicable to true first encounters.

- Observations of cultural otherness in mentality, behaviour, and objects.[53]
- Retention of names, events and other data without function in the narrative's internal logic.
- Expressions of the *scriptor's* or witness' presence.

Accomplished medieval writers normally belonged to well-informed circles that would have received reports of cultural encounters quickly; often they seem to have been inclined to double-check information before including it in their works. But even if the information reached the author third or fourth hand and was frozen into a stereotype, it could be of interest as to the meaning people attached to encounters with the Other.

The hermeneutical touch, an element in this method, will always be problematic from the perspective of source criticism (how to draw conclusions *e silentio*? how to gauge the intentions of a *scriptor*?). For the sake of scientific evaluation, it is necessary to declare that any conclusion drawn would be of a hypothetical nature. To quote Ginzburg: 'The close relationship between [ancient] history and rhetoric did not imply that the reaction of the audience should be the ultimate criterion of truth. It implied, however, that truth was first of all a matter of persuasion, only marginally related to an objective test upon reality'.[54] This small concession must be weighed against the great difficulty in reaching the locals of the twelfth-century Baltic Rim at all.

The purpose: Looking for symptoms of change qualitative

Since Europeanization must have confronted everyone on the Baltic Rim with a bid for *change qualitative*, we should expect a struggle in

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[53] The latter are particularly valuable since they can be archaeologically verified, i.e. following the classic method of Heinrich Schliemann.

[54] Ginzburg 1988b p. 11. Snorri (Heimskringla: Pr) has a respectable discussion on the source value of skaldic poems. He particularly trusted songs sung in front of chieftains or their sons, because even if skalds tended to praise their host, no one dared tell of deeds that they and all the listeners knew were lies and loose talk. Cf. Saxo (Gesta danorum: Pr) who warns those merely seeking loose talk that his book is built on true tales from old days, such as vernacular poems and stories carved on stones and cliffs in the old script. I am not suggesting that these authorities should be trusted automatically, just that they too probably worked quite hard with their sources. Cf. Ch. IV:4.

every region and country between a new way of doing things and the previously dominant routines. The challenges—which I will often group under the label of the New system—are likely to provoke a clash between the agents of Europeanization and the indigenous re-agents, who probably had vested interests in an existing Old system. I have discussed the example in which the Vends did not use long shields *like other men*. This is thought to indicate that the Vends were hanging on to an old way of combat, in this aspect staying with an Old system. To do so would be a very natural reaction to external cultural pressure.

The case of military armament is helpful in identifying the problems involved, since an alternative would be to choose as efficient a weapon as possible. Such a choice would depend on access and knowledge, but the Vendic example suggests that even in matters of life and death, some people prefer their traditional culture to any other way of doing things. The use of particular weapons may thus be linked in long chains to other aspects of society, such as customs, symbols and loyalties. However, few peoples would use less efficient weapons against an invader indefinitely; sooner or later they would try to introduce better technology into their own system, even if it had to be copied from the enemy. All these aspects may interfere with the choice of survival strategies. Apart from total rejection, which would demand particular strength, isolation or other protecting circumstances, this suggests two different ways to Europeanization:

- one by which the Old system gradually adapts to the New system on its own terms, component by component, permitting society to absorb and adjust to the innovations,
- another by which the New system is imported in its integrity by powerful Europeanization agents.

Striving towards the same *change qualitative*, the two ways thus resemble the classical alternative of reformism vs. revolution, with potentially similar consequences. I will outline the problem of Old versus New systems in the long 12th century context, starting from a handful of discovery reports in which Continental and Baltic Rim *scriptores* actually depict cultural encounters in some detail.

2. *Early Encounters in the South*

The Danish Gate

Having conquered Saxony, the armies of Charlemagne stood on the
Elbe, looking into the forests on its northeast side, trying to penetrate
the whereabouts of the Danes. They already knew something of this
people, and this meant they didn't feel altogether secure in their
position. In the spring of 813, the *Einhardi annales* tell us, the emperor
sent a group of prominent Franks and Saxons *trans Albim fluvium ad
confinia Nordmannorum . . .* 'over the Elbe to the border of the Northmen'.
These men were sent to settle the peace. 'As an equally high num-
ber of *primatibus Danorum . . .* Danish notables—there were 16—had
come to *deputato loco . . .* the place which had been agreed upon, the
peace was settled by oath on both sides'.[55] The border between the
Baltic North and the empire was symbolically and to some extent
practically expressed by the famous *Danavirke* wall, cutting off the
entrance to Jutland where the peninsula was at its narrowest. The
procedure of 813 meant that it was also recognised by Charlemagne.

According to archaeological dendro-datings, this demarcation seems
to have been fortified as early as the 8th century (datings indicate
737 AD). A few years before the peace meeting just mentioned, the
Danish King Godfred had forced some merchants to leave the Slavic
proto-town of Reric to settle at his own new emporium of Hedeby
(*Haithabu*), which lay close by these defence works and was to be
integrated into it by an additional wall. Hedeby was located on the
Sle (*Schlei*), a small bay or *fjord* opening into the Baltic, but conve-
niently reaching far into the narrowest part of southern Jutland,
within walking distance of several water systems flowing in the oppo-
site direction and discharging into the North Sea.

No one discussing medieval interaction between the Baltic Rim
and the Continental Occident can entirely avoid this place, where
the Rim—regarded as a cultural border—had its most vulnerable and
penetrable segment. Godfred's actions were a conscious endeavour
to make use of the particular geopolitical possibilities of southern
Jutland, to politically establish a check-point on the natural border.
It is worth noting that there was a prestigious entrance through the
Danavirke, through which the *Haervej*, 'the Road of the military host',

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[55] MGH, SS I:xxx; cf. DD I:15; MGH, SS II p. 450.

was let in and out of Denmark.[56] Hence Hedeby and *Danavirke* were to become the ultimate border station and commercial entrepôt between the Baltic Rim and the Continent—a needle's eye through which the remaining contacts were upheld all through the Viking-age moratorium of west European influences on the Baltic Rim. In my model, it may have been more a distribution centre for Baltic-Oriental influences on the Continent, than the reverse.

During the latter part of the 10th century, the forceful Saxon ethnie led by the expansive Ottonian emperors had begun to press on the Danish border. Their ambition was clearly to include Denmark in the Roman-German Empire. The earlier part of the 11th century, however, saw the extraordinary establishment of a Danish North Sea Empire, which might be classified as a belated effort to capitalize on Viking-age patterns of interactivity, when the conjunctures that formed them had already vanished. After its fall, the country's standing was rather unclear, and its involvement with the German powers seems *de facto* to have accelerated,[57] but in the latter part of the 11th century the German-Roman Empire ceased to expand. Interior tensions, and the papal controversy in particular, took the upper hand. King Svend Estridsen and some of his sons were able to achieve efficient support for an independent development.

The greatest success was won by King Erik Ejegod, who in a visit to Rome obtained separation of the Scandinavian North from the Church of Bremen. The contemporary court skald Markus Skeggjason, experienced in staging fighting scenarios, had to commemorate a diplomatic victory reached by negotiations: *Eirikr náði útan foera / erkistól of Saxa merki . . .* 'Erik succeeded in placing the archiepiscopal chair beyond the Saxon border'; going on to say that *norðr . . .* 'The North' has been ameliorated *af skjöldungs orðum . . .* 'through the *words* of the Sköldung',[58] a stanza that in itself is a mark of a new era.

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[56] Andersen et al. 1976; Hoffmann et al. 1987; Roesdahl 1994 p. 111 & passim; for the discussion of context, cf. KL s.v. Daner (col. 645), K. Hald; Lund 1991 pp. 161–69; Müller-Boysen 1992 pp. 21–37; Hill 2001 pp. 33–36.

[57] A series of documents beginning in AD 948 show the successive establishment of Danish dioceses under imperial/royal German protection, and the frequent presence of Danish bishops at imperial/royal gatherings (DD I:319, 330, 343, 362, 366, 370, 390–92, 420, 461, 482 etc.). A survey of the discussion is in Müller-Boysen 1992 p. 31ff.; cf. Lund 1991 p. 163f.

[58] Eiríksdrápa 13–14, DN-IS B p. 416, cf. A p. 447; cf. Seegrün 1967 p. 108ff.; Nyberg 1986 p. 74ff.

By 1100, when Denmark had been Christian for a good century, the border function of the *Danavirke* was clearly in some sense still intact. Instead of Hedeby, Schleswig had become the Baltic gateway to the West and vice versa. It was, says Christian Radtke, a bureau of exchange between the monetary economies of western Europe and the still essentially sterling value practice on the Rim. The new city had been organised on a grander scale from the middle of the 11th century. Controlled by the Danish king, it had become an emporium for Frisians and western Germans on the one hand, and for the Baltic trading peoples on the other.[59] To the south, however, the area stretching towards the Elbe had been 'Vendified' to a large extent; only to the southwest of this tongue of land did an 'Old Saxon' population survive.

A picture of Denmark on the eve of Europeanization

When the mission in the Vendic territory began to intensify in the 1120s, under the leadership of Otto von Bamberg, the south German bishop felt it necessary to send an envoy to the first archbishop of Lund, Asger. From this embassy a very interesting verbal picture was painted some 35–40 years later:

> The archbishop (. . .) received the legates with the utmost joy and honour, and during their stay, he asked them much about Saint Otto's circumstances, religion and work. Anyway he was a good, simple man, who eagerly listened to the good tidings; he had considerable knowledge and piety, but his exterior was similar to that of a Vendic peasant. Due to some general harshness, the inhabitants of this country are such that all of them, however rich and exuberant, seem uncultured and rustic. Towns and castles are without walls, just protected by wooden towers and trenches; churches and the mansions of the notables are simple and poorly constructed. The people devote themselves to hunting, fishing or cattle-breeding. In this their riches consist, since agriculture is quite rare among them. Their ways of living and the dress they bear have little elegance or beauty. Even mediocre persons of ours seemed glorious in comparison. Thus Iwan, the priest, found himself more prominent than the archbishop.[60]

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[59] Radtke 1995; Radtke 2002 pp. 404–17 & passim. I thank Christian Radtke, Schleswig, for letting me read this highly relevant paper in manuscript form.

[60] *Archiepiscopus vero in maximo gaudio et honore legatos accepit habitisque apud se multa humanitate plurima de statu, de doctrina et operibus beati Ottonis percontabatur. Erat autem vir bonus et simplex, bonarum rerum cupidus auditor, non mediocris sciencie ac religionis, in exteri-*

The aim of the embassy was to negotiate permission to penetrate Rügen, where Archbishop Asger already had a papal edict (*edictum*) to Christianise. To their disappointment, the archbishop would not give an answer without consulting *principes Danorum atque magnates*. However he showed his good will by giving the delegate *navemque grandiusculam, butiro plenam* . . . 'a fairly big ship full of butter'. Although there may be bias involved in the description, and the story waited a few decades before being written down (at least in this version), it has many criteria of a useful discovery report: not only news value, but also realistic details, observations of otherness, a personal name mentioned without particular function, together with direct expressions of the witness' presence. Its obvious intention is to show Otto's correct behaviour vis-à-vis a potential competitor.[61]

This is particularly interesting since Archbishop Asger and his church province were at that time seriously questioned by the Church of Bremen, which in the aftermath of the Concordat was reclaiming the Scandinavian mission field, and had recently had some initial success in Rome.[62] The lack of European twelfth-century fashionable urbanity that the envoys encountered could have been produced as anti-Asger propaganda in that context. Yet the description is far from unfair regarding material conditions, and the leaning hardly seems anti-Danish. On the contrary, the observations of the competence and simplicity of that Scandinavian Other sounds quite respectful. The priest who thought himself better than the archbishop may be a detail, indicating some vivid memory connected to the event such as a controversy among Otto's followers. The same event is also touched on in another Life of Otto, which may be a few years older than the one quoted.[63] Altogether, it seems a plausible picture of a

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oribus tamen Sclavice rusticitatis. Nam et homines terre illius tales sunt, ut in maxima ubertate atque divitiis generali quadam duritia omnes inculti videantur et agrestes. Urbes ibi et castra sine muro et turribus ligno tantum et fossatis muniuntur ecclesie ac domus nobilium humiles et vili scemate. Studia hominum aut venacio aut piscacio est vel pecorum pastura. In his etenim omnes divicie illorum consistunt, siquidem agrorum cultus rarus ibi est. Porro in victu vel in habitu vestium parum lauti habent aut pulchritudinis. Nostri ergo mediocres in conparacione illorum gloriosi erant. Iwanus vero presbiter archiepiscopo se ipso maior esse videbatur (Herbordi Dialogus de Vita S. Ottonis Episcopi Babenbergensis III:30).

[61] Ebo III:23, Herbordi Dialogus III:30, extracts in DD I:2 50–52. In 1189 Otto was consecrated as a saint. The Catholic Encyclopedia s.v. St. Otto, K. Löffer; Skovgaard-Pedersen 1997a p. 282.

[62] For the legal process, see particularly Seegrün 1967 pp. 133–37.

[63] Ebo III:23. The text was written in Bamberg 1151–59. The priest Iwan is also mentioned in this source. He may have been a Pole, and thus more acceptable as a target for Herbord's sarcasm.

Denmark still draped in late Viking-age clothing, albeit already sens-
ing radical change.[64]

In a laudatory biography, A.E. Christensen makes a strained effort
to disarm the bit about Asger looking like a Vendic peasant; yet he
rightly shows that the first Scandinavian archbishop was a firm church
reformist, who in 1123, that crucial year after Worms, raised the ban-
ner of Cluny by introducing new *Consuetudines canonici* for the regulated
chapter in Lund, more 'canonical' than those taken in Worms. As
another token of Asger's core area orientation, Christensen (again
rightly) refers to the cathedral building in Lund, led by a certain
Donatus who is thought to have been a Lombard by birth.[65] Instead of
seeing the description of simple clothing as malevolent pique, we may
consider it a respectful description of an indigenous survival strategy.

Portraits of a well-dressed agent of Europeanization

With regard to the beginnings of a struggle for and against European-
ization in Denmark around 1120, there is additional knowledge to
be had from the verbal portraits drawn of Knud Lavard, whose
habits of dress stand out as the very opposite to those of his archbishop.
Some seven or eight decades after his dramatic murder in 1131,
Saxo drew a complicated hero portrait of Knud. The memory was
close enough to recall that German clothes in those days meant a
good deal more than meets the eye.

> When Knud appeared dressed according to Saxon fashion, and more
> elegant than anybody else, Henry—absolutely resisting foreign ele-
> gance—looked scornfully at him and challenged him, saying that pur-
> ple clothes would not protect him against swords. Knud however
> responded that they protected as well as lambskins.[66]

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[64] See e.g. Andrén 1985 pp. 77–81 & passim; Andersson and Anglert [eds] 1989
pp. 15ff., 63ff., 167ff.; Sawyer and Sawyer 1993 pp. 33f., 42–47; 108–12, 131–34,
140–42, 153ff. for comparison.

[65] Christensen 1976 p. 47ff.

[66] *Ubi cum Kanutus in veste Saxonica ceteris cultior progrederetur, Henricus, offusis invidia
oculis, alieni cultus splendorem ferre nequiens, orta inter ipsos altercatione, latus eius adversum
gladios ostro tutum fore negavit. Quem Kanutus nihilo magis ovillis securum tergoribus respon-
dit* . . . (SGD XIII:5:4). Saxo as usual rubs in the point he wishes to make. He con-
tinues that Knud was in this way politely stressing the rustic character of his
opponent, making a joke about home-made dress, while the other had criticised his
foreign clothing.

The Henry (Skatelar) in this anecdote is another member of the royal family. When Knud Lavard is remembered as a figure who appeared in elegant Saxon clothes, he is clearly marked out as a prince who represented European modernity in his day, perhaps with an implication of foreign liaisons and loyalties.[67]

Knud Lavard was one of several cadets around the Danish throne. He was the son of King Erik Ejegod. After his father's death, says Helmold of Bosau, Knud spent *multis diebus sive annis . . .* 'many days, not to say years, at the court of Emperor Lothar'. Later he was enfieffed with a ducal dignity in Denmark, which may have resembled the Norwegian and Swedish *jarl*ships, but—following Helmold—meant primarily that he held power in Schleswig, with political support from Germany. The circumstances are interpreted differently by Saxo and other Danish *scriptores*, who are anxious to show that Knud always maintained his homage to King Niels. The contradictory sources have led scholars to harmonize interpretations.[68] But the Holsteinian *scriptor* was after all closer to the events in time, whereas the motives for political correction were far stronger for his later Danish colleagues working under the auspices of the royal dynasty founded by Knud's son Valdemar I, since one of the dynasty's greatest legitimising assets was the canonisation of Knud in 1170.[69]

The diverging opinions on Knud in Danish and German sources give particular interest to his portrait in the *Knýtlinga* saga, the Norse-style king's history of Denmark. As we know it, this saga is a much later narrative. Its compilation has been connected with Olafr þorðarsson hvítaskáld (Snorri Sturluson's nephew, dead in 1259) who had been at the court of Valdemar II. He could certainly have been

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[67] Clearly expressed in SGD XIII:5:8 and XIII:6:7 (. . . *quod Kanutum Saxonici et ritus et nominis amantissimum . . .* that Knud was a great lover of German customs and everything called German). As by Saxo's time Knud Lavard had become the national saint of Denmark and no less than the direct forefather of the ruling kings of the day, these 'unpatriotic' traits must be credited as trustworthy.

[68] HCS 49; SGD XII:7:1–6; for the source situation, see KL s.v. Knut Lavard, T. Gad. *Chronicon Roskildense* gives the most contemporary characteristic. It is however entirely conventional: . . . *Kanutum . . . virum pudicum, sobrium, sapiencia et eloquencia et omnibus moribus ornatum* (CR: 14) There are several problems connected with Knud's early years. Helmold's version quite realistically describes him as a fugitive from his uncle Niels, who—acting against a pledge given to Knud's father Erik Ejegod—wishes to promote his own son Magnus. In those days, however, Lothar was no emperor, but a mere duke of Saxony. The Knýtlinga saga portrays Knud as the guest and intimate friend of Emperor Henry V. For mainstream interpretations, see Hoffmann 1980 pp. 33–40; Hermanson 2000 p. 81ff. and further literary references.

[69] Cf. particularly Riis 1977 pp. 200–205.

responsible for the insertion of some elements from *Heimskringla*.
However, since the text is built on a variety of earlier sources and
Saxo had access to at least part of its content some time before that
(and it also contains independent information in other sections), the
existence of a twelfth-century proto-*Knýtlinga* has been suggested.[70] It
has also been argued that the thirteenth-century compilation was
made without contemporaneous aims, and that the various leanings
stem from its twelfth-century sources. The portrait deserves exami-
nation in this context, since it expands the perspective on an intrigu-
ing personality in the first phase of Europeanization.

The sequence on Knud Lavard in the *Knýtlinga* saga begins at the
court of Emperor Henry V, presented as Knud's relative and great
personal friend, who explains to the young Dane that it is common
practice in Saxony and elsewhere *at læsa hafnir fyrir landinum ok taka þar
tolla af . . .* 'to lock the harbour before land and to collect customs
there'. Established in Schleswig, this inspires Knud to fortify the Schlei
by a combination of *kastala* (the Nordic expression for the oldest type
of mortared dungeons), watchmen and a huge chain of iron and
timber by which the inlet could be closed.[71]
    Another aspect is introduced when a second hero wishes to be
admitted through these checks. The visitor's name is Viðgautr, a
many-talented merchant from Sembland: *hann var jafnan vanr at sigla
kaupferðir i Austrweg . . .* 'he was experienced from always making trade
voyages on the Eastern Route', and later characterised as *froegr maðr
ok djarfr i máli ok kunni margar tungur ok þyrfti ekki túlk fyrir ser . . .* 'a
brave man, not afraid to speak up, and fluent in many languages,
not needing any interpreter'.
    This man and his followers were searching for a safe Christian
haven after having been chased by murderous Curonians over the
sea. The *kastala* watchmen are suspicious of him, but he is able to

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[70] For discussion of Knýtlinga's sources, see particularly C. Weibull 1915 pp. 231–36.
For another opinion, see KL s.v. Knýtlinga saga, G. Ahlbeck; cf. Weibull's (1976
pp. 6–8 & passim) response. For the early periods, see also Ellehøj (1966 pp. 39–56)
who points out that Knýtlinga has had many qualified sources, including Ari's and
Sæmund's lost texts. See also Malmros 1979 p. 50f.; Lind 1992 pp. 229–35. As to
sources for the chapter on Knud Lavard, there has been little discussion (cf. how-
ever Lind, op. cit. on the murder narrative). Parts of it probably emanate from a
partially lost legend, written in the 1130s by the Englishman Robert of Ely, a monk
at the Ringsted monastery (cf. for detail Gilkær 1980 p. 145f.).
    [71] Knýtlinga saga k. 84–86.

talk his way through, and is eventually brought to Knud. Again a long chatty conversation breaks out, during which the duke asks whether the newcomers are pagans. *Víst erum vér heiðnir . . .* 'Of course we are pagans', Viðgautr answers. The duke suggests *at þér takið við kristni ok látið skiraz, ok skulle þér ðá allir vera hér vel komnir . . .* 'that they should take up Christianity, become baptized, and from then on all be welcome here'. Said and done, upon which Viðgautr stays with Knud the entire winter, discussing *margs ór Austervegi . . .* 'much about the Eastern Route'.[72]

Viðgautr then agreed to negotiate a proposal by Knud to wed the Novgorodian princess Ingeborg, daughter of Mstislav Vladimirovich (from 1125 Grand Duke of Kiev, and known in the saga as Harald) and his Swedish-born queen, Christina Ingesdotter.[73] On his departure, Viðgautr presents a gift to Knud of no less than *XL serkja grárra skinna, en V timbr eru i serk, en XL skinna i timbre . . .* '40 *serks* of grey squirrel fur skins, and there are 5 *timbers* in each *serk*, and 40 skins in each *timber*' (all in all, not less than 40,000 winter squirrel skins). In Novgorod, a new dialogue occurs between Viðgautr and the 'king', during which the merchant, doing good service for his patron, claims that it is generally known (*alkunna*) that Knud Lavard is *fyrir maðr allra ðeira manna, er nú vaxa upp á Norðrlöndum . . .* 'he is an example for all men who grow up nowadays in the Nordic countries'. And after a good exchange of jokes and comments on his ability to form friendship alliances, the marriage is contracted.[74]

From these events follows the tragic final act. Knud pays another visit to the emperor, to express his gratitude for the *styrk ok raðum . . .* 'encouragement and advice' he has received. He presents an honorary gift to the emperor of all the furs he has received from Viðgautr, and accepts a reciprocal gift of clothing that the emperor supposed would have no match in Denmark. It is Emperor Henry's *tignarklaeði*, probably meaning clothes worn by imperial courtiers. Back home, however, Knud presents these to his rival and cousin Magnus at the Yule feast at Ringsted, upon which Magnus promises an even finer reciprocal gift *riddara XL með öllum bunaði sinum . . .* '40 knights with all their equipment'. It is carefully stated that *en riddara kostar VIII merkr gulls sin bunað . . .* 'the equipment of one knight costs 8 gold

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[72] Knýtlinga saga k. 87.
[73] Cf. Lind 1992 p. 228ff.
[74] Knýtlinga saga k. 88.

marks'. It is insinuated that Magnus is unable to fulfil this promise, and that this is why he arranges for Knud to be murdered.[75]

The narrative thus offers a condensed intrigue. The components are imperial 'friendship', taxation on trade, contacts with rich eastern commerce, honorary gifts, a marriage liaison with Novgorod, and jealousy on the part of Magnus Nielsen. Although very unsatisfactory as to chronology and actual events, and despite a dramaturgical logic of its own, in my view the story offers a better survey of the circumstances Knud was up against than those written by Helmold, Saxo and others. Where they present him as a pawn in somebody else's game, the *Knýtlinga* centres on his role as a political entrepreneur under the particular conditions of his home base in Schleswig.

The saga confirms Knud's role as an introducer of German modernity in Denmark and on the Rim as a whole. The issue of Saxon clothes is however given far deeper significance, since it can be read as a metaphor for spreading imperial dependence in Denmark. There may also be some deeper meaning to Knud's introduction of a new taxation technique, the levy of customs upon trade,[76] since this seems to be what gives him the resources to tie people up in bonds of 'friendship'. This may be a metaphor for the guest guild or *hezlag* in Schleswig under Knud's personal control, or for a general skill in forming political alliances.[77] In the latter case, again according to the logic of the saga, the exchange of honorary gifts seems to be the dynamic factor. Yet the exchange described is on a large scale, akin to and requiring a well-developed trade. The amounts involved not only point to the great political importance of luxury trade but also to its general importance in the Viking Age and early Europeanizing era.

Connected to this is Knud's visionary interest in the vigorous ongoing eastern trade, described as being more or less out of reach for the people of Schleswig. Hence the hero-role played by Viðgautr, an ideal type of versatile pre-European Baltic Rim merchant. His

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[75] Knýtlinga saga k. 89–92.

[76] Cf. Gilkær 1980 p. 146. This doesn't mean previous trade was totally tax free, but that it was levied *pro capite* rather than on the goods transported, see Blomkvist 1995 p. 231ff.

[77] According to Gilkær (1980 p. 145f.), this guild was foremost a brotherhood for mutual defence, used by travellers lacking family backing in the area. A comparison is made between such defence guilds and a king's *hird* or retinue (op. cit. p. 147f.). Cf. Hermanson 2000 p. 88ff.

being pagan and converting to safeguard his access to Christian harbours is highly relevant. His coming from Sembland also makes sense. It was an important trading nation on the Baltic, on the estuary of the Nemunas, and notices in other sources claim it was of particular Danish interest.[78] The saga indicates that Knud's marriage to the Novgorodian Princess Ingeborg was intended to promote the trading interest of Schleswig.[79]

What I particularly value in *Knýtlinga's* sequence on Knud Lavard is the lack of hindsight perspective. I read in it no indications of the alienation of Russia, which was becoming clear in the latter part of the 12th century, no secret knowledge of Knud's future canonisation, no particular contempt for paganism. The young duke is presented as a Europeanization agent in Denmark, mostly due to his imperial contacts, but he is not shown as a know-it-all European reformer. On the contrary he comes with the intention of joining in activities already going on in the area. Despite uncertainties as to the origin of the *Knýtlinga* and its abundant use of *licentia poetica*, the narrative of Knud Lavard's doings carry the imprint of an independent tradition, and a particular freshness, by recalling the positions before the West had won its domination.

As for additional knowledge, it is archaeologically and historically well-documented that the proto-town of Hedeby was gradually deserted and rebuilt in a more modern form at a new site in the vicinity, nowadays known as Schleswig (Dan. Slesvig). Even if the saga calls Knud's town Hedeby, its reference to innovations inspired by the

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[78] A narrative recorded in the Ryd annals (Annales Danici pp. 66, 68) and by Saxo (SGD X:5:0) claims that a Danish host decided to stay in Sembland, and hence the population *still* resembled the Danes. However translators frequently mix up the Sembs (who lived in present-day Kaliningradskaya Oblast) with the Semigalians (who lived south of the Daugava in present-day Latvia and Lithuania). As suggested by Dr A. Mickevičius, Vilnius, the spelling with 'b' seems to indicate the former. I thank him for the observation. It is also noteworthy that the monastery of Ryd was situated in the Duchy of Schleswig (cf. KL s.v. Rydårbogen, H. Nielsen).

[79] This is particularly noteworthy, since most modern scholars propagate the idea that the marriage was contracted in the interest of Queen Margareta Fredkulla's dynastic policy, e.g. Hoffmann 1980 p. 32f.; Lind 1992 p. 228ff.; Kattinger 1999a p. 20 (with reference to several predecessors and a marker of slight opposition); Hermanson 2000 pp. 99–102, 105–11. These thoughts highlight the low opinion among contemporary scholars regarding the importance of twelfth-century trade, compared to the importance of landed property. The reason for contracting a dynastic marriage may have been both.

Roman-German emperor identifies it with the emerging new city.
Its development had begun in the latter part of the 11th century,
mutatis mutandis achieving the same relative importance as a 'gateway
to the Baltic' as Hedeby had possessed during parts of the Viking Age.
It was an entrepôt for its Frisian neighbours, who dominated the
urban population; there were however *hospes ex ducatu Saxoniae*, and
particularly important counterparts seem to have been the cities of
Cologne and Soest. There were Scandinavians, in the Schleswig
urban law code rather haphazardly represented by trading guests *de
Hyslandia, de Burgendaholm et aliunde* . . . 'from Iceland, Bornholm and
elsewhere'. An important feature in the city was the *Summum Convivium*,
a guild into which it seems trade guests of all nations could be sworn,
and in which Knud presided as *senior et defensor*. Knud's ambition to
improve Baltic trade departing from Schleswig is also confirmed in
the Schleswig law code, in which travels to Gotland are specifically
mentioned.[80]

Knud's marriage to the Russian princess Ingeborg seems to have
strengthened the development of Russian overseas trade, of which lit-
tle is heard before or after.[81] In the First Novgorodian Chronicle items
are noted regarding Russian merchant fleets in Denmark in 1130 and
1134. The notice for 1130 also mentions a fleet visiting Gotland.[82]
The figure of Viðgautr may recall a real person in Knud's service,
or at least the type. It is possible to point to an individual example
of 'another Viðgautr'. Due to damage, the name of this real-life per-
son unfortunately remains unknown. He was not Sembic, however,
but a Gotlander, from what is now Stenkumla parish. Three men,
possibly his sons, raised one or possibly two rune stones in his mem-
ory. One of the stones says that he *sunarla sat með skinum* . . . 'sat with
furs (or skins) in the south'. It tells that he died on *Ulvshale*, most
likely the cape on the Danish island of Mön, where the sea route
from Schleswig to Gotland passes nearby.[83]

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[80] On Hedeby and Schleswig, see particularly Radtke 1981 p. 454ff.; Radtke
1995; Radtke 2002 pp. 390–416. See also Hoffmann 1980 pp. 27–40; Schütt 1980
pp. 93–112; Kattinger 1999a pp. 13–23.
[81] Cf. Ch. VII:2ff. below.
[82] Rahbek Schmidt 1964 p. 37f.; Rennkamp 1977 p. 25; Lind 1992 pp. 229ff., 236f.
[83] SvR:GR 207–08; Ellmers 1972 p. 229.

The swift Danish transformation

The description of Archbishop Asger from the 1120s is often compared with a similar survey by Arnold of Lübeck around 1210. Here the tone is very different. The Danes are said to drape themselves in the most elegant clothing, they are good scholars and churchmen, the foremost of whom have conducted their studies in Paris, not only to secure promotion in the Church, but to improve in civil affairs. Regardless of princes and magnates, the king is in full control of the country.[84] This study will not follow Danish developments in detail, but we may note that, although Knud Lavard was murdered, his friends and allies were the ones who won the contest, both in the short term (through his half brother Erik Emune) and in the longer term through his son Valdemar I, creator of a centralised Danish monarchy.

The move towards centralisation began with the emergence of powerful clans or power groups (royal cadets, the Thrugots, the Bodilsens, the Hwides) of which the royal court was a mere *primus inter pares*. These groups characteristically founded 'private' monasteries (*Hausklöster*), and this custom intensified in the years following Erik Emune's victory. To some extent, bishoprics also came under the control of particular clans. A third expression of this emerging elite was the building of exclusive parish churches.[85] Development moved first towards oligarchy rather than towards central power.

This phase saw a swift rise in influences from imperial Germany, balanced by excellent ecclesiastical contacts in France and Rome. The papal/imperial conflict came to infect the political life of Denmark, at times as an aspect of its frequent civil wars. We can view this as one long sweep of Europeanization, during which the growing international influence was used by ambitious individuals to further their own goals and those of their allies. The reign of Valdemar I and the rise of his friend Absalon to the archbishopric meant a re-establishment of central power, such as was thought to have existed in the days of Knud the Great. As a symbol of this the *vederloven*, the ancient rules of the *thingalið* were 'rediscovered', in which the obligation and honour of serving the royal majesty were clearly expressed. Instead of having to be called out for particular tasks, the ancient *ledung* was reformed

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[84] E.g. by Kraemmer 1999 p. 162f.
[85] Lund and Hørby 1980 p. 117ff.; Hill 1992 pp. 51ff., 105ff., 183ff.; Hermanson 2000 pp. 1ff., 51ff.

into a coastguard institution (in which some men were always on
duty), while the cult of Knud Lavard as a saint offered an opportunity
to organise and promote Danish commerce through a network of
Knud guilds, in competition with the early Hanseatics. Despite these
ancient forms and institutions, the Danish kingdom was modernising
rapidly. When the empire became considerably weakened by internal
conflicts in the last decades of the 12th century, Denmark was able
to reject imperial vassalage, and rose to military-political dominance
in its own right on the southern coast of the Baltic.[86]

   Bartlett quotes Arnold's words on the Danes as corroboration of
their swift Europeanization. He goes on to paint a portrait of Anders
Sunesen, Absalon's successor in the archiepiscopal see of Lund, and
a prominent international scholar. He had studied in Paris, learning
from men 'with generations of scholastic discourse behind them', but
was also to lead the Danish crusading conquest of the Estonians,
where 'he confronted a non-literate, polytheistic Finno-Ugric people
whose cultural and social distance from Latin Christendom was enor-
mous.' Thus in Bartlett's words: 'Denmark was a transmitter of reli-
gious and cultural forms and patterns even before it had fully
assimilated them itself.'[87] A significant confirmation of this statement
can be seen by visitors to the parish church of Norra Åsum in Scania,
where there is a rune stone from around 1200 in the old style, even
if the features of the snake or dragon are much subdued: 'Christ,
Mary's son' it says, 'help those who built this church, Archbishop
Absalon and Äsbjörn Muzzle'.[88]

The frequently misunderstood Vends (Polabian Slavs)

Southern Jutland, or Schleswig-Holstein (the Trans-Albian territory
to many Continental *scriptores*) was the first part of the Baltic Rim
to be exposed to impulses from the new, expansive European culture.
Almost all literature in the field is anxious to highlight the key role

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[86] Qvistgaard Hansen 1966 pp. 57–76; Christensen 1976 pp. 9–33; Riis 1977
pp. 33ff., 43ff. Wallin 1975; Nyberg 1976, Gilkær 1980; Lund and Hørby 1980;
Andrén 1985; Lund 1996; Hermanson 2000 p. 187ff.; Carelli 2001.
   [87] Bartlett 1994 pp. 289–91. For a detailed portrait of Anders Sunesen as an
agent of Europeanization, see Nielsen 1994 pp. 1–29.
   [88] *krist: mario: sun: hiapi: þem: ær: kirku: þe . . . [g]erþ[o]: absalon: ærki: biskup: ok: æsbiorn:
mull* (S.B.F. Jansson 1987 p. 165).

played by the Danish kingdom in introducing the newly-developing European modernity of the 12th century. Hardly anything is said about the Vends in this respect, which seems unfair, but it seems the Vends have very rarely been treated as they deserve.[89]

Among the *scriptores* of the sources for this part of my study, the Vends are a clear enough concept, denoting a nation in the sense of a politically divided, yet culturally and linguistically united population of the southern Baltic coast in eastern Holstein and Pomerania. In describing these people, the authors frequently underline their otherness.[90] The Vends' West Slavic identity seems established beyond dispute; for this reason some modern researchers prefer to call them 'Polabian Slavs', a technical term that solves some problems in Polish-German historiography,[91] but causes confusion in other circles. My use of the *scriptores*' own expression Vends complies with Scandinavian practice (which takes no stance in the bygone Slav/German controversies). Belonging to neither the *Reich*, nor to Poland or Denmark, although exposed to integration attempts from all these powers, the Vends underwent phases of consolidation and dispersion throughout the 9th–11th centuries.

From the decades around 1100 AD, a couple of unsolved problems remain in the history of the Baltic Rim, with the common factor that the Vends appear either in the source material or in its interpretation. One fact seems undisputed; on the eve of the European breakthrough a *hiatus* occurs, a momentary pause from the rather humble fading away of Scandinavian Viking behaviour in 1050–60 to the full-scale appearance of European features on the shores of the Baltic from the 1140s on.[92] This time gap in Scandinavian and northern German development is often referred to as a 'transformation period' but occasionally also as the Vendic Viking Age. The latter term reflects descriptions of barbaric cruelty and dramatic plunder by

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[89] Cf. Lotter 1989.

[90] I here quote the keen Saxo-interpreter Skovgaard-Petersen (1997a p. 281): *In den Augen Saxos ist Sclavia das fremdartigste was man im Umkreis Dänemarks kennt. (Die Wenden siedelten nicht so weit entfernt, nur wenige Dänen verstanden ihre Sprache. Zudem geschah im Land der Wenden Seltsames.)*

[91] Lübke 1997 pp. 115–25; Lübke 2000 pp. 61–77.

[92] According to Heinz Stoob (1995 p. 49) the Vendic peoples took up the heritage of Knut the Great, *während Schweden, Polen und Russen kritische Phasen der Entwicklung durchschreiten mussten.*

scriptores like Helmold of Bosau, Saxo Grammaticus and Snorri Sturluson.[93] Let Helmold present the case:

> Characteristic to the Vends was further an inborn, insatiate and inde-fatigable cruelty that afflicts the neighbouring countries on land and sea. It is difficult to say in how many ways they have killed Christians; some have got their intestines torn out and twined round a pole, others were crucified in order to insult the symbol of our salvation, since it is the greatest criminals who are condemned to crucifixion. The ones that they capture to demand ransom, however, are tortured with such pains and fetters that it is not believable for a person who does not know.[94]

However we must not regard *all* Vends from a piracy perspective. In the first place this is a picture of the Other. As a people 'without history' who no longer exist, the Vends to some degree have lacked advocates in the historical discourse.

Thus this Vendic 'moment' leaves an enigmatic impression, but recent research increasingly reveals a quite specific political pattern developing. Gradually, since the late 11th century, the alliance of the Obodrites had developed in east Holstein and Mecklenburg, in parallel with another Vendic grouping covering the Pomeranian Lands. In both these alliances an embryonic monarchy developed, to some extent caught in feudal ties by neighbouring Germany and Poland. At the same time it remained to some extent a 'republican' or dispersed chieftain society. The aristocracy was deeply involved in trading (and sometimes plundering) activities, and largely lived in flourishing urban clusters.[95] In the 1120s, these urban settlements were visited by Otto von Bamberg, which occasioned a fine series of 'dis-

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[93] HCS I:52 & passim; SGD XIV: passim; Heimskringla, Magnuss saga blinda kk. 9–12. Cf. L. Lönnroth (2001).

[94] *Fuit praeterea Slavorum genti crudelitas ingenita, saturari nescia, inpaciens otii, vexans regionum adiacentia terra marique. Quanta enim mortium genera Christicolis intulerint, relatu difficile est, cum his quidem viscera extorserint palo circumducentes, hos cruci affixerint, irridentes signum redemptionis nostrae. Sceleratissimos enim cruci subfigendos autumant. Eos autem, quos custodiae mancipant pecunia redimendos, tantis torturis et vinculorum nodis plectunt, ut ignoranti vix opinabile sit.* (HCS I:52)

[95] Tymieniecki 1929 pp. 5–32; Petersohn 1979; Lotter 1989 pp. 267–73; Piskorski 1999 pp. 35–57, 59ff.; For a very general outline, see Conze 1993 pp. 48–51; for an inspired sketch, see E. Christiansen 1980 pp. 25–33; for a more consistent, yet short overview, see Lechiewicz 1997. General to the historiography, Piskorski 1996. As a peculiar aftermath of the endeavours in Vendic nation-building, the first co-operating German towns in the Baltic became known as the Vendic towns. Even more curious is the fact that both the Danish and Swedish royal titles have included since the late Middle Ages a claim on the Vends, with on the Danish side even a heraldic emblem (a *lindorm*, dragon), see KL s.v. Vendes vapen, J. Liedgren.

covery reports'.[96] Since it is not my intention to take on the Vendic case for detailed analysis, I will resist the temptation to delve deeply into these texts.

Vendic town life and trade

For the brief outline required here of Vendic urbanism in the 1120s, I will refer to Heinz Stoob and Lech Lechiewicz, who have both studied the biographies of St. Otto, and confirmed their finds with data from several large-scale urban archaeological projects.[97]

Citing Szczecin (Stettin), Stoob states that Vendic cities were great agglomerations dominated by aristocrats with large followings, who conducted trade with foreign merchants. Easterners, Scandinavians, Englishmen and Saxons are indicated in the 1120s. Correcting a previous view held by German scholars, Stoob states that these centres were comparable economically, topographically and in various other ways to towns or cities, but because they were not legally differentiated from the countryside and had no autonomy or domestic burghers, they were doomed to become arenas of passive trade.[98] The classification refers to the classic liberal theory of merchants making themselves free, as a point of departure for further development of long-distance trade.

Stoob has however overlooked the fact that the aristocracy in question were merchants themselves. In Lechiewicz' examples a leading inhabitant of Wollin (whom Otto's biographer Ebo calls Niedamir) was secretly a Christian, having been baptized in Saxony. This indicates a peaceful visit, which as in so many similar Scandinavian cases, suggests trading contacts.[99] We may recall that baptism has been mentioned as a formal requirement for being welcomed in

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[96] *S. Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis vita Prieflingensis* (MPH sn VII:1 1966); *Ebonis vita s. Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis* (MPH sn VII:2 1969); *Herbordi dialogus de vita s. Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis* (MPH sn VII:3 1974). Cf. *S. Adalberti Pragensis episcopi martyris vita prior* (MPH sn IV:1 1962); *De sancto Adalberto episcopo* (MPH IV 1884); cf. also HCS 40.

[97] Much of the archaeological achievement on Vendic urbanism has been conveniently presented in Western languages in Acta Visbyensia, see Slaski 1976; Filipowiak 1985; Lechiewicz 1985. Another relevant volume is Müller-Wille et al. 1988; see also Bollnow 1938. On the numismastic situation, cf. Kilger 2000.

[98] Stoob 1995 pp. 49–53.

[99] A similar story is found in SRS II:14 *Vita sancti Botvidi martyris*; cf. KL s.v. Botvid, O. Odenius; Lundén 1972 p. 41ff.

Christian harbours.[100] Niedamir of Wollin's position as a man with the resources and ability to undertake trade is revealed when (*t*)*res naves non modicas victualium copia oneratus hilariter prebuit* . . . 'he gladly offered three quite large ships loaded with many victuals', to St Otto's party.[101] Even if this Vend was a noble or 'feudal lord', this indicates that he also conducted long-distance trade.[102] Lechiewicz has even pointed to a pagan priest who went off with merchants to conduct *negocia sua*.[103]

Among new opinions on the Vends, there remains a remarkable vagueness as regards their economic system. Using wooden building technology, they are thought to have provided large and quite advanced trading places and other infrastructures, but to have been occupied mainly by passive trade. Since we now know that the Vends traded eagerly in their own region, we must seriously consider the possibility of active trade on foreign soil as well. What has often been forgotten is the Vendic competence in seamanship. Their frequent visits to foreign shores may have been organised not only for plundering, but for trade purposes.

The moment of the Vends—a case of Europeanization?

The case of the Obodrites. Of particular interest is the still relatively unknown attempt around 1100 to create a kingdom of the Obodrites. Its roots are found in an alliance of the tribes of Wagrians, Polabians and Obodrites proper. Their territory seems to have covered eastern Holstein and Mecklenburg, with an influence stretching as far as to the Old Saxons in western Holstein. A first effort led by the Christianised Vendic prince Gotskalk ended in the great Vendic 'uproar' or expansion in the late 1060s. A second more successful effort was led in the 1090s by his son Henry. It was centered in

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[100] Cf. KL s.v. Primsigning, E. Molland.

[101] Ebo II:8.

[102] The notes on another aristocratic urbanised Vend, Domaslaw of Stettin, seem to indicate a notorious pirate chief. He had more than 500 followers and *frequenter in provincia Danorum navigare et predam ex ea agere solebat* . . . 'often used to sail into the land of the Danes in order to collect booty'; and, Ebo tells us, *Copioso sex navium apparatu Danos sibi infensos petebat* . . . 'he looked for Danes that were his enemies with six strongly-equipped ships' (Ebo III:2). The wording could indicate that this wasn't an ordinary plundering raid. At other times these ships may have been used for other purposes. Domaslaw had also been baptized in Saxony (Ebo II:9; Lechiewicz 1997 p. 171).

[103] Lechiewicz 1997 p. 172.

Alt-Lübeck, where a Christian church was erected within a Slavic hillfort, and a settlement of merchants spread out at its foot, some six kilometres downstream from the later Hansa town. This Vendic *Liubice* or *Lybeke* was an international trading site from the latter part of the 11th century until 1138. It had many German visitors, but also Scandinavian ones, as is seen from fragmentary runic inscriptions on wood that have been found during excavations. To some extent it may have been the success of old Lübeck that compelled the Danish leadership to develop Schleswig. At the beginning of the 12th century, Henry of Alt-Lübeck had even begun to produce coins of his own, at a time when no coins were struck in Sweden. Behind him in all this was his feudal overlord, Lothar, Duke of Saxony, later to become German king as well as emperor.[104]

After Henry of Alt-Lübeck's death in 1127 a grander solution was considered when, according to Helmold, Knud Lavard turned to Emperor Lothar *emitque multa pecunia regnum Obotritorum . . .* 'and bought the realm of the Obodrites for much money' upon which *posuit imperator coronam in caput eius, ut esset rex Obotritorum, recipitque eum in hominem. . . .* 'the emperor put the crown on his head, (which signified) that he was to be king of the Obodrites, and received him as a vassal'. Knud was thus presented as king and imperial vassal over a new political unit, *regnum Obotritorum, omnem scilicet potestatem, qua preditus fuerat Heinricus . . .* 'the realm of the Obodrites, namely all that power which Henry (of Alt-Lübeck) previously held'.[105]

According to Helmold's narrative, which has the advantage of seniority and obviously reflects an official Saxon version, Knud Lavard undertook many activities as vassal to King Lothar. This is directly contradicted by Saxo and other Danish sources from the Valdemarian epoch.[106] However, we may conclude that the version in the *Knýtlinga*

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[104] The main source of the life of Henry of Alt-Lübeck is HCS 24, 25, 34, 38, 41, 46, 48, 55, & 57. On Slavonic *Liubice* or *Lubeke* (Alt-Lübeck), see Fehring 1995 pp. 22–33; cf. Kattinger 1999a pp. 23–31. Henry of Alt-Lübeck's coins have been discovered in the Hjortsberga find, Blekinge, from around 1120.

[105] HCS 49. Lothar should probably be seen as chief organiser of this coup, and the money payment as akin to the gift of skins according to Knýtlinga. Hermanson (2000 p. 117) has misunderstood Lothar's position—even if not yet emperor, after August-September 1125 he was no longer a mere duke, but the German king.

[106] Saxo and other later Danish sources claim that Knud inherited the Obodrite title from Henry of Alt-Lübeck as a token of friendship, and that he was never called king by the Slavs, etc. (cf. above and Ch. VI:2) An older source, Abbot

saga, although condensed and dramatised, covers the version told by
Helmold rather well, down to Knud's fiscal ability to buy his way
to a royal crown.

Helmold does not mention that Knud already held a position of
strength in the duchy of Schleswig nearby, giving him full control
over the two best transport corridors between the Baltic and western
Europe.[107] Including Schleswig as well as Lübeck, his emerging polity
would have been a formidable competitor to the Danish realm. It
would have appeared as an instant great power on the Baltic, as well
as an embryonic 'European' state of the West Slavic nation. As it
was, the plans were crushed by Knud's murder on January 7, 1131.
The ruin was completed by the devastation of Alt-Lübeck in 1138
by a pagan Slavic faction.

The case of Pomerania. Further to the east, surrounding the great estu-
ary of the Odra, another urban cluster had been developing for quite
a while. Its oldest components were rooted in the 9th century. By
the beginning of the 12th century they had become some of the
greatest proto-urban settlements on the Baltic Rim. Wolin (also Wollin,
Julin, Jumne or Jomsborg in Nordic sources) was *primus inter pares*,
surrounded by Szczecin (Stettin), Pyrzyce (Pyritz), Kamien (Kammin)
as well as the more easterly Kotobrzeg (Kolberg) and Gdansk
(Danzig).[108] These cities were held by a local oligarchy, and con-
trolled the trade between the rest of the Rim and the great hinter-
lands of Odra and Wisla, leading deep into Brandenburg, Greater
Poland and further towards Bohemia. According to Lechiewicz, these

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William of Aebelholt, comments on Knud Lavard's kingship, that he *non hereditario
jure sed armis potenter obtinuit . . .* 'got it not by hereditary rights but by force'. The
French-born abbot is no first-hand witness, but expresses, as does Saxo later on,
official opinion at the court of Valdemar I (Bolin 1931 p. 157, cf. p. 175; most
recently on Abbot William, Damsholt 2001 pp. 3–19). The German leanings of
Knud Lavard are not denied, but any recognition of *imperial* vassalage would have
contradicted the policy at the Danish court in Saxo's time. In Helmold's time this
wasn't an issue, since Valdemar, like his predecessors, recognised his feudal oblig-
ations openly. Thus C. Weibull's (1915 p. 154) higher valuation of Helmold's ver-
sion must be defended against Hermanson's (2000 pp. 115–17) criticism. However
even Helmold states that it took fighting before some of the Obodrites accepted
Knud's government.

[107] One of Knud Lavard's deeds was the crushing of a band of highway robbers
who disrupted land traffic between Saxony and Schleswig (HCS 49).

[108] In 1124 Otto is said to have baptized 22,165 individuals and founded 11
churches in the area close to the Odra estuary (The Catholic Encyclopedia s.v. St.
Otto, K. Löffer).

urban complexes had developed a strong, fairly conservative constitutional identity, backed up by an 'advanced' idolatry cult of a rich pantheon, displayed in special temple buildings which were looked after by a 'professional' priesthood. They formed a type of independent urban-*cum*-hinterland 'republics', capable of excluding the inland Piast kingdom of Poland for a long time, along with the developing Pomeranian principality.[109]

Around 1120, however, the forceful Polish ruler Boleslaw III *Krzywousty* (The Wry-mouthed) was successfully interfering in local Pomeranian affairs. Poland had been an inland realm so far, but had nevertheless gained some international political importance. Due to its geographical position on Germany's eastern flank, it had developed excellent contacts in Lorraine-France and at the deeply French-influenced Papal Curia. In 1122, however, the Concordat at Worms had brought about a general relaxation of political tensions, which explains how a Christianization campaign from the Polish church-province of Gniezno (Gnesen) directed at east Pomerania could be led by the Bishop of Bamberg, who in the summer of 1124 travelled through Pyrzyce, Kamien, Szczecin and Wolin. He enjoyed considerable initial success. Lechiewicz suggests that this was not only due to the backing of Boleslaw and Duke Wartislaw of Pomerania, but also to the realisation among the urban commercial aristocracy that a change of religion was necessary. Coming from southern Germany and respected both by the emperor and the Papal Curia, Otto's mission would have had no real opponents within the Catholic World-system. Even so, he met significant adversaries—the conservative masses rooted around the temples and led by their priests.[110]

The Christianisation of Pomerania was thus close to the heart of many agents. In 1127 we see Bishop Otto on a second journey, when he is said to have established basic rights for Christians at a diet in Usedom. However the establishment of a bishopric in Pomerania was the subject of rivalry between the archbishops of Magdeburg

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[109] Lechiewicz 1997. Cf. E. Christiansen's (1980 p. 32) statement, that 'the West Slavs living along the Baltic were a vigorous and thriving people with a peculiar form of political organisation which represented a compromise between the interests of town communities and the interests of territorial princes.' An interesting aspect of the Vendic religion is that Christian mission had been conducted in these areas much earlier, and some of the more 'advanced' expressions of paganism may have come from that seed having grown wild.

[110] Lechiewicz 1997 pp. 163–76. Cf. Hermanson 2000 p. 124.

and Gniezno. Lothar III claimed the overlordship of Rügen and
Pomerania, which Boleslaw III was compelled to accept in 1135. The
establishment of a bishopric was blocked until after Otto's death,
when it was localised to Wolin (1140) and directly subordinated to
the Papal Curia. It was not to be permanent.[111]

Summing up

The short survey of the situation on the southwest part of the Baltic
Rim around 1100, the area most accessible from contemporary west-
ern Europe, suggests a situation of competing systems. The picture
of Knud Lavard eagerly questioning his Sembic commercial advisor
on matters along the Eastern Route suggests the existence of a
flourishing sea trade on the Baltic, into which the Europeanization
agents did not easily penetrate, since it was to some degree con-
ducted under pagan, pagan-tolerant or Christian-tolerant auspices.

  The Vends' bad reputation may be largely a reflection of their
commercial strength. What was piracy to Christian *scriptores* could
have been trade wars and struggles for the sea routes, and their cap-
ture of Christians may have been little different from the procedures
followed by Christian powers. It certainly looks as if otherness was
deliberately used for political purposes—and successfully so. The
change in Europeanization strategy during the 1140s, turning from
negotiations to crusades, became at the same time the elimination
of this efficient competitor to the Christians' commercial networks.

3. *The Other in Discovery Reports from East and West*

How to handle a cultural border?

Oh, East is East, and West is West and never the twain shall meet, wrote
Rudyard Kipling in 1889, coining a proverb. In 1978 Edward Said
went a bit further by defining Orientalism as a three-fold general
antithesis to the Occident: an academic study in the West, but also
a fundamental and normative category of difference through which
the West can define itself, as well as control the East.[112] In a lesser

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[111] Jordan 1973a p. 95ff.; The Catholic Encyclopedia s.v. St. Otto, K. Löffer.
[112] Said 1978 p. 2f.

but unmistakable way these complexities also emerge in the study of Europeanization East and West of the Baltic.

An ambitious attempt to define the long-term function of the cultural border between the Catholic (later also Protestant) West and the Russian Other has been made by a Swedish research team. They claim that the twentieth-century Iron Curtain (*järnridå*) was preceded by a Brain Curtain (*hjärnridå*),[113] gradually built up from the moment Russia accepted Byzantine Christianity in 988. From these authors some antitheses can be noted that are likely to have been relevant to the medieval situation.

Catholicism	Orthodoxy
Supra-national authority in spiritual matters	Subordination to Byzantine or Russian emperors
Supra-national intellectual Latin culture	Vernacular spiritual culture
Moral and legal scholarship[114]	Confessional righteousness
Clergy with a high degree of professionalism	Clergy with a low degree of professionalism
Individual responsibility[115]	Obedience, collectivism etc.

The conclusion is made in sharply contrasting colours: 'The emerging Western European empiricism and rationality, pragmatism and utilitarianism, corresponded in Russia to Bible-reading and icon-painting, together with liturgical singing. Scholasticism, reformation, renaissance, baroque and enlightenment, all these expressions of profound mental changes within the Christian West, were passing through Russian culture almost without notice. No secularisation was to penetrate its depths.'[116]

The above may be a rather unrestrained effort at Western self-definition, in Said's terms, at the cost of the Otherness of Russia. But without necessarily accepting all its details—the degree of professionalism among the clergy may be disputed—the contrasts give an idea of the different routes to development that the Western and Eastern heirs of Mediterranean culture were to choose during the Middle Ages.

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[113] The magic in Swedish of these key concepts is that they are identically pronounced.

[114] Referring to theology, philosophy and jurisprudence.

[115] Brought forward by the doctrine of Purgatory.

[116] Gerner, Hedlund and Sundström 1995 pp. 24–27, 104–113. Cf. Dahlgren 1994.

Attitudes to law and legality, intellectual debate, political responsibility, individual integrity and other dichotomies highlighted by the Swedish team belong to the domain of public obligations, which Western society frequently prides itself on having developed into a global norm through division of authority, parliamentary democracy and market economies. As noted, the roots of these doctrines were already thriving under the conditions of medieval Europeanization. It may be that Charlemagne's soldiers staring across the Elbe were trying to penetrate an earlier version of the same cultural border; the discovery of the Baltic was its eastward expansion all the way into the East Baltic marshes and forests, where it has remained ever since.

However, when crossing a cultural border we find that many things previously seen as self-evident are so no longer. I am referring to small details that would have been discussed only rarely in the public arena.[117] To what extent may these invisible conditions of daily life have constrained the development of the superstructures of culture and political life? For the historian, crossing the cultural border of distant times, this is a much harder problem than picking up items planted by the agents and re-agents of Europeanization as markers of their own identities. I will give a few examples of these structural problems, which we know very little about.

The established idea of East Baltic subsistence in the Middle Ages is that of people living by fairly advanced methods of agriculture on the broad plains and along the meandering river valleys, but also in the highlands where arable areas were limited and general conditions poor. There was a large side-economy dependant on forestry activities. How early three-field rotation and successive crop-systems were introduced has often been judged very optimistically, although this has been re-assessed in more recent studies.[118] There is ample evidence that the East Baltic countries were already rich cereal producers when the agents of Europeanization arrived.[119] Nevertheless the likelihood that they achieved this using *swidden* (slash-and-burn) agriculture is generally rejected.

In the eyes of straightforward evolutionists—Marxists as well as

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[117] Cf. the remarks on Russian history by Gurevitj (1997b pp. 17–19).
[118] Hellmann 1954 p. 68ff.; Kahk and Tarvel 1997 pp. 20ff., 30ff.; Žulkus 1999b pp. 137–52.
[119] Ahvenainen 1963 pp. 11ff., 36ff.

others—this method of cultivation has been seen as too 'primitive', although it has been known to be very rewarding. According to Moora and Ligi's authoritative work from the Soviet period, *swidden* agriculture dominated early cultivation in the East Baltic countries, but was gradually replaced by more 'developed' systems around 500 AD; however the scholar Jorma Ahvenainen has suggested that it may have remained common even in the 12th century.[120] It is advisable not to adopt too simplistic an evolutionary view on this point.

Slash-and-burn techniques normally leave very few archaeological traces and our knowledge of it is founded basically on ethnological observation from later periods when many competing interests challenged the system. As many scholars have pointed out in recent years, it was a system which, under certain conditions, gave a much greater return for the amount of seed and work put into it than the most up-to-date methods practised in western Europe at that time. The necessary precondition was that the cultivators possessed the so-called 'Russian *swidden* rye', and had access to old-growth forests in which they could burn, to use a Finnish expression, their *huhta swiddens*. The single great drawback was that the old forests did not regenerate quickly enough. An area that had taken several hundred years to grow took 3–7 years to consume.[121] The system was self-destructive in the long run, a factor that grew gradually more decisive as the number of people increased and the number of trees fell.

Those who practised slash-and-burn as their main form of cultivation were often considered to be 'different', as we know from later times, when their encounters with ordinary peasants or travellers were sometimes noted down. Their isolated lives tended to be compensated for by large homesteads where extended families or many individuals lived together, according to more modern observations (16th–20th centuries). This type of extended family has been particularly studied in eastern Finland (Savolax), where the phenomenon continued

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[120] Bielenstein 1897 p. 273ff.; Moora and Ligi 1970 p. 7ff. Ahvenainen (1963 p. 21) sees the fixed cereal rents that were at first laid upon Livs and Latvians—which some Latvians succeeded in keeping in 1212—as a sign that the new authority was unused to judging the harvests of *swidden* lands, while the slash-and-burn practice may have been an insecure method of cultivation in the eyes of the new tax collectors in the first place.

[121] Ahvenainen 1963 pp. 22, 156ff.; Goehrke 1981a; Taavitsainen 1990; B. Larsson [ed.] 1995.

until World War II. There it was characterised as a co-habitation
of several married couples and/or single persons, operating as a col-
lective, contractual, highly democratic, self-supporting community, in
which it was out of the question to keep servants. The community
had a chosen leader, whose position was independent of heritage or
marriage; normally, this was the oldest, most experienced man in
the group. However, according to a case study from Savolax, twenty
percent of leaders were women.[122]

As for western Europe, a trend in modern historical demography
has been to identify the nuclear family further and further back.[123] Even
if medieval demography has so far dealt mainly with western European
populations, these results have influenced opinions about conditions
on the Rim as well.[124] On the other hand, demographers have
identified a particular 'East European extended or joint family type'
in the Early Modern and Modern periods,[125] which opens up the
alternative of another potential east-west difference in the *longue durée*.

Even if extended families existed in areas where slash-and-burn
has not been documented, there is a frequent coincidence of the two
phenomena. There is a clear rationale for *swiddeners* to gather in
extended families—the generous harvests could support many indi-
viduals; many strong young men were needed for short periods, to
fell trees and check fires; further care of the arable land could be
done with light equipment, and was thus often done by women. For
long periods the men could diversify into hunting and fishing, and
in later periods into soldiering or work migration. Combined with
cattle breeding, this large-scale slash-and-burn system could produce
an affluent and more or less self-sufficient society deep in the forests.
The extended family is thought to have offered security and freedom
at the same time, which might have influenced people to persist with
this lifestyle even after they had been compelled to abandon slash-
and-burn.[126]

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[122] Gaunt 1987 pp. 121–41; Waris 1995; Moring 1999 pp. 159–84.
[123] Hammer 1983; Hareven 1991 p. 101f.; B. Sawyer 1988; Benedictow 1996;
Palm 2000 pp. 22–37.
[124] Tornberg (1972) and Benedictow (1996 p. 104f.) believe that the extended
family as an institution gradually expanded in Finland in the modern period, par-
ticularly in connection with large-scale cattle breeding.
[125] Hajnal 1965, Hajnal 1983.
[126] Ylikangas 1993; Waris 1995 p. 114ff.

It is an open question whether the type of extended family connected to *swidden* agriculture might have a generic connection to the extended or joint family type that was the norm among the enserfed peasantry of the Russian Empire. Several families were normally joined together into a production unit, which was also a residential unit (*Gesindehof*), strictly under the authority of the farm head (*Wirt*). The families were usually kin-groups consisting of several married couples (often the families of brothers), landless and/or retired people, and a few parentless children. The rules of inheritance favoured brothers who continued living together in complex family groups, on land that was recognised as the heritage of a clan group. This ensured that the subdivision of land resources could be redistributed internally according to the consumption needs of families, a custom that effectively hindered economic and technological rationalisation. In some areas, the rights to the farm were in the hands of a truly patrilocal and patrilineal kindred order. These kind of large and complex families were predominant in the East Baltic areas under investigation here, according to registers from the 18th and 19th centuries.[127]

Unlike western systems this meant that the lord of the estate was unable to influence who was holding his subordinate farms, hardly even how they were cared for, as long as they presented the prescribed rents. This has led researchers like Michael Mitterauer to suggest that the extended family and patrilineal clan-society must have been rooted far before the *Gutsherrschaft*-economy. Even the idea of ancient agriculture dominated by women has been launched.[128]

These observations from the Early Modern period on areas east of the Baltic indicate that several fundamental social phenomena deviated radically from what was considered to be the western European norm. Study of cultural encounters and comparison of their descriptions must be done in awareness of the additional knowledge that could have a bearing on a significant detail. To use my recent example, we cannot properly understand the slack public spirit of the Early Modern Russian Other, without considering the structural conditions within

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[127] Plakans 1978 pp. 77–99; Plakans 1983 pp. 167–206; Palli 1983 pp. 207–16; Plakans 1987 pp. 163–75; Auns 2000 pp. 65ff., 88f.; Mitterauer 1990 pp. 147–90; Czap 1983 pp. 105–51; cf. also Chayanov 1966.

[128] Mitterauer 1990 pp. 160–85; cf. Walters 1926 p. 161ff. For problem formulations on the long-term in Eastern Europe, see also Plakans 1987 p. 173f.

which this operated. Falling back on customary rules may have given better opportunities to the underdog than resorting to public law and free debate.

The origins of these differences in the *longue durée* are of particular interest for the problem studied here—an unsettled cultural border under pressure from the West. In this context, we must also bear in mind the complex and somewhat traumatized research traditions of many eastern countries, with the heavy political pressures from many directions which they have had to bear. The popular image of the Middle Ages, at best based on a few good western European examples, is more than ever to be questioned when we reach the East Baltic shores. The most plausible models of production, distribution, household agglomeration, gender order and kindred systems are open to debate. We have to bear this unsettled historiography in mind when we approach the pre-European societies of Balticum.

A picture of the Rügians' value system

Helmold of Bosau offers a glimpse of the sharp difference between economic systems and culture caused by the swift advance of Europeanization at the beginning of the 12th century. It appears in the narrative of an expedition undertaken by Henry of Alt-Lübeck to the *Ranos* or Rügians, the inhabitants of the island of Rügen, off Vor-Pommern. They had recently attacked Alt-Lübeck, killing one of Henry's sons, and according to Helmold the following events were chiefly motivated by this.

The Rügians are pointed out as leaders among the Vends, due to some spiritual privilege in contacting the gods.

> From all the Vendic regions they seek oracle answers from here, and they pay sacrificial gifts every year. Not even merchants who land close to this place may buy or sell anything until they have sacrificed something valuable to their god; only then may they bring their goods to the market place.[129]

This information seems to refer to the magnificent fort of Arkona, where Svantevit was worshipped (whom Helmold mistakenly identifies

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[129] *De omnibus quoque provinciis Slavorum illic responsa petuntur et sacrificiorum exhibentur annuae soluciones. Sed nec mercatoribus, qui forte ad illas sedes appulerint, patet ulla facultas vendendi vel emendi, nisi prius de mercibus suis deo ipsorum preciosa quaeque libaverint, et tunc demum mercimonia foro publicantur* (HCS I:6).

with the Christian saint Vitus).[130] The Rügians may have intended to punish Prince Henry for questioning their claim of dominance, and the attack on Rügen could have been an attempt to bring the islanders under Lübeckian (Obodritian) leadership. The fighting could be considered an internal Vendic affair, yet it was clearly a clash between agents and re-agents of Europeanization.

Even though he was a Vend, Henry of Alt-Lübeck was a keen Europeanization agent. He was the son of a Christian and Germanised Vendic chieftain and a Danish princess, and as noted, lived next to a church and surrounded by an international trading community. In addition, the host he could muster was part Slavic, part Saxon: *eos scilicet qui de Holzatia et Sturmaria sunt . . .* 'those namely that are from Holstein and Stormarn'; representatives of the old Saxon community in the area. We see much of the event through the eyes of the participating Saxons, and the author reveals his high opinion of the prince.

The expedition[131] was undertaken a couple of years before Henry's death in 1127, according to Stoob's commentary, perhaps in 1123/24 (in which case it may have had some bearing on the embassy from Otto von Bamberg to Asger of Lund). It was a traditional winter expedition, making use of the frozen ice to reach Rügen: *Tractus autem ille maris contractior et qui visu traici potest . . .* 'where the branch of the Sea is so narrow that you can look over it'. We are invited to follow a traditional campaign, launched by one chieftain on a neighbouring people. The Rügian opponents are wealthy and prepared to buy their way out of the problem. While gathering his forces on the mainland, the prince is offered 200 marks for maintaining the peace. This is rejected, and the host crosses the frozen sound. No defenders appear until Henry has had time to re-gather and inspect his forces and they are ready to fight. However the Rügians send *flaminem suum . . .* 'a priest of theirs', with the intention of bargaining for peace. The negotiator offers 400 marks, soon raised to 800, upon which he gives up and says they will pay whatever is

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[130] The high status of the Rügians among the Vends is also mentioned in the initial geographic description (HCS I:2). However this passage is by and large copied from ABG IV:18 cum Schol. 21, and it may be that Helmold, by following Adam, misjudges the situation on Rügen in his own time. In HCS 6, Rügen is called *fomes . . . errorum et sedes ydolatriae . . .*' the seat of all mistakes and the centre of idolatry'. Helmold modifies the statement: 'Their priests (*flamines*) are as respected as the king.'

[131] The following narrative is quoted from HCS 38.

demanded. *Quatuor igitur milibus et quadringentis marcis pacem indempti sunt. . . .* 'For 4400 marks they then obtained the peace.'

After receiving hostages, Henry took back his host. It appears some sort of political agreement had been reached. The event gives Helmold a reason to describe the economic system on Rügen.

> However the Rügians have no coined money, and they are not used to paying for things with coins, but if they wish to buy something on the market, they pay it with linen cloth. The gold and silver which they obtain through plundering raids, capture of people or in whatever way, they either give to adorn their wives, or the treasury of their gods.[132]

In this case, however, the conditions seem to have exhausted the Rügian finances. This is revealed when the victor sends officials to cash in the agreed sum:

> Thus, in order to weigh up the tribute, Henry gave them (his officials) a scale with a very heavy weight; when they had got hold of what gold and silver there was in their public treasuries and what some of them owned privately, hardly half of the sum had been paid—I presume that they had tampered with the scale.[133]

This is excellent confirmation of some recent theories on the use of silver in the Viking Age, which I have not seen adequately used in discussion. According to these theories, silver was needed particularly for ceremonial distribution as socially significant gifts. Its deposition into hidden hoards has also been seen as a measure of religious protection. As noted, some scholars combine these ideas with the notion of a plunder economy. Supporters of this theory concede that some trade existed, mostly to help chieftains to obtain the most suitable gifts, and that silver could sometimes be used as a means of payment.[134]

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[132] *Porro apud Ranos non habetur moneta, nec est in comparandis rebus nummorum consuetudo, sed quicquid in foro mercari volueris, panno lineo comparabis. Aurum et argentum, quod forte per rapinas et captiones hominum vel undecumque adepti sunt, aut uxorum suarum cultibus impendunt, aut in erarium dei sui conferunt* (HCS 38).

[133] *Posuit igitur eis [nuntiis] Heinricus in appensione stateram gravissimi ponderis. Cumque exhausissent erarium publicum et quicquid in privatis suis auri vel argenti habuerant, vix medietatem persolverunt, puto statera delusi* (HCS 38) The last remark indicates Helmold's personal suspicions. Its chief value is the confirmation it provides that the story belonged to the traditions of this particular expedition, which he related with due scepticism. These Old-system practices are also known from several parts of Scandinavia. Cf. KL svv. Lögaurar, M. Már Lárusson; Verðaurar, J. Benediktsson.

[134] Lunden 1974; E. Christiansen 1980; A. Carlsson 1983 p. 116ff.; P. Sawyer 1985a p. 143ff., 180ff.; Lindkvist 1988 p. 31ff.; Christophersen 1989 pp. 109ff., 120ff.; Andrén 1989 pp. 585–609; Hagerman 1996; T. Zachrisson 1998; Sundqvist 2000 p. 186ff.

They would find some confirmation in the quoted discovery report.

But it is in fact ambivalent. Although Helmold attributes the temple hoards and private silver fortunes to plundering and ransom money for prisoners, he describes a system in which the pagan priesthood was taxing trade. Hoarding for religious reasons hardly diminished the economic value of silver. On the contrary, Helmold's narrative shows that it functioned as insurance savings, which could be used in particular times of need. We must suspect Helmold of being heavily biased against the Rügians, and we cannot doubt that the Europeanized Prince Henry's raid on the Rügians very much represents an encounter between two different socio-economic systems.

The early progress of a New system: some empirical evidence

In Prince Henry's clash with the Rügians the manner of handling valuables and means of payment are obviously markers of more general differences. Socio-economic aspects have been found embedded within broader ideas of culture, of belonging, of 'we' as opposed to 'them'. This is not to say that economic factors played a lesser role in the lives of these men and women than they do for people of our times. Even if they did not regard their activities as economic, we must assume that the spread of cultural traits, language, religious customs and political attitudes was very much decided by the places and forms of production, distribution and exchange. They were simply not differentiated as such.

Recent research in silver hoard material adds more knowledge to the picture discussed from an overall Baltic perspective. An example is Brita Malmer's evidence that, surprisingly, Viking-age silver circulated more intensely in Östergötland than on Gotland, where, according to Majvor Östergren, every farmstead seems to have possessed a silver hoard.[135] Another approach is made in a magisterial study by Birgitta Hårdh, who investigates the distribution of a certain type of neck ring, which she compares to the structure and distribution of coin fragments and *hacksilber*, weight-adjusted bars, rods, Russian *grivnas*, and some types of arm rings. This analysis, conducted over the entire Baltic Rim (and slightly beyond) suggests that

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[135] Malmer 1985; Östergren 1989; cf. Jonsson's (1997 pp. 7–10) overview of the Viking-age monetary situation on Gotland.

two economic regimes actually existed side by side around the Baltic
during the entire 11th century:

1. An eastern one, including Russia, the eastern shores of the Baltic, and
   the large islands of Gotland and Öland, in which silver was kept to
   a greater degree as jewellery, bars and rods, and not so many coins
   were cut into fragments.
2. A western one that started to form around 900, in which silver
   was frequently cut into very small pieces. Its area of distribution
   comes close to the area of influence otherwise known as Danish—
   from the islands around the Belts and Öresund, along Skagerak
   and Kattegat up to the Oslo fiord, and along the Vendic coast—
   with a corridor reaching up to the west coast of Kalmar sound.
   This forms the most distinct border within her material, since
   Öland clearly belonged to the eastern regime.[136] We may add that
   Helmold's description of the Rügians (which Hårdh has not used)
   illustrates a similar and equally sharp difference.

In Hårdh's view, these observations highlight the first advances of a
new way of life, with attitudes towards material and mental realities
that were characteristic of Continental Europe. However, they also
reveal strongholds of a more ancient system, which we can regard
as remnants of a previous exchange-system surviving to some extent
in the east. Hårdh rightly claims that the Danish region showed the
signs of market economy more and more as a prelude to European-
ization. This offers an explanation as to why Adam didn't find Denmark
so different from *Orbis noster* as the other world beginning in Sweden
and Norway. During the 11th century this very rudimentary market
economy gradually spread, at least to Öland and Gotland and into
the Swedish Mälar valley.[137] These observations not only provide a
first-class example of what I call *change qualitative*, they also offer a

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[136] Hårdh 1996 pp. 131ff., 165ff.
[137] Contrary to most students of the silver hoard problem, Hårdh (1996 p. 41ff.,
84ff.) does not focus on the extreme richness of silver on Gotland (and Öland). Nor
does she remark on the abundance of specific Gotlandic forms in the material,
except to quote Johan Callmer's suggestion that Gotlanders preferred to transform
foreign forms into their own. She overlooks the question of quantity and draws her
interesting conclusions from qualitative arguments—namely the structure of content.
I have another suggestion, which anachronistically could be termed *inflation*. According
to this idea, silver did not circulate on Gotland because it was of less value there
than elsewhere on the Rim, particularly in the Danish area. Transactions on Gotland
may instead have involved cloth, skins, etc.

detailed picture of an extended struggle between an Old Eastern and a New Western system, slowly unfolding itself over the Baltic like a frontier on the move.

That people were somehow adjusting is confirmed by comparing these patterns of change in economic behaviour with the most impressive aspect of the Scandinavian script culture: the spread of some 3000 carved and artistically composed rune stone monuments, erected by relatives or friends over deceased Late Viking-age individuals. The habit of erecting rune stones, which goes back at least to the Migration period, was by and large replaced by Christian practices in the 12th century. The chronology is under constant debate, involving runologic, historic, genealogic, ornamental and archaeological parameters. All these have their difficulties. However, it is obvious that in the 10th century, the handling of runic script was transformed from an exclusive and secretive ritual to a widely-spread practice at many well-to-do freemen's farmsteads.[138]

It is worth noting that this popular fashion of raising monuments— a classic sign of social identity crisis—follows more or less the same spatial procedure as the increase of *hacksilber* in silver hoards, as shown in Hårdh's study. Almost all the rune stones of this period claim to be Christian, with obvious ambivalence, since they often combine snake or dragon motifs with Christian verbal references and crosses— a clear expression of the syncretic compromise that Scandinavians were willing to offer the Catholicism of advancing western Europe.[139]

Starting in Jutland in the middle of the tenth century, perhaps inspired by the two royal stone erections at Jelling, by 1000 it had spread throughout Denmark and the Götalands of southern Sweden. In Denmark (except on Bornholm) the practice is thought to have ended around 1025, in Götaland somewhat later, with the exception of Gotland where it would continue for much longer. In the Mälar region, a particular group of inscriptions appeared early in the 11th century. According to Torun Zachrisson they signify the hinterland of the royal establishment in Sigtuna. Through an explosion of activity starting in the middle of the 11th century and continuing a few decades into the 12th, the Mälar region became the richest rune stone province of all, containing more than half the stock of preserved Viking-

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[138] Christiansson 1959 p. 43; Williams 1990 p. 127ff.
[139] See also Ch. IX:2.

age inscriptions, composed in ever more sophisticated designs.[140] At the same time in Götaland, and as far north as Södermanland on the southern shore of Mälaren, a new kind of runic-romanic monuments appeared called Eskilstuna-sarcophagi by modern researchers. These are clearly aristocratic in their elegance and selective distribution.[141]

The hard evidence of silver hoards and rune stones, independent of each other, seems to show a wave of growing western influence rolling over the Baltic, beginning in the southwest as early as the 10th century and engaging all the larger regions of Sweden by the turn of the 12th century. It can be seen as a premonition of that secular conjuncture that was to Europeanize the shores of the Baltic. Reading between the lines of Adam's text, it would have been this idea of a rising wave of cultural influence rolling towards the north and east that made him anticipate the discovery of that other world north of Denmark (Fig. 5).

Discovery reports on pre-European rural life in East and West

Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar is the earliest text I know that actually describes contemporary living conditions at two fairly equivalent settlements, one situated east, the other west of the Baltic in the midst of ongoing Europeanization. For students of the Baltic and Europeanization it is worth taking a good look at these descriptions.

In doing so, we must disregard the fact that the West Baltic description must be attributed largely to the west of the Sea. It is in fact Norwegian, but this seems acceptable since there is contemporary evidence to show that it is fairly representative for the east coast of middle Sweden as well. We must also accept that the East Baltic evidence is in all probability presented second-hand, which is easier since many of its details can be corroborated by additional knowledge. We must also remember that one is described from the point of view of an insider, whereas the other is observed by an amazed stranger. Finally we must be aware that the saga is a literary construct, spun around preserved poetry of a famous skald living in the 9th and 10th centuries.

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[140] The Scandinavian runic inscriptions are published in corpus editions; see Danmarks Runeindskrifter (DR); Sveriges runinskrifter (SvR); for further discussion see: S.B.F. Jansson 1963; Moltke 1985; Runesten i landskabet 1992. On the Upplandic wealth of inscriptions, see A.-S. Gräslund 1994; Benneth et al. [eds] 1994; T. Zachrisson 1998 p. 123ff.; for the case of Gotland, see particularly Staecker 1999b.

[141] Lundberg 1997.
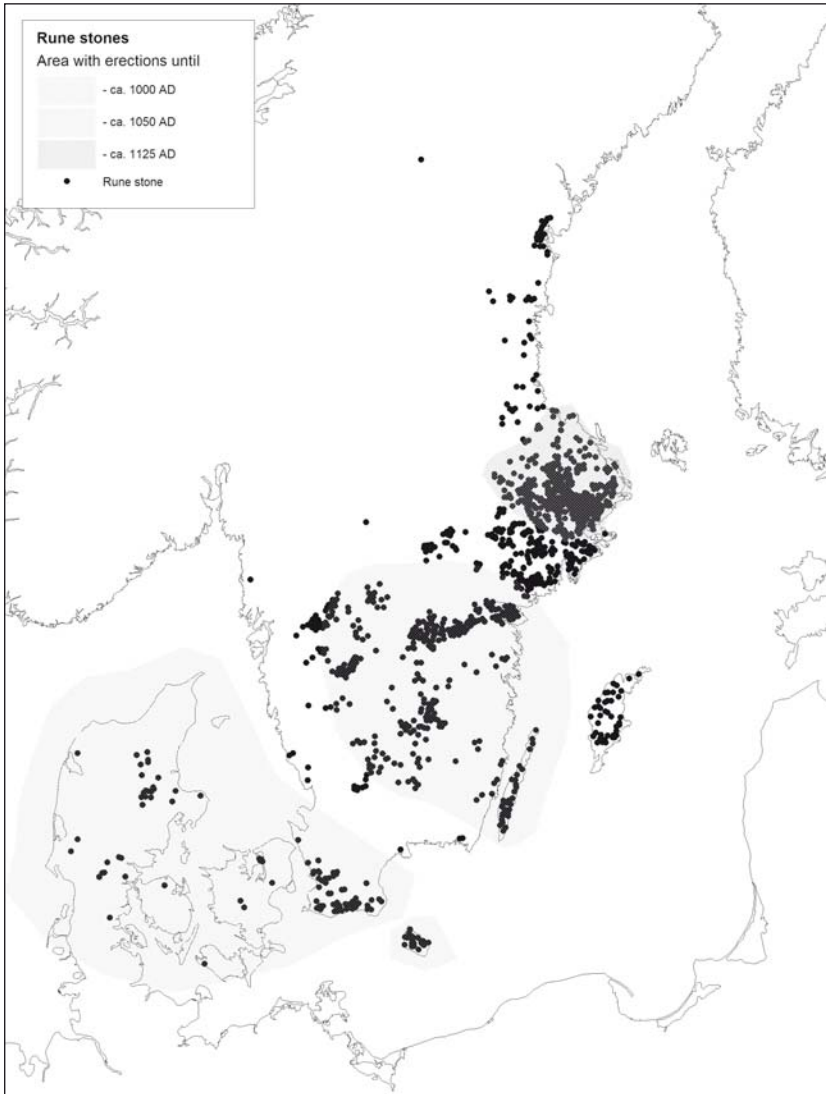
Fig. 5. Rune Stones.

The story, however, was written in the 13th century; a preserved text fragment is dated to the 1250s, suggesting a *terminus ante quem*.[142]

These shortcomings are normal. As a source for the lifetime of Egil, the saga is of little value, but its author has made great efforts throughout the work to set the action in recognisable topographical descriptions, thereby revealing extraordinary knowledge of thirteenth-century geography and socio-economic conditions.[143] With regard to what it is good at, the source-value of Egil's saga is in fact remarkably high. Medieval descriptions that allow comparison between the extremes of the Baltic Rim, based on contemporary observation, worked on by one single author and communicated within the same narrative context present a rare occasion. Let us use this opportunity and try to see these places the way they were seen by thirteenth-century eyes.

The description of Scandinavian daily life in a settlement is introduced in the first chapter of the saga, in which we are presented to the family around whom the narrative is spun. This family tends to produce two distinct kinds of personality, archetypal characters that we may call the *bonde* (commoner, householder) and the *viking* (adventurer) respectively. We get an outline sketch of *búsýslumaðr mikill* . . . 'a great manager of his estate' called Ulfr. Due to his peculiar mood at nights he is usually called Kuelldúlfr ('Evening wolf'). The first chapter is titled *Af Kuelldúlfi búanda* . . . 'How Kuelldúlfr lived', which underlines the intention of actually describing living conditions at a representative settlement. 'It was his custom' we hear 'to get up early and attend to the works that his men were doing, or if there were (temporarily staying?) craftsmen at work; furthermore he attended to his cattle and watched over his arable lands. Sometimes he talked to men who needed his advice'.[144] The latter may be a euphemism

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[142] F. Jónsson's introduction to the edition of Egil's saga, pp. xii–xx; cf. KL s.v. Egils saga, B. Sigfusson.

[143] Among proofs of the saga's trustworthiness is a description of the way Norwegian magnates taxed the Saami, a description of living conditions on the Friesland coast, and another on how lawsuits were conducted according to the law of Gulating. All these provide remarkably correct information. According to an idea said to emanate from N.F.S. Grundtvig, supported by Sigurdur Nordal 'with convincing evidence' (Magnusson), and later claimed confirmed by language-statistical studies, the author can only have been Snorri Sturluson (Nordal 1933 intr.); KL s.v. Egils saga, B. Sigfusson; van den Toorn 1959; P. Hallberg 1962; S.A. Magnusson 1984 p. 86.

[144] *Var þat siðr hans, at rísa vpp árdegiss, ok ganga þa vm sýslur manna, eða þar er smiðer voro, ok sjá yfer fénat sinn ok akkra, en stundum var hann á tali við menn þa, er raða hans þurftu.* Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar k. 1.

for locally recognized power. Later he makes a promise on behalf of *alla menn þá, er at mínum orðum láta . . .* 'all men that do as I say'.[145]

The description of Ulfr's son Grimr mentions further activities on the estate: 'He became a diligent man and a capable and ingenious smith (craftsman) in wood as well as in iron. In the wintertime he often went out in a boat to fish herring with the seine, bringing many housecarles.' Since the other son went away during the summers in Viking campaigns, we may perhaps see the combined portraits of Ulfr and Grimr as complementary variations of the stereotype Scandinavian householder.[146] Although chieftains by appearance, they are explicitly presented as commoners.

An early sign of approaching change is suddenly felt one day, as the king's messengers appear on the estate, suggesting that Ulfr becomes a royal vassal. He excuses himself, claiming to be too old. Grimr also refuses, stating that he will not pay homage to a king as long as his father lives.[147] Their opposition puts them in danger, but a (temporary) solution is reached when the other son þórólfr returns from his Viking adventures. He thinks differently from his father and brother, and is prepared to go to the king, particularly since he has heard that only the best of men are recruited to the king's guards, and that it is not only a great honour to be accepted, but also a way to obtain the best equipment in the country. 'I have also been told', says þórólfr, 'that no one will become a magnate who opposes him and refuses to submit of their free will. Some of them will have to leave the country, whereas others will become dependent peasants'.[148]

Since the author wishes us to believe that all this happened in the 9th century, the king is said to be Harald Finehair. However the story discusses a constitutional matter relevant to the political situation in the 11th–13th centuries, namely what attitude should be taken by greater freemen with regard to allodial and feudal landholdings. Ulfr and Grimr are clearly defending the traditional *odal*

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[145] Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar k. 5.

[146] *gjorðiz hann vmsýslumaðr mikill. Hann var hagr maðr á tré ok járn ok gjorðiz hinn mesti smiðr. Han fór ok opt vm vetrum I síldfiski með lagnar skútu, ok með honum húskarlar marger.* Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar k. 1.

[147] *Ecki vil ek, sagði Grimr, geraz lendr maðr, meðan faðer minn lifer, þuíat hann skal vera yfermaðr minn, meðan hann lifer.* Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar k. 5. For the Norwegian term *lendr maðr*, 'royal vassal', senior member of the *hird*, holder of districts and *veitslur* 'taxes' and with particular responsibilities within the *ledung*, cf. Andrae 1960 pp. 20–23; Bagge 1991 p. 124–29, cf. pp. 65, 72, 118f.

[148] Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar k. 6.

principle against more recent kingship theory. Hence we can read
the text as a metaphor of events connected to Europeanization.

   Some Swedish confirmation is found in *Vita Botvidi*, the life of a
mid-Swedish martyr said to have died in 1120. It describes a young
man living under similar circumstances to the two sons of Ulfr in
Norway. From his large estate by Lake Mälaren, Botvid goes to Eng-
land *negotiationis causa* . . . 'for the purpose of trade', together with other
high-ranking young Swedes, sworn into a *sodalitas* . . . 'companionship'.
Another time, to arrange a particular transaction, he seeks contact
with a fleet of merchant's ships going to Gotland. We also see him
una cum suis famulis . . . 'together with his servants' gathering on an
island with other provincials to catch fish, performing the same lead-
ership function as the Norwegian Grimr. As to the estate, we are
introduced to a *colonum terrae suae* . . . 'a colonist (or tenant) living on
his domains', even if this person is described as a pilot in the arch-
ipelago and nothing is said about agrarian activities. There may have
been thralls too. Botvid buys a captured *Slavum*,[149] although his motive
is said to be to Christianise the man and send him back to his native
country. After Botvid's death as a martyr a wooden church is erected
at the family's estate.[150]

   Botvid's social position is ranked among *nobilissimis viris*, but his
high standing is not related to royal vassalage. Kingship is not even
mentioned in the text. Nevertheless it reflects an ongoing social
conflict regarding claims to a new type of ownership. In connection
with Botvid's fishing, a fellow shore-owner wishes to extend his rights
to include an island which was traditionally important to the people
of a larger region as a base camp for their fishing. Botvid puts a stop
to his greed by working a miracle: the fish move to another island
owned by him, where everybody—even the greedy shore owner—

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[149] Cf. the Brev. Upsal. version of the text (SRS II p. 379 note *e*) is much more
articulate here, explaining him to be *hominem de Slavia oriundum, qui a hostibus captus,
jure gentium, servus hostium factus fuit* . . . 'a man originating from Slavia, that had been
caught by enemies and according to the law of peoples had been made their slave'.
[150] SRS II pp. 377–82. The preserved version is at best from the second part of
the 13th century. However we know from independent sources that the cult of
Botvid was in place around Mälaren during the 12th century. Most of the text has
been considered as very ancient in character, showing very little influence from
later models of composition. According to Toni Schmid it was originally conceived
as early as the 12th century, probably in connection with the translation of St.
Botvid into the costly stone church of Botvidakyrka (today Botkyrka, south of
Stockholm), dated by the text itself to 1176. See Schmid 1931 pp. 102–14. Cf.
Lundén 1944 p. 13ff.; KL s.v. Botvid, O. Odenius.

gets plenty. In the end Botvid speaks up, admonishing *provinciales et propinqui* not to deny anyone at any time what God provides by grace in plenty.[151] He is thus defending common rights to free fishing, which puts him roughly in the same camp as Ulfr and Grimr in the Norwegian case.

What attracts attention in both descriptions is the multifarious character of economic life. No particular interest is expressed in agriculture or livestock. Focus is clearly on more mobile activities, such as fishing, plunder expeditions and long-distance trade. However, neither saga nor *Vita* tells us what Scandinavian great estates looked like in pre- and early European times. The intended reader would already know, and topographical description was not yet a genre. According to archaeologists and human geographers we should imagine a large land unit, centred on a building complex with access to the waterways, a broad cluster of small buildings, one for each function, perhaps a large hall in a prominent position, and (from 1100 onwards) very probably a private church. Nearby there would be a large cemetery with a couple of fairly large mounds, perhaps one or two rune stones there or at the estate border, and occasionally within the land unit a couple of smaller complexes, where some of the followers lived.[152]

Many Icelandic sagas contain glimpses of everyday life in Norwegian and Icelandic settlements. What makes *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar* unique is that it provides a detailed description of a Curonian settlement as well. It appears in a short story, neither connected to what has happened so far in the saga, nor to what is to come. Its isolated character suggests it was included as a show-piece; an extra added by the author after having stumbled over some source to Curonian 'ethnography', obviously stemming from an eyewitness. In the course of events, some Danes appear; they might be a clue to the nationality of the informant.[153]

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[151] *deinceps quae gratis dat Deus vobis affluenter, ne alicui aliquando denegetis* (SRS II: pp. 377–79. Quotation p. 379). In Sweden, the broad regional elements were comparatively successful in defending their rights to collective fishing. I have met precisely the same conflict in the northern part of the country as late as 1477; see Blomkvist 1996b p. 91.

[152] Andræ 1960 pp. 85–98; Larsson, L. and B. Hårdh [eds] 1998. In the latter book particularly for a problemization of the settlement concept, see Arrhenius 1998 pp. 179–87; Zachrisson, T. 1998 pp. 165–200; Myrdal 1999 pp. 31–42; Tollin 1999 p. 191ff.; Connelid, Mascher and Widgren (in: Från stad till land) 2001.

[153] This conclusion is supported by the existence of a similar 'meaningless' but detailed description of an adventure in Friesland.

The Curonian episode starts when a group of plundering Norsemen enter *ós ein mikinn* . . . 'a broad river estuary'. In the early 1200s, Danish interests were particularly active in the southernmost part of Curonia and Samland,[154] i.e. territories adjacent to the Curonian Spit, which was itself an extremely wide and remarkable river mouth. Having landed, a group of twelve Norsemen walk *yfer skóginn* . . . 'through the coastal forest' into *sléttur miklar ok bygder* . . . 'a wide agricultural flatland'. The Norsemen find and plunder an empty settlement (*bærr*), with *morg hús* . . . 'many houses', but in the end a local levy (*lið*) forces them to retire in between a double *skíðgarðr*, a palisade system, which gets narrower the further they retire. In the end, the twelve are captured by defenders throwing cloth over them. The Norsemen are brought to another[155] *bærr*, where plenty of people are around. Not only the active defenders but *þjónostumenn*, *þjónostusueinar*, *bjuggu reckjurmanna* are mentioned, i.e. various categories of servants and helpers, even thralls; they were to find three enslaved Danes, one of whom was a *varðueizlur* (steward), while the other two were *þjáðer* (working thralls).[156]

One person is mentioned as *maðr er bæ þann átti* . . . 'the man that owned (or held) the settlement';[157] technically he is a chieftain, but his title is given as *bóndi*, the key concept which signifies a householder and freeman, no more, no less. The *bóndason* is also mentioned, as a rather immature individual. The physical layout of the place is exotic enough for the author to point out detail after detail. The entrance between palisades seems to be leading upwards since cloth could be thrown over an advancing enemy. The prisoners are brought up to the settlement, locked into a long timber house, parted into three rooms by plank walls, the middle room holding a cellar, and one of the

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[154] Cf. Nyberg 1989 pp. 235–61; Žulkus 1998.

[155] It must have been another settlement than the empty one where they had been running in and out of houses for a considerable time (*ok dvaldiz þeim þar lengi*), since it is later shown that they needed a guide to find their way in the one where they were imprisoned.

[156] Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar k. 44.

[157] Cf. Andræ's (1960 p. 69f.) discussion of the rune texts regarding Jarlabanke, an eleventh-century Swedish chieftain: according to one text he *atti bu þensa* . . . 'had this village', according to another *alan tabu* . . . 'the whole of Täby', and according to yet another he *atti allan huntari* . . . 'the entire hundred'. According to Andrae his ownership of the village of Täby would have been allodial, whereas his having 'the entire hundred' must have been feudal in some sense. The difference between 'owning' and 'disposing' was obviously not yet fully developed.

side rooms being a granary. After this, the Curonian leader and his friends sit down to celebrate *í stufu* i.e. in a main house or hall, with sitting space for scores of people. We are later to know that it had a projecting roof, made dense by birch-bark.

When night falls, the Norsemen escape. Following their progress, the description communicates the impression of a large, labyrinthine construction. Only with the help of the Danes do they find their way. During their sneaking around we are shown a two-storied *lopt mikit*... 'huge loft', with a gallery leading to the first floor, where the *bóndi* has his private quarters, with his sleeping place and arms storage. The ground floor is a treasure chamber, accessible only from the first floor.[158] The reader also gets a glimpse inside a cooking house (*frá elldaskála, í elldahúsinu*), where food is prepared in great kettles over an open log-fire. The author is eager to stress that they are moving around in a large, strange and definitely foreign settlement; clearly the extraordinary environment provides the actual interest.[159]

The organisation seems quite large-scale. Food is prepared in a centralised fashion, which indicates that the entire settlement might have functioned as one consumption-unit. Alternatively the feast given by the *bóndi* indicates some bond of mutual service between him and his helpers, in which the latter form some kind of *clientela*. He would have been the leader, with an obligation to provide occasional feasts.[160] I am inclined to believe that this Curonian leader was what contemporary German sources call *senior* or *Ältester*, belonging to a fairly

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[158] The description of the loft recalls a *Klets*, a 'packing-warehouse' or 'granary'. It was probably built of logs, but similar to preserved Gotlandic stone-warehouses. In its Balt-German form 'klete', it existed as a loan-word on Gotland, which is shown by GL 17:1—*til cletis*. To quote Gudirka (1991 p. 27), the 'granary played an important role in folk culture. It was usually a small building, made of logs, with small windows or no windows at all. Very often they were decorated with carvings. They were either divided into two parts or there were two granaries on a farm. The granaries were used for storing grain, keeping clothes and bedding, and were used as sleeping quarters for unmarried women—daughters, hired girls— sometimes even during winters. The men slept on hay in the barns. Newlyweds were let a granary on their honeymoon.' For the ordinary buildings on a Curonian homestead, see Eckert 1984 pp. 24ff., 41ff.

[159] Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar k. 44.

[160] As late as the 16th century the customary *vacka*-relation between (in those days) a German lord and his adherents is described (by Rüssow c. 49 [pp. 31–31a]) as a mutual eating and not least drinking party. Possibly the *vacka*-institution had its roots in a *clientela*-type relationship. Feasts as a means of establishing authority under similar conditions are referred to by Dodgshon (1989 p. 172) with regard to the Scottish Highlands.

common group of local chieftains which apparently formed a proto-aristocracy among the Balts. It is an open question whether all the military helpers lived in the big settlement or were summoned there in this particular case of need. Some may have belonged to the empty settlement which the Norsemen had ravaged during the day.[161]

That said, the palisade trap and the dense, complex, partly elite settlement-structure hinting social differentiation seem easy to classify. Obviously, the saga author has described what in Latvian is called a *pilnskalns*, a hillfort. East Baltic hillforts are characteristic, easily under-stood monuments of pre-Europeanised society. Many were in active use well into the 13th century. Several types existed, from fortified single homesteads to centralised, densely populated proto-towns. Typically the fortifications consisted of timber constructions and earth-works, often built on steep slopes in meandering valleys of streams and rivers. In ancient Curonia the number of hillforts rose to almost 150. More than 25 had complementary *Hakelwerke*, small proto-urban suburbs, at their feet.[162] In Curonia in particular, hillforts were sur-rounded by *borgsokinge*, well-defined 'parishes' formed by the outside-dwellers who belonged to a certain hillfort. The expression is thought to come from an earlier Scandinavian influence.[163]

In the wealth of details, the saga observations on East Baltic earth-works and wooden architecture seem quite convincing. Evalds Mugurēvičs has discussed their reliability. The *skíðgarðr* is very well matched by a 60m long approach, flanked by two protection dykes, to the Curonian hillfort of Sabile. The inner dyke was strengthened by a fence, the outer by an even stronger palisade. For an equiva-lent to the house where the Norsemen were imprisoned he points to an archaeological find in another Curonian hillfort, that of Talsi—a house with two rooms, one of which also had a cellar. In another house in the same complex, many samples of birch-bark roofing were found.[164] Add to these significant details the correct general descriptions

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[161] Describing conditions among the neighbouring Livs, Henry of Latvia states that on getting information of an approaching enemy the *seniores* sent word to their wives and children to move into the hillforts, indicating that even the leaders may have lived in villages under peaceful conditions. *Quo audito seniores Livonum festinantes ad uxores et pueros suos, ut eos salvarent ab inimicis, reversi sunt unusquisque ad munitiones suas. . . . et omni populo in castris existente ipsi villas vacuas et ecclesias incenderunt* (HCL XIV:10).

[162] Moora and Ligi 1970 p. 54ff.; Urtans 1994; Mugurēvičs 1997 p. 85ff.

[163] Dopkewitch 1933 pp. 15ff., 40f.; Žulkus 1999b p. 137f. (with further references).

[164] Mugurēvičs 1997 p. 89f.

of the Curonian coastal zone, the overall character and complexity of the hillfort, and its potential *Hakelwerke* included nearby, and the saga seems to present a genuine eyewitness description of a Curonian hillfort at the height of its development.

Egil's saga thus presents two settlements from around 1200, representing the East and West of the Baltic respectively, both seen via the same personality and described in the same Scandinavian terminology. These qualities make it relatively easy to conclude that they represent roughly the same social standing: each a *bær* headed by a *bóndi*, who *de facto* is a local chieftain, not only with many housecarles or servants, but also in control of a neighbourhood *clientela* or network for mutual protection and service. Obviously both settlements represent some kind of cultural ideal: the large units in which people of substance resided, those who were the backbone of the country.

These similarities are one instance worthy of observation. Another is the absolute normality recognised in the Scandinavian case, where knowledge is taken for granted and no descriptive details are needed, compared to the fundamental Otherness communicated in the Curonian case. The narrative in which the latter is presented is a mere stereotype; the main feature is clearly the exoticism of the settlement itself. The aggressive Norsemen are fooled into an elegant trap and caught with methods that are clearly outlandish to the Nordic mind. The settlement is so complicated that they cannot understand it. Some symbolic message seems to be written into its physical expression, perhaps awareness of its un-Nordic intricacy and complexity, which in turn reflects the richness and cruelty of the twisted Curonian mind. This impression is not altered by the fact that the description is realistic and able to resist a confrontation with other sources.

Even if both descriptions were written at the precise moment around 1225 when continental European forces were gaining a lasting foothold on the East Baltic coast, they reveal only faint signs of oncoming change. Nevertheless the strengthening of multi-regional kingship ascribed to Harald Finehair rather resembles what the twelfth- and thirteenth-century kings of Norway were up to. As for the Curonian story, rising interest everywhere in the 'wild east' may be the reason why the author put it into the saga. The violent destruction of the Curonian settlement may also refer indirectly to the Europeanization activities taking place in the East Baltic in the name of Christianisation. To single out one detail, Grimr's absolute refusal to obey anyone but

his father is a possible reference to an authority over complex families which has been said to characterise the 'tribal family'.[165] The immature suggestions by the Curonian *bóndason* may be another reference to a similar situation. By 1225 this would be an old-fashioned attitude indeed, at least in Scandinavia. All in all, the historicism of the narrative may be a conscious anti-Europeanization attitude, a strategy of looking backwards for guidance in a world threatened by change.[166]

In any case we are given pictures of two quite self-assured cultures. Life on the *odal* settlement is seen as a model to be envied, and a man like Grimr obviously feels very sure in his mind of turning down the royal invitation. The Curonian picture conveys exactly the same self-assured identity, albeit seen from an outsider's perspective. With their cunning arrangements and strategies these Balts play a cat-and-mouse game with the ferocious Norsemen, overpowering them with ease before locking them up and disregarding them, in order to enjoy the pleasures of their exotic culture (which of course was a mistake, according to the saga). Although antithetically different to each other, the two descriptions seem to mirror an unbroken, indigenous Baltic World at the dawn of Europeanization.

Two pictures of Europeanization at the level of villages

For contemporary descriptions directly focusing on the problem of Europeanization I have previously turned to two other settlement descriptions from the 13th century. They are not by the same author and are not even similar sources, but they make an east-west comparison meaningful, which is why I will recapitulate some of my previous observations here. The first text is of roughly the same age as Egil's saga. From the aspect of source criticism, it is much better. We know who wrote it and when, with a high degree of confidence; we know the name and exact position of the settlement, and we can be sure that the author had been there several times. The author is Henry of Latvia, his time of writing was 1225–27, and the settlement is the village of Suur Kareda in Järvamaa, Estonia.

Henry invites us to see Kareda as a prominent representative of Estonian settlements, *pulcherrima et magna et populosa* . . . 'beautiful, big and populous'. Situated where two high roads crossed, it was a useful

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[165] Mitterauer 1990 p. 160.
[166] von See 1999; Blomkvist 2002.

place to the conquerors, who frequently chose it as their base camp during plundering campaigns in the rich neighbourhood. The Osilians, main defenders of the old order, did likewise, at least in a notable instance in 1220, which Henry describes from a first person plural perspective, thus revealing himself as an eyewitness. With the skill of a war correspondent, he lets the reader follow the Christian force that reclaimed the settlement one winter morning. We approach it across the large clearings surrounding the village, where we find the first occupant Osilians, whom we pursue in among the buildings, fighting them and their hastily gathering countrymen on the village streets, among the houses, even climbing onto the roofs and the high log staples in between; every Osilian is killed, even those seeking shelter in the sacred grove and the holy forest near by. When it is all over, and the corpses of the fallen heathens are paraded on the ground, released Jerven women come forward to beat and to spit at them.[167]

Writing it down only five years later, the forceful memory has compelled Henry to reveal something of the settlement's shape and structure, something of the grouping, height and character of its houses; indirectly something of its intensive agriculture in the surrounding open fields, and the systematic use of the large forests further away. As such we can add it to the list of settlement descriptions in thirteenth-century literature. It is neither a hillfort nor (as far as the description allows us to see) a chieftain's residence, but a large village. The description suggests the larger and more complex village type, irregularly and concentrically formed around crossroads and/or a well in the middle of its arable lands, which literature classifies as *Haufendorf*.[168] As such we find it in the earliest preserved cadastral map (18th century), and it is visible even when we visit it today. However it also bears witness to something else—violent Europeanization.

Referring to the year 1211 Henry wrote: *Erat autem tunc villa Carethen pulcherrima et magna et populosa, sicut omnes ville in Gerwen et in tota Estonia fuerunt, que postmodem omnes sepius a nostris vastate et incense sunt* . . . 'In that time, the village of Kareda was very beautiful, large and full of people, as were all villages in Järvamaa (Jerven) and in Estonia as a whole, that often later were deserted and burned by us.'[169] Probably

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[167] HCL XX:6.
[168] Johansen 1933 pp. 232, 235, 243; Ränk 1972 pp. 155–65. Cf. Lang 1995 (summary) p. 607ff.
[169] HCL XV:7.

written in 1225, these words indicate that Europeanization brought
havoc to the daily life of ordinary people in Estonia.

Henry's comment seems remarkably unprejudiced. Showing the
murderous zeal of Christian conquerors,[170] some heroic pagan resis-
tance from the side of the Osilians that however raised only hatred
among the Jerven women they had come to (at least somehow) lib-
erate, and revealing growing remorse inside the participating mis-
sionary; the snapshot from 1220 bears them out.[171] However, reaching
the end of his narrative, the chronicler senses a great victory for the
forces of Europeanization. This feeling is represented even in Kareda,
when in January 1226 the people of Järvamaa are summoned there
to meet the papal legate, Cardinal William of Sabina, who has come
to thank them for their faith and bid them welcome into the great
context of Catholic Christianity.[172]

My fourth and last eyewitness example of Europeanization in ordi-
nary places is again from the western side of the Baltic. It is found
in a clause prescribing the regulation of villages in *Östgötalagen* (ÖgL),
the law code of Östergötland and adjacent parts of Småland and
Öland in southeast Sweden, from around 1280. Of course it is no
eyewitness description in the true sense of the word, but the editor—
probably the law-speaker Bengt Magnusson—often produces con-
crete pictures to establish the points of law, which in turn must fall
back on his own observations. This is clearly the case in the section
on the lawful building of villages, the *Byggningabalk*, which is totally
preoccupied with measures to change old roughly-grown villages (per-
haps looking a bit like Kareda) into regularly shaped settlements, in
which the immovable content of each homestead is represented by
the width of its toft abutting to the village street, as well as pro-
portionally carried out in the division of selions in the arable fields.
Village regulation made the tofts of each homestead serve as its own
cadastral document, legible to illiterate people. Implying the introduc-
tion of the two-field system and several technological innovations,
and necessitating much discipline among the villagers, these ideas would
benefit those who wished to increase agricultural production, although

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[170] Being a country pastor, Henry could easily blame most of the violence on mili-
tary ruffians. His criticism seems directed chiefly towards the Brethren of the Sword.
[171] Blomkvist 1999 pp. 10–13.
[172] HCL XXIX:6.

not those with different priorities. These rules represent Europeanization too, and the law-speaker must have seen it happen many times.

Instead of conquest, however, this change was achieved by fairly simple legal measures. The method is revealed by the prescription that any owner of minimum 1/6 of an *attung* (the land unit used in those areas, one *attung* loosely indicating the size of a 'normal' homestead) had legal right to demand regulation. Thus minor landowners were encouraged to bring about change; they did not even have to live in the village. Would this indicate Europeanization of a totally different brand, spreading equal rights to lesser people? Its introduction may well have been argued as a reform demonstrating every man's equality before the law. However, those owning small homesteads or plots in villages where they didn't live were as a rule major landowners, whose property was dispersed in clusters spread over several villages adhering to an administrative unit, a *curia*, not too far away. These were the owners, normally belonging to the ecclesiastical or secular *frälse* (proto-nobility), who were able to use the law to obtain regulation even against the wishes of the locals.[173] Regulation of village land was a measure in favour of this type of ownership, turning each homestead into a commodity, easy to define, value and trade. The necessary precondition was of course that those who had power to influence the spirit of the law had already been won for Europeanization.

Clearly some notable differences existed between Scandinavian and East Baltic settlement cultures even before Europeanization. The saga and St. Botvid's *Vita* convey the impression that the pre-Europeanized Scandinavian estate was economically diversified, not particularly devoted to agriculture (which was said of the Danes as well, by a German visitor in the 1120s), yet engaged in exchange activities with the outer world. In comparison, both East Baltic pictures seem to stress agriculture and forestry activities much more, but not exchange (which may of course be lacking in the sources by mere accident). However the most striking difference is that even a large *bonde*-chieftain's settlement seems to have been an open one in Scandinavia, whereas the equivalent East Baltic estate focused on a hillfort.

We can also compare the different ways they were approached by the forces of change: the Scandinavian one by royal messengers

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[173] Blomkvist 1999 pp. 13–15.

pro-posing submission, the Curonian one by uncompromising, blood-
thirsty strangers. I am aware that this comparison is somewhat haz-
ardous. To see Egil's assault as an expression of Europeanization is
not justified by the text itself; it needs an understanding of the author's
context when writing it. On the other hand the Estonian village of
Kareda was an open settlement, apparently without a chieftain-style
leader. The few moments of its Europeanization that we witness are
enough to tell us that the village was violently overpowered. In com-
parison, the village model of the ÖgL also shows an open village
without an obvious leader, but we see no signs of conquest, even if
the law demonstrates that it was easily Europeanized by pressure
mechanisms from its outer world.

Another difference, also evident in Egil's saga, is that kings (or
power groups headed by persons claiming kingship) were expanding
their spheres of influence in Scandinavia, even before the beginning
of active Europeanization, whereas we hear almost nothing about
the formation of multi-regional polities in the East Baltic territories.[174]

Early application of Orientalism to Russia

I have suggested that the Kievskaya Rus was just another Viking-
age realm. I will refrain from offering any hasty resolution to the long
and hotly-disputed problem of the political role of the Scandinavians
during the gestation of this first Russian polity—except for the obvi-
ous statement that they must have had quite a strong impact. Even
if Scandinavian penetration began during the western conjuncture
which still existed in the early 9th century, it was soon to be involved
in the eastern conjuncture, from which the Rurikid realm probably
profited even more than the Scandinavian countries. The changing
conjonctures of the 970s made no immediate difference in their respec-
tive material strength, since the Kievskaya Rus was able to continue
as a link between the eastern Mediterranean and the Baltic.

However, Russian acceptance of Byzantine Christianity in 988 and
the Slavicization of Russian culture gradually alienated the country
from its Scandinavian neighbours. A variety of sources confirm that
close relations were still maintained in the 11th century, at least be-

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[174] According to HCL I:3 and a few other references, a weak supra-regional
influence was maintained over some East Baltic tribes by Russian principalities in
pre-Europeanized times.

tween Scandinavia and the northern Novgorodian core area. By that time Kievskaya Rus was probably an economic great power compared to its Nordic neighbours, and Novgorod and Kiev are pictured as attractive commercial metropoles in several Norse anecdotes. The links were certainly severed by the great schism that occurred between Rome and Byzantium in 1054 (Chapter Two above), but as has been pointed out by John Lind, it took at least a century for the consequences to have any decisive impact on the Baltic Rim.[175] When we consider that the innovative Europeanization agent Knud Lavard was eager to connect the commercial potential of Schleswig to the eastern market, we can see that as late as around 1120, the eastern Old system maintained a strength that early Europeanization agents found competitive.

Compared to the Scandinavian impact, Western expansion brought a set of ideas and values and a mental outlook and spirit that gave a much more fundamental character to the encounter.

To illustrate this, I have picked out a detail from the PVL which provides a picture of an encounter between Eastern and Western mentalities in 1075. Having been shown the treasures hoarded by Svjatoslav, the *pro tempore* Grand Duke of Kiev, a visiting *Nemets* (in this case probably a German)[176] is heard commenting: 'This is of little value, since it lies dead. *Muzhi* (men) are better than this, since there is more to be gained with men than with this.' The chronicler uses these words to criticise the Grand Duke's vanity, not (at least not directly) the Western attitude. King Hiskia of the Jews, he says, had boasted in this way to the envoys of the Assyrian king, whom Babylon had robbed of everything.[177] Even if a Biblical *topos* is offered, we may suspect that the anecdote carries a contemporary meaning as well. Whether the decisive word *Muzhi* is interpreted as 'warriors' or 'peasants', it suggests a difference in attitude between Orient and Occident that is more prophetic than casual. The ironic comment by a visiting *Nemets*, which the chronicler twists into a warning to

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[175] Lind 1990 p. 20f.; Lind 1992; for the trade relations see e.g. Attman 1944.

[176] For the interpretation problem of *Nemets*, *Nemtsy*, see Ch. VII:4.

[177] PVL s.a. 6583 (1075). I follow Oxenstierna's Swedish translation (1998 p. 161). Svane (1983 p. 290) has the same sense. Norrback (1919 p. 116), however, translates: 'Then it is better to have peasants. With them it is possible to gain more goods than this.'

an expansive superpower, is made even more significant by the high
likelihood that the visitor was Burchart, Dean of Trier, who led an
embassy to Svjatoslav in 1075.[178] Dean Burchart's mission may well
have been a part of a complex political game played around the
older brother of the boastful Grand Duke.

The *topos* could be a snapshot of day-to-day politics in a Rus that
was still balancing between East and West. While Scandinavian
influences were already diminishing in the latter part of the 11th
century, the long and successful government of Jaroslav the Great
had brought many European contacts, which remained intact after
his death in 1054. The older brother, Izjaslav, may have had a better
right to the throne of Kiev, but he was leading an itinerant life in
western Europe. Having in turn approached Boleslav II of Poland and
Henry IV of Germany for help (he met Henry in Mainz at New
Year 1075) he did not receive much support until he addressed Pope
Gregory VII. By agreeing to accept his kingdom as a benefice from
the chair of St Peter, Izjaslav (Gregory calls him *rex russorum*) gained
a letter that induced Boleslav to assist him, and on Svjatoslav's death
in 1076 he was reinstalled on the throne of Kiev. He immediately
began building a church in honour of St Peter. Izjaslav may have
represented those who wished the Church of Ukraine to be inde-
pendent, whereas Svjatoslav stood for keeping ties with Byzantium.[179]

Returning to structures, I was interested to find an argument in the
Knýtlinga saga (during Viðgaut's negotiations with the Novgorodian
king over Knud Lavard's proposal) that reveals obvious similarity to
that of the *Nemets* in Kiev of 1075. We may recall that Viðgaut pre-
sented his client as a hero to all young men in the Nordic countries.
In relating this, I held back the following conversation: the king
retorted that, as far as he could see, Knud's realm was quite small,
a mere *hertogadóm i Danmörku* . . . 'a duchy in Denmark.' Viðgaut con-
tradicted him, saying, Knud has something that is better. 'What's
that?' asked the king. *Mannkosti skall hann hafa um fram flesta aðra, ok
er þat meira vert en mikit fé eða ríki* . . . 'He will have more men eating
his food than most others, and that is more valuable than much goods

or land.'[180] The Icelandic *scriptor* makes virtually the same point as the *Nemets* in Kiev, that it is better to have men than riches. Both cases exemplify cross-cultural discussions between Europeanization agents and Russians. As stereotypes they indicate a conservative Eastern attitude approached by a more progressive Western attitude. The second example makes it clear that 'men' is a metaphor for power.

The conservative Russian attitude expressed in these anecdotes is of further interest. I have already discussed the hoarding of riches and a policy aimed at homeostasis, in the discovery report on the Rügian economic system. Jumping to conclusions that similarities are due to both examples being Slavic would be premature. We have seen that the practice of passively hoarding wealth was a characteristic of the entire world east of the Elbe until around 1100 AD. Another similarity between the Rügian and Russian examples is that they are contrasted to obvious Europeanization agents; the spokesman of the core area *Nemtsy*, and the two similar figures Henry of Alt-Lübeck and Knud Lavard, both princes of Baltic Rim dynasties launched as German candidates for a planned Christian-Vendic kingship. The question that arises is whether the conservative attitude may have been true for the Old system as a whole. The advance of the Catholic World-system in the Baltic introduced an attitude in which men were more useful than hidden riches, not only for the purpose of war-fare—far from it in fact—but to fuel an economy in which turnover was steadily growing faster and reaching more levels of society. In time this ended in a cultural clash with Orthodox Russia.

4. *Facing the Utterly Different:*
Life Styles, Gender and Family System in the Baltic East

At the far end of West European expansion

East of the Baltic the Europeanization process began much later and was decided more quickly than the early expansion towards Scandinavia and the West Slavs, yet in some sense it became much more extended in time. By the turn of the 13th century the expansion process suddenly accelerated, and heavily-armed agents of Europeanization gathered on the banks of Balticum. Before long they had established

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[180] Knýtlinga saga k. 88.

themselves as masters of the land. Military control was achieved
in the 13th century, but in trying to expand the frontier further,
they appeared to reach the limit of what the Catholic World-system
could handle.

In a wide loop running from Brandenburg to Lake Peipus, a hilly
forest belt filled with bogs and lakes marks the end of the North
European plains. This landscape is an end moraine, a creation of the
Inland Ice. This was where West European expansion reached its end.
The forests developed into a borderland towards the Eastern Other,
as well as a cultural border still in existence and a zone rich in
unexpected encounters.[181] Today it separates the East Baltic countries
on the one side from White Russia and Russia on the other.

As an ethnological experience, the penetration of the East Baltic
countries was to be something very different from the earlier phases
of the Europeanization process. On the far side of the sea the
Westerners encountered communities which had had little or no pre-
vious influence from Western culture. Theirs were to be the most
radical cultural encounters of the entire process of Europeanization
on the Baltic Rim.

The warriors of Curonia

The introduction to the Curonian territory given in the Livonian
Rhyme Chronicle is as good as any:

Da liet bie des meres strant	There lies at the shore of the sea
Ein gegende heisset kūrlant	a land called Curonia
Die ist wol vumfzig mile lanc[182]	that is a full fifty miles long

The coast, a practically unbroken sandy shore open to weather and
winds, 50 German miles (around 350km) long, is the most significant
characteristic of the area. It is easy to see that it was dangerous to
sail along this exposed and frequently changing coast. Currents and
winds drove hard, and there were practically no havens to seek shel-
ter in.[183] More local detail is found in Egil Skallagrimsson's saga, in
the description already quoted above. In this source, some fifty years
older than the Rhyme Chronicle, the landscape described has a large

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[181] Selart 1998 pp. 134–38; Selart 2002 pp. 270–73.
[182] LRC vv. 351–3.
[183] According to SGD VIII:8 the Curonian shore is also a concept. For actual
harbours conditions, cf. Žulkus and Springmann 2001 pp. 167–83.

river mouth which can be sailed into, flanked by a coastal forest beyond which large fields and settlements open up.[184]

The passage via Gotland to Curonia required some 140km of sailing over open sea. The route seems to have been used by the Gotlanders as early as the 5th and 6th centuries, and there is a record of Swedish dominance over some part of Curonia by the 9th century, which will be discussed below. As indicated above, the wide river mouth described by the saga may refer to the Curonian Spit. There are not many broad river mouths along the sandy, constantly re-eroding coast, except the Venta, the outflow of Barta in Liepajas ez and that of Nemunas into the Spit. The latter is a fresh-water dam, sealed off from the sea by a long isthmus of sand which forms a truly remarkable river mouth compared to features around the North Sea, where the Icelandic author would have had his frame of reference. Even if the saga author based his image on a second-hand impression, it makes good sense as a representation of thirteenth-century Curonia.[185] Both the Icelander and the German seem to communicate some of its most significant characteristics.

The Curonian lands, known from the beginning of the Middle Ages, reached from the bay of Riga as far as the *Haff*. In 1338 the territory was divided between the Livonian and Prussian branches of the Teutonic Order. When, in the winter of 1413, the crusading knight Gilbert de Lannoy travelled from Gdansk (Danzig) all the way along the coast to Liepaja (Libau), he found a waste of twelve German miles in length without any signs of human settlement. It was called the shore of the Lithuanians.[186]

Later this southern part of Curonia was integrated into the Lithuanian province of Zemaitija (Samogitien). A large medieval emigration of Curonians into Zemaitija and even more remote areas, difficult for the Germans to reach, has been demonstrated in archaeological material.[187] In Lithuania today, the area close to the seaport of Klaipeda (corresponding to the Lithuanized part of Curonia) is said to be so different from the rest of Zemaitija, that it has been given a name of its own—*Lithuania minor*.[188]

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[184] Egils saga Skalla-Grimssonar k. 44.
[185] See OM 18:45–47.
[186] Bunge [ed.] 1847 p. 169.
[187] Žulkus 1995; 1999a.
[188] Kudirka 1991 p. 20f. The area of Samogitia has always been a part of Lithuania. However Olaus Magnus suggests that it was *Gothorum incolatu appelata* . . . 'named after Gothic inhabitants' (OM, Carta Marina: Lat Kom litt Ic).

If we return to the author of the Livonian Rhyme Chronicle, we find that he paints a very dark picture of the situation:

> *Vil cleine cristen mac an irn danc*   The poor Christians who by mistake
> *zu deme selben lande quomen:*   come to this very land
> *In werde lip und gut genomen.*[189]   will be deprived of life and goods.

Not only was the coast difficult to navigate, but there was a widespread belief that the Curonians were extraordinarily barbaric and gruesome towards foreigners. In the Carta Marina of 1539, Olaus Magnus still speaks of it as *terram curetum in quorum littore continua naufragia et minima afflictis consolatio* and explains in the German version that it *bedeut des Kurland do fiil schiff vunder geen vnd vvan sy dar uon kummen so haben die inuoner des selbigen landt kain barmherzigkait iiber sy.*[190] His message is exactly that of the Chronicle two to three centuries earlier—you are easily ship-wrecked on the Curonian coast, and even if you survive, the inhabitants will show no mercy. The sources may be biased, but hostile attitude among the Curonians towards at least some foreign sailors does not seem to be in doubt.

The Curonian way of gaining a bad reputation

Older sources tell us that the Curonians also spread fear far from their own coast. Henry of Latvia makes the general statement that both Estonians and Curonians had the habit of plundering the Swedish and Danish coasts.[191] Later I will treat at length an example of this activity, dated to 1170, when a great Curonian (Estonian and Curonian, according to Saxo) pirate fleet operated in Kalmarsund (Chapter Six). This is described in detail by Saxo Grammaticus as well as in the *Knýtlinga* saga.

Two other examples are given in Henry's own text, both occurring off Gotland. In 1210, when a group of German pilgrims (i.e. volunteers in the Sword Mission) were returning from Riga to Germany after a period in Livonia, they were surprised to find eight Curonian ships in Fårösund on northern Gotland. The German warriors impulsively attacked, but not prudently enough, according to Henry, which

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[189] LRC vv. 354–6.
[190] In his great *Historia* (1555) he exclaims that its only match is Ireland (OM, Carta Marina: Lat Kom litt Ib, AUSL Ib, quoted after OM 2:20 [Sw. translation 1909–51] with a commentary by John Granlund). See also Rebas 1978.
[191] HCL VII:1.

is why almost thirty *milites et alii* (knights and others) lost their lives. He describes how the Curonians gathered the fallen men, stripped them and divided *vestimenta ac cetera spolia* . . . 'clothes and other spoils' among themselves. Later some Gotlanders *devote colligentes sepelierunt* . . . 'devotedly got them together and buried them'.[192] In this instance we might feel the pilgrims had themselves to blame, and the author may have thought the *sens moral* was unclear, since—otherwise so purely chronological—after a brief notice of a Russian attack in Estonia, he returned to Gotland and an event that occurred five years later. This time it was about a group of pilgrims who, on their way to Riga in Frisian ships, succeeded in encircling and annihilating some Curonians somewhere near Gotland, provided *cum magna rapina* . . . 'with rich spoils'. These more successful pilgrims brought four ships and the entire booty to Riga *et oves infinitas, quas de terris christianorum spoliaverant* . . . 'together with innumerable sheep that they had stolen in Christian countries' (Gotland?).[193]

The Curonians' success in killing Germans in the incident of 1210 had, Henry continued, encouraged the already suppressed Livs on the Daugava. Messages began to pass between them and the Curonians, and further afield to Estonians, Semigalians and Lithuanians. All agreed that it was time to rid themselves of the Germans once and for all. Their goal was not achieved, but a very serious assault was made by the Curonians.

Henry describes this in detail, his use of 'we' indicating that again he is writing as an eyewitness. The Curonians had been lying outside the mouth of the Daugava for 14 days, he says, praying to their gods for help and casting lots to know when the time was ripe. Two cogs were also lying at Dünamünde waiting for wind. One foggy morning the men on board saw a great army come rowing in. The warships ignored the cogs and went on upstream to surprise the town. However, they were observed by fishermen early in the morning, who managed to get inside the walls and warn the inhabitants. The Curonians disembarked and formed themselves for battle. The battle lasted the whole day, except for a pause when the Curonians went back to their ships to eat. In the afternoon the battle became bloody and tough as the people of Riga had received reinforcements

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[192] HCL XIV:1.
[193] HCL XIV:3.

from several directions. If a Curonian was seriously wounded he was immediately killed by a compatriot.[194] In the evening the Curonians retired to the southern side of the river, where they remained for three days, burnt their dead and celebrated their memory. The Germans, self-confident after having got reinforcements, rode out and challenged them to battle, but the Curonians were occupied with their dead, and after three days they made a peaceful retreat.[195]

In this more detailed report a new dimension to the Curonian attitude appears. The picture of a very strict warrior culture is developed, and we find that it was regulated by deeply-felt religious customs and notions of honour. Another example of their serious outlook when dealing with foreigners is the peace agreement negotiated with the Germans after the foundation of Riga in 1201. Henry relates that when the Christians had agreed, peace was confirmed in the pagan way, *sanguinis effusione . . .* 'through letting of blood'.[196]

The Curonians, like the West Slavic Vends, were subjected to extraordinarily strong Christian criticism. A significant reason seems to be the Curonians' readiness to use violence; just like the Vends, they appear as combative and aggressive. But what does a second reading disclose?

Henry's story of the Curonians at Fårösund in 1210 shows the Germans making an unprovoked attack. Nevertheless, although preying on fallen enemies was far from being only a pagan custom, by contrasting the body robbing to the merciful Gotlanders who collected and buried the corpses, Henry succeeds in creating indignation over the ferocity of the Curonians. In close connection he inserts a narrative taken out of its chronological context, of how the German defeat was later revenged by plundering the Curonians. A close reading of the passage makes it difficult to find the actions of the Curonians crueller or less cultured than those of the German pilgrims.

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[194] The inclination to seek death rather than suffer loss and captivity is also witnessed for the Lithuanians. Most famous is the suicide pact at Pilénai in 1336, when the defenders burnt their belongings, killed women and children and offered their necks for decapitation. At least part of the execution was done by an old woman with an axe. According to a fairly contemporary author 'they did that according to their religion, and they regarded the death as much easier'. (Gimbutas 1963 p. 188).

[195] HCL XIV:5. According to Gimbutas (1963 p. 186f.) they had protracted funeral meals and sang *raudos*, lamentation songs to help the fallen find their relatives in the kingdom of the dead. Such songs have to some extent been preserved, she claims.

[196] HCL V:2. Cf. LRC vv. 177f., 199f.; Cf. Benninghoven 1961 p. 21f.

Furthermore, the attack on the Curonian ships in Fårösund meant that the Germans coming from Riga had unilaterally broken the peace which had been ratified by the letting of blood some years before. However, this ratification would not have meant the Curonians felt compelled to refrain from troubling Christians with whom they had not made a peace. Eventually peace was restored with at least some Curonians, evident from the German name *Vredecuronia* given to the part of the tribal area situated on the shores of Riga bay.

Ultimately, the Livonian Rhyme Chronicle's warning of the dangers which threatened Christians who fell into the hands of Curonians cannot imply more than that the Germans had no trading peace with some of the Curonians. It is noted that trading ships could unwittingly be stranded on the long shore. As we shall see, twelfth-century commercial powers like the Gotlanders, Germans and Novgorodians were already securing written legal treaties and developing legal customs advantageous to international trade in the Baltic area. Previous to and parallel with this, varieties of orally-concluded treaties were obviously institutionalised among many indigenous peoples. The fact that the Curonians could pass Gotland without being deterred might be because they enjoyed a mutual peace.[197] The problem may have been that there were no treaties between the Curonians and the Germans, and consequently the latter had little legal security when sailing along the long shore.

Looking more closely at the argument, the accusations against the Curonians appear stereotypical. They appear to have chosen a ferocious defence of old values and identity; even if they were subjected and nominally Christianized during the latter part of the 13th century, it would be a long time before their warrior-like and anti-Christian outlook was abandoned. According to Gilbert de Lannoy 'a sect' that continued to burn their dead in the pagan way still existed among them as late as 1413,[198] and only a handful of churches were built in Curonia in the Middle Ages.[199]

How is a warrior's identity invented and construed? Is it a function of exposure to aggressive neighbours? To what extent is it connected to social structure, kindred and gender order?[200] A discovery report

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[197] HCL VII:1, XXX:1.
[198] Bunge [ed.] 1847 p. 170.
[199] Kuujo 1953 p. 32.
[200] Cf. Gilchrist's (1999 p. 64ff., cf. 36ff.) discussion: 'Masculinity: the making of a warrior'.

exists that seems to indicate a connection between these aspects. It is of late date, gathered from hearsay into a general stereotype by a foreigner living far away, and born of a strong Catholic passion; yet it seems fairly well-informed as far as it goes. It is a narrative of deplorable marriage habits in the East Baltic countries, recorded by Olaus Magnus during his Italian exile, from stories told by Polish-Lithuanian colleagues.

The matrimonial customs among the 'Muscovites, Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Livs and in particular, the Curonians', according to Olaus, were beneath contempt, 'above all among the peasantry':

> Among these peoples marriage is made without betrothal through stealing a bride. Thus, when a member of the village community or a peasant finds that his son ought to have a wife, he summons his relatives, family connections and other neighbours and tells them that in this or that village a mature girl is living, whom he proposes they seize and give to his son as a wife. They now wait for a good opportunity and gather armed and to horse, as they usually do, at a certain farm and then set out to seize and run away with the girl. If she is suitable for marriage, they learn through informers where she dwells, and lie in ambush and seize her who, screaming loudly for help, implores her relatives and neighbours to liberate her. If then relatives and neighbours hear her cries, they haste (. . .) with weapons in hand and fight to liberate her. The girl goes to those who win the fight.[201]

Even if Olaus may be describing a ritualised game, rather than an armed and sharp practice,[202] we might see a cruel and aggressive outlook behind such a custom, which seems quite incompatible with the strict, religiously-motivated codes of behaviour in diplomacy, warfare and death which we have noted above. Probably the two attitudes are not compatible, since the narrative describes customs belonging to a different social situation, under foreign rule for some 300 years. Bride theft, as a practice rather than ritual, might reflect a situation in which

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[201] OM 14:9. The marginal notes refer only to the Curonians. Shortly before Olaus, Sebastian Münster (1550 p. 787) mentions the habit of bride-theft with unspecified reference to Livonian peoples. For *Lithuani* meaning Lithuanians instead of Latvians, and for far earlier evidence from Poland, Lithuania and Prussia, see Granlund (1951) comments to OM XIV:9.

[202] Marika Mägi, Tallinn, has pointed out a possible connection to later marriage customs in the Livonian lands, in which the groom and his friends come to the family of the bride and ceremonially bring her back with them to celebrations in his house. Her family arrive later, if at all. I am grateful for the information, which I believe may be a 'pacified' relic of livelier activities, clearly indicating its unilateral-patrilineal background.

an indigenous family system was under stress to change, perhaps due to Europeanization.The aspect that interests us here is whether the practice could have had its roots in the Curonian warrior culture.[203]

If so, it suggests a background of lineal feuding. Even in a ritualised game, if a participant had been killed, the risk of a clan war must have been immediate. We may also note that the habit violates the concept of using weddings to build alliances. On the contrary, it is degrading to the woman, and scorns her entire family. We may guess that the motive had something to do with avoiding payment of some price for her, according to the habits of an exchange economy. The most likely background is found in the reports of institutionalised raids on neighbouring peoples that we have for many East Baltic warrior peoples. More or less as part of the yearly rhythm, a host was summoned to invade and plunder the territory of some neighbour or other. Henry of Latvia repeatedly tells of the cruel monotony: villages were burnt, adult men killed, women captured and children and cattle brought home. Most of Henry's narratives concern the Lithuanians.[204] However, to understand the practice of bride-seizure, and the society in which it emerged, more knowledge is needed. Hence we will leave the long, sandy coast of the Curonians for an inland people who seems to be their absolute opposite.

The peaceful Latgalians

The land where the original Latvians have preserved their most significant cultural characteristics is situated in the forested and mountainous eastern part of Latvia. It is called *Latgale*, Latgalia, and is thought to be unusual not least as a domicile for many minorities. A common modern explanation of its numerous peculiarities is that it fell under Polish-Lithuanian rule after the breakdown of the Teutonic Order and, after 1772, was incorporated into the Russian government of Vitebsk.[205]

Scholars have seen peculiarities among the Latgalians at a much earlier date. In *Das Lettenland im Mittelalter* Manfred Hellmann launched the hypothesis that the Latgalian highlands are the key to understanding the whole pre-Christian Latvian culture. This was the last region to be incorporated into the Teutonic Order state, a good century later

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[203] Boserup 1989 p. 15ff.; cf. Gilchrist 1999 p. 37f.
[204] HCL IX:1–5, X:10, XI:5, XII:1–4, XII:6 & passim.
[205] v. Rauch 1977 p. 18.

than the rest of Latvia, but its culture had been influenced since the
12th century by pressure from the more expansive Livonic-German,
Lithuanian-Polish and East Slavonic-Russian areas.[206] There is much
in favour of this hypothesis. Texts from the mission period suggest
that the circumstances of the Latgalians differed from those of their
neighbours who lived closer to the coast or along the Daugava.
However this has been insufficiently evaluated in previous research.

A notable statement is made by Henry, the *scriptor* who actually lived
among the Latvians, albeit in a group forming a western outpost of
their tribe, in close contact with the Livs and others. However he
too singles them out as unusual, particularly for being extraordinar-
ily humble and peaceful compared to their neighbours.

> Before the Latvians accepted Christianity, they had appeared insignificant
> and despised. They had suffered many injuries from Livs and Estonians.
> Therefore they were very much delighted at the arrival of 'the clergy',
> since after baptism they all enjoyed the same law under the same peace.[207]

Shortly before this passage, Henry had described the conversion of
the people of Ymera, the Latvians whose vicar he was to become:
*Utpote a lethonibus sepius vastati et a lyvonibus semper opressi et per Theutonicos
sperantes relevari ac defendi* . . . 'They relied on the Germans in the hope
of liberation and protection from the devastation of the Lithuanians
and the oppression of the Livs'. They first asked their gods for advice
as to whether they should let themselves be baptized with their neigh-
bours from Tolowa, who had accepted Orthodox Christianity and
afterwards continued paying tributes to the Russians.[208] A similar
statement belongs to 1206, when the prince of Polotsk made an effort
to recover influence over the lower Daugava. Asking for support against
the Germans, he got an enthusiastic reply from the Gauja-Livs, says
Henry, while the Latvians did not react at all. *Leththi vero nec venerunt
nec nuncios miserunt.*[209]

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[206] Hellmann 1954 p. IXf.
[207] *Erant enim Letti ante fidem susceptam humiles et despecti et multas iniurias sustinentes a
Lyvonibus et Estonibus, unde ipsi magis gaudebant de adventu sacerdotum, eo quod (post) bap-
tismum eodem iure in eadem pace omnes simul gauderent* (HCL XII:6).
[208] *Nam Rutheni eorum tempore venerant baptizantes Lethigallos suos de Tholowa sibi sem-
per tributarios* (HCL XI:7).
[209] . . . *nuncios Thoredensibus et Leththis et paganis incircuitu, ut omnes contra Rigenses venirent
in expeditionem.* (HCL X:12). In a similar way, they had not taken part in the insur-
rection of 1212, albeit provoked by an encroachment from the Brethren of the

Henry also noted the Latvians' ability to survive in the forests. After the peace of 1225, *nec non et Letti de latibulis silvarum egredientes, in quibus annis iam plurimis tempore bellorum latitarunt* . . . 'even the Latvians came forth out of their forest hiding, where they had kept away during many years of warfare'.[210] They also showed tolerance towards ethnic minorities; Henry tells a remarkable story of a Vendic micropopulation driven away from the Venta valley by the Curonians. After they had settled in the Daugava estuary, the Curonians attacked them a second time, upon which *fugerint ad Leththos et ibi habitantes cum eis* . . . 'they fled to the Latvians and lived there with them'.[211]

No people would have welcomed the Germans more gratefully than the Latvians; we have Henry's word for that. In reward, their virtues were to be praised by the highest possible authority. The *scriptor* was obviously present in person in 1225 when William of Modena talked to a confederation of Brethren of the Sword, other Germans, and a great number of Vends and Latvians at the place which in German was known as Wenden (Cēsis). The multi-ethnic population indicates that the place was already a trading centre.[212] On that occasion, the papal legate thanked the Latvians because they *sponte et absque ulla bellorum perturbatione fidem christianam primo susceperunt* . . . 'directly and without any turbulence of war had accepted Christianity at once', unlike the Livs and Estonians who *baptismi sacramenta violaverunt* . . . 'violated the sacrament of baptism'. He praised their humility and patience and their efforts to Christianise the Estonians and other pagans, as a result of which some had been killed and gone over into the circle of martyrs.[213] Could a conqueror find better subjects?

According to Henry the true Latvians were meek, and were suppressed and despised by their neighbours. In the militant climate around the Daugava at that time, they definitely showed 'otherness', differing

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Sword on the Latvians of Autine. Hence they were allowed to keep the fixed measure (*mensura*), which had been agreed previously. The Livs on the other hand were compelled from then on to pay the full tithe (HCL XVI:5, cf. XV:5).

[210] HCL XXIX:1. Hellmann (1954 p. 70) has pointed out that Henry also tends to talk about Latvian settlements as *villulae*, in contrast to the *villae* of Estonians and Livs (HCL XIII:4, XII:2).

[211] HCL X:10.

[212] Jfr Nosov 1993; I. Jansson 1994. Another similarly multi-ethnic place in Latvian territory was *Kokenoyse* (Germ. Kokenhusen, Latv. Koknese) where the papal legate addressed *tam Theutonicis quam Ruthenis et Lettis et Selonibus cohabitantibus* . . . 'Germans, Russians, Latvians and Selonians' in 1225 (HCL XXIX:5).

[213] HCL XXIX:3.

diametrically from the Curonians and their closest ethnic kinsmen, the Lithuanians. However we cannot trust Henry's words alone; as a spokesman both for Bishop Albert and the Latvians, whose language he knew and among whom he was a vicar, Henry may have had his own reasons for describing the Germans as liberators and the Latvians as the most willing proselytes of Catholic Christianity. Moreover, his congregation lay at the western border of the Latvian range, far away from the real Latgalia. But even so, the problem is established; what can have encouraged one people to become aggressive pirates, while their next neighbours preferred hiding in the forests?

The land where women rode like their fathers

Sometime before 1280, the Teutonic Order had begun penetrating the wilderness of Latgale. The secluded communities found by the soldiers were described by the anonymous author of the old *Livländische Reimchronich*. The chronicle is by and large a piece of propaganda, exaggerating among other things the pagan threat and the heroism of the Teutonic knights. Occasionally, however, its author lets through a genuine impression, of which the penetration of Latgale has produced one. Whether he took part himself or sat listening to the after-campaign narratives, an interest in ethnology took command of his pen, and for a while the chronicle becomes a genuine 'discovery report':

Da nach liet ein ander lant,	After this comes another land.
Die sint letten genant:	They are called Latvians.
Die heiden schaft hat spehe site.	These pagans have strange customs.
Sie wonet note ein ander mite,	They do not live together with each other,
Sie buwen besunder in manchen walt.	but cultivate apart in many a wood.
Ir wib sint wunderlich gestalt.	Their women have strange looks
Und haben selzene cleit;	and wear extraordinary clothes,
Sie riten als ir vater reit.	and they ride the way their fathers do.
Derselben her hat grosse macht	Yet, their army is very strong
Wenne sie zu samene werden bracht.[214]	when they gather it together.[215]

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[214] LRC vv. 341–350.

[215] Even if the words were allegedly uttered around 1200, surely what they recall are visions of the author's present, when at last the penetration of Latgalia had begun.

The poet has observed a series of cultural markers which are worthy of consideration, because they seem so extraordinary to him, in the literal sense of the word. The statement that the Latvians were living/cultivating (*buven*) far apart from each other and in the middle of the forest confirms information already obtained.

The secluded life in the forests may well indicate an autarkical support system of the slash-and-burn type. Even if previous research has strongly denied this possibility,[216] it is supported by medieval observations of surplus cereal production from Latgalia, combined with products of large-scale hunting.[217] In addition there are claims from around 1500 that the woods were becoming sparse in the region, with resultant pleas for regulation of their use.[218] In fact 'old-fashioned' forms of agriculture, notably slash-and-burn technology, were observed in these eastern districts much later. In southern Estonia as in some other southern and particularly southeast Baltic regions, Moora and Ligi cautiously concede, the knowledge of ancient cultivation practices (foremost *swidden* agriculture) was kept into the 17th century.[219] This statement by scholars writing under Marxist auspicies, when slash-and-burn cultivation was disregarded for being primitive, means it should be uncontroversial to claim it as being widespread in the forested interior of Latgale around 1200.

But that is not enough, since these pagans also had *spehe site . . .* 'peculiar customs'. From there the *scriptor* moves to the women, who in his mind seem to be at the heart of the matter. On three points, Latgalian women deviate from what the poet expects: they have strange figures, extraordinary clothes and sit astride their horses.[220] All in all, they

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[216] Hellmann (1954 p. 68ff.) makes a grand effort to explain it as merely a reflection of the simple, pristine Latgalian livelihood in combination with the rather rough landscape. Cf. Meitzen 1895:2 p. 183f.; Eckert 1984.

[217] Tõnisson 1974 p. 165. In finds from the inland hillfort of Asote, about 28% of the collected bone material was from wild animals; in Daugmale and Aizkrakle only ca. 5%.

[218] Moora and Ligi 1970; Auns 1985; Pavulane 1988.

[219] Moora and Ligi 1970 p. 7. My attempts to understand the peculiarities of Latgalian livelihood would certainly have been much wilder without the helpful, mild scepticism (sometimes less mild) of erudite specialists like Muntis Auns, Arnis Radiņš and Janis Urtans, all from Riga, as well as Enn Tarvel and Marika Mägi of Tallinn. I thank them all.

[220] Hellmann (1954 p. 72) refutes the report of female horsemanship, with the strained argument that it belongs to a narrative of events that were a century old; he thinks the chronicler might have misunderstood his sources. However the riding habits of Latvian women are mentioned in the chronicle a second time. The context is a campaign in Latgalia contemporary to the author (vv. 9229–9232). In this second

behave extremely mannishly. According to our discovery report method, we should regard these observations as a series of significant details. Isolation, 'otherness', unusual female customs—there is a clear suggestion that the gender and family systems of the Latgalians differed from those of peoples living closer to the Baltic, whom the Germans knew better. With regard to gender it indicates the absolute opposite to the practice of bride seizure.[221]

However my aim is not to single out the Latgalians for their oddities, but to focus on the encounter between Europeanization agents and a new dimension of 'otherness' which reveals more pristine qualities than were found in settlements closer to the coast. This is not to say they were the only regional group to which these characteristics could apply,[222] but to judge from this source they seem to have been the first to present themselves in this light to the Germans.

Additional knowledge in law texts: traces of matrilocality in the interior

Finding details of daily life, such as the responsibilities and rights of women, is often a great problem since the sources usually omit what was considered general knowledge. However one group of sources, the so-called Peasant Law Codes, refers directly to the natives and can reveal their living conditions. They are at best preserved from the last period of Livonia's existence (the 16th century) and are written in variants of German.[223] Some of them show quite ancient forms, if the gauge of Europeanization is applied. The problem is of course to decide which gauge they should be assessed by. As a scholarly resource they are quite difficult to penetrate, and have been very little used by researchers.

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instance he may have been a first-hand witness. Thus it must surely have been the other way around and he has projected contemporary impressions onto an older context.

[221] The concept of gender refers to socially-constructed roles of male and female behaviour (as opposed to biological differences determined by sex), which according to the ongoing scholarly debate, forms one of the great parameters of any society and as such is 'a useful category of historical analysis' as Joan Wallach Scott (1988) puts it. Being one of the fundamental means of organising societies, gender is an arena for constant power conflicts, which is Wallach Scott's point.

[222] There is reason to expect similar conditions in the southeast of Estonia, not least among the Setumaa population on the Russian border. I am most grateful to Heiki Valk, Tartu, for explaining and in a memorable excursion demonstrating still surviving cultural traits that indicate this.

[223] Editions by von Bunge 1832, 1879; Arbusow 1924–26; Nazarova 1980.

The two most old-fashioned of these law codes are attributed to the Latgalians and the Curonians by their most recent editor E.L. Nazarova, who calls them LP and KP respectively.[224] While the attribution of KP to the Curonians is explicit in the text, which over time became valid among the Curonians, Selonians and Semigalians, Nazarova's attribution of LP to the Latgalians is built on indices. According to its preamble it was passed with participation from Livic *seniores*. In 1267 the Curonians were compelled to accept the code of the Livs, while a version issued for the Estonians and Latvians was passed for jurisdiction in Semigalia according to a peace agreement of 1272. Since there is a great general resemblance between LP and KP (which also claims validity for Semigalia), Nazarova finds LP fits for the Latvians.

According to the text, Livic leaders participated in the law-making process, whereas Latvians are unmentioned. Nazarova offers two alternative explanations: either an existing law code for the Livs was used as the pattern, or Livic *seniores* who were loyal to the Germans assisted as advisors.[225] She also claims to have found influences from *Russkaya Pravda*, which she links to the establishment of Russian or Russified princes in the Latvian centres of Koknese and Jersika, and to the escape of Vladimir of Pskov to Livonia.

LP is clearly the older of the two and is—I think rightly—supposed to reflect the first half of the 13th century.[226] KP has a *terminus post quem* at 1290, but may in parts be as late as the 15th century. Both contain clauses of great interest on matrimony and rules of inheritance, which to my knowledge have not been studied from the perspective of the discovery report mentioned above. Neither have they been illuminated by modern socio-economic and gender theories.[227]

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[224] *Kodeks prava Latgalov* = LP = Arbusow's B I; *Kodeks prava Kurshey, Zemgalov i Selov* = KP = Arbusow's B II.

[225] Nazarova 1980 p. 43–47. She thus rejects previous suggestions: von Bunge's that what Nazarova calls LP served the Livs and Latvians governed by the Teutonic Order, because she could not see the territory of the order established early enough in the 1200s. Arbusow's that it served the archdiocese of Riga, i.e. the Daugava and Gauja Livs, and the westernmost Latvians, because the archdiocese was not formed until the 1250s. The latter argument might not be good enough, since the *diocese* existed long before that. Nazarova however offers a hypothesis providing an explanatory historical context.

[226] Nazarova 1980 p. 53ff.

[227] Walters (1926 p. 95) is an exception, insofar as his work stresses the strong position of Latvian women and an 'original' matriarchy is suggested. However this is a brief outline of Latvian cultural history based on current anthropological ideas.

Even if Nazarova's attribution of LP to Latgale is inconclusive, it remains the most likely. These laws may have served a larger area for a period, but by the gradual development of other regions been confined at a later date to Latgale and possibly other remote districts.

LP's article on marriage is condensed and cut off at a decisive point, which is frequently the case when oral law is written down: *Item ein Mann der ein Wif nimbt, alle sine guter Sall siner frwen volgen. Is dat he will vonn er wesen, So is he quitt Acker vnnd alles gutes vnnd sine Sone vnnd dochter besitten idt dat de Erue nicht wegk nam de Son So vellet Idt ann die tochter vnnd an die moder.*[228] Roughly translated, this reads, 'Then a man takes a wife. He shall then let all his goods follow his woman. If he wishes to leave her, he will lose arable land and goods. And his sons and daughters shall possess them . . .' What is beyond dispute in this remarkable clause is its promotion of a principle that secures full control over mutual property to the married wife. The impact is clarified by an example; the man has no right to reclaim his possessions and leave. The mere existence of such a principle is a strong indication of a unilateral lineage order, within which the woman is granted a position of economic power. The foreseen circumstances of a husband leaving the household suggests it was matrilocal and matrilineal.

However, this is immediately followed without punctuation by a further clause specifying the rights of sons versus daughters and mother. It is signalled only by the conjunction *dat*, which scholars usually interpret as conditional. It is thus given the meaning that 'if a son does not take away the inheritance, then it will be given to the daughters and the mother.' To underline this interpretation the beginning of the clause has been emended *[Is dat] dat* . . . giving us, 'If it is the case (that no son takes the inheritance away . . .)', where the word *guter* is understood as 'movables'.[229] This interpretation is suggested by Leonid Arbusow and others, who seek the origins of the clause in western European *Landesrechte*, where the equivalent rule often automatically

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In a letter to me dated 1999−02−04, the CCC member Muntis Auns says this theory was commented on by A. Švābe (1936) in the spirit 'that it is hard in fact to speak about matriarchy, but rather about maternal rights'. Švābe's article is supported by a reference to the classic work of Bachofen and Baumler (1926).

[228] LP 10.

[229] Arbusow (1924−26 p. 36) seeks support for his view that *guter*, 'moveables' in the text's own distinction *is he quitt Acker vnnd alles gutes*. However this could also be a clarification that arable land was excluded from male resolution. In Arbusow's B II−§ 27 (= KP 27) the word *guter* clearly includes land, since it was necessary to specify that in that case the male gift to his wife was restricted to movables.

excludes mothers and daughters if the deceased has male issue. This reading also harmonises with the better-articulated equivalent clause in KP, but this may give little support to the suggested interpretation, since the latter text underwent radical revision at a later date.[230]

However, *dat* can also be read as intentional, which would give the clause another impression of female resolution regarding immoveable property: 'to prevent the son from taking the inheritance away, it will be given to the daughters and the mother.' A potential difficulty with this reading would be that *nam* indicates the past tense. This could no doubt be neutralised in a variety of ways, as being either an intended conjunctive, or a deliberate change from the original version in order to make it look 'western'.[231] It may simply be a misunderstanding by the German scribe. But this seems less important than the arguments that follow from the general impression conveyed by the clause. Interpretation on these lines is possible if we raise our minds from the grammatical function of each word and regard the syntax as a whole, while taking into account the social context of ongoing cultural encounter that produced not only this short clause, but also the discovery report quoted from the chronicle.

The text starts from the principle that all a man's property is to be given to his wife upon marriage, and stay with her if he wishes to divorce. It seems understood that in these circumstances he would have to leave the homestead, and his rights in it would go to his children of both sexes. If the son of such a dissolved marriage inherited everything, both mother and daughter(s) would be disinherited, which would give a strange twist to the principle. If the clause basically proclaims a patrilineal inheritance system, or a bilateral one with male prerogatives to property (in which daughters may have gained inroads through a later adjustment),[232] some reason must be found as to why this allegedly well-recognised order is expressed in such a turned-around way as *dat de Erue nicht wegk nam de Son.* The supposedly

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[230] Arbusow 1924–26 p. 36ff. refers to the older Westphalian Landesrecht in particular, and gives ample reference to previous research. Nazarova (1980 p. 46) is of no other meaning. The Sachsenspiegel, Landrecht I:17 has the same sense: *Stirbit der man ane kint, sin vater nimt sin erbe. Hat her des vater nicht, es nimt sin mutter billicher, wen sin bruder. Vater unde mutter, bruder unde swester erbe nimet der son unde nicht die tochter, ez en si daz da kein son en si, so nimt ez de tochter.* That western European law puts brothers before sisters is not a problem, and that KP is influenced by it isn't either, but since KP has been revised at a relatively late date, it cannot help us to interpret LP.

[231] The text is clearly somewhat crippled here.

[232] Arbusow 1924–26 p. 38.

normal pattern by which a son comes *to* his (patrimonial?) inheritance
is in the words of LP expressed as if he *removes* it! The only satisfactory
explanation for fathers and sons who remove their inheritance from
their mothers and sisters is a matrilocal context.[233] Thus whichever way
the conjunction is read, a holistic reading of the clause clearly excludes
both a patrilineal interpretation and a bilateral one favouring men.
Instead it implies a matrilocal order in which husbands leave their
(moveable?) property to wives, and sons *may* claim their (paternal?)
inheritance in order to be able to marry into other matrilocal lineages.

   In my view, the matrilineal principle of LP is reinforced by the
following clarification of the inheritance rules.[234] *Eine Wedwe wulange sie
Wedwe bliuet mit den tochternn heuet sie Erue. Is dat se sick veranndert, So
delenn de dochter dat Erue gelick mit der Moder.*[235] A widow inherits along
with her daughter(s) as long as she remains a widow. If she remarries,
the daughter(s) divide the property equally with the mother. Whatever
those who recorded this sentence read into it, it must have had its
origin in a matrilineal situation.

In previous analyses, the impression conveyed by the clause as a whole
has been crumbled into a heap of little pieces, from which a context
has been constructed in accordance with the theoretical standpoints and
overall attitudes of these scholars. These were based on the supremacy
and expansive capacity of western European (in those days called
Germanic) law. To Arbusow and his predecessors this was a simple
truth. At best they ascribed to the natives of Balticum some legal
practice within tribal or lineal customs. Neither could they recognise
any of the Russian influence that Nazarova claims to see; if any-
thing they may have noticed some echoes of Scandinavian law that
simply foretold the German expansion. The contents of the peasant
law codes are purely Germanic jurisprudence of a criminal process
and civil-legal nature.[236] So much has already been written on the

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[233] We must accept that men were entitled to own property, cf. LP 17. How else
could the bridegroom give what he owns to his wife? Alternatively a son taking
away his heritage might refer to a nuptial gift (provided by his mother and sisters)
for his bride.
[234] And by the fact that the male heritage right in KP is formulated as an excep-
tion to the main rule.
[235] LP 11.
[236] Arbusow 1924–26 p. 7. There is no clear reference to Christian matrimony in
the clause. In the peasant law codes we have to wait until the very late issue of Ösel-
Wiek for that. The vassal's obligation to bring his *Undeutsche* into Christian matri-
mony had before that been given in a statute of 1422 (Akten und Recesse I:299).

ethnocentric basis of such ideas, that I will rest by establishing its presence in the actual historiography.

Not surprisingly the Soviet-period editor Nazarova has expressed quite different views on the origins of LP. Regarding the inheritance clause, she could well have claimed some common background with the rules found in the matured third *Redaktion* of *Russkaya Pravda*, with better justification, I think, than any idea of western European origin.[237] However her discussion of this problem, and the Russian translation in her parallel text edition, follows more in the tracks of her Balt-German predecessors in claiming that this clause shows the influence of Catholic matrimonial legislation.[238] I believe she is hinting at a point made by Arbusow, namely that the reason for depriving a man of arable land and virtually all his property had nothing to do with a proper divorce but dealt with simple desertion. This was said to have been a bad habit among indigenous men, and one against which the Balt-Germans fought in vain during Livonia's entire existence.[239]

This explanation may be partly correct, but a modern approach must reject the idea that such patterns of behaviour can be seen as signs of an undeveloped moral standpoint in a tribal community. The influence of cultural anthropology has taught historians that such customs must be understood against the background of lineage and gender systems, as well as other socio-economic factors. Malfunction in these systems may occur when the community is challenged by a more dominant culture with entirely different attitudes. In spite of the views of some Balt-German scholars, the LP is clearly not an imported German *Landesrecht*. Since no Germans were meant to live by it, it is likely to reflect customary jurisdiction among the East Baltic peoples, with occasional additions at the request of their German masters. I do not wish to be more specific than that.

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[237] Russkaya Pravda III:117–125 contains several rules of inheritance. The principle seems to be that a testamentary distribution among children by the deceased should be respected; if none had been specified, the inheritance belonged to all the children (122). A detail suggesting contextual similarity to the Latgalian case is: 'If daughters are at home, each of them should be given her lot, however, not if she is married.' (118) The following is incompatible, that sisters remaining at home get no inheritance, and instead the brothers should try to get her married (125). Not quite compatible is: 'But when there are no sons, the daughters will receive.' (120). When a woman remains a widow after the death of her husband, she shall have one part, but one part should be taken from their children [to make a gift for the soul]. The Russian case seemingly reflects a strengthening of male prerogative regarding immovables. Might that be due to influence from Western legal codes?

[238] Nazarova 1980 pp. 43–47, 172f.

[239] Arbusow 1924–26 p. 38.

The existence of peaceful societies in which women had leading or
prominent positions has been a great issue in the historical discourse
of recent decades. Hailed at first with enthusiasm,[240] the idea has
more recently been met by growing scepticism among gender spe-
cialists. Opponents claim it may be no more than another Shangri-
la.[241] Yet substantial references exist to societies in which women
have held the main responsibility for agriculture and demonstrated
relative independence vis-à-vis male relatives, following a matrilineal
strategy that tended to reduce the role of local warfare. A man who
moved into his wife's family could have found himself confronting
his father and brothers in disputes, or even his sons if custom dic-
tated that he remained with his own clan. Evidence of 'maternal'
societies found in the classical Mediterranean and Oriental worlds
formed the topic of early gender studies on constitutional, religious
and juristic problems.[242]

   Both classical and anthropological studies describe matrilineal soci-
eties, which need not be female-led, since leadership may be taken
by brothers or maternal uncles.[243] According to Ester Boserup, the
introduction of more complex technology may open the way to 'male
revenge'; the use of draught-animals and the heavy plough spread
together with the adaptation of veils among women in northern

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[240] Gimbutas 1989; Gimbutas 1991; Håland 1994. At the heart of this discourse
has been the vision of a Neolithic matriarchy protected by a 'Mother Goddess',
developed by the Lithuanian-American archaeologist Marija Gimbutas. Her East
Baltic background may have influenced her theory, even though her field material
is mainly taken from the Balkans. In her early book about the Balts (Gimbutas
1963) this aspect is missing, but in her posthumously published work, arguing the
survival of a mother-goddess cult in combination with matrilineal social structure
in much later societies, she considers such traits among the Balts (Gimbutas 1999
pp. 122, 199ff.).

[241] For critical aspects, cf. Gilchrist 1999 pp. 25, 153 with further references.

[242] Cf. Bachofen 1967.

[243] Tacitus (TG XX:3) claims that *sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui apud patrem
honor. quidam sanctiorem artioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur et in accipiendis obsidibus
magis exigunt, tamquam et animum firmius et domum latius teneant* . . . 'a sisters' son enjoys
the same honour with his maternal uncle as with his father. Some maintain, that
this blood-relation is even more sacrosanct and steadfast, and enquire firstly after
these when they receive hostages, convinced that this will give a more firm grasp
over the lineage in question'. These words clearly relate to matrilineality, but are
somewhat disarmed by his following description of male inheritance. His informa-
tion seems to have come from different sources, and describe different customs.

Africa. Bente Magnus suggests that men, finding their position reduced, might take an irresponsible attitude to the family. Since biology gives women a monopoly on bearing children, men have to check female sexuality in order to be able to take an interest in the birth of children and the survival of the family. Thus, she says, 'the question of gender is inextricably woven into the lineage systems'.[244]

As Georges Duby has shown, Catholic matrimonial legislation emerged in the core area of the World-system during the 11th and 12th centuries. Until then, marriage had been a purely civil custom, mainly involving economic transactions between two families and their kin. It was basically an alliance system between equals. There was also an alliance system for non-equals, in which attractive daughters of lesser families could be installed as concubines to powerful chieftains or their unmarried sons, under less demanding legal conditions (Germ. *Friedelehe*, Sw. *Frilloväsen*). According to Duby, the Church was able to work towards control of these customs due to misuses such as bride-theft and repudiation, all of which destabilised society. In addition, a fear of incest developed in the 9th century which resulted in a prohibition of marriage down to the seventh degree of kin. From this the clergy developed a new function as genealogists. With convincing documentation from the Maçonnais area, Duby shows that a previous bilateral system which had far-reaching gender equality among the peasants was gradually replaced by a largely male inheritance system. This coincided with the subjugation of female rights and economic resolution within marriage, and also with the expansion of nunneries.[245]

According to widespread opinion among specialist scholars, the impact of the Church greatly influenced pre-modern development. Women's social position is thought to have deteriorated constantly as a result of the dedicated gender-theology of the Reformation and the demands of capitalism and industrial production. A general explanation is that the steadily increasing distinction between public and

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[244] Boserup 1989 p. 24ff.; Gaunt 1983 p. 191f.; Duby 1985 pp. 42–44; Magnus 1994 p. 15; Gilchrist 1999 pp. 36–45.

[245] Duby 1985 pp. 23–48, 76–91; 92ff. & passim. See also Herlihy 1985; Herlihy 1987 pp. 3–17. For the function of the *frilloväsen* under archaic Norse conditions, see Magnúsdóttir 2001; for the case of pre-*reconquista* Spain see Rey-Henningsen 1994 p. 65ff.

private spheres of activity reduced women's social role by linking it to household and charity work.[246]

Thus the agnatic principle was not natural law but developed as a social construction. Furthermore it was a modernity brought forward by the long 12th century. The *Sachsenspiegel* shows that it had come to dominate in the north German semi-periphery, enforced by the Church and inspired by feudal legislation. In Scandinavia, a bilateral system survived after adaptations, with the notable exception of Gotland.[247] And Catholic matrimonial rules immediately clashed with indigenous ones upon the arrival of missionaries to the comparatively Europeanized Livs.[248]

To sum up, the construction of gender is thought to be influenced by a customary division of labour between the sexes, and by the need to bind men into responsibility for raising a family, to some extent achieved by controlling women. Connected to this was the social need to find a stable system by which legal rights and property could be transferred from parents to children. As more complex societies developed, a super-ordained ideology gradually collected these and other social ideas into strict rules of conduct.

The spread of Catholic matrimonial legislation heralded a great change in both lineage and gender systems, whether in the eleventh-century Mâconnais or in the clash with the traditional customs of the Livs and Latgalians. Arbusow's Balt-German and Nazarova's Soviet-style interpretations both suggest a previously-implemented European custom, whereas in fact the discovery report in the LRC reacts to culture traits very different from the Europeanization programme. The marriage and inheritance clause of LP can clearly be read as confirmation of Latgalian 'otherness' as regards gender, so the Germanic/Catholic associations of these scholars may reflect above all a reluctance to believe the unexpected.

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[246] Duby 1985; Kelly 1984; Winberg 1985; Roper 1989; introductions in Scandinavian languages in: Blomkvist, N. [ed.] 1994 (archaeology, human geography); G. Andersson 1998 p. 14ff. (history); see also Magnúsdóttir (2001 p. 180ff.) for a detailed study of gender relations in medieval Iceland.

[247] Winberg 1985 p. 17ff.; cf. Sjöholm (1976 pp. 167–73, 174ff.) who traces the matrimonial and heritage legislation in *Gutalagen* to quite late non-Scandinavian influences, although a particular reason in the scarcity of land existed for adopting agnatic rules on Gotland. I will question her hypothesis in a forthcoming article.

[248] LECUB I:13; cf. Ch. VIII:3.

The brief sentences on marriage and inheritance in LP can be seen as traces of another gender system, although in the form in which we find it, the legal text may have been battered a bit by the ongoing cultural encounter with the Catholic World-system and its entirely different view on these matters. The fact that the preserved versions of LP are quite late and have been recorded by Germans is an additional source critical problem.

From the perspective of an ongoing culture clash it is also worth noting that the only medieval peasant rights containing marriage and inheritance rules are LP and KP, which are thought to represent the oldest conditions. Remarkably, the later law codes have nothing to say until the matter re-appears in the very late code for Ösel-Wiek, in the form of a disciplinary attack on traditional marriage customs.

A patrilineal variety. The difference between LP and KP

According to its preamble, KP was given to the Curonians, but in its twenty-fourth article it claims to be valid for 'all free *Seeländer* (Selonians), Curonians and Semigalians', and according to a postscript it represents the *Landt Recht in Curlandt, Semgallen und Lieflandt.* I believe the text must be based on the Livic code forced on the Curonians in 1267, and as such it must have been similar to the Latvian/Estonian code (also based on the Livic one) that was forced on the Semigalians in 1272, which ended up as a not entirely harmonized combined version. In any case, the subjects of the law code were of mixed ethnicity. The existing version can hardly have been codified before 1400, even if some of its content has quite an ancient character.[249]

The clause on matrimony is the very last in the record. Its wording reveals a relationship to its LP counterpart: *So en Mann en Wiff nimbt der mag he all sien Goht tho kehren, sünder acker, Wiesen und Böhme; de Söhns sallen de Süstern berahden; sint dar överst kine söhns, so fält dat ganze Goth der Mohder tho, met Döchtern so lange se sünder Mane blifft, sall se dat ähre met den döchtern beholden* (KP 27). Even if, as in LP, the relevant clause begins with a declaration that the bridegroom was expected to leave his property to his bride, there is obviously no question of matrilineal inheritance of agricultural immovables in this case. Arable

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[249] The mention of a council as a court instance for manslaughter probably refers to the diocesan and order councils introduced during the 15th century; the integration of the Semigalians lingered into the 15th century.

land, meadows and bee trees are explicitly male property, inherited by sons, who also inherit a responsibility to support their sisters. Only if there are no sons does all property go to the widow, who may keep it with her daughters, as long as she 'remains without a man'. As in LP, the rule about widows and daughters has a matrilineal touch. Women are not prohibited from inheriting property, and when founding a family they are in principle attributed full control over the joint personal property, with the exception here of the means of production. Marxist terminology is of help here. Due to this exception there is little doubt that men formed the dominant gender under the auspices of KP.

However, it is remarkable that this order expresses the same *principle* as LP, i.e. that the man hands over all his property to his wife. The criteria of male supremacy in economic matters are expressed as an exception to this principle (he shall give all his goods to her *except . . .*). The most likely explanation for this similarity between LP and KP is that they go back to a common root. Both codes claim to originate from a lawmaking procedure involving Livic *seniores*. This was later copied and adapted in LP, where we have found the principle of female property control largely undistorted, and still later in Curonia where at some time it became modified into a position more congenial to German standards. We shall have to enter into a detailed comparative analysis of the two texts to see whether their respective structural build-ups confirm or reject such a conclusion.

It emerges that LP and KP follow the same logical path of association, beginning with regulations for murder, wounding, mutilation, accidental injury with sharp weapons and blows by sticks. The few existing differences seem insignificant.[250] In LP there follows a rule about manslaughter in duels (a 'God's sentence') which is missing in KP, where there is a greater ambition to prohibit violence with regard to accidental injury.[251] Subsequent regulations deal with violation of women, which both LP and KP condemn with the death penalty. After that, LP follows with the rights on marriage and heritage, which we

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[250] LP treats mutilation of fingers and toes in the same paragraph and imposes a special fine of honour for the nameless finger (the ring finger), while KP inserts accidental wounds between the regulations about fingers and toes.

[251] LP distinguishes between accidental wounds caused in darkness and in daylight respectively, and does not impose any fine at all.

have discussed at length. In KP, the corresponding regulation has been removed from this context and placed at the very end, in addition to which it demonstrates a radically different point of view which deprives women of immovable goods.

However the next clause in LP has a direct equivalent in KP and both texts again follow each other regarding the destruction of bee trees, burglary, damage, horse theft, penalties for minor and major theft,[252] how to defend oneself twice against accusation of theft (the third time being subjected to the iron ordeal), and heirs' responsibility for the debts of the deceased. A regulation in LP about the obligation to return a pledge is missing in KP. Then come regulations on straying cattle. LP has a special rule that presupposes the complainant may have taken the animal 'by force', but both codes have the same fundamental idea and follow the same disposition. Both continue with hay-theft in winter. This is followed in LP by a rule about economic partnership, lacking in KP. Both insert the obligation to appear in court and impose a high penalty for trespassing in other people's houses. So far, as any experienced source critic will recognise, the stuff of KP has been ordered in a way that reveals a dependence on LP or a mutual source.[253]

There, however, the parallel ends. LP adds a regulation about private warfare: the parties should be reconciled, and anyone who refuses should 'carry iron'. It then concludes. KP has more to offer, but continues in another direction: it forbids stealing in church or mill, and threatens a sentence to 'the wheel'; it makes a person fully responsible for causing fire in arable land, meadow or forest, and follows up with the rule that a criminal shall be condemned where he is caught. This concluded, KP signals that from this point the text has entered into a new phase of development: 'Semigalians are to have their rights as other peasants', it states. This tells us that so far we have been offered the 'German-Livic' legislation that was forced on the Curonians in 1267 and the 'Latvian/Estonian' version of this that was forced on the Semigalians. As far as LP reaches, KP shows a convincing similarity. This indicates that the rest of KP consists of adaptations made after 1272 for the two Balt peoples living to the

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[252] LP has a punishment of hanging for those who are caught red-handed, missing in KP. It might signify immediate justice. In both codes larger thefts are punished by death, and the difference would otherwise concern only small thieves.

[253] Cf. e.g. Torstendahl 1966 pp. 98–103.

south and southwest of the Daugava. There is clear evidence that KP, although derived from the same roots as LP, has been worked over separately later on.

However, we have not yet followed KP to its conclusion. Two instances remain concerning the responsibility of individuals to maintain social order and fairness. No one was allowed to pass over established borders between arable fields, nor could anyone collect hops in bushes and forests before the agreed time. Finally we come to the KP version of the marriage and inheritance rules, composed according to the same principle as LP, but with the meaning completely reversed. The wording indicates that it derives from the same tradition, but in KP it is removed from its logical context (which remains in LP) close to the prohibition against violating women. This is clear evidence that the clause on marriage and inheritance in KP has undergone a thorough revision, securing agriculture, cattle-breeding and bee-keeping as predominantly male activities. The fact that the clause comes last in the preserved text may even indicate a fairly late revision.

Summing up

Law texts may be normative, but they are also narrative sources. They invariably reveal the society for which their rules were provided. The marriage and inheritance clauses in LP signal that we may have come across a society with matrilocal and matrilineal priorities. The geographic attribution may be unsure, but following Nazarova's argument there is a good chance that LP was valid in Latgale and possibly in similar areas of Estonia. This must remain a hypothesis, but it means that we have found a key that would open up a plausible context for the strange-looking, horse-riding women noted by the amazed German.

In KP there is no question of a matrilineal society, merely a reference to a principle that may reflect one in past times. Whether this principle was established among the ancient Curonians, Semigalians and Selonians or merely imported from north of the Daugava with the rest of the Livic model law, we cannot say. KP, as we know it, shows adaptation to a Europeanized society, not only in the shift to a male-oriented, Western form of marriage, but in all the articles that differ from or have been added to the stock also found in LP. Taken together, they show higher ambitions of law enforcement and

clearer references to Western institutions, from church and mill to agriculture in permanent fields.

Matrilineal societies exist even today. They are often connected to a gendered division of labour in which women are in charge of small-scale agriculture. In areas with relatively low population pressure, as in West Africa, women have continued to manage hoe-farming for subsistence in small fields, cleared in the forests through a slash-and-burn technique, and cultivated in the ashes for as long as the fertility is good. Thereafter, cultivation is abandoned for new clearings. The system shows a certain similarity to the *swidden* agriculture of northeast Europe. In Ester Boserup's description of African examples it is mainly women who select the cultivation area and achieve users' rights to the land within the frames of tribal land tenure. Felling trees is usually the men's duty while cultivation belongs to women. Where land supply has become more limited, cultivation areas tend to be hereditary—from mother to daughter, where the family order is matrilineal. Boserup, however, points to the fact that agrarian reforms introduced by Europeans have often deprived women of their traditional rights to hold the land, and given them with full Western property rights to the men, who are then able to sell it or leave the female cultivators at a dead-end through remarriage.[254]

Gender studies is a discipline which has shifted position several times since its breakthrough in the 1970s. Sexual division of labour has been assigned varied importance for women's status in a society. The African description suggests a general context and several technical details that deserve to be considered as hypotheses for a comparative discussion of the East Baltic in the long 12th century. Of course the task is not as simple as using such a relatively modern example to fill out a reconstruction of inner Latgalia during the 12th and 13th centuries, but by observing the general prerequisites and characteristics, we can widen our understanding of the circumstances forming such a society. In the case of Curonia and others, male dominance is quite clear and it seems not entirely coincidental that we find it in a different societal context of agriculture in fixed fields in a more controlled society.

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[254] Boserup 1989 pp. 31ff., 57–61. For a case in which women kept staunch control of agriculture for a long time in a Europeanized but fairly peripheral society (Castile and Galicia), cf. Rey-Henningsen 1994 p. 70ff. & passim.

Female extravagance. An epilogue from Ösel-Wiek

Before leaving the East Baltic gender and family systems I must refer briefly to archaeological sources. In the present study I have mostly refrained from using them, although they contain several circumstances that may be of great value to the argument.[255] However it would be misleading to omit altogether source material that apparently confirms the social strength of East Baltic women at the dawn of Europeanization. We must take into account the fact that many of them were literally walking capital funds, confirming their position in society by their appearance.

   Our knowledge of female costume derives from grave finds. The most impressive is usually the breast ornament, a pair of elegant dress pins, fibulas or Scandinavian oval brooches which had to be adapted locally in order to carry up to nine chains, with hanging amulets and a sheath-knife. This splendour was further accentuated by bracelets of bronze or silver, plus finger rings (often spiral), sometimes on all ten fingers. Even if jewellery types are the same to some extent, there are evident differences between the appearances of female Livs, Latvians, Semigalians and Curonians in the materials. But the basic impression remains the same, with a stress on female elegance. Appearing in full ornate dress, these East Baltic women look like high officials of later eras. The grave material reaches its peak during the 11th century, appears in simpler form during the 12th, and disappears entirely from graves in the 13th century. This doesn't necessarily mean that wealth-carrying women ceased to walk around in the East Baltic, but rather that Christian influence had made people more reluctant to deposit such great wealth with the dead. Nevertheless female folk costume was to keep its high style through the centuries to come.[256]

The only other East Baltic list of peasant rights containing rules on marriage and heritage is, as mentioned, the considerably later code for the bishopric of Ösel-Wiek.[257] Regulating a purely Baltic-Finnish population, it has some interest relative to LP and KP, which were

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[255] Mägi 2002 p. 75ff.; 146–48.
[256] Zariņa 1988 p. 101ff.; Radiņš 1999 pp. 171–73, cf. p. 53ff. for illustrations. Cf. Brotze (1992) I pp. 97–171.
[257] It is in chapters, has a certain systematisation and is garnished with judicial Latin keywords.

mainly intended for Balt peoples. The rule in question certainly begins similarly: *Wenn ein man ein Weib nimbt*... but after that no similarity remains. The Ösel-Wiek regulations bring us to a time when the manorial system and serfdom had been fully accomplished. The rules required landlords to make their peasants get married in church, and also to prohibit a man from dissolving the home, even if his wife wished it. If it happened anyway: *So soll er ihr folgen laszenn was sie von hausze gebracht hat.* As I understand them, these words mean that she should be allowed to take with her what she had brought from her parents' home. The main alternative seems to be the woman leaving the household. If the man had caused her wish to leave, he should *darzue gebenn die handt treuw die er ihr gelobet hat*... 'give her the dowry gift that he had promised her'.[258]

This clause is clearly influenced by general Catholic attitudes. Male dominance is indicated, but misuse is checked by protective rules. We find it in a comparatively late law code, whereas the only predecessors we have been able to identify belong to the typologically most ancient of the peasant laws. In between there is silence. The lack of clauses on marriage and inheritance in most law codes is remarkable, but what the silence signifies is just another set of problems. When we compare the three regulations of matrimonial economy preserved in Livonian peasant laws, we find the principle that *alle sine guter Sall siner fruen volgen* in the oldest is reduced to the promise of a *handt treuw* in the latest. However this could still represent comparatively good conditions for women if we were to look across Europe of that date[259]—there is no question of economic incapacitation.

If a widow re-marries, the right of the children from the first marriage is guaranteed: *Ihr geschmeide vndt ihr handt treuw empfangen die ersten kinder.*[260] If the woman dies without any heirs everything goes to the *herrschaft*. The same applies to a man who has no heirs, but he is allowed to give away *einen ferdingk*... 'a fourth' or something of equal value.[261] There are no special presuppositions regarding female agriculture or prerogatives to inheritance. The gist of these articles is fully Westernised, but in this law that apparently cares mainly for the landlord's interest, women have preserved a reasonably strong position

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[258] EP Ch. I:1–6.
[259] Cf. Kelly's (1984) discussion whether women had a renaissance.
[260] EP Ch. I:4.
[261] EP Ch. I:6.

within the marriage and *Undeutsche* society. Notice the word *geschmeide*...
'the metalwork', the transfer of which to the next generation is
specifically regulated. Nazarova translates it, quite rightly, as 'jewels'.
Imagine enserfed women, handing over family insignia from gener-
ation to generation as inheritance—that is indeed a magnificent rem-
nant of the society of strong womanhood that must have prevailed
in Balticum in ancient times.

5. *'Change Qualitative': A New System takes over*

Summing up the cases of encounters

In the southwest of the Baltic Rim, keen Europeanizers were already
gathering by the turn of the 12th century. The well-known key role
of the Danes is easily confirmed. However, the stern simplicity of the
first Scandinavian archbishop and the culture that surrounded him
indicates that into the 1120s the country was still draped in the forms
of the late Viking Age. But that was not the case in Schleswig, where
its duke offers a particular contrast. Although a cadet of the royal
Danish family, Knud Lavard is portrayed as a representative of Saxon
customs and hence more of a Europeanization agent than most.

The frequently overlooked yet important role of the Vends has
also been pointed out. The description of Archbishop Asger looking
'like a Vendic peasant' conveys the impression that Vendic culture
wasn't so very different from the Danish one in the early 12th cen-
tury. It is also clear that by then the Vendic lands had emerged as
a commercial crossroads, and that the Obodrites under Henry of
Alt-Lübeck may have been even more favoured by German trading
interests than Schleswig. The emergence of a Christian Vendic state
would have been a formidable competitor to Denmark. The attempt
to put Knud Lavard (already in possession of Schleswig) on a Vendic
throne presented an even greater threat.

The general piratical reputation of the Vends may have been
mainly a propaganda picture of the pagan Other, launched by
Christian political and commercial competitors who were no better
themselves. However the Vendic lands had exceptionally strong pagan
institutions in which ideological opposition was formed against the
Europeanization plans of Christian Vendic leaders. The strong pagan
identity among the Vendic masses obstructed efforts to establish a
Catholic polity, and they became victims of crusaders instead.

The existence of an independent Eastern, pagan (or religiously tolerant) exchange system, providing mainly luxury articles highly coveted in Continental Europe, is indicated in *Knýtlinga* saga's narrative of Knud Lavard and also by Helmold's picture of the 'monetary' system of the Rügians. These pictures are corroborated by archaeological observations, which have led Hårdh to suggest a competition between two parallel economic systems on the Baltic Rim, beginning as early as the 10th century, during which a new attitude to sterling silver gradually spread north and east from the southwest of the Rim. I show that this expanding frontier of economic change was accompanied by a cultural crisis of some sort, observable in Denmark and Sweden by the wave of runic-monument erection rolling north.

The hypothesis suggests that Europeanization manifested itself as a New system, making its way on the Rim under considerable competition and opposition from an intra-Baltic and generally Eastern Old system. The effect was the shift of the ancient cultural border, from the Elbe in a large swing towards the northeast, in order to settle firmly in the marshes and forests of eastern Balticum. There the processes of the long 12th century ended up in a new, rigorous cultural border that has remained more or less intact until the present. The Russian cause for rejecting the Catholic World-system is exemplified by images of a conservative mental attitude. I would not consider this a full explanation, since attitudes are likely to depend on material circumstances as well. Russia is outside the scope of the present study, so I will leave it for now, but I will return to its conditions, particularly in Chapters Seven and Nine.

Turning to the more fundamental differences that appear in daily life, I have compared descriptions of material conditions and settlement culture east and west of the Baltic. Two residences of chieftains were visited, a Curonian *pilskans* and a large, sea-oriented Scandinavian *gård*. Both were centres of their surroundings, whose inhabitants seemed to be tied to the chief in relationships of mutual protection and support. Where the Curonian settlement was fortified, the Scandinavian was open. The latter submitted to pressures from emerging kingship. Some differences in economic focus were indicated; agriculture and forestry seem to have been more established in the east, whereas the Scandinavian picture is more multifarious. The Europeanization of ordinary settlements has been witnessed as well. An Estonian example demonstrated the violent takeover of a village, combining destruction with submission, while a Swedish one demonstrated a legal procedure adjusting the village for taxation and market purposes.

The difference is pointed out as two modes of Europeanization, clash and compromise—both leading to economic exploitation, but leaving different mental aftertastes.

The last encounters aim at an understanding of the mental attitudes met by Europeanization agents in the more inaccessible East Baltic territories; these were often pictured as astonishing. The Curonians presented themselves as warriors and their aggression was expressed in seafaring plunder raids towards Sweden and Denmark. Their society was clearly male-dominated; according to their law the basics of agricultural economics were secured in male hands. However we may note respect for their physical bravery, dedication and honour. Encountering the Latgalians provided the opposite experience. They lived in peace as much as they could, in the forests; women had a controlling influence in economic matters; and theirs may have been a matrilineal, matrilocal society. These neighbouring peoples emerge as classic examples of much-discussed gender theories. As such these impressions require further research.

I should underline that the question is not whether one culture changes while another does not. West European Catholic culture gradually underwent change during the process of Europeanization, but so did the outlook and material substance of the retiring Old system. In some cases the latter transformed to the degree that people and country began to define themselves as Western and Catholic and hence became Europeanized, whereas Russia changed with a clear repudiation of many Western values. As in every discussion of cultural areas and the raising of borders between them, the many intricate variables involved material, social and political conditions, as well as historical experiences and self-image, plus competitiveness and challenges from the Other.

Cultures and change

The encounters between Europeanization agents and Baltic Rim re-agents thus tend to reveal themselves as series of binary oppositions:

- Round Vendic shields vs. the long shields of 'other men'
- Baltic Rim lambskins vs. Saxon 'purple clothes'
- Runic and Slavonic vernacular literacy vs. Latin scripture
- Value (silver weight) economy vs. monetarised economy

- Local *clientela* chieftainships vs. feudal dependence
- Extensive cultivation vs. agriculture on fixed infield/outfield systems
- Unilineal 'Eastern' vs. bilateral 'Western' family system

These contrasts are more or less well known to specialists in the respective fields. Together they exemplify the nature and width of the ongoing *change qualitative*.

To change from local lambskins to exquisite woven and coloured 'Saxon' dress may not require a mental reform *per se*, but the way the change was spoken of indicates that it meant a lot more than meets the eye. A sceptic might ask whether these seven cases of *change qualitative* were interrelated at all. This is difficult to confirm from the available sources, but we may seriously ask whether the processes of production and distribution needed for 'Saxon clothes' to become generally available on the Rim would not require an entirely different social system, held together through monetary economy, monolithic Christianity, Latin scripture and new forms of agriculture and land tenure in mutual dependency. In the same sense that valuables are a means of payment as much as coined money, we may state that the indigenous Baltic Rim trade was as much trade as the Christian commerce introduced from the Continent. At the same time a reluctance to modernise traditional equipment may be embedded in much more deep-rooted conditions such as economy and kinship structures.

It appears that the heuristic approach to descriptions of Europeanizing encounters has shown a trend which is worth following up. These six encounters apparently reflect two contradictory systems, concerning not only the material conditions but also the outlook of peoples. I will go on to investigate whether a similar difference applies to encounters between polities.

NETWORK VERSUS TERRITORIAL CONTROL.
THE POLITICAL DIMENSION OF LONG 12TH CENTURY
'CHANGE QUALITATIVE'

1. *A Hypothesis of the Old System of Land Appropriation*

The problems of 'ledung' and 'skattland'

Above I claim the existence of Viking-age realms. Once in the mainstream of scholarly discussion, this opinion is nowadays quite controversial, mainly from the point of view of anthropological models. To some extent it is a matter of definition. The existence of kings and realms is stated frequently, but their function and content are difficult to determine.[1] The problem is complex, and my limited aim is to outline the pre-European Old system of military conquest and land appropriation. I will therefore focus on two concepts well known to the twelfth-century *scriptores*—the naval *expeditio* or *ledung* (some scholars normalise it as *leding*) and the *skattland* (tax, or tributary land).

Much research has been devoted to the *ledung*, often working backwards in time from quite late sources, discussing its extent as well as specific and general preconditions. Often quite exaggerated suggestions have been made regarding societal organisation as far back as the Viking Age.[2]

The problem of the *ledung* vis-à-vis kingship and territorial control has, however, recently been given extensive study by the Danish historian, Niels Lund. He begins by claiming that the *ledung* (Lund writes *leding*) denotes the emergence of a Danish state. He quotes C.A. Christensen's dictum, that the *ledung* is as old as the kingdom itself, but turns this into a paradox, that the Danish kingdom cannot

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[1] Cf. for instance E. Lönnroth 1977 pp. 7–16 to Sawyer 1991, to Bagge 1996 and to Löfving 2001.

[2] KL s.v. Leidang, H. Bjørkvik et al. containing ample reference to previous literature. See also Hafström 1949 pp. 11–86; 224ff.; 1970 pp. 49–58; cf. I. Jonsson 1971; Hyenstrand 1974 pp. 119ff., 127; Wijkander 1983 pp. 11–23, 130ff.

be older than the *ledung*. Lund also quotes Skovgaard-Petersen's state-
ment that the *ledung* is the oldest discernable administrative system
in the Nordic countries.[3] These statements imply both the need of
a military host for uniting a multi-regional territory, and the conse-
quences of its formalisation into a conscription system. We may add
that, while a military host *de facto* sets the rules for a territory under
its control, the existence of a conscription system is already a marker
of constitutional life.

   According to Lund, the forms for mobilisation of the *ledung* can
be problemised in two correlated dichotomies: (1) Was the *ledung*
always conscripted as the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century law texts
claim, from the broad strata of freemen? Or was it formed by tribute-
seeking and mutually competing chieftains and their followers, on a
voluntary basis? (2) Was the *ledung* designed for offensive action in
foreign land? Or was it mainly to protect the native coasts? Lund's
answer, mainly with regard to Denmark, is that freemen conscripts
were not good enough warriors to be sent on offensive action. The
general *ledung* based on 'everyman' was thus constituted for defen-
sive aims; as late as 1170, both the *Knýtlinga* saga and Saxo describe
the context (see Chapter Six). There are signs of some form of *ledung*
obligations prior to that. Lund finds that the kings had limited con-
trol over it. The large military assaults of the Viking Age must have
been recruited on the basis of chieftainship and voluntary engage-
ment, he concludes.[4]

   Lund's study brings us to the problem of systemic change. He
works with dichotomies that seem meaningful, notwithstanding that
the Swedish assaults on Carelia and Novgorod as late as ca. 1300
consisted of both conscripted regional groups and individual mag-
nate's followers, which is clearly and vividly testified to by *Erikskrönikan*.[5]
I believe methods of mobilisation may have varied greatly with cir-
cumstances; but even so mobilisation might have developed from
simple and rustic forms towards more specialised and differentiated
ones under the influence of Europeanization. For present purposes
I will use the term *ledung* for any fleet operating in the name of the
realm and led by the king or one of his deputies.

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[3] Lund 1996 p. 1. Another important Danish contribution to the problem of the
ledung is Malmros 1985.
   [4] Lund 1996 pp. 1–26 & passim; English summary p. 291ff.
   [5] Particularly Ek. vv. 1520–73 mentioning *The vplendzsko* . . . 'those of Uppland',
Helsinga . . . 'those of Hälsingland', and *hoffmennene* . . . 'the [aristocratic] followers'.

The phenomenon of *skattland* is frequently mentioned in the Norse sagas with reference to Norway's influence on the North Atlantic islands. The term indicates a light form of dominion, almost akin to an association, in which a more substantial mainland society offers protection and privileges in exchange for a tribute. It is thus a constitutionally regulated relationship; the forms have varied greatly, but generally leave considerable freedom to the smaller partner. Characteristic of the *skattland* relationship was its annual confirmation by the visit of the king's reeve, or by representatives of the *skattland* bringing the tribute to the royal court.[6]

That the *skattland* concept is basically connected to Norway has often been allowed to obscure the fact that other Nordic countries practised the same form of political dominance. I will focus on the particularly sparse evidence concerning Sweden. As Hugo Yrwing has pointed out, the texts concerning Gotland's association with the Svea king in the *Guta Saga* reveal the existence of a *skattland*. The roots of this relationship obviously go back into the 9th century, when Gotland as well as Blekinge, Möre and Öland were classified as belonging to the *sweon*. Also interesting in this context is an eleventh-century rune stone in Uppland that tells of a man who 'fell ill when they collected tributes on Gotland'. Even Gotland's early charters (from the 13th century) demonstrate a *skattland* situation. A similar form of once-a-year administration is recorded from Norrland in the early 14th century.[7] A preliminary hypothesis might be that all lands—or since the relationship was not territorially defined, all regional groups of people—'belonging' to the Svear outside the Mälar valley, were actually some form of *skattland*. A more extreme opinion has recently been launched by the archaeologist Carl Löfving, who totally refutes the idea of a Svea realm 'around the year 1000', advocating that Götaland and vital parts of the Mälar valley were a Danish/English *skattland*.[8]

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[6] E.g. KL s.v. Skattland, G. Authén Blom.

[7] Yrwing 1978 pp. 19–26. Cf. Fritz 1973 p. 53ff.; Blomkvist 1996b pp. 80–88; Ambrosiani and Lindberger 2001.

[8] Löfving (2001) in my view over-interprets the terms *thegn* and *drengr* on some runic inscriptions, combining them with the rather dispersed evidence about the place name T(h)egneby, and certain categories of jewellery finds that are thought to co-variate with them. Some thirty years ago, I wrote an essay (still unpublished) on the problem of *thegn* and *drengr* in runic inscriptions. I noted the English/Danish context of the thegns, and the concentration of these inscriptions in Västergötland. As I saw it, this obvious concentration reflected the *pars Sveorum* which Canute the Great claimed to rule over in 1027, whereas I could not see any significant meaning in other related distribution patterns.

At this stage my interest lies in discussing the extent of access a king may have had to the military capacity within his territory, how important its mobilisation was to his efforts to maintain or strengthen his influence, and in particular what it meant if he took it abroad. I will look at two early texts, both reflecting endeavours by the Church of Bremen to capitalise on Swedish aggression in the East Baltic.[9]

A 'ledung' expedition to a 'skattland' in the 9th century

In the *Vita Anskarii* Rimbert tells of *Gens enim quaedam longe ab eis [Sueonibus] posita, vocata Cori, Sueonum principatui olim subiecta fuerat* . . . 'a people called *Cori*, who lived far away from the Svear, and who had previously been brought under their dominance'. When Ansgar paid his second visit to Birka around 852, these people had mounted an insurrection, not wanting to be subordinated to the Svear any more. Gradually it becomes apparent that the narrative refers to the East Baltic *Curonians*. Rimbert says that they had five towns (*civitates*), which we should understand as major hillforts. However, the Danes gathered many ships and sailed to this country to conquer its inhabitants and rob them of their goods. The Curonians, on their part, gathered their people and won a victory, destroying half the Danish army and consequently gaining half their ships, with gold, silver and spoils. When King Olef and the Svear heard of this, they in turn raised a huge army in order to restore the old order.[10]

How the fleet was recruited is not mentioned. Adam of Bremen (200 years later) states that although the Swedes were very free in their everyday lives, in warfare they obeyed completely the king or the person he sent to lead them, which may be read as a reference to an existing system of military mobilisation.[11] In an eleventh-century runic inscription in Vallentuna (north of Stockholm), the builder of the monument claims to 'have the entire *huntari*'. At that time the *hundare* (hundred) was the basic administrative unit in the Svea lands, from which the *ledung* was levied. It is also worth noting that the remarkable series of around 25 inscriptions commemorating Ingvar's expedition, datable to 1041, is spread more or less evenly among the *hundaren* of the Mälar valley. The basic subdivision into *hundare*

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[9] There are also Norse descriptions of the Swedish *ledung*, which I refrain from using since they may in fact be modelled on Norwegian experiences.

[10] RVA 30; cf. the translations by Trillmich 1961 and Rudberg 1965.

[11] ABG IV:22; cf. Andrae 1960 p. 71.

is also recorded in the so-called Florence document (1123), as parts of the regional names of Tiunda, Attunda and Fjädrundaland. This means that the 11th century provides some substance for discussion of the existence of a conscription system. In recent research, however, most scholars have tended to see an all-powerful group of chieftains doing as they like, rather than being subordinate to a constitution.[12]

Returning to Rimbert, we can see how King Olef acted in another case—whether Christians should be allowed to conduct their cult openly in Birka. Having first told Ansgar that he lacked the power to decide the matter on his own, he then unfolded a strategy to pass the law through two different diets, the second obviously of a higher order; in the end this proved successful.[13] This implies that the ninth-century king, if he wished to really *run* the country, had to work rather like a modern politician. To call out a *ledung*, he would have had to present an inspiring objective, probably at the major land diets held around Mälaren. Not as a supplicant, of course, but as chief of state, in possession of a political platform and with his body-guard close by, communicating, as Rimbert tells us, through his *prae-cox* . . . 'herald'. Let us follow the events of the expedition:

> And first they happened to arrive at a town (*urbs*) in the Curonian land named *Seeburg*. Having captured and burnt this place, the Swedes left their ships, walked for five days to another town (*urbs*) of the land, named *Apulia*. After having besieged this town for eight days they began to doubt that victory should be theirs and decided to throw lots in order to learn whether their gods would help them.

But no god wanted to. Then, however:

> some merchants remembered the sermons of Ansgar and they threw lots once again and it turned out that Christ would help them. Thus, after having regained their self-confidence they surrounded the town and were about to launch an attack, when the people inside suddenly begged for negotiations.

When the Svea king accepted their supplication, they went on: *Nobis iam pax magis quam pugna placet, et foedus vobiscum inire cupimus* . . . 'Now we would prefer peace to war, and we wish to be your allies'. Five conditions follow, which the Curonians said they were willing to accept;

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[12] Andrae 1960 pp. 64–72, cf. 20ff., 42ff.; Malmros 1985; Lindkvist 1988 pp. 51–58, Lund 1994; Lund 1996 pp. 74–82 & passim; cf. however M.G. Larsson 1986. For a rather playful hypothesis, suggesting the Svealand *hundare* to be a work of Knud the great, see Gräslund 1986 pp. 211–38.
[13] RVA c. 27.

namely (1) to give all the spoils in gold and weapons acquired from the Danes (*ex spoliis Danorum in auro et armis*) the previous year; (2) to offer half a pound of silver (*dimidiam libram argenti*) for each man in the hillfort; (3) to resume the tribute (*censum*) that they had paid previously; (4) to give hostages (*obsides*), and (5) to be as obedient and dutiful (*subiecti et obaudientes*) to the Svea realm as they had been before.

Here on record is obviously a *skattland* subordinance treaty. The Swedish 'young men' still wanted to plunder the town, but the king and chieftains were more prudent and agreed to the conditions suggested by the inhabitants. They settled the alliance with them and went happily back with abundant treasures and 30 men as hostages.[14]

This series of events is apparently narrated as one of the miracles which led to Christianity gaining its first foothold among the Svear. The text is close to the records of canonisation transactions and we cannot be sure of its content.[15] We cannot accept what it says without careful consideration, particularly whether a given detail is important or not to the aims of Ansgar and Rimbert.

Additional available knowledge supports quite strongly the idea that the narrative refers to actual, or at least credible, circumstances. The place names connected to the Cori have been identified as the coastal settlement of Grobin in Curonia (*Seeburg*) and the large hillfort of Apoulè in Samogitia (*Apulia*). Rimbert's use of a name-form strongly resembling the latter offers an important independent indication that the story records an actual event. Archaeological excavations have shown that there were Swedish settlements, or at least Swedish cultural influences, in these places.[16] Furthermore the text was written down only some ten years after the alleged event, and we cannot doubt that there was a direct contact between witness and *scriptor*.[17] The peace conditions seem credible in all the details given.[18]

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[14] RVA 30; cf. Trillmich 1961; Rudberg 1965.

[15] When Lindkvist (1988 p. 36) claims that leaders mentioned as kings in the 9th century are never known to have led Viking expeditions, he omits this notice. He might be justified in doing so, if the Curonian sea expedition is regarded not as a Viking expedition but as a more organized national enterprise. However, he doubts (p. 36) that the expedition to Curonia was as organized as Rimbert says, and generally suggests that Rimbert lets his knowledge of politically more developed societies influence his narrative. He cannot claim all these things at the same time.

[16] Clarke and Ambrosiani 1991 p. 115; Žulkus 1995 pp. 195–98.

[17] Hallencreutz 1986 p. 165f.

[18] Giving hostages was common practice in connection with negotiations as a

The Bremen tradition of a Swedish hold in Curonia

When Adam of Bremen stated around 1075 that *Churland* was the largest among the islands belonging to the Swedes, adding that it lay not far from Birka,[19] the statement doesn't improve his reputation as a geographer. Clearly he was partly drawing this conclusion from the narrative just quoted from the *Vita Anskarii*. The name of Birka was remembered in Bremen as a centre for the spread of Christianity to the 'islands' of the Baltic. According to an enigmatic note on a list of Nordic bishops appointed by Archbishop Adalbert, this interest was still alive towards the end of the 12th century. By the name of Bishop Johannes, whom he had appointed to Birka, the following remark is added: *Birca destructa sedes Lincopiam translata est . . .* 'When Birka was destroyed the See was transferred to Linköping'.[20]

This note can hardly have much to do with Johannes' presence in Sweden, which Adam records (see Chapter Nine), since the Linköping diocese wasn't founded until around 1100, and the Linköping tradition seems unaware of such a famous provenance. Functionally, Sigtuna was the clear successor of Birka. Why should these things be of interest to anyone in Bremen at a time when the *Reichskirche* had lost its grip in Sweden? A plausible purpose for such a note would be to memorise some Bremensian claim; a highly probable context would be claims on islands in the Baltic that Bremensian tradition gave to the Birka diocese. One of the *scholies* to ABG virtually confirms this by not mentioning Birka and merely stating that Johannes was appointed to the 'islands of the Baltic'.[21] Also, the

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measure to ensure that treaties were upheld. The Apostle of the Frisians, Willibrord, having visited King Ongendus of Jutland around 700, was given 30 Danish boys as hostages on his return (Staecker 1998 p. 202f.). The number 30 appears again in Viking peace negotiations with King Alfred of Wessex in 878. In this context the Viking king Guthrum came to Alfred among thirty of the most honourable men among the hostages, who let themselves be baptized, after which the host took land and settled in East Anglia. See Garmonsway 1972 pp. 76f., 82f.; cf. the baptizm of Olaf Tryggvasson in 994, ibid., p. 128f. As late as 1200, Bishop Albert of Riga forced the most prominent Livs to offer their sons as hostages *circiter triginta representant* (HCL IV:4). For the concept of *gisslalag*, 'hostage association', see most recently Tarvel 1998.

[19] *Sunt et aliae [insulae] interius, quae subiacent imperio Sueonum, quarum vel maxima est illa, quae Churland dicitur.* And furthermore: *Hanc insulam credimus in Vita sancti Ansgarii Chori nominatam, quam tunc Sueones tributo subiecerunt* (ABG IV:16), and finally *illa . . . non longe sit a Birca Sueonum* (ABG IV:17). Independent of Rimbert, he adds that several other isles in the neighbourhood also belong to Sweden.

[20] H. Schück 1959 p. 47f. note 22; cf. E. Anderson 1989 p. 258 (misunderstood).

[21] ABG III:77, *. . . Johannes ad insulas Baltici maris destinatus est* (Schol. 94); IV:20.

influence of Linköping had spread to Öland and Gotland well before
the end of the 12th century,[22] which would have reminded some
learned person in Bremen of Birka's alleged diocesan control over
Baltic islands. As a continuation of Archbishop Adalbert's foundation,
Linköping might possibly be brought back into the paternal house
some day. Certainly for a long time the Church of Bremen refused
to recognise the loss of its Metropolitan rights in Scandinavia. While
awaiting their restitution, its archbishops also looked for compensation
in former Vendic lands, and further to the east, where quite a few
'islands' mentioned by Adam were still wrapped in pagan darkness.[23]

   In the last decades of the 12th century it became obvious that
their next goal was to be the Balticum. As I will demonstrate in
Chapter Nine, the Church of Bremen had the habit of basing their
expansion projects on historico-legal claims. Linköping's hold on at
least some of the old marine mission district, which an archbishop
of Bremen had once bestowed on Birka, would have tied in easily
with their vision. We shall see that their hopes of getting a foothold
on the 'island' of Curonia were also channelled through a Swedish
event. Henry of Latvia tells the story.

   The Cistercian *frater* Theoderic was one of the first missionaries
to Balticum. Around 1190 he tried to take advantage of a Swedish
ledung expedition—including Germans and Gotlanders[24] and led by
a *dux* (a *jarl*)—to establish a bridgehead for the Christianisation of
Curonia. However, the fleet was driven by a storm to the Estonian
province of Wierland, where three days of plundering began. *Sed
dum Virones de fide recipienda tractarent, dux, accepto potius tributo ab eis vela
sustollens divertit in molestiam Theutonicorum . . .* 'But when the Vironians
negotiated receiving the Faith, the *dux* preferred to collect a tribute
from them and sailed away, to the chagrin of the Germans'.[25]

   The outcome suggests that we should question Theoderic's claim

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Henrichsen 1930 p. 238 note 7; cf. Svenberg et al. 1984 (Personindex) p. 426. Even
Ansgar had sent a missionary bishop named Gauzbert to Birka. He was later dri-
ven away (RVA 14, 17).

   [22] Pernler 1977 p. 50. Several scholars have suggested that the appointment of
Johannes to Birka actually meant some 'other Birka' on an island in the Baltic;
Dreijer 1979 pp. 124ff., 150ff.; Nyberg 1986 p. 29f. See however Pernler 1977
p. 49ff. and below, Ch. IX:2.

   [23] HCS 69. We may also note that late and clearly distorted sources point to a
Danish foundation of a bishopric in Curonia in 1161, E. Anderson 1989 p. 259ff.;
Nyberg 1989 p. 246ff.

   [24] The duty of *ledung* from Gotland is thus implied in this context.

   [25] HCL I:13.

of having made an agreement with the Swedish leaders. What might suggest some negotiation in advance would be the choice of Curonia as the target. If that was really the case, the idea is likely to have been based on the tradition of Sweden's domination over Curonia, documented in Bremen. What raises doubt over this claim is that it must have been quite a storm to drive the whole fleet from Curonia, all the way through the northwest Estonian archipelago, and around a right-angled bend to Wierland. As I will show in Chapter Four, some peculiarities of Gotland's participation in the Swedish *ledung* will make these misunderstandings a bit clearer.

This event is usually identified with a sea expedition in 1197 which is mentioned in several Swedish annals, and consequently the *jarl* has been identified as Birger Brosa.[26] However, this tradition originally tells of a Danish expedition, which in secondary, medieval compilations has been mutilated into a Swedish one. Nevertheless the annals of the Visby Franciscans are explicit: *Anno Domini. M. c. nonagesimo septimo rex Kanutus Dacie cum exercitu iuit in Estoniam.*[27] Of course this does not exclude a Swedish sea expedition having been undertaken that year, but the absence of independent notices makes it inconclusive.[28]

Thus we are unable to state definitely when Theoderic's Swedish sea expedition occurred. However there is a crusading bull by Alexander III to the Nordic kings 1171–72, containing a summons to punish the Estonians and other heathen neighbours; and a bull exists of Clement III from 1193, in which we hear that the Svear had fought the pagans for many years. It has been suggested by Nils Ahnlund that the latter bull refers to the efforts of a certain Jarl Jon who, according to *Erikskrönikan* and an annal, fought for many years in the inner part of the Gulf of Finland,[29] where Wierland is situated. Thus, the few bits of knowledge we can find which are related to

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[26] E.g. E. Lönnroth 1959 p. 27.
[27] 'In the year 1197 Knud, King of Denmark, went with his *ledung* to Estonia.' ASMÆ: 17 A 916–1263 (p. 253); cf. e.g. A 1160–1336.
[28] Scholars having observed the Danish enterprise of 1197 nevertheless tend to harmonise the information. Johansen (1951 p. 98f.) describes a (badly) co-ordinated Danish-Swedish expedition. He considers it a proper crusade, provided with the papal summons of 1193; which according to Johansen was issued at the request of Theoderic, who is thought to have been the author of the project, and who would have mobilised crusaders in Denmark, Sweden and on Gotland. H. v. z. Mühlen (1994 p. 35) and N. Lund (1996 p. 238) follow a similar idea, suggesting a Danish expedition led by Birger Brosa (v. z. Mühlen) *or* King Knud (Lund) in which Swedes and Germans were active.
[29] KL s.v. Korståg, J. Gallén; Ahnlund 1953 pp. 29ff., 93ff. Several quite different efforts to identify Jarl Jon exist, and Ahnlund's attribution is simply a possibility.

the anecdote in Henry of Latvia's chronicle suggest that Theoderic's adventure was connected to one of these expeditions—launched regularly sometime between the early 1170s and the 1190s to the neighbourhood of the Neva Estuary, maybe under the leadership of Jarl Jon, maybe under another *jarl.*

Nevertheless, the activities of a Svea *jarl* in Balticum reveal that, by the end of the 12th century, the collection of tributes apparently remained as important as it had been in the middle of the 9th century. We lack a detailed account of negotiations from the twelfth-century incident in Wierland, except the information that the *jarl* turned down Theoderic's proposal to include conditions regarding Christianisation.

   Let us recall that the main reason for the ninth-century assault on Curonia was neither plunder nor even the collection of tribute, but the re-establishment of an alliance, even if this had to be forced on the Curonians and secured by taking hostages. We have previously seen a similar procedure described in Helmold's narrative of Henry of Alt-Lübeck's expedition to the Rügians; it is one that is frequently reported by *scriptores* of the long 12th century. I shall note one further example, which has the merit of defining the *ledung cum skattland* system not only as a conscious policy, but a traditional one which was being challenged by a more modern approach.

A Danish report on the good Old system—and an unpleasant New one

From the days of the Vendic crusades, Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* tells the story of an agent-provocateur called Gottskalk. This man was sent by the Danes to Pomerania with the instruction to break up a peace between the locals and the Saxons, at that time distrusted allies of the Danes. Saxo presents a picture of this man's extraordinary arguments:

Quippe Saxones, quantum ex ipsorum finibus occupaverint, protius cultu atque habitatione complecti, nec praeda aut gloria contentos, proferendi imperii cupiditate victoriae lucra continua possessione firmare.	Since the Saxons, after having occupied some foreign land, at once *begin to cultivate and colonise it*; and not being satisfied by winning honour and tributes, set out to expand the territory of their empire, by efforts to realise the the advantages of victory, by keeping what they have won.[30]

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[30] SGD XIV:37:2.

Whether these words were actually uttered is of minor importance, since they represent a clearly Danish and possibly also Vendic reaction to this 'modern' behaviour. Being a skilful political ideologist and in command of a golden tongue, Gottskalk asks the Pomeranians to compare the Saxon behaviour with the attitude of the Danes, who:

diverso studio bella gerere nec hostium fines, sed mutuae pacis commercium affectare, proprium tueri quam alienum appetere cupidiores	conducted war with another intention: not to conquer the land of their enemies, but *to further trade in mutual peace* since it mattered more to them to save what belonged to them than to deprive others of their properties.[31]

Here at last is a description providing a rationale for the maintaining of *skattlands*. The main interest was not in the mediocre income from tributes, such as the 60 marks of sterling silver levied each year from Gotland, but in the establishing of chains of regional alliances, through which trade could be conducted in peace. Again it does not much matter whether the words are wholly of Saxo's invention, or had actually been overheard during some policy discussion in the high circles to which he had access; they illustrate contemporary arguments provoked by the introduction of a new model of conquest and land appropriation.

Some conclusions

Rimbert thus confirms that in the middle of the 9th century a system already existed by which some Baltic powers dominated others. The narrative in the *Vita Anskarii* provides a rare insight into the function of such Viking-age multi-regional realms. It demonstrates their structure, in which a dominant 'inner territory', inhabited by Danes, Svear or Rus, was surrounded by its *skattländer*. It is evident that Curonia was once such a tributary land under Sweden, which indicates that such realms could also be multi-ethnic. I also agree with Yrwing's opinion that Gotland was a Swedish *skattland* from at least the 9th century; it is Sweden's early dominance of Gotland that makes its interest in Curonia comprehensible and realistic.

Both these territories lay along the same strategic sea route. Curonia might not have been much of a trade centre in itself, but on leaving

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[31] SGD XIV:37:2.

Gotland it was necessary to follow its long, dangerous coast, either
north to the Daugava estuary, or south towards Sembland (Samland)
and Pruzzia. Swedish strategy was apparently very similar in the lat-
ter part of the 12th century, and Saxo lets Gottskalk claim that the
contemporary Danes followed a similar policy. The latter is a rare
piece of outspoken information that allows me to suggest that the
ledung and the *skattland* were two components in an integrated system,
on which the multi-regional Viking-age realms depended to keep the
all-important trade routes open. By the middle of the 12th century,
this system was already being challenged by something very different,
administered by the Saxons under a charismatic new leader.

2. *The Definite Europeanization Model*

. . . res novae et toti orbi stupendae

Circa tempora dierum illorum ortae sunt res novae et toti orbi stupendae . . . 'About
this time events occurred that were new and amazed the entire
world.' From his position in Holstein, Helmold of Bosau was not
cut off from tidings of great events in the Continental political the-
atre. The time he refers to is Christmas and New Year of 1146/47,
and the event one of the most decisive in the making of modern
Europe. His presentation of this runs rather like the Christmas gospel:

> When his Holiness Pope Eugen was in office, and Konrad III held
> the reins of the *Reich*, Bernard Abbot of Clairvaux appeared. He was
> so celebrated for working wonders that people came from the whole
> world to see the miracles that were made by him. Thus, he went away
> into the German land and came to the famous diet in Frankfurt, where
> King Konrad had just arrived together with all the princes for festivities.[32]

Thus the great charismatic Cistercian ideologist entered the political
affairs of Germany. As Helmold tells it, Bernhard's chief wonder was
to perform an act of healing before the eyes of the king and the

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[32] *Presidente enim sanctissimo papa Eugenio, Conrado quoque tercio gubernacula regni moder-
ante, claruit Bernardus Clarevallensis abbas, cuius fama tanta signorum fuit opinione celebris, ut
de toto orbe conflueret ad eum populorum frequentia cupientium videre quae per eum fiebant mirabilia.
Hic itaque egressus in Teutonicam terram venit ad celebrem curiam Frankenvorde, quo tunc forte
rex Conradus cum omni principum frequentia festivus occurrerat.* (HCS I:59)

highest potentates. Helmold was no eyewitness himself,[33] but he gave a solid reference: *Aderat illic comes noster Adolfus, certius nosse cupiens ex operacione divina virtutem viri* . . . 'present at the event was our Count Adolf, who wished to assure himself of the virtue of the man by whom divine work was done.'[34]

The count's experience is carefully described. He enters into it as a sceptic, whose *incredulitati veluti divinitus edoctus vir Dei remedium providens* . . . 'lack of belief the learned man of God through divine inspiration found a way to cure.' Bernhard was given a blind and lame boy, *cuius debilitatis nulla potuit esse dubitacio* . . . 'of whose handicap there could be no doubt.' By laying his hand over the boy's eyes, Bernhard brought his eyesight back, and thereafter 'corrected' the crippled knee. However Count Adolf noted dryly that this case was an exception, since the holy man treated (*consignavit*) the other supplicants by words only. Here is a marker; we have as it were gained eye contact with the proceedings. Helmold recorded a story that he may even have heard directly from the count's mouth. The latter would have told it many times back home in Holstein.

However, performing miracles was not Bernhard's chief reason for attending the diet, and we may wonder whether the *res novae et toti orbi stupendae* actually refer to the other event which Helmold records:

> This holy man, governed by I don't know which oracles, began to encourage princes and other believers that they should go to Jerusalem, in order to subdue the barbarian nations of the east and bring them under Christian laws, saying that the time was close, when the multitude of peoples should come in [i.e. into the kingdom of God], and that hence the entire Israel should be saved. At the words of the exhorter, an incredibly great host of people at once promised to participate in the expedition.[35]

At this point Helmold boasts the names of the most prominent of those who had taken the vow: the king himself, Duke Frederick of Swabia *qui postea regnavit* . . . 'who governed later' (i.e. Barbarossa),

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[33] It is thought that he was staying at the monastery of Neumünster during this period.

[34] This and the following quotations are all from HCS I:59.

[35] *Cepit sanctus ille, nescio quibus oraculis edoctus, adhortari principes ceterasque fidelium plebes, ut proficiscerentur Ierusalem ad comprimendas et Christianis legibus subigendas barbaras orientis naciones, dicens appropriare tempora, quo plenitudo gentium introire debeat, et sic omnis Israel salvus fiat. Protinus ad verba exhortantis incredibile dictu est, quanta populorum caterva se ad profectionem eandem devoverit.*

Duke Welf of Spoleto, *cum episcopis et principibus, milicia nobilium et igno-*
bilium vulgariumque numero estimacionem excedente . . . 'as well as bishops
and princes, the army of the nobles, lesser nobles and ordinary peo-
ple to a number that was impossible to calculate.' And why just talk
of the army of the Germans, he goes on, when King Ludvig of the
Parisians and all the Franks were doing the same. *Non est recognitum*
vicinis temporibus nec auditum a diebus seculi tantum convenisse exercitum,
excercitum, inquam, grandem nimis. Fueruntque signati tituli crucis in vestibus
et armatura . . . 'It is not known, neither in recent times nor since the
beginning of time, that an equally great army has been gathered.
And they put the sign of the cross on their clothes and weapons.'

Only then, as the last sentence of the chapter, curtly follows the
observation that really mattered to the people of Holstein, and indeed
to the making of Europe. *Visum autem fuit auctoribus expedicionis partem*
exercitus unam destinari in partes orientis, alteram in Hyspaniam, terciam vero
ad Slavos, qui iuxta nos habitant . . . 'But the authors of the war expe-
dition found it appropriate to send one part of the army to the East,
another part to Spain and the third part to the Vends, who live
near us'.[36] For the first time, central authorities and institutions of
continental Europe—pope, emperor, Cistercians—were endeavour-
ing to take some common responsibility for the centrifugally expand-
ing European frontier.

At first sight, this narrative may look like another inconsequential
and naive medieval text. It is held together by the headline *De beato*
Bernardo abbate Clarevallensi, and possibly by some inner logic in the
experience of Count Adolf of Holstein: (1) of Bernhard's charisma,
(2) of some impression of eschatological nature inspired by him, and
(3) of the immense political consequences his summons inspired,
namely mobilisation for the Second Crusade.[37]

A second reading suggests caution. In spite of the rhetorical descrip-
tions of Bernhard and the mobilisation for the crusade, there is a
quite chilly tone to everything else that is said—notably the laconic,
almost resigned comment that the authors of the project had decided

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[36] The last quotation from HCS I:59 in the present context.

[37] According to Helmold's description, Bernhard would have indicated that the last
day of the world was approaching. It may be questioned whether Bernhard really
said this, but this is not to deny his characteristic eschatological touch. Bernhard's
involvement in raising interest in the Second Crusade, proclaimed by his former
pupil Eugen III, is well known, cf. Lotter (1989 p. 286ff.) with further references.

that the Vends should be converted. Bernhard of Clairvaux was to be beatified in 1174. Writing a few years earlier, Helmold was thus paying homage at a time when Bernhard's memory was in the limelight.

St. Bernhard's holiness is endorsed mainly by reference to the miracle which convinced the sceptical count. But the theme of scepticism is rather skillfully introduced. We are told that Bernhard caught the attention of the (surely) demanding audience by carefully performing one concrete miracle, following it up by powerful preaching that completely turned opinion in favour of taking the vow. His effect on people is described as a mass psychosis, which clearly Helmold could have hailed with greater enthusiasm. We may note that Count Adolf did not take the cross, not even in defence of his 'home front'.[38] In fact the chapter devoted to St. Bernhard introduces a series of deplorable events, with the capture of Lisbon as the sole positive result.[39] When Helmold turns to the Vendic sideshow, it is to record the catalogue of problems created; notably the disruption of Count Adolf's alliance with the Vendic prince Niclot, and the understandable, even justifiable, devastation the latter let fall on the newly-colonised areas of Holstein.[40]

This is a somewhat unexpected reaction. Wasn't more Europeanization what the leading political actors of north Saxony and Holstein wanted? After all, they were doing their utmost to penetrate the so-called *Limes Saxonis*, the cultural border with the Vends.

Related knowledge: bad people, good land

Since the days of Charlemagne, the northern border of the reconstructed empire had remained the Elbe for most practical matters. In the 10th century, some campaigns had been undertaken into Denmark as well as Vendland, but the land between the *Danavirke* and Elbe continued to be a tripartite buffer zone between the Vends, Danes and Saxons. We have to return to this area to find descriptions of what can be called the definite breakthrough of Europeanization.

We may recall the summons for a crusade-type endeavour issued by Archbishop Adalgot of Magdeburg and his East Saxon compatriots

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[38] The Sibylline or eschatological colouring of the appeal is probably rightly referred to St. Bernhard, who uses such expressions in his own writings on the preparation of the expedition; see Kahl 1983 pp. 129–39; Lotter 1989 pp. 290–92.

[39] HCS I:60,61.

[40] HCS I:62,63.

in 1108, noted above as an early example of an expansive Western mentality at the turn of the 12th century. Aid was requested from several West German provinces for an attack on some un-named pagan neighbours of the East Saxon community. The high-ranking churchmen and nobles who urged the attack underlined that although the people in question were evil, 'their land is superb, with meat, honey, meal, [fish], birds, and if it is cultivated, [full] of all yield from the fruitful soil, so that no land could be compared to this one.' The letter ends with its business-like proposition that the correspondents might save their souls and 'acquire a superb land to live in'.[41]

It is a remarkable message, issued at the borders of the Rim on the eve of its Europeanization. Its lack of known results, together perhaps with its extraordinary number of Biblical references and the identification of its writer as a Flemish cleric, has led scholars to suspect that it may have been only a draft which never was put to use. Much as I agree with Friedrich Lotter, who writes that the appeal above all 'highlights the change of mind which determined future politics on the Elbe border', I suspect it mirrors the actual geopolitical tensions building up at the time on the southwest segment of the Rim.

The pagans thought to be the object of these attentions would have been the Vends of Pomerania, an area recently penetrated by another Christian prince, Boleslaw III of Poland. At that time Boleslaw refused to accept the German king as his feudal overlord.[42] The letter claims that the initiative to strike at the heathens came from the German king, and according to the text he was keen to participate with all those whom he could bring along.

This would have been the young Henry V (to become emperor in 1111), who in 1108 is known to have been pressing on his Christian neighbours in the east, the Poles and the Hungarians. The king's role is expressed rather cautiously, and I believe this indicates that the text was prepared for use. The authors would naturally have liked to have had more explicit confirmation of the royal participation. However, the letter also claims that the king of the Danes wanted to enter the campaign with his people, and that other princes

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[41] Above Ch. I:1.
[42] That Pomerania was the intended target follows from the intended participation of the Danes, and the proximity of the Magdeburgian church province. For Poland's parallel interest and the tensions with Imperial Germany, cf. Jordan 1973a p. 67f.; Piskorski 1999 p. 35ff.

in the vicinity were contemplating it.[43] The latter may well be a hint to the ambitious Boleslaw, who during this period was very active in the inland southern part of Pomerania, and a few years later established his position as political overlord of the entire territory.[44]

A sceptical reader might easily get the impression that plans among the Danes and other neighbours gave the authors of the document little comfort. The background could be a group of leading East Saxons who felt that a potential gain had been snatched from under their noses, and knowing of the papal summons in 1095, tried to apply the same successful formula. But we must ask whether an archiepiscopal dictum could have transformed the East Saxons of 1108 into crusading colonialists, if other circumstances had not been favourable. In the event, the situation was not quite favourable enough.

Very little may have come out of this first known effort to launch a form of crusade towards a Baltic target. The process was only beginning, and the future was far from clear. The letter which offers such an excellent example of a new Faustian, Catholic mentality spreading over the reformed and crusade-inspired Europe, may have been little more than a piece of rhetoric, modern for its time, which was thrown into the day-to-day politics on the European frontier.

However, in 1147, a crusade towards the Vends was not only proclaimed, but realised. Why did Helmold respond negatively? He represented a younger generation, was of a different station in life and had different political interests to the men of 1108, but it seems there were other reasons; according to the best criteria, Helmold ought to have been a Europeanization agent himself.

Lotter suggests some answers. The aristocracy of northern Saxony and Holstein had developed a new concept, bringing in West European colonists who practised the new agricultural system in which making clearings in the vast forests soon paid off. As the letter of 1108 shows, a crusade could be instrumental in achieving that goal. As far as we

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[43] *Ad hoc bellum devotas offert manus cum populo suo rex Dacorum et alii principes per circuitum. Ipse etiam rex noster, huius belli auctor, cum omnibus, quos poterit adducere, promtissimus erit audiutor.* If the German king had really taken the initiative, this would hardly have followed after the reference to the Danish king and those other anonymous but neighbouring princes, nor would it have been mentioned in passing. They would have had some justification in referring to the German monarch, but one might suspect the active initiative was with the authors, perhaps prompted by indications of Danish preparations.

[44] Cf. Tymieniecki 1929 pp. 17–21; Piskorski 1999 pp. 35–43.

know, no such colonisation enterprises were undertaken in or prior
to 1108, but evidence starts to emerge in the following years. Lotter
points out that there is no talk of Christianising the Vends in the
Magdeburgian letter. Such efforts began in the 1120s through Otto
von Bamberg, Vizcelin and the famed Archbishop of Magdeburg,
Norbert of Xanten. This was the epoch following the Concordat of
Worms, when pope and emperor stopped obstructing each other and
were semi-cooperating to establish Christian Vendic realms within
the network of feudal ties that was the Empire.[45]

The crusade of 1147 brought something new: an ideology which
had been worked out by Bernhard of Clairvaux and taken up by his
former pupil, Pope Eugen III. The foremost aim was not the coloni-
sation but the conversion of the Vendic lands. According to Lotter's
analysis, Bernhard offered two choices—either the Vendic princes and
their subjects would convert fully to the correct version of Christianity
through their own efforts, or their nations would be wiped out, and
they themselves forced to convert.[46] The pope and his mentor had
also agreed that the Vendic expedition could only be called a cru-
sade—and hence bring redemption of sins—if the participants did
not make treaties with the heathens, accept tributes, or let them
retain their pagan customs. As Lotter points out, this suggests the
authors of the crusade were aware of the normal procedures on the
Vendic frontier, which would explain the Saxon princes' unwilling-
ness to fight their Vendic neighbours.[47] This implies that the North
Saxon vassals had their version of an old-fashioned *skattland* system.[48]
By 1147, several may have taken a step further, initiating a mod-
ern type of colonisation into that older framework.

However the appeal for a crusade interfered with a brisk ongoing
business. It would certainly damage channels to the Vendic elite, many
of whom had accepted Christianity, but had learned the hard way not
to try to convert the majority of Vends, who adhered to an unusually
well-organised pagan cult system. Another unfavourable aspect for the
local Saxon aristocrats must have been that a crusade would bring
other West European entrepreneurs to the area, whose resources might
have been better than their own.

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[45] Lotter 1989 pp. 275–85.
[46] Lotter 1989 pp. 285–94.
[47] Lotter 1989 pp. 288f., 292.
[48] I thus disagree with Lotter's (1989 p. 293) opinion that the quoted Helmold
lines lament over lax conduct by vassals who didn't want to waste their own future
land and curtail their own future income.

People gathered from all of Saxony and Westphalia, to be joined by a Danish fleet. When the combined forces started besieging the strongholds of Demmin and Dubin, we suddenly get a full answer:

> But the vassals of our duke and of Margrave Albert talked to each other: Is not the land that we devastate our land, and the people that we conquer our people? Why do we behave like enemies of ourselves and destroy our own resources? Won't these losses fall upon our overlords? From that day they made subterfuges in the army and delayed the occupation by frequent armistices. As soon as the Vends were conquered in battle, they kept the army from pursuing the fleeing and from capturing the stronghold. At last, when our people got tired of this, they made an agreement, saying that the Vends should accept the Christian faith and set the Danes whom they kept in captivity free. Thus, many of them were falsely baptized, and from captivity they set free all old and useless people while keeping those who were able to work hard. So this great enterprise ended, to little avail. Before long it became worse, since they neither acted upon their baptism nor refrained from plundering the Danes.[49]

Helmold's discovery report from the Vendic crusade demonstrates that Christianisation is not the decisive moment of Europeanization in a country. It neither transforms converts into Europeans in a day, nor the remaining pagans into the Other. This has been suggested before, but here it is clearly spelled out. We must reckon with an Old-system version of Christianity, characterised by a tolerant attitude towards pagans, and rewarded by mutual tolerance towards Christianity among many pagan populations. Christian intolerance emerges as a property of the New system.

I will not follow further the integration of the Vends into the *Reich*, and their subsequent Germanization. Instead I will return to the main problem—the formation of a 'definite' method of Europeanization. I believe Helmold provides a description of this as well.

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[49] *Dixerunt autem satellites ducis nostri et marachionis Adalberti adinvicem*: '*Nonne terra, quam devastamus, terra nostra est, et populus, quem expugnamus, populus noster est? Quare igitur invenimur hostes nostrimet et dissipatores vectigalium nostrorum? Nonne iactura haec redundat in dominos nostros?*' *Ceperunt igitur a die illa facere in exercitu tergiversaciones et obsidionem multiplicatis induciis alleviare. Quotiens / enim in congressu vincebantur Slavi, retinebatur exercitus, ne fugitantes insequerentur et ne castro potirentur. Ad ultimum nostris iam pertesis conventio talis facta est, ut Slavi fidem Christianam reciperent et laxarent Danos, quos in captivitate habuerant. Multi igitur eorum falso baptizati sunt, et de captione hominum relaxaverunt omnes senes et inutiles ceteris retentis, quos servicio robustior aptaverat etas. Taliter illa grandis expedicio cum modico emolumento soluta est. Statim enim postmodum in deterius coaluerunt, nam neque baptisma servaverunt nec cohibuerunt manus a depredacione Danorum.* (HCS I:65)

Helmold of Bosau on the Europeanization model of Henry the Lion

After a pagan reaction towards the establishment of a Christian Vendic realm, which had occurred in 1138, the German state system invaded the Liubice area in the person of Adolf von Schauenberg, the Count of Holstein. He forced the traders to establish a new version of their trading station on a broader site, almost entirely surrounded by the meandering Trave. The new foundation was named after its predecessor, but in German: Lübeck.[50]

Some years later, the count was overshadowed by a more resourceful Europeanization agent. This was one of the truly great political entrepreneurs of the period—Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria. He was of royal descent (Emperor Lothar III was his maternal grandfather) and had exalted personal and diplomatic contacts with most power centres on the Continent. His second wife Mathilde was the daughter of King Henry II of England. Henry cut a fashionable figure and surrounded himself with the finest art and architecture of the day. His splendour is revealed in his chosen capital, Braunschweig, particularly in the great palace of Dankwarderode, where in 1166 he had the famous Burglöwe sculpture installed. This elegant lion, of great fluidity and thought to have been inspired by the antique she-wolf of Rome, is the first open-air sculpture of the Middle Ages. Henry also had a highly successful political career, aided by a strongly active temperament and a ruthless disposition. If a figure was needed to exemplify the idea of a twelfth-century renaissance, he is the obvious candidate.[51]

It is this man, Henry the Lion, who is not only the patron but also the hero of Helmold's work. He enters the narrative as *Heinricus dux adolescens*, one of the leaders of the third army of crusaders, who *devotaverunt se ad gentem Slavorum, Obotritos scilicet atque Luticios nobis confines, ulturi mortes et exterminia, quae intulerunt Christicolis, precipue vero Danis . . .* 'devoted themselves to the Vendic people, namely our neighbours the Obodrites and the Lutitians, to take vengeance for death and banishment that they had brought to the Christians, particularly the Danes.'[52] From then on, the lands of Mecklenburg and Pomerania were gradually conquered from the Vends. In the following three decades, Henry the Lion was to play a dominant role in this process.

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[50] Lotter 1989 pp. 283–85, Stoob 1995 p. 61ff.; Kattinger 1999a p. 23ff.
[51] Jordan (1979) 1995; Ehlers 1996 pp. 451–520.
[52] HCS I:62.

From our present point of view, Henry's most important act was to
force Count Adolf of Holstein to hand over control of the best site
for a town and harbour on the Lower Trave, and to re-establish the
town of Lübeck there in 1158–59. Henry crushed the count's efforts
to defend his rights by forcing the inhabitants to move to an alter-
native town nearby. After Adolf had given up they could return to
his foundation, now in Henry's hands, and a well-considered pro-
gramme was set in motion:

> The merchants went gladly back at once, by order of the duke, and
> left the unsuitable new town and began to rebuild the churches and
> the walls of the town. And the duke sent emissaries to the towns and
> the realms in the north, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Russia, offering
> peace and promising free trade and access to his town, Lübeck. Further,
> he established a mint and a customs station as well as *honestissima*
> municipal rights.[53]

These often-quoted lines have been thought to depict the introduction
of the modern European city, which had a fundamental symbolic
meaning as well as far-reaching trade and political consequences.
According to Fritz Rörig's *Unternehmertheorie*, a chain of treaties and
city foundations followed which laid the foundation of the Hanseatic
trade in a couple of intensive decades. As proof that these efforts
paid off almost instantly, reference is often made to a law from the
small Westphalian town of Medebach, established in 1165, which
explicitly mentions commercial travels *in Datia vel Rucia vel in alia
regione*.[54] These notions of a swift breakthrough under the auspices
of Henry the Lion will be considered,[55] but first I wish to examine
the role played by the duke himself.

When the teenage Henry was enfieffed with the Duchy of Saxony
in 1142, it was up to him to make the best of it. He had become
the formal master of a huge territory which included many largely
independent counties, as well as some great centres of the *ecclesia*.

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[53] *Statim iubente duce reversi sunt mercatores cum gaudio desertis incommoditatibus novae civi-
tatis et ceperunt reedificare ecclesias et menia civitatis. Et transmisit dux nuntios ad civitates et
regna aquilonis, Daniam, Suediam, Norwegiam, Ruciam, offerens eis pacem, ut haberent liberum
commeatum adeundi civitatem suam Lubike. Et statuit ille monetam et theloneum et iura civitatis
honestissima.* (HCS 86). The works of Rörig (from the early 1920s to the early 1950s)
are posthumously collected in Rörig 1959; cf. Hofmeister 1926; Rennkamp 1977
p. 34f.; Jordan (1979) 1995 p. 76ff.; Stoob 1995 pp. 59ff., 69ff.; Kattinger 1999a
pp. 61–77.
[54] Medebach's Stadtrecht, HUB I:17 p. 393.
[55] See Ch. V:1.

To quote Joachim Ehlers: 'This duchy was no institution that a person could have taken over as an entity, but foremost an unsatisfactorily defined claim of rights, which had to be equipped with concrete meaning in the first place, based on his existing possessions and influences.' With a strong allodial power base in the country, together with rights to counties and bailiwicks, the young duke had resources for political action, but no *Amtsautorität als Herzog*. Only by the defence of the *Landfrieden*, says Ehlers, did he possess an undisputed standing above the rest of the mighty in Saxony, but that was a weakly-developed custom.[56]

As a practising power holder, Henry was quick to use violence. In his political debut, aged 16, he imprisoned Archbishop Adalbero of Bremen and his dean and successor Hartwig, threatening to kill them over a mere inheritance case. However he was not just acting on impulse. By investigating the *arengae* of his charters, Ehlers identifies a theory of action focusing on worldly rule (*Herrschaft*) which is brought to the utmost heights by wealth, repute and power. In the *intitulatio* of his charters Henry also claimed to have the duchy by God's grace. There is no place in this programme for a position defined by adherence to the Reich (*eine reichrechtliche Begründung hat in diesem Programm keinen Platz*).[57] In short, he aimed to create an independent realm of his own.

At the same time, the Church of Bremen was seeking compensation for its Scandinavian losses in Vendland. Archbishop Hartwig—possibly due to personal animosity—challenged the duke by founding the three dioceses of Oldenburg (later Lübeck), Ratzeburg and Schwerin and appointing their first bishops; the duke claimed the regal right to investiture north of the Elbe. It became clear that the bishops couldn't function without the duke's support, and they had to succumb.[58] Using the institution of church bailiwicks (*Kirchenvogteien*), Henry soon controlled the church in Saxony as a whole, the great *Reich* monasteries included. As Karl Jordan has observed, Henry did not found a single new monastery, a remarkable fact which underlines his ability to follow some strategy of his own. To obtain clerical competence, he recruited loyal clerks from the Blasius and

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[56] Ehlers 1996 p. 452.
[57] Ehlers 1996 p. 453.
[58] Petersohn 1979 p. 58ff.; Lotter 1989 p. 294ff.; Jordan 1995 p. 39ff.; Ehlers 1996 p. 456ff.

Cyriacus colleges or the Ägidius monastery, all in Braunschweig. They worked for a while at his court before being promoted to important positions within the secular church.[59]

It has been said that Henry tried to establish a unified and strong state, combining Saxony with lands he could seize in the territories east of the Elbe. There, he was enfieffed with regal competence by the Roman-German monarch. But the much-discussed issue of legality is hardly the most important aspect. By fighting other power holders in Saxony, secular as well as ecclesiastical, the young Lion rose remarkably quickly to the position of central power holder. He also built up his reputation as a ruler, by creating the architectural townscape of Braunschweig, entering an exalted marriage (after divorcing his first wife), supporting artists and poets, undertaking a prestigious pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and even pondering an eventual kingship. This is suggested in the so-called 'Coronation picture' in the *Gmundener Evangeliar*, which he had commissioned during the 1170s. Henry and his royal second wife are kneeling, receiving crowns from the hands of Christ and surrounded by those of their ancestors who had been monarchs.[60]

During four decades as Duke of Saxony (excluding the Bavarian extension), Henry crushed power alliances among the lesser dynasties, took control over ecclesiastical universalism in the area, and cleared the roads for long distance trade. In this way he was able not only to mobilise his territorial resources for a unified north-German trade policy on the Baltic, but also to introduce a unified conquest and colonisation policy and a coordinated Christianisation policy in Vendland. Henry did not invent these methods. If anything, he invented centralised government in northern Europe which rested on institutions rather than on unstable associations of minor power holders.

His chief chronicler has masterfully condensed all this into a few lines that are often quoted. The following synthesis is valid for 1171:

> The whole region of the Slavs, beginning at the Eider that is the border towards the realm of the Danes and extending between the Baltic Sea and the Elbe through a very wide land up to Schwerin, once feared for ambush and almost fully devastated, is now, thanks to God's

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[59] Jordan 1995 pp. 142–48. Cf. Ch. VII:3.
[60] Jordan 1995 pp. 184–86 & passim.

mercy, completely transformed into one colony of the Saxons; there are villages and towns established and the number of churches and servants of Christ is multiplying.[61]

This idyllic picture follows the same tenor as Saxo Grammaticus' anecdote of the Danish emissary who tried to make the Vends see the difference between the friendly old Nordic system, which aimed at domination of a network, and the catastrophic new one applied by the Saxons, who wanted the land as well. This is when the flourishing Vendic trading society came to an abrupt end. From then on, the conquest and colonisation model was repeated again and again, in one region after another until all the Vendic and Pruzzian lands were incorporated into Germany or subjected to the Teutonic Order.[62]

Through his consequent build-up of core area institutions close to the Danish border, Henry the Lion clearly represented a threat towards the Danes. He had engaged himself in the Danish civil war in the 1150s, during which his candidate for the throne, Svend Grate, plundered the port of Schleswig. As long as Henry's activities were coordinated with the general tendencies of imperial policy, Denmark had better remain within that sphere as well. One may thus claim that Henry the Lion—in a *sort* of continuity from Knud Lavard— not only posed a threat to Denmark, but also a challenge to Europeanization. I will also consider a report on the Swedish reaction.

A debate on Old and New systems at the Diet of all Swedes

Although the Swedes have not given us many twelfth-century narratives, they are widely commented on in other sources. The foremost Icelandic history writer, Snorri Sturluson, shows a good knowledge of Sweden. This becomes evident in *Olav's saga*, the life of the Norwegian

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[61] *Omnis enim Slavorum regio incipiens ab Egdora, qui est limes regni Danorum, et extenditur inter mare Balthicum et Albiam per longissimos tractus usque Zuerin, olim insidiis horrida et pene deserta, nunc dante Deo tota redacta est veluti in unam Saxonum coloniam, et instruuntur illic civitates et oppida, et multiplicantur ecclesiae et numerus ministrorum Christi* (HCS 110).

[62] The Russian scholar, V.F. Andreev (1995 p. 45) uses similar formulations to explain why Novgorod, despite good military efforts, was unable to maintain its power in eastern Finland and Estonia. Its troops consisted of the *druzhina* and a war force, which was expected to conquer, plunder and exact tributes; but after some months they had to go back to peaceful activities and work for their daily bread. At the same time, Swedish and German expansion was characterized, after a war expedition, by the establishment of forts and endeavours to colonise and mission in the conquered region.

Viking chief who became the first canonised Scandinavian king, which Snorri wrote down around 1225–30. Part of the story is local to Sweden, a country he had visited in 1219 as the guest of the *lagman* . . . 'law speaker' Eskil of Västergötland and his Norwegian wife Kristina. Snorri thus had access to information as current as we could wish for.[63]

In a famous sequence in the saga, Snorri takes the reader to the diet of Uppsala, where he stages a sharp controversy between *lagman* Torgny (*Þorgnýr*), a spokesman for regional chieftains and freemen, and the then king, Olof Skötkonung. The *lagman* gives an admonitory address to the king, who had adopted a modern, autocratic way of ruling. It is clearly the local version of the controversy for and against the strengthening of statehood in Snorri's own lifetime, and doesn't say much at all about the period in which the author sets it.

> And when he (Torgny) stood up, then all freemen (*bönder*) also stood up from where they had been sitting. 'The mind of the Svea King nowadays is other than it used to be. Torgny, my grandfather, had every summer accompanied the Uppsala King Erik Emundsson on war expeditions to various countries and conquered Finland, Carelia, Estonia and Curonia as well as the Eastern Countries far around. The earthwork strongholds and other great fortifications built by him are still to be seen'[64]

Here we have one of Snorri's characteristic demonstrations of geographic knowledge. This is clearly a reference to the many hillforts in the East Baltic territory.

'And he was not', the *lagman* goes on, 'so haughty that he refused to listen to men who were obliged to talk to him'. The king who ruled during the time of his father had no less power, but then it was easy to get on with the kings. When Torgny himself was young, a king ruled who expanded the Svea realm and defended it powerfully; it was easy to get on with him, too. The present king, however, hears only what he wants to hear and lets his *skattlands* be lost for other projects that no kings have devoted themselves to before. He should stop this. The *lagman* concludes: 'But if you will subject the eastern realms that your relatives and ancestors ruled over before, we will all come with you'.

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[63] Sturlunga saga VII (p. 238); cf. Lönnroth 1959 pp. 13f.

[64] *En er hann (Þorgný) stóð upp, þá stóðu upp allir boendr, þeir er áðr hǫfdu setit . . . 'annan veg er nú skaplyndi Svía-konunga, en fyrr hefir verit. Þorgnýr, fǫður faðir minn, munði Eirík Upsala-konung Emundarson ok sagði þát frá honum, at meðan hann vara léttasta aldri, at hann hafði hvert sumar leiðangr úti ok fór til ýmissa landa ok lagði undir sik Finnland ok Kirjálaland, Eistland ok Kúrland ok viða um austrlǫnd . . . jorðborgir ok ǫnnur stórvirki* (Ól. helg. k. 80).

In this episode, dignity, wisdom and true loyalty remain with this spokesman for the people. As far as we know, *lagman* Torgny is entirely a literary creation. He represents an old-fashioned ideology, defending a chieftain's freedom within a society of lesser and somewhat dependent freemen, and only loosely submitting to kingship, instead of being granted feudal privileges and having to succumb to princely rights. It has been pointed out that the polemic has its background on Iceland, where in the early 13th century Norwegian kings raised their demands.[65]

In his essay on *The Programme of the Genuine Folkungar*, Erik Lönnroth suggests that the scene at the Uppsala diet also reflects an ongoing internal political controversy in Sweden involving the powerful activist group known as the *Folkungar*. The name may recall *jarl* Folke, who fell in the battle of Gestilren in 1210, when a Danish attempt to put Karl Sverkersson on the throne was stopped. While visiting *lagman* Eskil in Västergötland, Snorri had gone to the home of a leading *Folkunge*, Lönnroth says. Proof of this is that the Icelander was presented with *merki þat . . .* 'the standard, which' the winning side had carried at Gestilren. The words put in Torgny's mouth may recall comments uttered by Snorri's host in Västergötland, and could also interpret feelings about the new young king, Johan Sverkersson, who ascended the throne in 1216.

The *Folkungar* were a conservative group, Lönnroth states, who dreamt of 'the ancient Svitiod, in command of the Baltic', and consequently opposed Catholic demands for *libertas ecclesie* and the exclusivity of kingship. Their power basis clearly combined strong support in Västergötland with strong support from the commoners of Uppland, where interest in the East Baltic trade and expeditions in its defence was still strong. These expeditions sometimes claimed to be crusades, but the popes were not satisfied, since these regimes did not even respect the fundamental canonical rules of election and investiture of bishops. In addition, they forced the Church to contribute to the crusade.[66] To quote Lönnroth's final words: 'It was that Sweden, to which Snorri devoted a romance in the famous saga of the *lagman*

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[65] See Sandvik 1955 pp. 29ff., 45ff. In his third chapter, Sandvik demonstrates how Snorri idealises chieftains who oppose kings on matters of principle. Cf. Bagge 1991 pp. 100–10, 123ff., 136f.; von See 1999 pp. 358f., 368f.

[66] DS 186, 227; Lönnroth 1959 pp. 18ff., 27.

Torgny, in which the reader, behind all Icelandic adaptation and literary embroidery, can discern a Swedish governmental programme: the one Snorri was informed of by his hospitable host *lagman* Eskil.'[67]

I can accept Lönnroth's interpretation and add further observations. The arrogant king portrayed by Snorri does not describe Johan Sverkersson, but rather the type of monarch rejected by the *Folkungar*, unless they recall some negotiation before they decided to support him. Timing is also important in understanding this text. In 1219, when Snorri talked to the Västgöta *lagman*, the Danes launched a successful crusade towards Estonia (the northern part of the present country, on the Gulf of Finland), but with other ambitions than we have observed previously. The assault was clearly intended to conquer, Christianise and keep the country. The idealized figure of the *lagman* Torgny, placed in this contemporary context, is clearly urging Sweden to seize its share, although it may not have been sufficiently prepared. In his speech, Curonia and Estonia as well as Finland proper are presented as old Swedish *skattlands*, and thus a historically legitimate sphere of interest. We know that this argument was so forcefully put that in the spring of 1220 the king actually let his *ledung* mobilise.

A Livonian report on what became of it

The consequence of the warmongering propaganda that must have spread in Sweden of 1219 was seen in the early summer of the following year. A brief discovery report is found in Henry of Latvia's chronicle. When reading this text it must be remembered that this *scriptor* eagerly defends the German missionary enterprise. He has just described the Danish landing in the province of Reval in 1219. Led by King Valdemar II, Archbishop Anders Sunesen and other bishops in front of a great army, they destroyed an ancient stronghold and began to raise a modern citadel, called *Tallinn* by the Estonians, 'the Danish citadel'. They forced the inhabitants of Reval and Harrien to adopt Christianity and made the area a diocese under Lund's archbishopric. Coming to the Svear, Henry writes:

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[67] Lönnroth 1959 pp. 13–29, quotation p. 29.

Meanwhile, King Johannes of Sweden had gathered a great army and came with his *jarl* and his bishops to Rotalia, since he too wished to acquire parts of Estonia and gain dominion there. And he took his seat in the stronghold of Leal to which Bishop Hermann, the brother of the Livonian bishop, had been affirmed by the pope because this province had once been conquered by the Rigeans and initiated into the first elements of Faith. And the Svear walked through the province, preaching and baptising among them and building churches.[68]

Having left a force behind in Leal, the Swedish king returned home. The Svear felt secure where they were, surrounded by German Livonia and Danish Reval—this is again the voice of Henry of Latvia—and did not care about judicial warnings sent from Riga. Their vigilance slacked, he says. Then one day at dawn the heathen inhabitants of Osilia came from the sea with a great army, laid siege to the Svear and burnt the stronghold. The Svear attacked, but were unable to stand against such a number. The *jarl* (known as Karl the Deaf) and the Bishop of Linköping (also Karl) fell together with about 500 men. Only a few escaped, says Henry, indicating the size of the force that had been left to hold the province. The result is confirmed in other sources. A Swedish annal notes that it took place on 20th August, 1220.[69]

Although he expresses it differently, Lönnroth claims that the aim of the true *Folkungar* in the early 13th century was to re-activate the old *ledung cum skattland* policy in the East Baltic. This would have been discussed between Snorri Sturluson and *lagman* Eskil of Västergötland in 1219, and later echoed in the rhetorical masterpiece staged at Uppsala which sternly criticises the idea of exalted kingship and complains that modern kings displease the people by not retaining their old *skattländer*.

However, if we believe in these conversations we must also believe that they were held against a background of preparations for the Swedish assault on the territory of Wiek, launched in 1220. If so, it

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[68] *Interim rex Suecie Johannes cum duce suo et episcopis suis collecto exercitu magno venit in Rotaliam, cupiens aliquas partes in Estonia ac dominatum adipisci. Et resedit in castro Lealensi, ad quod erat episcopus Hermannus, frater Lyvonensis, a domno papa confirmatus, eo quod eadem provincia fuerit quondam a Rigensibus expugnata et fidei rudimentis initiata. Et circumiverunt Sueci per provinciam, docentes et baptizantes ex eis et ecclesias edificantes. Et pervenerunt ad Danos in Revele, colloquentes cum eis* (HCL XXIV:3).
[69] ASMÆ:17 (Annales 916–1263). Cf. Johansen 1951 pp. 11f., 102, 291; Urban 1975 p. 110f.; E. Christiansen 1980 p. 106f.

seems likely that Snorri got some of it wrong. According to Henry of Latvia, the Swedes who invaded Wiek in 1220 did not behave like those he had described previously, who had negotiated a tribute from Wierland some 30 to 50 years before. Instead they followed the strategy that the Danes had introduced in the northern districts of Estonia the year before: conquest of the land, immediate introduction of European administration, including the building of modern European forts and churches, and quick compulsory baptism. This was not the old way of doing it. It was the way the Germans were doing it.

Related knowledge on landed aristocracy, tenancy and the urbanisation of trade

If pre-European settlements had tended towards diversification around the Rim, their key European concept seems to have been specialisation. The pre-European chieftain's *gård* dissolved into the feudal estate, usually a residential unit for the landholder with fairly limited production capacity, from which peasants living clustered in the villages nearby were organised for (relative) mass production. I use the controversial expression 'feudal' without further definition, as being the most efficient single word for communicating the very varied medieval experience of social differentiation, and in full awareness that it carries even more connotations today.[70]

The landholder was typically a knight or churchman. He (or his steward) gathered the surplus produce of his tenants and brought it to market. At the same time, ordinary freemen and peasants tended to become specialised producers of cereals, while trade rapidly became an exclusive right of urban burghers. The general tendency was to produce larger economic units in the hands of fewer executive leaders. As we have seen elsewhere the methods used to obtain these results were not the same everywhere, and the solutions could also differ.[71]

The introduction of a system of social classes based on a division of people by societal functions has been touched upon in Chapter Two. As an ideology for the subordination it is of great interest to the present study. The creation of a society in which an elite suppressed the majority of tilling and toiling underdogs is often rightly seen as an inbuilt component of Europeanization. Nevertheless, in

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[70] For a general overview of medieval social development, see Le Goff et al. 1997.
[71] Bois 1992; Rösener 1994; Cherubini in: Le Goff et al. 1997 p. 113ff.

the early stages opportunities to specialise may well have been seen
as a step in the right direction, creating greater wealth and freedom.
In addition, the issue of class is often impossible to separate from
other issues such as nationality and ethnicity.

In Europeanized agriculture, moulded in the days of Henry the Lion,
the basic idea was agrarian colonisation, based on systematic enfieffment
of conquered land to leading participants in the conquest. To make
their benefices profitable, they had to bring in colonists from the
advanced and overpopulated areas of western Europe to clear the
woods. However no German colonists reached the East Baltic coun-
tries (Chapter Nine). Nor were the Danes of the Valdemarian epoch
prepared to send colonists to Estonia. Sweden was the only West Baltic
power to provide a substantial contingent of colonists for Livonia:
they were to settle on some of the islands and coastal areas of Estonia,
particularly in the Wiek region. According to Paul Johansen this pro-
cedure followed *post festum*, in the latter part of the 13th century.[72]

   Instead, after having established centralised rule in Livonia under
the Teutonic Order and various bishops, a system of vassal holdings
was established which left it to each vassal to make as much of the
situation as he could. The simple way was to obtain feudal rights
over the existing settlement structure and introduce a system of rents,
preferably in products that could be exported to the West. The build
up of manorial estates was a much later concern, achieved to a large
extent by creating clearings in the previously sacrosanct woods, said
to have been considered holy. The land that could be cleared out
of the forested areas of East Balticum was often as good as that cul-
tivated by the indigenous people in pre-European times. But there
social differentiation combined with more pronounced ethnic differences
ended up as the truly colonial apartheid system of *Deutsche* and
Undeutsche in the Late Middle Ages. This extraordinary economic
potential was, in social terms, a ticking bomb.[73]

The equivalent Scandinavian development was internal. In Denmark
the emergence of an aristocracy had begun by the 11th century.
Sweden seems to have been a slow starter, but had command over

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[72] On the influence of Swedes in Estonia, particulary in Reval, see Johansen 1951
(pp. 29ff., 48ff.). On the Swedish immigration to the Wiek area, ibid., p. 114ff.;
beginning around 1270 (pp. 118–121).
[73] Blomkvist and Lindquist [eds] 1999 pp. 9–30, 127–212.

wider land resources. Interior colonisation, resembling that in Holstein, Mecklenburg and Vor-Pommern, was launched in the forested marginal areas of Småland, Väster- and Östergötland, probably before the end of the 12th century. It spread to the Svea lands in the following century. As in Denmark the *frälse* families tended to establish their residences (*sätesgårdar*) on the fringes of the traditional plains, from where they had good opportunities to launch colonisation projects into the surrounding forested regions.[74] The process of internal colonisation culminated in the first half of the 14th century, when impractical endeavours were launched even in the northernmost parts of the country.[75] Natural conditions frequently interfered in Sweden, since the surrounding territories were largely moraine-bound and not rewarding for the large-scale agriculture recommended by doctrines of Europeanization. There were other advantages, but whether the *frälse* organisers and their *coloni* were aware of these from the beginning is an open question.

We can also understand the peripheral establishment of *frälse* residences as a token of remaining strength among the freemen. The use of legal technicalities characterised the further expansion of the *frälse* in more ways than those illustrated above. Their long-term tendency, not least in the ecclesiastical estate (monasteries and cathedral prelates), was to buy themselves into the villages on the traditional agricultural plains. Eventually their progress coincided with the development of statehood, in which ecclesiastical landowners and secular ones who rendered military service were forming a privileged stratum. A frequently quoted note in a thirteenth-century annal claims that the *bönder* of Uppland lost their freedom in 1247 and were compelled to pay several new taxes.[76] The incident was a component of the civil war in 1247–51; it was also linked to the foundation of

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[74] In general, Lindkvist 1979, Myrdal 1985, Myrdal and Söderberg 1991, Myrdal 1999 pp. 19–31. The royal claim to a third of the commons has been seen as an instrument for opening forests for colonisation purposes. These territories were donated mainly to monasteries and the secular *frälse* in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Götaland (cf. KL s.v. Kolonisation, C.G. Andrae et al.). The dating for the emergence of regal claims on deserted property is unclear (cf. KL s.v. Alminding, P. Meyer). For Scania and present-day Denmark, Skansjö 1983 pp. 61ff., 148ff., 189ff.; Andersson and Anglert 1989 pp. 15–163; Gissel 1994 pp. 123–45 with further references. For various parts of Götaland, see Helmfrid 1962; Norborg 1963; L.-O. Larsson 1964. For Svealand, see Rahmqvist 1996.

[75] Wallerström 1995 p. 47ff.; Blomkvist 1996b p. 106ff.

[76] *eodem anno* (= 1247) *communitas rusticorum Vplandie Sparsatrum amisit victoriam libertatis sue, et inposite sunt eis spannale (!) et skypuiste et honera plura* (ASMÆ: 18). Quoted e.g. by E. Lönnroth 1959 p. 16; Andrae 1960 p. 120f.

Stockholm, and is easily seen as a moment of great change.[77] Nevertheless, a society of freemen remained in Sweden's peripheral provinces, possibly saved from the fate of the East Baltic provinces by being too remote for feudal exploitation. The case of Swedish Finland, seemingly much less controversial than Livonia, suggests that remoteness was a more decisive factor than ethnicity. This peripheral freedom, apparently coexisting here and there with a more ancient form of family system, looks more like a moderate adaptation of pre-European social forms.

Wherever it occurred, internal colonisation was a movement from coastal towns and traditional agrarian plains into wide, unpopulated and in Sweden often rather meagre areas. It meant a mobilisation of men, released slaves and indebted freemen, who got their measured plots and were keen to transform the virgin land into productivity. The rents to the landlord were paid in kind. In order not to have his income rust, go rancid or rotten, the latter had to take it to town, where a reliable resident merchant was needed, who would trade it for other commodities or cash. This was a more specialised agrarian system than previously practised, and it needed a market to flourish. In this way the New agrarian system grew with the spread of an urban network, with bulk trade and the beginnings of an international commodity market.

I have already quoted an eleventh-century Upplandic rune stone which gives a unique picture of an individual economic project of the late Viking Age; that of Torsten, who was making money in Russia in order to buy an estate in southern Uppland. Like all the other international travellers who left evidence of themselves on rune stones in the region, he represents the traditional ideal to which the *Folkungar* wished to return, if we follow Lönnroth. Still in the period of silver hoarding, Torsten's inscription is a bulky receipt of yet another lump of accumulated value, which in this particular case was handed over to the seller, who may have hoarded it elsewhere.

This requires consideration of the constraints on the Viking-age property market, in which the farmsteads were all-round production units which had long since filled up the old fertile plains, where life and work were surrounded by age-old customs and fears that kept

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[77] Lönnroth 1959 p. 23ff.; Ahnlund 1953 p. 109ff.

rivers, lakes and forests as chiefly dormant resources. The *odal* owner-
ship was transferred through marriage and inheritance, partitions and
complicated chains of exchanges, whereas the rest of the countryside
was seen as commons, or dangerous outside areas.[78] In fact there may
hardly have been a property market in late Viking-age Sweden, and
Torsten must have been lucky to find an object in which to invest
his Russian savings. One reason for hoarding so much silver in the
Viking Age, regardless of any magical beliefs connected to it, could
have been that there was little else one could do with it.

I shall not speculate any further; the point I wish to make is that
property, in an entirely new way, became something in which to
invest savings within the New system. Directly or indirectly, land
available for the investment of trade wealth would have risen dra-
matically as a result of internal colonisation. The gradual transfor-
mation is clear in the Norwegian *Konungs skuggsiá*, which was compiled
in the middle of the 13th century. In this text the father advises his
son to divide his trade profits into three parts, investing one in more
commerce, and two *í goðar íarðer* . . . 'in good lands'.[79] This indicates
another way in which Old system chieftains and freemen traders
could become a landed elite, without having to submit to feudalism
and the strains of court life. However Europeanization soon turned
these gentry-traders into an anomaly, since the urban burghers (with
access to the European commodity market) didn't want them.

In Sweden, and to some extent in Norway, the New system meant
the immigration of German merchants, who from the middle of the
13th century clearly aimed at a monopoly. A century later they had
come quite close to it. From the latter period, in a Swedish equiv-
alent to the *Konungs skuggsiá* called *Um Styrilsi kununga*, the anonymous
author tries to make a virtue of the new situation: *Ok är thz dighr
hedhr ok hugnadhr suå konunge som almogha hava döraköp hema i lande sino
utan mykla walk ok wåghan lifs ok godhs manna* . . . 'And it is both hon-
ourable and useful, for king as well as everyman, to buy (goods) at
home in his land, without all the trouble and risk of life and goods'.[80]

The shift from active *farmanna* trade to *döraköp hema* may corre-
spond with Gösta Hasselberg's observation that more ancient Nordic

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[78] Gurjewitsch 1980 pp. 45–50 & passim; cf. Hagerman 1996 p. 18ff.
[79] Konungs skuggsiá: 3, 6–7; cf. KL s.v. Kongespeillitteratur, A. Holtsmark. See
also Gurevich (1997 p. 245f.), who remarks that the most curious aspect of the lat-
ter advice is that it was given in Norway, a country without much agricultural land.
[80] Um Styrilsi kununga IV:2.

sea laws (the Schleswig one included) were meant for a situation in
which the ship was commanded by a *styrimaðr*, either the owner of
the ship or his representative, and the rest of the crew—*hasétar* or
skipar—were 'freighters who work on board', organised into a team
by the swearing of a binding oath, sometimes called *fartekja*. In the
mature Hanseatic sea law, however, a system dominated in which
freighters—*vruchtman, vruchtlude*—usually left their goods in the hands
of a shipowner—*schiphere*—who organised the transport with the assis-
tance of paid workers. A seaman like this would be called *shipman*,
shipknape or plain *knape*. This shift, Hasselberg states, probably reflects
the introduction of new types of ship.[81] From having been an activity
among many within the mobile stratum of society, trade was becom-
ing a specialised profession. Living off the land and selling one's sur-
plus via burghers was becoming a characteristic of the aristocracy.

Summing up

To exemplify encounters between Old Rim and New Continental
military-political doctrines, I have chosen Sweden as my main study.
This has allowed me to depart from an unusually ancient text and
demonstrate that, even in the 9th century, structures existed akin to
the *ledung cum skattland* system which appears two or three centuries
later in sources on Scandinavian countries. Saxo's discovery report
revealed that the Saxons in comparison launched a totally different
New and European system; this I have called conquest with coloni-
sation. The *ledung cum skattland* system appears to have been a policy
to secure vital transport and trade networks, while conquest with
colonisation aimed to dominate territory as well. However the 'definitive
Europeanization programme' with its focus on territory did not replace
the networks of the Old system. The idea was clearly to link territory,
i.e. agrarian expansion, to existing trade networks. This meant new
demands on infrastructure and political protection, not just for sea
routes and foreign merchants, but for inland highways and tenants
as well.

The *change qualitative* which I have discussed in terms of a struggle
between Old and New systems is part of the well-known and widely-
discussed social transformation that occurred in this period, namely
the emergence of a society divided into three or four 'estates' with

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[81] Hasselberg 1953 pp. 102–13.

an inbuilt classification of high and low degree. Centralised government also evolved, with an administration able to control territory through regional power centres. These changes had an impact on Baltic Rim society as a whole. Before addressing their consequences at the level of sovereign polities, which will be an issue throughout the rest of the book, I shall approach a couple of *scriptores* for their opinion.

Snorri's blindness to the ongoing *change qualitative* in his lifetime shouldn't fool us into believing he wasn't aware of them. He may have been a prisoner of the saga genre, he may have been guided by personal political aims, but Torgny's narrative is a clear sign that what he wrote was addressed to his contemporaries. Having examined the texts of long 12th century *scriptores* in Chapters III and IV for contemporary cultural encounters between Catholic Continental Europeans and the indigenous peoples of the Baltic Rim, some observations are now unavoidable regarding the *scriptores* themselves and their role in the Europeanization process. The section below will analyse an example of this.

3. *Towards the Long 12th Century Outlook: A Scandinavian Metaphor of Europeanization*

The strategy of looking backwards

When, around 1150/1250, Scandinavia claims a place in the history of world literature, it is with an immediate golden era, much influenced by growing contacts with western Europe, but still characterised by the cultural heritage of the Viking Age. Authors like Saxo Grammaticus, Snorri Sturluson and many others—mostly Icelanders—wrote about the ancient Nordic cult, the myths and lineages of kings, as if turning their backs to the changes around them. The reasons are manifold and have been much discussed.[82] The Europeanization agents who hoped to take control of this part of the Rim had to negotiate with a society which had a strong claim to an identity of its own.

This heyday of Nordic history writing coincided with the breakthrough of western European institutions and impulses in and around

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[82] Bagge 1991 pp. 1–10, p. 111ff., p. 192ff.; Sawyer and Sawyer 1993 p. 214ff.; Ehlers 1996 p. 335 & passim; Hedeager 1997 p. 30ff.; Clunies Ross 1998; Blomkvist 2002 pp. 220–24.

the Baltic and also in Norway with its north Atlantic *skattländer*. This
suggests that the two phenomena might be connected. A sudden
upsurge of creativity could be a sign of expectation and coming
expansion, but it could equally well be an expression of crisis. Also,
history is a forceful political instrument in the hands of a dynasty,
an oligarchy or any other vested interest. From this perspective the
blossoming of Scandinavian history writing in the decades around
1200 very much resembles a strategy for cultural and political sur-
vival. It could be described as a strategy of looking backwards. This
transforms the old sagas, the *gesta* and *historiae* into potential dis-
covery reports, to some extent even into the rare category of testi-
monies by the discovered.

Scandinavia's moral gene pool—diligent Icelanders and a Great Dane

All this is very much applicable to the Norse kings saga tradition,
which reached its height in Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*.[83] To some
degree it applies to the Icelandic saga as a whole. It remains a mir-
acle that such a small and distant population could produce a written
culture of such quality and originality. Indeed, it seems to be the moral
gene pool of all Scandinavia, and particularly of Norway, where
many skalds and saga writers could count on economic support.[84]
However, Snorri's work was equalled by a Danish masterpiece, Saxo's
Gesta Danorum, 'The Heroic Deeds of the Danes'. Saxo Grammaticus
was a clerk, possibly a canon, in the service of two consecutive arch-
bishops of Lund.[85] He had begun to write his history, in classical
Latin of remarkable Silver Age quality, on behalf of Absalon, who
died in 1202. The completed work was dedicated to Absalon's suc-
cessor, Archbishop Anders Sunesen, and to King Valdemar Sejr. All
this is stated in the preface, in which Saxo also pays homage to
Tylensium industria . . . 'the Icelanders' diligence' for having provided
source material impossible for him to omit. So there is a connec-

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[83] von See (1999 p. 345ff.) identifies in Snorri's Edda and in *Heimskringla* the
general *Norðrland-Ideologie* developed into a programme: *es geht um die bewusste Reaktivierung
schwächer werdender Traditionen im Dienste einer nordischen Kulturraum-Ideologie, der Etablierung
eines nordischen "Sonderbewusstseins"* . . . (ibid., p. 368).

[84] Hastrup 1985; Clover and Lindow 1985; Byock 1988; Dahlbäck [ed.] 1993;
Breisch 1994; von See 1999.

[85] For discussion of Saxo's career and profession, see T.E. Christiansen 1966 pp.
77–82.

tion between his work and theirs.[86] What does that tell us? I shall use Saxo's example to formulate the problem.

The preface of the *Gesta* describes the aim of the work, its sources, the geography of Denmark and to some extent the Baltic-Nordic world. In the first book of sixteen, a mythical ruler *Dan fundator* of the Danish realm is presented with his brother *Angel*, whose descendants conquered England. The narrative flows on relating the mostly successful campaigns of a long series of mythical kings who brought half of Europe under Danish rule. Only the six or seven last books contain 'real history', insofar as names of kings and events mentioned are verifiable to some degree.

As with the Norse texts, there is a large literature devoted to the issues. The main question has been the *Gesta's* position as a source; whether its author was a naive reproducer of lost folklore, a shrewd compiler and free composer of nationalistic propaganda entertainment, or a proficient theological moralist.[87] It seems there is no rounded picture of the man or his work. He may simply have been an allegorist, who used 'the four cardinal virtues, the four elements, the seven spheres and the unification of the Platonic form with materia or mathematics' to demonstrate a holistic vision of the various levels of reality.[88]

In any case his *Gesta* is a kind of prism that reflects the events of the period in a remarkable way. My next step is to look at a narrative where Saxo has used a known Icelandic source, in order to compare them.

A Norse Iliad

A useful arena is offered by the mythical battlefield at Brávellir (Sw. Bråvallarna) where the two leading Baltic powers—the Danes and the Swedes—clashed in a fight of epic dimensions. There, the unnaturally aged Danish king Harald Hildetand finally lost his life, and

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[86] SGD Pr:1:4.
[87] On the wide literature on 'Saxo problems', see C. Weibull 1917–21; Skovgaard-Petersen 1969; KL s.v. Saxo, I. Skovgaard-Petersen with references; Skovgaard-Petersen 1987 pp. 11–23; Johannesson 1978 p. 7ff., pp. 18–41; cf. the conference volume McGuire [ed.] 1996, particularly the contributions by Skovgaard-Petersen and A. Leegaard Knudsen; Kvaerndrup 1999 pp. 32–90.
[88] Johannesson 1978 p. 16.

his nephew King Sigurdr hringr won Denmark for the Swedes. The story is told in a fragment of a Norse saga from around 1300. Since it is also described by Saxo, the written tradition must go back to at least the late 12th century. Saxo prefers to call it *bellum Suetici*, 'the Swedish war', and refers to the songs of Starcatherus or Starkodder, a fated, poetic and murderous figure with ascetic ideals worthy of a military crusading order, who took part in the battle.[89] However, the similarity of narrative structure and of many technical details reveals that he has used a Norse source which must have resembled the preserved fragment (Fig. 6).

The Brávellir story is thought to emanate from an ancient Norse epic answering to what Saxo named the songs of Starcatherus, which in turn might have been drawn from various ancient Germanic myths and poems. The conjectured epic (there are no independent traces) is thought to have emerged either in Norway before 1100 or (by another school of thought) in Iceland before 1200, as a parody of the Icelandic obsession with name listing. It has also been considered to be a part of the otherwise largely disappeared *Skjöldungasaga*, in turn thought to fall back on Ari þorgilsson's vanished early twelfth-century manuscript *conunga ævi*.[90] Much later, after the publication of Saxo's work in 1514, Swedish versions and comments appeared showing no ambition to curb any of its rumour, size and importance.[91] Their existence is quite easy to understand, since this battle of all battles was won by the Swedes. From that perspective, Saxo's use of the tradition becomes more remarkable. It becomes clear that the story, in both early versions of ca. 1200 and ca. 1300, is governed by more profound intentions than immediately meets the reader's eye.

The battle of Brávellir, the fragment claims, was noteworthy in all ancient tales for having been the greatest, hardest, the most evenly

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[89] For the conservative interpretation of Starkodder as a noble, ascetic, idealistic, murderous mercenary soldier (or Viking), see Johannesson 1978 p. 149ff. Skovgaard-Petersen (1987 p. 169ff., cf. 95ff., 136ff.) sees him as a representation of—Archbishop Eskil. His constant peregrinations, his poetry and his practical jokes also give different associations, to Ulysses, or to Eigil Skallagrimsson.

[90] Søgubrot af fornkonungum, in: Søgur Danakonunga 1919–25 kk. 6–9; KL s.v. Bråvallakvadet, D.A. Seip; Guðnason 1958–59; Ellehøj 1965 pp. 90–95 & passim; Skovgaard-Petersen 1987 p. 256ff.

[91] Particularly noteworthy is Olaus Magnus' version published in 1555 (OM 5:5, with pictures.).
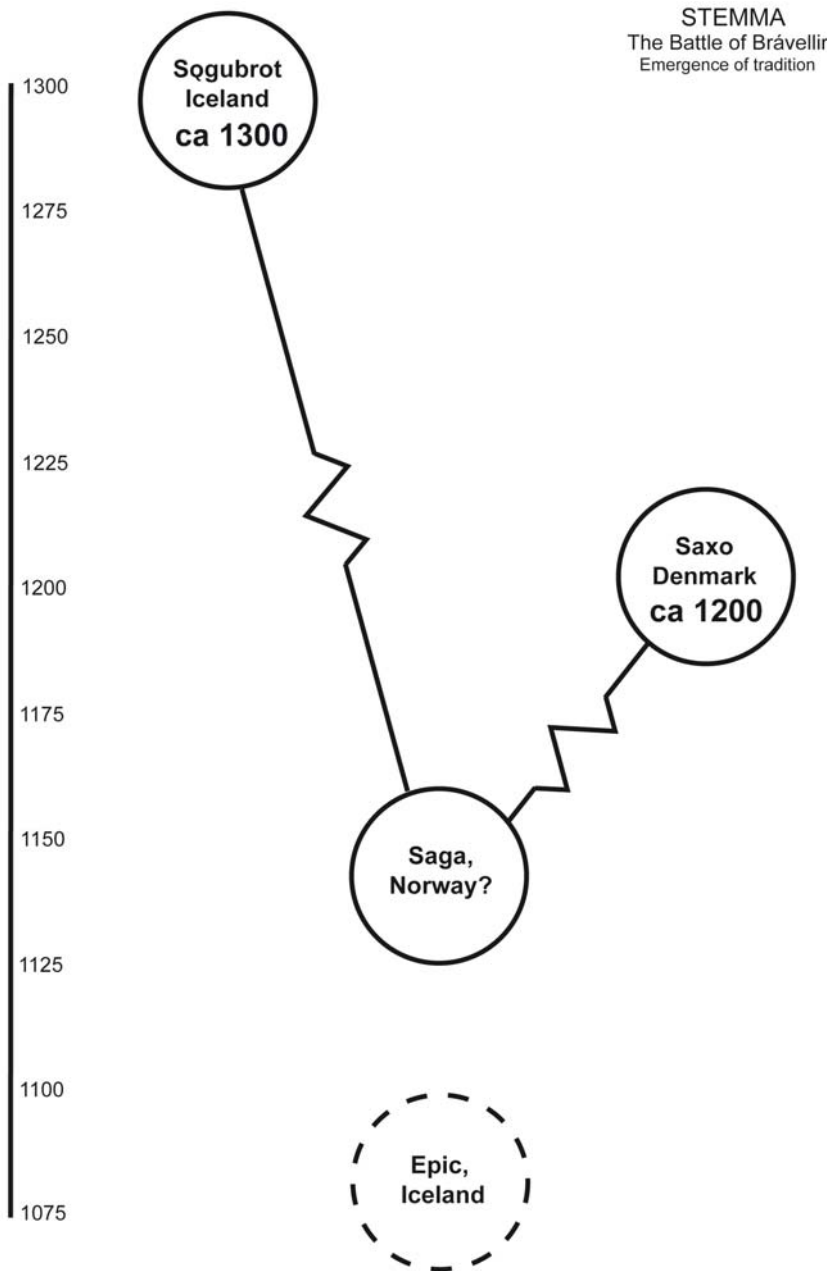
Fig. 6. The Battle of Brávellir, emergence of tradition.

balanced and uncertain of the wars fought in the Nordic countries.[92] Saxo inserts it as a well-calculated climax in his eighth book, halfway through the work.[93] He underlines its symbolical importance in apocalyptic wording:

Crederes repente terris ingruere caelum, silvas camposque subsidere, misceri omnia, antiquam rediisse chaos, divina pariter et humana tumultuosa tempestate confundi, cunctaque simul in perniciem trahi.[94]	It was as if Heaven had suddenly attacked the Earth, and the forests and fields collapsed, as if the Chaos of primitive ages had come back, as if the Divine together with the Human had been drawn into a tremendous storm and everything at the same time was on the road to destruction.[95]

Inge Skovgaard-Petersen has suggested that Saxo expanded the mythological element of the underlying poem to make it fit into a Ragnarok theme, which she believes characterises his eighth book. Brávellir 'thus becomes a turning point in history when paganism is ended and Christianity introduced'.[96] This takes us in the right direction, even if it does not account for Saxo's manipulation and expansion of the long lists of participating champions, or for his geographical manipulation. Another possibility is that he wanted to present the *bellum Bravici* as a northern European cosmography. Skovgaard-Petersen has suggested the preface of the *Gesta* in this context; I believe the *bellum* is equally likely, as it had become meaningful through its historical perspective and its dynamics.[97] However, it has also been claimed that the *Gesta Danorum* is a construction in which every anecdote is a moral *exemplum* for the reader.[98] In that case the entire work is a cosmography.

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[92] *ok var su orrosta sva snorp ok mikil, sem segir i olloum fornvm sogum, at engi orrosta a norðr-londum hait verit með iam-miklu och iamgoðv mannuali til orrostv at telia*; cf. the parallel reference in Heiðrek's saga (Ellehøj 1965 p. 90f.).

[93] Cf. particularly Johannesson 1978 p. 172ff.

[94] SGD VIII:3:4; cf. Swedish translation Aili 1990 p. 237.

[95] As far as this passage goes, Skovgaard-Petersen's (1987 p. 187f.) comparison to Völuspá is fully justified, even if there are classical connotations as well.

[96] MS s.v. Brávallaþula, I. Skovgaard-Petersen; Skovgaard-Petersen 1987 p. 179ff.

[97] SGD *Praefatio*, cf. Skovgaard-Petersen 1996. According to Brown (1995 p. 306ff.), the foremost reason for the historicism that made representatives of Christian clergy in some newly converted countries write down heathen genealogies, poems and tales, was that the power structure to a large degree had its roots and legitimacy in the history.

[98] Johannesson 1978; for an alternative yet somewhat similar interpretation, see Kvaerndrup 1999 (on SGD VIII, pp. 284–71).

In both versions, Norse and Danish, the narrative is intensified into almost a Trojan war of the Northern Seas. Like the Achean gathering of forces, this one forms itself into a synthesis of an entire culture, though the course of events—like the struggles at Troy—takes place in actual landscapes. It was held on a previously-nominated site, and in all its bloody frightfulness it is thus a form-bound confrontation, like a tournament or duel between the two kings.

The problem of the narrative's purpose

When the story became known to Swedish audiences after 1514, no one doubted its credibility. The main scholarly challenge was over its location, which was disputed among local historians well into the 19th century.[99] When source criticism emerged, however, one of its first victims was this story. In the classic second edition of *Nordisk Familjebok* (1905), Hans Hildebrand claimed, 'This Battle does not belong to History, but to the Saga, within which elements of history may be a part, even if it is impossible to identify them with complete certainty nowadays.'[100] I am of the same opinion.

To what extent the tradition derives from a real battle can no longer be known. Many scholars doubt it happened at all, although the memory of some pre-historic tribal encounter may have provided the original impulse. It was an encounter whose true importance had been forgotten long before the tale reached perfection, making it suitable as a framework for an artfully-constructed myth. What I wish to examine is why an Icelander chose to compose a tale like this and why Saxo chose to insert it into his meticulous composition.

The fact that it tells the story of a Swedish victory over Denmark more or less rules out the possibility that Saxo added any direct propaganda or political motive.[101] For the Norse version, of course, we

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[99] In Erik Dahlberg's *Svecia*, Bråvalla moor in Kronoberg's county has been depicted in a large scale with maps and reproductions of the graves of Harald Hildetand and other prominent persons. Cf. Rydfors 1924 p. 264ff.; N.H. Sjöborg 1822–30 pl. 17, fig. 51.

[100] Nordisk familjebok s.v. Bråvalla hed, H. Hildebrand. A similar judgement by E. Jessen in 1871 is quoted by Skovgaard-Petersen 1987 p. 256; see also Blomkvist 1978 p. 132.

[101] There is the possibility that Saxo found the story suitable for building up his claim that Sweden and Norway had been Danish possessions in an earlier period, as an explanation of how they had become the independent kingdoms of his own period.

cannot be equally sure, since there is a large Norwegian contingent
on the winning side. However, from a Norwegian perspective there
is little propaganda advantage to be drawn, since this might suggest
a Swedish hegemony in those parts. Furthermore, the pre-history of
the battle and the underlying aims of the two parties are described quite
superficially in both texts. The political aspect was obviously not as
important to those who wrote and read the Brávellir narrative in
the 12th century.

What is described most carefully are the moments of parade: the
warriors' ceremonious show of splendour, when heroes of different
types—often recruited from other narratives—join the two armies. These
heroes are the knights-errant of Germanic epics, in some degree
related to the actors of the *chansons de geste*. The saga fragment
describes exhaustively the *kappa-tal* of the two armies—long lists of
participants (so-called *þulur*), often with characteristic epithets and
eponyms pointing to a hero's origin in a certain tribe or country.
Saxo works in the same way, with an even more detailed table.[102]

The emphasis is on protocol and parade, and the spectacle provided
by the heroes and soldiers of various nationalities as they march from
different directions to the battlefield. Outstanding craft in weapons
and ships is also noted. These observations may not conform to the
hypothesis of a Ragnarok momentum between paganism and Christi-
anity; yet they clearly indicate an allegory of some sort, of an almost
ritual character.

Each new version may have been composed, at least partially, for
a new reason. Hence we must inquire for the motives behind its
oldest traceable composition in the 12th century. The question then
arises of Saxo's motives in manipulating it.[103] The aspects of king-
ship theory that could bind a warrior elite seem quite meaningful
here. However, the easiest approach might be the geopolitical aspects
revealed in the lists of champions and spatial references.

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[102] Søgubrot k. 8; SGD VIII:2:1–9, 3:1–13. For discussion of these lists, see MS
s.v. Brávallaþula, I. Skovgaard-Petersen.

[103] Skovgaard-Petersen (1987 pp. 256–63) has devoted a discourse to this prob-
lem, in which she notes that (a) Saxo has regrouped some of the text material, and
added many names of persons and places, and (b) he has transferred the narrative
out of history into a more timeless, eschatological context in which the gods are
active, whereas the fragment is more rationalistic; in some cases, she thinks, more
so than the missing original, and where Saxo provides the better reading.

The geopolitics of the Brávellir battle

The Icelandic source clearly localises the event to the vicinity of Bråviken, on the Swedish east coast. However, Saxo relocates it. He stretches the battle's front line all the way from Bråviken down to Värend, close to the Danish border, where a short fourteenth-century version, the *Compendium Saxonis*, also locates it.

What purpose did Saxo have in retelling this known story? A propaganda-monger would concern himself with the battle's cause, the way it was fought, or even its result, but why would Saxo manipulate information in an Icelandic source regarding where the battle took place? A technicality might be the answer. According to the Norse text, King Hringr is said to have governed over Sweden proper and Västergötland, while Harald held Östergötland. The battle was held to have taken place at the *landamæri*, the border. From this viewpoint, localisation of the event to

skogarins kolmerkr, er skilr	the dark forest (of Kolmården) that
Suiþiud ok Eystra Gautland	separates the Svear from East Götaland . . .
. . . undir skoginum milli ok	(on the plain) between the forest and the
uikrinar[104]	bay (of Bråviken)

was completely logical and correct. Saxo, of course, knew that the Swedish-Danish frontier ran through the forests between Värend and Scania, and that Värend, unlike Bråviken, was a frequent target for Danish attacks.[105] He shows some geographical knowledge in letting the Danish fleet sail as close as possible to this inland region, passing and possibly landing by the Swedish coastal border town of Kalmar. Thus far, he too is acting within an easy-to-follow logic.

About to conclude his version, however, Saxo calls the event *bellum Bravici* . . . 'the Bråviken war'. He actually leaves a trace leading back to the Norse version which he has manipulated. Did he move the event simply to correct what he understood to be incorrect? Were there motives of a theological, nationalistic or political nature, or did he alter the narrative in response to an urgent need?[106] Could his idea have been to make the *exemplum* more relevant to a contemporary reader?

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[104] Søgubrot k. 7.
[105] He wrote about the guerrilla warfare of the Virdar in book XIV.
[106] Cf. Johannesson 1978 pp. 172–75.
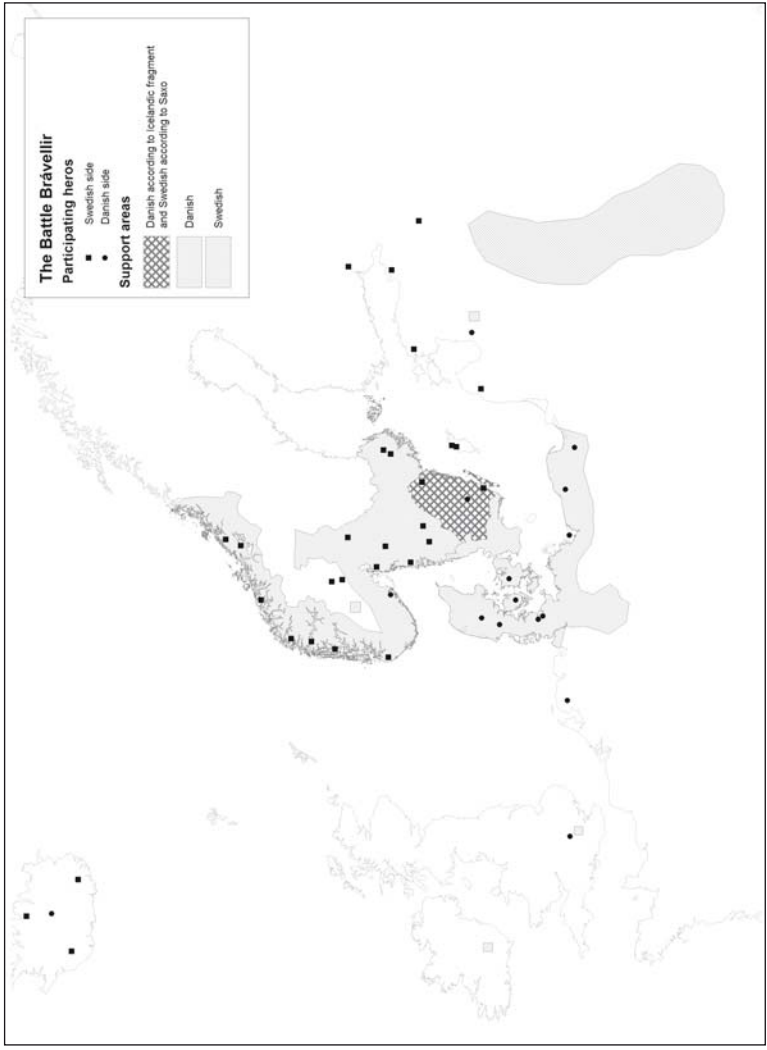
Fig. 7. The mythical Battle of Brávellir, participating heroes, support areas.

A quick count shows that the Icelandic saga fragment specifies 38 names on the Danish side, whereas almost 60 are mentioned on the Swedish. Of the latter, however, more than half are identifiable as Norwegians, or men from the western provinces of Sweden. This west Nordic stress could signify that the preserved version of the saga was written mainly for a Norwegian public. An examination of Saxo's version results in a considerable expansion of the material. The Danish champions now number nearly 70, the Swedish more than 90.[107] This makes it seem likely that Saxo has a purpose in mind.[108] The next fact is that almost every name from the Norse fragment is found in Saxo's version in more or (often) less recognizable form. Again, he is not disregarding his Norse source.

Turning to the geographical provenance of the armies, the saga fragment provides a general survey. King Hringr summons *liði vm allt Suiauelldi ok Uestra-Gautland, ok mikit lið hafði hann af Noregi.*[109] King Haralldr on his side mobilizes *her um allt Danauelldi, ok mikill here kom or Avstr-Riki ok allt or Kønu-garði ok af Saxlandi.*[110]

These sweeping territorial claims are to some degree supported by individual provenances and eponyms. On the Danish side this is less so, even if the *skialldmaer* (valkyrie) Vebiorg is accompanied by a *her sunnan af Gotlandi . . .* 'an army from Gotland in the south', in which *Vbbi en friski* (the Frisian), *Bratr irski* (the Irish), *Ormr enski* (the English) are among the most notable. 'Gotland' in this context might indicate Jutland. Another female commander is Visina who brings the *mikill Uinda-her . . .* a 'huge Vendic host'. A third is Heiðr, who brings 100 champions of whom one is given an eponym, *Dagr lifski*, the Liv (from Balticum). It is not unlikely that the three Valkyrie names are also eponyms.[111] In general, we are given an outline of the historically-known Danish sphere of interest in the Late Viking Age, from England, Ireland and Friesland to Vendland and Balticum, although the Russian connection emerges as less typical.

On the Swedish side the *kappa-tal* mentions seven obvious Norwegian

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[107] I cannot say how Skovgaard-Petersen (1987 p. 262) has reached much higher figures.

[108] Whether Saxo has expanded the list, or in his turn has had a source containing more names is difficult to say, except for a few examples.

[109] I.e. from the Swedish realm, Västergötland and Norway.

[110] I.e. from the Danish realm, 'the Eastern Realm', Kievian Russia and Saxony.

[111] In Jutland, the ancient city of Viborg is a point of reference. *Heiðr* might indicate the proto-town of Haithabu, and Visina with her Vends hints at the river Visla.

provenances or eponyms,[112] three west-Swedish,[113] plus a few particularly famous place-names from the Svea region proper.[114] This gives a western orientation that seems rather atypical for pre-1200 Swedish history, and it probably reflects the demands of the Norwegian-Icelandic audience.

To discover what Saxo did with this material I shall look more closely at his names and compare them to those of the Norse source.[115] The material present in both sources gives an opportunity to look for a bias or pattern in Saxo's changes. However, the full details of his Norse source are beyond our reach; the saga fragment offers our only comparison, to which we may add a discussion of probabilities. One problem is that many of the new names are genuinely Nordic and could well derive from Saxo's own source.[116] Some changes might also be explained by his turning them into Latin, or by an effort to interpret and improve them. However, almost all names based in the Icelandic tradition show signs of some tampering.[117]

On the Danish side, we easily recognise *Orm Anglicus*[118] and *Ubbo Fresicus*[119] as straightforward translations from names in the fragment, whereas *Duc Sclavicus* requires quite a lot of searching.[120] *Toki Iumensi*

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[112] þrænski, mørski, firðski, af laðri, egðski, þela-mork, i rananum

[113] Gautr, af Uaeni, uermski uestan af Elfini

[114] af Akri (a common cult-indicating place name), af Sigtunum, fra Uppsolum (the two most famous royal sees), Helsingr (the relatively unknown and romanticized North).

[115] The fundamental work on this material is Olrik 1894, represented as footnotes in Olrik-Raeder's 1931 edition of SGD.

[116] On the Swedish side, one has an eponym, *Walsten Wicensis* (from 'Viken') then Norway's southeast border towards Sweden, now partly Swedish.

[117] I thus disagree with Skovgaard-Petersen's (1987 p. 262) opinion that Saxo's Latinization of these names is just 'light'. Some of these interpretations help to attribute the innovations to Saxo, by ruling out his Norse source. The preserved Norse version mentions a certain *Hrolfr Kuensami*. Any Icelander (or Norwegian) would interpret the name as a combination of two well-known ethnic categories *kvæn* and *saami*, both attributed to the far North and somehow related to each other. (See Söderlind 1986 p. 45ff.). Saxo however falls into an old trap, set up by the similarity of *kvæn* to the Scandinavian word for woman, and makes him *Rolf Uxorius*, 'the womanizer'. (Søgubrot k. 8, SGD VIII:3:5; VIII: 2:1). It is usually thought that the same mistake has led to the identification of Amazones on the Baltic Rim by Tacitus, Adam of Bremen and others; cf. however Ch. VIII:3–5.

[118] Søgubrot: *ormr enski*.

[119] Søgubrot: *vbbi en friski*.

[120] Possibly taken from Søgubrot's *Dukr uinderski*, but there listed among the Swedes. Yet another of Søgubrot's Swedes, *Dagr en Digri* has possibly deserted to the Danes under Saxo, going by the name of *Dal corpulentos*.

is likely to have been intended as an improvement,[121] whereas changing the first name of the Liv to *Ger Livicus* has no obvious explanation.[122] An entire contingent of seven heroes, said in Saxo to have come from Iceland to join the Swedish force, was probably found in the Norse version at his disposal.

Particularly on the Danish side, Saxo often contributes eponyms like *Fionicus* (inhabitant of Fyn), *Scanicus* and *Iutus* (Jutlander),[123] and place names such as *E Lethris* (Lejre), *Sle oppidum* (Schleswig), *Iumensi* (of Jomsborg, Jumne), and even *Stang oppidum* from where a certain Gardh comes (Gårdstånga?).[124] These are lacking in the fragment. Sweepingly he adds that the Danish army is completed with even more Slavs, Livonians and 7000 Saxons.[125] Among the Svear proper however, he makes hardly any adjustments at all. Here, both texts actually seem quite disoriented. This is demonstrated by a parallel display of the two most well-known examples:

Søgubrot	Saxo
ovan af Sigtunum: Sigmundr kaupungs-kappi	et Sigmundus aderat ex Sigtun oppido, forensis quidem athleta emptionemque ac venditionum contractibus assuetus
Aðils oflati fra Uppsolum	Alf elatus e vico Upsala

In both cases the observations are simplistic. The fragment emphasises that Sigtuna was a town and that Uppsala was (and is) famous for its 'un-flat' burial mounds, and for being represented by a champion identified as a well-known saga-king, thought to be resting in one of them. Saxo's manipulation is limited to overdoing the urban champion, whose ascribed athleticism in buying and selling borders on irony. The eponymic characterisation of Uppsala seems to have passed him by.[126]

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[121] There is a Toki (without eponym) in Søgubrot, who according to context corresponds to a Toli by Saxo, but who might possibly also have contributed to Saxo's identification of this well-known saga hero. His presence might also be due to Saxo's source.

[122] Unless it's as simple as *(Da)Ger*, making it sound more foreign; cf. Søgubrot: *Dagr lifski*.

[123] In Søgubrot however, the person is called *irski*, Irishman.

[124] Here Saxo seems to reveal himself. This Danish hero is called *Garðr* in the Norse fragment. Saxo identfies him as *Gardh, Stang oppidi cultor*, which probably suggests provenance from the village of Gårdstånga, just north of Lund. An Icelander would hardly be responsible for that 'improvement' (Søgubrot k. 8, SGD).

[125] This information obviously corresponds to 'the kind of Eastern Realm', Kievian Russia and Saxony, of Søgubrot, where no numbers are offered.

[126] The story of King Adils, resting in one of the three great burial mounds at

However Saxo also offers *Gummi e Gyslamarchia*,[127] *Regnaldus Rutenus, Rathbarti nepos* (Rutenus, the 'Russian') and *Lesy Pannoniorum victor* (the conqueror of the Pannonians) who suggest an eastern provenance.[128] Only Saxo mentions *Calmarna oppidum* (Kalmar, a newly-founded city at the end of the 12th century) and the trading harbour of Garn on Gotland. Also new in Saxo's account is the fact that the Gotlanders fought on the side of the Svear, and that great crowds of *Curetum Estonumque* (i.e. Curonians and Estonians) covered the flanks of their army.[129]

In all, Saxo has strengthened and individualised the Danish side of the material. In the fragment it is presented with less local colour than Sweden and Norway. Saxo supplies Lejre and Slesvig, congenially matching Sweden's Uppsala and Sigtuna. He sees to it that King Harald's forces are recruited from pretty much the same Vendic and East-Baltic area as was influenced by the Danes in his own Valdemarian period. On the Swedish side his additions are limited, although he restores some of Sweden's characteristic eastern sphere of influence and refers to places of importance for the Baltic Sea trade. This suggests that the details added by Saxo to the old mythic material belong mainly to the southern and eastern part of the Baltic Rim.

As if to underline this observation, Saxo even claims that Starkodder *in ea regione, quae Suetiam ab oriente complectitur quamque nunc Estonum aliarumque gentium numerosa barbaries latis sedibus tenet, originem duxisse*[130] . . . 'had his origin in the region which borders on Sweden from the east, where nowadays the numerous barbarian people of Estonians and other tribes have their large settlements'. Here again, Saxo breaks with the west Nordic view, which claims that this great warrior and

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(Old) Uppsala is found in *Heimskringla* (k. 29), supposedly after *Ynglingatal*, an otherwise vanished poem explaining the Swedish ancestry of the line of Norwegian kings.

[127] A possibly deliberate misinterpretation of *Glismakr Goði* of the Sgbr. Even though Gislamark sounds perfectly Swedish, it is difficult to identify. However, Olaus Magnus also has *Gislemarchia* in a list of the more important kingdoms, regions etc that ends his *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*. A considerable territory must have been intended, which has led his commentator Granlund (1976 p. 543) to suggest 'Gislalagen i Finland'. This word appears otherwise only in Erik's chronicle of ca. 1320, and in a version of a Swedish-Russian treaty of 1323 translated into Swedish. It has been suggested (by Vilkuna 1964 pp. 9–30) that it is a territorial concept, intended particularly for Carelia, cf. Finnish *kihlakunta*, 'parish hundred'. For the problem, see further Tarvel 1998.

[128] A *Rognualldr hai eða Raðbarðr hnefi* and a *Læsir* are found in Søgubrot. The name *Læsir* may possibly mean 'Pole', a man from the interior of modern Poland, cf. the name of the people in Polish *Lęchy*, and in Russian *Ljachy* (Slaski 1969 p. 243).

[129] SGD VIII:3:13.

[130] SGD VI:5:2.

skald *upp hafdi føz i Noregi . . .* 'was born in Norway', in Hardaland to be exact.[131] Saxo's reference to the territory east of Sweden as an area where *nunc numerosa barbaries* were dwelling is an obvious reflection of the crusading propaganda of around 1200, which tended to demonise the unwilling converts. Ultimately, his manipulations of the Brávellir tradition consciously reflect the emerging European interest of his own time (*nunc*) in the paganism (*barbaries*) of the Eastern Baltic Rim, of which one dangerous characteristic was that it was numerous (*numerosa*).[132]

Attributing Livonian *socii* to the Danish side can now be seen in a particular light. The Livs were the first in Balticum to accept Christianity. They were also very much a trading nation, living on the Daugava estuary. Danish merchants are mentioned as being active here before 1200.[133] In his first book, in the saga-like early part of the work, Saxo lets a Danish king conquer *Dunam urbem* from the king of the Hellespont.[134] For his readers it would have been pleasant to think that the Dyna market, so attractive in the 12th and 13th centuries, had been in Danish hands a thousand years before. The early books also present successful Danish operations in Curonia and the rest of Balticum.[135] In contrast to the Livonians, the Estonians and Curonians remained much longer as dreaded pirates and champions of paganism. Saxo might have considered them fit company for the Swedes. There may have been genuine historical reasons as

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[131] Søgubrot k. 8. In Starkodder's supposed autobiographic songs as they are quoted by Saxo, struggles against Curonians, Estonians and Semgallians are mentioned. (SGD VIII:7: 9; cf. OM 5:7.) In the 16th century, when the Swedes had had the opportunity to read Saxo, Starkodder was immediately offered Swedish citizenship. According to Johannes Magnus he was *Helsingus, non autem Tauesthius, aut Esthius*. On his brother Olaus' map, *Carta Marina* (1539), in Uppsala University Library, he is drawn guarding the Swedish/Finnish border far up in Lappland. Later, in his *Historia* (1555), Olaus claims that he was *Thauestum*, from Tavastland (*Häme* in Finnish), an interpretation almost justified by Saxo's text, and which still made him a subject of the Swedish crown of those days.

[132] Cf. LRC vv. 20–81 according to which the Estonians in particular were feared because of their large population. In reality, the Estonian population might have been in the region of 110–120,000 inhabitants, according to Tarvel's (1999 p. 85) estimations.

[133] HCL I:11.

[134] SGD I:1:5–8. This 'town of Dyna' (or Daugava) might reflect knowledge of the stronghold and proto-town Daugmale, upstream of Riga. The association to the Hellespont might alternatively be due to a mistake of Dyna for Donau. It is a fact that geographers of the period claimed that Byzantium and the Hellespont were close to the Baltic. cf. Latvakangas 1995 p. 68.

[135] SGD II:1; III:5; 6:1–2,5, X:5. Cf. Latvakangas 1995 pp. 66–74.

well, since Swedish activities in exactly these regions are mentioned in some other sources.[136]

Saxo's alterations, when compared with the Icelandic text, form a reasonably clear geographical pattern. He enlivens the information on Denmark, and adds many details regarding the eastern Baltic Rim for both the Swedish and Danish sides. One very likely reason might be the contemporary interest in the eastern Baltic, with its Slav, Balt, and Finno-Ugrian peoples. But before trying to establish Saxo's precise aims, I will examine his methods.

Saxo Geographicus—or inside aspects of a Lund study

Most readers of Saxo are surprised to find a declaration in the preface claiming that none of what he writes is of his own invention, but built on reliable information from Antiquity. In the Brávellir case he has clearly used an Icelandic text, into which he has inserted many quite astonishing changes.

The idea that Saxo was a faithful folklorist was firmly contradicted by the Weibull brothers, who stated that he had worked to a large degree with written sources, which he combined with great freedom.[137] This reading puts the *scriptor* in a dubious position, since his preface also says those wishing to read invented stories must search elsewhere, since he, Saxo, only retells what he has found from his sources. In the Brávellir case his reference is to Starkodder's songs, which may be reminiscences of a Norse epic poem, a collection of *þulur* or simply scraps of folklore. Such sources may have provided him with a good excuse to make rather free interpretations.

An indication of his thought processes is his conclusion that Gotlanders took part in the battle. According to the fragment, they did not, although there is a reference to a 'Gotland in the south' contributing to the Danish side. However, Saxo lists *gute*, 'man from Gotland' as well as *goti* 'göt' 'man from Götaland'. Turning to the Icelandic text, we find that the counterpart of the first man was named Guði Tollusson, thus a different meaning altogether;[138] while the second man corresponds to *two* warriors from Telemark, one called *þorkell þrai*, the other *þorleifr Goti* (the Goth, man from Götaland

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[136] RVA 30; Heimskringla, Ól. Helg. K. 80; DSAC 4.

[137] C. Weibull 1916, 1976; L. Weibull 1943.

[138] Immediately before is a *Gavtr* of whom Saxo more correctly has made a *gøtar*.

[or possibly Jutland]). These changes may or may not be of Saxo's making.[139] When it comes to changing *Guði* and *Goti* to *Guthi, Guticus*, the suspicion rests with him.[140]

Goti and Guti have the same origin in the famous Gothic nation or ethnic group, which was (and is) represented in Jutland, Götaland, Gotland and along the tracks of Ostrogoths and Visigoths of the migration period. However, by Saxo's time the spelling with a '*u*' was becoming reserved only for *Gutar . . .* 'the people of Gotland' (although the '*o*' spelling is sometimes used with the same meaning). His spelling reveals that he saw them as men connected to Gotland. As to why he lets them remain among the Norwegians I can only hazard a guess: he left them as an imprint of the source from which their names were taken, a note to the informed reader, as a way of not dirtying his tracks altogether. Another example of this method has already been mentioned; having relocated the fight from Bråviken to Värend, Saxo calls it *bellum Bravici* anyway. This is likely to confuse the modern reader, who may think the *scriptor* quite senile at times, but to the erudite theologians and courtiers who were the intended readers of the *Gesta*, the impression would have been different. It was a reference to the tradition, which he just had bent.

In his Icelandic source Saxo is likely to have come across the *skialldmaer* (valkyrie) Vebiorg who joined the Danes with a *her sunnan af Gotlandi*[141]—he mentions her, citing essentially the same information as in the fragment, except for the provenance which he omits totally, contrary to his tendency to 'improve' such details regarding Denmark. In this case it would seem that Saxo was the one confused. Since he had found too many references apparently pointing to Gotlanders where he did not expect to find them, he might not have been prepared to read Gotland for Jutland.[142] He knew well that this was an island in the middle of the Baltic.

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[139] 'Simplifying' two names into one could easily happen to someone copying a long list of names; any scribe could have done this before the tradition reached Saxo.

[140] The name *Guði* has nothing to do with *Guti*, Gotlander. The difference might be due to Saxo's source, or to his own interpretation.

[141] The Icelandic author might have had Jutland in mind.

[142] In compensation he converted one of the followers—according to the fragment an Irishman—into a *Iutus*, Jutlander.

More on Saxo's methods. The clue in Gotland's 'ledung' service

To be fully in the clear, Saxo provides more information on the participation of the Gotlanders, which is totally lacking in the Icelandic source. He writes: *Gutonica vero classis in portu, cui Garnum nomen, Sueticam opperiebatur . . .* 'The Gotlandic fleet waited for the Swedish one at the port of Garnum.' This item of information is remarkably acute. We know from independent sources that Gotland was obliged to provide men and ships for the Swedish *ledung* in the 12th and 13th centuries and such information must have been known among the entourage of the archbishops of Lund. We know that Anders Sunesen visited the island in the spring of 1207.[143] Saxo's mention of one of Gotland's foremost harbours makes the information even more concrete and trustworthy.[144] Without support in the known Icelandic text, he presents further technical details. *Gothis obviam Suetis veniendi inter Wic et Werundiam locus cum tempore denuntiatur . . .* 'Time and place were decided, when and where between Vik and Verundia the Gotlanders should come to meet the Swedes.' Even if he spells it with an '*o*' the allusion is still to the 'Gutonica classis'.[145]

These items of information seem to have been added by Saxo in an effort to clarify the puzzling references to Gotland and Gotlanders he may have thought he was reading in his Icelandic source. On the track of his technique, we should note the two rather vague place names in the phrase, *inter Wik et Werundiam*. They seem to have offered justification for the shift from Bråviken to Värend. That is at least how his readers have chosen to interpret it over the centuries. Clearly he connects the name Wik with Bråviken, but why did he not write *bravic* this time, following the Icelandic source? And why Verundia?[146] It is similar to a latinised form of the regional name

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[143] HCL XI:1.

[144] Garn is a harbour mentioned in several later medieval sources. According to a note in annals of 1302, a *maxima tempestas ita quod naves fluxerunt de portu in Garna summa lesiore* (ASMÆ: 24) had occurred. The reference is to Västergarn; this parish was called Garn in the Middle Ages, whereas other parishes carrying 'garn' as a name element had various prefixes, such as Gammelgarn, Nygarn/Östergarn and Åkergarn. See Olsson 1996 p. 60ff.; cf. for the so-called 'Taxus lists', Pernler 1977 p. 89ff. Västergarn has remarkable remains indicating a proto-urban settlement from the Viking Age onwards. See further Ch. VII:1.

[145] Again he might be leaving some clue to the origin of his interpretation.

[146] In her effort towards an *interpretatio eschatologica* of Saxo's modifications, Skovgaard-Petersen (1987 p. 186) appears to localise these names into a mythical environment. In the end, she says, the battle of Bråvalla is a farewell to the heroic life of Norden.

Värend, but he knew and had used the normal form *Werendia* in the description of a Danish attack on the *Werendenses*.[147]

The names Wik and Werundia also belong to the new information Saxo added on the Gotlanders' participation in the battle. Somewhere between these places the Gotlandic fleet was to meet the rest of the Swedish *ledung* at the stipulated time. This has obviously helped him to pinpoint the battlefield. But the question of why he made these changes leads to a clue hidden in the text, which will confirm our previous results in an unexpected way.

The localisation of *bellum Bravici* to Värend is one indication among several that Saxo Grammaticus did not blindly reproduce his original sources. His aim was that of a scholar. Like his predecessor Adam, he was curtailed by the criteria of his time on connections and evidence. He always tries to evaluate his sources, but frequently goes further in formulating them. The fact that new names, difficult to localise, are added into the Brávellir context indicates that Saxo believed he had knowledge lacking in the west Nordic material.

In the so-called *Guta saga*, the short genesis history of Gotlandic society which may have been written before 1285 and contains much older layers, detailed rules are noted for the Gotlandic *ledung* service, clearly reflecting the results of negotiations with the Swedish authorities. They may have been recorded in Saxo's own day. The basic rule was that Gotland should *fylgia suia kunungi i herferþ miþ siau sniek-ium, vfan a haiþin land oc ai vfan cristin . . .* 'follow the Svea king with seven ships in warfare against pagan but not Christian lands'. It continues by saying that the king should claim the Gotlanders' contribution after the winter, not later than one month before the gathering of the ships, which should be before midsummer. The Gotlanders had to decide whether they wanted to participate or, alternatively, pay *laiþings lamu* (the *ledungslame* tax). Then follows a description of how *buþcafli* (a message stick) should be circulated, and preparations made before the *liþstemnu* (the gathering day and place). Where this was is not mentioned. There they would await a good wind, and if

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Fallen warriors were known to re-stage the old battles from Valhall (and Saxo recalls this in connection to Hadding's visit to the Realm of Death) but this time in the tract between Vik and Värend it was for the last time, that the *einherjar* were encountered. When does this happen? In Ragnarok, she concludes.

[147] SGD XIV:12:2. He uses Werundia several times, *in deserta Werundia petrosa* (SGD Pr. 2:5), *gratia longinquas Werundiae partes* (SGD XIV:26:8).

this failed to come within the stipulated time, they would return home without reproach: *þy et ai gatu þeir roandi yfir haf farit vtan siglandi* . . . 'since they cannot cross the sea by rowing, but by sailing'.[148]

What Saxo says about the Gotlandic participation at Brávellir appears to be in full agreement with the island's *ledung* obligations, as they are described in *Guta saga*. As the grammarian in Lund shows that he knew contemporary Gotlanders had to participate in Swedish military expeditions, we may suppose he could have known details of the mobilisation practices of their seven ships, such as placenames for the *liþstemnu*, and for the meeting area with the Swedish main fleet—even if no other known source mentions these details. The answers he provides might be based on independent knowledge as well: the Gotlanders assembled at Garn, and they were to meet the Swedes between Wik and Verundia.

Garn is clearly Västergarn, one of the most important harbours on Gotland. But what of the other two names? Initially they raise grave doubts. How could the *ledung* fleet be met in Värend, in deepest Småland, a region not accessible from any sea? But even if Saxo has (deliberately?) misunderstood the provenance of the two regional names, we should not dismiss them as figments of his imagination. We have reason to believe Saxo constructed his images on solid evidence, taken from one context to another at convenience. And if we consider that the *Guta saga* makes it clear that contemporary Gotlanders would not participate in a *ledung* directed towards a Christian nation, as the Danes were in his own time, we have two reasons to hunt for the meeting area 'between Wik and Werundia' in the east, where the heathens of Saxo's time were to be found. There, our problem is offered a rather neat solution.

In the traditional target area of the early medieval *ledung* expeditions, we find the two landscape names of Wiek and Wierland (Latin: *Wirronia*). The German form of Wiek is derived from an old Nordic name for the province of Länemaa, e.g. *Eistlandum þar sem i Vikum heitir*.[149] Virland is the Nordic name of the province of Virumaa, known

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[148] GS:6. Cf. PSS 5 (also in DS 815 and ST I:141) in which King Magnus Ladulås, AD 1285, tightens the conditions. Cf. Yrwing 1978 p. 23ff. The first reference to Gotlandic participation in a Swedish maritime expedition belongs to the late 12th century (HCL I:13). Thus the agreement described in Guta saga must be older.

[149] Cf. Salberger 1986 p. 79ff.

from an eleventh-century Swedish runic inscription. Thus 'between Vik and Virland' seems to be an expression meaning on the coast of Estonia. In twelfth-century expeditions against pagan but not Christian lands, this area was indeed the logical meeting place for the Gotlanders' seven ships and the Swedish main fleet, which would have crossed the Baltic on the alternative route over the Åland's Sea. We have already examined a discovery report on a crusade intended for Curonia that ended up in Virland. If this change of plan was caused by a storm, as the source maintains, the meeting place must have been at the mouth of the Gulf of Finland.

On Saxo's aim

Saxo's geopolitical manipulations appear as occasional yet tremendously inventive corrections in line with his adaptation of the story for a Danish audience. In contrast to the Icelandic source (at least the version we have been able to study) Denmark proper was in need of a lift. The pagan countries on the eastern Baltic Rim, the 'wild east' where Starkodder came from, were even more in need of attention. These parts are almost unknown to the Norse version, but in Saxo's time their discovery was contemplated in the powerful Danish circles in which he moved.

From this perspective, some of the peculiarities Saxo developed so painstakingly for insertion into his version attract renewed interest. The description of the battle, akin to Völuspá, at the same time recalls the Sibylline visions that were issued from another twelfth-century camp, namely that of Bernhard of Clairvaux, preaching the Second Crusade. These visions were noted in many quarters; on the Baltic Rim by Helmold of Bosau, who gives us a hint of them and a curt comment.[150] We may note further similarities between Saxo's theatrical display and the Holsteinian vicar's more painstakingly balanced narrative.

The latter also shows an occasional flair for rhetoric, as in his description of the enormous army that the appeal of 1147 resulted in. There were many renowned men—albeit a fraction of the lists from Brávellir—but the uncountable broad masses *milicia nobilium et ignobilium vulgariumque numera estimacionem excedente* of Helmold have a peculiar resemblance to the *multitudinem* of Saxo *quam ne praecise quidem*

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[150] Ch. IV:2, cf. Lotter 1989 p. 288ff.

numerus capit. So the Dane decided, like his Holsteinian counterpart, to speak chiefly of *praestantissimos proceres* . . . 'the distinguished leaders'.[151] Although the texts follow somewhat different narrative patterns, both have a general atmosphere of impending tragedy. The complicated transport of the hosts led in both cases to a pre-determined battle ground, where a pre-determined defeat awaited. As in Saxo's tale, there is a sense of interfering higher powers in Helmold's narrative.[152]

Were Saxo's additions intended as a paraphrase of Helmold? I wouldn't suggest anything more definite, but the possibility is there.[153] He may have read Helmold and found something that inspired him, which returned to him during his working-up of the west Nordic saga text. The significant point is that Helmold's 'summoning and marching up to the catastrophe' picture is describing a *crusade*. This was what the Danes had begun to wage in the 'wild east' of the Baltic in Saxo's time. Saxo's somewhat misdirected efforts have given us several indications, woven into his text, that he was in some sense reconnoitring for these contemporary endeavours in the heroic past, using his own remarkable art of interpretation. This gives the sense of 'initial meeting curiosity' to be found in his version of the Brávellir story.

The original message

Saxo's reason for integrating the well-known Brávellir tradition[154] into his great work in the first place was not to manipulate it, geopolitically

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[151] This offers another alternative to the problem of whom the figure of Starkodder actually represents. Recalling that Skovgaard-Petersen has suggested that he mirrors the fate of the Bernardine Archbishop Eskil—why don't we take the full consequences and judge him as an Ancient Nordic *St. Bernhard*?

[152] *O iudicia excelsi! Tanta fuit clades exercitus et miseria inexplicabilis, ut eorum qui interfuerunt adhuc hodie lacrimis deplangantur . . .* 'O sentence from above! So great was the defeat of the army, so inexplicable the misery, that those who were there, still shed tears over it to this day' (HCS I:60).

[153] Particularly since Anne Kristensen (1968 p. 448f.) has demonstrated that Helmold's chronicle was known and used in Denmark in the period when Saxo began his authorship.

[154] That the tradition was well known is illustrated by an anecdote, told in Haakonar Saga Haakonarsonar (k. 194). Commenting on one of the political actors of the day, Gaut Jónsson, Skuli jarl, sitting in a drinking colloquy, jokingly asks Snorri Sturluson, whether the second name of Wodan *sa er atti saman fornkonungum* wasn't Gaut. According to Saxo, the name of course was Bruni. The anecdote ends with Snorri making a poem. As a by-product this quotation positively confirms Skovgaard-Petersen's (1987 p. 260f.) suggestion that the saga fragment—in which *Bruni* is an ordinary human being—has been rationalised in comparison with the lost Norse original.

or in any other way. It is such a magnificent story in itself: the whole of northern Europe was summoned to a Scandinavian Ilion. There is description of terrible slaughter, but the stress is on parade, like a formalised duel. The ancient gods are present (at least Wodan is) and the outcome is decided by fate or (perhaps with Saxo) by moral logic. He used it, made his adjustments and puzzled it cautiously into the framework of the *Gesta*. But what was his reason—what was the message of the story originally written on Iceland or in Norway?

'To be noble', writes Brown, 'was to live well, to be seen to live well and to foster the memory of a past that lay always on the edge of the Christian present—a past where human glory, human tragedy, the working out of human obligations was so much more vivid and clear-cut, so much more brimming over with magnificent lack of measure, than was the grey, Christian present.'[155] This seems to apply to the tale of Brávellir. In a general sense, this myth became an apotheosis of the ancient Nordic kings, of value to contemporary kings claiming their moral heritage.

The story demonstrates how the entire motive sphere of ancient hero poetry may be organised in hierarchical and political systems. The Icelandic *þulur* of the great heroes from ancient poetry resembles a catalogue, somewhat akin to the Linnean system, intended to put them to a more systematic use. The narrative corresponds remarkably to the medieval social development by which the free 'knights errant' or powerful men of northern Europe were integrated as subjects in a more centralised epic of kingship. This process is treated in many Icelandic thirteenth-century sagas, often as a polemic against the development. In contrast, the Brávellir saga, like the Lewis chessmen, provides an honourable model of it in a (moveable) Nordic setting. It is conceivable that it was originally produced for courtiers, not too far away from the King's Hall at Bergen. When we turn to Saxo's version there is no doubt. It is well-known that his pen worked in the service of the Danish central power.

The Brávellir myth thus represents a process through which the society of the Vikings was replaced by a new social order that may be termed European. I will not exclude Skovgaard-Petersen's suggestion that Saxo has woven eschatological references into the fabric—her Völuspá comparison is convincing thus far—but I don't think these

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[155] Brown 1995 p. 307.

are the sole or even dominant traits. Among Saxo's manipulations of the Norse text, too many make no sense if seen in that perspective. However, the story definitely treats the broader phenomenon of societal change in a way that also allows for eschatological references. In my view it elaborates the transformation of kingdoms into more intensely organised states.

The myth leaves out entirely all questions regarding modes of production and social differentiation. Saxo says as much; in his narrative only great men will be mentioned, 'since it is not even possible to properly count the huge mass'.[156] The concentration on protocol, catalogue, superstructure and aristocratic appearance might even be a hint at the growing importance of court life and *Öffentlichkeit* in the *Gesellschaft* of a kingdom.[157] Seen against a background of twelfth-century courtiers and aristocratic Christian pillars of society paying homage to their king, the old breed of vagrant heroes were probably starting to look unfashionable, even socially dangerous. With his fluent Silver-Age Latin, Saxo was of course an agent of Europeanization. However, the message of the Brávellir myth, gladly borrowed from an anonymous Norse master, is that the Nordic peoples had conducted the great transformation from their heroic but disorganised past into the European present long ago, under their own regime.

Nation-building and history-writing: a note on the role of German and Nordic scriptores

My selection of discovery reports claims no completeness, not even regarding the *scriptores* who have provided the pictures I have used. Apart from applying some geographical criteria as to who encountered whom, I have rather arbitrarily chosen texts that seem to offer direct eyewitness qualities. I claim no better reason for the choice than subjectivity, but in my analyses I have tried to be as objective and complete as possible. Under these circumstances the nationality of each *scriptor* was seen as a technicality. However, on looking back at the analyses, their origins seem to coincide with certain qualities.

The 'Saxon' or 'German' texts, represented by Adam of Bremen, Helmold of Bosau, Arnold of Lübeck and Henry of Latvia, are

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[156] SGD VIII:1. *Necque enim mihi multitudinem complectendi cupido incessit, quam ne praecise quidem numerus capit.*
[157] Cf. Elias 1991; Habermas 1984 p. 15ff.

written in Latin, yet in a realistic manner which allows for comments on transport facilities, the fertility of the land, its constitution and areas of economic activities. These authors tend to fulfil their religious commission by inserting episodes with a touch of miracle to them. When it comes to cultural encounters, we can note a tendency to demonise neighbouring pagan peoples which rises steeply over time. The curiosity and understanding shown by Adam is thus gradually abandoned by his successors. Helmold's complicated reaction to the radicalisation of the Vendic affairs, deriving from St. Bernhard, may be a key picture; while Henry's obvious sympathy for his Latvian flock is a commendation of their humility and good behaviour. Although the narrative of miracles and evil pagan practices at times tends to leave psychological realism in favour of Christian heroism, at least some of the miracles may also be read as rhetorical descriptions of technological and other forms of superiority. More and more, the sources favour ultimatum-like approaches towards refractory pagans, and more and more they glorify the clash, in a self-assured 'theology of expansion'.

The Nordic or Scandinavian *scriptores*, in turn, excel in historicism. The present enquiry appears to confirm the hypothesis that the sudden literary bloom is a phenomenon of crisis. However I cannot claim it is particularly defensive; it looks rather like a mobilisation, channelling power generated in the past against the challenges of contemporary *change qualitative*. The *scriptores* seem to represent a Nordic society working hard to adapt itself to the demands from the Continent. We have seen how Saxo conveniently transferred the focus of the Brávellir myth from a Norwegian perspective into a Baltic setting. The significance of this should not be underestimated. At the time when the *Gesta Danorum* was written, the Europeanizing Scandinavian countries were beginning to penetrate a 'wild east' which promised to compensate them for recent losses in the west. Even if the incentive for all this had its roots in the west European core area, the Danes were quick learners who soon entered into competition with the Germans in various exploitation programmes.

Scholars like Brown, Ehlers and Hedeager have pointed to the function of history as an asset in the transition from paganism to a Christian society, and thus as an instrument of nation-building. Classifying this literature as a branch of cultural nationalism cannot be entirely wrong. Von See, in particular, has stressed that Snorri's

works have a more than purely Norwegian topic, and should be read as a homage to the entire Scandinavian culture (Iceland included) during a period of forceful Europeanization. Looking back into the Viking Age would fill any Scandinavian with courage. Albeit a keener partisan for Denmark than Snorri is for Norway, Saxo clearly agrees. The Danish king, rallying his troops on the eve of the Brávellir battle, was heard to say that the Danes were 'more used to governing over their neighbours then obeying them', to which his Swedish counterpart replied that he was relieved by the fact that so few of the enemies were Danes, 'and that the greater part were Saxons and other soft peoples.'[158] If this isn't in the nature of a common Scandinavian survival strategy, I don't know what is.

Thus, while the long 12th century North German *scriptores* are comfortable in their present and look forward into the future, the Nordic ones look backwards. But it would be a mistake to see Saxo, or even Snorri, as dedicated to the past. They too were inspired by great Continental sources, be it Jordanes, Paulus Diaconus or occasionally the *chansons de geste*. For our German *scriptores*, working at the outer border of their European civilisation, there was no need for anything like that, because all these classics were already theirs. For the great Icelanders and for Saxo the challenge was different: they set out to catch up on a thousand-year literary handicap.

4. Change Qualitative *in Government and Social Conditions:*
Some Conclusions

If 'states' represent the New system—what was the Old?

During the long 12th century, virtually all the polities surrounding the Baltic underwent great transformation in their social and political organisation. *Das Reich* expanded its feudal structures east of the Elbe, turning the Vendic region into German principalities. The three Scandinavian kingdoms were consolidating and developing more differentiated social forms. Denmark and Sweden had begun their conquests in the east, and German expansion continued overseas towards Livonia, where it soon transformed into crusading and state-building efforts. The 'shore-owners' of the Baltic were rapidly being

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[158] SGD VIII:4:2–3.

reduced from some thirty regionally-constrained units to four multi-regional ones. The inland realm of Poland had tried but failed to become a Baltic power, and was linking up with the more easterly powers of Kievskaya Rus and Lithuania, where consolidation was more doubtful.

The true content of this grand *change qualitative* is a much-discussed phenomenon, and we must be prepared to recognise it under many names—as a passage from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*, according to the classical distinction by Ferdinand Tönnies; from the tribal society (or from a mode of production based on slavery) into the feudal mode of production in terms of historical materialism; from re-distributive chiefdoms into a class-based state, according to the modified anthropological development schemes of Elman Service, Karl Polanyi and others; from a decentralised society with a low level of self-control, to a more centralised one demanding more discipline, according to Norbert Elias, although he thought this process was not fulfilled until the era of Absolutismus. In current historiography we often encounter these various transformations as the emergence of statehood, as has been discussed to a certain extent.

According to Charles Tilly, states are coercive organizations which are distinct from households and kinship groups and exercise clear authority in some respects over all other organizations within substantial territories. He adds that we have to include autonomous cities, empires and theocracies in the concept, but not tribes, lineages, firms or churches.[159] On the Baltic Rim, many scholars think they see the beginnings of statehood in the long 12th century or soon thereafter.[160] There they obviously mean something more exact, akin to the more qualified concept of 'nation state' in Tilly's vocabulary.[161] Marxist definitions are no exception, although they often contain requisites of class dialectics and modes of production.[162]

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[159] Tilly 1990 p. 1.
[160] E.g. Bagge 1986; Lindkvist 1988; Lunden 1997. Cf. Riis (1977 pp. 227ff.; 261ff.), who demonstrates the gradual development of central political and administrative institutions in Denmark, without discussing the problem of statehood; cf. for Sweden Bjarne-Larsson 1994.
[161] National states 'govern' multiple contiguous regions and their cities by means of centralized, differentiated, and autonomous structures' (Tilly 1990 p. 2f.). Note that the 'national' element forms no part of the definition.
[162] E.g. Balandier 1972 pp. 123–57; cf. above Ch. II:2; below Ch. VI:2; IX.

In order not to simply discuss nomenclature, I will present some of the social content of chiefdom and (early) statehood according to the model developed by Service and his followers. Twelfth-century conditions on the Baltic Rim should safely be encompassed by the two highest orders of the model, which I summarize here from Renfrew and Bahn's handy overview.[163]

Anthropological model (Service et al.)

Chiefdom	State
Kinship-based ranking under hereditary leader	Class-based hierarchy under king/ emperor
High-ranking warriors	Armies
Central accumulation and redistribution	Centralized bureaucracy, tribute taxation, laws
Some craft specialisation	[economic differentiation in estates/casts][164]
Strongholds and ritual centres	Towns, road networks, defended frontiers
Religion led by hereditary leader	Priestly class, pantheism or monotheism
Large-scale monuments	Public buildings: palaces, temples etc.

Renfrew and Bahn caution against using this classification 'unthinkingly'. We should neither overemphasize such typologies, nor see the development from one class to the other as inevitable. Nevertheless they find the model 'a good framework to help organize our thoughts'.[165] This is how I will use it.

In comparison to Service's chiefdom society, the Nordic Late Viking Age (cf. Chapter Two) reveals a less clear, less static picture. For Norway, Sverre Bagge has organised a similar comparison between the stages in the ongoing transformation, which he calls simply 'the Pre-State society' and 'the State society' respectively. Drawn from

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[163] Omitted here are the smaller, simpler and in most cases earlier 'band' and 'segmentary societies'. Trying to overview a development between roughly 800–1200 AD, with a special regard for the 12th century, I can agree with Hodges (1989 p. 27f.) discussing northern Europe 600–1000 AD, being 'mostly interested in advanced chiefdoms, which tend to be cyclical'. With regard to his continuation: 'and may best be defined as stratified societies', I am less sure.

[164] Supplied by me for the sake of compatibility.

[165] Renfrew and Bahn 1997 p. 166ff. cf. Polanyi 1968; Service 1975 pp. 47–102; for an application on Early Medieval northern Europe, cf. Hodges 1989 pp. 25–28, 185ff.; and most recently Löfving 2001.

his discussion, the following shows some of the characteristic traits which previous research has focused upon:

The transformation of Norway (after Bagge)

The Pre-State Society	The State Society
Not centralised, but loosely held together by a king	King dominating service aristocracy
Not egalitarian, but aristocracy poorly defined	Ordinary people without political influence
Local hierarchies competing with each other	Systematized rents to king, aristocracy and Church
Society a web of personal bonds[166]	Systematized hierarchy with fixed positions for all

Bagge particularly points to a resource crisis that returning Viking chiefs faced. Shortage of land led, through an extraction-coercion cycle, to several civil wars in the Scandinavian countries of the 12th century. This resulted in a more organised society with a fixed transference of taxes, fines and land rents to king, service aristocracy and Church.[167]

Another scholar who focuses on Viking chiefs coming home after predatory activities abroad is Thomas Lindkvist. In several essays he has discussed their transformation into a governing feudal class. In the newly-formed state, Lindkvist says, 'the social elite based their position upon a systematic appropriation of the agrarian production. It was the ending of plunder and predatory activities, the beginning of lordship based upon control over men and, eventually, land. Slavery was replaced by the classical manorial and feudal system with a dependent peasantry. The medieval small-scale agrarian production emerged.'[168]

Kåre Lunden also points to the returning Viking chiefs, and in particular to their endeavours to introduce Christianity by force. By presenting a centralised religion, the king could disarm and subdue the many power centres, and Christian theology helped him to do so. A long-term demographic rise had led to a scarcity of land. A tiny

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[166] E.g. lineages (relatively unimportant in the bilateral family system of Norway), marriage alliances, client systems (built on protection and strategic generosity).
[167] Bagge 1986.
[168] Lindkvist 1998 p. 292.

aristocracy and the Church owned the land on which tenant farmers
and agricultural hands were 'toiling on smallholdings in a hard and
short life, paying taxes and dues, and for all that doing military ser-
vice'. Christianity was a suitable religion for them, he believes.[169]
Together, these works by Bagge, Lindkvist and Lunden offer a compat-
ible vision of the transformation into statehood which may be rep-
resentative of a broad segment of current Scandinavian scholarship.[170]

    Compared to the scheme of Service et al., the Nordic countries
of the long 12th century were neither chiefdoms nor states, but some-
thing much looser, floating between the two categories; Bagge gave
up trying to find an expression for this. The scheme describes two
mature archetypes, well-defined and each at the height of their devel-
opment. The vagueness of Nordic Pre-State societies, on the other
hand, could indicate an already ongoing transformation, and the
change qualitative may thus have been less radical than the universal
shift from chiefdom to state according to the model. We know that
they were already kingdoms of a sort, even though their centralism
is reported to have been quite weak.[171] So how do we position them?

*Theoretical reflections on the making, keeping and taking control of
multi-regional polities*

The making of chiefdoms into multi-regional realms and their even-
tual development into states in the passage from the Viking to High

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[169] Lunden 1997 pp. 91ff., 96f.

[170] Lindkvist (1988) may have gone a bit further than Bagge in 'decentralising'
the plunder economy, tending to see no central authority at all during the Viking Age.
In his view, more organised plunder gradually led to a more stratified, hence more
stable society, resembling Bagge's pre-state society. The respective models envisaged
by these two scholars would hardly differ at all, but for the ways they are described.
According to Bagge, the civil wars reduced the aristocracy to a suitable size. This may
be a particularity of Norway; an early warning of the late medieval agrarian crisis.
Civil wars occurred in twelfth-century Sweden and Denmark as well, but ended
instead in a growth of the aristocratic layers, particularly in Sweden with its ample
opportunities for internal colonisation. The emergence of new institutions called for
a transformation of the monarch himself: 'From gangleader to the Lord's anointed'
as Bagge (1996) has titled a more recent book.

[171] Jakobsson (1999) points out the strong regionalism of early Scandinavian king-
doms. Hermanson (2000) shows the government system of twelfth-century Denmark
to be dependent on the formation of alliances. However Malmros (1999 p. 375)
thinks that pagan, skaldic court poetry 'celebrates the internal cohesion of a soci-
ety where the ruler is viewed as the central figure protecting his country, leading
his people, levying and commanding the army and connecting it all with the divine.'

Middle Age on the Baltic Rim and elsewhere has inspired strong and vigorous debate, which has gradually gained heat with the addition of more theoretical approaches, some examples of which were given above.

A common and straightforward model, with many varieties of the emergence of multi-regional polities, begins with a patchwork of small independent regions, thought to be governed by chieftains, sometimes called peer-polities. One way of fusing them into a kingdom is when demographic pressure causing gradual interior colonisation sooner or later leads to encounters between different polities. From then on, competition over land resources leads to the integration of previously autonomous units, whether by mutual agreement or conquest. In more recent efforts to explain the development up to around 1100 AD, other predominant motives are further development of productive forces; demographic rise; accumulation through external acquisition; development of local power centres through personal bonds to particular chieftains, and the turning from external to internal acquisition, leading to subjugation and systematic coercion of the peasantry and often culminating in civil warfare between alliances of chieftains.[172]

   An entirely different impetus in the formation of supra-tribal associations would be the attraction of a larger and more highly-developed civilisation, characterised by its extravagant court life, rich religious institutions and even a nobility with some representative habits, together forming great consumer centres, with a demand for sophisticated production and exclusive import goods. Some 'barbarian' chiefdoms were probably drawn into the spell of such civilisations as purveyors of particular commodities and services, and might thus have begun to organise for specialised production and distribution, taking up new technology, developing early centres for collection/dispatch of commodities and work migrations.[173]

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[172] Nyström 1978 p. 128f.; Randsborg 1980, 1988; Bagge 1986 p. 148ff.; Bagge 1995 p. 4f. & passim; Lindkvist 1988 p. 31ff.; Lindkvist 1998 pp. 292–303; Sawyer 1985a, 1999; Sawyer and Sawyer 1993, Hyenstrand 1996; H. Janson 1998; Kragh 1999; Jakobsson 1999; Hermanson 2000; Mogren 2000 pp. 66ff., 125ff. & passim; see also the remarkable book by the journalist Maja Hagerman (1996), who retells the making of the medieval Swedish state, as a broad synthesis of modern archaeological and historical scholarship.

[173] For anthropological trade models, see Hodges 1989 pp. 13ff., 47ff. with further references, and Christophersen 1989.

Somewhere along either of these lines of development, the king appears.[174] The function so named might have had its background in tribal cult.[175] It might also have been the title of local chieftains; we shall see the rulers of Koknese and Jersika appearing as kings, even though they submitted to the monarch of Polotsk. The creation of a central king at a higher level may have led to modifications (creation of hierarchy) in the cult customs, in the direction of an embryonic constitution which in the long run would have paved the way for Christianity.[176] We may in general identify a charismatic king[177] with personal luck (which may include religious competence), and an extraordinary capacity to establish rule and maintain order.[178] To avoid misunderstanding I should add that these qualities may well be the function of a power group or committee of some kind, of which the actual king may in practice be a representative or a figurehead. Since in the beginning there would have been few supra-chiefdom traditions of an existing nation to consider, the enterprise may well have continued 'abroad' when domestic groups had been conquered.[179] In either case, the development towards a multi-regional

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[174] For the general topic of west European medieval kingship, see Reynolds 1997 pp. 250–331.

[175] KL s.v. Konge, A. Bøe et al.

[176] Lunden 1997 p. 84ff. & passim. Sundqvist (2000 pp. 129–269) makes an elegant effort to reconstruct a 'rulership ideology' in accordance with the current theories (Lindkvist 1988, Sawyer 1991; Hyenstrand 1996 etc.) on the late pre-Christian Svea realm.

[177] The term charismatic kingship was originally suggested by Max Weber (The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation, many editions), together with two alternatives, which he called traditional and legal, respectively. Of these concepts, it is charismatic kingship that has been widely accepted for its usefulness. In its purest form, it is seen developing when the great Viking hosts congregated in the Channel, beginning with plunder and ending with the formation of polities, as is indicated in several entries in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: 'In this year Rollo invaded Normandy with his host and he reigned fifty years.' or 'And in this year [876] Halfdan shared out the lands of Northumbria, and they were engaged in ploughing and in making a living for themselves.' (Garmonsway 1972 p. 74). The PVL tells a similar story, with a different twist, indicating local initiative: 'And they chose three brothers, with their lineages and they brought all the Rus and came. The oldest one, Rurik, settled in Novgorod . . .' Oxenstierna 1998 p. 27.

[178] Service 1975 p. 40.

[179] A charismatic king must certainly behave royally, through conspicuous consumption (including the display of bards and skalds), generosity with gifts, and by keeping a bodyguard, a *hird* or *družina*, in which it was honourable to serve (Aakjaer 1927; Andrae 1960). Hodges (1989 p. 198) rather surprisingly ends his analysis of anthropological models with a homage to great men of whom 'even when they were conditioned by the regularities of human action their intellect and imagination survives to be venerated'.

realm may have been driven by threats from an extraneous third party; one example is the Viking role in the integration of Anglo-Saxon England.

The first of these models, being an almost entirely indigenous process brought about by mainly demographic pressure, seems timeless and may have begun in an era prior to the Viking Age. The second, in which exchange with more advanced external powers provides a decisive impetus for social organisation, could also have been applicable to northern Europe long before the period which is of interest here, in relation to the Mediterranean civilisations. It may also resemble the situation in the 8th century, when contacts were established between the northern parts of Carolingia, leading to the foundation of several proto-urban centres, and perhaps to complementary demands for security for long-distance trade, and hence to the forming of polities. In the Viking Age, when the Baltic was strategic for the lines of interaction between the Caliphate, Byzantium and the Carolingian Empire, we can expect more advanced conditions, coinciding with the first records of kingdoms here.

While the first model will find a rationale for the acceptance of kingship, either by one greedy chieftain's series of victories, or from a negotiated solution brought forward by fatigue and deadlock, the second suggests that one of the chief purposes of early northern Germanic kingship may have been to protect trading places, keep the sea routes open and more generally to guarantee the safety of merchants.[180] They may have formed as network polities rather than according to simple growth/clash or condensation models.[181] Thus I fail to see how plunder abroad could have stimulated development towards domestic unification, simply because external acquisition would presuppose existing order at home. Who would take his armed friends and followers far away, without having basic security in his own territory?[182]

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[180] To some extent this point is advocated by Hodges (1989 pp. 156f., 192f.). Very much focused on 'Carolingia' and England, he has underestimated eastern trade. Varangian trade occurs *ex machina* when required by Carolingian Europe and disappears again.

[181] Blomkvist 2002. We cannot say much of their other functions. The few sources speak of quite fixed constitutional forms and duties, diplomatic correspondence, argumentation at *thing* assemblies, of naval expeditions, of taxation in the form of tributes, of a great interest in the handful of proto-towns etc. (They may have had an ambition to facilitate internal agrarian colonisation as well).

[182] Nor could a purely parasitical activity such as plunder explain the appearance

It is thus possible that the emergence of multi-regional realms or nations has to do mainly with the establishment of transport networks. As a hypothesis, this would be quite in accordance with the general knowledge of political development in both East and West. Let us first consider the Carolingian Empire. By the Partition of Verdun in 843, the areas conceded to Charles and Louis were well-consolidated, linguistically homogenous, agricultural nations, bearing some geographical likeness to two great nations of the future, France and Germany respectively. The portion of the elder brother Lothar—*Francia Media*—was a long and narrow corridor running along the valleys of the Rhine, Maas, Rhône, Saône and Po. This was the heartland and the most developed part of the empire, which linked the Low Countries with North Italy, and included the capital town of Aix-en-Chapelle (Aachen) and a chain of emporia from Dorestad to Venice. In addition, Lothar, as senior royal brother, was to keep the title of emperor. His inheritance thus represents an entirely different way of thinking to those of his brothers. His conceived cultural pluralism, transport arteries and exchange; theirs were basically organised for agriculture, for the breeding of horses and men, and for cultural unity.[183] The Partition of Verdun thus conveniently demonstrates the dilemma that all realm-builders of the period were up against, namely the opposing forces that impeded the integration of long-distance networks with consolidated territories.

The trading network which stretched up into the Baltic had its basis in Lothar's territory. Probably through Frisian intermediaries, it had begun to penetrate further north, as we have already ascertained. The founding of emporia on the Baltic Rim would imply some degree of political stability here. What we can say is that the ninth-century Christian mission to Haithabu and Birka was overtly aimed at establishing trade peace, literally stated in the case of Haithabu, where Ansgar's negotiation had secured that *etiam gentis huius homines . . . quod antea non licebat, et negotiatores tam hinc quam ex Dorstado locum ipsum libere expeterent . . .* 'also men of our people and merchants from here (Bremen)

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of a silver wind from the East. It is an absurd thought that silver was brought over half the Asian continent for the purpose of being plundered. The purpose must have been something else, on which any eventual plundering would be parasitic. Plunder can of course create charismatic kingdoms. It frequently did in conquered territory.

[183] Relatively speaking. Neither France nor Germany were particularly united, compared to smaller realms like England. cf. Ehlers 1996; Reuter 1998.

as well as from Dorestad, were free to visit the place, which had previously not been possible'.[184]

Furthermore, the Danish and Swedish kingdoms we hear of in the *Vita Anskarii* and other sources from the 9th and 10th centuries were obviously organised along the sea routes and around strategic nodes: Denmark around a handful of strategic passages between the Baltic and the North Sea, the overland one by Haithabu, and those of Kattegat, the Sound and the Belts; all that we hear of the *Sveariki* before 1100 centres around Mälaren and control of the routes along the present-day Swedish east coast up to Uppland, and from there eastwards towards Ladoga, the Daugava estuary and the Russian rivers.[185] The first Russian realm was formed along 'a fairway from the Varegs to the Greeks and from the land of the Greeks back again on the Dnepr', also stretching eastwards along the Volga 'to the Bulgars and the Chavlise and further on to the Semites', to quote the PVL.[186]

A famous incident recorded in the *Annales Bertiniani, sub anno* 839, offers a fine illustration of the early beginnings of the Russian network. With an embassy from Emperor Theophilus of Byzantium to Louis the Pious came a couple of men who claimed to be Rhos (Rus), and said their king (*rex*) was called *chacanus* (a Turkish word signifying 'great king' or 'overlord'). They had been on an embassy to the emperor, who now wished them to find a safer route back than the ones *per quae ad illum Constantinopolim venerant inter barbaras et nimiae feritatis gentes immanissimas habuerant . . .* 'along which they had reached Constantinople, which had led through barbarians and savage peoples.' Emperor Louis, however, diligently investigated the aim of their visit, and *comperit eos gentis esse Sueonum, exploratores potius regni illius nostrique quam amicitiae petitores . . .* 'found out that they were of the Svea people, and more probably discoverers (spies) in both empires rather than asking for friendship'. So he detained them and that is all we hear of it.[187]

These Svear were thus known as Rus in pre-Rurikid times, perhaps serving under a local ruler and possibly in a pre-Rurikid settlement

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[184] RVA 24, cf. Rudberg 1965 p. 86 with notes 103 and 104.

[185] P. Sawyer 1988c pp. 24–63. Bagge (1995 p. 4) points out that the tiny Swedish opening to the western sea 'suggests that the Swedish unification ought to have started in Svealand rather than Götaland'.

[186] Norrback 1919 p. 4, 22ff.; p. 30ff.; Oxenstierna 1998 pp. 36ff., 46ff.; Rennkamp 1977 pp. 7–25; M.G. Larsson 1993 p. 24f., 33f. Stein-Wilkeshuis 1994; Stang 1981 pp. 156ff., 170ff., 178–98; Müller-Wille et al. 2001.

[187] MGH, Scriptorum I:XXX p. 434. Cf. Widera 1961 pp. 388–97.

at Kiev, the Scandinavian aspect of which (again possibly) is referred to in the story of Askold and Dir in the PVL. This embassy was probably reconnoitring the possibilities of the Dnepr route. As Lothar's corridor began to collapse (855), an alternative infrastructure was opened from the Baltic to the Mediterranean through the newly-formed realm (862) of Rurik.[188] However, the mainly north-south orientation of Kievskaya Rus was a function of the definite collapse of the Volga trade after 970, when Byzantine Christianity was assumed quite quickly. Equally clear is the case of Norway, where the nation was felt to be the function of a communication line, to the degree that it became its name.[189]

The state is by definition a centralised, institutionalised organisation, dominating its components. But how do we classify a multi-regional kingship, a systematised plunder economy or a network polity, which tends to remain in existence and whose subjects begin to develop a vague nationalistic feeling, even if its centre is little institutionalised and weaker than its components, and dependent on their acceptance? Although not a state, this is no longer a chiefdom.

The concept of state formation can also be a strait-jacket, since it prescribes a direction for the development that had not yet been determined. In research, the weak, decentralised polity has attracted much less interest than its descendant the state, whose institutions and criteria are more evident and thus easier to prove. The weak-centre/

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[188] The Scandinavian build-up in Russia had begun before 800 (cf. K. Jonsson 1994 pp. 451–58). Rennkamp (1977 p. 6f.) maintains that the 839 notice indicates the actual existence of a Russian-Byzantine peace treaty before the days of Rurik. Two tenth-century trade treaties between Rus and Byzantium are preserved in the Chronicle. They regulate questions of violence, theft, salvage rights for shipwrecks, recovery of captured men, as well as questions on property left at death. Also regulated, with great suspicion, is how the Rus' trading guests should have access to the town, how they should be supported during their stay and before going back. On both occasions most delegates (emissaries and merchants) on the Russian side bore Scandinavian-type names (PVL s.a. 6420, 6453 [912, 945]).

[189] Norway is mentioned as an entity by *Othere* in the late 9th century, and as such related to *Denamearc*, *Sweoland*, and *Quenaland*, leading Lunden (1995 p. 27) to state 'that both the country and its people as an ethnic group must—in the mind of the people—have been considered distinct units even before, and independently of, the political unification.' The evidence is double-edged; Denmark and Sweden were at this time already known as realms (possibly shaky), whereas Kvänland was not, and was never to be one. Cf. Jakobsson 1999 p. 92f. ('certainly . . . a geographical concept'). The political unification under Harald Finehair is put in severe doubt in recent scholarship, cf. Kragh 1999 p. 17ff.; Jakobsson 1999 p. 93.

strong-periphery situation is often regarded as a mere transition, a pre-determined stage between chiefdom and state. Even so, it may have been the normal order for a relatively long period of time.[190]

The preservative kingship

To improve our understanding of this 'middle way stance', we can see the emergence of a polity in three steps: the making, keeping and controlling of a country. This reduces the achievement of any given polity to a simple question of the strength and functionality of its centre or core. Other words for the centre or core would be institution(s) of government,[191] instruments of authority and constitution. These parameters would anticipate at least:

a) legality and recognition;
b) revenue and sanction instruments;
c) some territory and military forces.

At least two variables of the people as a whole are fundamental, namely:

d) the nature and degree of socio-economic interaction (whether it was a functional unit or not); and
e) the nature and degree of response among the subjects (whether it was a nation or not).[192]

Whether these had been formally decided upon in a codified legal process, or had simply evolved out of long habit, these concepts contain some important dimensions corresponding to the centralized, differentiated and autonomous governing structures of Tilly's definition, quoted earlier in the chapter.

Apart from *change qualitative*, the transformation from chiefdom into state implies integration at a higher level. As a consequence, each inhabitant would become a component in a far larger societal system than previously, which may or may not have caused him stress and

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[190] They have been focused on in the recent works of Jakobsson 1999; Hermanson 2000 pp. 51–186. Sundqvist (2000 pp. 61–83) has a similar vision as a background to his discussion of pre-Christian rulership ideology.

[191] As opposed to usurped government (Weber's concept of power). The recognition of government also implies the problem of representativity, cf. Reynolds 1997 p. 250f.

[192] Zientara 1997.

provided an impetus for change, or at least a reason to reconsider his world view. The way in which these larger units came about is in most cases unclear and open to scholarly dispute along the lines previously drawn. Every political system probably owed its making to an expansionist entrepreneur or a group of that type; thus we find ourselves once more talking about the origin of kingship.

The paradigm model would be the early Carolingians, Pepin le Bref and Charlemagne. Their kingdom flourished with success, but amounted to little if expansion came to a halt or if peaceful times occurred for some other reason. Their men in the field, whether called vassals or officials, would then no longer need their king. The realm would almost dissolve, and the former chieftains or decentralised kings' men would be back where they had begun. On the other hand, pressure from abroad may condense a group of culturally-close chiefdoms into a more comprehensive polity; here the endeavours of Alfred the Great have been mentioned as the chief example.[193]

If a newly-made multi-regional polity survived the first accession of a second monarch, it would be as vulnerable as a baby. If the conjuncture (military or mercantile) that had carried the original integration still remained, chances were considerable that enough support would be received from other power holders to maintain it, but if this failed, crisis would have been immediate.[194] Everyday activities would continue in their old ways, but it is debatable how many of these would favour keeping the entity together. There might be latent animosity at the regional level, perhaps encouraged by former or would-be chiefs.[195] The realm would have its ability to survive tested to the utmost. The prince who inherited it or who had been elected to government was up against the problem of how to run a country without proper communications, which had no or small administrative cadres, and no or few central institutions. His kingdom would run the risk of falling apart into peer-polities, or at best remain a multi-regional polity with a very weak centre. The fate of Charlemagne's empire under his 'preservative' son and his 'disintegrating' grandsons is again an obvious model.

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[193] Hodges 1989 pp. 157–61, 186ff.
[194] The preservative kingdom may be a relative of Weber's concept of the 'traditional kingdom'. However I have felt it important to stress that these traditions need not derive from 'time immemorial', but that it may be a powerful tool to spread traditions and make them look old.
[195] Cf. Lunden 1997; Jakobsson 1999 pp. 92–98.

In this situation the leadership faces the greatest challenge. To keep the realm together the king might use charismatic tactics;[196] at the same time he would do well in attempting to establish institutions that his subjects would find useful, as well as enforcing existing ones. Other helpful efforts would be to establish administrative centres,[197] and to have roads built, particularly main routes binding existing central settlements together. In addition he could improve peace and order through fair jurisdiction and by tying as many powerful families as possible into marriage alliance networks.[198] He could claim tributes from remote neighbours rather than demand taxes in his home area. Nevertheless, the king may have found it wise to call out his retinue and ride fully armed through the provinces, consuming taxes on the spot.

Heimskringla's picture of King Bröt-Anund gives an archetypal example of this behaviour. Not only did he revenge his conquistador-style father Ingvar, thereby adding lots of *herfang . . .* 'booty', but during his government was *ár mikit i Sviþioð*, he was *allra konunga vinsælstr*, implying that his years in power provided good harvests and that he gave generous feasts and gifts, tying to himself many friends who were compelled to help him if necessary. He is also said to have furthered agrarian colonisation and to have improved conditions for centralised government:

Önundr Konungr lét brjóta vegu um alla Sviþióð bæði um markir ok mýrar ok fjallvegu; fyrir þvi var hann Braut-Önundr kallaðr. Ónundr konungr setti bú sin í hvert stórherað á Sviþióð, ok fór um alt landit at veizlum.[199]	King Anund had roads to be 'broken' all over Sweden, through borderlands swamps as well as mountains; this is why he was called Break-Anund. King Anund established a royal domain in each 'county' of Sweden, and he travelled all over the country in tax-consuming meetings.

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[196] One part of this was surely the religious function of the king, another the warrior outlook conveyed by court skalds. See Malmros 1999 pp. 343ff., 361ff.; Sundqvist 2000 pp. 17–35, 129–269; cf. Bloch 1924; Leyser 1979 p. 77ff.; Lindkvist 1997 p. 49ff.

[197] An individual king was probably unable to complete the establishment of such a system, which is why they have left only loose and incomplete patterns of place-name indications and archaeological traces. In Sweden, the much-discussed name elements tuna, *husar, husaby and others often occur in well-chosen places, but rarely show a fully built-out system.

[198] Bagge 1986; Reynolds 1997, Zachrisson 1998; Kattinger 1998; Hermanson 2000.

[199] Heimskringla, Ynglingasaga k. 33.

There is thus a period in history during which the keeping of a realm was a question of good conduct and exemplary initiative on the part of the king and his centre; much more so than his capacity for violence, which would often have been counter-productive. Such a kingship we may define as chiefly political or, perhaps better, preservative.[200] This is the type of pre-state monarchy that is offered some brief advice in the Anglo-Saxon poem of *Widsið*:

Fela ic monna gefraegn maegþum wealdan.	I have heard of many men
Sceal þeoda gehwylc þeawum lifgan,	ruling over peoples; every
eorl aefter oþrum eðle raedan,	prince, one lord after another,
seþe his þeodenstol gedeon wile.	ought to live virtuously, and
	govern his land, if he desires
	his throne to prosper.[201]

The idea, premeditated or not, would have been to establish a form of 'contract' between king and inhabitants, in which the king's role in a centralised pagan *blot* (ritual living sacrifice) would seem very apt as a confirmation. At this point nation-building must be considered. Efforts at integrating formerly independent regions into a larger unit are likely to evoke identity problems (who would be *us* and who would be *them*?). A king would do well to promote the idea of a mutually shared history which resulted in a similarly shared territory, including certain places of a sacred status, and some sort of linguistic and cultural unity. In successful cases, we might see the growth of something more than a polity: a nation.[202]

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[200] Preservative (or political) kingship is suggested as an improvement to Weber's (1947 pp. 310–406) concept of 'traditional kingship' which says nothing, and to Hodges' term 'cyclical chiefdoms', which in my view points in the wrong direction. I can also follow the conclusions of Malmros (1999 pp. 364–68) a long way, but feel hesitant regarding the courtly 'self-perception' as expressed by skalds, as a strong indice of the state of the realm (ibid., p. 367). I think the proper classification of these poems is 'propaganda', in the build-up of 'charisma'.

[201] Widsið vv. 10–14; Labuda [ed.] 1961.

[202] Ehlers 1996 p. 358f.; Zientara 1997 p. 17ff. Except for Norway, which is a bit outside the present focus, the problem of nationalism on the Baltic Rim is little discussed (For Norway, cf. Lunden 1995, Jakobsson 1999; for Denmark, McGuire [ed.] 1996 and Leegard Knudsen 2000; cf. also Blomkvist 2002.) The widespread opinion that medieval mentality was either international or local (see von Brandt 1953) should of course be seen in the light of papal and imperial pretence. It is more than likely that cultural nationalism might occur as a reaction to the manifestations of expanding Europe, or that those in power in the emerging Baltic states might use nationalistic arguments in their effort to mobilise popular support.

PART III

THE RECEPTION OF EUROPE

Three Regional Case Studies

THE REGIONAL PANORAMA.
A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTERS SIX-EIGHT

1. *Adapting the Action/Reaction Model to the Baltic Arena*

Summing up the discovery approach

The aim of the third part of this work is to try out the discovery approach on given areas as close to the experience of real people as is technically possible, given the source situation. What kind of spatial level that will lead us to will be discussed below. The analyses will be carried out within the framework of the Catholic World-system model, developed in Chapter Two as a theoretical explanation of the making of Europe. The model is intended to function as a dualistic aggregate in which the activities of Europeanization agents provoke counter-activities among the indigenous re-agents. It sees two groups as its most dynamic Europeanization forces—the *ecclesia* as an expression of the Catholic Church reform and *mercatura* representing the parallel emergence of a trans-national commodity market.

Their expansionist contribution is made dualistic by the integration of deprivation theory, according to which peripheral 'outsiders' are seen not as helpless victims, but as re-agents forming their own survival strategies, whether an impulse to clash with the challenger or alternatively to seek a compromise that at least temporarily preserves the most important elements of native culture. I have tentatively suggested that the main expression of survival strategies may take the form of nationalism and ethnification, with nation-building and nativistic, revitalization or millenarian movements as constitutive elements. Many of the innovations of the long 12th century are thought to have developed as means of societal survival rather than in the interests of a monolithic Europe, most notably the formation of centralised proto-national states and some very strong ethnic undercurrents among peoples surviving under foreign rule. These frictions in the making of Europe are very important aspects of the Europeanization process; without them, Europe would have become something else.

A problematic forerunner

Many scholars today agree that the Europeanization of the Baltic was a function of the making of Europe itself, in the sense of a specific explorative and exploitative Western ethos connoting a series of socio-economic chain reactions in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries. Some scholars have previously discussed the unifying impact of the Catholic Church reform in particular; some the systematisation of long-distance trade; my suggestion that these two factors together assumed the qualities of a World-system is new, as far as I know. However, some aspects of the World-system approach have been discussed long before. Beginning in the late 19th century, a vision was developed regarding the German takeover of Baltic trade, which culminated in Fritz Rörig's much-discussed *Unternehmertheorie*. This set of ideas has several elements in common with the World-system vision, and may even have influ-enced its emergence.[1]

  According to Rörig's late and comprehensive essay *Die Stadt im deutschen Mittelalter*, which I have chosen to follow here, the merchants' ethos was directed at taking over trade on the Baltic Rim *nicht durch Raub, Gewaltpolitik, Militarismus, sondern durch eine grossartige kulturelle Leistung von europäischer Bedeutung in Ehren und Verantwortungsbewusstsein auch gegenüber anderen Völkern . . .* 'not through plunder, power politics or militarism, but through a magnanimous cultural achievement of European impor-tance, with honour and responsibility also towards other people'. These words were written in retrospect of the *Unheilsjahr 1945* when everything that the Hanseatic merchant had created lay in ruins. Rörig (in many ways a great scholar) attributes to the Hanseatic merchants no less than the complete takeover of the Nordic-Baltic market, together with the spread of *Deutschtum* in the East. Reading between the lines we realise that not only had the *Missbrauch* of the *Hitlerregime* ruined the achievements of the Hanse, but furthermore it threatened to undermine the vision to which Rörig had devoted his life's work—a remarkable blend of early twentieth-century eco-nomic-geographical theory and nineteenth-century nationalism.[2]

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[1] It was developed in a series of articles spanning several decades, posthumously collected in Rörig 1959. Its roots are possibly to be found in Wilhelmine Germany's colonial ambitions and in the contemporary idolisation of the entrepreneur who was given contemporary expression by the Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter. For its impact on the World-system model, cf. Braudel 1986 p. 16 with note 4.

[2] Rörig 1969 p. 13f. The essay is also published in Rörig 1959 pp. 658–80.

His vision begins in an urban liberation movement inspired by kingship and directed against the episcopate, particulary in Worms, Cologne and Liège: *jene bischöflichen Machthaber, die ihre vom König erhaltenen und dann in der Stadt selbst missbrauchten Rechte gegen den König auszunutzen gedachten . . .* 'those episcopal power holders who misused the rights which they had obtained from the king in the city, plotting to use them against the king'. Thus Rörig's theory departs from the investiture struggle in the German part of the core area; hence where and when 'my' Catholic World-system was in its making. What Rörig sees in this is something else however—a natural union of *Königsgewalt* and a revolutionary *Bürgertum* striving for autonomy from a *frondierende Feudalität*.[3] Medieval urban entrepreneurship is thus formed in the clash of Empire and Church, in which the latter is accused of splitting feudal tendencies. As Rörig saw it, the goal of these burghers was far from individualistic. 'The entire life and activity of the long-distance trade depended on the oath-swearing units of the merchant guilds. These people had comradely spirit and stern discipline in their blood, as a legacy of their trading expeditions, as well as the consciousness of being members of a much greater entity: as merchants of the Roman Reich, as servants of the king, in royal protection and royal peace, they went out into foreign countries.'[4]

According to the *Unternehmertheorie*, these disciplined, dedicated and highly competent businessmen were already well-established in old German cities like Cologne, Soest, Münster, Dortmund and Bremen by the middle of the 12th century, when they spotted the virgin possibilities of the Baltic Rim. Technically well ahead of the commercial forces previously in control there, they interested Henry the Lion in their plan to not only establish a modern city on the Baltic, but also to take over the Baltic trade as a whole. 'From Lübeck these merchants, organised in a single seal-bearing organisation of "Merchants of the Roman realm", pushed on towards Gotland. There, they founded the city of Visby, and from here, the approach continued towards (. . .) Novgorod (. . .). As stations on this road towards the

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[3] Rörig 1969 p. 14.
[4] *Auf dem Schwurverband der Kaufmannsgilden beruhte das ganze fernhändlerische Leben und Handeln. Genossenschaftlicher Geist und straffe Disziplin steckten diesen Leuten von ihren Handelsfahrten her im Blute, auch das Bewusstsein, Glieder eines weit grösseren Ganzen zu sein: als Kaufleute des Römischen Reichs, als Muntleute des Königs, in Königsschutz und Königsfrieden zogen sie in die Fremde* (Rörig 1969 p. 13).

great Russian emporium, modern-type cities again grew: Riga, Reval and Dorpat.'[5] Thus they were the founding fathers of the Hanse.

My reason for quoting Rörig so fully is neither the great influence he enjoyed in his lifetime, the controversies he aroused and normally won, nor his strained position in the post-war world; it is foremost the need to evaluate his contribution. Since I accept some of his points of view it has become necessary, given his problematic impact, to clarify the ones I must definitely reject. What do we really know and how much is conjecture?

The empirical support for the *Unternehmertheorie* was mainly sought in urban history, notably in the foundation of Lübeck. Observing that in the 14th century, property around the Great Market of Lübeck was concentrated in the hands of people with Westphalian roots, Rörig proposed a consortium of entrepreneurial long-distance merchants from the Rhineland and southwest Saxony as the true founders of the city in 1158–59, and as the strategists of a subsequent swift Hanseatic takeover of Baltic trade.[6] But the material support for these assumptions is relatively poor. Empirically, the guild of visiting German (Roman) merchants are not seen on Gotland before around 1225, and their expression of separate priorities vis-à-vis the Gotlanders becomes visible only in the second half of the 13th century. Luise von Winterfeld, Bernhard Am Ende and others have long since presented more consistent hypotheses for the foundation of Lübeck,[7] as has Hugo Yrwing for the German settlement on Gotland.[8] Furthermore, representative scholars from various countries have denounced the theory, particularly blaming Rörig for overstressing differences in skill and strength in favour of the Germans.[9] Another *Hanseforscher*, Heinrich Reincke, has brought the entire idea from the theoretical world into the context of twelfth-century Germany in a brilliant and amusing

[5] *Von Lübeck stiessen dann diese Kaufleute, organisiert in einem einzigen siegelführenden Verbande der "Kaufleute des Römischen Reiches" nach Gotland vor. Sie gründeten dort die Stadt Wisby, und von hier aus ging der Vorstoss weiter in Richtung-Nowgorod-. Als Etappen auf diesem Wege nach dem Grossen russischen Handelsplatz erwuchsen wiederum Städte moderner Prägung: Riga, Reval und Dorpat.* (Rörig 1969 p. 15.)

[6] Rörig (1921, 1928) 1959.

[7] Von Winterfeld 1955; Am Ende 1975.

[8] Yrwing 1940, 1978, 1986; below Ch. VII:3, 5.

[9] E.g. by A.E. Christensen (1976 pp. 118–45) and E. Lönnroth (1959 pp. 48–67) originally produced at the Nordic History meeting in Århus 1957; Zientara 1981 pp. 147–57.

article which makes the whole idea look rather displaced; more recently Rolf Hammel-Kiesow has deconstructed the idea of Lübeck as an ideal type for the foundation of other cities on the Baltic Rim.[10] This suggests that Rörig, while endeavouring to confirm his theory in the real twelfth-century context, turned a blind eye to source criticism and potential alternative interpretations.

Let us take an example. The 1165 town code of Medebach in Westphalia legislates on voyages to Denmark and Russia. According to Rörig and many of his followers, this confirms a tremendously quick development following on the foundation of Lübeck.[11] However Denmark and Russia merely indicate where Medebach trade partners could go. These geographic examples are of no importance to the clause, the topic of which is how to settle partnership in trade, when one partner exposes himself to the toils of journeys to foreign places and the other stays at home, merely supplying goods or capital. Seen as a hard fact, it is no evidence of a swift commercial breakthrough in the Baltic. The reason for referring to Baltic Rim destinations could be something other than reports of a successful market expansion; it could be ducal propaganda to strengthen the position of Lübeck. Medebach in itself was not a centre for trade to the Baltic countries in the way Soest was; it had been given the right to use Soest's code by the Archbishop of Cologne. The town code of Soest actually contains a clause legislating on active and passive partnership, which provides a forerunner to that in Medebach's code, but without the telling geographical examples.[12]

However, Arnold of Lübeck informs us that around the same time or slightly before, Henry the Lion had given Lübeck its first town code *secundum iura Sosatie . . .* 'according to the rights of Soest'. The text of this first Lübeck law code is long lost, but it has been pointed out that it may have contained clauses which hadn't been codified even for Soest at that time.[13] This suggests that the Lübeck code was compiled independently, but based on the jurisprudence of Soest. What if the geographical examples of where merchants could go had originally been inserted in the version produced for Lübeck—a far

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[10] Reincke 1957; Hammel-Kiesow 1995.
[11] HUB I:17. Cf. e.g. Dollinger 1964 p. 34ff., 40; Jordan 1995 p. 187ff., 204ff.
[12] Yrwing 1940 p. 146f. Nevertheless Yrwing too thought it confirmed a dramatic rise in Westphalian trade with the Baltic
[13] ACS II:21; Jordan 1980 p. 244; cf. p. 252ff. for the attempts to reconstruct Lübeck's first town code. For the latter see also Walther 1989.

more likely context—and shortly afterwards included into the version intended for Medebach? This likely possibility would not reflect quick commercial reactions in Westphalia, perhaps not even in Lübeck, but it may have been a marker of expectations, perhaps from the duke, that Lübeckers should commit themselves to active trade overseas. Another possibility is that the ideas of Baltic trade derive from Soest's relations with Schleswig, which probably began earlier in the 12th century. This would give even less significance to the claim of Lübeck's immediate importance.[14]

Rörig's enthusiasm made such potential counter-evidence immaterial. In fact, most of the details that he brings forward to confirm the idea of a speedy breakthrough for German merchants on the Baltic are the fruits of quite spurious interpretations. His frequent piling of hypothesis upon hypothesis, based on sources dating from a century or more later than the period, reduces it all to an unproven model.[15] From a strictly scholarly view, independent of the political implications, there is not much in favour of Rörig's assumptions. What he got wrong was not only the timetable of the breakthrough, which has been largely corrected by his opponents, but also (with more disastrous results) the conclusions regarding its nature. The neoclassic liberal and social-Darwinist foundations of Rörig's theory are quite obvious. The German-ness (*Deutschtum*) of the new breed of competence and survival fitness is too strongly underlined. The picture is akin to nineteenth-century colonialism, and the environment in which it was presented was, by and large, the 12 years of Hitler's *tausendjähriges Reich*, although Rörig had begun developing it earlier. Amends made after World War II were somewhat feeble in stressing its liberal background.[16]

Some of Rörig's thinking remains, albeit modified. His categorical source-interpretations live a life of their own in historiography, and even quite recent *Hanseforschung* cannot hold back a swarm of ambitious and energetic entrepreneurs from Westphalia who rapidly stirred up the little place on the Trave so neglected by the Holstein counts. The continued expansion in the Baltic is still often presented with

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[14] Radtke 1981 p. 454ff. cf. above and Radtke 2002; Kattinger 1999a p. 16, cf. however p. 113.

[15] I will give a further example in my discussion of the Artlenburg privilege, Ch. VII:3.

[16] Even in the essay from 1952, from which I have drawn most of my quotations, the nationalistic and collectivist ideals are clearly visible.

some resemblance (perhaps unintended) to a colonial enterprise.[17] This continuing echo of Rörig is another reason for examining the foundations of his thinking.

Its continued attraction to some modern scholars is, I think, partly because it appears to confirm the neoclassical idea of the merchant as a society-forming entrepreneur, and partly because it intuitively applies a centre-periphery perspective, before these had become commonplace in the social sciences. It is associated with still-powerful lines of argument. Undisputedly correct is the fact that German merchants represented a new commercial system in the Baltic, with its roots in the core area and access to the emerging commodity market. They are linked with the spread of the new type of city which claimed a higher degree of autonomy from its surroundings, and in due course they built up a virtual monopoly over long-distance Baltic trade. Eventually—clearly seen from the latter part of the 13th century—the Baltic Rim was criss-crossed by one large, supra-national central place hierarchy for the distribution of goods and ideas, which to a large degree submitted to core area dominance channelled through Lübeck. The German merchants brought *change qualitative*, not necessarily at once as Rörig pleaded, but remarkably soon by any standards. The change represented solutions which had been worked out in the core area. On the other hand, focus on the merchants' creativity has led to a remarkable downgrading of the role of princely power, which in the case of Henry the Lion seems to be a serious negligence.

There is an even more serious weakness in the theory. Rörig's stress on the *Unternehmer* led to a complete disregard of the role of the Rim re-agents. The low importance given to the *Undeutsche* could well correspond to attitudes among late medieval Hanseatics, but still be a mistake. Even if the indigenous people couldn't beat the Germans, they may have made an impact on their socio-economic system. Two eminent contemporary specialists in these problems, Stuart Jenks and Michael North, note in an introduction to the conference report *Der Hansische Sonderweg* that the Hanseatic organisation, from a European core area perspective, shows 'a specific structure (. . .) that isn't fully described by the label of "backwardness"'. This is compared with the supremacy of the Tuscans in organising networks, and that of the Dutch in bulk transport. They also comment on systems of payment

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[17] Cf. e.g. Hellmann 1989b, pp. 13, 18f.; Stoob 1995 pp. 62–68. Kattinger (1999a pp. 8–187) stands with his feet in both camps.

'whose techniques became ever more archaic, the longer one penetrated into the East', while Hanseatic methods corresponded to 'the particular challenges of the east-west trading route.'[18] This seems to be another way of saying that the Hanseatics were not able to conquer entirely the remaining old structures of the Baltic world.

The forming of survival strategies—some hypotheses

It is often pointed out that the agents of Europeanization were a heterogeneous lot: some were noblemen, others were priests, merchants, adventurers, or various kinds of servants; they came from different parts of the continent and often became rivals.[19] This is correct, but it is still an entirely Euro-centric remark. From the point of view of the re-agents they could still have appeared as a single, compact invasion.

One of the main observations of the heuristic approach in Chapters Three-Four is that Europeanization meant penetration of outside-the-system territory, causing *change qualitative*. Evidence examined in these chapters reveals an ongoing struggle in and around the Baltic, which featured an Old and a New way of doing things. This included everything from radically different clothing styles to different modes of trade exchange, currency, town layout, taxation, power politics, warfare and territorial conquest. This in turn makes it difficult to deny the existence of some common denominator for all these issues of *change qualitative*. This common denominator is of course just another metaphor for Europeanization—the advance of 'the Catholic World-system'.

The obvious differences between some discovery reports, examined in Chapters Three-Four, lead to the assumption that Europeanization came in two waves. The first Rim nations were Europeanized through a more gradual process of infiltration, alliance-forming, and not least through controversies with recently-Europeanized neighbours, which resulted in stalemates, compromises, and competition over the remaining pagans. The second wave of Europeanization was chiefly targeted against these pagans, who became victims of more ideologically-motivated conquests by people acting on behalf of and with access to the superior resources of the core area, which by that time

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[18] Jenks and North 1993 p. xvf.
[19] Hucker (1993 pp. 55–73) provides an apt survey of the German origins of Livonian immigrants, containing further references.

were much more competitive than those of their Baltic Rim neighbours. In the first instance, the difference between agents and re-agents was not great; the process was slow and allowed acculturation under the conditions of the Old system, resulting in a rolling frontier which formed a semi-periphery. In the second instance the difference may have been much greater, since from around 1200 the core area conquerors tended to push their semi-peripheral forerunners aside and establish their own core area implantation from above. In this way the potential grew for establishing a full periphery.

Some of the encounters were quite evenly balanced, others less so, and from that point of view it is natural that any given population of re-agents would resort to a survival strategy that suited its particular circumstances, and that no one strategy would resemble any other very much. However there may have been more general factors involved. Previous studies have suggested that peoples' understanding of their previous history may have played some role. A 'preservative' kingdom with traditions from the Viking Age typically might have reacted to early Europeanization by using some aspects to strengthen its own traditional political centre, while at the same time initiating a policy of nation building. A smaller 'tribal' unit might have attempted to strengthen its ethnic traits and close the social system against integration with Europeanization agents.

When the Western expansion began around 1100, not only was the Viking experience vividly remembered in the core area, but it may have constituted a huge capital of knowledge for its Nordic heirs. Even more importantly, the structures involved were to some extent intact, which represented a degree of status in the eyes of Europeanization agents. This in turn may have inspired the strategy of looking back that we find among Scandinavian re-agents. However, the areas headed towards full peripheral status may have been scarcely integrated into Western European matters at all before 1100. Some were dependants of a 'preservative' kingdom in the capacity of its *skattland*, and may have experienced the rising influence of continental Germans as a means of liberation. Thus they would have had little chance of judging what they were up against when the pace of expansion quickened around 1200.

2. *The Selection of Research Areas*

Principles involved

My method will be to make case studies of discovery processes in specific areas, in order to follow the series of events as closely as possible, study their impact on ordinary populations and draw conclusions as to their nature. The choice of investigation levels and the selection of investigation objects may well have an impact on the outcome, which makes it necessary to discuss thoroughly the pre-conditions for these decisions.

What happens when we break down the mechanisms of a macro-sized World-system into local history? Will specific issues take over from general ones? Will the (seemingly) unique set of coincidences blind us to understanding the relation between the local event and the trends and *change qualitative* of Europeanization? Will agents and re-agents assume individual characteristics to the extent that we see their encounters as private rather than representative social acts? The sociologist Anthony Giddens has worked out a model for the 'regionalization' of social conduct on all levels, from a centre-periphery system covering a continent or more, down to individual households. He makes a few general observations that are important to the present context:

The 'corporality' of human beings tends to turn most human activities into repetitive routines. The ordering factor in society will be the sum of 'routinized' human 'trajectories',[20] in turn dependent on the demands of daily support, power relations etc. In the places where they tend to converge, in time as well as space (Time/Space), adequate 'locales' for 'encounters' emerge; becoming arenas suitable for 'serialised interaction' and providing a high degree of 'presence availability', to quote another of Giddens' concepts.[21] The centre-periphery system is reduced to a 'priority in time' by which its core area agents maintain their advantage vis-à-vis the peripheries. The process of 'regionalization' would communicate this priority cen-

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[20] The expression comes from T. Hägerstrand's Time-geography. It refers to the routinized character of daily life, which theoretically derives from the constraints of the human body, life span, capacity etc. Roughly, it means 'patterns of movements': 'The physical properties of the body and the milieu in which it moves inevitably give social life a serial character, and limit modes of access to "absent" others across space.'
[21] Giddens 1995 p. 119ff.

trifugally, giving dominance to those relatively central, and correspond-
ing subordination to those relatively peripheral, thereby constituting
a hierarchy involving all the populated areas along its radius. 'Region-
alization', Giddens explains, is 'the zoning of time-space (as he prefers
to write it) in relation to routinized social practices'. Combining the
binary oppositions of 'front region/back region' and 'enclosure/dis-
closure' he draws attention to the double-sidedness of human com-
munities in official and private dimensions—as in a house, where
specific rooms are used repeatedly for specific activities under given
sequences of time during a day, some representative, others not
intended for inspection.[22]

The conclusion to be drawn is that the expansion/deprivation
mechanisms of the Catholic World-system would have created a chal-
lenge in every region of the Rim, with expectations of a clash between
Old and New in each of them. In addition I shall accept hypothetically
that all long 12th century 'trajectories', 'locales of encounters' and
tendencies to 'regionalization' (under whatever name or concept I
can trace them) were normally components of routinized social behav-
iour, even in those days.[23] The reason for not discussing informa-
tion gathered for the entire Rim, and focusing on the sparser data
applicable to specific 'locales' or 'regions' is the aim of linking real
people and events to these routinized patterns of behaviour. The
limited region provides some likelihood of truly linking the challenges
of Europeanization agents with the actual responses of indigenous
re-agents. The people we will meet (mostly mere outlines) would
have known about each other, and interacted with or counteracted
against each other on a regular basis. This is the point at which the
source situation becomes more important than the requisites of the-
ory. For discussion of comparative differences between specific groups,
the source material must be abundant enough to allow differentiated
conclusions relative to the groups in question.

Thus there are good reasons for separating marked societal back-
region-type territories (as seen from a Europeanization perspective)

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[22] Giddens 1995 p. 110ff., pp. 130–32.
[23] In focusing on the showdown character of encounters I also lean on Abrams'
(1978 p. 31) dictum that towns 'become interesting as moments in a process of
usurpation and defence, consolidation, appropriation and resistance; as battles rather
than as monuments.' In the vocabulary of Giddens (1995 p. 122) 'region' connotes
'the structuration of social conduct across time-space', hence it easily includes the
continuously ongoing battles of town life.

from regions where the agents of Europeanization appeared early
on. In these territories the challenge may have been unexpected and
sensational, and the clashes tended to create a precedent for larger
areas. Fortunately Giddens suggests a means to identify these par-
ticularly contested locales, if we follow the centrifugal trajectories
leading into the Rim, and select the locales with the most prolific
encounters, where individual communications tended to converge.

*Major sea routes as the trajectories of expansion for the
Catholic World-system*

To find the trajectories by which Europeanization agents encountered
their Baltic Rim counterparts should be possible, at least on the level
of normative traditions. Records of itineraries and sailing descriptions
can be seen as condensed knowledge of these.

   The two northern seas, the North Sea and the Baltic, have been
defined as one integrated exchange system. Its pre-eminent historic
feature has been to provide excellent sea transport far into the
Eurasian landmass as soon as proper ships were available, thus unit-
ing two major production areas or markets: the immense raw material-
providing areas of the Finno-Scandian and Russian landmass, and
the technologically-advanced areas of the Low Countries and the
Rhine valley, both parts of the European core.

   The human-geographical organization of the Baltic Rim depended
to a large extent on the fact that long 12th century sailors still pre-
ferred to sail along sheltered coasts. Connecting the southwest seg-
ment of the Rim (where Europeanization agents were gathering) with
the outlets from the great eastern and northern landmass where these
people envisioned a great future, in principal made three different
sea routes technically available.[24]

   1
   Firstly, there was the northern route—beginning in Danish waters, pen-
   etrating Kalmarsund, following the coast of Sweden up to Arholma
   off Uppland. There it turned east, passed Hangö and reached Tallinn,
   which was its end station according to a detailed Danish thirteenth-
   century itinerary. In practice, it continued through the Neva estuary
   into the Russian river system, as a *scholion* to Adam of Bremen's *Gesta*

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[24] For the following, see chiefly Ellmers 1972 p. 227ff.; Rebas 1978, Blomkvist
1979a pp. 183–86; Gallén and Lind (eds) 1993; Flink et al. 1998.

points out, recommending it for journeys from Hedeby to Birka and further on to Russia.[25] Thus it passed within sight of Köping on Öland, an entrepôt which had flourished since the 1060s, and offered an easy connection to the emporium of Sigtuna in Mälaren, passing directly by Ladoga town (*Aldeigjuborg*) close to the outlet of the Volkhov river in Lake Ladoga, pushing up the Volkhov, and finally reaching the great eastern emporium of Novgorod.[26]

Judging from the nature of Viking-age seamanship, the northern route was by far the most advantageous, due to its abundance of islands, harbours and inlets, which provided a multitude of economic possibilities. The *Vita* of St. Botvid shows how people of the Mälar valley travelled long distances out to certain islands along the route to meet up with a convoy of trading ships—in this case heading for Gotland.[27] The rich archipelago also provided safe navigation (before the era of sea charts and compasses) and ample shelter from currents and winds. Even more important may have been that this sea route ran within the 'preservative' kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Kievskaya Rus. Their formation was obviously a fruit of the Viking Age, and protection of the route may have been one of the causes. Thus it wouldn't be altogether wrong to call it the Route of Kings. As we shall see in Chapter Seven, it was regulated by a series of Russo-Scandinavian trading peaces that seem to go back at least to the 11th century. According to thirteenth-century texts, merchants heading for Novgorod gathered at the island of *Berkø* (Björkö, Koivisto, Bereskovyj) off the Bay of Viipuri, or at the island of *Kotlin* off the Neva estuary, from where they continued *sub pace et protectione regis et Nogardiensium* . . . 'under the peace and protection of the king and the Novgorodians'.[28] The trade peaces and the Route of Kings were two aspects of the Old economic regime, strengthened by intermarriages with royal sisters, daughters and widows.[29] Closer to 1100 however, a new tendency emerged which may be termed an emancipation of the other trade routes.

2

One of these routes went along the southern shore. Departing from Haithabu, the ninth-century explorer Wulfstan described it as far as Truso, the forerunner of present-day Elblag (Elbing). Going back to his text for the details, I was surprised to find that he doesn't mention much at all: after a prolific description of the regions of Denmark, mentioning the southeast of Sweden as well, he simply states that *Weonodland waes ús ealne weg on steorbord oð Wislemuðan* . . . 'Weonodland was all the

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[25] For Adam's treatment of Birka, see Ch. IX:2.
[26] Noonan 1988; Müller-Wille et al. 2001.
[27] SRS II p. 383; cf. Ch. VII:2.
[28] Goetz 1916 pp. 93–95.
[29] Sjöberg 1985; Roslund 1990, 1992 pp. 145–151, 1997; Tesch 1990; Lind 1992 and above Ch. III:1; cf. H. Janson (1998 pp. 152–162).

way on our right, to the mouth of the Wesel', to quote Daines Barrington's English translation of 1773.[30] As already noted (Chapter Three), those following this sea route in the late 11th century would pass a series of flourishing trade ports, from Alt-Lübeck on the Trave, Szczecin on the Odra, to Jumne on the island of Wollin, renowned in epic, with options of visiting the Pruzzians on the river Visla, or the Sembs on the Nemunas. The Vends in particular entered into a period of expansion which was to reach its height in the early 12th century.

Northwards along the Curonian coast this route was much riskier, due to its total openness and dangerous winds.[31] Add to that the attitude of its inhabitants, who as we learned from Chapter Three enjoyed a steady reputation for 'dreadfulness'. Like the Vends, the Curonians (and in fact all the peoples living along this sea route) were pagans well into the 12th century and sometimes longer. According to the Livonian Rhyme Chronicle, any unfortunate Christian who happened to land there 'would be robbed of life as well as goods'.[32] The choice of routes was not only a technical problem. The risky navigation and the harsh policies of the Curonians in combination suggest that the southern route may have functioned as a dead end, being used by those from the west going to and returning from the great Vendic, Pruzzian and Sembic entrepôts, but not normally for transit traffic towards the ports of the north-eastern Baltic.

3

The third alternative followed the northern route into Kalmarsund, and from the northern tip of Öland it made a first leap over open sea towards the Karlsö islands and Gotland. It continued around that great island, passing through Fårösund, and from harbours on Gotland's east side took an even more daring leap towards the Curonian coast, where a turn south would lead to Samland or Pruzzia, or north to the Daugava estuary; further up to Polotsk and Smolensk, or through the Muhu sound up into the Gulf of Finland.[33]

Tying together the large islands of Öland, Gotland, and Ösel, this route demanded more daring seamanship, and required on top of that

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[30] KAO 1; Barrington 1773 p. 17.
[31] Rebas 1978.
[32] LRC v. 354–6. The statement of their paganism must not be too categorical; we have already heard of Vends being 'secretly' Christian, and we recall that Svend Estridsen had encouraged the building of a church in Curonia (ABG IV:16).
[33] The sea route between Gotland and Curonia has probably been used in all Gotlandic seafaring eastwards. On the Sjonhem monument (GR 134–135) one of the inscriptions probably mentions Venta *(a: uitau).* We read of the Södermanlander Sven of Mervalla (SöR 198) that *Hann oft siglt / til Saeimgalla / dyrum knaerri / um Domisnaes* . . . 'he had often sailed to Semigalia with an exquisite knarr around Domesnäs'. Domesnäs is the name of the northernmost point of the Curonian coast, while Semigalia lies south of the River Daugava. Rahbek Schmidt 1964 p. 36f.; HCL I:2 & passim.

skill in dealing with the many different ethnic groups that had the
ability to disturb traffic. This offers a preliminary explanation (albeit
its use is strongly confirmed archaeologically) of why this route is little
heard of in non-Scandinavian sources before 1100. Soon after it rose into
a predominant position, becoming a line of approach for Europeanization.
The crucial Lübeck-Kalmar-Visby-Riga link was formed along this
route in the long 12th century, and these cities to some degree may
be seen as quite advanced outposts of the core area.[34] We may call
this route a middle way, but considering its archaeological past and
approaching new importance, it wouldn't be altogether misleading to
call it a 'golden middle way' or 'diagonal' (Fig. 8).

Europeanization agents thus had three main trajectories characterised
by long navigational traditions to consider when approaching the
Baltic World of 1100. Two followed its long coasts, the northern
'Route of Kings' and the southern 'Trajectory of Wulfstan', and
between them the golden middle way, which I will call here the
'Golden Diagonal'. The points of departure and destination may to
some extent have decided the choice between them. These sea routes
and the changes in sailing routines which began in the long 12th
century and continued in the following era are known to previous
research, but they have rarely been studied beyond questions of gen-
eral development, particularly in the fields of ship's technology and
navigation.[35] From our perspective, they also suggest the application
of far-reaching strategy, which calls for further consideration.

The northern Route of Kings was the best route to reach the Neva
estuary and enter the Russian rivers. Its sheltered waters suited the
needs of early seamanship, which further strengthens the hypothesis
that the Viking-age multi-regional realms were formed to secure and
control it. It may have had its greatest importance during the Viking
Age, but clearly also had a continuing value to these kingdoms in
later times.

The alternative routes had to be operated through regions with a
less clear power structure. The southern one led to the Vendic and
Sembic ports, but it may not have been very suitable for reaching
the East-Baltic North, and it is repeatedly mentioned as being politically
risky, at least for Westerners. The Golden Diagonal clearly possessed
a better logistic potential. It may have begun as an adventurous

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[34] Blomkvist 1995 pp. 227–39.
[35] Dollinger 1964 p. 176ff.; Ellmers 1972, 1985; Heinsius 1986; Stoob 1995
p. 123ff.
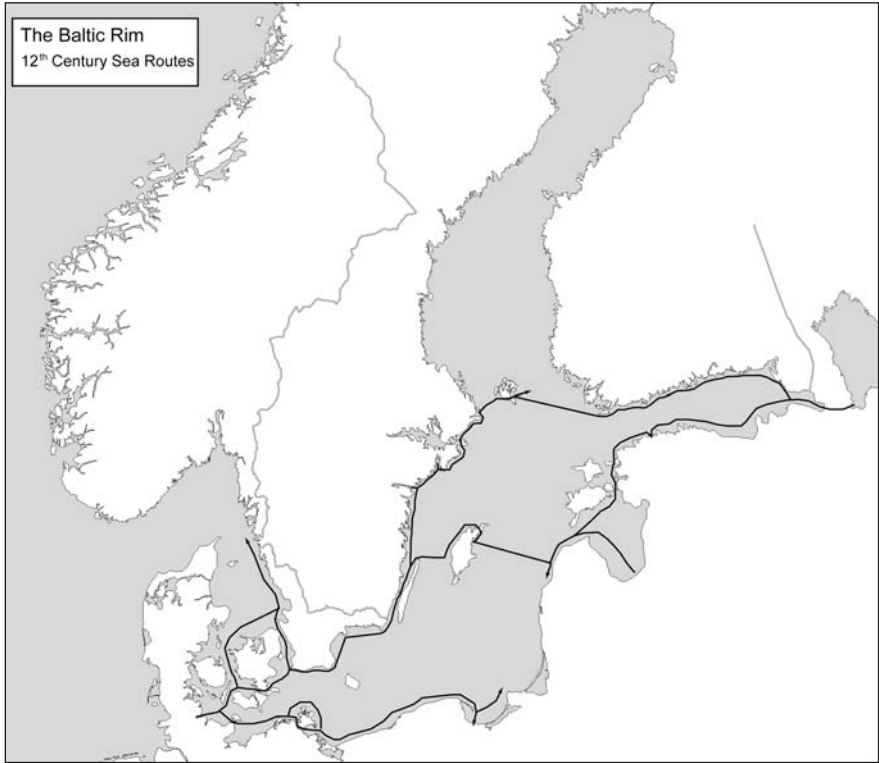
Fig. 8. The Baltic Rim, 12th century sea routes.

shortcut for the Gotlanders themselves, and for those who tried to reach Balticum and Russia from the southwest and vice versa. From 1100 on, the extraordinary socio-economic development on Gotland in particular suggests that it was emerging as the most frequented east-west sea route on the Baltic. As noted, centrally-positioned Europeanization agents were quick to make dispositions to secure it, in the form of trade privileges and the establishment of trade-political alliances which bound Schleswig-Gotland-Novgorod and/or Lübeck-Visby-Riga together as Europeanization-friendly front-regions (peripheral metropolises).

A further hypothesis thus presents itself, according to which the Golden Diagonal passing Gotland became, for Europeanization agents, the highway into the Baltic sector of the Catholic World-system. As such it was a spearhead of the expanding core area. What is remarkable is that Europeanization agents seem to have invested their resources in opening what was at least in some sense a new route, connecting hitherto quite small and politically undecided areas. This suggests they had deliberately chosen a route of approach that was comparatively difficult to control from Denmark, Sweden and Kievskaya Rus, their most competitive Old system counterparts. Instead of engaging them in a massive culture clash, the obvious aim of continental Europeanization agents was to circumvent them.

Choice of areas

At the lowest level of case studies, the obvious entity to consider is that of tribal units (*gentes*) and lands (*provinciae, landskap, maa* etc.). Below this level there is little opportunity to gather sources that allow us to examine individual discovery histories and bring them together for meaningful comparison. Tribal units and lands may be roughly understood as two levels of development within the same social magnitude, the one solely ethnically identified (and comprising many smaller political units), the other also a political unit, maintaining formal routinized diets, borders etc. In comparison to Giddens' use of region as a concept for all levels of social conduct, tribal units and lands are regions in the true historical sense, denoting the substructure of a realm, or a comparable area, recognised by people of the period.

As is generally done in the CCC project, I will seek my investigation areas mainly in Sweden and Balticum. They are close neighbours,

although on different sides of the Baltic, one representing the fate of the Scandinavians, the other representing that of the Finno-Ugrians and Balts. Choosing Sweden for the study provides a fair comparison, since unlike other Scandinavians but like the East Baltic peoples, they have not left many contemporary visions of their own pasts. This means that all descriptions have to be sought out in material prepared in the interests of foreigners, conquerors, and potential enemies—in short, their discoverers. We should be prepared to see them pictured as the Other.

To obtain distinct and clear-cut Europeanization encounters—ones that had not been turned into routine business—I have focused on those that were approached along the Golden Diagonal. The selected regions will be suitable for testing the hypothesis of a specific 'highway of Europeanization', as there is a good chance that their respective 'discovery' was of general importance and had a normative impact on the development to come. I have chosen the following three areas:

- the Kalmarsund region, as a gateway to the Baltic North;
- the island of Gotland, as the centre of the Baltic in a communicative sense;
- the Lower Daugava valley, as a gateway to Balticum and Russia.

These three nodal areas all contain well-defined tribal areas or lands, but only Gotland is exactly identical with the contemporary *provincia*. All through the long 12th century Kalmarsund and Gotland belonged politically to the Swedish kingdom, whereas the Livs and their neighbours of the Lower Daugava valley may have paid tributes to one or several 'preservative' kingdoms; these peoples ended up as provinces of Livonia, the highly-profiled polity that emerged in the East Baltic as a function of Europeanization by violence. The political circumstances of these regions differ greatly, which will make comparison meaningful: Kalmarsund was a little-disputed component of the Svea kingdom, and Gotland a much-disputed one; the Livs of the Lower Daugava, easily approached from the west, were the first East Baltic community to be Christianised by the sword. As with all chosen study areas, this one may be criticised for not being fully representative, which however no single region can be for another (Fig. 9).
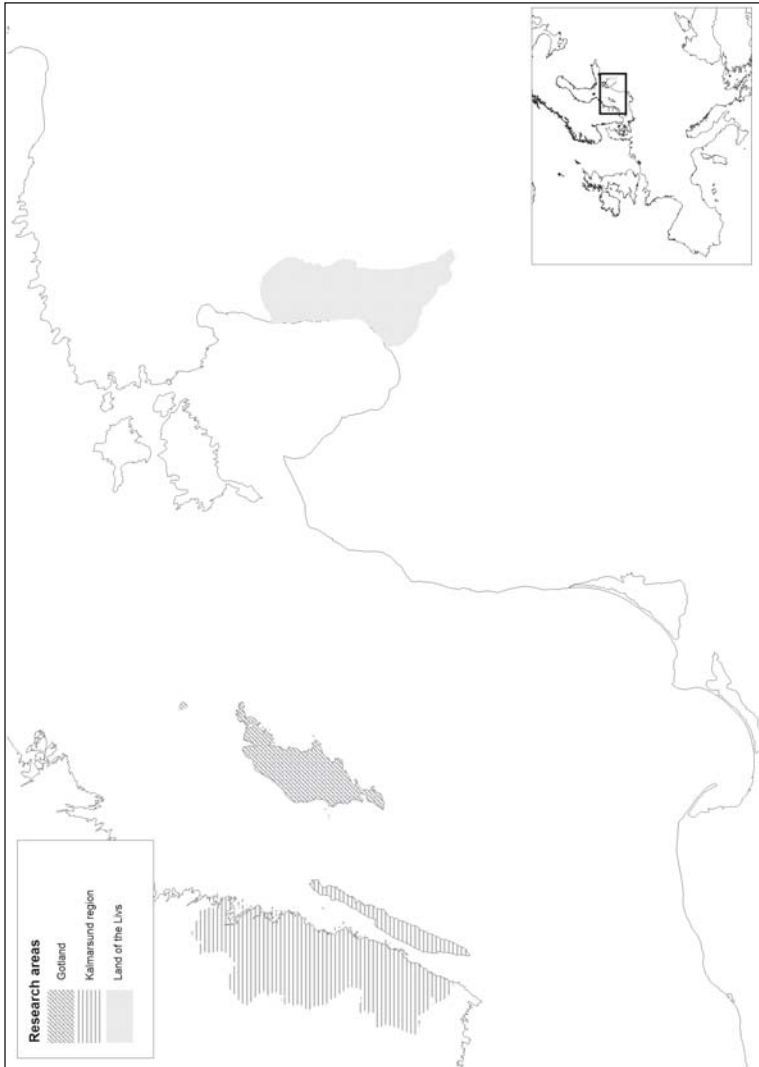
Fig. 9. Research areas.

Aims and procedure

The choice of Kalmarsund, Gotland and the Lower Daugava valley as research areas leads to a particular structure in the following three case studies. They will be approached singly, and I will attempt to establish in turn their conditions at the dawn of Europeanization, their processes of discovery and their forming of survival strategies. The problems will be approached in systematic order, but the disposition will suffer from the great differences in the source situation. This must be understood as normality for the Time/Space in question and not regarded as a failure of the selection process. If I had selected only the areas that show compatible source materials there would be a risk of getting only those in which the process of Europeanization ran according to one pattern of development. The aim can only be reached through a full discussion of each region's position.

My main purpose will be a socio-economic one; to confront the World-system action/reaction model with concrete empirical evidence, on the assumption that there would have been a clash between the Old and New systems in each of the areas. The status of the respective differences in source material will to a large extent determine which path to follow. For each area we can expect to meet a regional discourse focusing on certain events, persons and places, and a literary canon regarding the emergence of the area in (written) history. This sometimes derived from very old ideas, for which many explanations have been suggested by scholars.

Even if these scholars focus on specific individuals and events, the dramatic energy derives from broader issues like Christianisation, church building, kingdoms and states, conflicts with the expanding continental nobility, knights and merchants and their overbearing ways—in fact various aspects of Europeanization. The common explanation for this is the impact of Europeanization on literacy and archives generally. The earliest texts of a Baltic Rim region are largely the results of controversies between agents of Europeanization in their confrontation with the Old pre-historic society.

This has led me to introduce a second, historiographic purpose, in order to highlight and reopen all the unsettled classical problems found within the chosen research areas. Some have been treated as mere 'mysteries', while others have been hotly debated by scholars for a century or more, often with a nationalistic or local-patriotic twist. If Europeanization according to the action/reaction model tends to

provide reasonable solutions to these mysteries and academic battles, the model would prove itself a major explanatory factor for the entire period.

When entering this complicated field of multinational interpretation we must bear in mind that most of the participants in previous research have acted as a sort of advocate for their own nation or cultural circle. This attitude is not necessarily due to chauvinism. To understand the emergence of international phenomena, the discussion must cross borders between many domains of language and competence, and it is only natural that one or another of these should have been neglected or misinterpreted, and be in need of defence. Another problem has also gradually become clear, one which is well known in research, but difficult to avoid. In order to understand the meaning of the frequently laconic twelfth-century regulations, the scholar needs to look into corresponding statements from the 13th and 14th centuries, which are more extensively preserved and precisely expressed, but which may represent the circumstances of a new era.

In taking on this double purpose I have tried to make a virtue of necessity, insofar as the overall picture of Baltic Rim development depends to a large extent on the interpretation of a few key sources relating to early encounters between the Old and the New systems.

THE DISCOVERY OF KALMARSUND.
THE STRUGGLE FOR THE GATEWAY TO
THE BALTIC NORTH

1. *The Long Sound of Sweden*

Rumours of an age-old sea passage

The medieval seafarer from Western Europe who wished to visit the large markets of the north-eastern Baltic—spread like a gigantic fan from the Daugava estuary over the Neva-Ladoga-Volkhov system, the Gulf of Bothnia, to the Mälar valley and Östergötland—had little alternative other than to navigate through the Danish isles and follow the Scandinavian peninsula along Scania and Blekinge. When a shadow-like contour appeared on his starboard side, gradually assuming the shape of a large area of land, the experienced mariner knew that he was leaving Danish territory, and as the vast waterline ahead began to close into a narrow passage, he entered the waters belonging to the Swedes. This was the island of Öland, a loaf of flat limestone that rises just off the many 'small lands' of Småland, creating a 140km sea route in between; the longest sound in the Baltic. Its name was written as *kalmarna sundum* on an eleventh-century runic inscription from Södermanland in central Sweden, which corresponds perfectly to Kalmarsund in modern Swedish.[1]

According to the medieval *landamæri*, a border description preserved in many versions (the earliest from the 13th century), the demarcation between Denmark and Sweden had been agreed upon as early as the 11th century by a committee setting up six stones between the two countries. The easternmost of these stones was called *Brömse sten*, named after a stream, Brömseån. It was between Blekinge and Möre, and constituted the Danish/Swedish border until 1658.

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[1] Its etymology is *not* explained by the well-known city of Kalmar on the shore of Småland, which emerged in the latter part of the 12th century or around 1200. Literally, *Kalmarnar* indicates a sandy and rather stony island. (Hellberg 1979).

The demarcation can furthermore be extended over Kalmarsund to the southern tip of Öland, which was the southernmost part of Sweden all through the Middle Ages.[2]

The lands around Kalmarsund cannot have been entirely unknown to western Europeans of the Viking Age. They are mentioned in the much-discussed ninth-century discovery report by Wulfstan, which was added to King Alfred's *Orosius* translation. Here *Blecingaég, Meore, Eowland* and *Gotland* are regions ascribed to *Sweon*. The names recall the present day Swedish regions (*landskap*) of Blekinge and Möre on the mainland, together with Öland and, fully recognisable, Gotland.[3] This list thus forms an obvious geographic series reminiscent of an itinerary.

Some names mentioned in Paulus Diaconus' eighth-century *Historia Langobardorum* as stages in the exodus of his people from Scandinavia, via *Scoringia, Mauringia* and *Golanda*, look like fragments of a similar, even older but somewhat distorted list.[4] They were associated with the southwest Baltic by Saxo Grammaticus, who retells the story with a direct reference to Paulus, but 'improves' the names in the series to *Blecing, Moringa*, and *Gotland*.[5] Whether these names have a relevance to the real emergence of the Langobards is of little interest. As has been proven by Lauritz Weibull, the exodus narrative is built on an ancient tradition, already noted by Herodotos.[6] I mention these lists only for their implication that the sea route through Kalmarsund and on to Gotland has been mentioned—or at least persisted as a rumour—among educated Europeans for a long time.

The land around Kalmarsund in the 12th century

Seen on a map, Öland might look like a parallel extension of Sweden's southeast mainland, but their proximity is in reality a confrontation of two different types of nature.

The twelfth-century Ölandic *bonde* (freeman) had access to considerable resources: in the southern part most villages bordered on

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[2] ST I:23; Sawyer 1988b. cf. L. Weibull 1940 p. 144ff.; Hafström 1934; KL s.v. Gränsläggning, S. Körner et al.

[3] KAO I:1 (p. 19f.).

[4] These names have been interpreted philologically (by Bruckner 1895) as nature-descriptive, e.g. *Scoringa*, 'coastland' and *Mauringa*, 'bogland'.

[5] PHL I:2, 3, 7–9, 11–14; SGD VIII: (237, 274).

[6] L. Weibull 1943.

the Alvar plain, a very thin layer of soil covering the flat limestone ground, impossible to cultivate, but valuable as grassland. On the coastland below the ridge, and in small pockets on the plain, there were very rich soils, some considered to be the most arable in Sweden; on the more meagre northern part of Öland, the inhabitants could extract limestone slabs, which were a major exchange commodity during the Middle Ages. All Ölanders had access to the sea, which was full of fish. On the other hand they had very little of other important necessities, like timber and metals.

On the mainland, parallel to the coast, there is a narrow but rather useful arable plain, with links inland along the Emån and other streams. The lands of Möre, Norrabygd (later Stranda härad), Handbörd, Aspeland, Sevede and Tjust emerged from these pre-conditions for agriculture, but they got their special character from the deep, mostly impenetrable pine forests on moraine ground that separated them; these areas were also rich with bog iron ore. Thousands of slagheaps on the edges of the forests tell us that these resources were utilised.[7]

Thus, a particularly compact and complementary landscape was formed by an easily negotiable blue band of water. Together, the large island and the four or five adjacent mainland regions could provide a variety of items demanded in medieval trade, from herring, hides and butter, to limestone, iron and wood. As early as the migration period, the build-up of a remarkable indigenous civilisation has been traced on Öland in particular, in the systematic erection of circular forts, representing a unified island subdivided into 19 or 20 districts. The considerably smaller mainland societies must, at least in some respects, have been its dominions.[8] During the Viking Age both Öland and the mainland show signs of prosperity. Had their development been left alone, a self-contained, autarkic 'ideal-state' might have formed around Kalmarsund, but as we shall see, it was not.

The Sound drew its importance not only from the region itself but from the vast and, in the 12th century, still largely unknown waters and territories that opened up beyond it. Such a region could not have been discovered, in the sense used here, through one decisive event. We have to follow a step-by-step procedure, trying to understand a succession of rather fragmentary discovery reports.

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[7] See Blomkvist 1995 with further references.
[8] Stenberger 1933; Hagberg 1967; Göransson 1971. Tjust has always been a bit aloof, with good communications into Östergötland.

Confirming my point, most early reports tell of ships and men from far away, of seamanship, fire, and biting steel. They contain the briefest of biographies, such as the runic inscription from Södermanland, which commemorates a man who 'was killed out in Kalmarsund, when they came from Scania'.[9] Another rune stone, overlooking the sound from Ölands Karlevi, even offers a skaldic stanza on its subject, a Danish chieftain:

munat: raiþ: uiþur: raþa: ruk:	A more honest battle-strong god of
starkr l: tanmarku: aintils:	the wagon of the mighty ground of
larmun. kruntar: urkrantari:	the sea-king will not rule over land
lanti.[10]	in Denmark[11]

A full skaldic poem, more traditionally preserved on Icelandic parchment, tells of a Norwegian twelfth-century chieftain, Sigurd, and his fights 'east of Möre':

Enn lét aþra	Another time
austr fyr møri	east of Möre
gramr geirþorin	The spear-brave king
gvnni háþa	fought a fight.
neytti vapna,	The prompt leader
þá er vinðr hnígo.	used weapons
avR oddviti	as Vends fell
avþro SiNi.[12]	a second time.[13]

Sigurd's adversaries were thus Vends (cf. Chapter Three). The way they are referred to in the stanza implies a previous encounter, which according to another poem had occurred at *Erri* (Ärö) in Denmark.

These verses belong to a group of stanzas forming a 'Sigurd's poem' attributed to the skald Ívarr Ingimundarson, who lived at the beginning of the 12th century. Another of these, describing a sea voyage, is also relevant for us. With large strokes, like a maritime painter, the skald demonstrates the harshness of a long journey, reaching its destination when the men landed

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[9] SöR 333.

[10] ÖR 1.

[11] English translation by P. Foote in: S.B.F. Jansson 1987 p. 134.

[12] DN-IS I:A-B, Ívarr 21.

[13] I am deeply indebted to Sigurgeir Steingrimsson for the help he gave me with these stanzas during his time as Icelandic reader at the University of Uppsala in the 1970s.

> *sneckio langa*   the long ship
> *kynstors iofvrs*   of the great lord
> *við kalmar nes.*[14]   at Kalmar *nes* (neck of land)

Even if there is a 'Möre' also in Norway, the expression *austr fyr* clearly points to the Swedish province, and thanks to the last verse, there can be no doubt at all which region is meant.

On the map, Kalmarsund shows a slightly concave outline, with a width of some 20km at its southern and northern ends, but only some 3 to 6km at its most narrow passages. Saxo Grammaticus once characterised this maritime landscape with the words: 'Öland and the islands close by, that are separated from the mainland of Sweden by a curved sound'. It is easy to believe that this *sinuosus aquarum anfractus* reflects an eyewitness memory.[15] In the Brávellir text, he lets the immense Danish navy fill these waters, and reach *Calmarna oppidum*, upon which he exclaims: 'What a sight, to see all sails, spread over the sea, tied to the masts and filled with wind so you could hardly see heaven in behind'.[16]

From these examples it would seem that Kalmarsund was a theatre of combat for almost everyone, and that the Swedish claim of supremacy in the 12th century was illusory, if it existed at all. As has been pointed out by Peter Sawyer, even the oldest versions of the *landamæri* text are heavily tampered with, and he may be right in judging the whole thing as a falsification. Its content is detailed only with regard to the border between Västergötland and Halland in present-day west Sweden, and the motive for concocting it probably had to do with that sector of the border. Sawyer suggests that the text is of Danish origin, produced as counter-measure to a Swedish land claim on Halland at the beginning of the 13th century.[17]

If deceit were intended on the Kalmarsund side as well, the main issue would have been to prove Danish supremacy in Blekinge, which had been realised through mission efforts that had begun in the 1060s, according to Adam of Bremen.[18] We may also remember

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[14] DN-IS, Ívarr 17; Blomkvist 1978 p. 137f.

[15] SGD VII:2:1.

[16] *Mirareris late ventis velificatum mare, caelumque ex oculis intenta antennis lintea eripiebant* (SGD VIII:4:1).

[17] Sawyer 1988b p. 167f.; cf. Blomkvist 1979a p. 188f.

[18] ABG IV:8; Sawyer 1988b p. 167. In Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar k. 298 (p. 181) it is said of an intended Norwegian/Swedish joint venture into Denmark of 1259:

Hårdh's observation that the use of silver in the late Viking Age, along the mainland coast from Scania and up to Möre, was adapted to customs spread in the Danish sphere of influence, forming a sharp contrast to Öland. This is another possible component in an explanation of how Blekinge turned Danish, and an indication that Möre, too, may have been disputed for a while.[19]

I shall not make undue assumptions on the age of the Swedish realm as a political institution, but Wulfstan's information that Blekinge belonged to the Swedish sphere of influence in the late 9th century clearly indicates that whatever type of authority it constituted, it excluded Danish dominance. In addition, from both sides of Kalmarsund, place names and some 160 runic inscriptions dating mainly from the 11th century demonstrate central-Swedish types and forms.[20] In 1103 Lund was established as an arch-episcopate, with the new diocese of Linköping as a suffragan. A border had to be established speedily and more or less cordially between their respective mission fields, with the lands on Kalmarsund as part of Linköping's territory, and Blekinge as Lund's. The demarcation between the kingdoms can hardly have been later.[21] This indicates that by 1100 a mutually-accepted Swedish/ Danish border line (whether or not the preserved *landamæri* versions are a false claim) ran into the sea by the inlet to Kalmarsund. This fact represents a major change in favour of the Danish side, with the incorporation of Blekinge into the Church of Lund and the Danish kingdom.

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birger jarl kom ecki til danmerkkur a fuí sumre ok hafdí fio leidangr utí ok komzt ægi leingra en austur til bleikinga . . . Both the comment that the Swedish jarl didn't appear in Denmark, and the fact that he brought his *ledung* to Blekinge, might indicate that the latter region remained a contested area, even after the making of the false *landamæri*.

[19] Cf. Magnusson [ed.] 2001.

[20] ÖR; SmR; Fries 1962; Hellberg 1979; Vikstrand 1993.

[21] H. Schück 1959 p. 46f.; cf. DS 74. Härenstam 1946 p. 33ff.; S. Carlsson 1948; L.-O. Larsson 1964 p. 106ff.; KL s.v. Småland, L.-O. Larsson; Blomkvist 1979a p. 188f. The Danish incursion into Värend around 1152–53 means that this border territory (Möre's western neighbour) was considered Swedish. According to Saxo, Archbishop Eskil fled into safety in Värend from the conflict with King Valdemar, beginning in 1159 (Ödman 1996).

2. *The Mysterious* Kalmarna leiðangr *of 1123/24*

Some very fragmentary reports conceived by a skald and some saga-writers

In the early 13th century, the block of Ívarr's poems were kept together as an entity known as the *Sigurðarbölkr*. They are included in a saga-biography of Sigurd Slembedjäkn, preserved in the codex *Morkinskinna*, with variations in other manuscripts, including Snorri's *Heimskringla*. The claim to the throne and violent career of this usurper follows closely upon the more dignified fate of Sigurd Jorsalafari, the renowned crusader whose half-brother the *Slembedjäkn* ('the evil clerk') claimed to be. However it seems possible that at least some of Ívarr's verses were composed for Sigurd Jorsalafari. I have previously pointed out that the two verses quoted above, concerning the Kalmar area and Möre, almost certainly refer to an enterprise undertaken by King Sigurd, known to history as the *Kalmarna leiðangr*.[22]

In the narrative framework spun around the verses of Ívarr, which forms the adventures of Sigurd Slembedjäkn, Snorri has omitted the *Kalmar nes* stanza. The verse mentioning *Mæri* has been changed into events at Mön,[23] which presupposes an understandable misreading by Snorri himself, or one which already existed in his written sources (cf. this chapter, below). In any case, Snorri obviously thought it was too much to have *two* wars fought in such a remote area (seen from Norway) as Kalmarsund, by two Norwegian fleets under two different chieftains, both of whom were called Sigurd, at almost the same time. So do I, but I presume that all of it concerns the Kalmar *ledung*, which according to Snorri was the only *ledung* which Sigurd summoned *meðan hann var konungr* . . . 'while he was a king'. I believe the strongest alternative is that a group of Sigurd's stanzas, with their Jorsalafari association and other markers, may have been originally attributed to Sigurd the King, only to have been mixed up somehow with traditions concerning the Slembedjäkn.[24]

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[22] Blomkvist 1978 pp. 136–39.

[23] Heimskringla III, Haraldsona saga k. 5; Andersson and Gade 2000 p. 51.

[24] Sigurðarbölkr is known to be a comparatively late compilation. The stanzas are mostly thought not to come from the disappeared MS. Hryggjarstykki from 1150–70, which seems to have told Sigurd Slembedjäkn's story chiefly from oral sources. (KL s.v. Hryggjarstykki, F. Hødnebø; KL s.v. Historieskrivning, *Norge*, A. Holtsmark, *Island*, B. Torsteinsson; Guðnason 1978; Bagge 1991 p. 17; Andersson and Gade 2000 pp. 46–56). Its frequent use of the epithet *konungr* . . . king (*snarr konungr, ungr konungr, hugfullr konungr*), contrasts with the one stanza ascribed to Sigurd

The story of *Kalmarna leiðangr* is told in its brief entirety in *Heimskringla* around 1225–30, where Snorri labels it *Kristnuð Smálønd* . . . 'The Christianisation of Småland'. Part of the story is preserved in a small Icelandic codex from the late 12th century, known as *Ágrip af Nóregs konunga søgum*. A comparison of the two texts shows that Snorri copied the story quite faithfully from *Ágrip* or a very similar text. The saga of a successful Norwegian Christianisation campaign towards the Kalmar area was thus written down a mere 60–70 years after the event. What happened follows in brief.

King Sigurd had made a treaty with King Niels of Denmark to Christianise the Smålanders: *þvíat þeir, er þar byggðu, heldu ekki kristni, þótt sumir hefði við kristni tekit* . . . 'because those who lived there did not keep Christianity, even though some had taken to the Faith'. Sigurd honours his part of the agreement, conscripts his *ledung* and duly appears at the appointed *stefnu-lag* in Öresund. The Danes, however, do not appear (they had been there, Snorri says, but had given up hope that the Norwegians would come and had gone home). In disgust at such disloyalty, the Norwegians plunder the Danish *thorp* of Tumathorp (present Tomarp), before they continue to Kalmar for further ravaging. The spiritual reform that should have been forced on the Smålanders is given five words, while the rest is a stereotypical Norse plunder story, resulting in a tribute (*vistagjald*) of 1500 cattle. Some details of an annalistic or 'cataloguing' nature are also added. The event took place in the summer before *myrkr it mikla* (the great darkness), with the additional information: *ok var þessi leiðangr kallaðr Kalmarna-leiðangr* . . . 'and this *ledung* was called Kalmar *ledung*.'[25] Since we know that the sun was eclipsed on August 11, 1124,[26] it

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Slembedjäkn himself, where he more correctly calls himself (if indeed he is the author) 'the king's son'. Also, the Sigurðarbölkr contains sweeping references to its hero's visits to Rome, Jerusalem and Byzantium, including verses like *Sótti breiða / Borg Jórsala / orr oddviti* (Ívarr 3) which point to Sigurd the king rather than his self-declared half brother. Of course the Sigurðarbölkr must not be confused with Einarr Skúlason's *Sigurðardrápa*, which tells a fuller story of the king's crusade. But a spill-over from the Jorsalafari tradition seems likely in the stanzas relevant here (Iv 17–21). In the short saga of Ívarr Ingemundarson, the skald is described as a courtier in Norway, high in the esteem of King Eystein, Sigurd Jorsalafari's brother and co-regent (e.g. Heimskringla III, Sig.Eyst.Ól k. 18, Tilæg p. 500f.)

[25] Ágrip k. 56; Heimskringla III, Uphaf Magnús-sona k. 24; cf. Blomkvist 1978 pp. 132–39. For the intricate problem of connections between the early kings' sagas, see further Th.M. Anderson 1985 p. 198ff.; Driscoll's (1995) introduction to his Ágrip edition and Andersson and Gade's (2000) to their Morkinskinna translation.

[26] The eclipse is also mentioned in the First Novgorod Chronicle s.a. 1124: 'The

is generally thought that the expedition took place in 1123, the summer before the eclipse, although some maintain it was in 1124, the summer of the eclipse.

The problem

Looking at the royal Norwegian enterprise of 1123 (or 24) from the perspective of cultural reception, massive evidence tells us that it could not possibly have introduced Christianity to the shores of Kalmarsund. Dendrochronological dates in combination with careful masonry studies show that some of Sweden's oldest stone churches are found in the area. Resmo and possibly several other churches on Öland, as well as Hossmo and probably also Ljungby in Möre were already built when Sigurd fought his fight.[27] Since Snorri's text concedes that a few Smålanders may have been Christians, it is important to point out that some 160 runic inscriptions on Öland and along the Smålandic coast unanimously reveal that Christianity had been accepted long since at the local level. Several centres, perhaps chieftain's residences, demonstrate so-called 'Eskilstuna sarcophagi', a type of grand burial monument combining runic and Romanesque features, indicating that Christianity had been socially acceptable in the Kalmar area since the latter part of the 11th century.[28] Thus the saga writers got at least some things wrong. We might suspect that the Christianisation aspect was something which was added due to Sigurd's crusading reputation.

Efforts to explain this have generally set aside the Christianisation theme. One simplistic suggestion has been to classify it as a traditional plunder raid, albeit masked as a crusade.[29] One line of interpretation suggests dynastic motives following the death of Inge II and the murder of his elected successor. As discussed below (Chapter Nine), this meant the extinction of the dynasty of Stenkil, 'around 1120' or a few years later. That was in Sweden, but due to the practice of dynastic marriages many potential heirs were spread

eleventh day in August before evening service the sun started to withdraw and it disappeared entirely; O, what great fright and darkness and stars and the moon appeared; and it began to return and soon it was full and everybody in the town was happy.' Rahbek Schmidt 1964 p. 34.

[27] Wienberg 1999; Boström 1999; Anglert 1993 p. 150ff.

[28] A.-S. Gräslund 1993; Hallencreutz 1993.

[29] E.g. Montelius 1903 p. 226.

among the ruling families of neighbouring countries; both Niels and
Sigurd had links to the old Swedish dynasty through their wives.[30]

   Among adherents of this hypothesis, the event has often been seen
as a predominantly Danish initiative, in the interest of Niels' son
Magnus, whose mother was Margareta Friðkolla, a daughter of King
Inge I of Sweden. It has also been suggested that Margareta's dowry
in Götaland was instrumental in the election of Magnus as king of
the Götar. The large royal domains of Hossmo-Ljungby have been
suggested as a particular objective in the Kalmar area. Their existence
in the 1120s is a plausible conjecture, based on place names and
supposed royal grants of land to later-known ecclesiastical and aristo-
cratic owners.[31] But it remains to be explained why the attack was
launched on Hossmo, if the real aim was the Swedish throne. The
Friðkolla dowry, specified in Norse sources,[32] lies far from Hossmo.
Also, focusing on Magnus' ambitions in Götaland has to acknowl-
edge the problem that—according to the reports—King Niels did
not participate. Why would Sigurd have fought the battle for Magnus,
when his father didn't?

A more serious blow is dealt to this line of explanation by a letter
to King Sigurd from Peter *Venerabilis*, Abbot of Cluny since August
1122 and a leading crusade-ideologist. This prominent core area per-
sonality addresses the Norwegian king as *nostre societatis amicus . . .* 'friend
of our order', praises his previous merits, and refers to ongoing prepa-
rations for war against pagans: *qualiter inimicos crucis Christi a fidelium
dominatione non tantum in vestris, sed etiam in remotissimis meridiei et orientis
finibus vi bellica terra marique et olim repuleritis, et nunc etiam maxima classe
repellere festinetis . . .* 'as you have previously repelled the enemies of
Christ's cross from Christian lands, not only in your own country,
but also in the most distant southern and eastern tracts with military

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[30] In general, see: Service 1975 p. 62f.; Ahnlund 1956 pp. 26–30; Lind 1992;
Bartlett 1994 p. 40ff. Kattinger 1998; Hermanson 2000 pp. 105–8. During the long
12th century, the Baltic Rim (including Norway and Russia) formed a 'gene pool'
of its own, allowing remarkably few exchanges with the Catholic powers of the
continent. On the Kalmar incident, see Nordisk Familjebok s.v. Kalmar leding,
V. S[öderber]g; Bugge 1916 p. 20f.; cf. L.-O. Larsson 1964 p. 19f., 28; Hallencreutz
1993 p. 175; Sawyer and Sawyer 1993 p. 101; Sundqvist 2000 p. 105.
[31] A. Schück 1942 p. 22. Hermanson (2000 pp. 92–102, 108ff.) is of a similar
opinion, but does not combine this with the Kalmarsund incident, as Anglert does
(2001a pp. 507–09); cf. below for Schück's further considerations.
[32] E.g. Ágrip k. 49.

might on land and sea, so you are again readily preparing to repel them with a very great navy'.[33] We know of no event that this would fit, other than the *Kalmarna leiðangr*, which Snorri recalled as the only *ledung* that Sigurd summoned while he was king.

Abbot Peter's letter thus gives independent confirmation that the ships were gathered to fight pagans. On closer inspection it becomes obvious that its main purpose is not really the Christianisation of pagans, but rather the repulsion of Christ's enemies from *dominatio fidelium* . . . 'a Christian land'. Hence a somewhat different motive is indicated than the spurious idea of Christianising Småland. I have already discussed a programmatic change in crusading strategy in the 1140s, forbidding campaigns with a lesser motive than full conversion of the pagan. Later *scriptores*, who knew this to be the gist of holy warfare, were understandingly tempted to rationalise the unlikely aspects of the story. It is worth quoting the *Ágrip* on the vows of King Sigurd and twelve of his men when receiving a splinter of the Holy Cross, one of which was *at hann skuldi fremja Kristni með öllum mætti sínum* . . . 'that he should promote Christianity with all his might'.[34] The expression has a certain similarity to that of the Venerable Abbot and comes soon before the fragmentary description of the Kalmar expedition. The stipulations connected to the relic donation are sympathetic to church reform,[35] and together with Abbot Peter's letter, they indicate that the campaign had been prepared through international diplomacy. Given the date, following soon after the Concordat of Worms, this may indicate an aim related to the greater international movements of the period.[36]

However, neither the author of *Ágrip* nor Snorri seem aware of any moral support from the Continent, nor do they quote a single skaldic stanza contemporary with the event to support the story. This would

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[33] DN XIX:25, cf. Regesta Norvegica (ed. E. Gunnes) 65. It was thanks to a remark by Dr Kurt Villads Jensen, Odense, that I looked at this letter. Peter the Venerable promoted the development that led to the second crusade, cf. Seegrün 1967 p. 94; Kedar 1988 pp. 99–101.

[34] Ágrip k. 54; cf. k. 56.

[35] According to Ágrip (k. 54) the cross was obtained in Jerusalem. Among other conditions was a pledge to *tíund fremja ok sjálfr gera* . . . 'promote tithe and pay it himself'.

[36] The concordat was proclaimed September 23, 1122 and meant a compromise between papal and imperial claims to spiritual and temporal rights in *regno vel imperiio* . . . 'kingdom or empire' (Jordan 1973a p. 75ff.; Tellenbach 1988 p. 224f., cf. 208ff.). It was a fundamental achievement in making Catholicism function as a World-system.

suggest that a Norwegian-Icelandic tradition existed, strong and solid
in itself and not to be denied, that recalled an event such as the
Kalmarna leiðangr—even if the saga writers 70 to 100 years later were
unable to find it reflected in the treasure-trove of Norse poetry.
Nevertheless, Ívarr had probably honoured it, even if the relevant
stanzas had been mixed up with others in the meantime.

Would the Vends present a purpose?

In order to search for a broader international aspect, it may be worth-
while reflecting on the information in Ívarr's verses about Sigurd's
fights 'off Möre,' directed against the Vends. This could at least sug-
gest a better reason why *Kalmarna leiðangr* was remembered as an
evangelising enterprise, since the Vends were renowned pagans. We
may even be encouraged in this by Snorri's lack of trust in those
verses which directly connected the *Sigurðarbölkr* with an expedition
to Kalmarsund. In Snorri's time, the militant Vends belonged to his-
tory, but their ferocious reputation linked them to Danish waters
rather than Swedish ones.
    In fact, the Vends have been attributed a role in the context. In
a short essay of 1952, Adolf Schück drew attention to the fact that
Öland and Möre are missing in the 'Florence document,' the list of
bishoprics and provinces (*insulae*) of Sweden from around 1123. He
suggested that these provinces at that time 'possibly had been trib-
utaries to some pagan prince or occupied by a foreign people
(Vends?).'[37] Schück's idea is that this frequently-discussed source ought
to have its background in Lund. He suggests a reading of the names
on the *insulae* list from a Lund perspective, resulting in a claim that
all the important regions of Sweden are mentioned except the
Kalmarsund area, of which only the northernmost *land* of Tjust is
on the list. He even goes on to suggest that the document might
have 'been composed during negotiations between Lund and the
papal chair' in connection with the 'crusade' (Schück's markings)
planned in Denmark and Norway in 1122 and carried out the year
after.[38] He is thus referring to *Kalmarna leiðangr.*
    From this weak point of departure, Schück, through circumstantial
reasoning, reaches a hypothesis on the nature of the expedition, in

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[37] A. Schück 1952 p. 186.
[38] A. Schück 1952 p. 187; Wallin 1974 p. 32f., 80f., 190 slightly affirmative.

which Christian Norway (and Denmark, according to Schück) carried out a 'cleansing' action against Vends who were occupying Kalmarsund. His arguments for the presence of Vends in these waters are: (1) finds of Vendic artefacts in Ölandic ring forts, (2) early modern folklore traditions of a 'King Bugislav' living in Gråborg, the biggest of these forts,[39] and a similar tradition (3) that children had been brought from Öland to Lannaskede in Njudung (Småland) *till christendom* (to be Christianised). This is thought to hint at a 'pagan reaction' which could have motivated Sigurd Jorsalafari's 'Kalmarledung' to Christianise the 'Smålänningar'. Taking into account that modern archaeologists are far more reluctant to attribute artefacts to particular ethnicities than were those of Schück's generation, and that the hypothesis also rests on early modern folklore, the suggestion is little more than a hunch—but surely an inspired one. The positive argument in Ívarr's verses for a Vendic presence in Kalmarsund of the 1120s is not mentioned by Schück, and was pointed out only in my essay of 1978.[40] The existence of such positive evidence considerably strengthens Schück's case, and hence mine.

In a more recent study, the saga specialist Lars Lönnroth also concludes that the Sigurd stanzas somehow lie behind the saga texts of King Sigurd's Kalmar expedition. However not having seen either Schück's or my previous contributions, Lönnroth launches a somewhat different interpretation. Having looked at the letter to King Sigurd from the Abbot of Cluny (unmentioned in these essays), he suggests that the crusade was intended for the Vendic homelands, while the Kalmar digression is supposed to have been a misunderstanding about who the hero of the Sigurd stanzas actually was by the author of *Ágrip*. The man Lönnroth sees as having made the assault on Kalmar would thus be Sigurd Slembedjäkn, although he concedes that other interpretations could be considered.[41]

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[39] In 1750 a clergyman noted a tale among the peasants of Öland. In antiquity, seven kings governed on Öland, each from his fortress. The storytellers, of course, had the well-known prehistoric ring forts in mind, of which Gråborg is the largest. He who owned Gråborg was called *Bugislev*, and he made war against the others, enslaved them and thereafter governed the entire island. The identification of this completely foreign name has been discussed many times; among others the son of King Sverker and his Polish queen Richiza, and the much-later Erik of Pomerania whose real name was Bogislaus are put up as candidates. Backman 1996; cf. Wallin 1975 p. 32f.; Borg 2000 p. 17ff.

[40] Blomkvist 1978 p. 138f.

[41] L. Lönnroth 1996 pp. 151–54; Anglert 2001b p. 191f.

Lönnroth has not chosen the best of the alternatives. He has taken
into account neither (1) that one of the stanzas indicates that whoever
led the enterprise, it meant an encounter with Vends in Kalmarsund
or on Öland; nor (2) that the tradition, which reached the *Ágrip* and
Snorri independently of Ívarr's stanzas, combines the concept of
Kalmarna leiðangr with the theme of fighting for Christianity and is
clearly linked to the king; nor (3) that the eulogies on the king's deeds
in Abbot Peter's letter concern the repulsion of Christ's enemies from
dominatio fidelium . . . 'a Christian land'. Together, these three observations
indicate strongly that *Kalmarna leiðangr* was an operation launched by
the Norwegian King Sigurd in the summer of 1123 or 24 against
Vends who had established themselves in the Kalmarsund area.

A brief second reading

Seen as a discovery report, this tradition must have passed many indi-
viduals before reaching the writers we know of, and the version they
provide may have become quite distorted. Nevertheless it seems to
contain fragments of true observation, which have survived the critical
period down to the conception of the *Ágrip*: (1) the name of the event
must be one such detail, since the reference to Kalmar would have
been quite farfetched as a mere construction; linked to the event's
name is (2) its attribution to King Sigurd, since the conscription of
a *ledung* was a royal prerogative;[42] (3) the destruction of Tumathorp
is probably another such detail, since Snorri interprets the name at
face value as a *thorp*, when in fact it was by then a budding town;
there is also (4) the claim that the expedition was launched against
enemies of Christ. The tribute (5) of 1500 cattle may be more doubt-
ful, since the winning of great tributes belongs to the stereotypes of
saga literature, yet the levy is large enough to be called regal, and
the number of cattle implies a large area needed for collection.
However, these markers are of limited historical news value compared
to (6) the reference to a solar eclipse, which constitutes such a memo-
rial in itself, and may have helped to continue the tradition of the
expedition as well.

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[42] Cf. *Siðan bavð Sigvrðr konvngr vt af Noregi ollum almenningi, baeði at liði ok skipom.—
ok var þessi leiðangr kalliðer Kalmarnar leiðangr.—þenna enn leiðangr reyri Sigvrðr konvngr
meðan hann var konvngr.*

These clues may be vague and fragmentary, but taken together they suggest an event of significance. Kalmarsund, in contemporary seamanship, was a gateway to the rest of the Baltic to the north and northeast. Its connection to King Sigurd—a renowned champion of Christianity and thus a potential Europeanization agent—suggests a relevance to the present problem. I will have to consider whether there is a likely context in which an explanation of the event could be wrapped. To do so I need additional knowledge, which I shall look for in the target area.

More evidence from a dark period

Kalmarsund in the first part of the 1120s is covered in darkness, not only because of the eclipse, but because there is not a single other contemporary (or later) document, apart from Ívarr's poems and the narrative of *Kalmarna leiðangr*, that refers to it clearly. However, some information can be collected from our good neighbours the archaeologists, particularly due to their improved ability to give precise dates.

A possible connection is suggested by a recently-published archaeological dating concerning Köping, the oldest fully-developed proto-town on Kalmarsund (the name is a term for 'trading place'). Situated on Öland's west coast, halfway along the Sound on a shallow bay suitable for the flattish ships of the Viking-age type, it was already a centre of some kind in the Viking Age. In the middle of the 11th century it was organised as an oblong *wik-ort*, following a well-known north-European pattern. To this was added an unusually big church for its time. The recent very interesting dating of the fairly swift decline and fall of the trading place is set at 'around 1125'.[43] In the archaeological discussion, no blame for this has been put on King Sigurd, but time and place definitely suggest a connection. A trade-political motive seems to disentangle itself from the period's darkness, but it is still very vague, not substantial enough even to base a hypothesis on.

We are not really helped by Snorri's claim that *Kalmarna leiðangr* was directed towards *kaupbæjar þess, er heitir Kalmarnar* . . . 'the trading town which is called Kalmar'. The city did not exist in the 1120s, and was still quite new a hundred years later when Snorri got wind

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[43] Medeltidsstaden 77, Johnson, M. and H. Schulze 1990.

of its whereabouts, probably during his stay in Sweden in 1219.[44]
When the 'men landed the longship of the great lord at *Kalmar nes*',
it would have been on a sandy, stony locality in the archipelago of
Västra sjön, just off Hossmo (and probably belonging to that centre),
which is where Lars Hellberg has localised the original place name
Kalmarnar. Hossmo, however, stands out as the core of a whole
cluster of political control indicators, simple trade functions and crafts,
suggesting centrality in the pre-European community.[45] However, no
traces of proto-urban congestion have so far been found, and there
is an obvious hiatus between these rather spread-out indications and
the foundation of Kalmar.[46]

   The remains of an Eskilstuna sarcophagus indicate that Hossmo
was of some standing in the 11th century, and perhaps had a wooden
church. Not much later, a more representative church began to be
built in yellowish sandstone. The choir, with an apse, is still preserved
together with the aisle, and it is debated whether there was a tower
over the choir. The Hossmo church retains to this day a very compact
and enigmatic quality, even after it was given an upper floor and
an eastern tower in the 12th and 13th centuries. By many criteria
the ground floor part is unusually old for such an advanced stone
church in a Swedish context. Even so, recent dendro-datings have
come as a surprise. Karin Andersson and T.S. Bartholin conclude
that the building of the stone church started in the early 12th century
'around 1120' and that it was intended as a private church on the
property of a magnate or the king.[47] So this power centre also has
something in common with *Kalmarna leiðangr*, and not only in chronol-
ogy. The surrounding area in which Hossmo was the chief settle-
ment is precisely the area which would have been called Kalmarnar
in the 1120s.

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[44] Blomkvist 1978.
[45] Hellberg 1979 p. 131ff., 145ff.; cf. E. Hofrén 1961; Magnusson 1999; Eriksson
1999; Hagberg 1979 p. 62ff.; Anglert 2001a pp. 504–06. He points to the existence
of the place-name Husaby in Hossmo, as a term indicating a domain belonging to
the Svea king, and to the existence of the place-name environment that often sur-
round these centres.
[46] Olsson 1983 p. 17ff.; Blomkvist 1986 p. 108f. Archaeologists are also focusing
on the area around this bay, since it is rich in grave fields, in particular surrounding
an 'inner lagoon' at the Iron Age water level. The graves have been dated to the
period 600–900 AD. I thank the archaeologist Anders Andrén, Lund, for sharing
with me his views on the plausible prehistoric centre in this area.
[47] Andersson and Bartholin 1990 pp. 185–91. cf. Tuulse 1955.

Clearly there were some greater than normal power-holding figures at the place called Kalmar in the time of *Kalmarna leiðangr*. Their dignity is revealed by the innovative investments they undertook at this ancient and central place. The building of a remarkable stone church was not done in preparation for an expected invasion, but rather as a peaceful signal that the lord of this place was pursuing European ideals. That he chose to undertake these costs here, close to the bay of Västra sjön and the natural stony *Kalmarnar*, and to the international traffic artery of Kalmarsund, indicates that some other party was also present, to whom it might pay to demonstrate such things. Particularly interesting is the island of *Fredagsön* (Friday Island), which according to Hellberg contains the element *friðr* indicating 'market peace'. It is also worth mentioning that, apart from Gotland, the Kalmarsund area is where most coin finds have been made in Sweden from around 1100 AD (give or take 20 years).[48] We can draw two conclusions: (1) the precise place to which the *leiðangr* was diverted was of interest to traders, and (2) some powerful individual or group made Europeanization investments there about the time when it was launched.

The rest is speculation: would the power interest have been the Svea kings shifting their foothold from Köping to this more offensive place? Or could it be a bridgehead for the Danish advances that escalated later in the 1120s when Magnus Nielsen claimed kingship in Götaland? Or is this where the Vends come into the picture? We may recall from Chapter Three that the Vends were as eager merchants as they were pirates, and that their evil reputation existed chiefly in the eyes of the church reformists. We have seen that bonds were established between Vends and tolerant Christian Saxon chieftains, so why not here? A Vendic ship attacked by a Norse sea warrior may have been a trading ship, a Vendic plunder raid may have been sent out in revenge, and Vendic military colonisation may have been an endeavour to secure a sea route. Having stated this, it is tempting to point to two other elusive twelfth-century riddles outside the Sound, which have occupied Baltic scholarly discussion for a long time; both may have a Vendic solution.

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[48] Two are unusually late Viking-age type hoard deposits; (Revsudden, t.p.q. 1100 AD, Runsberga, Gärdslösa parish t.p.q. 1121). See K. Jonsson 1993 p. 123ff. & passim.

Vends beyond Kalmarsund?

On Gotland: A large, sunken timber construction in Tingstäde träsk, a lake on northern Gotland, is one of the classical problems of Baltic archaeology. It is traditionally known under the name *Bulverket* ('the Bulwark'). One way of expressing a long time period, according to Gotlandic folklore, is to compare it to the day 'when Bulverket burnt'. The construction was a gigantic square pier, each side 170m long, built on log coffer-dams with casings on the bottom, leaving an inner square of open water, approachable for small boats from one corner. It was built to carry some 100 houses, in an obviously defensive position. According to the most recent investigator, Johan Rönnby, the construction never burnt but disappeared into the water, leaving very few artefacts other than an impressive array of timber poles in disorder on the bottom of the lake like pick-up-sticks. The reason for mentioning this extraordinary building complex is that recently its construction has been dendro-dated to the early 12th century,[49] although the first published dating to the 1120s has been revised to 1133.[50]

The lake is located more or less in the middle of northern Gotland and the name of the parish church nearby refers to a place for *thing* meetings. Opinions among researchers have been widely divergent regarding its background and function. This sort of construction is otherwise unknown in Scandinavia, whereas defensive lake settlements and the wooden technology by which they were built are traits common particularly to Slavic and (to some extent) Baltic territories. The character is clearly anti-European. It suggests a wish for seclusion and little desire to mix with the locals. It would seem that the settlement was established by foreigners on this very rich island under conditions that either presuppose consent from the island authorities, or needed a military take-over.[51] To my mind it is more plausible as a secured warehouse and trading camp than as a genuine fortification.[52]

Until now, no one has seriously suggested an attribution to the Vends. The main suggestion has always been Balticum, where several similar but older constructions have been identified. However, the estab-

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[49] Rönnby 1995.
[50] Personal communication from Johan Rönnby, for which I express my gratitude.
[51] SvR: GR 138. Snædal-Brink 1985.
[52] This is also the opinion of Westholm 1997 p. 74f. cf. Bendegard 1983; Bendegard 1993 pp. 299–302, and particularly Rönnby 1995 p. 120ff. Its purpose has been suggested as a pirate camp, a regional ledung fleet home base, a judicial asylum, a political establishment, or a tax collecting or commercial centre.

lishment of a Vendic presence in Kalmarsund close to Bulverket's building period might put this in a different light. If the Vends were welcomed in or could have overpowered the Kalmarsund region, Gotland must also have been within their reach.[53] The organisation needed for the establishment at Tingstäde träsk shows a far-sighted strategic touch, which raises questions regarding the aims behind it. A possible Vendic project involving Kalmarsund and northern Gotland suggests an even more intriguing perspective: were they in fact grasping after a *dominium maris Baltici*? Were they organising a proto-Hanseatic network? This would indeed be something other than prey and piracy! Whatever the aims, there is one certainty about the Vendic Viking Age—its existence was brief, as was that of the Bulverket in Tingstäde träsk.

A fragmentary runic inscription in Halla parish church is of potential interest here. The stone was raised by a wife for her husband *kaiRielmr* and their son, whose name is not preserved. An interrupted phrase relates that *ainika: sun: þaira: trabu: leybika*, i.e. NN their only son was killed by Lübeckers. This has been seen as a reference to inhabitants of Vendic Liubice. The text finishes with a Christian prayer. Its date is imprecise, possibly early 12th century. We may compare this with a fatal incident narrated in *Vita Botvidi*, referring to the year 1120, which tells the story of a convert Swedish magnate wishing to send his thrall (*slavum*), who was a Vend, back home. He tries to put him on a ship to Gotland, but failing to do so, he is murdered by the Vend.[54] Although both are unclear, these two sources have in common not only the demonisation of Vends, the link to Gotland and their relative position in time, but also possible support for a Vendic interpretation of the Bulverket. However, the finds of a few metal objects from the mud at the bottom of Tingstäde träsk are thought to point in an easterly direction. Comparative material has been found in particular among the Livs living along the Gulf of Riga.[55] This is not as discouraging to the hypothesis as it may appear, since we know of a Vendic twelfth-century population there as well.

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[53] The place-name *Vändburg* far to the south of the island may be another indication. According to the nineteenth-century folklorist P.A. Säve (1978 p. 12f.) it was an ancient harbour populated by a powerful people. He wrote the name *Vendelburg*.

[54] Cf. Ch. VII:2.

[55] Tõnisson 1974 p. 116f., pl. VI:3; Bendegard 1983 p. 97.

In the soil of Riga, three multi-headed, quite small statuettes, of a type otherwise foreign to Balticum but characteristic to the West Slavs, have been found in culture layers going down into the pre-urban period, in the 12th century. Andris Caune links these statuettes with the Vends of Henry's report, and compares building traces and simple objects for daily use found in Riga to equivalent material from early layers in Gdansk, Scszecin and Wollin, confirming the existence of influences from that direction. These important observations thus confirm the tradition reported by Henry of Latvia, that Vends had lived in the Daugava estuary prior to the German establishment there. Caune cannot find any trading objects left by the Vends of Riga, and he sees them living from fishing. Regarding dating, he offers no more definite suggestion than the 11th–12th centuries.[60] Can this population be linked to the Vendic expansion of the 1120s?

Even if the Vendic Riga material does not reveal a trading character, the position in the Daugava estuary definitely does. The most reasonable suggestion would be that the forefathers of the Latvian Vends came to establish a trading station, as representatives of a system which was to be short-lived, thereafter remaining as a small group left behind on foreign soil who were forced to find new means of survival. Hypothetically, it seems conceivable to connect these traces with the expansive Vends of the early 12th century.

Until now, the Vends living in Kalmarsund in the 1120s, the anonymous masters of Bulverket from the same time, and the kicked-around Vends of Latvia (not dated with the same precision but belonging to at least the 12th century) have been three loose ends in Baltic history. From these ends I have endeavoured to twine a rope. This is based on several assumptions and if these fail—if, for instance, archaeological dating or attributions are incontestably revised—the hypothesis may dissolve and they will become loose ends again. However, the hypothesis is not constructed on eclectic inspirations. I have also tried to intertwine a thread of context, which I hope will hold them together. This fourth thread is an entirely different perspective on the role of the Vends at the dawn of Europeanization to those usually put forward. I think enough indications of a trade and trade-political motive have now been shown to allow its promotion into a hypothesis.

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[60] Caune 1997.

A Slavic Hansa?

Taking an overview of these observations, it is striking that they fall
into a well-known geographical pattern of nodes along the Golden
Diagonal, which was emerging in this period as the most important
of the trans-Baltic sea routes, very similar to the Kalmar-Gotland-
Riga system that the Hanseatics were later to establish.[61] This net-
work pattern is definitely associated with trade more than piracy or
any programme of political conquest. In addition, there was Baltic
trade at the beginning of the 12th century which made it possible
in Novgorod to buy cloth from the Low Countries, a fact that once
gave great astonishment to the incomparable Henri Pirenne.[62] Recently,
Detlev Kattinger has observed that German trade on the Baltic saw
an *Entwicklungssprung* in the early 12th century, while the reasons for
it are 'not quite clear'.[63] This trade must somehow have been taken
through the territories of the savage Vends—or could it have been
achieved with their assistance? Even as a hypothesis, this is an
improvement on the reputation for plundering usual to the Vends.

   If they were not tradesmen themselves, the Vends might have
engaged in trade-political service for western agencies, or for the
Russians, with whom they may have been able to speak their own
language. The suggestion of a Vendic Hansa should foremost be
taken as a provocative metaphor. Whatever their purpose, they were
aiming at something that the German merchants were to take up
50 or 75 years later. I have already shown (Chapter Three) strong
enough arguments to claim that the entire Vend territory, far from
being a nest of piracy, was under various forms of Catholic/European
penetration in the 1120s. An indigenous aristocracy was deeply involved
in passive and possibly even active trade with foreigners. At the same
time, it was approached by missionaries coming from no less than
four archiepiscopal quarters: Bremen, Magdeburg, Gniezno and Lund.
This implies some rivalry, not only among bishops and canons, but
also between the power holders of the secular world. These possibilities
require me to look into the political power game going on in the
southern Baltic in the early 1120s, searching particularly for a link
to the Kalmarsund area and the northern parts of the Sea.

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[61] Cf. Blomkvist 1995, 1997.
[62] Pirenne 1934 p. 563ff.
[63] Kattinger 1999a p. 18.

In the aftermath of that great triumph of the Catholic World-system, the Concordat of Worms, it appears that the inclination among Christian powers to use raw violence between themselves tended to be replaced by a negotiation culture. More modern experiences suggest that, if so, the practice of crude warfare may have moved out into the periphery, which in this case could have been Kalmarsund.

The concordat had given the Saxons more or less free hands in the Baltic. Under the new German king, Lothar III, a policy developed to link the bordering Rim nations in ties of fealty, if necessary to turn them into Christians and to take measures to strengthen foreigners' rights in them—in short to implement the Catholic World-system. Another natural Saxon endeavour would have been to restore Scandinavia to the church province of Hamburg-Bremen, from which it had been lost some twenty years before, largely as an anti-imperial measure from the side of the Curia. The restitution was probably claimed by Archbishop Adalbero of Bremen as early as the spring of 1123, and was apparently soon conceded by Pope Calixt II, at least regarding Sweden and Norway. Even Denmark was recalled under Hamburg-Bremen by Innocent II in 1133.[64] All this was a dangerous threat to Danish supremacy on the Baltic.

The established interests of Denmark grouped around King Niels and Archbishop Asger, the two elderly men who had upheld internal peace in that country since the first years of the 12th century, were thus placed in great peril by the restored trust between pope and emperor.[65] From Denmark itself some immediate signs of internal conflicts are noted.[66] However the situation may have been even more strained in Sweden in the period after the death of King Inge II. The few details we hear tell of tensions between the Svear and the Götar; the elected king of the Svear having been slain when coming to be hailed in Västergötland. This led to a civil war with Danish interference, according to Saxo, which ended with Magnus Nielsen being offered the kingship in Götaland.[67]

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[64] See below Ch. IX:2.
[65] DD II: 57–61. Shortly afterwards, massive support from Saxony helped Erik Emune to revenge his brother at Fotevik in 1134. From then on, Denmark was clearly drawn into bonds of imperial dependency.
[66] E.g. Hermanson 2000 pp. 90, 154ff., cf. 129f., 134.
[67] Corpus iuris Sueo-gotorum antiqui, edd. H. Collin and C.J. Schlyter, I p. 300f.; SGD XIII:5:10.

It may be justified to see these series of events as a plausible background to the *Kalmarna leiðangr*, as some early twentieth-century scholars have tentatively suggested. More recent scholars such as Sawyer and Hermanson have considered Götaland's tendency to break away from the Svear, but neither has pointed to the event in Kalmarsund as a possible component in such a process. Hermanson states that Götaland 'due to the marriage alliances during the 1120s had become an arena of foremost "Danish" interest',[68] which may be an overstatement in a case where we have to rely on Danish sources. We have no means of dating the starting point of these ambitions, as we don't even know in which year the Swedish throne was definitely vacant, but it would be wrong to rule these aspects out of the discussion.

Neither the struggles for the empty throne of Sweden, nor the growing tensions around the patriarchal leadership of Niels and Asger in Denmark resolve all the aspects of the Kalmarsund problem, such as the crusading tone and the deeper meaning of the Norwegian and Vendic presence. Here, as in many other cases, timing is essential. We have to consider particularly the impact of the Concordat of Worms. From a World-system perspective, these activities and developments fit very well together and suggest the outline of a compromise policy creating a *civitas permixta*, as Otto von Freising was later to call it, through which the initially more general German advances into the Baltic were promoted. From the perspective of the strong commercial, political and ideological pressure from various Catholic World-system agencies, it is possible that the warfare at Kalmarsund in the 1120s may have been an early race between Europeanization agents vying for a strategic passage in the system of sea routes. The carrier of a European ethos need not only have been the Norwegian crusader Sigurd; whatever the Icelanders say, some Danes might have taken part, and we cannot even rule out the Vends as a Europeanization factor.

Which front line ran in the Kalmarsund of 1123–24?

One of the few certainties of the Kalmarsund event is that the Norwegian intervention was internationally presented as a crusade-like project. Nevertheless we must guard against stereotypical thinking.

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[68] Hermanson 2000 p. 113 (his markings), cf. 85f., 101f., 112f.; see also Sawyer 1991 p. 36ff., p. 44ff., 61–63.

The international arena of the 1120s was considerably more complicated than the Icelandic history writers tell us. It is possible that the heyday of Vendic expansion was not only characterised by piracy, but was brought about to some degree by trade-political motives, perhaps even with backing in western Europe; the Vends did not lack alliance networks. The counter-interest from the Catholic World-system appeared in all kinds of forms (mission, political alliance-building, threats) as complements to trade. We must be prepared to ask whether the author of *Ágrip*, as well as Snorri writing some 70–100 years later, may have got the politics of the episode entirely wrong.

It is possible that some time around 1120 the Vends (understood as the Vendic urban oligarchies and their trade associates) succeeded in building a commercial link system through Kalmarsund and all the way to Balticum. Around 1120, Knud Lavard had just taken up his position as duke in Schleswig,[69] the foremost south-western Baltic port of trade; some years later he would be King of the Obodrites. Was he involved? Was Sigurd's mission in Kalmarsund to curb a successfully-developing Vendic active trade? Was the collapse of Köpingsvik brought about by Sigurd and his associates, or was it made redundant by a newly-appointed meeting place for Vends and their associates near *Kalmarnes*? This programme could even be upheld along with the traditional idea that the aim was to strike a blow in favour of Magnus Nielsen's kingship candidature. Or do all these suggestions build on a total misconception among the saga writers? King Sigurd might not have undertaken this project as Niels' ally.

The genealogical situation supports a rather different context, since Sigurd's brother-in-law was Knud Lavard. They had married two sisters from Novgorod, in Scandinavia called Malmfrid and Ingeborg respectively, daughters of Mstislav Vladimirovich and Kristina Ingesdotter who, according to the Novgorodian chronicle, died in 1122. Mstislav had by then left Novgorod to become co-regent with his father Grand Duke Vladimir Monomakh, whom he succeeded in 1125 to the most exalted Russian throne of all, Kiev. And in the year of *Kalmarna leiðangr*, Malmfrid's and Ingeborg's brother Vsevolod Mstislavovich sat on the throne of Novgorod, where he remained until he was expelled by the turmoil of 1136.[70] Thus we may even consider a Russian connection; Vsevolod would have had as good dynastic claims to the

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[69] Cf. Hermanson 2000 pp. 82, 102, 113.
[70] Lind 1992 p. 229; cf. Hermanson 2000 p. 119.

Swedish throne as Magnus Nielsen. Novgorodian active trade in Schleswig would probably have passed through Kalmarsund, the region that was omitted in the contemporary 'Florence document'.

Many different situations could have created problems for any of the three brothers-in-law, possibly involving Vends and Danes, as well as claims to the Swedish throne, the security of passing merchant vessels and other aspects. The internationally most experienced, and certainly most resourceful of the three brothers-in-law was King Sigurd, who may have intended to offer the others a helping hand. The Norwegian expedition could have been directed in the first place against the enemies of Knud Lavard and indirectly against those of Vsevolod.

One of Ívarr's Sigurd-stanzas makes good sense if it is applied to Sigurd the king. It says that *sókndjarfr Sigurður* also encountered and annihilated eight Vendic ships 'south by *Erri*' (Ærö, an island south of Fyn from which the mouth of the Schlei could be controlled).[71] We cannot claim that these particular Vends were enemies of Knud, but we can say that their position would have allowed them to disturb navigation to and from Schleswig. This incident was prior to the fighting in Möre, which is referred to as the second engagement with the Vends, indicating that the two were associated events. An alliance with Knud would also better explain the destruction of Tomarp which Sigurd carried out in Niels' kingdom. Another of Ívarr's stanzas underlines that there was no peace between Niels and Sigurd, even if the latter:

Sēr framliga	Trying eagerly (successfully?)
friþar leitaþi	to reach peace
ilhjóþr ara	the warrior endeavoured (did?)
við iota gram[72]	with the lord of the Juts.

According to my previous assumption that these references are to Sigurd the king, not to the outlaw Slembedjäkn, a quite different scenario presents itself; a broad campaign against the offensive Vends, in Danish waters as well as in Kalmarsund, both areas where a militant enemy could cut off the sea route between Schleswig and Novgorod.

Even Knud Lavard might have joined the forces approaching Kalmarsund. There is a glimpse in his biography that might fit in here;

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[71] DN-IS Ívarr 19.
[72] DN-IS Ívarr 18.

he is said to have once *Orientis partes piratica pervagatus* . . . made a Viking voyage 'to the East', and returned with magnificent booty. But this won him no gratitude from King Niels, who blamed him instead *quod in re Suetica praedam egisset* . . . 'for having plundered in the land of the Swedes.'[73] Of course I cannot claim that this refers to the events in Kalmarsund in 1123; I do no more than indicate that it would have been in his best interests to take part, and at the same time point out a vague source (another loose end) that at least says that he did something in that direction, at least once.[74]

We have already seen Knud Lavard as an agent with an ardent political cause which we can truly call Europeanizing. And we have seen Sigurd Jorsalafari actively engaging in the most prestigious of all Catholic enterprises, and receiving benevolent moral support from one of the leading core area theologians of the day, the venerable Peter. Neither in outlook nor in deed could there have been two peripheral princes with a stronger loyalty to the core area ideology. Nevertheless, they did not think of excluding Russia, for as John Lind's research has shown, its rulers were also closely engaged in Scandinavian alliances. The Russian marriages of these Nordic princes were the basis of a three-cornered alliance. In the year 1123 even Vsevolod was active; in addition to marrying, he is said to have launched an attack on the Tavastians.[75] These people had a mostly unpopulated coast along which the traditional Route of Kings passed; even this expedition could have been part of a broader strategy.

To Hermanson, who sees these events from a predominantly Danish perspective, it was Queen Margareta's intellect that built this network up;[76] he has a good point. However, it may have been touched upon in conversations between Erik Ejegod and Vladimir Monomakh some decades before;[77] some of the planning must have begun at the Uppsala court, or perhaps in Sigtuna, where the previous network of dynastic marriages had its focal point. In this latter case we cannot disregard the possibility that around 1123 the leading marriage strategist was on the Russian side. However Mstislav must have felt disillusioned to hear of the death of both his sons-in-law within the year of 1130/31. He died himself in 1132, but Sigurd's widow

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[73] In SGD XIII:5:5.
[74] The strength in this suggestion is that Sweden was outside Knud's normal area.
[75] Rahbek Schmidt 1964 p. 35.
[76] Hermanson 2000 pp. 99ff., 108ff., 123ff. cf. Hoffmann 1980 and above.
[77] See also Hermanson 2000 p. 139.

Malmfrid married again, to Erik Emune, Knud's brother and successful avenger.[78] This last marriage in particular strongly underlines the importance that the Monomakhovid side gave to this alliance.

As Lind in particular has pointed out, this alliance also had a formidable enemy. The ageing King Niels of Denmark was never very happy with the expansion of Knud Lavard's sphere of interest. It would thus be a good idea to look for his party as a potential actor in the Kalmarsund warfare. And there is a suggestion that Prince Magnus was at least involved in military activities in Sweden. It is provided by Saxo, as a continuation to the anecdote of Knud Lavard's plundering raid, and says that Knud's deed inspired his rival Magnus to make a similar raid, from which he returned with some large *inusitati ponderis malleos, quos Ioviales vocabant*; according to Winkel-Horn these were 'Thors hammers' of copper, which he had found *apud insularum quandam* . . . 'on one of the islands'. Even if it was a good deed to remove items from the pagan cult, Saxo reflects, *eum Sueones perinde ac caelestium spoliorum raptorem sacrilegium autumant* . . . 'the Swedes still regard him as a temple-desecrator even until this day'.[79]

As noted, Niels and his son Magnus also found an ally whose interests converged with their own. This was Boleslaw III, the ruler of Poland who around 1120 had established a foothold on the Vendic shore. Later in the 1120s the two parties launched a joint Danish-Polish action against the Pomeranian Vends, and in 1128–29 Magnus Nielsen married the Polish princess Richiza. Either of these years may also have been that of their joint campaign, which could be seen as a countermeasure against the Schleswig-Vendic nation-building plans of Lothar, Knud and the Pomeranian Duke Vartislav.[80] Lind

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[78] Lind 1992. By this time the Russian angle must have been upheld by Vsevolod, who lived until 1138, the last two years as a revenger sitting in Pskov (where he was to be revered as a saint). I thank John Lind for pointing these particularities out to me.

[79] SGD XIII:5:5 cf. Winkel-Horn 1911, II p. 66; cf. Hermanson (2000 p. 122ff.), who puts these events in the period after Magnus' wedding (i.e. 1129). However Saxo's opinions on the inner logic of a series of events are not to be trusted, and Hermanson's (2000 p. 126f.) chronology offers Magnus a very tight schedule indeed in that period. I must point out here without basing any further conclusions on it that Gråborg (Backaborg in some medieval sources) was actually called *Thorsborg* in early modern travelling descriptions.

[80] The alliance was further confirmed by the introduction of the cult of St. Adalbert (Wojciech) in Lund; see also Slaski 1969 p. 248f.; Nyberg 1989 p. 240f. For attempts to create a Christian Vendic kingdom, see Ch. III:2.

has pointed to an interesting slip of the tongue by Saxo, mentioning the Pomeranian Prince Vartislav having been captured by the royal Danish side despite a given word of safe conduct. However, his release was advocated by Knud Lavard. *Itaque*, Saxo says, *efficaci persuasione usus, et amicum oppressione et dominum infamia liberavit* . . . 'Thus he succeeded through efficient argument, to save his friend from oppression, and his lord from dishonour.'[81]

According to Lind, the really interesting aspect of this incident is the revelation of friendship between Knud Lavard and Vartislav, and the evident build-up of King Niels and his son's political counter-alliance with King Boleslaw III of Poland. Hermanson points to the similarity between Vartislav and Knud—two charismatic princes driven by a mutual wish to emancipate themselves from their respective feudal overlords on the (proto-)national level, at the same time 'indirectly working in the interest of the German emperor in the area.'[82] Whether indirectly or directly is difficult to state, but by opening their territories to western European trade they were indeed doing the Catholic World-system core a notable favour. As Lind sees it, the main contest was over control of Denmark, where a dramatic civil war was let loose upon the murder of Knud Lavard. In 1134 Erik Emune won decisively and Niels and Magnus lost their lives.[83]

We see two alliance systems dominated by Slavic and Scandinavian princes, contesting over the sea-routes and thrones of the Baltic Rim. To simplify them I will name them according to their female components as 'the Russian sisters' alliance' and 'the Richiza league' respectively. In her second marriage, Richiza was given to Prince Volodar Glebovich of Minsk, a cadet of the Polotskian dynasty and, to quote Lind, a representative of the Monomakhovid's most dedicated opponents. This should be seen as another expression of the Polish alliance system. Polotsk of the 12th century was a mostly independent dynasty.[84] In this context we might even imagine a background for the presence of Vends in Latvia. Richiza's career continued, and in the end she wedded King Sverker of Sweden.[85]

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[81] SGD XIII:5:3; Lind 1992 p. 243f.
[82] Hermanson (2000 p. 125) may have underestimated the directness of the imperial intentions.
[83] Lind 1992.
[84] On the principality of Polotsk, see Lind 1992 p. 245ff. and below, Ch. VII:5, VIII: passim.
[85] See below Ch. IX:2.

In the way I have come to see these alliances they encompass something even bigger. They appear to involve civil wars in most nations on the Baltic Rim. A general struggle seems to be going on in which old power structures were challenged by new ones. We have seen that commercial trade was one of its obvious dimensions. Christian mission was too, and Sigurd obviously did his best to use its propagandistic appeal, although it is unclear whether he got much else out of it. The time was not yet ripe for any massive continental invasion into the Baltic. The struggle was conducted within and between the ancient Baltic Rim powers, for the last time fighting by themselves over the dominion of their own sea (Fig. 10).

A Battle of Kings?

The reader may have been struck by a feeling of *déja vu*. Isn't this still overwhelmingly Nordic-Baltic set-up the gist of the Wagnerian Battle of Brávellir drama considered in Chapter Four? It may well have been about this time that some clever Norse saga writer first put that apocryphal historical vision together. The message of this vision would indeed suit the latter part of Sigurd Jorsalafari's government, as a metaphor of current political ideas. As we have seen, it is precisely in the 1120s that eastern parts of Götaland may have been thought of as a Danish dominion, with possible justification.[86]

The warfare in Kalmarsund which preceded the Great Darkness of 1124 might thus have been an event in an otherwise unknown trade war with dynastical implications, involving not only the crusader King of Norway but to some degree the Duke of Schleswig who would later be canonised. What kind of political organisation and leadership might the Vends have had when they appeared in Kalmarsund; could they too have been Christians? Might they have been led by an equally respected political figure, a Christian vassal of the emperor?

With that in mind, it is certainly suggestive to read in the Polish annals *Rocznik Traski* for the year 1123: *Boleslaus tercius mare transivit et castra obtinuit . . .* 'Boleslaw III crossed the sea and conquered castles.'

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[86] To what extent it may also have been a representation of the alliance formation and leading personalities, I would not suggest more than the obvious typological likeness of Harald Hildetand to the aged King Niels. The victorious King Sigurðr hringr may thus represent Sverker.
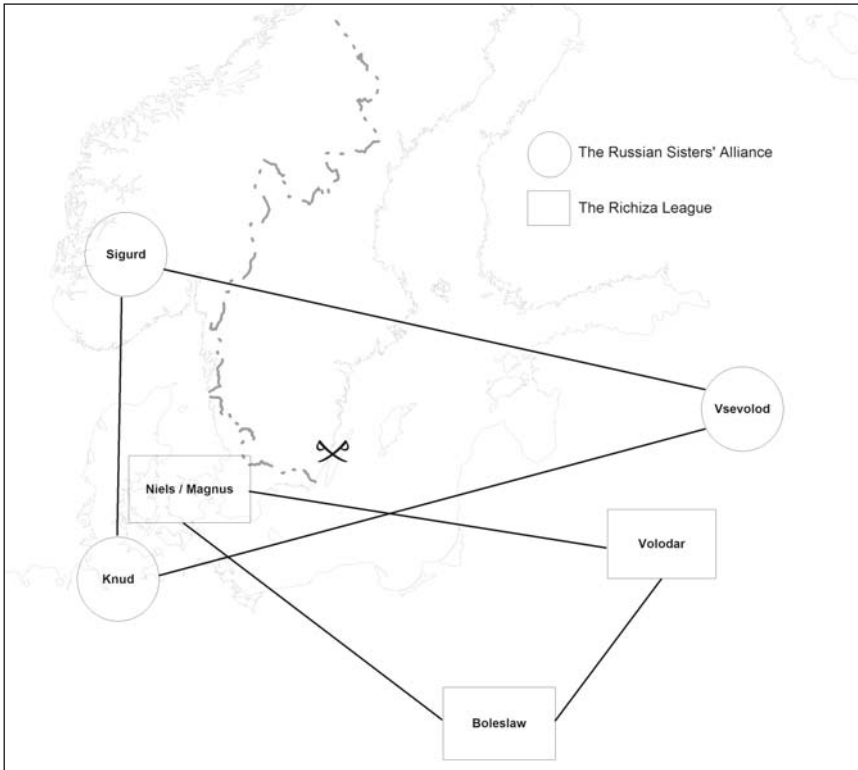
Fig. 10. Alliances across the Baltic around 1123/24.

Versions of the same notice are found in other annals, some obviously a bit distorted. The Great Polish Chronicle contains an elaboration of it under the year 1124, which tells of an otherwise unknown Polish-Vendic assault on Denmark that scholars tend not to believe in.[87]

As an alternative within reach, Kalmarsund fits the picture quite well, not least since we have a context in which this previously missing piece of the puzzle would fill a gap. To cross the sea, the king of the inland state of Poland must have been helped by his new seafaring Vendic subjects. To Norse eyes, his army would have consisted of 'Vends'. Furthermore this naval expedition occurred at exactly the critical period for which we have independent information of Vendic presence on Kalmarsund. We even have a suitable local story of a King 'Bugislev' who conquered all the ringforts of Öland! In this context, that odd piece of folklore has a fitting explanation, none the worse for Per Backman's assertion that the name might have been pronounced 'Bussel' when the story was told in the Ölandic vernacular.[88] Although one of the weakest I have had to cope with in this context, there is a case for the Polish king having engaged himself in the warfare of Kalmarsund.

We may recall that some years later Boleslaw became father-in-law to Magnus Nielsen, who by then, according to Saxo, had been offered kingship by the Götar, who in turn had slain the king elected by the Svear. We may also recall that the lacuna around Kalmarsund, which Schück pointed out in the list of Swedish 'islands' in the 'Florence document', may have a meaning different from the one he

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[87] MPH II, Rocznik Traski and Rocznik Krakowski s.a. 1123 (p. 832). With some variation the information occurs in several Polish annals. In Polish research many suggestions have been made, from a mere crossing over Stettiner Bucht, to an assault on Rügen. Tyc (1997 p. 206ff.) states that the objective of Boleslaus' navigation remains unknown. The Great Polish chronicle's version is: *Sicque Boleslaus prout erat in subiugandis regnis animositate confectus anno Domini MCXXIIII mare transiens regnum Danorum obtinuit et in eo propriis prefectis ad propria revertitur cum nimia honoris glora et triumpho.* (MPH s.n. VIII:27 r 38f. [CPM]) As Lind (1992 p. 242ff.) has suggested, this assault [on Denmark] is probably constructed out of information corresponding to the one preserved in Traski, and a couple of other Polish annals. See also B. Kürbi's comments to CPM note 214 (p. 149f.) and note 220 (p. 150f.). Slaski (1969 p. 253) considers the story to be mainly 'a novel'. Nyberg (1989 p. 240f.) comments on the version in Ioannis Dlugosii Annales and sees the journey to Denmark as a diplomatic prelude to the marriage of Boleslaw's daughter Richiza to Magnus Nielsen. I am deeply grateful to John Lind and Ivona Szkoluda for generous help with this problem.

[88] Backman (1996 p. 66f.) proves that many variations—including Boleslaw—are possible.

suggested. It may reflect the real holding of Magnus Nielsen in Götaland, or a bridgehead that someone had established in his interests or the interests of the Danish kingdom (and, therefore, perhaps on the verge of being integrated into the diocese of Lund[89] and thus not relevant to the author of the Florence document).[90] Boleslaw III is known to have been a great warrior. Whether or not he succumbed to the hardships of sea-travel, which he might have been little used to, as a defender of Vendic trading interests, or as a helping hand to his future son-in-law, his expertise in conquering ringforts on Öland would have been outstanding.

A conclusion

The full details of *Kalmarna leiðangr* will never be known. However, I hope I have established that the Vendic Viking Age was less of an aftermath to the Scandinavian one and more of a forerunner to Europeanization. If we take into account the frontlines of conflict pointed out by Lind, followed up by Hermanson, and added to here, we may state that the far stronger Europeanization force lay with 'the Russian sisters' alliance.' If we also allow ourselves to see the King of Poland as the aggressor or defender in Kalmarsund in the year 1123, much makes sense.

From the 1120s to the 1140s a power game was played over the strategic sea routes, great emporia, episcopal dioceses and royal crowns of all the Baltic Rim powers, Russia not excluded. It was also played out within each country, most clearly seen in the case of Denmark. To

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[89] A discussion initiated by Sune Lindqvist in 1915 and aptly reviewed by Ulf-Erik Hagberg (1972 p. 224f.) has been devoted to the punctuation mark in the record *Liunga, Kaupinga* in the list of bishoprics in the Florence document. Instead of the expected reading 'Linköping' it has been argued that *Liunga* would suffice to signify Linköping, whereas *Kaupinga* would point to Köping on Öland.

[90] Scholars like Sawyer (1991 p. 38) and Hermanson (2000 p. 120 & passim) think that Magnus' invitation to Götaland occurred many years later, since he would have been too young in 1123. However, the claim may have been made for him by a more experienced politician, e.g. the high-ranking agent whom Saxo calls *Ericus Gothorum prefectus*, whether he was a Dane or a Swede by birth (Sawyer 1991 p. 55f.; Hermanson 2000 p. 139f.). I see no reason to alter my previous statement on the Danish-Swedish borderline (Ch. VI:1) as a consequence of this discussion. Schück's suggestion of a foreign occupation, although inspired, is basically made *e silentio*. Neither is there any suggestion of Danish territorial claims in Saxo's manner of mentioning these raids.

a large extent it looks like a showdown between old loyalties and new principles. The 'Slavic Hansa' suggested above, with its rather non-European physical expressions, could be seen as another indigenous attempt to master the very early expressions of the expanding Catholic World-system which were released by the Concordat of Worms in 1122. In short, these are the first steps on the road to German dominance of the Baltic, which was to be achieved some 150–200 years later.

Behind this achievement is seen at least the shadow of the remarkable imperial politician Lothar III, together with several contemporary princes, the archbishops of Bremen and Magdeburg and others who were keen on the Baltic.

> In the days of Emperor Lothar, a new light began to rise, not only within the borders of Saxony but in the entire *Reich*, peaceful times, wealth of things, peace between kingdom and priesthood. And even the Vends acted peacefully . . .[91]

In 1123, Lothar was a mere Duke of Saxony, but as such already an interested party. His election as king occurred in 1125, but he continued to take an active interest in the opening of the Baltic, which he showed by personally interfering in Schleswig after Knud's murder. After Lothar's death in 1137, a swift resurgence among pagan neighbours saw to it that Alt-Lübeck was destroyed in 1138, which involuntarily paved the way for the first efforts to build a purely German Lübeck in the early 1140s.[92] The town's foundation was simply an event, but it coincided with a fatal change in the European policy towards the Vends, who were classified as suitable objects for crusades, and in due course became victims of a military penetration that would change the balance around the Baltic forever. The crusading spirit had the further effect of communicating bad rumours regarding the Vends, which may have led later writers in false directions.

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[91] *Cepitque in diebus Lotharii cesaris oriri nova lux non tam in Saxoniae finibus quam in universo regno, tranquillitas temporum, habundatia rerum, pax inter regnum et sacerdocium. Sed et Slavorum populi agebant ea quae pacis sunt* (HCS 41).
[92] Above Ch. IV:2; cf. Kattinger 1999a pp. 23–37.

3. *The Pickled Heroes*[93]

Two narratives about a sea expedition to Kalmarsund

The Danes were well-oriented in the Kalmarsund area, since their influence had been extended there for many centuries. However, there is a narrative of an approach to the area, existing in two versions, that carries many of the traits of a discovery report. It belongs to the late spring of 1170, when King Valdemar, son of Knud Lavard and the Russian princess Ingeborg, ordered a fleet to make an expedition that ended up in Kalmarsund. The enterprise is recorded in detail by Saxo and more briefly in *Knýtlinga* saga, although with interesting differences. As is well known there are considerable resemblances between these two sources from book XIV of the *Gesta Danorum* and Chapter 107 of the saga with regard to the later 12th century.[94]

This time we see Saxo reporting on an event in the quite recent past. As often in these cases, his chief source Absalon was among the main actors, but this time Saxo himself may have been an eyewitness. There is nothing to prove it, but I have noted previously that he provides visual impressions from Kalmarsund. His claim that the expedition was sent to *longinquam agere . . .* 'to operate far away' is another detail which may indicate that he had experienced it the hard way. From a strategic perspective it was a mere raid over the northern border of the country, but for those who took part it may have felt like a long journey.

Once again we can compare Saxo's authorship with a parallel Icelandic text. The author (or editor) of *Knýtlinga* saga was working in the middle of the 13th century; the oldest manuscript is dated to the 1260s–1270s. The author (who also used independent sources) either knew Saxo's text or they had a source in common, since the resemblance concerns not only the contents but also its presentation. I can easily agree with Curt Weibull that the latter is far more likely,

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[93] I must excuse myself for this headline, which is slightly misleading. It was impossible to resist. In a Swedish draft I came up with *De saltade sällarna*. Salt for conservation is fully justified, and preferable to the suggested English variety of pickling. *Sällar*, on the other hand, means 'warrior, man of the ranks' so a correct (and matter of fact) title would have read 'The salted aristocrats'.

[94] C. Weibull 1915 p. 179ff.; C. Weibull 1976.

since Saxo's elaborate style would probably have made some impact on the Norse text, had the former been the case.[95]

We know that Saxo had access to primary information about the events. The points in which *Knýtlinga* saga shows independence from Saxo give us a chance to estimate the value of the sources. Both intend to pay homage to Denmark and its leading men, but they do so in different ways. Saxo highlights their deeds with ecclesiastic colouring, while the Icelander prefers to depict them according to the hard-boiled stereotype of Norse sagas.

Comparing the narratives

Background and motive according to both sources: Even after the conquest of Rügen in 1168, Danish waters were criss-crossed by pirates. Therefore, says Saxo, it was decided to 'count' the *ledung* fleet, and every fourth ship was ordered to be on guard during the whole sailing period. This coast guard achieved better results than the great war expeditions, he continues. Young, unmarried men were selected to fulfil this service. Their leaders were the king's son Christopher, and Absalon, at this time still bishop in Roskilde. They patrolled the inner waters of Denmark and further around Rügen and the bays at Leutz.[96]

The following series of events happened at the time when news of the beatification of Knud Lavard was received from Rome. Therefore the dating to 1170 appears to be well confirmed. I will relate how the events are described in both sources; in every instance I will start with Saxo's narrative.

Orders are given: Saxo relates that in the early summer of this year the great men of the realm were summoned to meet in Ringsted on St. John's day to witness the enshrining of 'St. Knud *Dux*' as well as the simultaneous coronation of Valdemar's son as 'young king' (successor to the throne). However the coastguard ships lying nearby were suddenly assembled and ordered to make a long expedition to punish

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[95] SGD XIV:40:2–12; Knýtlinga saga 123; KL s.v. Knýtlinga, Albeck; C. Weibull 1915 pp. 231–36; KL s.v. Saxo, I. Skovgaard-Petersen; Johannesson 1978 p. 308ff.; Lind 1992 pp. 230–32; Gelting 1999; Hermanson 2000 p. 204f.

[96] According to Lund 1996 p. 233ff., 246 this was a new form of obligatory military service in Denmark, with a mainly defensive purpose. It corresponded to the Norwegian and Swedish regulations. Even so Saxo's narrative focuses on many 'great men'; cf. Malmros 1988 p. 35.

barbaric pirates, but to do it quickly so that they were back in time for the celebrations. This sudden order for a long sea-expedition corresponds badly with the demand that they should be back on St. John's day. Nor does Saxo offer any direct reason for the expedition.

According to *Knýtlinga* saga, however, King Valdemar had got news that the Curonians were ravaging in Blekinge. Absalon and Christopher went there without finding them. This forms an easily-understood introduction to the following events.

On the war tactics of the pirates: Saxo describes the deceitful tactics of the pirates in the form of a royal warning: they pretend to retire, said the king, but lie in ambush themselves and attack as soon as the line of the persecuting aggressors has thinned. They appear almost unarmed and trust their speed more than their equipment. This passage also warns the reader that a Danish debacle might very well happen. The excited young men would not listen to the king's warnings. The passage also establishes that the Danes were more heavily armed than the pirates they were to meet.[97] Thus, the culture clash that Saxo allows King Valdemar to express is similar to that of a typical colonial war. *Knýtlinga* saga has no corresponding details.

Arrival on Öland and appearance there: Saxo states that the sea force went eagerly forth towards Öland. Following the Swedish King Knut's accession to the throne, a war had broken out between the Danes and Swedes. Despite this, the Danish force intended to spare the islanders since consideration for their common religion should prevail over hostility between realms. The expedition was thus directed against pagan pirates. The statement makes the Danes appear as perfect Europeans, as the reform popes wished them to. Their behaviour in relation to the Ölandic 'civil population' demonstrates the ideological leaning of the work and it is not entirely credible without independent confirmation.

This we do not have. On the contrary, the saga tells us that they sailed on from Blekinge directly to Öland. There they seized many men and goods. *Knýtlinga's* message is, of course, a stereotype of the Norse tradition, but it is also the normal conduct of a medieval army in a foreign, hostile country.

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[97] Cf. Johannesson 1978 p. 281, and Ch. III:1 for the warfare and armament of the Vends.

Information on where the Curonians (and Estonians) were lying: Saxo states
that from the inhabitants of the island they learnt that the Curonians
and Estonians[98] were lying in wait in a harbour nearby. As fast as
they could, the Danes rowed there, forgetting the king's warnings.
The fact that they attacked immediately, rowing without waiting for
wind, seems to confirm that the harbour in question did lie nearby.

   According to the saga the Danes, having returned to their ships,
were told that *Kúrir váru við Møn . . .* 'Curonians were at Møn'. At
that, the Ölandic captives were released and the Danes went there.
They found the Curonians at *eina hefn, er heitir Járnloka . . .* 'a har-
bour, called The Iron Lock.' The release of the captured Ölanders,
noted in the Icelandic source, enhances to some extent Saxo's claim
of Catholic brotherhood treatment. Thus he did not necessarily 'lie'
although nothing is said about restitution of goods. However the
information given in the saga that the enemy had been seen at the
Danish island of Møn corresponds poorly to Saxo's comment 'nearby'.

Face to face with the pirates: Saxo says that one of the Estonian ships
kept watch, but headed for the open sea when the men caught sight
of the Danes, preferring to escape rather than warn their comrades,
according to his moralizing comment. This is a topographical hint
that the harbour was in a bay without a clear view over the open
sea. Such a place is not easily found on Öland.

   The *Knýtlinga* says that when the Curonians saw the fleet arriving
they drew up their ships and thought that they *Svíar vaeri . . .* 'were
Svear', a piece of information that is hardly necessary for narrative
reasons, but becomes interesting since it supports Saxo's statement
that the harbour—Járnloka in the saga—lay 'near' Öland and not
so far to the south as Møn. The information that the Curonians
mistook the approaching fleet for Swedes would imply that it came
from the north, which in turn would presuppose that the Danes must
have unseeingly passed the Curonians on their way to Öland, or
that the latter did not arrive until the Danes had invaded the island.

Confrontation: Saxo tells us that the other pirates drew up their ships
on land and hid in a neighbouring forest. The Danes in the first

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[98] Also in the Brávellir story, Saxo lets Curonians and Estonians cooperate on
the Swedish side. The idea may be drawn from the incident of 1170; if so it is
probably correct on the latter occasion.

ships pulled away and ran ashore after them in spite of the king's warning, and were consequently surrounded and killed. Five fallen nobles are named. Their ships were destroyed by their enemies. Duke Christopher saw that defeat was imminent and tried to avoid going ashore. However his ship drifted alongside and was attacked by a rain of stones. Esbern (Absalon's brother) put his ship in between to protect the king's son, shot three shots with his crossbow which missed, and drifted sideways almost to the shore, where he successfully engaged in close fighting, after which the Danes were able to retire from the engagement. This was the first day's fight. From that point the Danes concluded that they had to keep at a distance, using slings and spears.

Saxo continues that during the night the Danes kept guard to prevent the 'barbarians' from slipping out of the harbour. However, the Curonians and Estonians built a fort using their own ships and the ones they had taken from the Danes, in addition to using timber that they had found. It looked like a small town, with two entries so low that you had to bend over to get through. They covered the walls with sailcloth, and sharpened poles and collected stones from the shore to throw. Saxo tells us about temporary forts in other places as well.

While the enemies kept their courage high by singing and dancing, the Danes drooped their heads until Christopher's English scribe Lucas began to encourage them by telling tales of their brave ancestors.

Saxo goes on to say that at dawn the Danes left men on the ships in order to prevent the enemy from escaping, while the main force went ashore a good way from the camp so that they would not be taken by surprise during their approach. Their enemies rushed out of their fort, but retired after the first confrontation. Those who had kept guard then came to help and the fort was stormed using ships' masts. The barbarians were slaughtered to the last man and none was left to tell of their defeat.

> After having shared the spoils and repaired the ships the Danes buried those of their fallen men who belonged to the peasantry on the place, but the corpses of the notables they laid in salt in order to bring them back to Denmark.[99]

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[99] *At nostri, praedae partitione acta refectisque navigiis, nobelium sociorum cadavera salientes, ignobilibus ibidem tumulatis, in patriam referenda curabant* (SGD XIV:40:11).

On this surprising note Saxo ends his report of the incident. The
narrative gives a detailed and credible snapshot of a fight, and once
again a visual memory seems to be revealed. Saxo's general knowledge
of the incident is clear; even if the source was Absalon, the event must
have been discussed many times.

The saga has not much to say about all this, but simply states that
the Danes, after having killed the Curonians, took their ships and *fóru
heim* . . . 'went home'.

A second reading: looking for hidden clues and additional knowledge

Where was Járnloka? The harbour called Járnloka was some sort of
base from which the pirates were operating. A story referred to in
Chapter Three shows Curonians operating from Fårösund on northern
Gotland, also directly on the Golden Diagonal sea route. On the
eastern side of Öland lies a small island called Kuraholm which, like
the Estaskär in Mälaren, could be a regularly frequented settlement
for East Baltic operational forces.[100] As for Járnloka, Saxo (without
mentioning its name) implies that it is in Sweden, by saying that it
was near Öland and by talking of bringing the pickled heroes 'home
to Denmark'. We also learn from him that the harbour was situ-
ated close to a forest around a bay, and that the pirates needed a
watch-ship to look out over the sea route. These criteria unanimously
suggest that they had left Öland. But had they really gone to Møn?

If the Curonians had gone south, the Danes would have been
informed of it in Blekinge, or have met them in their progress. If
the Danes were given information by the Ölanders, the question
arises of how these locals knew that the Curonians had left for Møn,
among all of Denmark's islands. The Curonian assumption that the
approaching enemies were Swedes, whether literary conjecture or
not, becomes unlikely if Møn was the location, as does the expression
that the Danes 'sailed home' after the battle. They would have been
at home already, had Járnloka been situated on Møn! These difficulties
disappear if we accept that Møn is a misreading. There is nothing
strained in this suggestion. Between *Møn* and *Møri* there may be a
long geographical distance, but in medieval script just one small dot
makes the difference. We must assume that this dot over the '*i*' has

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[100] Kuraholm may alternatively indicate a small fortress.

somehow vanished in the tradition of the saga material (apparently Snorri Sturluson made an identical mistake when he tried to put Ívarr's verses into context).

The name of the harbour as given in the saga means something like the 'iron lock'. In the mainland part of Kalmar county, which was an important iron producer during the 12th century, many place names begin with *järn*, even if no find has been made which suggests positive identification. It might even have been located right in the heart of the province, by the Boholmarna in Västra Sjön, close to Hossmo, where the topography fits the description and where an area by the little stream falling into the sea carries the name *Järnsäng*.[101] On the whole it seems much more probable that the battle took place on the coast of Möre. In that case *Knýtlinga* saga is completely consistent in its description of what happened.

The 'pickling' of heroes: As before, use of Saxo as source of discovery reports requires serious thought. In a study of Saxo as a contemporary historian, Skovgaard-Petersen points out that his aim of producing *exempla* frequently carries a higher priority than completeness in the description of events, which may only have been included as far as was needed to express 'the moral verity'.[102] However the method I follow reduces his text to a series of pictures, autonomous discovery reports which have to be evaluated separately. It requires no trust in his aims or presentation of context. The limitation of his personal priorities largely disappears, and as Absalon's loyal mouthpiece, he emerges as an extremely valuable supplier of snapshots from the events he describes. The people mentioned are probably those involved, the topographical circumstances probably as he saw them or heard them described, and the actual event probably took place as recorded, even if the author's motive, choice of examples and point of departure are coloured by the principles of his work.

The details often reveal his close connection to the actual events. The remarkable pickling (salting) of fallen nobles in order to bring them back to Denmark may be one example. This event is a marker

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[101] Cf. Hellberg 1979 p. 146 (map), 164 (note 187). Hellberg supposes that the first part of the name indicates an original 'jarl'. Among other names beginning with 'järn' is the village, Järnsida (1467 *på Järnsidhan*), Söderåkra parish, very close to the Danish border.

[102] Cf. Johannesson 1978.

that a difference in human value was also being established between
native Danes, and that Saxo was an adherent of the aristocracy. But
it also belongs to the 1170s as a peculiar technological fingerprint:
shortly before, German merchants had introduced salt as a preserving
method in the southern Baltic. Salting in barrels was the first preserving
method that made it possible to exploit the herrings' way of gathering
in shoals. Both Danish and German sources are overwhelmed with
enthusiasm for the promising economic opportunities. Salt was in
demand and it was expensive, since it had to be imported from
Kolberg or Lüneburg, and it gave Lübeck in particular opportunities
to organise fisheries at Rügen and in Öresund.[103] Archaeology indicates
that the practice was also taken up in Kyrkohamn, just above Öland's
southern end on the west side.

We realise that the little anecdote is independent of the planned
structure and propaganda leanings of the work. Where did they get
all their salt from? Duke Christopher, Bishop Absalon and a quarter
of the *ledung* fleet were not out to fish herrings! Unless they had
brought the salt for the use they eventually made of it, which seems
unlikely given the way events developed, there are two probabilities.
Either they had stolen the desirable commodity from the Ölanders,
or they got hold of it in the quarters of the pirates, who in turn
would have got it by plundering. In either case we have the oldest
(previously ignored) indication of salt import to the Kalmarsund area.

   The lavish use of this expensive aliment makes clear that the
process did not degrade the dead aristocrats into herrings. Obviously,
it was a fashionable and modern method that reflected on their sta-
tus.[104] I know of only one other record of the same method, used
for preserving a body during a long journey. It belongs to the 1430s,
when according to *Karl's Chronicle*, a Danish prelate who had been
forced upon the Uppsala chapter had died suddenly in Sweden:

hans thiänare swa allan i palta	his servants then chopped him into pieces
j tunnor the han tha salta[105]	and into barrels him salted

Again in this much later instance, the person was a high-status Dane.
Whether it was a national habit, I don't know, but the Swedish chron-

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[103] Blomkvist 1982 p. 46ff.
[104] Lord Nelson is said to have been laid in a barrel of brandy after the Battle
of Trafalgar 1805.
[105] Kk 592f.

icle with its anti-Danish tendency rather suggests that it was a bad end, suitable for a bad person. What should be noted is that in the 1170s the method must have been absolutely modern in the Baltic— an example of the sensational advances brought by Europeanization.

The extinction of the pagan pirates: In the 1120s we met Vends in Kalmarsund. Although often regarded as barbaric pirates, I see them instead as competitors to Europeanization agents like Sigurd Jorsalafari and Knud Lavard. They represent a different way of dealing with trade and trade politics, with pagan connotations. They were clearly adherents of the Old system in which people tried to develop their Viking-age heritage rather than copy the New, ready-made Western methods. I see their bad reputation largely as the fruit of ideological propaganda.

Now we hear once again of pirates in Kalmarsund, this time coming from the East Baltic area. According to Saxo, they were Curonians and Estonians. *Knýtlinga* refers only to Curonians. The question arises whether these peoples, who also had a bad reputation for barbarism and piracy, are in need of re-evaluation. Is it possible to find explanations that go behind the stereotypes of crusading propaganda? Neither Saxo nor the *Knýtlinga* actually describe any atrocities committed by them, but they were certainly pirates.

A frequently-quoted passage from Henry of Latvia tells how German pilgrims on their way to Riga in the spring of 1203 met sixteen Osilian ships at Lister. The Osilians had just plundered a church, killed people and taken prisoners *sicut tam Estones quam Curones pagani in regno Dacie et Suecie hactenus facere consueverant . . .* 'just as pagan Estonians and Curonians used to do until now in Denmark and Sweden'. Under threat of having to fight the pilgrims, the Osilians deceitfully maintained that they *pacem se cum Rigensibus fecisse . . .* 'had made peace with the inhabitants of Riga', which was accepted.[106] Their *modus operandi* is remarkably parallel to what Saxo and *Knýtlinga* described for 1170. To get to Lister, the pirates of 1203 had passed to the inside or outside of Öland, possibly using the same landmarks and operational bases as their predecessors had a generation before.

The 1203 story continues, however. Later, resting in Visby, the pilgrims happened to see the same band of Osilians passing off the city coast without being questioned. This made the combative pilgrims

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[106] HCL VII:1.

furious. They tried to involve the *cives* and the visiting *mercatores* of the city in a punishment attack, but these parties preferred *pacis securitate cum eis . . .* 'the security of peace with them (the Osilians)'. The pilgrims took up arms and succeeded in seizing some of the pirate ships. From the description of the battle it appears that these ships were manned by around 30 men.[107]

On another occasion, in the spring of 1226, no less a person than the papal legate William of Albano, returning from Livonia *ad naves circa mare diu resedit, ventorum gratiam expectans . . .* 'remained for a long time with the ships at sea, waiting for fair winds'. *Et vidit subito redeuntes Osilianos a Suecia cum spoliis et captivis quam plurimis . . .* 'and suddenly he saw Osilians coming back from Sweden with rich spoils and numerous captives'.[108] Since the legate was on his way to Visby, this must have happened either in Dünamünde, as the commentary to Bauer's translation suggests, or on the coast of Curonia. In either case, it refers to the Golden Diagonal crossing the Baltic via Gotland, just as in the previous examples.

Can this be the plunder economy of which there has been so much discussion in recent years, or should we see some other mechanism behind these Curonian and Osilian habits? With regard to the Vends, I do not deny that they frequently undertook plunder raids. My point is that in doing so, rather than operating a plunder economy, they were defending their trading interests and at the same time fighting a mutual and guerrilla-style marine feud with their Danish neighbours. I would not automatically claim that the same applies to the Curonians and Osilians. Let us consider their case.

The Curonians and Osilians are the two East Baltic peoples who are known to have developed sea-going fleets.[109] Both nations were positioned directly on sea route systems, with direct access to the Golden Diagonal. We have no evidence to suggest that they took a very active part in trade, although in both cases their economic position was clearly improving and their social organisation intensifying. As

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[107] HCL VII:2.

[108] HCL XXX:1.

[109] When pirates are branded Estonians, it may still refer to Osilians, who of course were Estonians. I know of no evidence for other Estonian tribes having organised sea-going fleets. For inconsistent Swedish traditions of a pagan attack on Sigtuna in 1187, see below Ch. VII:4. The aggressors were probably not Carelians, but Osilians.

soon as their fleets had become a reality—*t.a.q.* for this is 1170—it would have been impossible to maintain routine trade without establishing an understanding with the Curonians and Osilians, whether through force or by entering into an agreement. I have already discussed the emergence of a 'proto-Europeanizing' trading network connected to 'the Russian sisters' alliance', which linked Russian (and Gotlandic?) active trade to Schleswig, and may have also favoured active western trade in the opposite direction. I have also discussed the possibility of alternative Vendic trade expansion, under the protection of 'the Richiza league' (Chapters Three and Seven). Insofar as these various efforts at trade used the Golden Diagonal, the Osilians and Curonians were in a position to stop it.

Although it is difficult to pinpoint a political position for the East Baltic pirates, we have ample confirmation that their aggressive behaviour was no mere wild barbaric fury. On the contrary it was exercised within a framework of international agreements, both parties having peace agreements with some neighbouring peoples, but not with all. One hypothesis might be that the Curonians and Osilians tended to support the New network system of Gotlanders and Germans, but this would probably be misleading. Their activities were clearly the Old way of doing things, more in continuation of alliance systems organised by Viking-age kingdoms, and now possibly put together by the East Baltic nations themselves.

We can conclude that Europeanization—and the reaction to it by every people who were afflicted in turn—is an underlying theme in the two discovery reports consulted in this section. As for its overall consequences (cf. Chapter Three), we see again how the Old structural principles, such as Christian-pagan peace alliances in the interests of trade, were overturned by the solutions of the Catholic World-system. In this case it meant the annihilation of piracy, to the degree that *ne cladis quidem nuntius superstes reperiretur* . . . 'no-one survived who was able to tell of their defeat'.[110]

The code of World-system behaviour and the Swedish-Danish controversy

It is stated in Saxo's text that hostility prevailed between Denmark and Sweden at the time of the intervention, even if the exemplary Danish

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[110] SGD XIV:40:11.

conquerors are said to have treated the Ölanders as fellow Christians—
which meant that they behaved according to the code of the Catholic
World-system. Since the *Knýtlinga* disagrees on that particular point,
suggesting that they behaved like any other plundering, military mob,
the problem arises of the 'real' purpose of the expedition. The recent
example of the *Kalmarna leiðangr* shows us that this region cannot be
understood solely on the basis of its regional characteristics and
nationality, and this is confirmed by the two discovery reports stud-
ied. Nor are the references to murderous East Baltic pagans enough.
We must also ask what the hostility between Denmark and Sweden
was about. In this way we are drawn back into the larger discussion
of expanding European practices and their impact on the formation
of states from old realms, looking at it from the particular observation
post on the Danish-Swedish border.

There was a long tradition in the Scandinavian countries of political
losers taking refuge in one of the other kingdoms, but we may ask
whether the inauguration in 1103 of one large Scandinavian archdiocese
seated in Lund encouraged the practice further. To give a few exam-
ples, King Sverker I of Sweden was intimately involved in the internal
Danish conflicts of the 1130s–1150s, illustrated by his successive mar-
riages to Ulfhild, wife of King Niels (Saxo says that she was abducted),
and to Richiza, widow of Niels' son Magnus. During the Danish
civil wars of the 1150s, Sverker provided shelter for his stepson Knud
Magnusen when the going was rough in Denmark. Hence Knud's
alliance with Valdemar I, confirmed by the latter's marriage to Knud's
half-sister Sophia, apparently involved Sverker as well in some sense.
   During the archiepiscopal reign of Eskil, beginning in 1137, the
establishment of a proper Church organisation progressed systemat-
ically in all three kingdoms, until Norway was emancipated in 1152.
In this period we find many high-ranking refugees becoming cross-
border political figures with resources in two or three countries, as
Nils Ahnlund points out with regard to Magnus Henriksen and his
brothers Ragvald, Johan, Orm and Buris. Another such person may
have been Erik of Falster, discussed below. Even Eskil himself went into
hiding in Värend to evade Valdemar's wrath. The abduction of two
women related to Erik of Falster (and Eskil), said to have been car-
ried out in Halland by King Sverker's son Johan, probably also had
its background in this early inter-Nordism. Yet another example is
Jarl Guttorm, who in the 1170s seems to have left Sweden for

Denmark, where his daughter Helena was married into the Hvide family. Even in the latter part of 1170s, Valdemar I hosted a royal wedding *Daniae Suetiaeque primoribus accersitis* . . . 'after having summoned the notables of Denmark and Sweden'.[111] Through inter-marriages and bonds of loyalty these people may have taken steps towards an embryonic Scandinavian network, precluding the intra-Nordic aristocracy of the Kalmar Union.

In 1164, during the reign of Karl Sverkersson, Sweden was granted the right to form a church province of its own, which may have been due more to the fact that Archbishop Eskil had been compelled to leave Denmark, than that Sweden had reached the required maturity. The archbishops of Lund were to keep a metropolitan hold over Sweden. Even if full emancipation from Lund was not conceded, this meant new preconditions to check Danish influences. Being married to King Valdemar's niece, Karl Sverkersson may not have been the man to do this. Karl appears to have continued the policy of his father, and Saxo comments that *eum magis de proprio regno servando quam alieno optinendo sollicitum* . . . 'it was more important for him to take care of his own kingdom than win another'.[112]

But when Knut Eriksson, the son of St. Erik, gained power in Sweden, hostility prevailed with Denmark, we are told. Against that background, it is worth noting that the new Swedish Archbishop Stephan and some of his suffragans were present in Denmark during the translation ceremony at Ringsted, to which Absalon and his associates speedily returned from Kalmarsund. Arriving at Ringsted, they would have encountered among others Bishop Stenar of Linköping, to whose diocese Öland and Möre belonged. Another Swedish bishop who took part was Baldwin of Växjö, which is the first we hear of a bishopric in Växjö, in southern Småland. Over the traditional counter-positions of two realms at war, a bewildering web of Catholic understanding had been woven which bears the imprint of World-system politics.

If we disregard the obscure periods when the Florence document and the narrative of *Kalmarna leiðangr* give reason to doubt Christian control, the diocese of Linköping had (at least as a pretence) stretched

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[111] SGD XIV:26:8; XIV:55:1. See further Ahnlund 1945 pp. 325–28; 330f. & passim; Sawyer 1991 p. 42ff.; Karling 1978 p. 82f.; Gallén 1985; Gallén 1998 pp. 80ff., 84; Hermanson 2000 pp. 84f., 138ff., 212ff. & passim.

[112] SGD XIV:29:14.

all the way to the Swedish-Danish border from the time when it was established. The first two bishops for whom we have definite information, Gissle and Stenar, are recorded as fairly loyal suffragans of Archbishop Eskil of Lund, so we are entitled to regard them as defenders of church reform as well. In Gissle's case, this is confirmed by his cooperation with Sverker I and Ulfhild over the introduction of the Cistercians into Sweden. While the royal couple are mentioned as founders of Alvastra in Östergötland, Gissle is known as the founder of Nydala in Småland. Both events are said to have occurred in the Linköping diocese in 1143. They are the oldest Cistercian monasteries in Scandinavia, changing Sweden's traditional trend of always being the slowest to Christianise and Europeanize. This implies that these people were well-disposed towards church reform, and the Swedish bishops attending the great ceremonies at Ringsted were obviously good reformists standing by the side of their Metropolitan Eskil in what they considered an event of Catholic universalism.

The enshrining of Knud Lavard may also have been a means for promoting the governing dynasty of Denmark, which is likely to have been observed by its opposite numbers in Sweden. Events which occurred the following year may well have been a direct consequence. In 1171/72, we are told that Bishop Stenar, in the presence of the king, magnates, *clerus et populos*, renounced his title before Archbishop Eskil, who asked the inhabitants of Linköping's diocese to pay the same respect to the newly-elected Bishop Kol as they had done to Gissle. This is an obvious consequence of the new, more nationalistic Swedish policy, which the Danish archbishop was trying to appease. In 1180, probably the same Stenar appeared as Bishop of Växjö, while remaining in Denmark. Not until the early 1190s does Stenar of Växjö appear together with the Swedish episcopate in a preserved document.

It has been suggested that the bishopric of Växjö was founded as a suffraganship of Lund. Its territory was taken from that originally attributed to Linköping. It has also been suggested that the new diocese was intended to cover the whole of *Tiohärads lagsaga* (a large region in southern Småland), which would have meant a considerable loss to the Swedish diocese. However, after successful opposition from Linköping, the new creation was limited to Värend only. This very small diocese remained an anomaly among the bishoprics of medieval Sweden. The Cistercian monastery of Nydala, far closer to Växjö, was kept within the borders of Linköping, which didn't deter the

archbishops of Lund from showing a particular interest in its well-being. It is also possible that parts of Småland were occupied in order to secure Danish interests in the iron production of Småland.[113] These circumstances put the expedition of 1170 into perspective. The hegemony of Lund over the Church of Sweden was in a sense a fruit of papal disregard for lay institutions and their borders, which neither Valdemar of Denmark nor Knut of Sweden favoured. Nevertheless the universal aims of the Curia could be used as a political tool in the interests of one lay government against another.

In 1178, Pope Alexander III issued a document in which the manors belonging to the bishops of Linköping were granted his particular protection. There is an impressive list of large and strategically-located manors, which shows that the heroic and improvisatory days of the diocese's organisation belonged to the past. In addition to some very opulent properties in Östergörland proper, the list demonstrates that the bishops possessed important properties which were fairly evenly distributed and centrally-located among the (later known) districts of Småland, excluding Värend and some of the most inaccessible northern areas. *Mansiones in Ölandia cum appendiciis suis* as well as *Mansiones in Möre cum appendiciis suis* . . . 'manors on Öland (in Möre) with their tenancies' are mentioned in the list.[114] This assures us that both sides of Kalmarsund were well integrated in the Linköping circumscription.

Later the bishops owned the manor of Bredsätra on central Öland, situated on the east side opposite Köping, with the trading harbour of Sikavarp. In Möre the main unit and most of its tenancies were later found in Ljungby, quite close to Hossmo, mentioned in the previous section. Even if we cannot be sure that the papal confirmation refers to the later known property in all instances, it is likely that it does in most cases. Herman Schück, who has discussed this source at length, stresses that this distribution of manors is far from random. His investigations generally confirm that they were obtained through *largacione regum et principum* . . . 'the generosity of kings and magnates' as the source explains.[115]

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[113] DS 57, 61; Westman 1915 pp. 155ff., 174ff.; Schmid 1931 p. 184; H. Schück 1959 pp. 50–52; L.-O. Larsson 1964 p. 49ff.; Ödman 1996 p. 147ff.

[114] DS 74.

[115] Schück 1959 p. 280ff.; DMS IV:1 (p. 83), IV:3 (p. 141ff.); cf. Hagberg 1999 pp. 39–42. For a different interpretation of the Möre domain, see Ericsson 2001 pp. 383–87.

It is obvious that the role of Danish institutions as Europeanization
agents vis-à-vis Sweden strengthened their position within the Catholic
World-system. Apparently King Knut Eriksson represented groups
in Sweden that were dissatisfied with such tendencies. He seems to
have begun a new policy which was more 'national' and reluctant
regarding Europeanization.

  The series of events following the establishment of a Swedish church
province and the nationalistic policy of Knut Eriksson led to a 'those
who are not with us are against us' attitude towards churchmen and
officials like Jarl Guttorm, and they were compelled to settle in
Danish exile. On the other hand there was strong Danish pressure on
the border regions of southern Sweden. However the new policy of
King Knut and Jarl Birger Brosa, his co-regent for many years, hardly
rejected the Catholic World-system as such, even if they hoped for
a better position within it for Sweden. Under these circumstances, the
conflict which arose around 1170 may have been a testing of the
borders between the two countries, in more senses than one.

  Whatever the reason for Pope Alexander's issue of a charter pro-
tecting the episcopal properties of the Linköping diocese, its recipient
Bishop Kol was clearly a man of a different breed to his predecessors.
According to Schück he was more 'national' and co-operated closely
with the new government.[116] The document is valuable confirmation
that the pope, known to be a dedicated champion of church reform,
had accepted this policy.

The conclusion is that the universal Catholic organisation policy was
used both by Danish and Swedish monarchs in their state-formation
activities. Within the original all-Nordic church province, Danish
pressure developed towards the borderlands of southern Småland: in
the 1150s King Svend Grate had made an attempt to conquer the
territories. The establishment of a Swedish church province was not
enough to stop the pressure. However, in comparison with the quar-
rel over the diocese of Växjö, the Ölandic expedition of 1170 has
not been attributed much strategic or institutional importance, apart
from my own suggestion that a trading station of the guild of St.
Knud, formed in connection with the enshrinement of Knud Lavard,
was established at Gråborg on Öland. Taken together, these stray

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[116] Schück 1959 pp. 50–53, 280 (with note 92).

details indicate that the Danes of 1170 may have aimed at penetrating the southernmost Swedish territories, in much the same way as they had been doing in Vendic territory. Whatever Saxo says, the Kalmarsund operation may have been its most important component, since the straits retained a strategic position on the network of sea routes.

Two archaeological monuments illustrating the dilemma of the locals

In connection with the two narratives of the 1170 expedition, there is a slight chance of getting some idea of the local reaction. What did the locals think when they found their territory transformed into a battlefield between the Danes and east Baltic 'pirates'—two Baltic Rim extremes—in the Europeanization process? Neither Saxo nor the saga tells us much. On the one hand they were obviously plundered by the Danes, who may have taken hostages as well; on the other they gave helpful information on the whereabouts of the East Baltic enemy. This is all we hear.

However, I would like to compare the two expedition narratives with two revealing Ölandic monuments which may put it into perspective. Both clearly signal some connection to the events of 1170, or at least to the Valdemarian expansionist epoch, for which the festivity at Ringsted in that year may be called a symbolic gateway.

I will turn first to the earliest remains of the parish church of Hulterstad on Öland's east coast. They have been interpreted by Ragnhild Boström as remnants of a monumental building bearing two towers. She believes it also shows distinct Danish patterns and as such is unique on Öland. The building of the broad vestibule and twin towers has recently been dendro-dated to 1168 (+/−5 years),[117] which gives an independent confirmation of Danish influence at exactly the time given by the written sources for the incursion. This indicates that the aim of the expedition may have been more far-reaching than either of our two texts has led us to believe.

An even more remarkable coincidence, which to my knowledge has not been previously noted, is that the Fjenneslev church on Sjælland,

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[117] Boström 1967; Boström and Bartholin 1990 p. 203ff. Recently commenting, Boström (1999 p. 87) refers to Vor Frue Kirke in Roskilde as its prototype. I thank Ann Catherine Bonnier, The National Board of Antiquities, Stockholm, for instructive advice in this matter.

pointed out by Boström as the most obvious parallel, was built by
Asser Rig and his wife Inga in connection to their ancestral homestead
in the first part of the 12th century. They were the parents of Absalon,
Esbern Snare and several other children who were less famous but
also of high standing. Absalon himself is thought to have had its
most obvious feature, the broad vestibule with its stately twin towers,
built as a later addition.[118] Hulterstad's church, thought to have been
completed with a similar vestibule and towers close in time to the
expedition to Öland of which Absalon and Esbern were the *de facto*
leaders, bears their imprint on an individual level. Either of them,
or both, must somehow have inspired its building, providing at least
the architect and possibly also resources.

The building at Hulterstad is not only dated to roughly the year
of the expedition, but has a unique personal link to its two *de facto*
leaders. It is difficult to avoid the idea that the church of Hulterstad
was enriched as a commemoration of the Danish campaign. Something
must have happened here that was judged of such great importance
to these members of the Hvide clan or to the Danish interests gen-
erally, that they felt it worthy of a monument which could be com-
pared to that which they had bestowed upon their parents.[119] Neither
Saxo nor the saga is helpful here. I will limit myself to noting that
Hulterstad had long since been a place of some importance. Judging
from its truly gigantic grave field and the fragments from 'Eskilstuna
sarcophagi', it had been the settlement site of an influential family
for a long time, or, in another subjective evaluation, one of the top
ten power centres of the island. The additional fact that this prestigious
vestibule with towers (signalling a Danish influence) was torn down
and replaced by a standard Ölandic defence/warehouse tower a
mere half century later suggests that it did indeed carry a symbolic
meaning that was hateful to somebody around 1220.[120] It is remarkable
that the short existence of this Danish-inspired piece of symbolism
coincides precisely with the Valdemarian power epoch in Denmark.

The complex monument at Gråborg prompts the second comment.
This Migration Period ring fort is much bigger than the other Ölandic

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Horskjær [ed.] 1967; Danmarks Kirker V pp. 324–40. Hermanson 2000 pp.
1–7.
[119] Their alliance with Jarl Guttorm may offer a link.
[120] Blomkvist 1999 pp. 301ff., 308.

ring forts and is very centrally located, built in a forest that psy-chologically divides southern and northern Öland. The two *mots* are known to have bordered here at least since the late Middle Ages.[121] If there was an all-Ölandic diet (which is very likely) there was no more suitable place for it than here. Altogether the indications of an all-Ölandic institution are quite strong. It has been shown that it might have played some role in the struggles around Kalmarsund in the 1120s. Either then (Boleslav?) or later somebody started to improve this old fort by building two vaulted gate-towers, thereby creating a look-alike of the continental model town. More or less at the same time, a small church was built just outside one of the tow-ers. So far these constructions have not been dated with any preci-sion, but they are generally thought to derive from the latter part of the 12th century. Important evidence of a connection to the Danish world of ideas in 1170 comes from a late medieval source, which tells us that this little shrine was called *Sancti Kanuti in Algutzrum*.[122]

These rather grand investments for their time, together with the lingering clue in the name, suggest the influence of the contemporary Danish great power, possibly imposed with the help of the 1170 expedition, and maintained by the merchant guild organisation called the Brethren of St. Knud which emerged at the same time.[123] The circumstances suggest the development of urban characteristics at a traditional meeting point, encouraged by Danish interests, but prob-ably remaining under local control.

Together, the Hulterstad and Backaborg/Gråborg monuments sug-gest the true nature of the Danish-Ölandic relationship established through personal negotiations between local Ölandic leaders and the leaders of the Danish raid. They cannot have begun in an altogether friendly atmosphere. Plundering had occurred and, according to the saga, hostages had been taken. But Absalon had another card up his sleeve, suggesting friendship not really between Denmark and Sweden, but between Denmark and the province of Öland. The

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[121] DS 4118, cf. Göransson 1982, DMS 4:3, pp. 26, 172ff.

[122] We cannot be certain that the Backaborg church was dedicated to him and not to the other St. Knud (rex), but chronology and geographic context strongly advocate this.

[123] Blomkvist 1979b pp. 77–81. Since this hypothesis is frequently attributed to the work of Wallin (1975 pp. 30–47, 191ff.) I must underline that it was originally mine, communicated to Wallin and published by him first (with the proper references) and with his own additions; cf. Boström 1999.

times called for Europeanization, for secure passage of merchants
and their goods. Words to this effect may have built an under-
standing, at first with the chieftain at Hulterstad and later, perhaps
through his mediation, at a general Ölandic assembly.

4. *The German Discovery of Kalmarsund*

A missing discovery report (from 1175?)

The previously-considered twelfth-century 'discoveries' of Kalmarsund
were undertaken by neighbouring peoples—Norwegians, Vends,
Danes—who had been recently touched by European influences and
had communicated these to their Baltic neighbours. Being more evo-
lutionary than revolutionary in character, their long-term consequences
were limited. The German breakthrough on the Baltic under Henry
the Lion, on the other hand, represents the definite Europeanization
model as regards colonisation and land-use patterns, as well as urban-
isation and the construction and control of a trans-national commodity
market. Both aspects had an impact on the Kalmarsund region.
How, when and under which auspices this was achieved remains to
a large extent in the dark. What we do have are two contradictory
explanatory models, (1) that it was an immediate takeover by supe-
rior core area competence and resources (the modified Rörig view)
or (2) that it took the Germans some 50 or 100 years of appren-
ticeship under their Scandinavian predecessor ('the Scandinavian
view'). Unfortunately, no narrative exists of the more distinctive dis-
covery situation that occurred when continental European merchants
and pilgrims first started to reach Kalmarsund.
    We catch a glimpse in a later source, which recalls an event with
a flair of decisiveness about it. This is a treaty concluded between
the Swedish government of King Knut and Jarl Birger I Brosa with
no less a Europeanization agent than Henry the Lion, Duke of
Saxony and Bavaria, who was possibly acting as German viceroy in
the East-Elbian territories or as Lübeck's *Stadtherr*. The treaty is men-
tioned by Jarl Birger II in a privilege for Lübeck issued 1250–51,
as the *pacis concordia primum colloquium et tractatum* . . . 'concord of peace
that first was discussed and concluded' *inter Theutonicos et Sweos* by
the above-mentioned princes, and which was now (in the middle of
the 13th century) read through and accepted by both parties. It is

generally thought to have been entered into in the period 1173–79. The treaty is of interest here because it has been suggested as the departure point for the foundation of Kalmar, albeit the name of the city is not mentioned. Two topics in the older treaty are particularly corroborated in 1250–51: (1) *tam super purgacione ferri candidi* . . . 'about the ordeal of carrying glowing iron' (a so-called 'God's sentence'), and (2) *quam etiam mulieribus insoluto matrimonio inpregnatis* . . . 'sexual intercourse with women outside matrimony'.[124]

What was achieved on these topics is not known, but both issues are of a nature that would be actualised by a concrete cultural encounter. The German scholar Walther Rennkamp has suggested that the treaty as a whole corresponds to Henry the Lion's Artlenburg privilege for the Gotlanders (considered in the following chapter), and that it would have given Germans exemption from duties in Sweden. This is based on the assumption that the treaty of 1250–51 would have copied other clauses from the older treaty without explicitly saying so.[125] The idea is rather strange, because the Artlenburg text contains nothing about the iron ordeal or the defence of women.[126]

Carrying glowing iron as a method of testing the innocence of an accused person was criticised along with other 'sentences of God' in a papal letter to the bishops of Sweden around 1172. It was clearly a practice that would have to be abolished in the interests of establishing a World-system. The issue was the focus of general interest at the time when the treaty must have been settled. It has not been generally observed that it also appears in another context, directly connected to Henry the Lion in the 1170s and also linked to Jarl Birger I of Sweden.

The source is Saxo; the story an alleged conspiracy against King Valdemar I in the middle of the 1170s, connected to the power showdown which led to Archbishop Eskil's resignation in 1177. Three aristocrats—Magnus, son of the previous King Erik Lam, with Knud

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[124] ST I: 50, 94. A. Schück 1926 p. 228; Yrving 1940 p. 151; Ahnlund 1953 p. 92; Blomkvist 1979a p. 200.

[125] Rennkamp 1977 p. 49f. For the supposed abolition of carrying iron, the author says further (note 137) 'ein erneuter Hinweis auf den Status des Zusammenschlusses der deutschen Kaufleute.'

[126] The Guta Law stipulates severe penalties for unmarried persons' sexual intercourse. GL 20 (a) § 15; cf. Blomkvist 1995 pp. 231–37; for the contents of the Artlenburg privilege and the Novgorodian treaty, see below Ch. VII:3–4.

and Karl who were paternal grandsons of Erik of Falster and maternal grandsons of Eskil himself—were accused of plotting to murder their benefactor, the king. Upon the unveiling of their evil plan (no action is reported), Magnus fled to Lübeck and offered his services to Henry the Lion, while Knud and Karl escaped to their relative Birger Brosa in Götaland. Valdemar's efforts to have Magnus extradited to Denmark, where the laws demanded the iron ordeal in a case like this, leads to a discussion between the latter and Henry the Lion over the reliability of such a test.[127]

The narrative reveals that the group of friends and relatives who defended Eskil's position could count on sympathy at the courts of both Duke Henry and Jarl Birger. We are told of an indirect connection between the two not later than the middle of the 1170s, when these events are said to have taken place. This confirms that the iron ordeal was indeed an issue among princes and statesmen of the period, and that the paraphrase of 1250–51 is to be trusted. Given the scarceness of sources, it is tempting to go a step further and ask whether the two-fold association of the issues may be more than a coincidence, and whether the two sources support each other in a way that would facilitate interpretation and proper dating of the treaty. It should be compared to the duke's declining position within the *Reich*, beginning as early as 1176; for several reasons it is less likely that the treaty was entered into later. Henry is known to have visited Lübeck in 1173 and 1175.[128] The latter would be the year in which Magnus Eriksen was able to find him there.

Although in Saxo's narrative the Saxon duke expresses no particular opinion about the iron ordeal, mere reference to his discussion of the topic may imply (given Saxo's technique) that Henry worked towards abolishing this legal custom, which was quite unfavourable to travelling merchants.[129] What of Birger Brosa? According to the Östgöta Law the iron ordeal had been abolished by 'Birger Jarl'. Usually this is thought to point to Jarl Birger II, but theoretically we can also consider Birger Brosa, who may have accepted its abolishment in the treaty with Henry, not least under influence of the recent papal letter. According to a privilege issued by Bishop Albert

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[127] SGD XIV:54:1–37. For the series of events, cf. Kraemmer 1999 pp. 123–26; Hermanson 2000 p. 237f.; cf. Johannesson 1978 pp. 285–89.

[128] Ehlers 1996 p. 486.

[129] LECUB I:25, cf. Yrwing 1986 pp. 40–43; ÖgL Eb 17; HL Äb 16; cf. in general KL s.v. Gudsdom, S. Juul et al.; Sjöholm 1988 p. 52ff.; Blomkvist 1997.

of Riga in 1211, Gotlandic merchants and others were freed from carrying iron as well as from duelling, which may go back to the legal regulations that were named *jus gutorum* or *jura Gotlandiae*, apparently reflecting the legal practice in use on the Gotlandic coast. However, outside towns and the trading community, abolition usually came much later.[130]

Returning to the German discovery of Kalmarsund, another insignificant yet remarkable trace exists. In the oldest and incomplete Lübeck town code, dating from around 1225, some nationalities are freed from customs: *Nullus civis de zwerin theloneat lubeke; sic nec rutenus, nec noremannus, nec suecius, nec oningus, nec guto, nec livo, sic neque omnes gentes orientales* . . . 'No citizen of Schwerin pays toll at Lübeck, nor does the Russian, the Norseman, the Swede, the Ölander, the Gotlander, the Liv nor any of the Eastern peoples.'[131]

The remarkable fact that 'the Dane' is omitted may be a result of the text being conceived during the Danish government period of 1201–25, or of animosity connected to Lübeck's subsequent liberation. The interesting point is that the Ölanders, together with the Gotlanders and the Livs, are particularly mentioned beside the larger realms to which they were thought to belong. It reflects some kind of treaty, having been independently assessed between each of these peoples and an instance protecting the merchant interests of Lübeck. This recalls the conclusion drawn in the previous section that the Ölanders of 1170 had made an agreement with representatives of the Danish central power. Might it have extended in some way to the Lübeckers during their Danish period? Or should we imagine a representative of Henry the Lion negotiating rights—perhaps a traditional *kaupfriðr*—with the people of Öland? If so, I would assume that it belonged to the period before Duke Henry reached his agreement with the King and Jarl of Sweden, and hence before Kalmar was founded. The reason for approaching the Ölanders separately was probably

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[130] At the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 a prohibition on the iron ordeal was announced. An undated statute of Valdemar II refers to a general prohibition preserved as an addition to the Skåne Law (cf. SkL 147, 154–6, Add. XII:1). According to Hakonár Saga Cardinal William of Sabina would have enforced this prohibition in the North, which makes it possible that it could have been prohibited in the Östgöta Law by the later Birger (II) as well. In the Swedish realm generally, the iron ordeal seems to have been abolished as late as 1320.

[131] HUB I:223, LübUB I:32.

connected to the attempts to introduce German active trade along
the Golden Diagonal sea route. The Ölanders' freedom from cus-
toms in Lübeck suggests a separate origin than that of the Swedes,
albeit both gave the same advantage.[132]

These circumstances come close to providing a limited answer to
the troubled discussion on the speed of the German breakthrough
in the Baltic. The fact that the customs roll of around 1225 mirrors
a series of successful negotiations at the regional level, with exactly
those regions that I selected for analysis because of their communication
advantages, indicates that efforts were made early on to establish active
sea trade circumventing the major kingdoms. This may have followed
fairly soon upon the buying of friendship with the Gotlanders in
1161, but the evidence so far does not suggest any immediate German
breakthrough. To reach Gotland and Livonia, German sailors had to
pass either through Kalmarsund or (more risky) outside Öland. These
were Swedish waters, and if the central power was not there to pro-
tect them, the newcomers from the Continent were sure to encounter
Danes, Curonians or Osilians instead. They could not do without
making friends with the new, more nationally-motivated government
of Sweden, which I think they achieved around 1175. Several other
measures were taken almost simultaneously which can be interpreted
from the same perspective.

Medieval Eketorp—the discovery report of a settlement

The lack of narratives illuminating the local reaction to being discovered
is a genuine problem. However there is a true, detailed and condensed
general picture from southern Öland, which consists of the collected
physical remnants of daily life over two thirds of a century, in the
shape of a fully-excavated settlement which tells this story.

When in the 1960s an international archaeological venture led by
the legendary Mårten Stenberger began to excavate the *borg* of Eketorp,
the southernmost Migration Period ring fort on Öland, it was quite
a surprise that the fort also contained a medieval settlement. It
emerged that a dense population, enjoying a rich material culture
of the kind that flourished in castles and urban culture layers, had

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[132] Blomkvist 1979b pp. 77–81; cf. Wallin 1975 pp. 30–47; Hoffmann 1983 pp.
43–46.

occupied the site for an intensive but brief period around 1200. Traces of some 30 rows of houses arranged in a radial pattern gave the impression of a regulated settlement. It was concluded that people who were fairly well equipped materially had lived here more or less permanently, drawing their livelihood from other activities than the ordinary agrarian production of the surrounding lands. In contrast to its Migration Period predecessor, medieval Eketorp was in some way a specialised society.

Being a participant in the excavations myself, I made an initial effort to classify this medieval settlement by collecting comparative information from contemporary settlements that answered to a similar description. I found some ten or twelve on Öland, and in a later study on the mainland side of the sound, a handful more. The almost total absence of written sources from the period made it difficult to specify their functions in detail. I had to settle for the claim that, together, they revealed a level of differentiated specialisation which could not have been supported entirely locally, and which pre-supposed exchange. I collected these settlements under the concept of turnover places.

Recently a further step has been taken to classify the function of medieval Eketorp, through the long-awaited publication of the excavation's artefact finds.[133] The editor and main author, Kaj Borg, has also supplied numerous distribution maps and considerable statistical analysis. This has revealed a dense locality, divided into living quarters, storehouses, a 'central kitchen', large stable quarters and a workshop area outside the interior ring wall containing at least eight smithies. Numerous finds of Gotlandic-type coins together with other more exactly dateable objects point to an existence no longer than between the 1170s and 1240s. The site flourished in exactly the critical phase of Europeanization. To assess the function of the habitation, Borg quotes Olaf Olsen's conclusions from finding 238 whetstones in the Viking-age fortress of Fyrkatt: 'there must have been many sharp, shiny iron objects in the fort'.[134] This is a good point, since more than four times as many whetstones have been found in Eketorp. Borg also points to the well-planned functional division, the comparatively grand scale of organization and the many objects connected to warfare and cavalry, and concludes that the only type of community

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[133] Borg 1998 pp. 11–68. Borg's article is also translated into English.
[134] Olsen quoted in Borg 1998 p. 338.

that fits these observations is that of a 'military garrison'. To strengthen this hypothesis he mentions that the streets seem to have been regularly swept, in contrast to contemporary town streets, and that the coins were too homogenous to indicate a trading place in a border area like this.

This description is offered on purely archaeological grounds. Brought to us by modern specialists, it is not that far from an eyewitness report from the days when the site was manned and in use. Its brief period of existence insures against the ordinary risk that archaeologists run of gathering observations into a reality that never existed at one given time level. The next step, free to be taken by a historian as well, is to find the context of this reconstructed discovery report.

Sveabod and the southern end of Sweden

To understand why somebody would organise a military garrison at a place like this, it must be seen in its local as well as national and overall Baltic economical and political environment. Its ancient builders had already explored the local advantages at the very edge between the Stora Alvar limestone plain and the fertile southern tip of Öland. The distance to *Ölands södra udde* (Öland's southern tip) is less than 10km as the crow flies. The island's width where Eketorp lies is 6–7km and the southern tip forms a somewhat triangular micro-region of the three parishes of Gräsgård, Ås and Väntlinge. The place offers a variety of advantages, such as access to the Alvar plain (an exceptional grazing area), a safe water supply at its fringe and agricultural possibilities to the south. We can easily imagine that its medieval inhabitants appreciated these opportunities as well. But the attraction of the area might have been considerably greater in a wider political and economic context.

Ölands södra udde was not only the southern end of Sweden in the Middle Ages. It was also a well-known landmark for sailors,[135] and a large fishery was organised in Kyrkohamn close by. The latter was

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[135] Aréen 1934; W. Anderson 1936 p. 8f.; Borg 1975. Since the late 18th century there has been a lighthouse tower, the *Långe Jan*. There were other landmarks earlier. The name Jan seems to recall the *Capella Beati Johannis in Kiyrkohafnis*, of which foundation remains are visible some two kilometres to the north. The chapel was apparently built as a full church in Gothic style, probably in the late 13th century. In the 16th and 17th centuries, sailors also looked for a gigantic hawthorn tree that grew clearly visible in the middle of the treeless point.

one of medieval Sweden's most attractive herring fisheries, used from the 12th to the 17th centuries. For its time Kyrkohamn was a large scale proto-industry, and very likely an informal market place. The fertile land that spread from Eketorp down to this centre was almost entirely owned by members of the mainland *frälse* aristocracy and monasteries.[136]

Among these domains one in particular may shed some light on the role of medieval Eketorp and the entire landscape of the southern tip. It is recalled in the name of a small village, Svibo in Väntlinge parish, just a few minutes southwest of Eketorp on a good horse. When we first hear of it in 1220, it is a large royal establishment known as *villa Sueaboth*, which King Johan Sverkersson donated in that year to Riseberga monastery in Närke, Mid-Sweden. His letter mentions that the property had previously been enfeoffed to Jarl Birger and after that to a *dominus* Ulv. Jarl Birger Brosa died in 1202. Ulv would have been the *dominus* Ulv who was also a witness to the donation and probably identical to Ulf Fasi, later to become *jarl*. Two leading men of the realm successively held this institution (as I think it is fair to call it) with its remarkable name, philologically constructed from *Svearnas bod*, the warehouse of the Svear.[137] Sölve Göransson has pointed out that its central settlement was probably not the village of Svibo, which still bears traces of the medieval name, but a locality right on the southeast coast, just above the southern end. This was later a large meadow which on a cadastral map includes the characteristic name of Bosholm, which may suggest the existence of an

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[136] Blomkvist 1979b; 1982. The area is full of settlement traces: many hundreds of shallow cavities for seasonal use by the many fishermen who congregated here during the fishing period, and close to a hundred house foundations. Its economy was dominated by *frälse* or 'feudal' landowners who sent their tenants or professional fishermen to work here during the yearly catches, together with their rents in kind of suitable foodstuffs. Under conditions that are not fully known, they were joined by the peasantry from at least the southern half of the island.

[137] In 1224 the new king Erik Eriksson gave another donation letter to Riseberga of 12 attungs in Sweabodh. It has been suggested that the second letter was a confirmation of his predecessor's donation which for unknown reasons had been formulated as a gift, and that both letters refer to the same property. A confirmation from the 14th century shows that its total contents were 12 attungs, the equivalent of a large village or a manor. From a cadastre inventory of 1530–33 we understand that Sveabod—then ordinary confiscated monastery property—was also spread in *svedhabodha äng* and *lundöö* in Ås parish. DS 144, for its dating, see NMU, DS 3856; HH 11:1 p. 144; Göransson 1982 p. 109.

official residence. From these circumstances it would be fair to con-
clude that from at least the late 12th century, the property with the
strange name represented an effort by the Svear to officially manifest
themselves at their southern border.[138]

We may assume that until 1220 Sveabod had been an institution
belonging to the Crown, located at the seashore, overlooking the
realm's southern end and the wide maritime horizon leading up to
it. For its support there had been a large agricultural establishment
spread over several parts of the area. Its foundation was connected
to Birger Brosa, whom we have encountered in various other activities
more or less related to this region. Birger appears as the *jarl* in doc-
uments from 1174 onwards. The preconditions for his position had
been established by Knut Eriksson's victory in the civil war in 1172.
With this background, we can discern the outline of a series of events
which constitutes the continued battle of Europeanization in the
Kalmarsund area.

Shortly before, in 1170, the Danish incursion had demonstrated
the Swedish inability to defend this part of their territory. The Danes
might even have established a high-level political understanding with
leading locals, not wishing mundane dissent with the King of Sweden
to come between believers of the same religion, as Saxo would like
us to think. However, the remarkable amount of salt the Danes had
at their command suggests that perhaps they had made a confiscation
visit to the fisheries at the southern end. The presence of Estonians
and Curonians in Kalmarsund, also recorded with reference to 1170,
was a security risk to all forms of trade. Danish pressure on the
Swedish borderlands may have been the chief reason for Knut and
Birger to sympathise with rebellious Danish aristocrats as well as
with the Saxon duke, who was notoriously keen to establish German
commerce in the Baltic.

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[138] DS 185; Rosén 1949 pp. 28ff., 117f., 138f.; Blomkvist 1979b p. 87ff. There
may have been some efforts to mark the presence of Swedish central power from
an earlier age. Evidence for such an assumption has been sought in the southern
tip of Öland, which possesses village names of a genuine central Swedish type. They
combine a personal name with the ending *-by*, as in *Sebberneby*, *Gamalsby* and *Othamaby*,
apparently indicating a 'colonisation', and are thought to belong to the Viking Age
(Fries 1962; Andrae 1960 p. 79ff.; Göransson 1975 p. 75ff.). We cannot rule out
the possibility that Viking-age central Swedish forces tried to establish territory at
this significant site but we cannot see them in continuous control since.

From this, another hypothesis presents itself. The 'military garrison' installed in Eketorp's ring fort during exactly these years must have been at least a friendly ally of the Sveabod complex. If not, the aims of Sveabod could hardly have been maintained.[139] Actually this is good reason to see the establishment at Eketorp as a constituent part of this central Swedish effort to maintain authority on Kalmarsund. The beginning of the establishment within the ancient ring fort was dated in the 1170s on purely archaeological arguments. This coincides with the rise of Birger Brosa to *jarl* of the realm in 1172–74, and to his long co-government with King Knut Eriksson which, as argued above, became an effort to strengthen the country's position within the Catholic World-system.

It is possible that Birger Brosa, as a newly-appointed *jarl*, was quick to mark the southern border of the kingdom of which he was a co-holder, by setting up a garrison in an already available, old-fashioned fortification. This organisation seems to have functioned from the 1170s until 1220. We do not know whether it was continuous; in that case there may have been more than two holders of the fief. However, the years 1219–20 saw Denmark conquer northern Estonia, while a similar Swedish effort ended in a catastrophe. From this perspective, the donation of Sveabod's 12 *attungs* to a rather distant Cistercian nunnery in Middle Sweden makes good sense. It would certainly hinder another Christian crown from claiming the disposition.[140]

Another holding at the southern tip of Öland raises suggestions of a different kind. Transactions in the 1280–90s show that a great landowner in Östergötland, John Elofsson, calling himself *frater de ordine militum Christi* had several possessions on southern Öland, one of which consisted of merely *domibus et pomerio* . . . 'houses and apple garden' in 'Kyrk-Ottenby' which very probably was an elegant residence in the

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[139] Hence I cannot accept Borg's (2000 p. 3) own effort at interpretation, in which he suggests that medieval Eketorp was the seat of a notable (*stormannafäste*) loyal to the Sverker lineage, particularly during Knut Eriksson's reign.

[140] This suggests that Eketorp would have been abandoned shortly after 1220, whereas archaeological dating indicates 1240. However some secondary activity is possible. Riseberga monastery's strong ties to Birger Brosa's family may have influenced its being selected to receive the gift. Until 1315 a close neighbour of the fort, the village of Össby belonged to Dukes Erik and Valdemar, descendants of Birger Brosa's brother (Blomkvist 1979b pp. 87–90). We have no means of following the ownership line of Össby backwards, but it is possible that this unit was in some way a 'private' continuation of Eketorp after 1220.

harbour of Kyrkohamn.[141] It is obvious that Brother John was an old man at that time, and nothing is known of his involvement with the military order to which he ascribed himself.[142] Remarkably, the *fratres milicie Christi de Livonia* are not to be identified with the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order (the contemporary power holder in Livonia) but with its predecessor, the Brethren of the Sword. The latter ceded their position in Livonia after the catastrophic defeat at Saule in 1236. Is it possible that a man who was living in 1293 could have been a member of the Brethren of the Sword?

According to Birgitta Eimer, the expression is 'merely to be seen as one of the many shifting *Spielarten* in the naming of the Teutonic Order'.[143] She may be right. But John Elofsson never 'played' with his title; he always wrote it the same way. In his monograph on the Brethren of the Sword, Friedrich Benninghoven demonstrates that even after 1236 the Brethren continued as a military body for several years and even recruited replacements. He also points to the equally unfortunate campaigns against Novgorod in 1238–42, which were undertaken as a joint venture with the Swedes.[144] Thus a Swede who was a young man at the end of the 1230s could well have become a Brother of the Sword and still be alive as a retired veteran around 1290.

The possessions on southern Öland were of a definite strategic nature in relation to the communication line between Livonia and Germany. John Elofsson may have held these possessions to support the communication system of the Order—or it may have been just another base for fishing. If the first suggestion holds true, then it points back to an earlier period. We know of Brother John's property

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[141] DS 805; cf. DS 801, 885 and 1096. cf. Blomkvist 1982; Göransson 1982.

[142] Ek. vv. 232–361; LECUB 2741; Eimer 1966 p. 53ff. It is well known that another Swedish aristocrat, Karl Ulfsson, entered the Teutonic Order. Karl was clearly the son of Jarl Ulf Fasi. After his father's death, he seems to have been on the losing side of a power clash with Jarl Birger II, who succeeded in making his own son king in 1250. However Karl remained in service for several years before joining the order. He is remembered as the heroic *junker* Karl who fell in a campaign against the *lettugha* (Lithuanians) in the 1260s, in a stereotypical passage in Erik's Chronicle. According to Eimer (1966 p. 55) he fell at the battle of Durbe, July 13, 1260. After Karl's death, Pope Urban IV confirmed a large donation to *praeceptori et fratribus hospitalis s. Maria Theutonicorum in Livonia et Curonia*, which formed the basis of the Order's *Komturei* at Årsta, on the Baltic coast in Södertörn, a little south of Stockholm.

[143] Eimer 1966 p. 63 note 38.

[144] Benninghoven 1965 pp. 347ff., 375ff. and 382, Lind 1991.

on southern Öland (and also of property owned by his daughter) only because the family parted with them in the 1280s–90s. At that time Baltic seamanship was not as dependent on coastal contacts as it had been previously, which might be one reason for leaving them.

Kalmar

The treaty between the Duke of Saxony and Sweden's king and jarl opened the way for the foundation of the present city of Kalmar. This important foundation shows distinct features of a compromise. The site was well-chosen, on an excellent natural harbour, close by one of the best crossings to Öland. The straits were little more than 6kms wide and the position offered good possibilities for control. Archaeology reveals that before 1200 a dungeon was built on a small peninsula that was soon accompanied by a fairly large residential building (the remains were found within the extant Kalmar castle). Even before the building was begun, the ground had been used for blacksmiths' forges, showing that it was already exposed to one type of goods that Kalmar was later to be renowned for. By 1200, the semicircular outline of the settlement would have been laid down. So far no archaeological indices suggest an older date. The layout is akin to contemporary Danish and German town foundations. Saxo mentions Kalmar *oppidum*, as he lets its inhabitants admire the Danish fleet on its way to Brávellir. Snorri says that Sigurd Jorsalafari's *ledung* went east, *til kaupbæjar þess, er heitir Kalmarnar*. Both *scriptores* had an existing town in mind, which they conjured back without hesitation into different historical contexts, probably because the name was famous of old, but by then merely indicated a dangerous passage in the sea-route system.

It seems plausible that the first *Stadtherr* and formal founder of Kalmar was Jarl Birger Brosa. The evidence for this is circumstantial, but under the circumstances quite strong. His involvement in Sveabod and in the treaty with Henry the Lion has already been mentioned; two indices of the 1170s that point to the safeguarding of the Kalmarsund area. These activities seem fully compatible with the jarlship, which was bestowed with control over *ledung*, sea routes, defence against pirates and possibly trade establishments. In the 13th century however, we find younger members of his family, mostly descendants of his brother Magnus Minnesköld, in control of large territories in eastern Småland, the city of Kalmar included. It looks as if that branch of

the family had taken a position similar to that of a margrave in Germany.[145] Control of Kalmarsund may be seen as a prerequisite for further advances towards the south. According to Saxo, the Knut and Birger administration supported a Danish usurper in the great Scanian rebellion of 1183.[146] The most likely period for the foundation of Kalmar would then be after the treaty with Henry the Lion, contemporary with Jarl Birger's engagement on the southern border at Sveabod, and prior to his involvement in the Scanian anti-Europeanization defence against Absalon in 1183—that is, in the 1175–82 period.

The first burghers seem to have been German merchants, who had obviously been given rights to occupy the site under conditions similar to those their countrymen were given on Gotland and later on in Riga. The evidence lies in a later customs roll for Greifswald (around 1250); *illi de Kalmaria* are given rights which indicate that legal conditions in Kalmar differed from other Swedish towns in a way favourable to Germans.[147] The earliest individual connected to Kalmar whose name is known was Volmar from Kalmar, who was a *Ratsherr* in Riga in 1231. The reference to Kalmar in his surname suggests that his roots in that city would have been planted at least some decades earlier. As a family name *de Kalmaria* was widespread in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Hanseatic circles, unlike any other Swedish town's name.[148] We may describe thirteenth-century Kalmar as a German *Gründungsstadt*, balanced by a marked Swedish presence in the official institutions.

Colonial Småland

The interior of Småland is definitely no fertile region for agriculture. It is mostly a meagre highland region overgrown with pine trees, rich in lakes and bogs, which are drained in all directions by important streams; some via Östergötland, some towards Kalmarsund. Most of

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[145] Blomkvist 1979a p. 203ff., notes 65–67; Ferm 1990 pp. 98, 100. The same or very similar background is noted for the coastal cities of Västervik, Söderköping and Nyköping, and indeed for Stockholm, even though Stockholm was founded at a later stage.

[146] SGD XVI:1:3–5.

[147] Blomkvist 1978 pp. 146–150; Blomkvist 1995 p. 232f.; cf. Kattinger 2001 pp. 43–50.

[148] Blomkvist 1979a pp. 167–218; cf. criticism of Olsson 1983 and response from Blomkvist 1986 pp. 108–111; further H. Andersson 1990 p. 44.

them discharge from what in the 12th century were Danish coasts. At that time Småland consisted of some ten 'small lands'. These were old, traditional, peculiar settlement areas that for centuries had been able to develop undisturbed by the outer world, surrounded as they were by deep forests.[149] It was mostly empty territory which contained some assets, including a wealth of bog iron, all the products that a forest could provide, and wide grazing lands. This must be at least partly the reason why Småland became the target of intensive twelfth-century colonisation, similar to the practice shown in Chapter Four as the definite Europeanization model. Another reason (possibly the best) was that Småland was the widest wasteland within reach of the major sea routes of the western Baltic.

In 1143, the Cistercian monastery of Nydala was founded in the middle of this wilderness, more or less ideally located where the three lands of Värend, Finnveden and Njudung met. It was founded parallel to Alvastra as a direct daughter of Clairvaux, and its name *Nova Vallis* paraphrased that of its famous mother. And rarely did a Cistercian foundation live up to the order's ideals of contemplative solitude and manual cultivation better than Nydala. The founder of Nydala was Gissle, the first Bishop of Linköping with an indigenous name.[150] However, there was also a tendency in Denmark to regard Småland as a hinterland of Scania, Halland and Blekinge. In the old days borders had been fairly undecided, discerning between the subjects of respective kings rather than territories. Rulers had been kings of the Svear or of the Danes, not of Sweden or Denmark. The realisation of territory is one aspect of Europeanization, distinctly connected to the new movement of agricultural colonisation, in Saxony linked to the activities of Henry the Lion.

The Danish interest in taking a share of the wilderness of Småland presented itself promptly when they saw the definite Europeanization model being realised by the Saxons among the Vends. Again we have the story from Saxo, with an alternative perspective from *Knýtlinga* saga: the narrative of King Svend Grates' assault on Finnveden and Värend during the winter of 1153–54. *Spe quoque tam rata victoriam complectebatur, ut ante militiae exordium inter milites suos Sueticarum iura*

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[149] Härenstam 1946 pp. 33ff., 52ff.; S. Carlsson 1948; L.-O. Larsson 1964 pp. 106–09; KL s.v. Småland, L.-O. Larsson; Burström 1991.

[150] Instituta Gen. Cap:I (p. 325); Usus Cist. Mon., Cap. IX (p. 408f.); cf. Ortved 1933:II pp. 56, 141.

provinciarum tamquam belli praemia partiretur . . . 'He was so sure in his hope of victory, that before the war he had begun dividing this land of the Svear among his knights as a reward for their participation in the war.'[151] Whether true or not, the expression definitely represents the modern way of conquest, which Saxo in another context presented as characteristic of the Saxons.

Saxo's narrative of the Värend campaign counts among his most expressive, yet it seems quite pointless. The conceited King Svend, usually painted in unfavourable colours, actually wins a simple victory, yet gives it up due to the unfriendly countryside and particularly the cold. What came of it is not really mentioned, either by Saxo or by *Knýtlinga*. There may have been an unbroken tradition of Danish dominance from this incident until the creation of a diocese in Växsjö from Lund. This measure was obviously taken as a consequence of the emergence of a Swedish church province in 1164; it was blocked, however, by countermeasures from the Swedish central power, notably the new Bishop of Linköping.

The point of the story—if not for Saxo, at least for the present discussion—is the marker it conveys that at this moment the interest of monarchs and their vassals or followers turned to land. It relates an action undertaken by a Scandinavian king towards another, both eager agents of Europeanization. It was the first of its kind, to be followed by uncountable repeats of destructive Swedish-Danish raids over the border that from now on gained intensified importance.

However, it fell not to Danish vassals or *frälse* aristocrats but to their Swedish counterparts to create colonisation domains in the large forest areas of Småland. In the eastern part an extremely large area can be traced back to Birger Brosa and his family,[152] which suggests that measures of handing out settlement land, similar to those King Svend had in mind, were undertaken by the Knut and Birger administration parallel to the securing of the border. In the forests such entrepreneurs organised tenancy complexes, mostly spread over large areas and in several small villages. The tenants were to pay their rents in kind.[153]

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[151] Quoted SGD XIV:11:3; for the entire narrative cf. SGD XIV:11:2–12:7. cf. Knýtlinga saga k. 110.

[152] Blomkvist 1979a pp. 203ff., 207f.; Ferm 1990.

[153] Lindquist 2001 pp. 459–84; Anglert 2001a pp. 485–516.

The Småland colonisation is particularly illustrative of the overall process, since it occurred in areas where agriculture could rarely support its growing population, but which were suitable for specialised production such as stock-raising. It was thus dependent on its contacts with an efficient trading network. It exemplifies the ongoing trend to link territory to network. Great landowners like the Nydala monastery and certain nobles exchanged piles of natural products, such as bog iron, butter and hides, for the necessities and luxuries that their position demanded. This made them search from the beginning for trade exchange in Kalmarsund.

A view of the structure of Nydala monastery, the oldest one we can find, confirms this. In the first years of the 13th century, its property was concentrated on the immediate surrounding of Nydala, with the odd exception of one piece of property close to Kalmar and another one close to the Danish port of Laholm, the latter a donation from Archbishop Absalon which clearly offered the monks a Danish alternative.[154] Thus we can see the Swedish central authorities establishing a close relationship with German merchants in this region, using them to get the upper hand over their traditional competitors, the Danes—but letting Europe in by the process.

5. *The Forming of a Regional Survival Strategy*

The series of events

I must concede that the discovery of Kalmarsund has been discussed almost in a vacuum as far as written sources go. However the poor source conditions have been much compensated for by the intense interdisciplinary settlement research in the Kalmarsund region since the 1960s, which has allowed us to look for traces of Europeanization encounters connected to local events and places. A result has been reached, in the form of a comparatively detailed hypothesis of the successive stages in the Europeanization of the region.

Kalmarsund was definitely involved in the Vendic expansion of 1120–40. This was not so much a belated Viking-era event as an aspect of a general conflict, marking the end of an ancient hegemonic order. Apparently all the indigenous Baltic Rim powers were involved.

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[154] DD I:4, 64; Blomkvist 1979a, pp. 211–214.

Clearly visible as combatants in the Sound are the Norwegians and Vends, but there is a hypothetical case for the King of Poland having been there too, and a possibility that Danes in both camps took some part. Regarding the outcome in Kalmarsund, the only full statement is *Ágrip*/Snorri's claim of Norwegian success, although other fragments that have been drawn into the discussion offer alternative suggestions. Around the middle of the century, the general confrontation was brought to an end when the effort to establish a Slavic state on the southern Baltic shore was counteracted by the Germans and Danes.

The Danish raid of 1170 was part of the build-up of the Valdemarian great power period lasting over half a century. It was symbolically launched in connection with St. Knud's beatification and enshrinement at Ringsted. This incident throws an interesting light on the degree of establishment that the Catholic World-system had already achieved: it belongs to a period of tension after the emancipation of a Swedish church province and the takeover by the more 'national' government of Knut and Birger, when multifarious Danish efforts were made to keep control over at least the southern Swedish provinces. According to the sources we possess, the Danes were primarily fighting more severe antagonists to Europeanization. In the latter part of the 12th century, the East Baltic peoples were in turn approaching a Viking Age, using these Swedish waters as a first line of aggressive defence against Western influences, with or without Swedish consent.

The diplomatic offensive of Henry the Lion succeeded in gaining an agreement with the new Swedish government, probably in the middle of the 1170s, which exemplified a different expansion strategy. This was a somewhat 'unholy' alliance, since Knut Eriksson and Birger Brosa were quite reluctant regarding Europeanization, and supported 'anti-European' insurrections in Norway as well as in Scania. However it appears these contacts encouraged Knut and Birger to establish a *Grenzschutz* and coastguard on southern Öland, and to consent to the foundation of a German urban colony in Kalmar.

This period may be seen as a competition between Danes and Germans, mostly conducted without open warfare, but using all kinds of sharp practices. Violence might be used against domestic rivals as well as unwilling converts in the periphery. I think this proves that, by this time, the Catholic World-system had reached the Kalmarsund area. From around 1180, Danish supremacy grew stronger, not least because Frederick I turned against his vassal Henry the Lion (who was

exiled in 1181) in an effort to strengthen the imperial grasp on the empire. However, mercantile expansion from Germany continued, now under a more diffuse and unclear leadership, into which the Church of Bremen inserted a decisive element of Christian mission. From 1202 Valdemar II and his erudite partner, Archbishop Anders Sunesen, brought the Danish great power era to its climax. This was achieved through the conquest of Estonia in 1219, but more or less collapsed a few years later under pressure from the Germans in Livonia.

The study confirms that the swift advance of Europeanization generated opposition from power groups threatened by marginalization. The emancipation of a Swedish church province in 1164 was a setback to central Danish interests, even though it had been administered with the aid of Archbishop Eskil himself. Some 'friends of the Danish central power' were eliminated from Swedish institutions during the 1170s. Endeavours to establish firm Swedish border control, the subsequent direct contacts with an alternative set of Europeanization agents (leading to the foundation of a modern-style city in Kalmar by German merchants), and the opening of internal colonisation in Småland are all markers of an emerging state-building project. This implied a change in individual identity and the sense of belonging. It became less and less important which king an individual had sworn to serve, which sea routes he frequented and which liaisons he was able to maintain at home and abroad. New importance was attached to borders between countries, belonging to a particular nation, and the maintenance of central government institutions. The case study of Kalmarsund has exemplified that Europeanization meant the amalgamation of network and territory.

Revisiting the turnover places: Was there an indigenous survival strategy?

What I have shown is that Kalmarsund served as an arena for duels between greater powers, which step by step decided the future of the region. But what can I say regarding my primary problem of the reception of Europeanization by the indigenous peoples?

Looking for the local perspective, I return to the 15 turnover places, which are mainly known through archaeology. Most are identified as groups of house foundations at good communication sites, often at harbours improved by bridges and other facilities. Many are easily detected by posterity, since they were given churches or chapels. Some are found in ancient ring forts, which like Eketorp were restored

in the long 12th century and given new functions. Sometimes the place name or an occasional written reference has helped to interpret the function. The sites were not all of the same kind, nor were they all contemporary.

Many years ago I suggested a synthesis of the general development of these places. In parts it has had to be revised due to new archaeological finds and re-datings; in the light of this, I and other scholars have modified the effort over the years.[155] I shall return to the problem of turnover places for the present purpose. The emergence, flourishing and desertion of turnover places (sometimes repeated several times) may be seen as the remnants of an extended confrontation involving Europeanization agents and many re-agents, semi-peripheral as well as peripheral, national as well as regional, some of whom had travelled a long way to take part. Preserved remains offer an opportunity to glimpse the reaction of the locals.

Köping on Öland was clearly the first effort to establish a town in the area. It is strategically located on the system of sea routes, having direct access to the Route of Kings as well as to the Golden Diagonal; it is also central for the entire Kalmarsund region. Large-scale development seems to have begun around 1060, which may indicate a link with the contemporary rise of Schleswig and advances into the Baltic by the Frisians. There are clear connections to Gotland as well. In all likelihood, it aimed to corner the increasing international trade by establishing a dominant, controlled and protected entrepôt. Some central power, possibly the Svea king, is dimly seen behind this effort.[156] The collapse of Köping around 1125 coincided with the area becoming a war theatre between contesting foreign powers. Functionally it was not properly replaced until full-scale development began in Kalmar.

In the meantime the centralised pattern loosens somewhat. Several

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[155] The basic survey is Blomkvist 1979b (Öland) and Blomkvist 1979a, cf. Blomkvist 2001 pp. 22–27. For diverging opinions and comments, cf. particularly Medeltidsstaden 68, J. Sandell; Ferm 1990; Borg [ed.] 1998, Borg 2000; and most recently Anglert 2001a pp. 485–516; Anglert 2001b pp. 187–198; Malm 2001 pp. 223–228; Kattinger 2001 pp. 41–50.

[156] The high medieval power centre controlling Öland, the Castle of Borgholm, was erected only a few kilometres away, within a century of the collapse of Köping. In the late Middle Ages the village of Klinta was a royal holding, and the parish church of Köping was a royal patronage. See Medeltidsstaden 77, Johnson, M. and H. Schulze 1990; for the Frisian expansion, see Radtke 2002.

turnover places appear. We cannot say that they were all trading locations, but they were clearly differentiated from ordinary agricultural sites, and were evidence of growing mobility in society. I have already discussed the Sveabod complex at the southern tip of Öland and the fishery of Kyrkohamn. I have also touched on the relatively urban remains at Backaborg (present Gråborg). On the eastern coast of Öland, the harbour of Sikavarp should also be mentioned, which provided direct contact with Gotland. On the mainland, apart from the central area around Hossmo and the German *Niederlassung* in Kalmar, there were the ports of Pata, Mönsterås, and the fully-developed small town of Västervik, mentioned in 1278. All of these, and a few more, may have functioned as turnover places in the late 12th century, at least in some respect. Nevertheless most of them have to be investigated further before we can be sure of their purpose.

The conclusion, that around 15 sites in the Kalmarsund area were of service to mobile groups in society during the long 12th century, seems to coincide with the lack of central power discussed above. I believe there was a central power capable of controlling the sea routes and trading places around Kalmarsund in the late Viking Age, but the 12th century saw it losing its grip. Other powers with greater capacities then claimed their share in the strategically-situated area. This was a very clear sign of Europe approaching. But if this is correct, the situation would also have left local communities with a greater freedom to act.

Based on these observations, I think we can assume that the locals in the Kalmarsund area formed their strategy on the grounds that Swedish central power should never be disregarded. The latter obviously had some historical claim on the Kalmarsund region, and tended to defend this at apparently irregular intervals. However, if another powerful fleet appeared, it was hardly in the Ölanders' interests to defend their Swedishness at all costs—particularly if the intruder suggested trade negotiations instead. If an enemy came intending to plunder, they would certainly put up a fight, but possibly not before trying to negotiate a peace; none of the quoted reports actually claim the local population was badly treated by the plundering hosts of Vends, Curonians or Estonians.[157] The strategy followed by local

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[157] We hear of a heavy tribute of cattle paid to King Sigurd, and some plunder from the side of the Danes in 1170.

communities around Kalmarsund can thus be described as maintaining and if possible extending the self-rule of the traditional *skattland*.

By this kind of policy the Ölanders gained freedom from customs in Lübeck. Whether it was of any practical importance around 1225 is quite another matter. In the case of the Livs, who had lost their independence altogether in 1225, it was clearly obsolete. But in Öland there are indications of internationalism even at that later date. Separately from the Swedish realm, Öland and Gotland were included in legations undertaken in the 1220s–40s by the papal Balticum specialist, Cardinal William of Modena. In addition, the papal letter of 1237 calling for a crusade against the Tavastians addresses the people of the Swedish realm 'and on the islands nearby'. From the middle of the 12th to the end of the 13th centuries, the coinage used on Öland (and predominantly on the mainland side of the Sound) reveals the total dominance of Gotlandic coin types, together with a tendency to use the Gotlandic coin-counting system.[158]

The establishment of Sveabod (and hence in my view of medieval Eketorp) would then have been the outcome of another Swedish recovery. The name suggests that a symbolic marker was intended: 'This is where the territory of the Svear begins.' However, since symbolic monuments of the Danish royal dynasty and the Hvide clan were erected and maintained at other Ölandic sites at more or less the same time, we may conclude that the Ölandic community was able to continue as before. It may have infuriated the Svea government, but the power balance was such during the entire period of the crusades that a peripheral region like Öland could maintain a degree of autonomy. It is more doubtful whether we can also read a touch of Catholic World-system behaviour into the Crown's permissive policy.

Paradoxically the urban establishment in Kalmar by German burghers was to become an enforcement of Swedish political authority. Here its representatives met demands and suggestions from the Germans on a daily basis, which made it necessary to gather enough force to control the Hinterland. This was an easier task than taking on the quite advanced Ölandic community. Kalmar became a distribution centre for World-system innovations. The city attracted a great deal of Swedish investment and institutional build-up and alter-

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[158] DS 298, 549, 736, 888, 1851, 2459; Hauberg 1891 p. 7f.; Thordeman 1936; idem 1965 pp. 137–41; Donner 1929 p. 416f.; Blomkvist 1978 p. 144ff.

native ports and trading places seem to have been abolished, particularly from the middle of the 13th century.

If we regard the establishment of German merchants in a colony on the southeast coast of Sweden as a Europeanizing initiative, these would be precisely the results expected according to theory. The Swedish central power adapted to the challenge, by taking measures in order to live up to the standard of a semi-periphery. In the longer run it took yet another step, making a protest or two within that framework in defence of vital interests to the local or national community, and thereby coming closer to forming not only a state, but a nation.

THE DISCOVERY OF GOTLAND.
THE COMPROMISING SOCIETY STRATEGY AND THE EMERGENCE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW IN THE BALTIC

1. *A Remote Island Becomes a Spearhead of Europeanization*

When foreign tongues began to speak on the coast

At the beginning of Visby's town code, written down between 1341 and 1344, there is a short narrative about the development of law on Gotland, which explains how foreign influences have been handled. Together with the longer and more studied *Guta saga*, this narrative may be regarded as a genesis myth of the island, the town and their respective constitutions. I quote the initial part of the town code according to Carl Johan Schlyter's edition:

In goddes namen amen: Dat si wittlic. dat do sik de lyde to godlande. van mannigherhande tunghen sammeden. do suorman den vredde/. dat en iowelc scolde al vmmet land den vorstrand vri hebben achte vadem vp ind land. oftar acker oder enghe vore were/ vp dat en ilic sinem gude des to bad helpen möchte/ So we oc queme vnder dat land to anker holde. de scolde sin vnder dem suornen vredde

In the name of God, Amen. Let it be known, that when people of manifold tongues gathered on Gotland, this peace was sworn, that all men should enjoy the shore all around the land, freely, eight fathoms (ca. 15 metres) up on the land, whether there be cultivated acres or meadows or not, so that every man should be able to salvage his goods. Whoever comes under the land, and lays anchor, he should abide under this sworn peace.[1]

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[1] ViStL Praef. In making this translation I have been aided by Schlyter's translation of the Low German original into Swedish.

For the present study this text is sensational, insofar as it claims to report a tradition going right back to the moment of discovery. Moreover, it speaks in the name of the discovered people and mentions an important strategic decision taken by them at the time. It seems to be exactly the material I need.

It is not surprising that the opportunity arose on Gotland. Medieval Gotland was characterized by prosperity and independence, and its culture mixed an international outlook with insular aloofness. As for the above quotation, the original Low German is in itself a memento. But the conclusion is still not simple, since further down the text says that King Magnus Eriksson instigated the law and decided that *we twe böke hebben scolden en in götensh. vnde en in dydesch. beide van enem sinne vnde rechte ouer all to male* . . . 'we should have two books, one in Gutnic and one in German, but both of the same gist and right in all things'.[2] As for the fourteenth-century code, when the preserved text was written down, it has the look of a carefully balanced compromise.

However, a much older and much shorter legal text, which is somehow connected to the emergence of the Visby code, has been found in Riga. It has been dated to the 1270s, but it contains a claim to a greater age. Even though not a full code, it begins with a preface which clearly resembles the one already quoted.

Dhat si wetelic allen dhen ghenen. dhe nu sit vnde hir na comen solen. dhat sint dher tit. dhat sic in dheme namen godes begunde to versamende uppe got- lande dhydesch tunge. vnde nedher to donde. dorch eine meine ghenut. vn mak allen dhen ghenen. dhe sic dhar neder gedan hebben. vn mit godes willen. noch dhenken nedher to donde. edhelike vnde bedherfliken. van eneme menen wilcore. gemehner dhudeschen dhe uppe gotlande wonhaftig sin. recht aldus ge sat is, unde beschreuen	Let it be known to all generations in present times as well as in future, that since the time when the German tongue began to gather on Gotland and settle there in the name of God, for common use and advantage; and let all generations who have settled down there and who, with God's will intend to remain in justness and [for their] benefit, now learn about a general condition for all Germans living on Gotland, which is thus set up and described.[3]

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[2] ViStL Praef.
[3] Text edition by W. Schlüter 1908. In translating this text into English I have been helped a good deal by W. Schlüter's (1908 p. 502) translation into modern German.

Then follow rules regarding marriage and matrimonial law quite foreign to the Gotlandic ones we know of and which are made for Germans living on Gotland. The text has been seen as part of an earlier version of the Visby law, notably among German scholars, implying that the law as a whole was fundamentally of German origin. Another possibility, claimed mostly by Swedish scholars, is that it contains separate rights conceded to the Germans living in Visby, whereas the full urban law that we see in the 14th century is a blend of German, Gotlandic and generally Nordic traditions.[4] Thus we possess two contradictory opinions of the discovery of Gotland.

Reading the so-called Riga fragment, Fritz Rörig sees the mark of a swift German breakthrough on Gotland. According to him the code of the 1340s would have been falsely claiming that the Gotlanders, after some initial problems, had come to terms with the *manigherhande tunghen*. He thinks we should believe the formula of the much older document which talks about *dhydesch tunge* in a similar situation. In Rörig's mind, it deals with the Gotlandic ratification of the famous Artlenburg privilege through which, he was convinced, the Germans achieved an immediate foothold on Gotland: the *beschworener Friede* which gave the *Deutschen, die den Frieden beschworen haben* the secured right to lay anchor and use the eight fathoms up on the land.[5] The Riga fragment, however, talks about German tongues in an entirely different matter. Rörig is treading on thin ice when he believes in the preface of the 1340s as regards the *Friede* and 'use of the shore' but disbelieves what it says of 'manifold tongues'. But the similarities are there; the fragment represents some influence on the later full law, and there seems to be some justification in these guesses.

However, we must go to Russian treaties to find an explicit interest in using the shore of Gotland. In the oldest preserved Novgorodian trade treaty of 1191–92, which will be examined in detail below, we find *na gtsk bereg* . . . 'to the Gotlandic shore'. The pioneering editor of these texts, L.K. Goetz, thought he saw a mental connection between the Gotlandic shore and the German *Binnenland*, as if theoretically Gotland could have been the coastland of Germany. He

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[4] Frensdorff 1916; Yrwing 1940 p. 350ff.; Hasselberg 1953 pp. 74ff., 139ff., 159ff., 202ff., 353f.; L. Carlsson 1961; Rennkamp 1977:C p. 41ff. together with further references in these works.

[5] Rörig 1940 p. 6 note 1, 8f.; cf. Rennkamp 1977 C:42. Cf. Ch. VII:3.

saw support for this in the Smolensk treaty of 1229 that gave a Russian the right to 'go from the Gotlandic Shore into the Trave'.[6] However, as a legal expression the Gotlandic shore is more likely to comprehend exactly our free zone for foreigners of eight fathoms around the whole island which, according to the fourteenth-century town code, was 'sworn' when foreign tongues began to visit the island.[7] The free zone idea is thus brought back to the 12th century, and the context makes it quite likely that its introduction was due to Novgorodian/Russian active trade. Not only German but 'manifold' tongues *were* being spoken on the Gotlandic coast. The hope of finding a straightforward tale of how Gotland was discovered and Europeanized is fading away. Instead we have to consider a rather complex scholarly discussion.

Gotland's strategical position

Gotland had been rich long before the 12th century; it was extremely rich in Viking-age silver. In spite of its limited population it also possessed an extraordinary independence; it was often characterised in literature as a 'freemen's republic', governed by its own traditional judges or *seniores*. During the later Middle Ages, Gotland enjoyed constant fame and collected literary references in all kinds of sources, from Bartolomeus Anglicus of Magdeburg to the *Canterbury Tales*. Before the 12th century, it's a different story.

Certainly, it is referred to on a handful of eleventh-century Swedish and Danish rune stones, and in some Norse texts. Yet modern readers of Adam of Bremen are astonished not to find Gotland mentioned in his description of the Baltic, and have discussed whether it might appear under another name.[8] But as a matter of fact Gotland—with one exception—is not mentioned at all in known non-Nordic source material older than the 12th century.[9] This apparent contradiction of its economic importance indicates that the island underwent some highly important change through being discovered

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[6] Goetz 1916 p. 25, Smolensk treaty 1229 § 18.

[7] Yrwing 1940 p. 220f.

[8] E.g. *chori*, Kyhlberg 1989.

[9] The exception is Wulfstan's narrative, in KAO 1; yet even if the source is English, here too is a *memento*, since we do not really know the nationality of the informant.

and Europeanized, and it is the aim of the present chapter to dis-
cover the nature of this change, as well as the consequences for the
problem discussed in the book as a whole.

Recent studies reveal a relatively high number of harbours on
Gotland in the early days of international seafaring. During the
Viking Age the number of important harbours became concentrated
to around eight, which developed into craft and trading places with
some permanent settlement.[10] Entering the long 12th century the
true trade ports had been reduced to only a handful, which had
begun to develop urban traces.

A related tendency has been observed in the pattern of silver
hoard deposits. Close to 1100 they become rarer, yet the hoards
become bigger and more concentrated along the coasts. The obser-
vation indicates a specialisation process within the trading popula-
tion.[11] This may, in turn, correlate with a hypothesis developed by
Dan Carlsson, that the keeping of harbours was a responsibility of
particular estates; the more advanced the harbour, the larger the
estate.[12] Several harbour excavations are as yet rather poorly pub-
lished and subject to a rather disorderly discussion among archae-
ologists. We are still awaiting the first thorough subsummation[13] so
I will merely point out the most obvious trade ports at the approach
of 1100:

Visby may have had a permanent settlement. Being a cult place
(a *vi*) it obviously enjoyed some general protection or peace even in
pre-Christian times. Both within and outside the medieval town area,
there are remains of large grave fields.[14] Important indications of
proto-urbanisation, surviving into the long 12th century, have also
been found in *Västergarn* and *Fröjel*, both situated on the west coast
where ships coming from the northern point of Öland were likely
to reach land. Both are marked by parish churches close to the coast.
Near both churches are remnants of *kastala* (towers). In *Fröjel*, a
churchyard earlier than the extant church has been partly excavated.
As in Visby, this predecessor was positioned 'below the *klint* (lime-

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[10] D. Carlsson 1988, pp. 26–29; Lindquist 1980 pp. 67–76; cf. Lundström 1981;
Thunmark-Nylén 1989.

[11] Malmer 1973.

[12] D. Carlsson 1999.

[13] In preparation by D. Carlsson.

[14] GS 4; Westholm 1989 p. 49ff.; Swanström 1989 p. 23ff.

stone ridge)'. It should be noted that the place name has cult con-
notations here too, referring to the god Frö (*Freyr*). In *Västergarn* the
church site lies in a defence wall, similar to those of Haithabu and
Birka, but perhaps later than these. Västergarn in particular is men-
tioned in several medieval sources.[15]

On the east coast, where the sea route from Curonia reaches
Gotland, another group of sites were found in the area of *Boge* and
today's harbour of *Slite*, not forgetting *St Olofsholm*, with the con-
spicuously-located ruin of a chapel that enjoyed such rich altar
offerings (mainly of wax) that it was a chief financier of a nunnery
outside Visby. Wax, of course, was one of the most important 'Russian'
export commodities. A short, seemingly corrupt episode in *Guta saga*
tells of St. Olav's stay at this place. I have previously suggested that
the seafarers' offerings before and after the dangerous crossing to
and from Curonia was the most significant localisation factor for this
pilgrimage resort. This explains perfectly why the income rates began
to go down in the 1270s.[16] The ancient name of the harbour was
Acergarn (modern Sw. Åkergarn), in which the first element *acer* means
'arable land' with connotations of a fertility cult, at least in a main-
land Swedish context. The name of the parish marks its cult status
even more strongly: Hellvi, 'Holy *vi*'.[17]

The anonymity of Gotland in the sources before the 12th cen-
tury, and the embryonic urbanisation process up to around 1100,
largely confirms my hypothesis that before Europeanization, Got-
land was chiefly a homebase for long-distance trade. Its wealth was
accumulated from active trade, while the sea routes passing the
island might not have been available to (non-Baltic Rim) foreigners.
I can think of three or four explanations for such a situation. One

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[15] Cassel et al. 1999; D. Carlsson 1999 p. 120ff.; cf. Olsson 1996 pp. 60–62. For
Västergarn, see also Ch. IV:3.

[16] See Pernler (1979 pp. 101–114); cf. Blomkvist 1995 p. 229; Siltberg 1997
p. 69f. As to who may have built the chapel, Pernler (1979 p. 106f.) argues that
it was probably the Gotlandic community. I'd agree, but would point to the like-
lihood of a connection to the Gotlandic Yard in Novgorod, whose church was also
dedicated to St. Olof. The owner of the yard was also the Gotlandic community
as such, but perhaps we should consider that some guild-type association was formed
by the immediate users.

[17] Kyhlberg 1991 p. 227ff.; Olsson 1996 p. 60f.; Ståhl 1970 p. 81. Also the other
cult references in connection to harbour names suggest influences from the Swedish
mainland. cf. for the entire problem of Gotland's harbours, Olsson 1979 pp. 99–129;
Siltberg 2001 p. 109ff., pp. 147–49.

is technological, according to which the poorer seamanship of non-Scandinavians made them hesitate to use the long open sea passages between northern Öland and Gotland, and between Gotland and Curonia. The reason could also have been political; Gotlanders may have refused to offer peace to foreigners, or the Svea king may have forbidden such foreigners to visit Gotland.

While the Viking-age wealth of Gotland cannot be disputed, its political position can. As mentioned, Gotland may have been politically dependant on the Svear at least since the 9th century. In the recent 'deconstruction of the nation' discussion this has sometimes been refuted, but the basis of the conclusion is remarkably solid. My suggestion is rather that the seemingly republican constitution of Gotland was to a large degree a function of changes in the 12th century. That is, the Europeanization process meant that previous political dependence was abandoned; in modern political vocabulary it might even be called a 'liberation'. If so, Gotland would be another example of what happened to hundreds or even thousands of market places in the European core area, where the inhabitants successfully claimed autonomy from princes and feudal lords. The famous medieval dictum regarding the positive effects of *Stadtluft* would thus have an even healthier parallel here: sea air 'makes free'!

If this hypothesis should prove well founded, the role of Europeanization on Gotland must have been complicated indeed. It brought success, it brought an invasion of foreign tongues, and it carried its tiny population into a power game with the most advanced of Europeanization agents. When we look for a Gotlandic survival strategy, this cannot mean that the survival of the Gotlandic people was really threatened, although their traditions and culture might well have been. What these people had to discover was how they should handle all these possibilities and eager forces surrounding them.

'Gutnalia' and its 'seniores'—the making of efficient self-rule

A general assembly of all Gotlanders (*gutna althingi*) is referred to in several texts. There, a 'judge of the land' presided over twenty local *thing*-judges. This body of judges seems to have been called *seniores* . . . 'aldermen'. They were seconded by the three *prepositi* . . . 'provosts' and almost a hundred vicars, not to mention the lesser clergy and interested general public; but few details are known of

its function. When the Gotlandic rural community issued documents, it usually signed itself *seniores, cleri et populi terre Gutlandie* or *seniores et communitas terre Gotlandie*, depending on whether or not the clergy were involved in the decision.[18]

The *gutna althingi* was traditionally held at a place called Roma, ideally located near the middle of the island. Its name has little to do with the eternal city of the popes and more with the Germanic word *Raum*. It seems to have been given initially to a semi-marshy, rather broad flatland. A synodal statute in 1329 contains a prohibition on appealing a verdict spoken by a provost to a lay court. Instead one should appeal such a verdict to the trial of two provosts: *prouocetur causa illa Rumis et non alibi audietur . . .* 'such a trial shall be held in Roma and not heard in any other place'.[19] As I understand this rule, the tendency to refer all kinds of problems to the authority of the general diet at Roma had forced the ecclesiastical authorities to produce an equivalent to their jurisdiction in a situation where, for several reasons, the mainland-based bishop was unavailable.

However all this is a late-medieval picture, valid mainly for the period after the emancipation of Visby from the rural community in 1288. Even so, we can discern a group of leading actors making decisions in Gotland's name long before, swearing oaths to allow foreigners some rights, issuing coins or taking on a measure unit like the *Guta Ell*.[20] We can suppose that Roma played a similar role in their activities long before.[21] The idea is greatly supported by the fact that a Cistercian abbey was founded here in the middle of the 12th century.

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[18] E.g. DS 1434, 2255, 2256, DS 3244, DS 3805. Yrwing 1978 pp. 80–99. For the *prepositi*, see Pernler 1977 p. 151ff.

[19] Gummerus 1902 pp. 83–85 (§ 6,8); cf. Pernler 1977 p. 191.

[20] For the coinage, below Ch. VII:2. cf. *hitta+ier+ret+Gota+Eln . . .* 'this is the right Gotlandic ell' (Lindström 1895:II:183).

[21] Though Gutnaltinget is frequently mentioned in the Guta Law, it is only its German translation of 1401 that contains a statement that *gutnaldhing das ist czu Rume* (Yrwing 1978 p. 87); for the interpretation of the place name, see Olsson 1996 p. 58. On a map of 1699 Östergren (1992) has found the names of nine different primary things (Burs, Kräklinge, Rute, Endre, Line, Dede, Forsa, Garda and Halla) used as field and marsh names, which could indicate that people from all these areas used to gather there. However they could have a more recent cause, cf. Siltberg 2000 p. 119. Archaeological finds indicating market activities make Östergren suggest that the tradition was rooted in the Viking Age.

The diet and the monastery must be viewed together. Roma is first and foremost the name of a parish. The parish church is older than the abbey and lies a kilometre away. The original name of the abbey was *Sancta Maria de Gutnalia*; later the name was 'improved' in a religious sense to *Gudvalla* (God's field). Only in the Late Middle Ages did the monastery gradually adopt the parish name. The oldest name, Gutnalia, does not refer to God, but to the people, *Gutar*, and to a community shaped by them.[22] This is an indication that this place was of central importance within the Gotlandic community before the foundation of the abbey, and hence that diets were probably held here long before.

Other comparable gathering places like Thingvellir on Iceland and Thynewal on the Isle of Man were symbolically marked by a church or a chapel, as was Old Uppsala, which is perhaps the most significant place of comparison. The cathedral and the monastery are clear markers of Catholic Europeanization accepted. But as at Uppsala, the arrangements at Roma say something more. Considering that Roma is a natural central place for the entire island of Gotland,[23] the circumstances imply that the abbey was established as a Gotlandic national symbol, probably with several lay functions in mind, such as a council hall, secretariat and archives for its famous privileges and treaties.

Christianisation and protection by the papacy

In the *Guta saga*, the Gotlandic community has produced a brief narrative of its own constitutional emergence—an ethno-genesis as good as any other of the same period, but quite short, being an explication of the Gotlandic law. The version we know may have been finalized in the second half of the 13th century, but it contains myths, traditions and references to texts which are of various periods.[24] In some sense it claims to tell the story of how Gotland developed into

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[22] On the foundation of Roma monastery, see most recently Markus 1999 pp. 22–28, with abundant further references.

[23] Lindquist 1980 pp. 67–76; for Uppsala, cf. Ch. IX:2.

[24] KL s.v. Gutasagan, E. Wessén; Sjöholm 1976 pp. 94–110. A useful survey of the modern discussion of the Guta saga is provided by Kyhlberg (1991 pp. 13–46), even if his own interpretation is controversial.

a modern Christian, hence Europeanized land, with a well-founded autonomous standing. Apart from its mythical first discovery by a certain Tjelvar, who brought the island under human control,[25] the narrative is not much of a discovery report. Instead, its chief message is that Gotlanders 'did it themselves'.

The sole exception might be a few paragraphs dealing with the visit to the island of St. Olof,[26] the Norwegian Viking chieftain who was to become the most revered saint in Scandinavia and on the routes towards the Rus. However the passage is very short and its interpretation far from clear. It suggests that the Viking saint had an impact on Gotland's Christianisation process, but avoids giving him the full responsibility. It rather claims a share in his repute than (as has often been claimed) presents him as a Gotlandic patron saint. Some of the passage obviously contains an explanation of the pilgrimage resort at Åkergarn, which was a station on the sea route towards the east.[27] St. Olof was a suitable protector of sea journeys from Novgorod in the east to Bergen in the west, and also an evident symbol for the Viking Age Old system to his medieval posterity—and for modernization on indigenous conditions.

The main narrative of the island's Christianisation tells how Gotlandic merchants, having experienced Christian customs in foreign countries, realised the religion's advantages and brought priests to Gotland. Botair of Akebeck who is claimed as the builder of the first church must have been one of these active traders. However, 'the land' (i.e. the island community) would not allow the church and burnt it down. He built a second one in the *vi* below the ridge—later to become Visby—causing turmoil at the next gathering there, which however ended in the resolution that the building had a right to 'stand' because it had been erected 'in the *vi*'.[28] In this sense the *vi* was more than a pagan shrine, it was a refuge from the everyday prejudices of the Gotlanders, a protected area governed according to tolerant rules. The narrative is a wonderful example of a legalism that characterises the entire Gotlandic medieval culture.

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[25] GS 1.
[26] The name is normally spelt Olof in a Swedish context, but Olav in a Norwegian one.
[27] GS 3.
[28] GS 4.

From then on churches began to be built all over the island, the saga continues. And then came the problem of having them canonically consecrated. The odd bishop passing Gotland on his way to the Holy Land (implying the Eastern route through Russia) was not sufficient in the long run and the Gotlanders realised that they needed a Christian context. They sent to the Bishop of Linköping, who was the nearest.[29] The message of the saga is unmistakable: Gotland was always independent and if its inhabitants had accepted foreign control, it was entirely of their free will.

The first sign of a direct Gotlandic relationship with the Roman Curia belongs to 1213. Innocent III orders the *prepositi . . .* 'provosts' of *Northlandia* and *Sutherlanda* as well as the abbot *de Gothlanda* (Roma) to protect the rights of the Brethren of the Sword in their controversy with the Bishop of Riga.[30] The local names are a bit distorted, which may indicate that Gotland until then had been considered a neglible resource in Rome. The recommendation to use Gotlandic authorities in the East Baltic turmoils had obviously been communicated by the Archbishop of Lund, Anders Sunesen, who was Innocent's personal friend and deputed legate.[31]

In January 1217, Honor III confirmed an agreement regarding the distribution of tithes which had been arranged by Archbishop Anders between Bishop Karl of Linköping and the Gotlanders. It allowed the Gotlanders to divide their tithes into three parts only, which meant that no episcopal tithe was to be paid. The implied letter by Anders Sunesen has not been preserved,[32] but Gregory IX confirmed its tenor in 1230. In the latter year the pope also accepted a legal tradition forbidding Gotlanders to donate more than the tenth part of their *immobilia* to ecclesiastical institutions, whereas no limit was put on their right to give movable goods that had been gathered through work. The motive offered for these special privileges is the shortage and limited fertility of the soil.[33] The privileges of 1230 had been procured by the papal legate William of Modena, which suggests that these quite extraordinary concessions were a component in the overall Roman strategy for the Baltic Rim.

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[29] GS 5.
[30] DS 152. Yrwing 1978 p. 81; Pernler 1977 pp. 153f., 160f., 195f.
[31] Cf. also DS 153.
[32] DS 168; DD I:5 104.
[33] DS 256, 257; DD/DRB I:6 104, 105.

William had paid his first visit to Gotland and Livonia in 1225–26.
During these years and those following, a marked change is notable
in the position of Gotland and particularly in that of the German
element living on Gotland. The new position of the Germans is evi-
dent in a charter issued by Bishop Bengt of Linköping in 1225, in
which he consecrates the Church of St. Mary in Visby, giving it cer-
tain parochial rights that might be used by all Germans in Visby,
regardless of where they lived. In 1226 Cardinal William confirmed
the charter.[34]

According to Henry of Latvia, the Germans alone among the peo-
ples living on Gotland had accepted the cardinal's summons of 1226
to crusade against the Osilians, and the *teutonicis civibus de Visbu, inha-
bitatoribus Gotlandiæ* were duly rewarded by a papal letter of protec-
tion, issued by Honor III after William's return to Rome.[35] The
special attention to 'Germans' that were 'burghers of Visby' confirms
that their process of separation had begun, but as we shall see, not
that they had won it. They were to remain 'inhabitants of Gotland'
for more than half a century. However, the letter underlines that
the papal favours vis-à-vis Gotland were clearly connected to the
crusading efforts in the East. Having begun during Anders Sunesen's
legation, they had to some extent been coordinated with Danish
ambitions in Livonia, which obviously caused irritation among the
growing contingents of Germans.[36] William of Modena re-established
harmony between the Curia and the various German interests in
Livonia, while at the same time helping the latter to push the
Scandinavian competition to the side.

From these acts a tradition developed that the Roman Curia had
somehow taken *clero et populo Guthlandie* under its special protection.
Thus, in 1253, Innocent IV not only confirmed the old agreement

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[34] DS 231, 232. Se further Ch. VII:5.
[35] LECUB 94. In 1229, Gregory IX made efforts to blockade Russians and pagans
who were attacking the Christian 'plantation' of Finland by ordering the Bishop of
Linköping, the Abbot of the Cistercians 'on Gotland' and the *prepositus* of Visby to
prevent Gotlanders from trading weapons, horses, ships, supplies and other com-
modities (REA 1; DS 250, 253; ST 1 75, 76). The admonition to Linköping and
Gotland is no proof of bad contacts between the budding Church of Finland and
the Archbishop of Uppsala (cf. Pernler 1977 p. 197). The reason for turning to
them is of course that the perpetrators were Gotlanders.
[36] Cf. HCL XXV:1–5.

regarding tithes and current traditions on the election and investiture of provosts and parochial rectors, but issued a general letter of protection as well.[37] That the papal concessions were extraordinary indeed is illustrated by a series of letters from 1274 in which Gregory X tried to recall some local statutes that tended 'to diminish the respect for the liberty of the Church'. He took these steps at the request of Linköping's bishop and asked the abbots of Roma, Nydala and Varnhem to threaten the local officials with ecclesiastical sanctions, nevertheless not allowing them to put the interdict on the Gotlanders without his consent.

The attempt to re-establish order in the interest of Linköping obviously failed. In a series of *bullae* from August 1296 Pope Boniface VIII, referring to his predecessors Gregory IX, Innocent IV and Gregory X, took property and possessions of the Church and population of Gotland under the protection of St. Peter and himself, including their legitimate traditions regarding the election and presentation of provosts, parochial rectors, and the traditional order in the matter of tithes. In the latter case, the pope also referred to the confirmation of Honor III. The strength of the Gotlandic position at the Curia is illustrated by a parallel letter to the Archbishop of Uppsala, urging him to punish 'oppressors' who might violate these rules.[38]

In the same year, the Bishop of Linköping had made a formal request through his attorney *magister* Elias of Spoleto that the special privileges of the Gotlanders should be withdrawn. The Gotlandic claims were defended by another attorney, *magister* Nicholas Gisonis. A formal hearing was held at the Curia in which the legality of the Gotlandic claims was again established. According to Herman Schück

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[37] DS 410–13; DD/DRB II:1 125. According to Pernler (1977 p. 154f.) the provosts were elected by their fellow priests, whereas the rectors were presented by the congregation.

[38] DS 1170, 1171, cf. 1180, 1173. The letters of Gregory X are not preserved. cf. Pernler 1977 p. 156f. A particular problem concerns the rules regarding episcopal visitations on the island, which according to another of the letters of August 1296 (DS 1174, cf. 1181) were confirmed by a statute issued by Bishop Karl of Linköping (−1220).) According to the editors of DRB, the charter of Bishop Karl has a dubious tradition. It is preserved only as a transcription of an issue by Karl's successor Bengt together with Archbishop Anders of Lund, which due to many formal irregularities is likely to be false. The tenor of this text is also worked into the Guta saga, which makes the problem even more intricate, whilst also suggesting a political context for the falsification (GS 5; DRB I:7 334, 335; cf. Pernler 1977 pp. 66–89).

the scene highlights a period when no local conflict even on the periphery of the Christian world was too insignificant to be resolved at its centre.[39] The conclusion is probably correct, but the premises on which it has been based may be questioned. Far from being an example of periphery, Gotland had become an advance post of the centre. It was no innocent matter, but a case in which interests of preservation conflicted with those of expansion. Being important to the latter, the people of Gotland enjoyed a standing at the Roman Curia which brought a sort of immunity even with regard to the legitimate claims of one of its foremost representatives in Sweden. These rights clearly emerged during the period of crusades towards the East Baltic peoples, and were easily defended all through the 13th century.

Gotland and the problem of emerging international law

At an early date the Gotlanders had involved themselves with the adherents of the Catholic World-system. Europeanization was to their advantage and they clearly did not oppose it, although some reluctance was gathering that would surface at a later date. Thus the long 12th century development focused on Gotland, and the island became a decisive arena in the struggle for Europeanization of the Baltic as a whole. When the 'Battle of Gotland' was over, reorganisation of conditions followed all over the Rim.

A consequence of this policy was that Gotland's position in the traditional Baltic setting had to be reconsidered, not least by the Svear, its previous dominant masters. The overall picture is that of the island's successful involvement with Europeanization agents, and the 'Battle of Gotland' became a struggle in which violence was rarely open, and where the outcome was decided in documents like treaties and privileges. From that struggle, however, only two documents issued in the 12th century still survive in the full text. Neither is an original; both are written copies from the 13th century.

The oldest of these is the so-called Artlenburg privilege issued by Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, giving the Gotlanders far-reaching rights in his territory. The other is an issue by Prince Jaroslav Vladimirovich of Novgorod to all the *Nemtsy* sons, the *got'i*

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[39] DS 1180, 1181; Yrwing 1940 pp. 81f.; Schück 1961 p. 29; Pernler 1977 p. 87f.

and the whole Latin tongue. Both documents claim to be bilateral, i.e. that the subjects of these rulers expected to have the same rights and obligations granted to them. Since our knowledge of formalities and practices in international diplomacy is more or less restricted to what the two documents actually reveal, and as the texts are expressed in rather sparse wording, they are open to different interpretations. They have been argued over in a lively fashion. As a contrast and counterweight to these documents stand the Gotlanders' own canons, the *Guta saga* plus the Guta law, and its much shorter equivalent in the preface to Visby's town code. The *Guta saga* in particular is difficult to date and, in its occasionally shrewd, mythical vagueness, even more difficult to interpret, but one point is clear; they treat the same problems from the Gotlandic point of view.

Scholarly discussion of what happened when the island was Europeanized has often been quite difficult. Researchers thinking in terms of larger systems have not been inclined to take a relatively small and distant population of freemen into serious consideration. In their opinion its claims may have been too much of an Atlantis myth. Other researchers, who like a small people being able to go their own way, have seen a good example in Gotland, as they have in Iceland. Thus previous research has to a large degree debated preconceptions about how soon the Germans took over the Baltic trade and why, how and to what extent the Gotlanders and other trading nations succumbed to that dominance.[40]

However there is no doubt that the two earliest items of international law in the area explicitly concern Gotland and the trade of the Gotlanders. They testify forcefully to Gotland's remarkable position in medieval trade. Even so they have been thought to indicate that west German merchants operating from Lübeck quickly took the lead on Gotland and in Novgorod. The discovery of Gotland and the emergence of international law in the Baltic will thus be a key problem in the understanding of twelfth-century Europeanization as a whole.

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[40] Björkander 1898; Mews 1937; Yrwing 1940, 1978, 1986; Rörig 1942, 1959; Bolin 1945, 1953; Sawyer 1985b; Sjöholm 1976; Hyenstrand 1989; Siltberg 1993; Kyhlberg 1991; Blomkvist 1995; Kattinger 1999a.

2. *Gotland's Swedish Background and the Emergence of the*
'Freemen's Republic'

Was there a crisis in twelfth-century Sweden?

Chapter Four discussed problems of early kingship and the forma-
tion of a European type of medieval states, and Chapter Six noted
a weak Swedish preservative kingship gradually improve its position
in the Kalmarsund area during the 12th century, through repeated
struggles with external powers and interest groups, as well as with
the locals. I must now establish what kind of influence it exercised
on Gotland, where many people think that it generally lacked power.

According to the *Guta saga*, Gotland's submission to the Svear was
established in legendary times, and its high age is to some extent
confirmed by Wulfstan in the 9th century, and probably on an
eleventh-century rune stone. The island's status as a *skattland*, pointed
out by Yrwing, has also been quoted.[41] The Gotlandic duty to take
part in the Swedish *ledung*, stated in the *Guta saga*, was confirmed by
two of our most valuable Baltic Rim *scriptores*, Saxo Grammaticus
and Henry of Latvia, in contexts that derive the practice from before
1200 (Chapter Four). In fact participation in the *ledung* indicates an
integration that has gone further than that of a *skattland*, which cre-
ates particular interest in the many restrictions that are pointed out
in the saga. There, the Gotlanders seem to be at pains to minimise
their concessions to the king and *jarl*.

I believe Gotland began as a *skattland* very early in the gestation
of a wider Svea wealth outside the Mälar valley itself. However the
island community that we find around 1100 had been slower to take
on (or more successful in averting) integrative institutions than some
other regions. My hypothesis is that Gotland's rise to an autonomous
market island was caused not only by the external advances of
Europeanization but also linked to some contemporary weakness that
it brought to the Svear. The idea is not entirely new. Yrwing has
suggested that the decline of trade in Birka and Sigtuna correlated
with the increased importance of the Baltic south coast, and that
the rise of Gotland was a function of that general trend.[42]

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[41] Wulfstan's statement regarding Gotland (KAO 1) is corroborated by the nar-
rative of the Curonian relationship to the Svear (RVA 30), namely by the geo-
graphical circumstances. For the problem as a whole, cf. Yrwing 1978 p. 19ff.

[42] Yrwing 1940 pp. 36–45.

The first problem is to show whether Sweden was so shaken by the early approach of Europeanization that its grip over Gotland had slackened. This was mentioned in Chapter Six and will be treated at length in Chapter Nine. The following is an abstract of both.

In the early 1120s, when the Stenkil dynasty expired, an era of chaos began. In the 1130s a certain Sverker, of low birth according to Saxo, emerged as uncontested ruler of the entire Swedish realm—at least for a while. His remarkable successive marriages to Ulfhild, the wife of King Niels of Denmark (while the latter was still alive, says Saxo), and to Richiza, widow of Niels' son Magnus, indicate close contacts with the figures I called 'the Richiza league', or what remained of them some time after 1134. Whatever connections there may have been between Magnus Nielsen's candidature to a kingship of Götaland and Sverker's access to the Swedish throne, both events seem to signify a definite shift of balance in the Swedish realm. From this point, the Götalands clearly manifest themselves as its most dynamic part. Around Mälaren, on the other hand, signs of decay are indicated, perhaps connected to a last pagan insurrection.

Adam of Bremen was amazed by the wealth of Sigtuna, since during Bishop Adalvard's first visit a single mass-sacrifice had yielded 70 marks of silver.[43] Also in Sigtuna, local monuments mark the presence of Frisians and Russians. Two famous eleventh-century rune stones commemorate the *frisa kiltar* . . . 'members of the Frisian guild', and rich archaeological finds and references to a Russian church tell of well-developed exchange with the Orthodox sphere as well. These records should probably be connected to a wave of Frisian coins pouring into western Russia.[44] These circumstances provide clear evidence that Sigtuna maintained the traditional role of a commercial broker between East and West all through the 11th century and probably even longer.

However, the archaeologist Mats Roslund has recently brought forward new evidence which indicates that Sigtuna's eastern connection was disturbed around 1130/40. Roslund observes that the importation of Byzantine wine and oil amphoras rose considerably

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[43] ABG IV:30 Schol. 142.
[44] UR 379, 391; cf. von Friesen 1908; Tesch [ed.] 1990. See also Gillingstam 1981; Sjöberg 1985; Lind 1990 p. 20f., 1992; Kirkinen 1995 pp. 66–80; K. Jonsson 1997 p. 9f.

from the middle of the 11th century, culminating around the 1130s, but fell precipitously after that. The strength of his observation is found in the parallel curves he can show from Novgorod. Even there, these markers of imports decline precipitously about 1130/40 and practically cease at the beginning of the 13th century.[45] To me, this suggests the existence of a more general conjuncture phenomenon affecting conditions for trade in both centres. A decline in the importation of these Mediterranean goods over the eastern route may be linked to the great changes occurring at the macro-level of European trade, politics and ideology in the 1120s and 30s.

A likely context is found in the growing tension within the Kievskaya Rus, culminating in the political separation of Novgorod from the dynastic Russian power order, beginning in the 1130s. These events may (in a way that remains far from clear) be connected to the decline of Byzantium in the eastern Meditarranean and the accelerated rise of Venice's sea wealth, which in turn would have some bearing on the general rise of the western core area. The amphora fragments from Sigtuna (and Lund) may be markers of an older, receding tradition of long-distance trade. In Sigtuna's case, the strain of changing conditions also coincided with the removal of its bishopric, which happened at the precise moment when such institutions began to be an economic magnet in themselves. In Roslund's opinion, however, this was not mainly due to Sigtuna being cut off from its Eastern connections. In his source material, pottery, an Eastern influence remains well into the 13th century, while a clearly German and generally Western influence is felt from the 1180s.[46] The conclusion which we may safely draw is that Sigtuna suffered some blows due to changes at the macro-economic and political level, and lost its pivotal position in Sweden to newer centres, particularly in Götaland. Nevertheless these blows were far from fatal, and Sigtuna was to play a role in the recovery of the Mälar valley, beginning in the latter part of the 12th century.

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[45] Roslund 1997 p. 270ff. Particularly important in my opinion is Roslund's observation that this kind of find is unknown in the somewhat later founded towns like Kalmar, Söderköping and Stockholm; they have not even been found in the twelfth-century metropolises of Visby and Lübeck.

[46] I am grateful to Mats Roslund, Lund, for a long and detailed personal discussion on these matters. The use I make of his observation is however entirely my own opinion.

I have pointed out the parallel existence of two economic systems on the Baltic Rim, and referred to them as the Old and the New systems, having 'eastern' and 'western' connotations respectively (Chapters Three and Four). From the 10–12th centuries the two struggled over traditional sea routes and trading nodes. Sweden, and notably the Mälar valley, remained with the Old system for considerably longer than the other Scandinavian regions.

A clear sign of this is Sweden's return to a weight sterling economy. Around the turn of the first millennium, all the Nordic kings (including the grand princes of Rus) had begun minting. In Denmark and Norway coins continued to be minted in accordance with the Western system, but from the middle of the 11th century Sweden went back to circulating foreign coins, bars and hacksilver, as had been the practice during the Viking Age.[47] A similar regression occurred in the Russian lands, where it continued well into the 14th century. So the late development among the Svear of the Mälar valley, noted repeatedly, may have a remaining link to Russia as one of its aspects.

The close connections between the Mälar valley and Novgorod are confirmed occasionally in Icelandic sagas. Apart from these late and literary recollections, we can ascertain in more solid sources that they involved broad social elements among the Svear. In some forty places in the central Svea lands we find runic inscriptions, mostly from the 11th century, telling of individuals travelling to Rus and further towards Byzantium. Added to these are some 25 inscriptions telling of the expedition of Ingvar to Saerkland, possibly in 1041.[48] The large number of runic inscriptions from Svealand bearing witness of visits to Novgorod, Rus or Greece suggests that these travels were an integral part of the economic life of the Mälar valley. Probably not 'everybody' went, but certainly large segments of the population were involved, directly as travellers (the ships needed quite large crews) or indirectly as suppliers of ships, equipment or trade goods. It has often been discussed whether their aim was colonisation, military service, plunder or trade. Whatever character the voyages had, their purpose was to bring back profit, as is so bluntly

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[47] KL s.v. Mark, N.L. Rasmusson et al.
[48] S.B.F. Jansson 1963 pp. 42–76. M.G. Larsson 1997a pp. 13–19, 121–54.

stated by Torsten on the above-mentioned rune stone at Veda, . . . 'and bought this homestead and made the money east in *Gårdarike*'.[49]

Under the name of *variazi*, 'Varangians', these Nordic neighbours occur frequently in the *Povest' vremennykh let* (PVL), and Varangian streets and churches are noted in Novgorod itself, as well as in some linguistic features along the Volkhov towards Ladoga. Etymologically the word corresponds to Nordic *väring*, composed of the old Norse *vár*, 'oath', 'fidelity'. It has been used to signify sworn, confederate groups of Northerners who streamed into the realm of the Rurikids as a foreign contingent, in contrast to those who had come to stay and assimilate. In a technical sense the words *väring* and *variazi* thus come very close to the original meaning of the word *hansa*.[50] The marriage of Christina, daughter of King Inge I, to Prince (and later Grand Prince) Mstislav further confirms the existence of the Swedish-Russian link at the beginning of the 12th century.

As long as the Mälar valley kept its traditional eastward connections alive, it seems that its economic life remained in archaic forms. When the Russian trend met with difficulties in the second quarter of the 12th century, we notice that it was a component of conjunctural changes on a large scale.

The death of the Swedish-born princess in Novgorod in 1122[51] may have been the signal to engage in the new alliance system, symbolised by the marriage of her daughters Ingeborg and Malmfrid to two more westernised Scandinavian princes, as was outlined in Chapter Six ('the Russian sisters' alliance').[52] Such an alliance was clearly

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[49] UR 209; S.B.F. Jansson 1987 p. 57f.; Noonan 1994; Roslund 1997. Cf. Martin 1986 and the popular survey by M.G. Larsson (1997b, 1997c).

[50] W. Stein 1909; Goetz 1916 p. 19; Gilkaer 1980 pp. 126–29; Lind 1981 p. 152f. with note 18; Timmler 1991 p. 42; cf. Khoroshkevich 1993 p. 6f. In the PVL Varangians are frequently mentioned until the year 1042. Lind observes that, thereafter, the expression as a whole is more sparsely used in the texts. However, it was also used of merchants and has in modern Russian besides 'Scandinavian' come to signify 'pedlar'. A new meaning has developed in post-1991 Russia, where the word, according to a communication from Feodor Uspenskij, has begun to signify private bodyguards.

[51] Rahbek Schmidt 1964 p. 35.

[52] The marriages might have been entered on far before, cf. Lind 1992 p. 228f. Even so, Kristina's death might have meant new political openings. Mstislav remarried immediately in Kiev, and his son Vsevolod married in 1123 (Rahbek Schmidt 1964 p. 35).

in line with the expansive intentions of Emperor Lothar. According to the so-called Artlenburg privilege, which I will examine in detail, the Gotlanders had received trading concessions—of what nature is unknown but much discussed—directly from Emperor Lothar. Whenever these privileges were given between 1125 and 1137, it was under the auspicies of the Vendic Viking Age, which is the point that needs to be made here. Treatment of other aspects of the Artlenburg problem will be postponed to the next section of this Chapter.

The Schleswig scholar Christian Radtke has observed that King Erik Emune during his short reign (1134–37) issued a privilege for the traders of Cologne, granting them trading rights in Schleswig in terms that are echoed somewhat in the Artlenburg text. Radtke draws the conclusion that King Erik's privilege is connected to that of the emperor, and that together the two privileges established the commercial axis Rhineland-Schleswig/Denmark-Gotland-Novgorod and made it *handelsrechtlich abgesichert* in pre-Hanseatic times.[53] The observation indicates more than it actually states. The sea routes of the Baltic were apparently originally secured by the larger kingdoms, and their maintenance may have been one of the foremost reasons for their development as multi-regional polities. This is why I named the leading Viking-age route the Route of Kings. The connection now secured in the interest of continental agencies was the one I have called the Golden Diagonal. The political forces behind its achievement to a large degree coincide with 'the Russian sisters' alliance', which in turn had a staunch supporter in Emperor Lothar. Despite its many personal links to the old Uppsala dynasty, its activities must have affected the traditional interests of the Svear quite unfavourably. On the other hand it brought new opportunities to their remote *skattland* of Gotland.

Gotland's transition into a market island

We recall the important occasion in the island's history, when people of various tongues began to gather on the island and the remarkable peace was sworn, that the Gotlandic coast eight fathoms inwards from the shore should be a free zone for all foreigners. Another

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[53] Radtke 2002 pp. 390–93, 395–97.

glimpse of a moment of change is offered by the great silver hoard found in Burge in Lummelunda, supposedly the latest of the long line of Viking-age silver hoards found on Gotland. Its weight of 10.57kg makes it one of the greatest among them. It contained jewellery, some 30 bars and 3,290 coins, among which more than one third had come directly from the mint of Goslar in southeast Saxony, close to the silver mines at Rammelsberg. The find also contains the oldest known coin of Gotlandic stamping (weighing more than those produced later) and 12 Novgorodian *grivnas*, on which the personal name *Byleta* is stamped. The *terminus post quem* of the hoard is 1143.[54] This individual fortune was deposited according to the old custom, yet its contents tell of new times, with new demands and new nodes of control. Thus it constitutes a semi-literary (the coins have texts) frozen moment, a private person's cash-fund that amazingly reflects the new opportunities on the island as a whole; indeed a discovery report.[55]

The stamping of local coins is a measure along the same line as swearing an oath of basic security for foreign sailors and traders when 'manifold tongues' began to gather. Both tell of a community preparing itself to receive strangers. Marking the island's transition from a seafarers' base to an international market place was indeed a moment of change. When did it happen?

   The earliest known notices of active Novgorodian trade on the Baltic are found in the Novgorodian Chronicle of the years 1130 and 1134. Both tell of Russian active trade in Denmark, but the former also mentions seven ships that sank on their way home from Gotland.[56] This means that foreigners speaking in unknown tongues had appeared on the island not later than 1130. The notices suggest that these journeys were already routine and some genuine pioneers may have appeared before, possibly around 1050, as Roslund suggests after having looked into the stratigraphy of Visby, prudently adding that the breakthrough was delayed into the following

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[54] Rasmusson/Nathorst-Böös 1968; Thunmark-Nyhlén 1983; Hatz 1990.

[55] I was rather taken aback when I found that the Burge hoard had been put to a similar use in the manuscript that Christian Radtke of Schleswig was good enough to submit for my perusal, later appearing as Radtke 2002 (pp. 379–81). After a short hesitation, I decided not to abort it in mine. It is after all a remarkable find, and this is precisely the use that it merits.

[56] Rahbek Schmidt 1964 p. 37f.

century.[57] A remarkable Orthodox influence on Gotlandic church art at the beginning of the 12th century suggests intensified contacts with Russia and Novgorod in particular. However this artistic trend was short-lived, and it was almost completely displaced by the west European Romanesque style by the middle of the century.[58] We may also note that the models of the coins that began to be stamped on the island came from the West.[59]

We can thus count several indications of Gotland making adjustments in the 1120–40 era. If there really was a remarkable and decisive event of foreigners suddenly appearing, as the narrative in the town code claims, we will never know. Russians, who may have appeared long before, were not always easy to distinguish from Viking-age Scandinavians. What is new to the situation in 1120–40 is the manifest Western interest, including Germans, and the issuing of legal arrangements, which indicates that this really was Europeanization.

In this context, we may also note that the Novgorodians, like the Gotlanders, endeavoured to regulate their stock of Viking-type 'weighed money' around 1130/40, not into a monetary system but into the *grivna* currency, based on a sterling silver *grivna* of a weight that was only a few grams less than the Svealand mark. It was not princely power that was responsible for the weight and quality of the *grivnas*, but currency officials, stamping the bars to guarantee their value.[60]

Just as the Gotlandic coinage marks an independence from Sweden, the Novgorodian *grivna* reform coincides with the beginning of that city's breakaway from Kiev. Chronologically, the reforms of Gotland and Novgorod correspond, and even if they appear to strive in different directions from a numismatic point of view, they indicate similar political reactions. Both cases manifest a 'republican' independence from the greater realms to which they had belonged; both the separatist territories exploded in dense, rich and lavish church-building, in their developing two cities as well as in their respective countrysides. In addition to exhibiting wealth, the many twelfth-century churches in the Novgorod surroundings and on Gotland may

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[57] Roslund 2001 p. 247.
[58] Lagerlöf 1990, 1999.
[59] Rasmusson (s.a.) compares them particularly to coins from the Liège and Brabant region.
[60] Timmler 1991 pp. 112–114, 118–120; Janin 2001 pp. 143–47.

perhaps be seen as symbols of Christian righteousness and respectability in spite of their respective 'revolutions'.[61]

In this context it is interesting to observe an event that might signal Swedish disapproval of the recent changes in Novgorod. This was a sea expedition in 1142 of 60 ships, led by a Swedish *knjaz* (prince) and including a bishop. The presence of the latter would indicate crusading objectives, but according to the First Novgorod Chronicle, the expedition ended up attacking 'guests' (*gosti*), coming from the other side of the sea, i.e. trading ships.[62] For the episode to make sense, these trading ships must have come along some other route than the one following the Swedish coast towards the Gulf of Finland via Åland; they had probably come via Gotland. This indicates that they might have intentionally avoided asking for the king's protection and perhaps payment of a fee. Whatever the declared motives for the expedition of 1142, it may be suspected of seeking compensation for diminishing trade on the Swedish side. Furthermore it introduces a geo-political theme in Swedish history that was to become classic: the ambition to gain control over the Neva estuary and the innermost part of the Gulf of Finland for trade-political reasons.[63]

Although few, these items of evidence make it quite safe to claim that the island community of Gotland underwent decisive change in the 1120–40 era, when it was transformed from being mainly a home base for long-distance merchants into a flourishing market place, to which people from all over Europe were soon to come. But an apparent anomaly also emerges. It seems as if the discovery of Gotland by Europeanization agents was undertaken from the *East*! However, I have already introduced a discovery report which provides a context for this (in the light of previous research) rather surprising conclusion.

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[61] I am relying particularly, on the hypothesis launched by Wienberg (2000 pp. 69–84). For the intense church-building in twelfth-century Novgorod, see Gordienko 2001 pp. 251–63.

[62] Rahbek Schmidt 1964 p. 43.

[63] The localisation of this event to the Finnish bay is merely circumstantial (it was directed towards pagans, and it disturbed traffic on Novgorod).

The narrative of how the 'Austerwegr' was won for Europeanization

According to *Knýtlinga* saga, Knud Lavard was approached by an accomplished character called Viðgaut, who was a tradesman in the old-fashioned style from Sembland. This was a little-known yet important trading nation in the southeast corner of the Baltic, where the river Nemunas discharges into Kurisches Haff. Viðgaut, says the saga, knew all the routes, all the dangers and possibilities of the eastern commerce. He proved as much to the Duke of Schleswig, by providing him with an enormous quantity of fur, with which the duke was able to impress the emperor. During the winter, the saga says, the duke had talked a great deal to Viðgaut about the *Austerwegr*, and when spring came he had made up his mind to ask for the hand of Ingeborg, daughter of King Harald of Novgorod, otherwise known as Mstislav Vladimirovich (Chapter Three).[64]

This narrative seems to provide a key to the interpretation of the events under discussion: the problem of the Eastern Route, the pagan-Christian dilemma, the continental demand for 'Russian' commodities, and the need for political confirmation in the form of marriage alliances. These aspects of trade politics are the components of which its drama is built. That winter, when Knud Lavard sat pondering over the Eastern Route (whether this happened or the saga condenses a more complicated process) it seems that the *scriptor* is commenting on preparations to change the focus from the previously dominating northern Route of Kings, which linked Ladoga to Mälaren and the Swedish east coast route, to a more easterly one, with Gotland as its chief trading port. The narrative will thus run as a metaphor for the following structural changes:

- the attempt of the Europeanization agent Knud Lavard to cut into the Old system of trade
- the attempt of the Monomakhovids to establish good relations in the West
- the establishment of Gotland as an international market place
- the rise of Schleswig-Gotland-Novgorod communications
- the crisis in Sweden and the beginning of its new political policy on Baltic trade

[64] The habit of Norse and Russian naming of Russian royalty is discussed by Lind 1992 pp. 225–28, 253–56 & passim.

Whether the *scriptor* had full knowledge of these movements from
the 1120–40s, or understood them in a more intuitive sense, I leave
as an open question. With regard to the *Knýtlinga* saga we often
don't know to what extent it builds on authentic twelfth-century
sources. Even if the picture it offers is merely an interpretation with
poetic licence, the *scriptor* has applied his twelfth- or thirteenth-century
wisdom in worldly matters to a dramatic intrigue in which gift
exchange and trade politics provide the sustaining elements. His pic-
ture is important for our understanding when compared to Saxo and
Helmold, who only had kingship theory, national devotion and dynas-
tic implications before their eyes.

I have already discussed how in the 1120s the grand dukes of Kiev
and their juniors in Novgorod entered into a far-sighted alliance with
the King of Norway and the Duke of Schleswig, while in 1122 the
matrimonial alliance between Kievskaya Rus and Sweden expired.
In the same year, the Concordat at Worms liberated Germany from
papal opposition over its policy towards neighbouring Baltic Rim
countries. A few years later, the new German king Lothar III made
an effort to create a Christian Vendic state with unique possibilities
of dominating the East-West Baltic trade, with Knud Lavard as its
king from 1127. These projects caused the kings of Denmark and
Poland much irritation, which in my interpretation developed into
a war along the Baltic trade routes which included the *Kalmarna
leiðangr* of 1123 or 24. These events led to Knud Lavard's murder
on January 7, 1131, by Magnus Nielsen, son of the Danish king and
son-in-law of the Polish ruler.

   According to Helmold of Bosau, the murder caused such great
sorrow at the German court that Lothar in person led a large army
prope civitatem Sleswich ad vallum illud notissimum Dinewerch . . . 'close to
the city of Schleswig, by the famous defences of Danavirke'. There,
in the autumn of 1131, he forced Magnus to pay a heavy fine for
manslaughter and surrender to imperial homage.[65] We cannot know
whether Helmold has described the power positions correctly,[66] but

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[65] HCS 46–50. The political rather than military nature of this incident is under-
lined by the fact that Lothar's tenants in chief may not have been compelled to
cross the borders of Denmark. (cf. Krieger 1996 pp. 151–68, particularly p. 159.)
   [66] Lund (1996 p. 217) thus writes that Erik Emune endeavoured to involve
Emperor Lothar on his side, which finds some justification in SGD:8:4–5; but to

the imperial march up to Schleswig obviously secured an independent position for town and duchy in relation to the Danish Crown.

The liberation efforts on Gotland and in Novgorod were thus preceded by large-scale tumults on the Baltic Rim. The most important aspect of this was that the west European World-system, with King/Emperor Lothar as a leading actor, had endeavoured to establish itself on the Baltic. These efforts were obviously creating a chain reaction for the trading peoples of the Rim. Novgorod for its part had developed connections with Schleswig during the time of Knud Lavard, and it is characteristic that Russian ships had been plundered or impeded in 1134 during the Danish civil war, which brought Knud's brother Erik to the throne and into a new Russian marriage. Between 1132 and 1136, political changes also took place in Novgorod, making the town with its enormous hinterland a practically independent realm which may have been able to look after its Baltic interests without having to consider the opinions of Kiev.

At the period when foreign languages began to be used on Gotland on a more frequent basis, the island community became a market place for the great trading currents. This ought to have made the Gotlanders natural allies of Knud Lavard and his relatives by marriage in Russia.[67] I have even gone so far as to point out a Gotlander, anonymous but well-confirmed on two rune stones in Stenkumla parish, as a potential real-world Viðgaut. Eventually Lothar III granted privileges directly to the Gotlanders, as the Artlenburg privilege relates. A suitable opportunity for winning them would have been when the latter was at Schleswig late in the summer of 1131, but German researchers have preferred to date the event to 1134.[68]

The settled peace with Sweden

According to the *Guta saga*, a certain Avair Strabein 'from the parish of Alva' established peace with the Svea king. The reference to a

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my mind overstates the importance of Erik to Lothar's decision. The entire SGD XIII may be regarded as a description of a Saxonian breakthrough in Denmark.

[67] GR 207–08. Gotland is mentioned in the Schleswig Law as a symbolic destination for journeys abroad.

[68] Hofmeister 1926 p. 82f.; UHdL 48; cf. Radtke 1995 p. 60f. The justification for the later date is that the Artlenburg text refers to the preceding privilege as issued by Emperor Lothar, who received this title only in 1133. However Henry the Lion with his pride in ancestry may have recalled his grandfather in this way.

parish suggests that his achievement belonged to Christian times, although this may be a wishful conjecture by the author. It must have been long before the saga was written, since Avair was then apparently surrounded by mythical fame. It is not possible to say whether the facts from which the tradition arose lay as far back as the 9th century, or whether the story was built on some later event. Of course we cannot claim that Gotland's link to the Svear had been uninterrupted since the days of Wulfstan. In any case the original peace treaty must have been reconsidered several times before it was condensed into the saga (cf. the slightly older Curonian example).[69]

Avair's peace was negotiated with an un-named Svea king. A narrative frame demonstrates the rustic shrewdness of a legendary folk-hero, but the actual content of the clauses clearly shows a varied chronology. It contains the following points:

(1) The Gotlanders' tribute to the Svea king is to be 60 marks sterling.
(2) This tribute is to be divided so that the king receives 40 and the *jarl* 20 marks.
(3) The Gotlanders' submission is made of their own free will and with previous consent of the land.
(4) The agreement guarantees that the Gotlanders are allowed to go wherever they wish in the Svea realm, free from taxes and tariffs without being charged with *kornband* (prohibition of corn export) or other restrictions, in return for which the Svear may visit Gotland on reciprocal terms.
(5) The Svea king takes them under his protection, to help and support them if they are in need and ask for help.
(6) Envoys from the king and *jarl* shall come to the *gutnal þing* to collect the tribute.

One clause remains, but let us reflect on the chronology and other circumstances that the statutes have revealed so far. As the amount of the tribute is modest for a twelfth- or thirteenth-century context, it may have been frozen for quite a long time.[70] In itself, this pro-

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[69] Cf. UR 614; SöR 174. According to Guta saga, kings did attack Gotland in the pre-Christian era (GS 2). West-Nordic texts also tell of Norwegian jarls and kings taking tribute on the island (see I. Jansson 1983 p. 460ff.). This must not be taken as proof of a more continuous Norwegian hold on Gotland, but rather as a reflection of the intended readers' sphere of interest. In stories about prominent exiled Norwegians taking tribute on Gotland, the background could be that they were in the service of a Swedish or Danish king.

[70] Lindquist 1984 pp. 139–50. Cf. that around 1070 one single mass in Sigtuna had brought 70mks of silver (ABG IV:30, Schol. 142). In the middle of the 9th century Birka was salvaged by a tribute of 100 *libras argenti* (RVA 19). The libra may

vides little help with dating, but gives the impression that the frame
of an agreement must have been in existence for several centuries,
while the content probably underwent changes.

   The mutual free sailing to and from the Swedish mainland, includ-
ing exemptions from customs and taxes, recalls the privilege given
by King Magnus Ladulås to the Gotlanders in 1276.[71] The saga ver-
sion may be older, but due to the similarities not very much older.
Both refer to exporting food products to Gotland without restric-
tions (*kornband*[72]); this indicates a date when Gotland's support sys-
tem had become strained, particularly due to the growth of Visby.
At the time of the saga's conception, these were fairly up-to-date
regulations, akin to other privileges issued by Magnus.[73] We may
recall that the rules on Gotlandic *ledung* service recorded by the saga
are decidedly more lenient and depending on the benevolence of
the Gotlanders than the conditions issued by Magnus in 1285,[74] and
that the positions taken by the saga on most other matters are gen-
erally of an older character.

   The saga's reference to the *jarl's* office has a fairly clear chrono-
logical frame. Its emergence as a vice-kingship belongs to the mid-
dle of the 12th century, and it was upheld until the death of Jarl
Birger II. The 2:1 degree of distribution between king and *jarl* is

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have related to the mark as 3 to 2, (S.O. Jansson 1936 p. 14) which would thus
give a tribute of between 60 and 70mks. According to the PVL s.a. 6390 (= AD
882) Novgorod was to pay 300 grivnas each year to the Varangians (Norrback 1919
p. 16). However, when Lübeck was granted the position of *specialis Civitas et locus
Imperii et ad dominium Imperiale specialiter pertinens* (*Reichsstadt*), its tax was settled at
60mks silver. (LübUB 1:35).
   [71] PSS I:1; DS 611; ST I:141, 144; cf. Yrwing 1978 pp. 23–33. According to
the 1276 privilege the Gotlanders were allowed to go where they wished and buy
as well as freely export grain and butter and what else they needed, as long as
there was no famine. When they came to the towns of the realm with cloth and
other items they should have the same right as the inhabitants. Likewise, all inhab-
itants in the provinces and towns of the realm were free to visit Gotland without
taxes.
   [72] *Kornband* can hardly have been an import restriction, as is claimed in Holmbäck
and Wessén 1979:4 p. 306 note 22, but an export prohibition due to the support
situation. That the subjects of the Svea king according to the saga are allowed to
trade on Gotland without *kornband* probably means that grain export was allowed
from the mainland. From Gotland, however, grain export is hardly assumable.
   [73] Hypothetically, it may go back to a privilege issued in connection with Valdemar's
coronation in 1250, just as the 1276 one was issued in connection with that of
Magnus Ladulås. For the Riga privilege, DS 607, with reference to the eventual-
ity of restrictions, and that Lübeckers and Gotlanders were under the same rule.
   [74] PSS I:5, DS 815, ST I:141. See above, Ch. IV:1, 3.

also known from the coastal districts of Östergötland.[75] One chrono-
logical layer in the saga tradition may thus be roughly captured in
the interval 1150–1266. This layer probably also includes the saga's
version of the *herferð* or *ledung* commitment, which is presented in
the text as an innovation after the Gotlanders had 'taken' bishop
and priests. Saxo, we recall, did not hesitate to take the tradition
back to pagan times. As for hard evidence of Gotlandic participa-
tion in Swedish *ledung* enterprises, we have a *t.a.q.* here around 1190.[76]
The narrative of Avair mentions only the encounter with a king,
which suggests that the stratum of Swedish-Gotlandic relations con-
nected with the *jarl's* office is a secondary contribution, and that the
saga also gives traditions belonging to an older date.

   It has been necessary to make these assessments before looking
into the last trade-political article of the saga. I believe this rule has
not received the attention it deserves in the comprehensive discus-
sion of *Guta saga*. It stipulates the Gotlandic demands on the mes-
sengers of the king and *jarl*:

(7) *þair sendibuþar aighu frið lysa gutum alla steþi til sykia yfir haf sum upsala kunungi til hoyrir. Oc so þair sum þan wegin aigu hingat sykia.*[77]	the messengers shall proclaim peace for the Gotlanders to go to all places over the sea belonging to the Uppsala king, and likewise for those who may rightfully come here that way.[78]

This clause treats the same subject as the fourth one discussed above:
the peace for the Gotlanders to sail along the seaways and to places
under the king's control. It is not unusual that early written treaties
contain earlier and later decisions overlapping each other.[79] The sev-
enth clause partly conforms to the fourth, but it is clearly older. This
may be concluded from its use of the archaic expression 'Uppsala
king', which indicates that this sentence may belong to the pre-12th

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[75] KL s.v. Jarl, Sve, J. Rosén; Fritz 1971.
[76] HCL I:13 and above Ch. IV:1; GS 6; Pernler 1977 p. 64, cf. pp. 60–65.
[77] GS 2.
[78] The meaning has been interpreted as follows: The Gotlanders shall be invio-
lable in all the king's lands, and the inhabitants there shall be inviolable on Gotland
(Holmbäck and Wessén 1979:4 pp. 293, 306 note 24.) This does not add very
much to what has already been said about the mutual freedom of trade between
Gotlanders and Svear.
[79] The Jaroslav treaty is another example, see Ch. VII:4.

century level.[80] However, since the *jarl's* envoy is mentioned in the same clause, we are probably dealing with an older issue which was re-examined after the appearance of the *jarl's* office in the mid-12th century. Since it was also re-negotiated at an even later date (but probably before Magnus Ladulås issued his 1276 privilege), its theme stands out as central in the saga's survey of agreements with the Svea king.

The theme is the crucial problem of safe conduct. Submission meant that the king (from a given moment together with the *jarl*) guaranteed the Gotlanders' comings and goings over the seas of the realm, which as a variable political matter had to be officially proclaimed each year. It agrees with the hypothesis that the Svea kings of old really did keep a check on commercial traffic, and offers a deeper meaning to the concept of a king's sea route suggested above. It also suggests an explanation for the strong position offered to the *jarl* in the mix of treaties that constitutes this part of the *Guta saga*, since one of his chief tasks was to hold the coastal areas, administer the *ledung* and keep the sea routes in good order. Envoys of the Swedish government acted as security guarantors on waterways and at trading places, functions which should be elementary in the growth of the political kingdom. The first sentence of the clause could thus have been retained from much earlier, with only minor adjustments.

There is a second phrase that I find even more interesting, and equally disregarded. It states that the peace will also include all those who have the right to go to Gotland that way—via the Svea king's waters. Where the fourth clause is expressed in terms of reciprocity, this one resembles a one-sided privilege from older times, when the charismatic king's dominance was little questioned. The wording actually confirms my supposition that the Svea kings of the pre-12th century era aimed at controlling traffic to and from Gotland. As we have seen, the waters of the Svea king may refer not only to the sea routes between Gotland and Öland, and upward along the

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[80] According to H. Janson (1998 p. 114ff.) the last of the Uppsala kings was Emund, who ruled in the 1050s. However, the significance of the ascription to the sacrificial centre might have to do with acceptance of the king to officiate at the *blot*; the first one said to refuse was a certain Anund around 1070, who was therefore rejected as a king. After some turbulence the significance of kingship was changed. ABG Schol. 84. H. Janson 1998 p. 170. The last kings of the Uppsala dynasty, if the line of the Stenkils is included, would have been Philip, Inge II and plausibly Ragnvald, who died in the 1120s.

Swedish archipelago, but also to the Gulf of Finland, between Wiek and Virland for example, and other places where the king's men might lie in wait.

We must now consider Gotland's position within the exchange system, particularly with respect to the hypothesis that Europeanization agents would have tried to sail for new destinations where the presence of the gradually-strengthening semi-peripheral kingdoms remained weak.

As regards the moveable stratum of the Old system, several mainland Swedish rune stones testify to connections with Gotland in the 11th century. Most are from Uppland, where one or two place names may also strengthen the traditions. Most of the inscriptions are compatible with peaceful exchange; one, a characteristic Gotlandic picture stone, somewhat superfluously states that the erectors *fyrþo stin þina af kutlandi* ... 'brought this stone from Gotland'. Two different texts tell of men taking ill and dying when visiting the island; one of them was collecting the *kialt* ... 'geld', thus in some sense levying an earlier version of the tribute known from the saga. Yet another Upplander probably died in the port of Boge on the northeast coast; perhaps he was on his way further to the east, like Sven of Mervalla who had steered his *knarr* many times to Semigalia via Gotland and around Domesnäs. Just one inscription from the Swedish mainland (Södermanland) tells of a violent death in connection with Gotland.[81] The general context of these journeys seems to be trade and political ceremony.

A quite detailed insight into the organisation of such traffic is presented in the *Vita* of St. Botvid, a later source thought to draw from an original written in the late 12th century. It describes the miracles by a converted 'country squire' living by Lake Mälaren, a short distance east of Björkfjärden and the national centres of Birka and Alsnö. He had bought a captured *Slavum*,[82] probably a man of Vendic origin, and having converted him to Christianity, wished to arrange

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[81] SvR: UR 375, 414, 527, 614. For the place name *Gutasund* (1304), today Gottsunda, a suburb of Uppsala, see Calissendorff 1986 pp. 12, 40. cf. her opinion on Gottröra p. 34.

[82] The Brev. Upsal. version of the text is much more articulate here, explaining him to be *hominem de Slavia oriundum, qui a hostibus captus, jure gentium, servus hostium factus fuit* ... 'a man originating from Slavia, that had been caught by enemies and according to the law of peoples had been made their slave'.

for his transport to Gotland, from where he should return to his own country as a missionary. This is how the *Vita* relates it: in the company of the Vend, the landowner went to *colonum terrae suae, Esbernum nomine . . .* 'a colonist (or tenant) living on hi*s* domains, by name of Esbjörn', who was obviously an expert on these coastal contacts. Acting as their *dux*, here probably meaning guide or pilot, Esbjörn led Botvid and his Vendic convert on a 100km journey through the outlet or portage of (Söder)Tälje, out into the coastal archipelago, to a place where the ships going to Gotland were known to gather. Botvid intended to commission a place on board for the Vend and to agree with the sailors to arrange for his further transport from Gotland. However the three men failed to find the fleet, whereupon the Vend lost his temper and killed the other two in their sleep. This was on Rågö, an island that is also mentioned in the well-known itinerary of King Valdemar's cadastre.[83]

We hear of the same ships returning, probably in the autumn. The narrative seems to describe a routinized collective *kaupferð*, similar to what people from the North Swedish regions are reported to have arranged to the Mälar region.[84] One of the ships may have carried the king's envoy, and their mutual timetable may have aimed at a meeting at an annual public feast in Visby by midsummer, continuing to the Gutnalting from there in the following week.[85] These central Swedish or Gotlandic ships probably gathered for quite a while at several stations before crossing the open sea, which may have been done from northern Öland. What we hear of is a time-consuming yearly migration, regulated as much by long tradition as by the contemporary authorities.

When Gotland opened up for international trade some time before 1130, however, it did not happen through a proclamation by a messenger of the Svea power, but through an oath, probably sworn by representatives gathered at the Gutnal *thing*. In the process leading up to this, we must imagine negotiations, not with the king's messengers, but with individuals similar to the Viðgaut-figure in the *Knýtlinga* saga; representatives of Schleswig, Alt-Lübeck, Novgorod

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[83] SRS II:14 pp. 379–81; Flink et al. 1995, cf. Ch. V:4.
[84] Heimskringla Har. Hårf. 19, Håk. Gode. 12; DS 1957, 1959, 1952; cf. Blomkvist 1996b p. 87f.
[85] Below Ch. VII:5.

etc. As I see it, the transformation of Gotland into an international market was a minor revolution.

Although these events would have had serious consequences in the Mälar valley, I can find no real indications of long-lasting bad relations with the Swedish mainland. In the 1140s the old realm gradually recovered from the crisis under the radically new leadership of Sverker. In 1142 it proved capable of sending a *ledung* fleet into the eastern Baltic, probably the Gulf of Finland, where it may have pretended to be on a crusade but actually struck at merchant ships. Nothing is said of the nationality of these ships, which may have been Gotlandic, Vendic or Danish. The only thing we know is that their loss affected the Novgorodians. To justify their actions, the Swedish authorities would have had to claim that they were defending *haf sum upsala kunungi til hoyrir . . .* 'the sea belonging to the Uppsala king' and that these ships had entered it wrongfully. I cannot say that this was so, only that the incident illustrates what might have happened if, for some reason, no messengers had come to Gotland and proclaimed the peace.

The seventh clause thus fits a situation which the Gotlanders challenged by opening up to the manifold tongues of Europeanization. They may have taken the step during the 1120s, when no proper Swedish kingship existed and their actions were easier to justify. However, as soon as the regime of Sverker was in control, a confrontation could be expected. We can imagine that a review of the *ledung* off Visby would lead to renewed negotiations, in which the old *skattland* constitution was probably modified, when the position of the *jarl* was written in, and the Gotlanders were compelled to take part in the *ledung*, albeit only towards pagans. We have seen a demonstration of the potential for such a review in 1142.

Kruttornet, Gutnalia and the confrontation with the Svear

A search for confirmation of this expected power struggle leads easily to Kruttornet ('The Powder Tower', a secondary name from the 18th century), the still-standing *kastal* overlooking what was once the northern inlet of Visby's harbour. Its coarse compact architecture gives a silent testimony that the twelfth-century harbour had a clear order of authority; he who possessed this construction (and a similar one thought to have stood on the southern inlet) could open and close the harbour at will, just as *Knýtlinga* saga describes Knud Lavard's

actions in Schleswig. Due to the lack of good sources, a somewhat limited debate has been waged over the years regarding whose authority this may have been, whether of the island community, the Germans or the Swedes.[86] What has been added to the discussion recently are two dendro-chronological datings of the building which, according to the most recent 'corrected' result, suggest its erection around 1158–61.[87] Thus, Kruttornet was built in a very decisive period during which affairs were settled between all these powers—but that is as much as one can prudently state.

Another reason for there being no long rupture between Gotland and the Swedish government was the island's integration into the emerging Swedish church province, when Gotland as well as Öland became part of Linköping's diocese. Particularly instructive is the foundation of the Cistercian abbey of Gutnalia. The question of who may have been its founder merits interest.

Given its setting at the meeting point for the all-Gotlandic diet, the participation of the island community, or rather its political *senio-rate*, is unavoidable. As for external influences, many channels were open towards Gotland in those days, and Danish as well as Saxon influences can be considered alongside mainland Swedish ones. Gutnalia is mentioned as a daughter foundation of Nydala in Småland, which makes the participation of the Bishop of Linköping clear, whether this was Gissle or Stenar.[88]

Various annals date the foundation at Roma to the period 1152/64. They may all be true in the sense that, like the eternal city, the monastery was not built in a day. These dates are interesting, since they appear to minimize the possibility of German and Danish participation. In 1159, a severe controversy along the lines of the former investiture struggle arose between Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and the newly-elected Pope Alexander III. As a consequence, Cistercians remaining loyal to Alexander had to leave Germany. The Danish King Valdemar I, still an imperial vassal, sided with his overlord and, as an extension of the struggle, Archbishop Eskil went into exile in 1159. Eskil, an enthusiast for the Cistercians, could have

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[86] S. Ambrosiani 1933; Fritzell 1963 p. 66f.; Yrwing 1978 p. 177ff.

[87] Westholm 1998 p. 45, with further information on the different dendro-investigations. Westholm 2000 p. 86.

[88] H. Schück 1959 p. 50.

been an active broker during the emergence of Roma, although more
as an agent of Europeanization than of nationalistic Danish inter-
ests. It may have been similar to the way he launched the church
province of Sweden, by consecrating the former Alvastra monk
Stephanus as the first Archbishop of Uppsala in the Cathedral of
Sens in France, in the presence of Pope Alexander. This happened
in 1164, which is considered to be the most plausible year for the
consecration of Gutnalia as well.[89]

According to Gustaf Lindström, by the end of the Middle Ages
the abbey possessed only 17½ farmsteads on the island, the central
domain of seven farmsteads included. In a sharp analysis of Early
Modern *cameralia* Tryggve Siltberg has shown that even this modest
domain included land which the Crown had obtained after the
Reformation. Even if the abbey had property in the 12th century
which it later lost, this is an extraordinarily low figure. In the Guta
law, we find extreme restrictions regarding donations to religious
institutions, connected to generally preservative regulations against
alienating landed property.[90] Even as the largest property owner on
Gotland, Gutnalia would have been a poor Cistercian abbey. However
it possessed some 24–25 *attungs* on northern Öland, and its main
landed property came to be no less than 96 *haken* (one haken equalled
in principle one household) in northern Estonia.[91]

As regards the provenance of these three categories of property,
no other authority than the Gotlandic *seniores* can have sanctioned
the Gotlandic share. Those on Öland belonged to an area where
several Swedish Cistercian abbeys received land, which has led
Herman Schück to conclude that a general donation must have been
made in the 12th century, the size of which was so large that the
only potential donor could have been the Crown or either of the
competing royal dynasties. The Estonian property was given by Knud
Valdemarsen, son of the Danish king in a liason with Esbern Snare's
widow Helena, daughter of the exiled Swedish *jarl* Guthorm. In

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[89] Lindström 1895:II p. 171f.; Yrwing 1978 pp. 166–68; Ehlers 1996 p. 502ff., 517f with further references. For the consecration in Sens and its consequences, see Ch. V:2.

[90] Lindström 1895:II p. 159ff., 214–242, 357ff.; Siltberg 2000 pp. 116–19. Cf. GL k 7: 1–2, cf. 3:2, 4, 20, 24, 28, 29.

[91] Lindström 1895:II p. 218ff.; DMS Öland p. 38, pp. 47–61; Johansen 1933 passim (index pp. 940, 961f.).

1223–27 Knud bore the title of Duke of Estonia. The donation must have been made under insecure political conditions, at the time when the Danish monarchy was losing its hegemony on the Baltic, which explains why it was confirmed several times by later Danish kings.[92] Thus it has nothing to do with the foundation of the abbey.

Hence the foundation of a Cistercian abbey on Gotland was clearly inspired from the Swedish mainland, at a time when a new and to some extent Europeanized Swedish government was reclaiming its previous footing on Gotland, lost during the critical years of 1120–40. But times had changed, and full control over Gotland was no longer within their reach. The arrangements in the 1150s and 60s bear the imprint of a constitutional compromise. Kruttornet in Visby may have been a token of this; the Gutnalia abbey at Roma certainly was.

The Gotenhof

The great symbol of the Gotlanders' position as an independent trading nation in Novgorod was their possession of the Gotenhof (Gotland yard) on the merchants' side of the great city. According to a source from 1268, it included a church dedicated to St. Olof with a churchyard and a meadow nearby, together with store-rooms that might have been within the church building. A servitude granting the Gotlanders free passage through Jaroslav's courtyard to the market was issued by Prince Konstantin, who ruled 1205–07. Their yard lay close by the river, which is why the cost for having a *lodja* unloaded and the goods transported to the Gotenhof remained at 10 *kun*, while at the German Peterhof residents had to pay 15 *kun* for the same service.[93]

These circumstances indicate that the Gotenhof came into existence long before the German one. As early as the latter part of the 11th century, we hear of a church dedicated to St. Olof in Novgorod. According to a runic inscription from Skokloster in the Mälar valley, a man named Spjallbude had died there. It is unlikely that there were two different churches dedicated to the Norwegian saint, and

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[92] H. Schück 1953 p. 17f., 1959 p. 286f.; Johansen 1933 pp. 87f.; 784f. A student of mine, John Hutto, presents several new observations regarding the monastery's Estonian acquisitions in his recent master's essay.

[93] Goetz 1916 pp. 84–86, 113f., 159f.; cf. Svahnström 1960; Yrwing 1978 p. 132; Rybina 2001 pp. 298–304.

we may assume some form of continuity between the two records.
Since Spjallbude was of Svea descent, and since many runic inscrip-
tions tell of eastern travels from the Mälar valley, with merely two
or three Gotlandic equivalents,[94] we should not think of the Gotlanders
as forerunners on this route. It is more likely that they attached
themselves to a generally pan-Scandinavian activity going back to
the 9th century, in which the Svear (for reasons of affinity if no oth-
ers) represented the majority. This in turn suggests that the church
and trade court were open to all Varangians in the 11th century.
It has been pointed out that a Poromon's yard mentioned in *Nestor's
Chronicle*, where a large number of Varangians are said to have been
slaughtered in 1015, might in fact conceal a Nordic *farmanna garðr*.
Goetz' finding that Poromon is a verified medieval Russian male
name does not invalidate the former assumption.[95]

One essential aspect of how Gotland was discovered and European-
ized must certainly be buried in Novgorod: how did the inhabitants
of this limited island succeed to their unique position in Novgorod,
when at the same time the Varangian community faded away?

According to the *First Novgorod Chronicle*, a Varangian church burnt
down in 1152, 1181 and 1217.[96] In the latter case, countless goods
are said to have perished, which certifies the connection to a mer-
chant's yard. There is no simple way of telling whether this refers
to one or several establishments; this is even a loophole for arguing
that some Varangian trade remained. Yet in the 1260s no less than
three courts in the town belonged to Germans and Gotlanders,
although the Gotlanders were already said to have sold a *curiam
gilde*.[97]

It is thus plausible that the Gotland yard began as a Varangian com-
munity establishment which expanded and subdivided during favourable

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[94] GR 134, 220; Krause 1953.
[95] UR 687; PVL s.a. 6523 (1015); Svane 1983 p. 119, 278; Mikkola 1907; cf.
Goetz 1916 p. 86 note 1.
[96] Rahbek Schmidt 1964 pp. 46, 56, 80. cf. Rybina (1986 p. 27) on the late tra-
dition, that the *posadnik Dobrynja* who died in 1117 had founded a Catholic church
in Novgorod. Efforts to combine this item with the church of St. Olav (cf. Mühle
1991 p. 136ff.) are unlikely due to the considerably older runic evidence.
[97] The excavations at Gotenhof in 1968–70 were carried out in the 14th–15th
century layers, when the complex was leased by the Hanseatics, see Rybina 2001
p. 298ff.

periods, but which in the end was deserted by all but the Gotlanders (immigrants to the island included). It certainly looks as if the Gotlanders of 1268 had a property that was too big for them, which suggests that they had somehow taken over the heritage of other Nordic *farmän*. Restructuring the property in 1268, they probably kept the oldest and best-situated *curia* or yard, namely the old Varangian establishment with its church of St. Olof, the oldest and most venerated of the Nordic royal saints who had lived many years in Russia and was a protector of sailors.[98] The Gotenhof had a position and a past which connected it to the Varangian trade, and consequently the Gotlanders at some time must have forced their predecessors aside.

3. *The Problematic Privilege of Artlenburg and the Coming of the Germans*

Emergence, issuer, status of the sources and the text's contents

It appears that on October 18, 1161, in the old border-fortress of Artlenburg on the Elbe, Henry the Lion issued trade rights for Gotlanders in northern Germany. The document in question, known in literature as the Artlenburg treaty or privilege, gives the year as 1163, but says simultaneously that it was in the tenth year of Frederik Barbarossa's reign as king and in the seventh year of his imperial dignity, i.e. 1161. The latter date has been accepted as more plausible by researchers, because Bishop Gerold, mentioned in the list of witnesses, probably died as early as August 1163.[99]

The original document is lost, but the text is preserved in two independent versions which show small divergencies yet carry the same meaning in all matters of importance. In the provenance-oriented practice of Adolf Hofmeister they are called **L** and **H**, which I prefer to the a, b, c, d of Karl Jordan's issue in the *Urkundenbuch* of Henry the Lion. The problem involves several other documents, which has compelled me to elaborate the stemma (Figs. 11 and 12).

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[98] Svahnström 1979; Rumar 1997.
[99] UHdL 48; cf. Hofmeister 1926 p. 52ff. See also Yrwing (1940 pp. 113–16) for an explanation of the divergence.
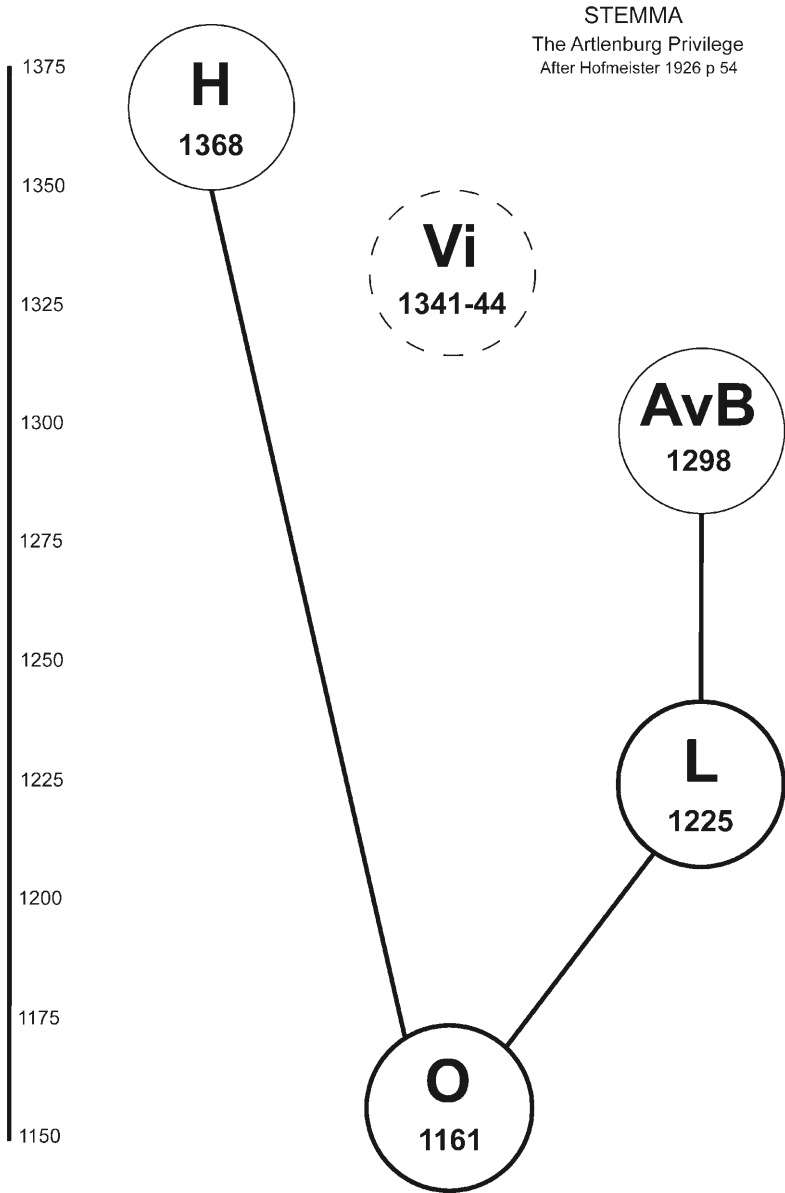
Fig. 11. Stemma, The Artlenburg Privilege after Hofmeister.
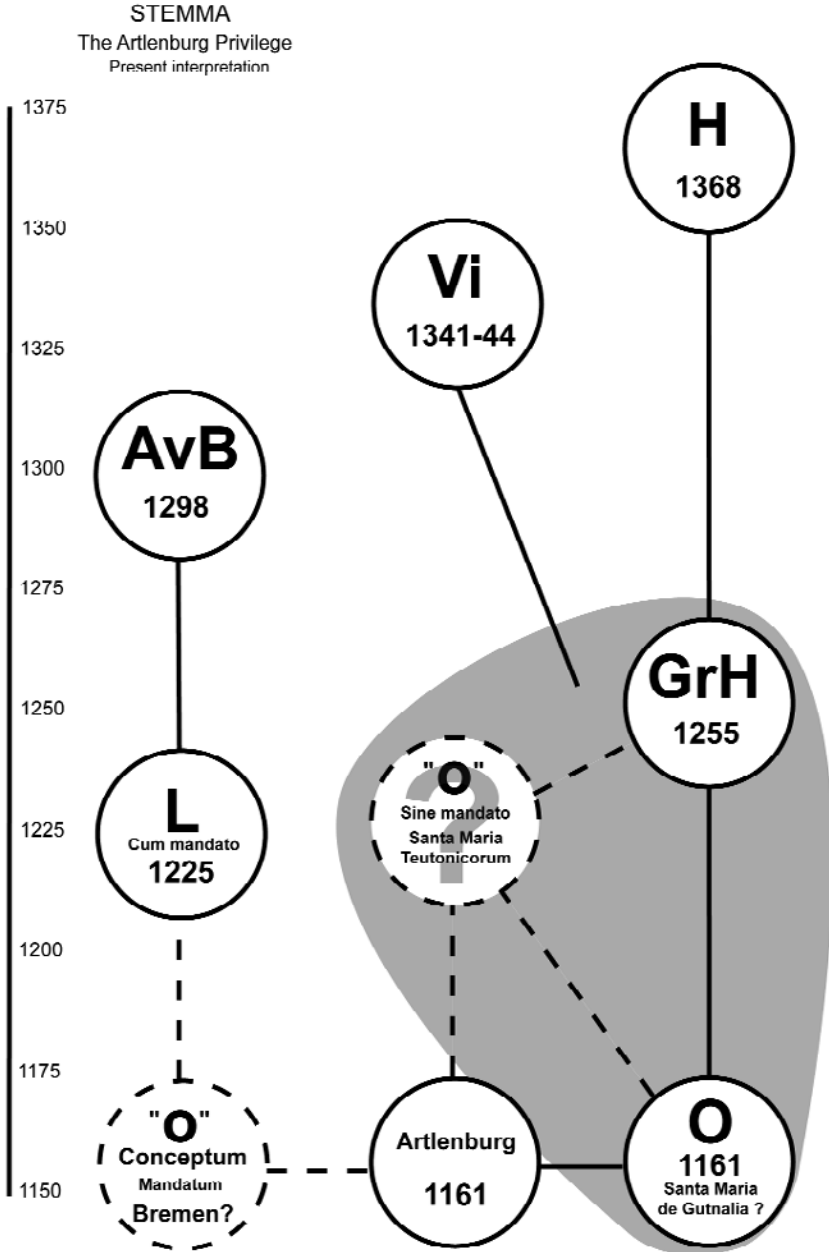
Fig. 12. Stemma, The Artlenburg Privilege. Present interpretation.

L is the older version. It is a transcription made in 1225 at the earliest, Hofmeister says, since it mentions the Church of St. Mary in Visby, but to judge from the handwriting not very much later.[100] It is furnished with the seal of the City of Lübeck. It was not issued by a named individual, nor has its authenticity been corroborated by any named persons. On the other hand the copyist provided some explicatory notes, sometimes referred to as *Kanzleibemerkungen* (chancellery remarks), which present the document as a *rescriptum* . . . 'transcription', and end by stating that 'the privilege' (here an original must be indicated, which I will call **o**) is preserved in the Church of St. Mary in Visby. It is thus implied, but not clearly stated, that **L** is a formal transcription of **o**. Added to **L** is a short text in which the duke orders an official in his service called Odelric to apply 'these law rules protecting the Gotlanders' (including those on the death penalty and mutilation) to Germans under his jurisdiction. In scholarly discussion this appendage is known as 'the Mandate for Odelric' (here **MOd**).[101] The **MOd** is followed by further chancellery remarks by the copyist of around 1230, which point out that 'Olric' was the Germans' emissary, whom the duke had appointed their 'bailiff and judge'. The scribe also adds that the Gotlanders' emissary was called 'Lichnat'.[102] The **L**-version was preserved in Lübeck, where it in turn was copied by a later town scribe (this version is not relevant here).

The other transcription, **H**, was issued in Visby on May 25, 1368 and was preserved in Hamburg. It is a formal attestation by the Dominican Prior and the Franciscan Guardian of Visby, together with their respective convents. This transcription also contains a ratification of the privileges issued by Johann and Gerhard, Grafen of Holstein, June 11, 1255 at an un-named place (this ratification will be called **GrH**), confirming that the almost-century-old privilege was still to be respected within the borders of these counts, with regard to *cives* from the town of Visby as well as those from the

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[100] In UHdL 48 Jordan dated the transcription to the first half of the 13th century, later (1973) however nailing it around 1230. Yrwing (1978 pp. 109–16) gives the same dating.

[101] ST I:42; UHdL (MGH) 48–49, cf. *115, *116. For the archival situation, see the discussion in Hofmeister (1926 p. 52ff.); cf. the formalia references in UHdL 48–49 and DS 7701. See also Bäärnhielm 1983 p. 455ff.

[102] The 'chancellery remarks' have been claimed trustworthy by von Brandt (1956 p. 37ff., 97) as well as Jordan (1973b p. 24ff.).

actual land of Gotland. Since the two counts had issued and attested documents in Livonia during the previous year, their corroboration was probably made on Gotland.[103] The date in June makes it plausible that this was done during a stay on the island on their way home. Together with **H**, the **GrH** makes it fairly certain that the original ducal privilege (which I shall have to call **O**) was preserved on Gotland a century after its issue, and remained there even when two centuries had passed. **H** is likely to have been based on **O**, either directly or indirectly through an older transcription taken along with **GrH.**

In conclusion, the overall similarity between the **o** text preserved in **L**, and the **O** text preserved in **H**, makes it certain that we possess the contents of the 1161 text. Many scholars have further presumed that **O** must have been identical with **o**.[104] However this is far from necessary. The provenance of **L** is not stated, whereas the definite Gotlandic tradition based on **H** shows no traces of the **MOd**. The small divergencies may indicate that **o** and **O** were two separate text versions.

Henry the Lion's issue takes the form of a confirmation of older rights. The Gotlanders (*gutenses*) received from Henry a privilege confirming the rights and peace that they had previously been granted by Henry's grandfather, Emperor Lothar (ruled 1125–37, as emperor from 1133). However, the duke states that he now separates every right 'each in one chapter'; according to Jordan this might mean that he specified the agreements in detail, pretending that they had been implied formerly. An account of these points is given below:

1. The Gotlanders will have peace throughout Henry's entire realm. Every injury or loss of property shall be adjusted by the duke's courts of law. Moreover, they are granted exemption from duty in all his towns.
2. If a Gotlander is killed in a town where the duke's market peace has been 'sworn', the death penalty shall be executed. If somebody is wounded or suffers injury from weapons, the hand of the guilty shall be cut off.
3. If somebody is hurt by stock or fist, the penalties of the town in question shall be executed. If a Gotlander is killed during the journey,

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[103] LECUB 261, 264–5, 267; DS 7701.
[104] E.g. Hofmeister 1926 p. 54. According to Rörig (1940 p. 8 note 1) Hofmeister has *endgültig Klarheit geschaffen* as to **o** = **O** + **MOd** being two different charters preserved in Visby; cf. Rennkamp 1977 p. 52f.

beyond the peace terms, the offender shall compensate the heirs with 40 mark deniers in the coinage of the land where it happened.[105]

4. If a Gotlander dies in any of the duke's towns, an heir or relative who is present shall immediately have access to the inheritance. If no such person is present, the property shall be held together for a year and a day (in keeping for the heir). If the heir has not claimed it by then, it goes to the town's judge.

5. The rights that the duke has granted his merchants are also offered to the Gotlanders, given that 'the Gotlanders offer us the same, love us and more frequently visit our harbour Lübeck'.

These articles are attested by sixteen magnates—three Northelbian bishops, one margrave (no name given), six counts, three men without specified titles, followed by *camerarius* Anno, chancellor (*drots*) Ludolf and finally another count, Reinhold of Lübeck.

At the risk of being overemphatic, I conclude that both **L** and **H** bear witness to an event in the early 1160s, when Henry the Lion gave the Gotlanders generous rights in his lands. The **MOd** (attached to **L**) refers to a time shortly afterwards when instructions regarding their application were communicated to one of his officials. In addition **L** bears witness to a time around 1225–30, when Lübeck procured a copy of **o** and **MOd** for its own use. Where this was done is not known. **H**, which derives from Visby, contains no trace of the **MOd**; nor does **GrH**, which was clearly preserved on Gotland in 1368. **H** testifies to two moments in history, one in 1255, another in 1368, when a Gotlandic **O** has been put to use directly or indirectly. We know of yet another occasion, in the 1340s, when the preserved version of the town code of Visby was written down. Its preamble, which I have already quoted, presents a short but impressive list of the town's legal traditions, among other things containing *den vrede unde dit recht* . . . the peace and the rights given by Emperor Lothar, and the peace given by Duke Henry and testified by sixteen German bishops and magnates, with the same names that appear in the **L**- and **H**-versions, meticulously transcribed into Platt-Deutsch.

The discussion

Interpretation of these sources has been debated since the 19th century. The discussion arose from a conviction, generally accepted in

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[105] Thus the privilege clearly covered a larger unit than *one* land.

those days, that German merchants had brought a superior Western European culture into a savage, primitive Baltic. Despite being a privilege for the Gotlanders in the territories of Henry the Lion, the duke's issue is generally regarded as a confirmation of an easily-achieved German dominance on Gotland and elsewhere.[106] This remarkable conclusion depended on the agreement with the Gotlanders being seen as a prompt response to the offer of peace and free trade which, according to Helmold of Bosau, Henry had sent to the four realms of the North on his foundation of Lübeck.[107] However, Helmold does not mention Gotland among the powers that were addressed, and another and more acute cause is mentioned in the text, namely a long dissension between Germans and Gotlanders which involved nuisances like hatred, hostility and manslaughter. The document has the character of a peace proclaimed by the *Landesherr* on behalf of his subjects, on the condition of its being bilaterally respected. Only the consideration about Lübeck's development that comes up at the end links the privilege to Helmold's notice more directly.

The main issue has been whether or not the reciprocity clause and the **MOd** implies that a German colony already existed in Visby, with Odelric as its leader exercising ducal authority. The well-known nineteenth-century editor Karl Koppmann suggested this conclusion, taking a good deal of the Gotlandic constitutional environment for granted, although it had been little studied in his day. Nevertheless the first German to study the German position on Gotland, Friedrich Frensdorff, goes further, claiming that it was one of the (unrecorded) statutes of the peace 'that the duke had to designate a *Richter und Vogt* for the Germans on Gotland'. Odelric as a ducal official in Visby has since then been accepted more or less as a fact in German *Hanse* historiography, up to the present day. It is presented as such, not even as a hypothesis, in Jordan's edition of the text in the prestigious *Monumenta Germaniae* series.[108]

Rörig may thus have thought he stood on solid ground when he included the Artlenburg privilege in his *Unternehmertheorie*. Early in

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[106] Cf. Hofmeister's (1926 p. 69) statement that the document *von Anfang bis zu Ende* regulates Gotlandic journeys into Saxony, whereas German journeys on Gotland only become evident from the mutuality clause.

[107] HCS I:86. Cf. above Ch. IV:2.

[108] Koppmann HR I:1 p. XXVIII; cf. Björkander 1898 p. 39ff.; Frensdorff 1916 p. 11; Hofmeister 1926; UHdL 48, 49. Einleitung, pp. XIX, XLIV.

the 1940s, in two works directly focusing on Gotland, Rörig claimed that within a year or two after the foundation of Lübeck, German merchants appeared on Gotland *auf eigene Schiffe und in grösserer Zahl . . .* 'on their own ships and in larger number'. Still thinking like Vikings, the Gotlanders felt their prerogatives threatened, which led to the conflict. To Rörig, the Artlenburg meeting was a mediation which led to peace between the alderman of an existing *universitas* of visiting German merchants and a prominent Gotlander. The duke reconciled the Gotlanders with the privileges demanding reciprocity. In addition he made a judge and bailiff of the alderman, giving him authority to punish German perpetrators. As noted, Rörig also thought that the reciprocity was confirmed by a sworn peace on Gotland, thereby disregarding that the evidence—the Riga 'fragment' and the preamble of Visby town code—contained other matters.[109] The latter work also contains a categorical denial of the radically new interpretation presented by Hugo Yrwing in 1940.[110]

Yrwing viewed the privilege in accordance with his own theory of the Gotlanders as a pioneering and balancing power in North European trade policy, leading to a more gradual German takeover in the thirteenth century. He agreed with previous Swedish doubts over the degree of autonomy which the Saxon duke and his merchants would have been able to exercise on Gotland. In Yrwing's eyes the ducal official of **MOd** would have lived somewhere in northern Germany. While he accepted Rörig's general views to some degree on the swift advancement of German merchants, Yrwing saw the tenor of the Artlenburg privilege as being that the Gotlanders were able to defend their previous rights to active trade in Saxony, thereby avoiding the duke's attempt to turn Lübeck into a compulsory staple.[111]

After World War II, Ahasver von Brandt supported Rörig's reasoning with technical argumentation on the documents, which after long consideration led to a reply by Yrwing that was countered by von Brandt.[112] In 1957 Erik Lönnroth and Aksel E. Christensen

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[109] Rörig 1940 pp. 4ff., 24ff. & passim. As shown above (Ch. VII:1) the right to use the shore according to ViStL pr is an open concession by the Gotlanders to all visitors. Its shows no congruence with the Artlenburg privilege.

[110] Rörig 1942.

[111] Yrwing 1940 pp. 113–37. Cf. Tunberg (1924 pp. 21–30); whose essay challenged Hofmeister (1926 p. 70ff.) to an extremely cordial response.

[112] von Brandt 1950, 1956; Yrwing 1954; 1978 pp. 109–116, 1986 p. 36f.

launched a collective Nordic interpretation of the Hanseatic takeover, in which the Germans were said to have been basically learners in the Baltic trade until 1225/50, when they were able to take the lead due to their larger market and capital accumulation. Christensen later presented an analysis of the Artlenburg document which concluded that the copyist of **L** had inserted the reciprocity clause. This was rejected in 1973 by Karl Jordan, the editor of Henry the Lion's charters, who generally continued a modified version of Rörig's views in his biography of Henry.[113]

Against the background of World War II the debate had caught a bitter tone, manifesting itself as a clash between different post-war attitudes. The discussion began to sound like a German-Scandinavian cold war. After Yrwing expressed his opinion on the controversy again in 1978 and 1986, Erich Hoffman stated in a balanced review that in reality Rörig's, von Brandt's, Jordan's and Yrwing's positions in fact differed very little. A 'modified Rörig school' was in the making.[114] Heinz Stoob concludes (1995) that a jurisdictional dispute had begun in 1159 between Germans and Gotlanders over the right to use trade ports on Gotland, and over the Gotlanders' *Gegenseitsrechte* in Saxony. Both parties had turned to Henry the Lion as *vicarius regis* for the North, and an additional text (**MOd**) had been added to a copy of the treaty, thought to have been written for Germans living on Gotland.[115] An ambition to balance the viewpoints is also evident in the most recent detailed treatment of the problem by Detlef Kattinger, my colleague in the CCC project. His ambition is to renovate Rörig's theories into a discussion of early *kaufmännische Genossenschaften*, the formation and function of merchants' associations, although not exactly *Unternehmerkonsortien*. Departing from parts of

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[113] E. Lönnroth's and Christensen's 'Nordic interpretations' are found in convenient reprints in Lönnroth 1959; Christensen 1976; Christensen 1969; Jordan 1973b; Jordan 1995 pp. 88f., 278; see also Rennkamp 1977 p. 47ff.; Stoob 1995 p. 71.

[114] Hoffmann 1988 p. 300f.

[115] Hoffmann 1989; Stoob 1995; Kattinger 1999a pp. 87–90. The latter is also sure that the Gotlanders are the perpetrators, particularly because the duke uses the word *receperimus* . . . 'reaccept'. The evidence is weak, since not even Henry the Lion could have kept the Gotlanders in his grace whilst they were fighting his subjects. I believe the idea is forcefully contradicted by the spirit of **MOd**. Cf. however also Friedland (1988 p. 57ff.) who maintains the hypothesis that the Hanseatic *Wirtschaftgemeinschaft* evolved from guilds' cooperation on Gotland and rejects the idea that their previous Gotland policy followed a *Reichsauftrag*.

Rörig's theory, which has a certain reading of the Artlenburg privilege as its fundament, Kattinger repeats many of Rörig's idiosyncrasies regarding its interpretation.[116]

From a source critical point of view it is quite clear that the Artlenburg text and the texts discussed with it do not hold for all that scholars have wished to prove from them. Yet it appears that different explanations live a life of their own in the minds of Scandinavian and German historians, so we must activate the debate again, leaving the wounds of past disputes behind to focus on concrete matters. I am about to suggest a new, more realistic interpretation.

The decision procedure and the problem of the copies

The similar wording of the two preserved versions does not mean that their traditions are without problems. The series of events leading to issue, the precise meaning of the text and the ways it has been used have been dealt with before, but the complicated discussion cannot possibly be omitted here. Many scholars have thought that both versions derive from one single original, **O**, but in their efforts to defend that opinion they have had to claim several extraordinary preconditions. The alternative of a different provenance for the two text traditions must also be considered. Not affecting our trust in the manifest content of the privilege, these problems may have consequences for our understanding of its significance in the actual series of events. Most problems are connected to **L**, its link to the **MOd** and to the significance of the latter, in turn connected to the making of the **L** copy around 1230, the problem of its source **o** and the degree of trustworthiness of the chancellery remarks.

As far as I can see, the sole evidence for assuming the existence of a German *Konsortium* or *Genossenschaft* on Gotland in 1161 depends on **L** actually being copied in Visby.[117] If so, **o** may have been pre-

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[116] Kattinger 1999a p. 3f. Whilst disagreeing entirely with Detlef Kattinger over the Artlenburg issue I must gratefully recognise the value of our repeated disputes over its problems.

[117] Jordan 1995 p. 88f.; Rennkamp 1977 p. 29ff.; Kattinger 1999a p. 85ff. It has been suggested (e.g. by Hofmeister 1926 p. 73ff.), that the **MOd** is complementary to the privilege, transferring it to a German community on Gotland ruled by Odelric, where it would come to function as a sort of embryo of the (German) town code of Visby.

sented as a second issue for Odelric to take to Gotland, where it would finally have found its way into the archive of St. Mary's.[118] However Yrwing has pointed out the difficulty of assuming that **L**, as a copy of an **o** preserved in Visby, would have been furnished with Lübeck's seal. To defend the hypothesis, von Brandt is compelled to make the strained suggestion that the scribe of Lübeck made a journey to Visby, bringing with him a sealed parchment in blanco (or even the seal), in order to make the copy.[119] If so, why is this not stated—and what would be the value of a self-attested confirmation if a representative of the Lübeck authorities had undertaken the expensive effort of a Visby trip? If this was the case, surely they would have had it sealed by some Visby authority to prove it, or simply have requested an attestation such as **H**.

What is the status of the **MOd** that follows without formal introduction, and those rather loose annotations from around 1230 that seem a bit unworthy of the pretentious term chancellery remarks? We cannot accept **L**'s claim that **o** was preserved in St. Mary's in Visby as a fact, and we can say little about its probability. It must be regarded as an assumption or a statement noted down wherever the copy was made. The fact that the Church of St. Mary's did not exist in the 1160s signifies at least that **o** had not been there all the time. The church was built by the German residents and trade guests of Visby and, according to a preserved text, was consecrated in 1225, which would have made its existence well-known in northern Germany at the time when **L** was conceived. However, parts of the building may be some decades older, according to specialist discussion.[120]

Neither is it a proven fact that the addressee of **MOd** was a ducal bailiff or appointed alderman among the German merchants of Visby.

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[118] Hofmeister 1926 p. 72f.

[119] Yrwing (1940 p. 132f.) has shown a somewhat later example of how such a formal transcription would have been confirmed and sealed by a German organisation in Visby. (An alternative would have been the priesthood of St. Mary's.) Von Brandt (1950, 1956) and Yrwing (1954, 1978) disputed this and similar technicalities. Von Brandt supports his opinion with examples of a Lübeckian negotiator having brought the city's seal to foreign shores, not to make copies but with the city's authority to conclude a treaty. Cf. Prange (1976 p. 87ff.) for the (low) level of chancellery competence in Lübeck of 1225–30.

[120] Lagerlöf and Svahnström 1991 p. 46ff.; for the discussion, cf. most recently Markus 1999 pp. 51, 61, 75 & passim. The often-recorded information that the construction began in 1190 actually dates from the 17th century, and is probably a rationalization by a local historian.

The copyist's observation that Olric (as he writes) was the German representative who was appointed bailiff and judge by Henry does not state where. As I understand it, the case is built on the assumption that the transcription of **L** was made in an archive where the once-ducal official Odelric had left it; however there is no reference to **MOd** in the material that we know derives from Gotland (**MOd** belongs to **L** we recall, that doesn't claim but merely insinuates Visby as its provenance). Even the idea of a strong body of German merchants pleading their case at Artlenburg is conjecture, inspired by the annotations of around 1230. As we shall see, these annotations have some independent knowledge, but its validity is quite uncertain.

However these problems are viewed, a conspicuous vagueness lingers around **L**, which may cause suspicion given that Frederick Barbarossa's 1188 town privileges for Lübeck and a confirmation by King Valdemar II of Denmark were ostentatiously falsified in 1225 or early 1226.[121] An interpolation, along with Christensen's suspicion, would have changed a hitherto unilateral privilege for the Gotlanders into a tool for Lübeckian trade politics.[122] However since this clause is found in **H** as well, which is decidedly based on a Gotlandic original, it seems an unlikely proposition. As stated, the fact that **L** differs from **H** only in a few insignificant details makes it reasonably sure that we do possess a reliable version of the privilege. But the fact that falsifications were made with full awareness in and around the chancellery of the emerging *Reichsstadt* must make us consider the motives for and circumstances surrounding the making of **L**.

Neither of these observations automatically exclude that **o + MOd** did exist in Visby,[123] but they make the assumption less demanding. If **o** was a second issue for the colony of Visby Germans to take to Gotland, it certainly isn't obvious from the text itself. Even so, an **o** preserved in St. Mary's cannot pretend to be the real state document. In the privilege text (which we recall cannot really be disputed), Duke Henry says explicitly that he presents a document including peace and certain conceded rights to the Gotlanders. Negotiations with representatives of German merchants are not even

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[121] MGH DF I:981; LübUB I:7, cf. UHdL 62; Am Ende 1975 pp. 10–23; Prange 1976 pp. 91–94.
[122] Christensen 1969.
[123] Rennkamp 1977 p. 52f.

hinted at in the privilege text. The duke may have negotiated with the Gotlanders himself, for all we know. Thus **o** can hardly be a second issue. At best, the version sent to Olric might have been a contemporary transcription telling him what to do wherever he held authority.[124]

That means that the real original, **O**, furnished with appropriate seals (even if nothing is mentioned about sealing in the text), ought to have been preserved among the other *chartae* or state acts on Gotland. We don't know where they were kept around 1230, but we can be reasonably sure that it was not in the archive in St. Mary's of the German community in Visby. The most likely place would have been the Cistercian abbey founded at the very time of the Artlenburg decision. The abbey was originally titled *Sta Maria de Gutnalia*, the name containing a reference to the all-Gotlandic diet. The copyist may have read information about the letter having been placed there, which (being unfamiliar with Gotlandic institutions) he interpreted as *Sta Maria de Gutlandia*, and with the logic of the post–1225 era, misunderstood as the more recent and rightly famous Visby church.

It stands to reason that the law-maker of the 1340s quoted from a version of the Artlenburg treaty that was on hand in Visby or elsewhere on Gotland. The abbey at Roma is only 20km away. This would in all likelihood have been the Gotlanders' original **O**, but can alternatively be seen as an indice of the existence of **o** in Visby. Nor can we rule out the possibility that Gotland's ancient charters may have been moved after the civil war of 1288, e.g. by a representative of the king, claiming that trading from then on was to be an urban right and that charters like **O** ought to be kept in Visby.[125] Thus neither alternative is conclusive.

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[124] Thus Hofmeister (1926 p. 72f.) goes too far. A second promulgation is unlikely, since the recipients of the privilege are the *gutenses*, with no German recipient mentioned. Making double issues doesn't seem to have been the habit of the ducal chancellery, and according to Hasenritter (1936 pp. 35–39) only two examples are known in original, in one case the second version is made much later, and in the other probably just an improvement of a poor first version. Cf. Prange (1976 p. 87f.) for later examples of one issue being kept on behalf of several parties, which was alright as long as the spoken verdict was valid, confirmed by the numerous witnesses.

[125] Cf. the problems connected with the tradition of the so-called *Kalvskinnshuset* ('house of charters') and the first City Hall of Visby—see Yrwing 1978 pp. 189–92 and particularly Yrwing 1986 p. 230ff.

*Another archival provenance for '**o**'?*

The credibility of **L** as a transcription of a Gotlandic original and the suggestions of the chancellery remarks on the whole remain rather feeble. However there is a possibility—which to my knowledge has not been explored previously—that would make these annotations both more understandable and trustworthy, as far as they go. This means looking for a *draft* as the source of **L**, that is, a statutory copy (*conceptum*) stemming from the remnants of Henry's *cartularium*. The impact offered by the **L** version tends to support such a hypothesis, particularly through its abrupt addition of **MOd**.

Following this hunch, I have found an alternative hypothesis from a close reading of Jordan's in most ways meticulous edition. The chancellery of Henry the Lion was too primitive to possess a fully-developed *conceptum* routine, he claims.[126] However there are clear cases where a clerk has preserved and re-used drafts of previous charters; this is particularly true of one of them, who at times identifies himself as Hartwig, and who is known to have attended to Henry's charters between 1160 and 1176. In the last of these documents he is called *magister cartularii*, a title that comes close to 'head of archives' in modern terms. Jordan has identified Hartwig as the man who phrased the Artlenburg privilege,[127] but he failed to see the implications.

Even if princes like Henry the Lion travelled for most of their time, they had to have safe places where they could deposit archives. Some of the most august churches were chosen for this purpose (in later times Lübeck's excellent archival orderliness was due to the *Trese* in St. Mary's). As early as 1168, Hartwig was also a canon at the cathedral of Bremen, and remained in the cathedral chapter at the time when he was called *magister cartularii*. Later he clearly alien-ated himself from the duke, avoided the consequences of Henry's downfall in 1180–81, and was elected archbishop in 1185, reigning as such until 1207. We shall meet him later as Hartwig II of Bremen, possibly the strategist behind the German conquest of Livonia.[128]

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[126] So also Hasenritter (1936 pp. 161–63). However the nonchalance regarding *concepta* cannot really have included international undertakings that he had issued.
[127] UHdL 48, 77, 107, Einleitung pp. LVIII, XXff.
[128] UHdL: Einleitung pp. XXVIII–XXX; Hasenritter 1936 p. 151f., cf. 144ff., 162. Arnold says that Henry had had Hartwig as a trusted advisor and notary and arranged the position in Bremen for him, yet when Henry had fallen, he refused to see him. (ACS III:13; cf. however V:1.)

In the era of 1225–30, however, the emerging *Reichsstadt* of Lübeck was still quite poorly-developed in chancellery affairs, and had to fall back on services provided by the cathedral of Lübeck and the counts of Holstein. The assistance provided by these authorities was at times a bit loose as regards principles; by way of example, the aforementioned forgeries have been attributed to Marold, a canon of the local cathedral.[129] The rather unclear context surrounding the **L**-transcription is symptomatic of the situation. The complicated, even strained procedures that scholars have formulated to prove the authencity of the chatty *Kanzleibemerkungen* on the other hand are not.

Without discussing the Artlenburg transcription, Wolfgang Prange explains that in the year 1225, it dawned upon the urban authorities of Lübeck that they ought to have a valid version of privileges and treaties in their own archives,[130] and the foundation was laid for the city's remarkable archival tradition. This is clearly the background for the making of the **L** copy.[131] For that purpose the urban authorities would hardly have undertaken the laboured measures which modern research has speculated on. The use of the city's own seal, and the limited quality of the *Kanzleibemerkungen*, shows that they solved it in the easiest possible way, which probably meant that they sent somebody to Bremen.[132]

The purposes of the transcriptions

The editors and analysts of the Artlenburg privilege and similar texts, with their intellectual references mostly in the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries, may to a certain extent be reproached for too categoric a belief in achieving positive results from charter *formalia*. From a source critical point of view, this scholarly belief has sometimes led them to thoroughly inconsistent conclusions. To begin with,

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[129] Am Ende 1975 pp. 10–43; Prange 1976.

[130] Prange 1976 p. 89.

[131] von Brandt (1956 p. 103) suggests that **L** might have been produced in the interests of Duke Albrecht of Saxony, who tried to influence Baltic relations around 1230, as his predecessor Henry had done. It's however unlikely that the duke would have used Lübeck's poorly developed service, particularly in a matter where the city would be a competitor.

[132] A clerk at Lübeck's cathedral would have been particularly suitable, not only for the transcription but also for gathering additional knowledge for the *Kanzleibemerkungen*.

a considerably more profound penetration of the political circum-
stances and the purpose of the respective copies is necessary.

(1) According to Hofmeister, Christiansen and others, the **L**-version
would have been transcribed in Lübeck's own interest. It was made
in the era when the town was being liberated after two decades of
Danish dominance; in 1226 it was given its position directly under
the Emperor (*Reichsunmittelbarkeit*). Lübeck's reason for copying the Artlen-
burg text may have been to secure their own version of the reci-
procity clause, but may equally have been a mere component in a
campaign to obtain all known documents of importance for the *Trese*.

(2) The attestation from 1255, included in the **H**-version of 1368,
was obviously made in the interests of the Gotlanders. But which
Gotlanders? As pointed out by Hofmeister, it rendered a privilege
clearly given to the rural community valid for Visby's burghers.[133]
On the other hand, from the rural Gotlanders' point of view, the
attestation of the Holstein counts was an important clarification of
the original privilege which could be useful to them in the harden-
ing competition with the Hanseatics, because it made clear that the
gradually emerging city League's policy of excluding country traders
had not yet been accepted.[134] Since Visby's legal position remained
unregulated, we may consider the solution of a compromise which
preserved the *status quo*.

(3) That the preamble of Visby's town code is written in the inter-
ests of the town itself is a truism. Most obviously, it claims a tradi-
tion of independence; the inhabitants swore the trade peace on their
own and sent to Duke Henry or King Magnus when they needed
to have their rights improved. The stress is on multi-ethnic co-exis-
tence, preventing dissension and maintaining a balance. In stressing
these qualities, I believe the law-maker reveals a particularly Gotlandic
trait, even if subordinance to the Swedish king (which became much
stronger after 1288) is clearly stated. At the same time, it is insinu-
ated that from the beginning the Visby code was initiated by a
German emperor and confirmed by the memorable founder of Lübeck.
The long name-list of North German witnesses is probably meant

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[133] Hofmeister 1926 p. 74f. Thus this possibility provides another way by which
a copy of the privilege might have come into Visby, as an attestation.
[134] See e.g. Dollinger 1964 p. 65ff.

to abolish every doubt.[135] The motive for these insinuations might have been trade-political, against the background of Visby losing ground among the Hanseatic cities. The preface as a whole, with the reference to Henry's privilege, was a clear effort to use Visby's history as a political tool.[136]

(4) The transcription of 1368 was issued for similar reasons, chiefly to defend Visby's position within the Hanseatic League, in the new circumstances after the Danish conquest of Gotland.

We must now leave the problems connected with the source traditions, and return to the significance of the privilege for our understanding of the series of events that brought Europeanization agents from Germany to Gotland. I believe the questions put forward by Hofmeister in 1926 still remain central: 'are we already dealing with the [fully developed] City of Visby as was supposed under influence from the Town Code of ca. 1340/50, or with its early beginning, or simply with some preceding, still formless and more or less changeable establishment of German merchants? Or even with making up the preconditions for a more stable such establishment? Is a German official on Gotland conceivable at all as the receiver of the mandate?'[137] It should already be clear that the problems of source-preservation have been interwoven with those of context-interpretation over the years.

Odelric, Lichnatus and the the underlying conflict of 1161

The **MOd** attached to the **L**-version indicates that a copy based on **o** had been addressed to one of Henry the Lion's officials called

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[135] Cf. Frensdorff 1916 p. 42.

[136] The context formed by the documents referred to by the lawmaker suggests he had limited access to 'the important documents of Gotland'. He makes no use of **GrH**, although the contemporary counts of Holstein were an extremely powerful party in the 1340s. He also seems unaware of Magnus Ladulås' trade privilege of 1276; cf. Yrwing 1978 p. 41ff.; 1986 p. 136ff.

[137] *Haben wir es hier bereits mit der Stadt Wisby selber, wie man, durch das Stadtrecht von rund 1340/50 beeinflusst, zunächst annahm, oder nur mit ihren ersten Anfängen zu tun oder nur mit der ihr vorausgehenden noch formlosen und mehr oder weniger wechselnden Niederlassung deutscher Kaufleute? Oder gar nur erst mit der Schaffung der Voraussetzungen für eine solche dauernde Niederlassung? Ist ein deutscher Beamter auf Gotland als Empfänger des Mandates überhaupt denkbar?* (Hofmeister 1926 p. 69).

Odelric. To understand its function one has to read what the duke
explicitly says:

Odelrice, sub optentu gratie mee preci-pio tibi, ut leges, quales Guttonibus in omni regno meo tradidi, tales super Teuthonicos, quos tibi regendos commisi, omni diligentia observes, scilicet qui capi-tali sentencia rei fuerint, illam recipi-ant, qui de truncatione, manuum eciam sustinent. Reliquos vero illorum exces-sus secundum leges superius prenotatas diiudica[138]	Odelric, to remain in my grace I instruct you to diligently observe the rights I have given the Got-landers in my entire realm, also regarding the Germans, over whom I have set you to rule. You shall fully see to it that those who are condemned to the death penalty as well as mutilation are punished. Other crimes should be punished according to the laws noted above.

The graveness of the letter is obvious. It seems doubtful whether the
word mandate, 'authorized commission', corresponds to what the
text says. In fact it is an unconditional order to punish crimes against
Gotlanders according to the retaliation principles of the privilege, as
if Odelric's office had made him responsible for those Germans who
had given rise to the controversy; and as if Odelric had authored
an incredulous appeal to the duke, showing that he hesitated to con-
demn and execute such punishments on Germans, which caused the
duke to issue the 'mandate' or rather instruction.

Where Odelric held his office and what kind of Germans he was
governing is not stated in the source. Nevertheless widespread opin-
ion has claimed that he was stationed in Visby, as an elected alder-
man of the German merchant community and a commissioned ducal
bailiff.[139] In the later tradition, only the preface of the Visby town
code localises the controversy to Gotland, insofar as it presents the
duke's confirmation of the imperial privilege as a consequence of
Visby's growth in the past, when many tongues had given rise to
dissension.[140] However, a 1340s source which puts forward an assump-

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[138] UHdL 49.

[139] Cf. above, most recently repeated by Kattinger 1999a p. 95ff.

[140] Rennkamp (1977 p. 41f.) maintains that the preface of the urban law is based
on older sources. That is right insofar as the different development stages men-
tioned there apparently refer to texts that were available to the law writer. These
include possibly the special rights (vis-à-vis GL) that according to the Riga frag-
ment were given to Germans settling on Gotland. Rennkamp (note C:87) is right
in connecting its introductory words on how people of *dhydesch tunge* began to gather

tion based on the Artlenburg text with a trade-political motive of its own time cannot be given any credibility regarding events in the 1160s. The idea of a clash on Gotland is a construction connected with Odelric's stationing, and a very bold assumption of the position of German merchants on Gotland before 1161.[141] If my hypothesis holds—and it presents fewer difficulties than the making of **L** in Visby—the scribe would have copied a *conceptum* found among the residue of the ducal cartulary, possibly in Bremen. The conclusion affects the problem of Odelric's stationing, since it suggests that the connection between **O, o** and **MOd** belongs to the issuer, and has nothing to do with Odelric's place of stationing.

What evidence is there that the conflict settled in Artlenburg might have taken place on Gotland? The idea that Odelric was commissioned as ducal bailiff in order to enact justice among a German community on Gotland supposes that such a community, if there was one, had obtained legal immunity. However the duke's mandate does not deal with internal disputes, but with crimes done to Gotlanders by Germans. To solve this contradiction Rörig refers to a charter of 1277 in which Livonian sovereigns allow seafarers who have landed on the shores of Livonia to elect judges to solve disputes among themselves *secundum ius illud, quod nunc a mercatoribus in Godlandia observetur . . .* 'which now are followed by merchants on Gotland', but if they commit a crime against local inhabitants *aldermannus eorum secundum iustitiam et consuetudinem terrae nostrae satisfieri faciet . . .* 'their alderman should give satisfaction according to the rules and practices of our lands'. As Rörig finds these privileges old-fashioned for 1277 he suggests that they reflect early conditions on Gotland and believes them to be valid for 1161, concluding that 'if Germans had committed outrages on Gotlanders, it was the duty of the alderman to give his countrymen the proper punishment'; since in this case, according to Rörig, only capital punishment was satisfaction enough, Odelric had to have a ducal commission.[142]

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on Gotland with the 'many tongues' of the urban law. But to assume that it implies a deeper knowledge of the background of the Artlenburg privilege than what may be read from the privilege's own text is too daring.

[141] I cannot even accede to Hoffmann's cautious opinion (1989 p. 35f.) that the reciprocity clause *faktisch schon Lübeckische Handelsaktivitäten auf Gotland um 1161 voraussetzt*, since the international trade agreements of the time frequently appear to reckon with or demand mutualism in a more symbolic sense, as a matter of prestige or courtesy.

[142] LECUB 453; Rörig 1940 pp. 20–22. Hofmeister (1926 pp. 75–79) also presents

The source is helpful for our understanding of the problem, but Rörig's interpretation is anachronistic and in some ways inconsequent. According to the charter the alderman should 'give satisfaction', which would imply that it is to the victim and perhaps also to the ordinary holder of the judgeship, whereas Rörig conjectures 'punish the wrongdoer', which may be quite another matter. In any case the alderman should give satisfaction according to local rules and practices, while in 1161 **MOd** stresses that it was rights given to Gotlanders throughout the duke's entire realm that Odelric had to observe. That the duke would have expected autonomous jurisdiction for Germans on Gotland is directly contradicted by the privilege itself, according to which the Gotlanders were to receive all necessary rights in 'our courts', while it demanded equal terms for Germans on Gotland without exception.[143]

The fact that the dissension was brought to Henry the Lion strongly indicates that it concerned something within his authority to decide, namely justice in Germany and punishment of Germans. The direct mention in the **MOd** of the rights that Gotlanders had received in Henry's realm should—once and for all, I think—draw speculation away from the island. Henry had most certainly not conceded the Gotlanders any rights on Gotland! The island was no part of his realm; if anything it was a part of Sweden. Indeed, the answer is manifestly expressed in the mandate. Odelric is ordered to carry out the death sentences stated in the privilege. According to the privilege text the capital punishment and mutilations were due if the crime had been committed in a town where the duke's market peace had been sworn. Other crimes were to be punished according to the laws noted above, some of which differed between his various towns. Hence the **MOd** makes concrete references to jurisdiction within the

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examples of auto-jurisdiction, and of German bailiffs holding various executive powers on foreign ground, mostly in internal cases. Under specific conditions, such as on the so-called *vitten* belonging to individual German towns at the Scanian fairs, their bailiff also judged people of non-German ethnic groups working there. The examples are all much later and belong to situations of Hanseatic political domination, which as we know from the Artlenburg texts, was not the case in 1161. Cf. Rennkamp 1977 p. 21 with note C:80.

[143] The contradiction is observed by Kattinger (1999a p. 95), who claims that the reciprocity clause is corrected by the **MOd**, which according to him (and many others) demonstrates German self-jurisdiction on Gotland. Methodically this stance becomes impossible, since his entire case is built on the presumption that the mutuality was respected.

realm of the duke, and its stern instruction does in fact correspond with the clause promising the Gotlanders all necessary rights in 'our courts'. As no source indicates that the Saxon duke's market peace was ever proclaimed on Gotland, and to my knowledge no scholar has even suggested such a case, this means that the privilege text and **MOd** in combination directly refute the hypothesis of Odelric being a German power holder in Visby.

However, the so-called chancellery remarks remain to be evaluated. Are the details they offer valid enough to make us question the conclusion drawn from the immediate sources? The remarks don't claim to know the whereabouts of the recipient of **MOd**. But they seem to have independent information, since they mention that the Gotlanders' representative was called Lichnat. The parish church of Stenkyrka in the northern part of Gotland contains the grave-slab of a certain Lichnatus, dated 1200 AD, who clearly belonged to a distinguished family,[144] so this may well have been the name of an emissary to Henry the Lion. That the copyist uses the name form Olric instead of Odelric, which he had copied some lines above, might also imply that he was introducing independent oral information. We must accept that the remarks convey some autonomous knowledge,[145] but its validity is far from certain and many problems remain.

No provenance is offered, so they represent an opinion reached by the copyist, or one that he wished to spread. The sealing confirms that in doing so, he represented the city of Lübeck. The information may have been picked up in the archival environment together with **o**, or it may represent a local tradition in Lübeck or elsewhere. The motive for noting down these details would have been authentication by name-dropping, a characteristic technique in the borderland between oral tradition and literacy, and we can assume that it would have been in the copyist's interests to present at least something to his principals in the city. How much could the copyist have known about Odelric and Lichnat, beyond what the document says

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[144] Hyenstrand 1989 p. 126ff.

[145] Despite the limited purport of this conclusion, Jordan (1973b p. 24ff.) and von Brandt (1956 pp. 37ff., 97) have issued authentications. Most notable is the blunt statement by Jordan in UHdL 49 (p. 70), unlike Hofmeister (1926 p. 75) who clearly states that the argument forms a hypothesis-complex.

itself and what he thought possible to deduct from it, more than 60 years after the event? The evidence certainly confirms that the name of Lichnat was remembered around 1230, whereas the right by which the copyist associates it with the events of 1161 remains unknown. As for Odelric, the only thing the copyist says of him which is not explicitly written in the **MOd** is that he would have been the Germans' representative at the negotiations with the duke. This statement would not be too strained for an ambitious interpreter to draw from reading the privilege and mandate together. This annotation made around 1230 is the only instance in which a representation of German merchants at Artlenburg in 1161 is suggested.

All in all, assumptions drawn from these remarks are poorly supported from a source critical point of view. Instead they create an inner contradiction: if Odelric had been a spokesman for the German merchants at Artlenburg and was commissioned as a bailiff by the duke, why would he need a mandate? Had he been present when the duke made his decision, he would have known what to do. For subjects of Henry the Lion, his spoken judgement testified by 19 dignitaries would have sufficed; no written order was needed. The chancellery remarks offer potential insights into the circumstances of the copying of **L**, but they certainly don't reveal Odelric as a leader of any Visby Germans in 1160. Even the existence of German merchants in Visby at that date remains a conjecture. What we are discussing is a modern assumption based on another modern assumption—that the Germans were already firmly established on Gotland by 1160.

Conclusions to be drawn from the Artlenburg discussion

In comparison to the offer that the duke sent to the realms of the North, the advantages offered to the Gotlanders were considerable. According to Helmold, the former were offered exemption from customs in Lübeck, while in 1161 the Gotlanders were assigned (1) exemption from duty in all the duke's towns, as well as (2) strong legal protection and, without restriction, (3) the privileges that the duke's own merchants had been given. This outcome shows that in the controversy which preceded the Artlenburg decision, the Gotlanders had maintained a key position in Baltic trade. Ducal recognition of their importance would also provide a reason why crimes committed against them were punished so severely, as testified not only by the privilege, but also the instruction for Odelric.

I can easily accept that the controversy was probably in some sense about German attempts to advance their trade-political position in the area. My results do not contradict the possibility that an embryonic form of the *universi mercatorum Romani Imperii Gotlandiam frequentantium*, heard of in the 1250s, might already have become (in Rörig's words) *sichtbare Wirklichkeit* . . . 'visible reality'.[146] However such a guild in the making would either be identical with the corporation called *nostri mercatores* . . . 'our merchants', whose privileges the duke conceded to the Gotlanders without restrictions, but on the condition of reciprocity, or at least undistinguishable from that body. That is not to say that it had a footing on Gotland as early as 1161, and far less that it had established some kind of autonomy. As pointed out in Chapter Six we cannot rule out that German efforts were made to practise active sea-trade soon after the ducal foundation of Lübeck, but they were likely to have run into difficulties which may have been solved only around 1175–82, after the agreement with Sweden and the foundation of Kalmar. Such a series of events corresponds much better with other evidence which makes larger numbers of German merchants visible on Gotland around 1180.[147]

Henry the Lion's offer to the Gotlanders of all the rights he had granted his own merchants may have been the basis for the German-Gotlandic relationship that was to hold until the latter part of the 13th century. If the Gotlanders accepted the reciprocity clause they would as a result have shared their privileges and trade peaces with the Germans, or at least those who settled on Gotland and in fact became Gotlanders in the sense of the privileges.

As for the status of the Germans who settled on Gotland, and whether they were able to form an independent community, I have quoted

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[146] Rörig 1940 p. 4f. On the 1252/53 privileges in Flandern, see most recently Kattinger 1999a pp. 314–43.

[147] Yrwing 1978 p. 109ff. It is likely that merchants of German extraction had visited the island previously through Schleswig (the Schleswig Law mentions active trade on Gotland [§30] as the archetype of foreign trade on the whole), through early-German Lübeck or some Vendic port, but that would have been under other auspices than those that scholars have thought followed upon the Artlenburg privilege, as is represented by the Schleswig Law. According to Ellmers (1985 p. 25), Frisians could probably be regarded as Germans, but mainly after having moved to Henry the Lion's new establishment. The runic inscription telling of the murder of a Gotlander by Lübeckers is usually connected with Vendic Lubeke. Its dating is not precise, nor are we told where the incident had occurred (SvR:GR 138). Thus it adds no substance to the present discussion.

a text that might belong to the period 1225/28 which claims that 'a general condition for all Germans living on Gotland' had been in place since the time when 'the German tongue' began to gather on Gotland and settle there (this chapter, above). For trade guests, the problem of self-jurisdiction and separate rights may well have been an issue. Judging disputes between foreigners who were subject to the same law back home would always have been a delicate matter. The problem is treated in a privilege for trading guests issued by Bishop Albert of Riga in 1211: *Excessus suos singulae civitates, si poterunt, componant. Quicquid autem iudici nostro per querimoniam delatum fuerit, et quae inter cives contingunt, ipse iudicabit, similiter inter illos, qui ad nullam civitatem habent respectum* . . . 'each of the towns may solve their own controversies if they can. But every complaint brought to our judge, and everything that happens between the citizens (of different towns), he shall judge himself, likewise among those who don't belong to any town.'[148]

According to the Riga privilege, the supreme responsibility for jurisdiction was reserved for the episcopal judges, not only in all other cases (those of non-urban traders included) but also for citizen groups entitled to self-jurisdiction; it sufficed that one party made a complaint for the judge to take it up. In their case the bishop's judge provided a court of appeal. In previous literature, this has been interpreted as an extension of the *Stadtherrlichen* (sovereign) authority, compared to the conditions that had prevailed in Visby (according to Rörig's vision), where the rights of the *frequentantes* . . . 'trade guests' to elect their alderman would have developed into control over the *Stadtvogtei* as soon as they settled down as *manentes* . . . 'residents'. According to Friedrich Benninghoven, the bishop wished to prevent a similar development in Riga.[149] The interpretation is added to the hypothesis that Henry the Lion had appointed a judge for all German merchants on Gotland; it is influenced by later conditions, such as the struggle over *jus Teutonicorum commorancium in Gotlandia* . . . 'the rights of Gemans living on Gotland' that occurred after the German

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[148] LECUB I:20. That burghers of (not yet formalised) Visby would have had self-jurisdiction when Gotlanders proper (being countryside traders) did not, is unlikely. As its chief recipients the 'Gotlanders' (Visby included) may have been regarded as a town in the sense of the privilege.

[149] Rörig 1940 p. 51ff.; Benninghoven 1961 p. 36f.

victory in Livonia in 1225,[150] and cannot help to prove the hypothesis in the first place.

The Schleswig incident? A postscript

The conflict behind it all it could have been of almost any nature within the range of Europeanization. But there is one obvious disturbance quite close at hand, which merits a closer examination in its own right; if not for being the potential cause of the German-Gotlandic dissension. This was the plundering in Schleswig harbour which was conducted under the eyes of Henry the Lion, as he supported Svend Grate's efforts to regain power in Denmark around 1156.

The incident is reported by Saxo, who says that after three years in exile, and having been promised a large sum of money, Svend made Henry the Lion and Archbishop Hartvig I of Bremen set a large army in motion.[151] He tells us how it slipped through *Danavirke* after having bribed the guardian and went on to Schleswig:

Illic Sueno, peregrinam classem praedatus, direptas Rutenorum merces stipendii militibus erogavit. Que facto non solum advenarum in posterum frequentantiam deturbavit, sed etiam splendidam mercimoniis urbem ad tenuem angustumque vicum redegit.	There Svend plundered a foreign fleet taking Russian commodities which he distributed to the soldiers as payment. With that he not only kept the (previously) frequent visitors away in the future but also reduced the splendid trading metropole into an insignificant borough.[152]

The expression *Rutenorum merces* is usually supposed to mean that *peregrinam classem* consisted of Russian ships.[153] That is not necessarily the case. The goods were of Russian origin, or owned by Russians, or both, but the ships were 'foreign'.[154] Thus the fleet certainly did

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[150] Benninghoven 1961 p. 37 with note 80; cf. Yrwing 1940 p. 171ff.; Blomkvist 1997 p. 58ff.

[151] There was usually some tension between the duke and the archbishop, but for the moment Hartvig had been forced by the emperor to cooperate. See Ehlers 1996 p. 467f.

[152] SGD XIV:17:1. *Vicus* is also a Viking Age concept of trade places, vik-places. That the Russian export goods (fur, wax), independently of shippers, was of great importance is a common opinion (see e.g. Radtke 1981 p. 437ff.).

[153] See e.g. Radtke 1995 p. 62f. (note 67).

[154] E.g. Yrwing 1940 p. 141f.; Lind 1992 p. 236; Stoob 1995 p. 64.

not include Danish ships; nor would they have been Saxon or even of the *Reich*, since Svend was an imperial vassal and Henry and the archbishop were present. Remaining possibilities are Russian ships, since we know of Novgorodian active trade at Schleswig some decades earlier, or Gotlandic ones. They would also carry mainly 'Russian goods', and may have been more established and more active on the trading route, and not least in possession of a late emperor's letter of protection.[155]

The aspect that has chiefly interested previous research is not the identity of the victims, however, but Saxo's presumption that their not coming back was decisive in the decline of Schleswig. In this context it has also been noted in the discussion on the rise of Lübeck, although the mainstream point of view is that it was not of much significance there. For example, Jordan notes that Henry, after witnessing Svend's ravaging, may have got in touch with Germans in Schleswig who later moved to Lübeck, but he plays down the importance of this. Following Rörig he has (like so many Hanseatic researchers) found that the arrival of *unternehmungsfreudige* and *kapitalkräftige* foreign traders from Westphalia and the Rhineland was the decisive factor in the rise of Lübeck. Hoffmann also points out that Saxo exaggerated the consequences of this single incident, and that the Lübeckian takeover was *schrittweise*.[156]

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[155] Schleswig and Novgorod have been assumed to have been the focal points of the Gotlandic trade since the 11th century. In the ancient Schleswig Law *mercatores ituri in Gutiam* are emphasized. See especially Yrwing 1978 p. 103ff.; Hoffmann 1980 p. 36f.; Radtke 1981 p. 446ff., 448f.; cf. e.g. Stoob 1995 p. 59ff. The oldest records of active Gotlandic trade are in both cases runic inscriptions. Trade on Schleswig seems to be implied in the inscription about a man who *sunarla: sat: miþ: skinum: auk: han: entaþis: at: ulfshala*, 'lived southwards with furs and died at Ulvshale'. The place name indicates a characteristic cape on the northern part of Mön, situated on the sailing route towards Schleswig. SvR: GR 207; Ellmers 1972 p. 229. For Novgorod, see SvR: GR 220.

[156] Hoffmann 1983; Hoffmann 1980, p. 41 (note 58); Jordan 1995 p. 81f.; Kattinger (1994 p. 16) and Stoob (1995 p. 64f.) attach even less importance to the event. For a divergent opinion see Ellmers (1985 p. 25ff.), for whom it was the marine experience of the Schleswig Germans that made a rapid German (primarily Frisians are meant) breakthrough in the Baltic trade possible. According to Rennkamp (1977 p. 17) the event led *zu einer ungeheuren Empörung unter den Kaufleuten*. It is a fact that Svend Grate had to issue a charter promising to respect the peace in which merchants had come to Schleswig. Even if the king refused to give them peace, *redeant tamen in eadem pace qua venerunt* ... 'they may return within the same peace as they have arrived' (DD 96, the editor suggests that this charter was issued after the incident.).

Even if Saxo found a scapegoat in Svend, who helped a foreign army against his own country, others may have attributed the responsibilities differently. Svend committed the plunder in order to pay Henry's German knights. Even if the decline of Schleswig was more *schrittweise* than Saxo claims, the events were certainly in line with the trade-political ambitions of Henry the Lion, which led to the foundation of Lübeck in the following years. There is a thin but clear line between this reflection of Saxo and Henry the Lion's urging the Gotlanders to visit the harbour of Lübeck more frequently five years later. And as usual there is a point hidden among the abundant ornaments of Saxo's text, for from this moment we hear very little of active Russian trade on the Baltic.[157]

4. *The Trade Peace of Grand Prince Jaroslav and its Significance*

Dating, issuer, character and content

The oldest preserved trade agreement between the Russian realm and Western traders survives as a copy in a treaty from ca. 1260. Although undated, the text has distinctive features pointing to the end of the 12th century. The issuer of the treaty was Prince Jaroslav Vladimirovich of Novgorod, who after consulting the *posadnik* Miroshka and the *tysjatskyy* Jacob and all the Novgorodians, confirms the old peace with the messenger Arbud, all the sons of the *Nemtsy*, with the Gotlanders and the entire Latin tongue. He then announces that he has sent his representative Griga (Gregor) to inform others of this or, as it is often interpreted, to have it ratified through 'cross kissing' by the opposite party.[158]

Prince Jaroslav is said to have ruled in the years 1182–84, 1187–96 and 1198–99, while the *posadnik* (*Burggraf, Bormester* in medieval translations) Miron Nezdinic entered office in 1189 and died in 1203. However, like the prince he was away from Novgorod between 1196 and 1198. The *tysjatskyy* Jacob ('thousandman', in Western texts often translated duke) is not mentioned in the *Novgorod Chronicle*, but a *bojar*

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[157] Cf. Goetz 1916 p. 269f. and further the Register s.v. *Reiseziele der Russen* (ibid. p. 387).

[158] E.g. Goetz 1916 p. 22.

named Jacob is known to have been killed in 1193. However a 'thou-
sandman' with another name is found between 1185 and 1191, which
is why Goetz' suggestion of 1189 for the treaty has been rejected
by Elena Rybina, who has pinpointed the interval to 1191/92.[159]

The translation of this text is a scholarly problem in its own right,
in which field I claim no expertise. I have worked through it with
the help of L.K. Goetz' edition and a parallel German translation,
and by consulting helpers whenever I have run into problems.[160] The
effort was motivated by the demands of comparison and I claim no
observations based merely on linguistics. I began by looking for the
principles of international law expressed, and found—unsurprisingly—
that the interpretation depends to a great deal on historical conclu-
sions drawn by philologists. Before going further I thus wish to repeat
my reservation, that the emergence of international law on the Baltic
Rim is a problem over which no one—at least so far—has mastered
all the aspects involved. My attempt will provide at least an inter-
pretational perspective.

Like the Artlenburg privilege, the Novgorodian document is given
the form of a confirmation of previous legal regulations. What these
may have stated is unspecified. A survey of the contents follows:

> 1. A messenger (*posol*) from Novgorod and all Novgorodian subjects
>   shall come in peace to the land of the Nemtsy and to the Gotlandic
>   coast. Likewise, Nemtsy and Gotlanders shall come in peace to
>   Novgorod without injury or violation. If the prince (*knyaz*) of Novgorod
>   dies (*budet sud*) in Novgorod or the (prince of the) Nemtsy among
>   the Nemtsy,[161] the messenger shall be free to return home in accord-
>   ance with this peace. Thereafter, the peace has to be confirmed
>   with the new prince, otherwise the land is without peace.[162]

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[159] Rybina 1986 pp. 27–31; Goetz 1916 pp. 15–22, 63–72; Yrwing 1940 p. 147;
Shaskolskij 1978 pp. 110–116; cf. Lind 1981 pp. 170–172; L. Janin 1991 p. 81.
Granberg 1998.

[160] I particularly thank Elisabeth Nystrand, Stockholm, Ingemar Jansson, Uppsala,
John Lind, Copenhagen and Feodor Uspenskij, Moscow, at the same time absolv-
ing them of course from all responsibilities.

[161] For the interpretation of *sud* ('death'), see Goetz 1916 p. 27f.

[162] The word *posol* would refer first of all to a person who like the above-men-
tioned Griga travelled by order of Novgorod. It may, alternatively, mean the leader
of a trade journey, corresponding to the 'alderman' of the Hanseatics. According
to Goetz (1916 p. 23) he may also be the pilot that Novgorod offered on the island
of Kotlin in the Gulf of Finland, who led their continued journey to Novgorod.

2. If a Novgorodian messenger is killed beyond the sea or a Nemtsy messenger is killed in Novgorod, 20 grivnas sterling silver shall be payed pro capite.

3. He who kills a Novgorodian merchant or a Nemtsy merchant in Novgorod shall pay 10 grivnas sterling silver pro capite.

4. He who detains an innocent man shall pay 12 old grivna *kun*.

5. If somebody hits a man with a weapon or a stick he shall pay 6 old grivnas for the wound.

6. If somebody pushes a man or tears his cloak, he shall pay 3 old grivnas.

7. If somebody molests a man's wife or daughter, he shall pay 40 grivnas in old *kuna* to the prince and to the injured person alike.

8. If somebody strikes a foreign married woman's or a daughter's headgear off so her head is bared, he shall pay 6 old grivnas for the shame.

9. When there is a dissension (*tyazha*) without any bloodshed, to which both Russian and Nemtsy witnesses are present, lots shall be cast to decide who should take the oath and receive his right.

10. When a Varangian has a debt (*skot*) with a Russian or a Russian with a Varangian, and it is protested, then 12 witnesses shall take the oath (that the claim is just) and the creditor gets his property.

11a. When a dissension (*tyazha*) afflicts a Novgorodian among the Nemtsy or a Nemets in Novgorod, it is not permitted to detain the accused guest but (the demand should be postponed) to the following summer. If the problem is not solved then, the offended may submit the case to the prince and the people, and thereafter take from the guest what belongs to him, if the dissension occurs in Novgorod.

11b. When a dissension (*tyazha*) arises in other Russian towns (not belonging to Novgorod) or in another country, you shall apply for your right there and not in Novgorod.

11c. When there is a dissension (*tyazha*) with the other towns, the Nemtsy and the Novgorodians are free.[163]

12. When a man goes by ship to the land of the Nemtsy and he does not return, he shall give compensation to the helmsman (*kormnik*).[164]

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[163] According to Goetz (1916 pp. 52–55) this paragraph would mean that the Nemtsy were free to trade with all Russian ports, although it has been formulated as mutually concerning the Novgorodians in the Nemtsy lands. He bases this suggestion on several examples where the Hanseatics aimed at attaining such rights and achieved them. However, those are all later than this treaty. An alternative that does more justice to the actual formulation might be that the Nemtsy and the Novgorodians were free to trade with each other.

[164] The interpretation has been suggested to me by Feodor Uspenskij, Moscow. It has in an elegant way solved the problem which previous research has had with

13. It is not allowed to imprison a Nemets in Novgorod, nor a Novgorodian among the Nemtsy, but only to demand compensation from the offender.
14. Anyone who violently harasses a thrall woman but does not rape her, shall pay 1 grivna sterling silver for the injury. But if he rapes her, she shall receive her freedom.
15. If in Novgorod somebody kills a hostage (*tal'*) or a priest, he shall pay 20 grivnas sterling silver *pro capite*.[165]

Decision process, counterparts, and what is meant by the 'old peace'

Contrary to the sweeping demand of reciprocity in the Artlenburg privilege, the Novgorodian articles are clearly worked out on a reciprocity basis, vis-à-vis three parties called the '*Nemtsy*', the 'Gotlanders' and the 'entire Latin tongue'. The preamble states several steps in the decision process: the reference to an old peace; to a *Nemets* messenger called Arbud; to the prince's consultations with the *posadnik* and the *tysjatskyy*, and to his proposal for finding some anchorage among all the Novgorodians (probably at the *veche*).[166] The stage of the text within the promulgation process is also stated. The messenger Griga (Gregor) is to present it to the other parties and if possible have it ratified through cross-kissing.[167] Compared to the Artlenburg text, this is all admirably clear, but other aspects remain unclear, such as who, apart from the Gotlanders, were the opposite party? where was Griga to travel with his document? what kind of old peace? These questions have not found unanimous answers in previous research.

What did *Nemtsy* signify? For a long time this wasn't considered a problem. In modern Russian the word means 'German', which

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this paragraph. Goetz (1916 pp. 56–58), considered it to be distorted. As Uspenskij suggests, it is a problem only if you have decided *a priori* that the model case is active trade of the Nemtsy on Novgorod. If it is seen from a *Novgorodian* perspective, still reckoning with active trade, it is not really distorted at all.

[165] Goetz points out that hostages, frequently used as peace guarantors during the Middle Ages, do not exist in other trade agreements and that instead of *tal'* the Russian word *tolk*, 'interpreter', should be read.

[166] For the institutions of medieval Novgorod, see e.g. Granberg 1998 pp. 98–108; Janin 2001 pp. 125ff., 133ff.

[167] It is thus not yet a mutually *settled* treaty; the transcription claims it was (which we don't have to believe) but anyway this is what was presented as previously valid conditions in around 1260.

inspired many scholars to read the text as a bilateral agreement between Novgorodians and Germans, into which the Gotlanders had slipped thanks to their close cooperation with the latter. The treaty has been regarded as eloquent evidence of rapid German break-through in the Baltic trade.[168] Many scholars accept the opinion of Walther Rennkamp, who departs from Rörig's and Jordan's view on the Artlenburg privilege and Helmold's notice of a *nuncius* having been sent to Russia, and suggests that the old peace of the text is a lost agreement with Henry the Lion.[169]

Those who follow this school of thought have not generally made a problem of the *Nemtsy*. Goetz has suggested that *Nemtsy* in the sense of the treaty includes all non-Russians. Only in the preamble is a distinction made between Gotlanders and Germans; thereafter the wider term is used. In his view, *Nemtsy* must then include the Gotlanders as well as other people—all those who are contained in the text's generous 'the whole Latin tongue'. Goetz supposes this to be a con-clusive combination of *Nemtsy* and Gotlanders or alternatively to refer to *alle copmanne van den Romeschen rike van der Duuscher zeunge.*[170] However he deserves criticism for this suggestion; 'the whole Latin tongue' is not congruent with 'all German-speaking merchants of the Roman *Reich*', although it would hit the nail as regards subjects of the Roman Catholic Church. The use of a synonym suggests that the issuer was rather insecure as to whether the concept of *Nemtsy* would be prop-erly identified in the West.

The first to really question the connotations of *Nemtsy* and Germans in this context was Lauritz Weibull, who pointed out that the word actually meant 'the mute' and probably implied several national groups among which he highlighted the Danes.[171] Later, Lind approached the entire problem in several articles, with great results for the interpretation. According to his matured opinion, the word got its particular meaning in a Carolingian-Byzantian missionary conflict in Moravia and Pannonia, where the Franks were called *Nemtsy*, since they did not talk to God in their own vernacular, and

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[168] E.g. Yrwing 1940 p. 147ff.

[169] Rennkamp 1977 p. 55ff. A similar evaluation is by Angermann 1995 pp. 53–58; cf. Kattinger 1999a pp. 113ff., 145ff.

[170] The record of the latter is, however, as late as 1358 (HUB III:392), but the use of the German Reich exists also in the middle of the 13th century.

[171] L. Weibull 1946.

forbade other peoples to do so as well. However the expression is seldom found in the Russian chronicles before the end of the 11th century, and was not used for Baltic Rim neighbours, who were addressed as *rus, svei, dani, murmane*, if not collectively as *varjazi*. By the end of the 12th century, however, the concept of *Nemtsy* had become common, and was used to signify Roman Catholics and the Western Other in general, with whom the Baltic Rim neighbours like Swedes were gradually included.[172] Lind's observations seem convincing, but a problem is left unsolved, that of the actual name change.

Even if the Jaroslav treaty has never been as intensely disputed as the Artlenburg privilege, it has been seen from a perspective akin to the discussion of the latter. This concerns an evasive but important problem in the field of Europeanization, namely the process through which the Hanseatics gained their foothold in Novgorod. They are generally thought to have followed in the tracks of the Varangians. Usually no more is said, and the statement has almost hardened to a truism.[173] But literary sources concentrate on the warlike aspects of the Viking Age, when in reality the role of the Varangians as commercial predecessors is very diffuse. In the Jaroslav treaty, the Gotlanders and the *Nemtsy* are apostrophized while the Varangians only appear once, as if by mistake.

However the meaning of *varjazi* was as open and flexible as that of *Nemtsy*. Both were nicknames connoting Western guests, the one based on their internal organisation, the other on their religious peculiarities. In theory *varjazi* could have incorporated Germans, as *Nemtsy* incorporated Swedes.[174] But even if the *Nemtsy* of the treaty could include more comprehensive nation-concepts, from this time we find only two great Western trading factories in the city of Novgorod— the Gotenhof of the Gotlanders and the St. Peterhof of the Germans. No Svear, no Danes, no Norwegians. The change of vocabulary may thus reflect genuine change, which will be a problem for the following analysis to solve.

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[172] Lind 2001 pp. 481–97; cf. Lind 1981 pp. 162–170. Cf. Rybina 1986 p. 27, 1989 p. 45f.; Melnikova 1997 p. 21 with note 2.
[173] See e.g. Johansen, 1953; Dollinger 1964 pp. 42–46; Friedland 1991 p. 36ff., 95ff.; Stoob 1995; Kattinger 1999a pp. 5f., 104, 113ff., and generally pp. 78–122.
[174] Cf. Rahbek Schmidt 1964 p. 51f.

The old peace and the legal roots of Jaroslav's promulgation

Goetz observed that the contents of paragraphs 14–15 in Jaroslav's text overlap previous rules (cf. §§ 1–3, 7–8). To him this means that the known text was only a draft prepared for the messenger Griga who, in Goetz' opinion, was to travel to the opposite parties and submit the content to them. The text would thus have functioned like a diplomat's instructions. Nevertheless it came to be in force until it was copied around 1260. Goetz supposes that Griga was prevented from departing by a war that lasted until 1201 when, according to the *First Novgorod Chronicle*, Varangians came overland asking for (and receiving) peace. Only then, he suggests, might the two additions (§§ 14–15) have been inserted.[175] A problem with this interpretation is that Arbud, although mentioned as an actor in the decision process, seems to have had little scope for negotiation. Why send Griga to the other parties if their representative Arbud was at hand? Another problem is why the prince would confirm an agreement that was meant to be subject to further negotiations.

A more recent analyst, Anna Khoroshkevich, agrees that the two last paragraphs could be later than the rest. According to her, they were added in 1191/92,[176] whereas the rest (§§ 1–13) constituted the old peace referred to in the text. She believes that the *Nemtsy* representative Arbud had suggested conditions which may not have been fully accepted by the Novgorodians, which would be why Jaroslav sent a counter-offer through Griga of the two new clauses that overlap some of the previous and older ones.[177] I believe a better alternative would be to connect Arbud's name with 'the old peace'. The name would then have aimed at clarifying which old peace was intended to be integrated into the new.

According to Goetz the old peace may not have been a specific older treaty with a definite wording, but could imply notions of former peaceful trading. However we have already discussed possible east-west trading arrangements in connection with royal intermarriages, and Henry the Lion sent a *nuncius* to Russia with a similar objective. To Rennkamp and others the old peace was an agreement won by the latter. However, according to Khoroshkevich, the

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[175] Goetz 1916 p. 66; cf. Rahbek Schmidt 1964 p. 68.
[176] Khoroshkevich 1993 p. 4.
[177] Goetz 1916 pp. 22ff., 34; Stein 1918; Yrwing 1940 p. 148.

treaty resembles a *Blätterteiggebäck* . . . 'pastry in several layers'. It has been revised many times without being systemized, and traces from different time-periods remain visible. She discerns three older chronological horizons in the treaty, the oldest of which would have been the penal regulations of manslaughter and molestation in paragraphs 4–8. Probably, she continues, paragraphs 10 and 12 also derive from this older period, while paragraph 9 might be somewhat later. Paragraphs 1–3 and 13 may be direct remnants of the most recent old peace mentioned in the treaty, which she (following Rennkamp) does not hesitate to connect with Henry the Lion's trading offensive around 1160. Only the introduction and the last two paragraphs would have been new in the 1191–92 issue.[178]

Khoroshkevich' opinion on the much longer Russo-Nordic agreements is largely supported by Elena Melnikova, who points out a Norse remark (written down in the period 1190–1220) that after the death of Olaf Haraldsen in 1030, a conflict broke out between Svend Alfivasson and Jaroslav the Wise *oc var þar noccora stvnd eigi cavpfrir i milli* . . . 'and for a while, they had no mutual trade peace'.[179] She suggests that a treaty had been in force between Olaf and Jaroslav which, consulting other sources, she rather too trustingly dates to 1024–26.[180]

The quoted remark corresponds to the clause of 1191–92 which states that the peace had to be established on mutual basis between two nations, Novgorod and *Nemetskaya zemlya*, and be confirmed with every new ruler, otherwise there was no peace. However this has also presented a problem, not only because it relates poorly to the hectic turnover of rulers in post–1136 Novgord, where grand princes were often dethroned or resigned after a few years, but also because

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[178] Khoroshkevich 1993 pp. 1–12.

[179] Saga of Magnus the Good, Morkinskinna, 3, 4; quoted after Melnikova 1997 p. 19f. The source vividly describes what could happen when a ship came to a trading place from a country that was not included in a *torgovyj mir* (trade peace). Whether it really confirms an eleventh-century incident is another matter. Not only was the saga text close in time to the treaty of 1191–92 but also to an open conflict between contemporary Novgorodians and Varangians. According to the First Novgorodian Chronicle, the latter had been sent away without peace in 1188 and not until 1201 were they again accepted with peace. (Rahbek Schmidt 1964 pp. 59, 69). Bearing this in mind, the source does not secure much more than an Icelander's vizualisation of a trade controversy, the characteristics of which could be inspired by contemporary events, rather than one and a half centuries old.

[180] Melnikova 1997 pp. 15–24.

no corresponding prince to confirm the agreement can be recognised on the North German side in 1191–92.[181] Khoroshkevich concludes that its composition as an agreement between two equal parties was a remnant from the treaty with Henry the Lion, and that the one of 1191/92 is *de facto* a unilaterally issued privilege. As legal elements of German origin appear to be rather limited, Khoroshkevich concludes that the treaty is essentially a 'monument of Russian law'.[182] It is to be noted that in this comparison she has left aside the third party involved, the Northerners and the Nordic law sources.

Goetz however points out that the oldest part of the treaty corresponds not only with Russian but in some respects with Nordic law. More recently Elena Rybina, having made comparisons with the Visby town code, proposes that the 1191–92 text may have fallen back on agreements made with the Gotlanders before the emergence of the Germans.[183] This suggestion, perhaps too easily rejected by Khoroshkevich,[184] has not taken into sufficient consideration that the Visby town code contains not only Gotlandic, but general Nordic as well as German elements.[185] However, the idea that a prior, more forceful and durable Nordic dominance left traces in the Novgorod text has been maintained by Lind, who follows the general perspective developed by Yrwing, Lönnroth and Christensen and bases his opinion on both linguistic and source critical arguments.[186]

Jaroslav's privilege (as I shall have to call it) has been thought to reflect an approach from Henry the Lion; it has been said to contain few German influences and be a monument of Russian law; it has also been claimed that its Nordic content may have been underestimated. Thus it appears that its character will not only provide a key to the secrets of the old peace, but also reveal Novgorod's position on the scale of Europeanization in the 1190s. The following collation will confront each of its articles with the known legal environment on the Baltic Rim.

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[181] Lind 1981 pp. 170–74, particularly p. 173 note 60.
[182] Khoroshkevich 1993 p. 10f. Apart from *Russkaya Pravda*, she claims that the articles have drawn from the treaties in use between the princes and their Varangian body of housecarles (*druzhina*), but that the Gotlanders have left no traces in them.
[183] Rybina 1986 pp. 27–31; Rybina 1987.
[184] Khoroshkevich 1993 p. 2.
[185] Hasselberg 1953; L. Carlsson 1961.
[186] Lind 1981 p. 170ff.; Lind 1994 pp. 191–205.

Jaroslav's privilege 1191–92	Baltic Rim legal tradition
§ 1. Messengers and trade guests of the Nemtsy-Gotlandic counterpart shall come in peace, as well as Novgorodians to their lands. If the prince dies on either side the messenger (and trade guests?) shall return within the peace, and the peace would have to be renewed with a new prince or there is no peace.	A similar rule was conceded to Schleswig in the 1150s by Svend Grate. If the town had received merchants, to whom the king refused to offer peace, *redeant tamen in eadem pace qua uenerunt* . . . 'they may however return within the same peace as they have arrived'; and it is added that they were not to come back without royal permission and peace. The decree has been associated with Svend's plunder of foreign ships in Schleswig. Being a violation of the peace under which these ships had come to Schleswig, he would have been compelled to clarify that such a thing would not happen again.[187] According to the *First Novgorod Chronicle* the Varangians were sent away without peace in 1188;[188] hence the principle was in some way recognised by Novgorod already.
§ 2. Killing of messengers here or by the counterpart is to be expiated by 20 grivnas sterling silver. At the time of the treaty, the grivna had a proportion of 4:1 relative to silver value. Therefore, the fine would correspond to 80 counted grivnas. This equals the punishment for manslaughter of a princely servant in the *Russkaya Pravda*.[189]	The honorary fines resemble the Nordic *þukka bot*. According to the Östgöta law (ÖgL), slaying a 'king's man' would cost 40 + 40 marks in fines. The grivna equalled the Nordic markweight, which makes it almost equal to the Russian sanction. The level of the fine was decided by 'Birger jarl'. Interpretations suggest Birger II, but in fact Birger Brosa may have been meant, which would come close to the time of *Russkaya Pravda*.[190]

[187] DD 96.

[188] Rahbek Schmidt 1964 p. 59. At least in some sense: they were to go without escort.

[189] *Russkaya Pravda* III:5; Goetz 1916 p. 30f.

[190] ÖgL D XIV:6; cf. Holmbäck-Wessén 1979: 1 p. 62. Continuing the history of the development of the honorary fine, the paragraph quotes a regulation change during King Erik's reign, i.e. probably Erik Eriksson 1222–1250. This change seems

§ 3. Killing of ordinary merchants here or by the counterpart is to be expiated by 10 grivnas sterling silver, which corresponds to the 40 marks sanction among the Northerners.

The sanction of 40 marks for killing a free man is well-established in Scandinavian law. On Gotland the 40–marks denier fine was for killing a non-Gotlandic man. The same amount is also to be found in the Artlenburg privilege (§ 3), if a Got-lander is killed outside the duke's special term of peace. In Bishop Albert's privileges for trade guests 'foremost those from Gotland' in Riga 1211 the fine for manslaughter amounts to 40 marks denier.[191]

The 40–marks fine is said to lack equivalents in domestic German law. In the Artlenburg privilege (§ 2) man-slaughter was punished according to the principle of *jus talionis* if the crime was committed within the duke's par-ticular peace term. This is claimed to represent a change from *Bussenge-richtbarkeit* to *Blutgerichtbarkeit* through expansion of royal 'high justice' (*Königsbann*).[192]

§§ 4–6 set the fines for private impris-onment of innocent persons (12 old grivna *kun*), for injuries by weapons or sticks (6 old grivnas), for pushing, or destroying clothes (3 old grivnas).

The Artlenburg privilege (§ 3) has a similar rule. The punishments are unspecified since they vary between the towns. The clause about wounds from weapon and stick is found as early as the trade treaty of the Rus with Byzantium in 945 AD. The majority of the guarantors on the side of the Rus had Scandinavian names.[193]

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to have occurred after Birger Jarl increased the amount, which would bring us to Birger Brosa. When, according to the Guta saga, the mythic Avair Stråben claims three doubled *wergild* before undertaking his difficult mission to the Svea king, it might signify that representatives of Gotlandic society were also objects of honorary fines (GS:2).

[191] GL 15, 16, with equivalents in the ViStL, ÖgL and the Svea Laws. LECUB I:25. Holmbäck-Wessén 1979:4 p. 259. Hasselberg 1953 pp. 208–12, cf. 204–226.

[192] Rörig 1940 p. 22f.

[193] PVL s.a. 6453.

§§ 7–8 deal with protection of women. Molesting a free man's wife or daughter is punished with 40 grivnas in old *kuna* to the prince and an equal amount to the insulted person.[194] He who dishonours a decent woman by pushing off her headgear will be fined 6 old grivnas.

The protection of women is equalled to the expiation for killing in e.g. the Guta law (GL) and in Danish laws.[195] The headgear as a symbol for female honour has a direct equivalent in the GL, where the rule is included in a considerably more detailed scale of crimes and punishments.[196]

§§ 9–10 introduce civil law, beginning with the complicated case when word stands against word and there is no material evidence, but both 'Russian' and 'Nemtsy' witnesses; the law prescribes that lots shall be cast to decide which side should present an oath. When a debt is disputed between a 'Varangian' and a Russian, oaths shall be sworn by 12 witnesses.

§§ 9–10 confronts 'Nemtsy' and 'Varangians' with 'Russians' instead of 'Novgorodians'. Hence they mix concepts recalling older conditions.

The twelve-man oath is in accordance with Nordic law.[197] The debt is called *skot'*, a word of Nordic origin found in the oldest version of *Russkaya Pravda*.[198]

§ 11 a regarding dissensions afflicting individuals staying in the land of the counterpart, seems to make §§ 4 and 10 clearer, though the contracting parties this time are called Nemets and Novgorodian, respectively. It seems mainly to regulate how (patiently)

These three regulations appear to deal with issues that came into existence after the changes in Novgorod of the 1130s. They focus on mercantile preferences and endeavour to set alternative obligations aside. Hence they may be characterised as fairly 'republican' and also recent.

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[194] Rightly or wrongly, a Russian scholarly tradition refers the protection of women to a tense situation in Novgorod in 1015, when 'the Varangians committed violence to people in Novgorod and their women' and the Slavonic inhabitants of the town killed them in the 'yard of Poromon' (PVL s a 6523 (= 1015), Svane 1983 p. 119, with commentaries p. 278 note 16). The notation is also to be found in the First Novgorod Chronicle, from the tradition of which it surely has its origin.

[195] Goetz 1916 p. 37f., Lind 1981 p. 173. According to the GL 22, raping a married woman was punished with the loss of life or as large a fine for manslaughter as the women 'was worth', i.e. 3 marks in gold (96 mark denier) for a Gotlandic woman, and 10 marks silver (40 marks denier) for non-Gotlandic one, respectively. For an unmarried woman the fine was set at 12 marks silver for a Gotlandic and 5 marks silver for a non-Gotlandic woman.

[196] GL 23; cf. ViStL 43–47.

[197] Lind 1981 p. 173; cf. KL s.v. Edgärdsman, Å. Holmbäck et al.; cf. Goetz 1916 p. 42.

[198] Timmler 1991 p. 116. Khoroshkevich (1993 p. 10f.) develops the strained suggestion that the word might have some direct connection with the inflow of Anglo-Saxon coins in Russia in the middle of the 11th century, and therefore be exchangeable with old grivnas kun.

domestic creditors had to proceed in Novgorod.[199]

§ 11 b declares that Novgorod takes no responsibility for trading guests when they are in other Russian towns.[200]

§ 11 c tries to protect the trade of Novgorod with the counterpart during war.[201]

§ 12 deals with the case when a Novgorodian man leaves a ship in the Nemtsy-land and has to compensate the helmsman for this. The man in question is called *muzh*, which is characteristic for early layers of the text; but the rule is thought to have been mutilated beyond recognition.[202]

However the elements correspond with the older Nordic maritime law. A shipload of Varangians arriving in Novgorod was a brotherhood, held together by oath. The helmsman (*styrismaðr*) was only *primus inter pares* and the crew consisted of freighters working on board (*skippari* or *hasæti*).[203] The simple reading suggested by Feodor Uspenskij, which I have followed above, leads to the natural conclusion that Novgorodian active traders—as we know them from twelfth-century notices—were organised in the 'Nordic' way, which differed from the Hanseatic forms.

§§ 13–15 are rules that to some degree overlap previous ones. This reveals them as recent.

There is also a close connection with § 11a, but § 13 might be later still (i.e. belong to 1191/92). The under-

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[199] Goetz 1916 p. 50.

[200] Cf. Goetz 1916 p. 51f.

[201] According to Goetz (1916 pp. 52–55) this paragraph would mean that the Nemtsy were free to trade with all Russian parts although it has been formulated as mutually concerning the Novgorodians in the Nemtsy lands. He bases this suggestion on several examples where the Hanseatics aimed at attaining such rights and achieved them. However, those are all later than this treaty. An alternative that does more justice to the actual formulation might be that the Nemtsy and the Novgorodians nevertheless were free to trade with each other.

[202] Khoroshkevich 1993 p. 10; cf. Goetz 1916 pp. 56–58 and above.

[203] Hasselberg 1953 p. 102f.; Lind 1981 p. 172ff. An enlightening parallel example is found in the municipal law of Magnus Lagaböter from the middle of the 13th century, where, contrary to the agreement, a *hasæti* who unloaded his cargo in Denmark or Sweden had to pay 2 mark sterling silver, on Gotland or in Samland 4 mark sterling silver; the offence was most expensive in Gardarike, amounting to as much as 13 1/3 mark sterling, which is equal to Iceland and Greenland (MLB IX:6).

§ 13 states that it is not allowed to imprison an indebted trading guest but only to claim one's debts from him. This rule seems to make § 4 obsolete.	lying purpose was, according to Goetz, that a trading guest should not be insulted, since it was important not to jeopardize the continuation of commerce.[204]
§ 14 completes the protection of women in § 8 with punishments in two steps for violating a thrall woman.	Goetz does not find any particular similarity to Russian law, which treats thralls as property, except for the rule that a thrall woman who bears a free man's child acquires freedom with the children, but not inheritance.[205] In his opinion it might be Germanic law, not German.
§ 15 finally, completes § 2 by equating murder of a hostage or a priest with what was decided for a messenger (20 grivnas sterling silver).	

My understanding of the trade rules promulgated by Grand Prince Jaroslav in 1191–92 thus confirms Khoroshkevich's hypothesis of a *Blätterteiggebäck*, similar to the *Guta saga's* examples of Gotland's relationship to Sweden's king and *jarl* discussed above. The Novgorodian preamble mentions an old peace, which may be only the most recent in a long line. I agree with her that to a great extent it reflects Russian legal tradition, but I must at the same time confirm Lind's view that it strongly reflects Nordic law. Which party was giving and taking with respect to the various legal standpoints may be difficult to sort out. An important conclusion to be drawn is that the privilege chiefly appears as a monument to a centuries-long Nordic-Russian trading culture. In other words, the forms of trade for which it provides the rules are by and large those of the Old system.

However, the idea of providing basic security against despotic actions from political rulers, thereby encouraging foreigners to come to a particular trade port without fear, is bound up with the clause stating that the peace must be renegotiated as soon as one of the treaty-signing princes died. As noted, this relates poorly to political conditions in post–1136 Novgorod and in the post–1181 German

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[204] Goetz 1916 p. 59f.
[205] *Russkaya Pravda* III:128.

North, and the rule was obviously neglected in practice, since the text of 1191/92 was to remain valid for more than 60 years. In an early approach to the *Nemtsy* problem Lind suggested as an alternative that the 1191/92 treaty was concluded between Novgorodians on one side and *Swedes* and Gotlanders[206] on the other, since numerous medieval and later records of *Nemtsy* signify Swedes, and Sweden had contemporary rulers who would correspond to the intention of the treaty's first clause.[207] As we have seen, however, there was no peace with the Varangians when these rules were issued, but an ongoing conflict that lasted until 1201. Since Swedes must be considered as a core component within the Varangian concept, this argues against Lind's hypothesis.

The hypothesis that Jaroslav of Novgorod intended to settle the peace with a contemporary German or Scandinavian ruler seems out of the question if the lofty, inexact statements of the preamble are considered. I believe Goetz and Khoroshkevich have come closest to the truth: its being in force within the lifetime of the princes concluding the treaty would be yet another leftover from the old treaty or treaties; the issue of 1191–92 would thus not really be a treaty, and the vagueness as to its addressees may have something to do with that. Therefore it is reasonable to regard the contents of paragraph 1 as a legacy from older times when princely power was more closely connected to a charismatic person, and when commerce was only slightly supported by continuity-creating structures. The source brought forward by Melnikova confirms that trade regulations between Kievskaya Rus and Scandinavian realms were dependent on the policies of their respective rulers, and had to be renewed after a political shift. Where and in which period do we find the last princes of that type? If we consider the state of turbulence already existing in Novgorod, the arguments would in fact lead back to the era preceding Henry the Lion, and may better suit the activities of Knud Lavard, who (as I endeavoured to demonstrate earlier) made efforts to establish Schleswig as the staple port for Russian exports towards Catholic Europe.

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[206] Goetz's problem, that Nemtsy and Gotland are mentioned in the wrong order from a geographical point of view, disappears if we replace *Nemetskaya zemlya* with a *Varyazhskaya zemlya* in the older treaty, or according to Lind accept the view that Nemtsy in 1191/92 in the first instance still meant Swedes. When travelling from Novgorod, the Swedish 'realm' was met at the Gulf of Finland.

[207] Lind 1981 pp. 170–74.

We have already seen that the legal securing of Schleswig's sea route to Novgorod was on the agenda in the 1120s, when a marriage was negotiated between a Russian princess and the young, promising Knud Lavard. This could have been the old peace referred to in Jaroslav's text, which furthermore is likely to be connected with the messenger Arbud. Goetz states that the name is German (Herebod) while Yrwing characterizes him as a Gotlandic-German.[208] If Lind's interpretation is correct he would have been a Swede or a Gotlander.[209] However there is a fourth alternative. Quite a similar name is found in a significant setting; that of *alboþ:felaha:sloþa* . . . Albod, Slode's partner,[210] a man commemorated on one of the rune stones erected by the guild-brethren of the Frisians (or the Friesland seafarers) of Sigtuna. The palatal interchangeability of '*l*' and '*r*' in a mainly oral tradition could suggest the possibility of Arbod = Albod. I am not claiming identity between the two men, but the man who conducted the old peace may have had a name derived from a Scandinavian-Frisian linguistic environment. Such a man could have been found in Sigtuna but even more so in Schleswig, where Frisians would have been predominant.[211]

However, we have Helmold's word that Henry the Lion actually sent a *nuncius* to 'Russia' around 1160 and that would also carry weight.[212] If such a *nuncius* had appeared in Novgorod and asked for a mutual trade agreement, he might have found that the idea was obsolete from a Novgorodian perspective. An invitation to free trade in Lübeck, which was what he offered according to Helmold, could have resulted in Saxons being co-opted into the Baltic-Rim trading family, but it did not lead to an immediate great revision of Russo-Nordic legal traditions.

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[208] Goetz 1916 p. 18; Yrwing 1940 p. 149.

[209] This is possible if Arbud denotes a title as well as a personal name, connected to the fno. *ari*, 'official', 'messenger', which is implied in the titles of royal officials. In Norway there is the title *konungs armaðr*. In northern Sweden the taxes were collected by the *konungs ari* (kungsåre). Holmbäck-Wessén 1979:3 p. 296. In *Heimskringla* K 59, 63 *Armaðr* exists as a personal name; cf. Ahnlund 1948 p. 62.

[210] S.B.F. Jansson (1963) 1987 p. 95.

[211] Thus I cannot accept Ellmer's (1972 p. 24) opinion that the Frisian guild would have been taken over by Saxons in the 11th century, but instead follow Radtke's (2002) that Frisian presence in the Baltic usually indicates Schleswigian contacts.

[212] At that time the concept of Russia had a wide significance. Hence the new established bishopric of *Ixcola* (Yxkull) on the Lower Daugava was said by Clement III to be situated *in Ruthenia* (LECUB I:10). See Ch. VIII.

The vague objects of these regulations, called sons of the 'mute ones' and 'the Latin tongue', may not have been chosen at random. We have seen that *Nemtsy* was a fairly modern concept in the Novgorodian setting; it was gradually applied to its Western neighbours, rather as a collective nickname for a new Other. It may after all have been intended to denote the more innovative trading parties who had recently begun to appear on the Baltic in cooperation with the Gotlanders. Thus the '*Nemtsy*' no less than the 'Latin tongue' points to the most advanced bearers of the New system, those displaying 'Saxon clothes' and other characteristics of the Catholic World-system. However it cannot very well have involved the Varangians, since they had no peace with Novgorod in the years 1188–1201. The benefits of Jaroslav's peace are offered to all those foreigners included in the *Nemtsy* and Latin concepts, but it would seem to deliberately keep the Varangians at a proper distance.

The rules issued by Jaroslav offered peace plus codes concerning day-to-day interaction; it is not a treaty in a true sense. The articles seem to have little to do with greater politics and offer no outright advantages for a particular recipient, as the Artlenburg privilege does for the Gotlanders. Thus it is no genuine privilege, either. We should perhaps use its own concept, peace, equivalent to Nordic *kaupfriðr*. This implies that the decision was made unilaterally by Novgorod.

Its construction on the remnants of several older agreements has made it a testimony of the gradual victory of the New Western system of trade in the Novgorodian arena, and of the defeat of the Old one, linked with the concept of the Varangians. In the eyes of the Novgorodians the new Western Other was clearly very different, to the extent of implying a new concept. However, in paragraphs 9–10 the category of 'Russians' is confronted with the concept of '*Nemtsy*', and that of 'Varangian' with 'Russian'. In the present context they stand out as an anomaly; but their appearance makes it not only likely that the rule goes back to an older Russo-Scandinavian treaty, but also that 'Varangian' and 'Russian' were more frequently-used terms in the old treaty, which possibly existed in written form. Perhaps *Nemtsy* and Novgorodian replaces Varangian and Russian in all other places in 1191/92. These lapses certainly look slightly premeditated, as if providing loopholes for the old categories within the new system, should they occasionally come back.

The Artlenburg privilege differs in many ways. It does not concern itself with the everyday behaviour of the recipients; it contains no rules protecting women or defending the rights of the duke's own merchants. Its only outspoken aim is to protect and appease the Gotlanders, albeit with a reciprocity claim. This makes it more of a political gesture, an appeal to the Gotlanders not to oppose Henry's trade-political project in its early beginnings. This impression is confirmed by a comparison with Henry's Swedish treaty from the 1170s. The little we know is enough to ascertain its ambition to regulate day-to-day legal matters in connection with ongoing trade. It is also possible that it was intended to be valid on Gotland, which after all was a Swedish province of some kind. The 1170s appear as a period when active trade from the West to Gotland was more openly undertaken. The first indisputable evidence of foreign establishment on Gotland dates from this period, concerning a Danish Knud's guild.[213] If Griga was in fact a Novgorodian messenger sent to 'the *Nemtsy* sons' and 'the Latin tongue' in 1191–92, it's likely that he would have found them on Gotland.

On the other hand, ever since Henry the Lion sent a *nuncius* some thirty years before, Lübeck had been quite welcoming towards Russians. The Jaroslav privilege followed only a few years after the so-called Barbarossa privilege of 1188, according to which *Rutheni, Gothi, Normanni et cetere gentes orientales absque theloneo et absque hansa ad civitatem [lubecensem] . . . veniant et libere recedant . . .* 'Russians, Gotlanders, Northmen and other Eastern peoples may come to the city (Lübeck) without customs and without Hansa charges and return freely'.[214] The remarkable combination of names in some manner precludes those of the Jaroslav treaty: in both cases the absence of Danes and Swedes is noticeable. The Barbarossa privilege is suspected of having being manipulated around 1225–30, but although this complicates the issue slightly, it is no reason to disregard the text totally. As regards freedom from customs in Lübeck, there is confirmation

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[213] DD I:3 63. Below VII:5.
[214] MGH DF I:981; cf. LübUB I:7; cf. Hofmeister 1926 pp. 44, 80 and above Ch. VI:5. For literature on the falsification, see Prange 1976 p. 95f. note 24. *Gothi* for the Gotlanders seems fairly certain (the *Götar* were no longer fighting the Svear and are thus much less likely on their own), the Russians are a bigger category than the Novgorodians, whereas *Normanni* may mean Norwegians or Scandinavians in general, but in the latter sense is a rather archaic expression.

in Lübeck's oldest toll-roll from the 1220s, in which nationalities including 'the Russian and other Eastern peoples' are listed as exempt.[215]

On the making of international law

Scholars, having stated their opinion on the trade peace of 1191–92, have to a large degree focused on the problem of whether or not it should be linked to the Artlenburg privilege. It may also help our understanding of *Guta saga's* records of Gotland's settled relation to Sweden. While the Artlenburg and Novgorod texts both refer to older regulations that are abrogated by being confirmed and integrated (possibly past recognition) into new documents, the *Guta saga* merely contains a survey which reveals aggregation over several centuries. Gotland's particular position in Baltic trade is thus recognised through trade-political agreements in the north, east and south, which count among the earliest in North European international law. Together they convey a picture of how international law may have spread in the Baltic.

Depending on circumstances, a prince would announce the conditions for trade that were to prevail in his waters and harbours. They might be generally valid or directed toward a specific party; in the latter case they might be bilaterally agreed, by a personal encounter of the princes involved or through an authorised agent, but they were more often issued unilaterally as a privilege open to a limited group or to everybody. The prince would more or less automatically express a wish for reciprocity, which was no guarantee that his subjects would achieve it. When Saxon merchants appeared on Gotland in the aftermath of the Artlenburg meeting, they would have had to present their demands for reciprocity, in the best case seconded by a letter of recommendation, issued by the duke or upon his orders. The Gotlanders would have studied the conditions closely. Claims for reciprocity might not have been possible to accept every time, particularly if they were contrary to local legislation and tradition. In the latter case, a privilege might be issued offering the current local rules. It might still have the form of a (suggested) treaty, in which case it was more of a counter-demand. The Jaroslav privilege

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[215] LübUB I:32.

thus claimed to be a treaty but was in fact a one-sided issue which stated the conditions offered in Novgorod, and awaited its ratification. If no symmetrical agreement was achieved, the counterpart was free to put the fragile peace at stake or accept the bad with the good.

It can be seen how an international practice developed gradually on the basis of unilaterally sworn peaces—rarely given on a general basis—stating conditions for trade guests in specific areas and for specific reasons. They could be proclaimed through a messenger like Arbud or Griga, who was sent to the counterpart with a catalogue of demands and a few offered benefits. Compared to modern treaties it was a slow process of negotiation, carried out by middle-men and stretching out over years. Unless the true power holders met personally in conference, which was rarely the case, it could hardly have been done in any other way.

Emerging international treaties are elements within a greater problem area. Not only are they remnants from a period of dynamic change at many levels of life, but they pose a challenge for the researcher regarding method and source criticism. The oldest records of negotiations between Baltic Rim peoples and Europeanization agents are scantily worded. In this respect they have only partially left the old way of handling agreements, orally and with the support of ceremony and material symbols. Gradually, however, a form emerged in northern Europe by which rules for international cooperation between two or more peoples were established. One aspect of this was that the expansion of the Catholic World-system at a general level, and the expansion of monarchy and statehood at a more particular one, tended to reduce all kinds of transaction costs between respective parties, while raising new barriers against those on the outside.[216]

When the Gotlanders took over in Novgorod: a detailed hypothesis

In the Novgorod of 1191–92, the Varangians seem to have quit the field. We can see their disappearance as a shift of systems, akin to similar incidents elsewhere on the Rim. How did it come about this time? The silence which surrounds this particular incident in the

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[216] Cf. Westlund 1996.

sources is remarkable; would the Varangians have disappeared so quietly and modestly, in a most un-Varangian way? The Gotlanders should be suspected of having played a key role here. In one way or another, they had managed to accumulate the whole Viking heritage for themselves. As far as I know, no specific hypothesis on this has been elaborated, but what has been discussed in the present chapter has produced material enough to construct one.

Jaroslav's trade peace in its political context: In previous research, the trade peace has sometimes been connected to events in 1188, as narrated in the Novgorod chronicle. These events involved Novgorodians, *Nemtsy* and not least Varangians. Gotland also enters the picture. The preserved texts are quite problematic, but there seems to be consensus as to the result of the hostilities. The chronicle states, 'in the spring Novgorod did not allow one single individual of its own men to travel overseas, nor did they give pilots to the Varangians,[217] but let them leave without peace.'[218] This corresponds to paragraph 1 of the peace, about guests' right to go back to their respective home countries under the same right as they had come.

As in the Artlenburg problem, a political controversy of which we know too little has preceded this step in the development of international law. The events merit our further interest. In the Novgorodian case they suggest that Jaroslav's peace wasn't a routine ratification, as the text implies, but rather a political move in the ongoing confrontation. What particularly connects the entry of 1188 to the privilege of 1191–92 is that the Novgorodian reaction puts the entire blame on the Varangians. They were the ones told to leave, and they made room for the newly-favoured party, the *Nemtsy* and the Gotlanders.

I have already suggested that the concept of the *Nemtsy*/Latin tongue was a contemporary Novgorodian recognition of the emerging New system of trade, largely representing the European core area and connoting Catholic church reform as well as the emergence of an embryonic commodity market. In case after case, we have seen its encounters with the rearguard of the previously dominant Old

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[217] According to Rahbek Schmidt (1964 p. 151 note 29) ongoing peace negotiations had been interrupted by the Novgorodians. The notice is, however, probably about 'winter-sitting' Varangian guests in Novgorod.
[218] Rahbek Schmidt 1964 p. 59.

system, fighting in various ways for the survival of its cherished values. Rather than pointing to different nationalities, the concepts of 'Varangians' and '*Nemtsy*' seem to point to the two competing groups in the struggle. Seen from this perspective Jaroslav's peace indicates a Novgorodian wish to side with the Catholic World-system. It also provides helpful insights as to the strategy decisions of the Gotlanders.

The difficulty in understanding what really occurred in 1188 arises from discrepancies between the earlier and later traditions of the Novgorodian chronicle, which have provoked philological and historical disputes. The basic message appears to be that Varangians had caused damage to *Nemtsy* merchants on Gotland and to Novgorodians in places called Khoruzhk and Novotorzhok. The latter may refer to the town of Novy Torg on the Tver'ca, one of the Volga's tributaries; the former cannot be linked to any known place. The debate over which lines of conflict are expressed by the entry has been ongoing for a long time. Its nature is neatly expressed by Lind's title for one of his contributions: 'What actually happened in 1188 and where?'[219]

According to Goetz the entry should be read: 'this year [1188] Novgorodians plundered Varangians, i.e. *Nemtsy* being among the Gotlanders, in Khoruzhk and Novotorzhok'. Thus according to him Varangians were *Germans* in the strict sense of the word.[220] The following is Knud Rahbek Schmidt's version, in his Danish translation of the chronicle: 'In the same year the Varangians plundered the Novgorodians on Gotland, the Germans in Khoruzk and Torzhok' (*I det samme år plyndrede varegerne novgorod-boerne på Gotland, tyskerne i Choruzk og Torzok*), while A.A. Zalisniak has launched the more ingenious but awkward suggestion that the narrative only concerns two individuals, one named Khorugi and the other from Torzhok, who had been subjected to confiscation.[221] Common to these interpretations is that they give a rather strange historical context, due to a purely grammatical reading,[222] namely that the Varangians could

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[219] Lind 1994 pp. 191–205.

[220] Goetz 1916 p. 19.

[221] Rahbek Schmidt 1964 p. 59; Janin and Zalizniak 1986 p. 174.

[222] In the older version of the chronicle's text concerning the events on Gotland the *varjazi* appear as the subject while the verb *rubiti* could mean 'captured' or 'struck' (or according to Zalizniak 'confiscated'). There, however, *nemtse* and *novgorodtse* are objects (the Varangians did something hostile to Nemtsy and Novgorodians).

have imprisoned Novgorodians in the latter's own territory, or in Zalizniak's case that ordinary and minor events were entered into the chronicle.[223]

A more understandable solution is provided by the Finnish Slavist J.J. Mikkola, through the no less bold and ingenious yet historically meaningful suggestion that Khoruzhk could represent a Russified pronounciation *Zhorsharg* for the Swedish town name Torsharg, now Torshälla on Mälaren. He also suggests that Novotorzhok could be a straight translation of Nyköping on the Swedish east coast. Gunnar Bolin has proposed what are perhaps linguistically less but geographically more plausible interpretations, Turku and Korois in Finland.[224] Zalizniak's interpretation implied a rejection of Mikkola's idea, and the rejection has been supported by Rybina, who pointed out that it is unusual to translate town names. Mikkola's interpretation of the town names has since been defended by Lind in two important articles.[225]

Lind finds it impossible that *Nemtsy* is used as an explanatory term for Varangians; in the given context they could only refer to another party active at the same time, who he believes were mainland Swedes. He also connects the incidents of 1188 with a 'pagan' (Carelian?) assault on Sigtuna in 1187, related in some Swedish annals and *Erikskrönikan*. Seen from the perspective of these events Lind finds that a later version of the Novgorodian chronicle makes sense, if the Novgorodians are placed in the text as an object. An interpretation according to Lind's understanding would be:

> In the same year [1188] the Varangians captured Novgorodians on Gotland and the Nemtsy (= Swedes) jailed (confiscated?) Novgorodians in Chorzek (= Torsharg) and Novotorzec (= Nyköping); but in spring they (the Novgorodians) did not allow a (single) man of their own to leave Novgorod and go overseas, nor send messengers to the Varangians but let them leave without peace.[226]

The later, obviously corrupt text version, has *nemtsy* together with *varjazi* as subject while the Novgorodians have entirely disappeared (chiefly after Janin and Zalizniak 1986 and Lind 1987).

[223] Cf. §§ 4, 11a, 13 of Jaroslav's trade peace.

[224] Mikkola 1928 p. 70f.; Bolin 1933 pp. 217–19; supported by Yrwing 1940 p. 149f.

[225] Lind 1981 pp. 145–174; Lind 1994.

[226] It is thus basically built on Lind's 1981 translation, however modified according to his later manuscript, which doesn't contain a full translation.

Lind's interpretation has been most useful to me when trying to understand the circumstances touched upon here. However there is another quite good and trustworthy source that seems to shed more light on the series of events leading up to Jaroslav's treaty. As far as I know, it has not previously been drawn into this context.

The incident on Gotland in 1185–6: The *Sverre saga* tells the story of King Sverre's brother Erik, who set sail from Norway with five ships, probably in 1185. Three ships were steered by Assur the priest, Tjodolf *vic* and Hermund *Kvaša* respectively. They intended to sail eastwards to ravage heathen lands. The mention of a priest suggests that the author may wish us to think of a crusade. Here follow the important lines:

þeir helldu um sumarit i Austr-veg til Eistlandz oc herioðu þar sem heitir i Vicum. þeir fengo mikit fe oc sneru aptr til Gotlanz urðu þar missattir við Saxa oc unnu af þeim .ii. kuga. tocu þar ugrynni fiar. foro þaðan til Sviþioþar oc funnu þar Knut konung. Varo þeir þar i goðum fagnaði. Gaf hann Eiriki langscip aþr en hann færi ibrot.[227]	in the summer they sailed eastwards to Estonia and ravaged a place there named Vik. They took many goods and sailed thereafter to Gotland where they met Saxons from whom they took two cogs which gave them much goods. Then they went to Svitjod and found King Knut there and enjoyed great hospitality. He gave Erik a longship.

Erik's sea expedition may refer to the exact event on Gotland which the Novgorod chronicle deals with. The dating may not be fully congruent, but it comes so close that—given the general lack of chronological precision in the sources in question,[228] and the possible extension of time between causes and effects[229]—the assumption is quite plausible. At any rate it is about a similar event, a hostile action against trading guests on Gotland, which would have had equally serious consequences for peaceful trade as those described in the *First Novgorod Chronicle*.

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[227] *Sverris saga* k. 113.

[228] As mentioned by Nils Ahnlund (1953 pp. 32f., 84f.) the Gotland incident may quite well have happened during 1186. Johansen (1959 p. 93f.) agrees. The Novgorod Chronicle's dating, on the other hand, would refer to the measures taken in Novgorod to put an end to the peace. The previous history may thus be further back in time.

[229] It is a prerequisite of the annal that logical circumstances might be put together under a certain year, even if it happened over a longer period of time.

Assuming that it is an independent description of the same incident, and not two very similar ones, the interpretation of the 1188 entry in the chronicle becomes clearer by verifying the reading of the older text version: the active offenders on Gotland were in fact Varangians in the old, proven sense of the word—a gang of freebooters of Nordic origin operating in the Viking-age manner, notwithstanding the Svea king's obvious approval. It is in fact plausible that Erik's expedition was undertaken in concordance with the Svea king, Knut Eriksson, who in 1185 had had his sister married to King Sverre of Norway. As a contribution to the crusading policy of King Knut, it may even have been a sort of wedding gift. The order in which the targets are mentioned, first Wiek, then Gotland, suggests that they approached along the ancient Route of Kings, somehow established contact with King Knut (perhaps when passing the coast of Uppland) and after the East Baltic adventure, chose the Golden Diagonal route back via Gotland, before visiting the king and returning to Norway.

Those affected by the Gotlandic incident—the objects—were in fact already *Nemtsy* in a sense that agrees with its prevalent later meaning, i.e. they were Saxons.[230] This observation does not diminish Lind's careful explanation of the meaning of *Nemtsy*, but the triumph of the word in Novgorodian sources, from the end of the 12th century onwards, can probably be connected to the appearance along the western sea routes of numerous merchants who, in their attitudes, clothing and ways of working, were obviously not Varangian.

The disappearance of the Varangians and the entry of Gotlanders and Nemtsy: I have already pointed out that the growing importance of the Golden Diagonal as a main sea route binding together Schleswig/Lübeck and Novgorod via Gotland was disadvantageous to the Swedes. The princes and prominent men who reconsidered towards the middle of the 12th century how Sweden should adapt to the new conditions must have realised that the Mälar valley had lost any previous ability to control the international trading network. They would

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[230] In what way Novgorodians were affected is not given here. Perhaps we could place them as co-freighters on the cogs? The trade war seems to have affected Novgorod sharply; in the same winter goods were expensive in Novgorod. A bread cost two *nogata* and a *kad'* of rye cost 6 *grivna* though, thanks to the grace of God, it did not come to riots among the common people, writes the chronicle in that same year of 1188 (Rahbek Schmidt 1964 p. 59).

have understood that the future belonged to the outer areas of the realm: on the Göta älv where the town of Lödöse had enjoyed a marked rise in prosperity; in the Kalmar area; on the southwest coast of Finland; perhaps even in Estonia, but above all on Gotland.

The new trend must have been met at a relatively early stage by a new Swedish policy based foremost on violence and threat, which brings us back to the issue of the *ledung*. The active 'rowing' *ledung* organisation, as it was later outlined in law texts and described in sagas (often referring to older times), would chiefly reflect measures taken in the middle of the 12th century. It should also be connected to the establishment of the *jarl's* office, which had responsibility for its build-up and use, and to the special position of the *jarl* on Gotland.[231]

I have already pointed to a sea expedition in 1142 as a potential first attempt by the Swedish authorities to check commercial traffic towards Novgorod via the Golden Diagonal. The *First Novgorod Chronicle* describes an even more extensive Swedish enterprise in 1164, aimed at conquering the town of Ladoga (Aldeigjuborg) at the mouth of the Volkhov river. It suffered a total defeat, according to the Russian source. Somewhere between these years we should probably place the first crusade to Finland, led by Erik Jedvardsson. Seen as examples of a Swedish reaction to changes in the trade system, it meant the opening of a classical policy in Swedish politics: the attempt to control the Gulf of Finland.

I shall now consider the political decisions taken in Novgorod in 1188 and 1191–92 from this angle. Although perhaps not the first event in the series, I can begin with the Norwegian incident. (1) A small fleet of five ships ravaged two locations that were strategic on the Golden Diagonal, by Wiek and on Gotland. The latter was clearly a strike against the emerging New system. This may have occurred in connection with the Swedish-Norwegian royal wedding in 1185 or possibly the year after. (2) In 1186, the Novgorodian chronicle relates, a group of Novgorodians went ravaging towards Tavastia,[232] an area from which the Gulf of Finland could be controlled. We cannot say that the Tavastians were at this time within the sphere of influence of the Svea realm, but circumstances had

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[231] *Guta saga* 6, cf. Holmbäck-Wessén 1979:4 p. 295. Chs. IV:3, VII:2; cf. Yrwing 1978 p. 23ff.

[232] Rahbek Schmidt 1964 p. 58.

made them natural allies. (3) On August 12, 1187, 'pagans' killed
Archbishop Johannes at Almarestäk on Lake Mälaren and went on
to burn Sigtuna. Whether these pagans were Carelians, as was claimed
by the fourteenth-century *Erikskrönikan*, or Osilians (more likely as
they had the necessary naval capacity), the raid might have been
made in the interests of Novgorod and in retaliation for the raid on
Wiek.[233] (4) Only then were measures taken against Novgorodians,
probably in Swedish towns, in 1187 or 1188, which led to the expul-
sion of Varangians from Novgorod. (5) In 1191 the Novgorodians
went with the Carelians towards Tavastia again, made war upon
their country, burnt it and killed the cattle.[234] Some time during this
period (6) the *ledung* expedition took place, discussed above, in which
Germans and Gotlanders participated in a Swedish assault on Virronia,
perhaps not quite as accidentally as the missionary Theoderic thought.[235]

Pope Clement III wrote an encouraging letter in 1193, saying that
Swedes had been punishing the pagans for many years. These cam-
paigns may be attributed to a certain Jon Jarl who some sources
remember for having ravaged the inner part of the Gulf of Finland.
We may recall that the 1190s also saw the first traces of Danish
ambitions to grab some territory on the Gulf of Finland.[236] Under
the circumstances, the latter may even have been complementary
and not as is usually thought a competitive alternative to the Swedish
endeavours. All this underlines another understanding of Jaroslav's
trade peace than the conventional one.

During the present study I have come to the conclusion that the
Varangians (meaning the Old system defended by Swedes, Norwegians
and perhaps also Danes) were not involved in the peace of 1191/92
at all. I believe we should instead look seriously at what the chron-
icle writes for the year 1201: 'They let the Varangians go over the

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[233] Since Carelians were a political target in the 1320s, their being mentioned
has been thought to reflect later times. The actual perpetrators are often suggested
to have been Osilian 'Estonians' instead, an interpretation to which the place name
Eestaskär (Estbröte) may possibly have contributed. Lind claims that it must be
about Carelians or in any case about an attack inspired from Novgorod. As a basis
for his assumption, he points to the tradition, independent of Erikskrönikan, about
the alleged Sigtuna doors in Novgorod; cf. Ahnlund 1953 pp. 32f., 84f.

[234] Rahbek Schmidt 1964 p. 60.

[235] HCL I:13. Cf. Ch. IV:1; Ahnlund 1953 pp. 29ff., 93ff.; KL s.v. Korståg,
J. Gallén; Fonnesberg Schmidt 2000.

[236] Ruuth 1968 pp. 61–86; Kerkkonen 1968 pp. 111–143.

sea without peace.' This obviously happened in spring when the merchants' ships began to gather around Berkø and Kotlin. 'But in the autumn the Varangians came overland to achieve peace, and they were given peace in full accordance with their will.'[237] But by then, I conclude, the Gotlanders had already established themselves as the sole masters in the old Gotenhof on the Volkhov river.[238]

The chain of events I have tried to reconstruct is merely a hypothesis of what might have happened when the Svear and other Varangians lost their position in Novgorod, but there are aspects that speak in its favour:

(1) The strife of the Svear with Novgorod occurred when they had been deprived for some decades of their former hold on the greater Baltic trade. However, the Svear could still put pressure on the successful Gotlanders, and they were improving their ability to obstruct communication with the island. When the Novgorodians sent the Varangians away without peace, the Gotlanders had already during many decades accumulated good reasons to demand special status—in fact to liberate themselves from the Varangian concept. At the same time their autonomy gave the Novgorodians a pretext to hand over the Varangian church and trade yard to the Gotlanders (or at least let them serve as its protective power).

(2) In 1188, the year of warfare, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa issued privileges for Lübeck. The preserved text is a falsification from ca. 1225/30. Nevertheless, it may reflect the content of two vanished originals, from 1181 and 1188 respectively, to the extent that it would still be worthwhile considering from our recent viewpoint. One item that has confused interpreters is the list of foreigners that were announced to be free from duty in this text, namely the *Rutheni, Gothi, Normanni et cetere gentes orientales*.[239] It is remarkable that neither Swedes nor Danes are mentioned, particularly considering Henry the Lion's previous invitiations. Why only Norwegians? Attempts have been made to interpolate the others.[240] But the imperial benevolence

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[237] Rahbek Schmidt 1964 p. 68.

[238] The full confirmation follows in the later privilege texts, around 1260 and 1268–69, see Goetz 1916 p. 84ff., cf. 81ff., and pp. 113–30.

[239] MGH DF I:981; Jordan 1980 pp. 244, 253 with further references; cf. Rennkamp 1977 p. 54f. with the notes D 126, 155.

[240] Rennkamp 1977 p. 54f. and notes D 126, 155. Here it is claimed that *Normanni* signify 'Schweden'.

very well reflects the new alliance system which emerged during the decades the Germans established themselves on the Baltic—the Golden Diagonal from Lübeck to Gotland to Novgorod.

5. *Rus in Urbe or Urbs in Rure? The Puzzle Picture of Visby*

The non-existence of Visby in Gotland's constitution

The previous sections have shown the emancipation of Gotland from Swedish dominance by linking its fate to early exponents of Europeanization in the southwest sector of the Rim and, somewhat unexpectedly, in Russia. The Western expansion caused a period of unrest on the entire Baltic Rim in the first half of the 12th century, out of which a new economic-political order gradually emerged. The Scandinavian countries began to integrate into the Catholic World-system as semi-peripheral states. In consequence Gotland's Swedish relationship was regulated anew, as a form of autonomy with limited state control. During the latter part of the 12th century a period of competition began, through which the core area forces challenged the semi-peripheral structures, first those of Denmark, then the lesser-developed ones of Sweden and other even more diffuse polities.

Gotland's position in this context is as difficult to establish as it is interesting. The island traders were given every possible advantage in the Artlenburg privilege, and they emerge as the only non-Russian ethnic group named in the Jaroslav trade peace, which applied to all the '*Nemtsy* sons' and 'the Latin tongue'. In Novgorod the Gotlanders were linked to the *Nemtsy* rather than to the Varangians. I have endeavoured to show how the Gotlanders, following the treaty of 1191–92, were able to take over Varangian resources. In the rest of the chapter, I shall try to evaluate the meeting of extraneous and local influences in the island community itself.

The economic and political organisation of Gotland is a great theme in its own right, to which much has already been contributed. However discussions were for a long time conducted in separate circles that were hardly aware of each other. Even if this is no longer so, an interdisciplinary synthesis is still lacking.

The oldest discourse began among historians in nineteenth-century Germany, and later involved Swedish scholars. It was chiefly

interested in Hanseatic trade and merchants, their economic and political achievements and in the expansion of the German type of *Recht- und Ratstadt*. Its main feature was the emergence and growth of Visby, the city where the Hanse in a sense was born.[241] Other discourses belong to Swedish and international archaeologists, numismatists, art and church historians, human geographers, linguists and others focusing on the rich remnants of Viking- and Middle-age economic and social forms, both in the countryside (with more than 90 churches, around 1500 freemen's estates, almost 800 known Viking-age hoard finds, hundreds of urban-type stone houses and other kinds of stone monuments) and in Visby (with 15–18 churches, hundreds of burghers' houses and other urban archaeology).[242]

The topic no longer suffers from German/Swedish antagonism or interdisciplinary misunderstandings between these who study texts and those who interpret objects and landscape remains.[243] However a tendency may still remain among Hanse scholars to project concepts from Germany uncritically onto the Gotlandic reality, while on the other hand, local and Stockholm archaeologists might still overlook the possibility of German influence. I will attempt to blend the state of research from all sides into a survey of the gestation of civic institutions, trading places, and particularly of the growth of Visby. Do these variables correspond to changes in the island's international position in an understandable way? Will its swift rise to international fame and power be confirmed by a corresponding internal development? And will a confrontation of different discourses reveal anything of the Gotlanders' survival strategy?

I will first consider the written sources that speak of Gotland in the long 12th century. Leaving aside runic inscriptions and a few notices provided by the *scriptores*, which I have already quoted, a point must be made about the *Guta saga* which I don't recall having seen in the literature.

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[241] Cf. Yrwing 1986; Friedland 1988; most recently Kattinger 1999a.

[242] Some of the most recent contributions are Pernler 1977; Yrwing 1978; I. Jansson [ed.] 1983; Hyenstrand 1989; Medeltidsstaden 71–72, 1989; Kyhlberg 1991; Lagerlöf and Svahnström 1991(continuously revised); Siltberg 1998; Lagerlöf 1999; Markus 1999.

[243] Several recent conference reports tend to cross the border between the two discourses, cf. Bohn [ed.] 1990; Bohn [ed.] 1998; Blomkvist [ed.] 1998.

It is often stated that the *Guta saga* is an ideological and constitutional document, akin to other national sagas. The fact that it has been preserved together with the Guta law underlines this observation. Its conception has been related to advice given by Archbishop Anders Sunesen of Lund and Bishop Bengt of Linköping (in a letter allegedly from 1220–23) that laws and rules should be written down. However the letter was probably falsified, and much later dates have been suggested.[244] Regardless of how the Guta law and *Guta saga* are seen, they remain old-fashioned expressions of a community struggling to preserve its identity, and are likely markers of a society under stress.

What I find remarkable is that the saga text does not even mention the immigration of Germans to the island, the growth of Visby, the raising of the city wall or the subsequent civil war.[245] The main concern of the saga is Sweden, the degree of Gotlandic submission, and the limitations on royal and episcopal authority. This can be interpreted in different ways, as signifying a very early date, a very late date, or division of subject with the preface to the town code, where 'many tongues' and 'dissension' *are* mentioned. As noted, the saga text contains several chronological layers, drawing from folklore as well as written sources. Although surely an expression of Gotlandic strategy, it remains problematic to use it in its entirety. A similar blind spot concerns Visby in the Guta law itself, although *caupungr* . . . 'the town' is mentioned, as well as *ogutniscr* and *ut lendinger*, words for 'foreigners'.[246] Against this background, it is of great interest to learn that Gotlandic laws were important to the Germans who were forming the new Christian realm of Livonia.

'They were in doubt as to what "ius Gotorum" meant'

Following the German victory in Livonia in 1225, the burghers of fast-growing Riga stated their demands for civic autonomy. Doing so, they referred to *ius Gotorum* . . . 'the Guta law' or 'code of the Gotlanders' according to which, they claimed, their city had been

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[244] KL s.v. Gutasagan, E. Wessén; Lindkvist 1983 p. 470. As to the arguments for falsification, see DRB I:7 334.

[245] Only in the German translation of 1401 is the scene at the *vi* (below) specified: *Das nu genömet ist wysbu* . . . 'which nowadays is called Visby'.

[246] GL 6:2, 13 pr (*caupungr* etc.), cf. 65; GL 13, 14:3–4, 16, 20:13–15, 21:2, 22, 23:5, 28:4, 6, 8 (*ogutniscr* etc.)

founded. They obviously had some urban code in mind; associations suggest an embryonic Visby code, still embedded in the Guta law. Riga had been founded by the turn of the century, in 1201 according to Henry of Latvia. It had clearly not been a ceremonious occasion, with no location contracts or city charter being issued. However they now encountered a problem: their sovereign, Bishop Albert, had different recollections to the burghers. In December 1225 Cardinal William of Modena was asked to sort out the problem.

At the inquest, the town *syndicus*, also Albert, maintained: *civibus licere iudicem civitatis constituere, eo quod haberent ius Gotorum, sibi ab episcopo a constitutione civitatis concessum . . .* 'since the bishop had given them the code of the Gotlanders by the town's foundation, they should have the right to elect the city judge'. To this the bishop answered (speaking for himself, his dean, John, and the Master of the Order Wulchin): *quod a constitutione civitatis concessit civibus in genere ius Gotorum, et specialiter libertatem a duello, teloneo, candente ferro et naufragio. Dubitabatur autem inter eos, quod esset ius Gotorum . . .* 'that he by the town foundation had given the citizens Gotlandic law in general, and freedom from duels, customs, and from carrying glowing iron and from the landowners' right [claims] to stranded goods in particular. But they were in doubt as to what the Gotlandic law actually meant.' The cardinal cautiously decided that the burghers should be entitled to present their candidate for the judge's office, while the bishop should invest him with his rights—so the judge of course remained the bishop's servant.

Questions had also been raised regarding the mint. The bishop's right to coin money was confirmed by the cardinal, as long as the coinage conformed to the weight and value *cuius est moneta Gotorum seu Gotlandiae . . .* 'in the money of the Gotlanders or Gotland's'. Finally the cardinal stated that anyone wishing to settle in the city (Riga) was entitled to become a burgher and to enjoy the aforementioned rights. He added that the burghers should be allowed to adopt whichever rules they could prove within three years to be *jus Theutonicorum commorancium in Gotlandia . . .* 'the law of the Germans residing on Gotland', with the exception of appointing their own priests.[247]

Thus conditions in Riga have something to say about those on Gotland. The question is how good a mirror the Riga information

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[247] LECUB 75; cf. LECUB 155, LECUB 3027.

is, since these opinions were obviously formed in a climate of competing interests.

The problem of whether the merchants were to organise the mint is probably to be rejected in the Gotlandic context. Neither is there a claim that minting rights followed from *jus Gotorum* (as in the case of electing a bailiff), nor did the cardinal's verdict give the minting prerogative to the burghers of Riga. On Gotland, minting had begun long before the appearance of the Germans, and all societal references before 1225 speak not of Visby, but only of Gotland—even in the Riga discussion. If the Germans in Visby had organised minting, it would have been on behalf of the country.[248]

The legal status of the Germans on Gotland is further illuminated in a Visby source. As early as July 1225, Bishop Bengt of Linköping had issued a privilege for the Church of St. Mary in Visby to be an inter-parochial church for German *burgenses* . . . 'burghers'. The letter was given at the time of the consecration of this stately church. According to the thorough evaluation by Gunnar Svahnström, the event represents the inauguration of the first complete building in a Saxon rather than Rhinelandish style. St. Mary's, it was said, had been built by money collected on the German ships.[249] It was to be a church for Germans, in the first place for those living in Visby, regardless of their local address. The prerogatives of the priest of the parish in which they actually lived would be observed through the payment of lawful fees (*portio canonica*). In St. Mary's, the right to present priests belonged to the congregation.[250]

The requested 'law of Germans residing on Gotland' may in turn be the series of rights from which I quoted at the beginning of this chapter, the text which claimed to have been established since 'the

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[248] Rasmusson 1967 (no pagination); Yrwing 1978 p. 214ff. Houses called 'the mint' are known from Bro parish and in Visby, where it is mortared into the city wall. An evident Visby coinage, bracteates showing a W, belongs to the end of the 13th century.

[249] DS 231. SvK 175, G. Svahnström (1978). It has long been debated whether the occasion followed an enlargement of a church that had been in use since 1190, or the finalization of its first building phase. The earlier date is offered by a notorious seventeenth-century local historian, who has distributed many fantastic foundation years for Gotlandic churches (Strelow 1633 p. 142). In this case, the suggestion is realistic although unproven, cf. Yrwing 1940 pp. 236–38. Some of Strelow's datings may depend on inscriptions lost nowadays. In any case, the church would have taken several years to build.

[250] Yrwing 1940 pp. 225ff., 231ff., 290ff.

German tongue began to gather on Gotland'. The preserved source is a copy of a text from around 1270, but theoretically it can fall back on a transcription acquired in Riga in 1225–28. It contains family law, including marriage, inheritance, property clauses and luxury prohibitions. Another fragment of similar age, retrieved in Wolfenbüttel, contains some penal code which concurs with Gotlandic law (GL:19). Both fragments are written in German but contain Gotlandic expressions. The Visby law proper, which derives from the 1340s, has furthermore been shown to contain old Nordic as well as more recent German patterns.[251]

The allowance of a three-year period for securing information from Gotland suggests permission to allow for a process of change going on there, which was not clearly visible to the people of Riga, from what they knew of *ius Gotorum*. The Germans on Gotland may have won the right to live domestically according to their own set of rules, and probably also to elect a judge for their internal matters, as the *syndicus* of Riga claimed.[252] But their ambitions may have contained further claims. On his way back from Livonia in 1226, Cardinal William of Modena confirmed the rights of the *cives Theutonici in Wisby*, and back in Rome he encouraged Pope Honor III to protect *Teutonicis civibus de Visbu*. 'In these charters', Yrwing concludes, 'the Germans are seen as burghers of Visby, after having formed a particular guild association and a parish for the Church of St. Mary'.[253] The terminology certainly suggests a portion of civic autonomy.

The years around 1225 were characterised by dynamic changes all along the Golden Diagonal, from Lübeck via Gotland to Riga, with potentially damaging effects on Novgorod. The earliest known texts in which Visby is mentioned by name belong to this year; from then on it appears relatively frequently, as an apparent indicator of a new era. It would be methodically wrong to project backwards the picture provided by the 1225/30 texts.[254] Older texts such as those from

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[251] Schlüter 1908 p. 502ff.; Frensdorff 1916 p. 69ff.; Yrwing 1940 p. 350ff.; Hasselberg 1953; L. Carlsson 1961. Cf. Sjöholm 1976 pp. 86ff., 111ff., 163ff.; Yrwing 1986 p. 137ff.; Siltberg 1993 p. 46f.

[252] Yrwing 1978 pp. 196f., 214–17; Yrwing 1986 pp. 20ff., 36–43.

[253] DS 232–233; LECUB 94; Yrwing 1940 p. 238ff.; Yrwing 1986 p. 41.

[254] Particularly in Riga, the development followed with revolutionary speed on the town's foundation in 1201. For example, the privilege for trading guests of 1211, albeit treating the legal situation, says nothing of *ius Gotorum* (LECUB 20).

Artlenburg and Novgorod speak only of Gotland and its coast. In some cases it could be argued that Visby is meant. One example is an undated copy (1177?), in which Valdemar I of Denmark addresses all his subjects who travel to and from Gotland.

It is good practice, says the king, for those who travel to different parts of the world for profit to fortify themselves with arrangements for their protection. This is why he appreciates the brotherhood and guild association they have formed in honour of the martyr St. Knud with much grace, not least, he continues, since it will also protect the king himself.[255] He wishes to participate in their recently-begun brotherhood, and intends to support all their decisions with his full authority. He asks and commands them to continue the building enterprise that they have begun, and not to give in to *aliquorum aemulorum* . . . 'any opponents'. They should celebrate the opening of the guild at the right time, as they had promised his chaplain Otto, who had been sent to advise them. Finally he states that annual offerings from every Knud's guild should be brought to the martyr's grave (at Ringsted on Zealand [Själland]).[256]

The competitive situation indicated in the Danish text suggests that Gotland in this case means Visby. The existence of a considerably later seal for the 'German' guild of St. Knud *in Wisbi* may further support this impression.[257] At the same time it tells us that the growth of Visby prior to 1225 was more than a German affair.

The discussion of what Visby was

In discussion of Visby's emergence, a certain *gilda communis* . . . 'a general guild' has been thought to play a major role. Such a guild is mentioned in the source material, but only once, and not in Visby. In his charter of 1211, Bishop Albert of Riga forbade the trade guests to form such a guild without his consent. According to Rörig and several followers, this reveals the existence of such a guild on Gotland, which Albert, being well acquainted with conditions in

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The statement may still be true in 1225, of course, but the silence in 1211 certainly opens the alternative, that the foundation of 1201 may have been chiefly in a physical sense, and constitutional matters may have been regulated only gradually.

[255] *Inde est, quod vestrae fraternitati ac societatis conexionem, quam in honore sancti Kanuti martyris salubri consilio atque utili(ssi)ma prouidentia incoastis, magni fauoris gratia amplectimur.*

[256] DD I:3 63. cf. Gilkaer 1980 p. 129ff. for the discussion.

[257] Wallin 1975 p. 105f.; cf. however Kattinger 1999a p. 160.

Visby, endeavoured to avoid. In this guild Rörig saw the *Unternehmer-konsortium* freely forming a German city on the coast of Gotland.[258] Even Yrwing thought he saw its shadow in the organisation which had St. Mary's built. In due course a very powerful merchant organisation was to develop in Visby. This was the so-called *universi mercatores*... 'all merchants', which must be identified with the body of *frequentantes*... 'trade guests' that was to become one of the founding elements of the Hanse.[259] Whether it had roots in an older general guild, and if so how old and how general it may have been, remains fully open to question in my view.

In an effort to see what Visby was before 1225, Kattinger uses information from Henry of Latvia, who was writing in 1225. With regard to events in 1203, Henry calls Visby a *civitas* and distinguishes between *cives* and *hospites*, alternatively *mercatores*, but not according to nationalities. Instead of suspecting him of being influenced by contemporary processes, Kattinger trusts the *scriptor* to have had *sichtbare Kriterien* to separate *cives* and *hospites* in a jurisdictional sense. This is methodically dubious, but becomes valuable as an experimental thought: he vizualises a modern continental town, a sort of Lübeck on the coast of Gotland. But since he neither overlooks the position of Gotlanders, nor the more retarded tempo of German advance known to modern research, he believes the *cives* to have been mainly Gotlanders settled in Visby, with perhaps some Germans or Danes. As for the *hospites*, trade guests—*kaufmännische Personalverbände im Ausland*—he considers Germans, Danes, perhaps some Russians, but also Gotlandic merchants from the countryside, using Visby as harbour and trading place.[260]

The terminology used some twenty years later by a Livonian vicar with a German upbringing induces us to see Visby as a continental city in 1203. But living up to the expectations raised by the ter-

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[258] So Rörig 1940 p. 51ff.; cf. Benninghoven 1961 p. 36ff.

[259] Yrwing 1940 p. 158ff., Yrwing 1986 p. 36f.; Kattinger 1999a pp. 5–7, 165–72. cf. Friedland 1990 pp. 98–102. For problems connected to the notion of trade guilds, cf. Gilkaer 1980 p. 142ff.; Schütt 1980 both with further references. As to the guilds of St. Knud, suggestions by L. Weibull, Hoffman and others, maintain that the network of Knud guilds were intended as a monopolistic, royal trading company, a *Gegenhanse* to quote Hoffman. Gilkaer has opposed this, claiming that such guilds foremost functioned as organisations for protection in all aspects of the word. They were thus not trade organisations *per se*, but as pointed out in the 1177 letter it was very useful for those who travelled a lot to belong to one.

[260] Kattinger 1999a pp. 165–68.

minology would have required a group of Gotlanders to cut them-
selves out from their island community and transform their relatives
and neighbours into trade guests. What would be the purpose of
sealing off a town unless to load it with advantageous privileges, and
who would give these privileges? If we turn to Henry's time of writ-
ing, however, we hear of German *burgenses* in Visby, of *cives Theutonici
in Wisby*, and even *teutonicis civibus de Visbu, inhabitatoribus Gotlandiæ etc.*,
written in turn by a bishop, a cardinal and a pope.[261] From that,
we can easily understand Henry's choice of expression, since it seems
to have been an ecclesiastical interest to look upon Visby as a German
city. But does it automatically follow, as Yrwing considered, that
they had been conceded some form of city rights? A classic Rörig
argument says that the study of terminology alone runs the risk of
documenting a development of language, but not necessarily that of
an institution.[262] It can also be applied when the problem lies in
importing continental expressions for towns and cities to the Gotlandic
environment.

Hans Andersson has shown that terminology regarding towns and
cities remained unclear in Sweden as a whole, until it settled or was
organised during the period of Magnus Ladulås. From then on ordi-
nary towns were usually called *villae forenses* in official texts, whereas
cathedral towns and Stockholm were addressed as *civitates*. Andersson's
survey includes Visby, but he found that it fitted into the pattern
poorly.[263] The peculiarity of Visby had already been observed by
Adolf Schück, who suggested that an urban *thing* (*byamot*) was oper-
ating over the diverse parishes. More recent discussion indicates that
the *jus Gotorum* means exactly what it says—the law of the Gotlanders,
and more exactly its clauses on trade, guests, peace regulations, set-
tlements on the coast etc., that were later absorbed by the Visby
town code.[264] The *jus Theutonicorum commorancium in Gotlandia*, men-
tioned in the Riga verdict of 1225, represents a different legal sys-
tem, a gradually emerging right for a specific community of Germans
who happened to live in Visby.[265] German research has until recently
dealt almost exclusively with the latter.

[261] DS 231, 232, LECUB 94.
[262] Rörig 1959 p. 20f.
[263] H. Andersson 1971 p. 106f.
[264] Yrwing 1940 p. 246ff.
[265] A. Schück 1926 p. 167f.; Yrwing 1940 p. 171ff., Yrwing 1986 pp. 40f., 67.

The topographic and archaeological discourse

It is now time to consider Visby itself as a source. The urban site has been seen as a monument of medieval greatness since the 16th century, and certainly the size and location of its churches and secular houses have been exposed to interpretation equally long.[266] More qualified attempts waited until the 20th century and have generally accelerated since the 1960s.

In 1100 AD Visby and potentially some of the other harbours offered settlements answering to a contemporary proto-town.[267] Visby's settlement has been followed from the 9th century. Being a cult place (a *vi*), it obviously enjoyed a general peace regulation in pre-Christian times. During excavations of the large ruin complex of the 'conglomerate' churches of St. Hans (Johannes) and St. Per (Peter), the foundation of an eleventh-century stone church has been found, possibly the oldest of its kind in the city area. The find conforms to information in the *Guta saga* of the existence of an All Saints' Church, 'where now is St. Peter'. The saga author connects this church to the mythical folk hero Botair of Akebäck, Gotland's first church builder, who made his first successful attempt in 'Vi below the Klint'.

Most scholars appear to agree with Gun Westholm's hypothesis that the proto-town grew out of a chain of harbours and mooring places along the beaches in the Visby area, used predominantly by local freemen traders and their Baltic Rim contacts. The chief asset of the place would have been its strategic position on the sea route network, suitable harbour facilities and relative centrality to a large number of the island's rural settlements. Even Adolf Björkander, writing in 1898 and viewing Visby as a German colony, found the motive for its setting in these qualities and the general right of asylum offered by the *vi*. Recently, Roslund has put forward a differing hypothesis based particularly on ceramic finds and stratigraphic analysis, that true urban development began around 1050, with the first appearance of foreigners coming from the east.[268] Gotlandic freemen, Germans, Russians, Scandinavians, all played a role in the emergence of Visby, yet we may still have to wait for a more definite consensus on the course of development.

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[266] OM II:24.
[267] For the definition problem, see Blomkvist 2001 pp. 11–22.
[268] Roslund 2001 pp. 242–51.

Accumulated archaeological observations in the Old Town confirm that an inner semi-circle, still visible in the street pattern, represents the oldest trading site. This was a densely-populated area of 400 × 200m laid out along the shore line. Its character is comparable to so-called *Einstrassensiedlungen* . . . 'one-street settlements' or *Wici*. However it is not particularly large for its type. The earliest churches were just outside this area, with All Saints to the south and St. Clement to the north. The two were apparently united by the main street, present-day St. Hansgatan. The tiny Russian St. Nicholas, east of the settlement, may also belong to the oldest category of churches.

During the 12th century the town doubled its size, expanding up towards the ridge (*Klinten*). More churches were built south (St. Peter) and north (St. Olof, Holy Spirit, the Catholic St. Nicholas) of the urban area. A third boom around 1200/25 was chiefly directed to the north, and gradually filled up the space that was to be circumscribed by the town wall. To this period belong St. Hans (Johannes) close by St. Peter, St. Mary, St. Lars (Lawrence), St. Catherine and probably Drotten (Trinitatis). St. Lars and St. Catherine were both pressed into a previously-built area, which may also be the case for Drotten, close to St. Lars. A little north of St. Mary, St. Jacob was built, which has now entirely disappeared.

From 1225 an extraordinary building boom followed, during which most churches, begun in the Romanesque style, were dramatically enlarged one after another in the style of Gothic architecture. At the same time, several hundred private stone houses were built, and on top of it all—in several senses—the city wall was completed before 1288. As a result the rather small Cistercian monastery of Solberga and the *leprosorium* consecrated to St. George (*Göran*), the largest of its kind in Scandinavia, were sealed off from the urban area.[269]

Very little effort has been made to identify the forces involved in these intensive procedures. Here my previous statement of the two discourses on the emergence of Visby proves true. Certainly, material has been brought forward in fundamental studies by Erik Lundberg, Svahnström and others. Yrwing has entered into some problems of detail with remarkable results, but as regards a synthesis of both

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[269] Westholm 1989 pp. 49–114; Swanström 1989 pp. 23–34. For the Russian church, see Lagerlöf 1999 p. 38ff., cf. Vase 1992.

discourses, the most far-reaching endeavours have been made in Paul Johansen's discussion of *die Kaufmannskirche* 'the merchants' church', which he adapted to Visby and other cities of the Baltic Rim in a long article of 1965[270] and by Heinz Stoob's efforts to develop these ideas further, applying his experience in topographical studies.

Stoob observes that of fourteen known *patrocinia* (patron saints) of Visby's churches, eleven are also found in Schleswig, nine in Lund, six in Roskilde, and five in Sigtuna, which indicates that these cities somehow emerged together and from similar causes. According to Stoob, these were not merchant's churches in the same sense as the trading yards in Novgorod or the Russian yard (or yards) in Visby. Instead he introduces a new (or rather renovated) element into the picture: a German *Gründungsstadt*. In his modified view it was not an occurrence out of the blue on a wild and barbaric coast, but the arrival of *frisch nachströmenden westfälisch-niedersächsischen Kräften* (in Stoob's eyes they were also *Unternehmer*) at an existing Gotlandic meeting point, a *Messeplatz* for *Fahrmännergilden* of many tongues.[271]

In Stoob's vision the planning of what he calls *die Marienstadt zu Visby* began around 1180. Its realisation followed with the building of St. Mary's as a city church for the Germans, possibly after earlier Germans had left St. Nicholas, which became the Dominican convent. Stoob sees a group of trade guests living in the town centre under *Fremdenrecht*, enjoying privileges and protection because their presence was useful to the country and advantageous to its leaders. This group, 'by transference of a ready-made urban community of Western type', helped to build a topographically distinct urban district, whose thoroughly developed constitution step-by-step infiltrated the older urban nucleus and in the end was to absorb it entirely.[272] The merit of this picture, which Stoob strengthens further by producing a parallel model for Vendic Stettin, lies in its clever adaptation of a modified *Unternehmertheorie* to the interdisciplinary picture of the topography. It even gives a reasonable explanation for the co-existence of an Old and a New legal system.

However, the course of development cannot have been entirely as Stoob presents it. His dependence on the *Unternehmertheorie* is mis-

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[270] Johansen 1965 pp. 101–06 & passim.
[271] Stoob 1979; Stoob 1995 pp. 69–74.
[272] Quotations from Stoob 1995 p. 72f.

leading. The inter-parochial nature of St. Mary's should exclude the alternative that this church was erected in a homogeneously carried out *Neustadt* construction programme. Its congregation was dispersed all over *den ganzen Messeplatz*. Furthermore the vicinity of St. Mary's is not characterised by any particular homogeneity. Many of the stone houses are thought to be of local, Gotlandic tradition, and the dendro-datings are so far at best from the middle of the 13th century.[273] If there was a *Gründungsstadt*, an urban district planned and built in one homogenous process, it should have begun with the events of 1225. It was in the years after 1225 that almost all Visby's churches were altered and zealously expanded, in the most dynamic building period of the town's history. And it was generally a later date—again according to dendro-datings—that saw the formation of the characteristic Visby skyline.

Even if the problem of how Visby emerged is heading towards a solution through the combined efforts of Yrwing, Svahnström, Westholm and Stoob, many problems remain. The chief remaining question is *why*, not with regard to the Russians, Danes or Germans, because their motives are understandable enough. But why was it in the interests of the Gotlandic community to receive such an extravagant cuckoo into its nest? To approach this problem it is necessary to introduce some recent general advances in the study of medieval cities and their emergence.

On the concept of the town. A brief repetition . . .

Scholarly discussion of urbanisation and town concepts began with the modern social sciences in the 18th century. The first objects to be classified were the contemporary towns and cities in Germany, France, England and elsewhere, which often survived in modestly matured medieval forms. These objects of study almost always had town charters and urban codes that excluded them from the surrounding countryside. They were almost always larger, denser and more populous than the rural settlements; the greater ones were also socially more heterogeneous than other places. All this was due to their socio-economic (non-agrarian) specialisation, according to which some basic functions of centrality had the capacity to draw surplus

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[273] Westholm 2000 pp. 91–100.

from the surrounding areas, which in turn allowed a differentiated set of minor specialists to gather in order to live on crafts and services. Cultural aspects could also be added to this.

The diversity of urban qualities and dimensions proved difficult to organise into one general definition. Towns obviously transformed over time, which became obvious even to mediaevalists during the industrialisation of the 19th and 20th centuries. In addition they did not look entirely similar in cross-cultural comparisons, and because of various ways of counting, classifying and forming statistics, they were difficult to compare even between neighbouring countries. During the 20th century the debate was full of mutual misunderstandings, but since the 1960s a workable solution has existed under the name of a Combined or Flexible urban concept. This is a technique in which urbanisation criteria are classified in a limited number of theoretically consistent urban variables, such as:

- basic factors of centrality
- non-basic factors creating physical density and functional interaction
- socio-economic differentiation
- legal and administrative exclusivity

These variables, chosen as being suitable for medieval purposes, can be studied separately or together, using archaeological sources as well as texts. They are therefore helpful in the identification of urbanising sites before the latter received political sanctions in the form of town charters or other documents.[274]

Discussion of Visby's emergence allows us to identify long-distance trade as the decisive basic factor. This rapidly increased from humble beginnings in the 12th century until it exploded at the beginning of the 13th. Non-basic factors such as crafts gathered spontaneously and brought a degree of differentiation, which has still been insufficiently studied. However, what had been a functional unit in the early 12th century may have been disturbed by the arrival of new, strong basic factors, and it is doubtful whether the Visby area of 1225 actually fulfilled the requirement of physical density and functional interaction. It may not have been a city, but rather a clus-

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[274] The development of the Combined or Flexible urban concept is surveyed in: H. Andersson 1971 pp. 35–40; Blomkvist 2001 pp. 14–22; both with further references.

ter of towns with different characteristics. If not a German *Gründungsstadt,* strong political endeavours were made to unify the 'German' element from 1225 into a modern continental city. Nevertheless this was done within an old-fashioned, more dispersed cluster akin to what Anders Andrén has named 'congesting countryside'.[275]

Turning to the fourth point, the situation presents the classic problem regarding the birth of the legally and administratively exclusive west European city, as discussed by Pirenne, Weber, and more recently with particular acuteness by Philip Abrams. The archetypal actor around whom this discussion is formed is very similar to the liberal ideal-type of the Hanseatic merchant—the individual who shapes his destiny in the feudal world through his *Unternehmergeist* and organisational strength. It is also (to some extent ironically) related to the neo-Marxist vision of the medieval trading town as a collective feudal lord.[276]

What we seem to find among the Germans in Visby and Riga of 1225 may be very similar to the 'institualization of a type of usurped power peculiarly conducive to the intensive pursuit of rational economic action', as Abrams elegantly condensed Weber's more complicated expressions. The legality of the procedure is of little relevance according to this approach, in which 'the mode of power within given towns' is the important aspect. 'The form as distinct from the substance of such usurpation', Abrams concludes, 'was typically the creation of the town as a legal person—the first and perhaps the most consequential ratfication of urban experience. The *conjurationes* could thus be said to have 'conjured' the town into legal existence to legitimate their non-legitimate domination.'[277] In short, whether they were benevolently given these rights in answer to a humble petition, or stole, bribed or forced their way into them is irrelevant, as long as they had the power to maintain them.

What makes this claim particularly interesting is that Gotlandic society possessed an urban dimension in itself. This was first in a mental and economic sense, since many of its freemen maintained long-distance trade with remarkable tenacity. It was to some extent in a physical sense, since gradually the country homesteads began

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[275] Andrén 1985 pp. 77–81, cf. pp. 12f., 18ff.
[276] Cf. Merrington 1978.
[277] Abrams 1978 p. 28f.

to look like dispersed town quarters. It was also urban in a legal sense, as the *ius Gotorum* had qualities that continental burghers were able to accept, and its foreign privileges granted the Gotlanders trade rights. But in another sense Gotland of 1225 was as far from urban as could possibly be, since it still preferred to carry on the way things were done in the Viking Age.

In spite of absolute European modernity for its time and place, Visby remained embedded in Gotlandic society in a remarkable way. Privileges obtained in other countries rarely mention the city or specify the special position of the German ethnic group. This may be one reason why the emergence of Visby is ignored by the *Gutalag* and *Guta saga*. The law refers to it only as a technical term, *caupungr*, which theoretically could apply to other trading places as well. Here again are obvious traits of a survival strategy. By maintaining the traditional set of rules that regulated freemen's trade from country harbours on the coast of Gotland, and by generously offering foreigners the right to retain special legislation in their own secluded communities, the Gotlanders endeavoured to preserve the advantages that they had earned in the long 12th century. In doing this, they were confronted by a sharpened ideological attitude within the network of cooperating towns, marking a step in their development towards becoming the *Städtehanse*.[278] The emergence of Visby was leading towards a dynamic, complicated and, in some of its phases, violent confrontation.

In this context the building of the city wall and the civil war connected to it acquires a certain similarity to the classical urban revolutions in the continental core area, in which an ascending 'class of burghers' freed themselves from 'feudal bonds'. Or was it a superior proto-capitalistic core area organisation that got rid of the last legal claims from a pathetically backward peasant community? 'The point about the medieval European towns', Abrams continues, 'is that they reveal a pattern of domination in which the burghers, having broken their dependence on the legitimate traditional (feudal) authorities of the societies around them, imposed themselves equally illegitimately upon artisans and peasants, who were forced to depend on them.'[279]

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[278] Björkander 1898 p. 96ff.; Yrwing 1978 pp. 27–31; Yrwing 1986 pp. 110ff., 117ff.

[279] Abrams 1978 p. 29.

*Rus in urbe or urbs in rure? Visby's emergence as a legally-defined
urban unit*

Visby must have given the impression of being a *civitas* in the eyes
of a core area visitor. But here there was no sovereign to separate
it legally from the countryside. Instead there was an involvement by
the authorities of the Gotlandic community in Visby's affairs; what
would their attitude have been? As holders of Gotland's trading rights
in foreign countries and experienced competitors on most trade routes,
they would hardly seal off Visby from their own influence.

It was up to the *cives Theutonici* to conjure themselves into legal
autonomy. But what we have seen so far is something else: the for-
mation of one or two guilds and the formation of an ethnically-
defined parish for Germans, for which they were granted a *jus
theutonicorum* in domestic matters. These do not look like the com-
ponents of an urban revolution to me, but rather signs of a com-
promise. In the eyes of the rural authorities the Germans were a
group of immigrants who wished to organise a parish of their own,
a case that differed little from the establishment of guest yards, like
the one the Gotlanders themselves possessed in Novgorod. The *Guta
saga* considered it acceptable to build a church for the sake of greater
convenience, and it particularly stressed that in the *Vi* below the
Klint a prejudice had already been established in heathen days that
allowed for the building of churches. Let us now take a look at evi-
dence on the status of Visby in the years following the first records
of the town in the latter part of the 1220s.[280]

- On June 11, 1255, *cives tam in oppido Wisby quam in ipsa terra Godlandie
  manentes* are assured that the Artlenburg privilege remains valid in
  the territories of Johann and Gerhard I, counts of Holstein (ST
  1:100; DS 425; cf. DS 7701).
- On June 4, 1268(?), *consulibus Theutonum et consulibus Gothorum in
  Wisby ac universis mercatoribus* are asked for support in a political
  matter by the Master of the Teutonic Order and the City of Riga.
  (Johansen 1958 p. 97f.).
- On May 10, 1274, *consules, judices et alii officiales seculares locorum de
  Wisby insule Gutalandie* are forbidden to impede people who wish
  to testate their assets to ecclesiastical purposes, nor should they

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[280] In tracing the following records I have been greatly helped by a draft for a
Regesta Gutorum drawn up by Tryggve Siltberg, Visby.

be allowed to issue statutes that diminish the respect for *libertas ecclesie*, according to a directive by Gregory X to the abbots of Roma, Nydala and Varnhem (Nygren 1941 p. 209; on the limitations regarding religious clauses in wills on Gotland, see Bååth 1905, pp. 161–65; cf. Yrwing 1940 p. 336f.).

- In 1276 a privilege is issued to *nostrorum consulum, seniorum et universitatis tam Teuthonicae quam Guthensis Gutland inhabitantium* by King Magnus of Sweden (DS 611; ST 1:126).
- In September 1280 *aduocatus, consules et commune Theutonicorum ciuitatis Wisbucensis* enter an association with Lübeck to assist Germans everywhere in the Baltic (ST 1:135).
- On October 26, 1280, *consules et commune ciuitatis Wysbjcensis tam Teothonicorum quam Guttensium* issue a letter regarding the Flandrian staple (LübUB I:406; Björkander 1898 p. 125; Yrwing 1940 p. 334f.) The letter is sealed by (a) the Gotlandic community: a male sheep, carrying a cross with a banner; *Gutenses Signo + Xristus Signatur in Agno* (b) the German community (guild?) in Visby: a 'French' lily; *Sigillum Theutonicorum in Gotlandia manencium*.
- On October 7, 1285, King Magnus Ladulås issues a statute for the *Guttenses* which doesn't mention but certainly concerns Visby. Confirmation of privileges, right to trade in Carelia etc. (DS 815; i ST 1:141; PSS 1:5).
- On October 31, 1285, *Theutonici de Visby* appear on their own together with Riga and the so-called Vendic cities as complainants against the realm of Norway at the arbitration held by King Magnus of Sweden in Kalmar (LübUB I:484; DS 817 et al.).
- In 1286 *seniores terrae Gotlandiae cum tota communitate, nec non concules ceterique cives tam Gotensium, quam Theutonicorum in Wisbu* issue a letter protesting disrespect for *universis mercatoribus* who had a right to check ships passing Visby. (LECUB 505).
- On August 9, 1288, *Aduocati & consules tam gotensium quam thewtonicorum & communitas ciuium de visby* recognise their wrongdoing, *quod muros ciuitati nostre circumdedimus & in rurenses terre gotlandie propulsando aliquos strepitus fecimus insultue* . . . 'to circumscribe their city with walls and to wage war against the Gotlanders of the countryside' and promise to pay 2000mk sterling silver and 500mk in current coinage to King Magnus of Sweden. (DS 970; ST 1:144; LECUB 523a;[281] H. Schück 1989 p. 147ff.).

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[281] According to Olaus Petri, the burghers were fined 200 mks sterling and 500 mks coined money (OP p. 86).

• Possibly at the same time, a similar promise was clearly given by the countryside, since the trustworthy sixteenth-century historian Olaus Petri writes that Magnus fined both parties, and that the peasants gave him *twsende mark peninga, och hundrade lödogha mark silff*... 'thousand mks coined money and hundred mks sterling' (OP p. 97; Westin 1946 p. 215).

This terminology regarding Visby in thirteenth-century charters allows some conclusions regarding the legal development in the congesting Visby countryside. Knowing that the site was populated by several different nationalities, we must imagine that the *seniores* held authority over the settlement as a whole, but that some foreign establishments were granted the right to autonomy in internal matters. The only local authority with an all-Visby competence may have been the *prepositus*,[282] the local representative of the Catholic World-system. The careful expression chosen by the counts of Holstein in 1255 confirms that the *oppidum* of Visby remained congested countryside in a legal sense and that, as far as they were concerned, there was no formal distinction to *ipsa terra*. They made their point by recognising *cives* in both places.

A clear break is marked by the undated Livonian letter, which Johansen dated to 1268. Having previously seen it as considerably later, Yrwing accepted Johansen's argument, drawing the conclusion that Visby had obtained a *Doppelstadt* constitution, showing a council of both tongues, 'in the 1260s'.[283] In the years to follow, however, the charters continue to offer an extraordinary mixture of terms—*consules, judices,* of the *locus* Visby (1274); *consules, seniores* and the *universitas Theuthonici* and *Guthensis* on Gotland (1276)—which strongly suggests that the settlement remained congested countryside over which the oligarchs of Roma still held their hand. The councillors who are mentioned might have belonged to the German community, whereas the judges and other officials might refer to Gotlanders. Calling Visby a *locus,* an expression usually reserved for unchartered trading places, cannot refer to non-urban size or appearance, but must refer to its undecided legal position. Whether Johansen's dating can still be questioned or the document conveys a particular German-Livonian vision of the Gotlandic conditions, I leave open to discussion.

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[282] REA 1–4; DS 245–6, 250, 253.
[283] Johansen 1958 p. 97f.; Yrwing 1986 p. 111ff.

That the latter was possible becomes clear in 1280, when the Germans of Visby entered into an association with Lübeck on their own, the stated purpose of which was to promote German interests in the Baltic. From now on events escalated quickly towards the civil war. That autumn the *Doppelstadt* was apparently safely confirmed by its own *consules et commune ciuitatis* of both tongues. However this charter has its seals preserved, revealing that the councillors and burghers of the Gotlandic tongue were still using the seal of the rural community, together with that of the *Theutonicorum in Gotlandia manencium*. This could indicate either that the interests of the coun-tryside had begun to be looked after by the townsmen, as Yrwing suggested, or that the conciliar constitution was so new that the latter had not had time to get a seal. It could have been a hoax; the *seniores* may have been prepared to act as councillors in contexts in which rural people wouldn't have been accepted.

One point should be clear now. The country *seniores* were not giv-ing in. In the *inscriptio* of the 1286 document they launch a new sug-gestive text: *seniores terrae Gotlandiae cum tota communitate, nec non concules ceterique cives tam Gotensium, quam Theutonicorum in Wisbu*; themselves at the head as a collective lord of the Gotlandic *communitas* and the city, in which the *Gotlandic* councillors and *cives* are mentioned before their German equivalents. The country oligarchs were allowing a self-governing *Doppelstadt*, but in doing so they come very close to swearing themselves into being sovereigns of the island.

Thus we see how the Germans of Visby began operating inde-pendently in 1280, coordinating their policy with Lübeck. The most remarkable point here is that the charter claims they were led by an *advocatus*, a bailiff. The title occurs again in the letter of submis-sion in 1288, this time in plural. A bailiff represents princely rights, even if theoretically he could be elected by the citizens themselves. What would have been the significance of a royal representative in Visby before 1288? Would he have been a representative of the German king/emperor? If so, it may have been an innovation ush-ered through Lübeck in escalation of the ongoing controversy of the late 13th century.[284] However, an equally likely explanation would be that the Germans of Visby at least had entered some kind of agreement with King Magnus before 1288.

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[284] This may be the context where Rörig's (1940 p. 33ff.) effort to prove the use of *Reichssymbolik auf Gotland* would be justified.

   The civil war ended in a change that had been under way for some time. Visby broke away from the rural community, the *rurenses terre gotlandie* as the letter of submission calls the former masters of the island. From this moment the countryside appears again as a community without a city.

A World-system node that was also an urbanising country harbour

Even if opinion varies on the details, there is a consensus that the Germans, through a process that accelerated greatly in the period 1200–25, were able to establish themselves in a flourishing international trading place provided for by the old-fashioned Gotlandic constitution. The sources suggest a development from asylum rights founded on a pagan cult, to the swearing of a general peace on the coast of Gotland, to pagan-Christian tolerance. In the next stage of development, we can see guilds connected to particular churches becoming the basis for guest rights. These guest churches might have been of different kinds: locally-organised guilds open to members regardless of origin, mutual guilds for Gotlanders and particular trading partners, and specific guilds for guests of given ethnic and/or religious affiliations. The earliest documentary evidence reveals two of the latter type, one Russian and one Danish. In 1225 a third guild (ethnically defined as that of the Germans) is seen not only as church builder but also as an institution for resident burghers, which had succeeded in obtaining rights of some kind. This represents a legal innovation. There is no ground for such a development in the Artlenburg privilege, however elastically its mutuality clause is interpreted.
   In 1225 and the years following, the authorities we see granting Germans a privileged position in Visby are neither the Gotlandic *seniorate*, nor the King of Sweden, but the Bishop of Linköping and the new papal legate William of Albano. In straightforward terms, German Visby was thus a creation of the Catholic World-system. It developed not only from trade, but also through the launching of crusades in the East Baltic area, and in due course it was transformed into an all-Gotlandic achievement, confirmed by the special standing of the island at the Roman Curia. It is easily seen that the strategically-situated island was of vital importance for the gathering and training of 'pilgrims' for their coming military duties, and for their transportation on merchant ships to the Livonian theatre of war. Their supplies, arms and horses were obviously to a large extent

purchased on Gotland.[285] Through a normal concentration process these activities meant the gradual acceleration of Visby, compared to the more dispersed countryside economy.

In 1225–26 the German position was improved by staunch support from the visiting papal legate. A particular reason is given as to William of Albano's friendly concern for them. Having witnessed Osilian pirates in action on his return voyage from Livonia, the cardinal after reaching Gotland impulsively decided to summon a crusade. According to Henry of Latvia, the idea was greeted with different degrees of enthusiasm: *Obediunt Theutonici, crucem recipiunt; Gothi renuunt; Dani verbum Dei non audiunt. Soli mercatores Theutonici celestia sibi desiderant mercari, equos comparant, arma preparant, Rigam veniunt* . . . 'The Germans obeyed, and took the cross; the Gotlanders refused; the Danes didn't listen to God's word. The German merchants alone wished to trade celestial merchandise, bought horses, saw to their weapons and came to Riga'.[286]

At the same time the German merchants who were now coming to Visby in greater numbers than before emanated from the heartlands of western Germany. An important treaty was settled on Gotland in 1229 by German and local Gotlanders, as well as representatives of Lübeck, Soest, Münster, Groningen, Dortmund, Bremen and Riga.[287] The order in which they are mentioned seems to be hierarchical to some extent. From now on, leading Visby Germans represented the core area. They were the ones who made common cause with William of Albano.[288] This is a notable difference from 1203, when no one in Visby wished to risk their business interests by attacking a fleet of Estonian pirates passing off the harbour, even though they had Christian prisoners on board. It is different also to the Gotlanders and Danes of 1226, whose attitude reminds us of the protesting local vassals Helmold of Bosau spoke of. The totalitarian aims of the crusaders from the core area were ruining their business. Like them, the Visby residents of 1203 and the Gotlanders and Danes of 1226 reveal the attitude of semi-peripherals, whose wellbeing depended on good relations with the periphery. The crusades

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[285] Magnusson 1989 pp. 169–71; cf. below.
[286] HCL XXX:1.
[287] Goetz 1916 pp. 292f., 295–97.
[288] HCL XXX:2; LECUB 98.
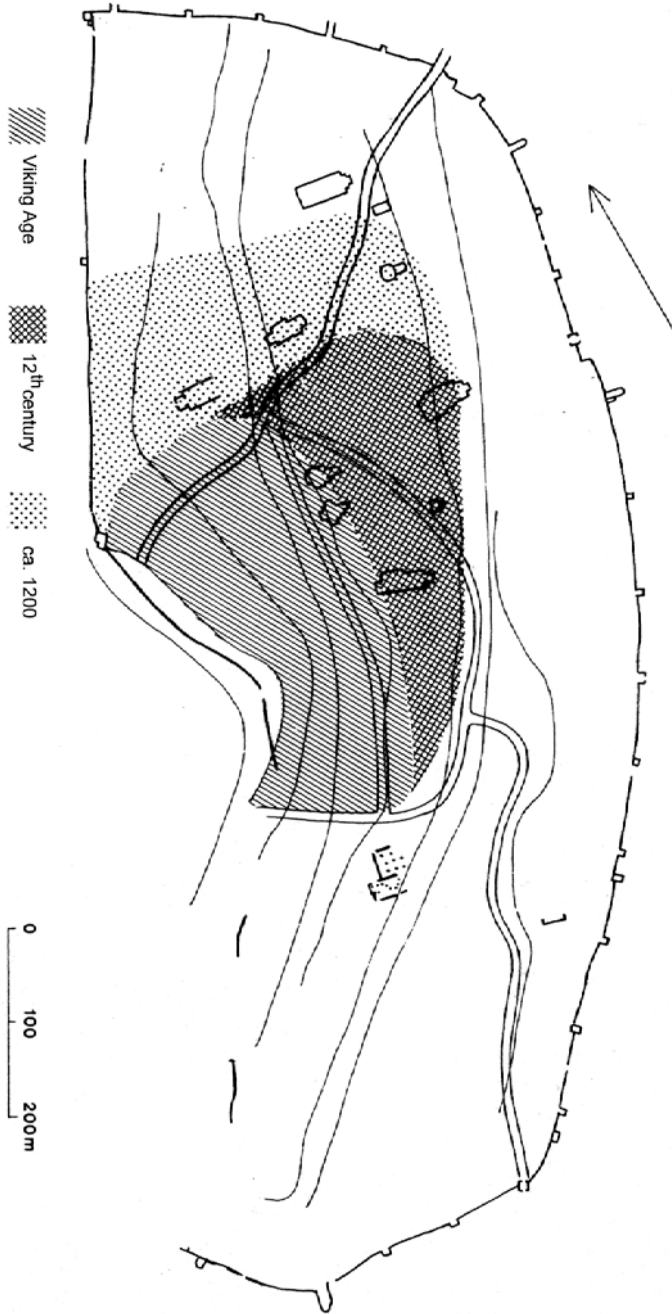
Fig. 13. The emergence of Visby, after Gun Westholm.

produced an entirely different clientele, in the first place the cru-
saders who formed a moving market, and following them, several
more major merchants from the core area parts of Germany.

*International treaties, papal patronage and local church-building: Towards a
synthesis of the emergence of Visby*

What do Visby's churches tell of local power and its distribution,
and what do they suggest about the identity of their congregations?
How would the answers to these two questions correlate to the inter-
national development in which Gotland was deeply involved? I am
indebted to all the quoted scholars for the picture they have con-
tributed to, but I still maintain that they have so far failed to reach
an understanding of the urban development that fully correlates with
the international development of which it was a result.

When it was blown into pieces in the 1530s, the combined ruin of
St. Per and St. Hans was by far the largest ecclesiastical building in
Visby. Legend tells that its predecessor, the Church of All Saints,
had been built by a rural Gotlander. According to the logic of the
Guta saga this was after Gotlandic merchants had learnt Christian
practices in foreign countries, and we should think of Botair of
Akebeck as one of these long-distance traders.[289] His wish to build
a church might have been a growing need to show Christian colours
to visitors, thereby confirming for them—and reminding the locals—
that *vi* did indeed mean asylum rights. I have already noted that
elementary Christianisation was becoming a necessary passport to
some markets.[290] For a first church of Visby, the choice of location
was perfect; with a full view over the harbour, and within 'shouting
distance' of its activities.

From All Saints' to the double churches of St. Per and St. Hans
a continuity of place exists, but on the other hand there is an inter-
esting sign of discontinuity in view, since the foundation of All Saints'
has a different east-west orientation compared to its two successors.

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[289] This was in a way confirmed by the find of an eleventh-century grave slab
in its churchyard, made out of a migration period picture stone, on which was
carved a Gotlandic man's name, Heggair (Gustavsson 1982). Siltberg 1997.
[290] Cf. KL s.v. Primsingning, E. Molland.

St. Per and St. Hans were both all-European saints and there may
be arguments for its being a church for a parish of Germans.[291]

However, the reasons seem stronger for the double churches not
to have been German establishments. Their tradition continued from
the eleventh-century church, their unique location at the southern
end of the town, and their gradually increased physical size forms
instead a sort of counterweight to St. Mary's in the 13th century.
The combined patron saints suggest that the founders of these dou-
ble churches would have been the *seniores* of Gotland in their capac-
ity of urban authorities. St. Hans (Johannes) most likely means St.
John the Baptist, whose celebration was connected to midsummer
(June 24); St. Peter's feast was celebrated on June 29. Both feasts
were highly-rated according to the particular Gotland rune calen-
dar, as well as in the calendar of Linköping's diocese (*festum fori*,
holyday). According to the Guta law, a general peace was proclaimed
from the fifth day after midsummer which lasted for 10 days, dur-
ing which the general diet was held. These circumstances not only
tie Per and Hans together mentally, but also with the all-Gotlandic
community, since the annual appearance by the messengers of the
Swedish king at the *Gutnaltingi* occured after St. Peter, while taxes
connected to the *ledung* in 1285 were said to be collected *circa festum
beati Johannes Baptiste*.[292]

The celebrations at midsummer might derive from pre-Christian
gatherings. The only thing connected to Visby which the author of
the *Guta saga* chooses to mention happens to be St. Peter and its
predecessor. His motive would have been that the gatherings there

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[291] Per (Peter) of course very much represented Rome itself, and functioned as
such in places like Kiev and Novgorod. The German church in Novgorod was con-
secrated to St. Peter, maybe with implications for the Nemtsy concept. In his let-
ter of protection of 1227, Honor III takes the civitas of the Visby-Germans and
portum vestrum, 'your harbour' (or 'trading place') *sub beati Petri et nostra protectione*
'under St. Peter's and our protection'. (LECUB 94) Since this letter might have
been issued exclusively for the Visby Germans, it's also worth noting that the Per
and Hans complex contains several German names on grave slabs, all belonging
to the period after 1288, when ethnic differences were being equalized. (Wase 1992)

[292] *Den gotländska runkalendern* (1939) p. 93f.; KL s.v. *Festum chori* & *Festum fori*,
S. Helander; GL: 9; GS K 6; PSS I:5 (DS 815). Letters issued by the Gotlandic
community are dated July 6 and July 15 (DS 1434, 3805) Holmbäck-Wessén 1943
pp. 253; 321 note 72; Lagerlöf and Svahnström 1991 p. 60f.; cf. Markus (1999
pp. 133–35), who finds St. Peter inspired by the Cistercians, suggests that it was a
private church built by 'people belonging to the powerful lineages in the vicinity
of Roma'. She has the Botair myth in mind (Akebäck lies close to Roma).

continued in the shape of a Christian festivity, which at the time of the saga's conception may still in some sense have belonged to the country people. Two circumstances in particular raise these observations above the level of hypothesis. In the first place, the foremost attribute of St. John the Baptist is God's Lamb, to which the Gotlandic seal (the cross-bearing ram) makes a direct reference: *Gutenses signo, Christus signatur in agno* . . . 'I denote the Gotlanders. Christ is denoted by the Lamb.' When Visby's Gotlanders were compelled to create a seal of their own, the theme was developed further: *Hoc wisbycenses agno designo gutenses* . . . 'With this lamb I denote the Gotlanders of Visby'.[293] In the second place, *Gutastugan*, an official town house known from early modern sources as belonging to the rural community, was on a site linked to St. Hans.

The second oldest church, according to mainstream opinion, is St. Clement's, situated immediately to the north of the Viking-age settlement. Erik Cinthio suggests it may have been built on behalf of the Danish king around 1100 as a Danish seafarers' church. What points to Denmark and to great age is its patron. St. Clement's is not found elsewhere in twelfth-century Sweden, but is not unusual in the early Danish towns. What points to kingship is that the church is equipped with a so-called *emporium*, a princely 'box', although this is from a thirteenth-century building phase. The worship of St. Clement in Denmark belongs to the 11th and 12th centuries, and indicates contacts in two directions where larger clusters of Clement churches have been found: England and the lower Rhine.

The background for the foundation of a St. Clement's on Gotland appears to be Danish contacts over the North Sea, which points to Schleswig, and more particularly to the expansion of trade, particularly with the lower Rhine around 1100. As mentioned, those who intended to go to Gotland appear in Schleswig's old-fashioned town code, as a metaphor for long-distance trade. This suggests that Gotland was the foremost destination for trading ships departing from the Schlei. They would still have been manned according to the old-fashioned system with freighters working on board; many would have been Frisians, Englishmen or Saxons, as well as Danes. Their fre-

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[293] Yrwing 1986 p. 298. According to H. Trætteberg (KL s.v. Landskapssegl) the choice of symbol is probably an association of Gotland with *Gottes Lamm*.

quent visits, and those of Gotlanders travelling to Schleswig and beyond, would also account for similarities (pointed out by Hasselberg) between the maritime clauses in the town codes of Visby and Schleswig, which were both akin to the Old system.[294] In the days of Knud Lavard, long-distance visitors to Schleswig would have entered the great guild (*summum convivium*), in which they would have achieved a personal link to the duke himself, who was its *senior et defensor*. On Gotland they would have looked for a comparative solution within the different political structure. The age and the patron saint of St. Clement's makes it the church in Visby most likely to represent an answer to that need.[295]

It seems logical to turn from here to the so-called Church of the Holy Spirit (*Helgeands*). It is a remarkable building, inspired indirectly by the Dome of the Cliff and/or the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and from Charlemagne's sepulchre church in Aachen. It is an octagonal building, forming a tower with three floors, the middle of which has an elegant royal balcony open to the choir, which is also unusual, with an apse not visible from outside and flanked by two small chambers. A problem is its dating; the second quarter of the 13th century is often suggested, which may be influenced by the fact that institutions of the Holy Spirit could not be expected before this period. However the style is purely Romanesque, and nothing contradicts its being pre-1200. With an effort of such erudition and outlook, one would not suspect it to be a late example of its kind, but rather a fashionably modern one. However we know that the construction was done in two steps, with a hiatus in between.[296]

Who in Visby would have set a mark like this? It was probably not the Holy Spirit organisation, a type of alms-house which later owned it. Somewhere in this area a Church of St. Jacob was located, known from some charters (1226, 1272) to have belonged to the (arch)bishops of Riga in connection with an international school. Its

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[294] Hasselberg 1953 pp. 28–38, 74–138.

[295] The suggested hypothesis is not confirmed by archaeological finds. A couple of contemporary grave slabs have been found. They have Gotlandic names (Botvid, Botref; one in runes, the other in Latin). However they don't negate the suggestion, since they may indicate a guild of Gotlandic Schleswig-farers and Gotland-farers from Schleswig, akin to the *frisa kiltar* of Sigtuna. Johansen 1965; Bohrn and Westlund 1976 pp. 156–64; Gilkaer 1980; Schütt 1980; Kattinger 1999a p. 13ff.

[296] Bohrn and Svahnström 1981; Lagerlöf and Svahnström 1991 pp. 61–64.

hypothetical identification with the octagon was suggested by Jarl
Gallén, guided by the name's localisation on the Hohenberg and
Braun print from the 1580s. Its royal symbolism could then be
explained by the princely claims of these prelates. Adapting Gallén's
suggestion as to its identification, B.U. Hucker has provided another
suggestion for its builder and patron, in connection with ambitions
to create a Livonian kingship for Herrmann II zur Lippe.[297]

However, its identification with St. Jacob's cannot be maintained
after Yrwing was able to show that St. Jacob's was connected to the
late medieval chapel of St. Gertrud's, still an existing ruin. In the
14th century the church and previous school-building had been taken
over by the nuns of Solberga, who later received the Gertrud's chapel
as a complement.[298] Yrwing suggests that the original builders of the
octagon were the *Milites Christi*, the Brethren of the Sword, who were
known to sponsor establishments of the Holy Spirit. However his
argument contains two weak points: (1) there is no clear evidence
of a *Curia Militum Christi* in Visby, only a rather weak late medieval
indice; but even if (2) the original builders were the Brethren of the
Sword, the building would have been completed before their inte-
gration into the Teutonic Order, the organisation which had direct
links to the octagonal dome in Jerusalem that Yrwing finds important.

I believe the strongest indices suggest that the octagon is the build-
ing which the Brethren of St. Knud erected in the 1170s. It has
long been known that the closest comparison to the Visby octagon
is found at St. Heddinge on Zealand (Sjaelland). This is the only
equivalent on the Baltic Rim, showing the same peculiar arrange-
ments in the choir as the Visby church, a fact that is given a clever
liturgical explanation by Markus, the most recent advocate of this
hypothesis. The Heddinge octagon was erected on royal ground,
which accounts for the resources.[299]

What hasn't been considered in this context, to my knowledge, is
that medieval Heddinge was a town established slightly inland on a
large domain controlling access to the sea-route system connecting
Visby to Schleswig.[300] Neither has it been noted that its foremost

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[297] Gallén 1998 pp. 80–86; Hucker 1989c p. 87ff.; Kattinger 1999a p. 162.
[298] Yrwing 1986 p. 80ff.
[299] Danmarks Kirker VI:1, C.A. Jensen and V. Hermansen, Copenhagen 1933–35
p. 53ff.; cf. for a critique, Yrwing 1986 pp. 75–79; cf. for inspired confirmation
Markus 1997.
[300] St. Heddinge lies some 7–8km from the small harbour of Rødvig, which is

urban organisation was a Knud's Guild, the statutes of which have been preserved.[301] The town of Heddinge may thus have been a royal establishment, in which the Knud's Brethren functioned as the basic factor of centrality. Its setting on the emerging economic hot zone of Öresund, opposite Falsterbo, may even have been intended for Gotland traffic. It is very likely that the inspiration to build in this particular fashion had the same exalted background we know from the Visby letter: the king entering into the guild, sending his chaplain to advise, or in the case of Heddinge, perhaps appearing himself. The larger size of the Danish church is explained by its additional function as a parish church. It is not at all sure that the Heddinge church is the model of Visby; it could be the other way around.

Seeing the Visby octagon as a representation of Danish kingship at the moment when its emancipation from imperial Germany was becoming an issue (in which the cult of the king's martyr father was central) will put the associations right. As for the *aemulores*, the competitors who tried to stop the Knud's Brethren in their building activities, suspicions normally point to the Germans. Torben Gilkaer suggests that the king merely provided moral but no material support, when he told his *confratres* to continue the work. If so, St. Mary's would have to be attributed an earlier beginning than most would suppose. What if the king's words referred to the neighbours of St. Clement's instead? These would be German *aemulores* perhaps, but of another kind, departing from Schleswig. The octagon may even have been built on land that the merchants of St. Clement's considered theirs. In the latter case, King Valdemar's authority to enforce his words would have been quite good.

The breaking out of war in 1226 between Denmark and the Germans of Livonia and Lübeck ended the Danish Baltic Rim great power epoch, and its recent conquests in Estonia were temporarily lost. Even if the Germans (due to sanctions from the papacy) had to return Danish Estonia, in reality it remained in the hands of German vassals. Danish influence in Visby was obviously declining too, and at a later date (ca. 1250) the two churches, which I have

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one of the few accessible ports on the steep coast of Stevns. Here the sea-route from Schleswig encounters Öresund. This connection is not visible from Stora Heddinge. Only at Lilla Heddinge do you get a broad panorama over the sea.

[301] Wallin 1975 p. 119; Andrén 1985 p. 226.

assumed to be subordinate to Danish kingship, were probably ratio-
nalised into one. This may explain the later *emporium* in St. Clement's.

I will also comment on the problem of why there were two Russian
churches in Visby. The oldest was a very small building erected west
of the area built in the twelfth-century. The *toft* was called *Ryska går-
den* . . . 'the Russian yard' in Early Modern papers. As late as 1563,
a Russian diplomatic delegation passing through Visby claimed it,
and wrote a report on its measurements and auxiliary buildings. It
was dedicated to St. Nicholas, which obviously didn't stop a Catholic
church in the 12th century from assuming the same patronage.[302]
The other church which scholars believe to have been Russian is
St. Lars, built in the early 13th century some hundred metres to the
west, on a toft that had been cleared from previous buildings. While
Novgorodian claims on two churches on Gotland exist in writing,
there is no known document which says the other one was St. Lars,
but its physical appearance strongly suggests it.[303]

According to Erland Lagerlöf, building began with the choir and
apse. The choir may have been vaulted 'in the 1230s'. The aisle
was also started in a late Romanesque style, but its ground plan and
some of its construction details are so peculiar that an entirely new
contractor and a new master builder must be assumed. The plan
resembles a square beneath a larger equal-armed cross; at the angles
of the cross-arms four high pillars support cupola-like cross-vaults,
with a tower or onion cupola over the central part, which results in
an unmistakably Orthodox character. An Early Modern tradition
claims the church was once dedicated to St. Anna, which supports
the idea of its Russian background. Another peculiar trait suggest-
ing an Orthodox context is a system of gangways, arcades, staircases
and openings, so low and narrow that they could hardly have been
used for the processions which have been suggested as their pur-
pose. Lagerlöf points to the *Paraskeva Pyanitsa* . . . 'Friday's church' in
Novgorod for their closest parallel.

Lagerlöf suggests the Visby Russians had had to leave their first
church after a fire and had been offered a Catholic church already

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[302] Yrwing 1986 pp. 44–53; Lagerlöf 1999 pp. 39–42. It may have been arranged
in way resembling the Russian Church of St. Nicholas in Tallinn, which was also
very tiny (13m × 6m) but built together with a *gridnica* . . . 'room for the watchmen'
used as a warehouse and prison, see Johansen 1965 p. 98f.
[303] Lagerlöf 1999 p. 38.

under construction, which they finished in their own style. For some reason they moved back to their original yard later, when a Catholic congregation took over St. Lars, building the west tower in an ordinary Europeanized 'Visby-style'.[304] Lagerlöf provides a meticulous building analysis, offering the relative development chronology of the two plausible Russian churches, but his interpretation of context is highly tentative. Construed solely out of observations of phases and events in the history of the buildings themselves, it needs to be confronted with Russian mercantile history.

As Roslund suggests, the pioneers of Russian active trade may have come to Gotland by the 11th century. They began to gain importance at the beginning of the 12th century, when paradoxically they brought some of the first impulses of Europeanization to Gotland from the east. The very small Orthodox church of St. Nicholas at the *Ryska gården* . . . 'Russian yard' must be associated with this phase of development. Even though Novgorod had begun favouring the emerging *Nemtsy* trade in 1191/92, however, Western merchants had by then begun focusing on the Daugava, where Catholic crusades began around 1200. The combined commercial and military efforts brought the Westerners into contact with other Russian centres like Polotsk and Smolensk.[305]

In Novgorod the *Paraskeva Pyanitsa* ('Friday's church') was built by the guild of *zamorskye kuptsy* . . . 'transmarine merchants' in 1156 in Novgorod's market area, a few steps from the church of St. Olof in what was then probably still the Varangian yard, later to be known as Gotenhof. Johansen has pointed out that the *zamorskye kuptsy* was an organising body that had a right to tax foreigners who passed through Novgorod into the interior of Russia. In this way they could survive as a sort of authority even though their active trade may have been slacking.[306] They could thus afford to radically rebuild their church in 1207, giving it a tower-like, sharp-edged box-like construction, rather like St. Lars', but said not to carry a typical Novgorodian form. It has been attributed to a Smolensk master

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[304] Lagerlöf 1999 pp. 42–53.

[305] Cf. Chs. VIII:1–2, IX:3–4.

[306] Johansen 1965 p. 95f. He adds a detail which is worth mentioning for its potential implication for the case of St. Lars. When the Friday's church of Novgorod was rebuilt in 1524 some 40 kilograms of silver was found in the basement, reached only through one of the interior passages. The 'secret' gangways in St. Lars may thus be the criteria needed to define it as Russian merchants' church.

builder.[307] Would there be any reason to see a contractor from Smolensk rather than Novgorod behind the 'Orthodoxation' of St. Lars' in the second quarter of the 13th century? In fact all the circumstances favour such a conclusion.

In 1229 the prince of Smolensk, Mstislav Davidovich, established an innovative trade peace with Riga and the Gotlandic coast. By that time the Christian state of Livonia was firmly in control of the lower Daugava and the peace document (concluded with representatives of Gotland itself, Riga and several German cities) outlines a new economic network, in which inland Russia, led by Smolensk, adapted itself to the new power order on the Baltic. The time when this charter was handed over 'on the coast of Gotland in the presence of the Russian emissaries'—certainly in Visby—is probably when the unfinished building of St. Lars' was turned into the hands of an Orthodox trade guild.[308] Its construction may have been started by one of the recently-arrived groups of core area Germans, for whom it had probably become obsolete thanks to the (unexpected?) German success in the negotiation with Bishop Bengt over St. Mary's in 1225. The ambitions of Smolensk to maintain active trade are illustrated in a new treaty of 1250,[309] but only a few years later the traditional position of Novgorod as the main Western trading partner was restored through renewed negotiations.[310] The decline of Orthodox St. Lars' (or perhaps St. Anna) probably followed soon after.

Finally, a few words on St. Mary's, the only one of Visby's medieval churches that remains in full use at present. Art historians will probably continue to discuss the steps, influences and tempo of its development as a building, but I think that the understanding of its fundamental function in Visby's development will remain largely as Yrwing laid it out in 1940.

The building of St. Mary's may not mark the establishment of a German *Gründungsstadt*, but a generalisation *post festum* of a very rapid raise in German immigration, mainly connected with the launching of the crusades and beginning seriously around 1200. Being a Christian parish it provided a legal form acceptable to everyone, within which

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[307] Rahbek Schmidt 1964 pp. 47, 69; Gordienko 2001 p. 262f.
[308] Goetz 1916 pp. 230–304.
[309] Goetz 1916 p. 305ff.
[310] Goetz 1916 p. 72ff.

the growing German population could establish their community, develop their internal *Sonderrechte* and solve internal disputes, without questioning their recognised position as Gotlanders. It is a clear compromise, worked out under the auspices of World-system core area interests. The reference to the *Marienland* that the papacy was claiming in Livonia is clear enough. Hence St. Mary's should be seen as the World-system establishment *par preference* in Visby. It also represents the forces that were gradually overtaking other older but less powerful local ones.

This sheds a particular light on the reaction of the Visby Germans when King Magnus settled the peace after the civil war. According to a local tradition noted in the annals of the Visby Franciscans, the *ciues* had in practice won the civil war: *in cuius facti memoriam fit processio per ciuitatem cum ymagine beate Virginis* . . . 'in memory of this deed a procession is held through the city with the image of the Holy Virgin'.[311] This may be read as a spontaneous celebration by happy victors, but it was in fact to become an annual tradition that continued over the years. It was a march through the city with the image of St. Mary as a sign of victory, followed by the wealthy burghers of St. Mary, making *stationes* at other churches which meant that the burghers also made offerings there.[312] I believe this was done in memory of their 'conjuration'. By demonstratively claiming that Visby was first and foremost protected by St. Mary, the German burghers were indicating that they had finally won their freedom from the countryside. That this was mainly a pyrrhic victory is quite another story.

Towards an understanding of the Gotlandic survival strategy

While Gotland's international treaties describe a unique position in which a quite limited region enjoyed great importance for specific reasons, their foremost function in research so far has been as a testing material for the advance of German trade. The idea of Visby as a proto-Hanseatic colony in a rather backward island environment may have looked reasonable as long as scholars focused solely on the written remnants of Europeanization. Instead we are now

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[311] ASMÆ 23 (p. 317). Cf. Körner 1990 pp. 129–42.
[312] Yrwing 1978 p. 206.

compelled to see the Gotlanders as a traditional trading nation, for centuries acquainted with the development of suitable institutions for handling the needs of international exchange, such as the Gutnalia *seniorate* and the favoured constitutions. The latter were rich in zones for which various forms of legal rights were provided—in other words, secluded areas where the threatening Other was allowed to enter, for negotiations or observation.

In a world largely characterised by xenophobia, where the fines for killing a stranger were low and a captured foreigner could be sold as a slave, the opening of the coast of Gotland as a free trade zone and the abolishing of the shore-owners' right to shipwreck were the first steps in turning Gotland itself into an international marketplace and transit trading centre. Allowing for immigration was a second important step. Again, a technique of opening free zones was used, and '*Vi* below the *Klint* (ridge)' was filled with economically resourceful strangers, to an extent that Gotlanders were compelled to settle there as well.

During the long 12th century the Gotlanders had emerged as something of a Baltic Rim celebrity, if not a power factor. Their position was neither one of military strength, population surplus, hidden riches nor expansionistic aspiration. Instead their strength might have been due to (1) their strategic position on the Golden Diagonal sea route, (2) the degree of 'world wisdom' which their collective memory might have accumulated during previous centuries of active, long-distance, cross-cultural trade, and (3) the skilful receptivity that allowed them to enter the game of the discoverers, by balancing the Varangians against the *Nemtsy*, the claims of Sweden against treaties with other powers, the episcopal authority in Linköping against that of the Roman Curia. We recognise a certain openness towards foreigners, but perhaps also a limit beyond which nothing was negotiable. We have also caught glimpses of a stern programme of maintaining old-fashioned principles against the most modern ones of their day.

All this suggests protective constitutions and a climate of reception which was quite complicated. The Gotlanders were careful not to let any of their prerogatives and controlling functions escape. They seem to have remained blind and deaf to proposals of urban autonomy, or to allowing the townspeople any trade-political independence. Furthermore, according to the Guta law a Gotlander was regarded as 'better' than an *ogutnisc* . . . 'Non-Gotlandic' person.

In Gotland's case, we have full confirmation that Europeanization meant a struggle between systems. It can be argued that the island community, although an early target of Europeanization agents, remained perhaps the best study object of what the Old System was about. Even if the community in some ways appeared modern for its time, it clearly had qualities of a Viking-age society too. The paradox is that precisely because the island was involved with the forces of Europeanization at an early date, and because it was important and thus treated with caution by the Europeanization agents—and certainly because the islanders were prepared to compromise a long way—the Gotlanders were able to take their own path at their own pace into the Modern World.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE DISCOVERY OF THE LOWER DAUGAVA.
AN ANATOMY OF A CLASH

1. *A First Encounter and its Sources*

An excellent discovery report

In the 1180s, some German influence had begun to be felt on the estuary of the river Daugava (*Dunen, Düna, Dvina, Dyna*). The almost contemporary author Henry of Latvia captures the situation in a single phrase: *Theutonici enim mercatores, Lyvonibus familiaritate coniuncti, Lyvoniam frequenter navigio per Dune flumen adire solebant.*[1] These words must be carefully considered. German merchants had, after having been united 'as families are' with the Livs,[2] developed the practice of frequently coming to Livonia by ship on the Daugava river.[3] The German trade with the local population was thus based on close personal relations—*familiaritate coniuncti* is usually translated as something like 'joined in friendship' (Bauer).

The phrase and the practice with which it is linked certainly imply that the two nations had entered a trade peace agreement, which the Old *Reimchronik* from the late 13th century positively claims,[4] but it may also suggest that strategic marriages had been used to enforce the bonds created by output and demand.[5] These trade relations may be noted as the first pre-conditions in a secular process of change that was to introduce the inhabitants of this mighty river valley to

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[1] HCL I:2; cf. v.z. Mühlen 1994 p. 31f.

[2] In this text I use the word *Liv/Livic* with reference to the Finno-Ugrian tribe, whereas *Livonia/Livonian* refers to the state formed by the Germans.

[3] In Germanic languages such merchants may have been known as *Dunevaren*, 'Daugava travellers', which is documented as a family name, particularly in Westphalia. A large burial slab over *Thircus Dvneuare* and his mother *Elizabi de Molendino* is preserved in St. Drotten's (Trinitatis) church in Visby; see Lindström 1895:II:237 p. 121.

[4] LRC v. 177f., cf. 199f.; cf. Benninghoven 1961 pp. 20ff., 27.

[5] The type of trade was known as 'friend's trade'; see Niitema 1952 p. 247;

the set of ideas, the ways of action and the peoples that we call European.

This process suddenly accelerated one day in the middle of the decade—it may have been late spring or early summer—when a grey-haired Augustine canon from Holstein, Meinhard by name, came sailing up the estuary *cum comitatu mercatorum*, in the company of a *Kaufmannshanse*.[6] This man, however, had other business in mind and continued without delay to King (*Rex*) Vladimir of Polotsk, an august person with some influence over the entire valley. To reach him, the canon had to change his means of transport, either to one of the smaller riverboats that carried goods up the stream[7] or to use the land route. Thus another long and problematic journey lay before him.[8]

Into a society of hillforts and seniores

In the 12th century, the Daugava valley and adjacent plains were covered with a socio-political cell structure in each of which a hill-fort constituted the centre. The dense hillfort structure seems to be present among all peoples on the southeast sector of the Baltic Rim, from the Vends to the Estonians. Some forts had been there since the Bronze Age, but the phenomenon developed greatly at the end of the Iron Age, both in numbers and in building achievement. Many of them belonged to what Henry and other sources call *seniores*. These 'elders' clearly denote what the German newcomers saw as local aristocracy, some of whom could muster impressive retinues.[9]

Moora and Ligi 1970 p. 29f. For anthropological classification, cf. foremost Hodges 1989 p. 87ff.; also Thomas 1991 pp. 7ff., 35ff.; Service 1975 pp. 100f., 124f. & passim.

[6] HCL I:2.

[7] Goods were taken off *naves in Dunemunde* and were reloaded *post ascensum Rumbule* on small ships (HCL IV:3).

[8] According to Hellmann (1989b p. 21), Meinhard hardly went personally to Polotsk. *Das hätte Heinrich gewiss gemerkt.* Considering that some 40 years had passed between the event and the writing of the text, the chronicler might not have known the details. From what Henry says, he at least *suggests* that he went personally: *Accepta . . . licencia prefatus sacerdos a rege . . ., simul et ab eo muneribus receptis . . .* 'After having received the licence from the king, and after having been given gifts by him, the already mentioned priest' (began to work).

[9] HCL VII:3, XI:3; Moora and Ligi 1970 pp. 35ff., 54ff., 74ff.; Tõnisson 1974 p. 170ff.; Urtāns 1994; Kahk and Tarvel 1997 p. 27f.; Auns 1998; Jarockis 1999; Latvijas Vēstures Atlants p. 12.

Talking about the Livic leader Kaupo, Henry of Latvia mentions *castrum suum, in quo erat cognati et amici sui adhuc pagani . . .* 'his own hill-fort, in which his still-pagan relatives and allies dwelt'. The *cognati* of course were relatives, whereas *amici* in a military-political context suggests allies or some kind of relational following. The *cognati* and *amici* were obviously quite numerous, since Henry mentions that around 50 of them were killed during a certain event, whereas 'the rest' were able to escape.[10] As we have seen, sources referring to Curonia mention particular *borgsokinge*, i.e. hillfort 'parishes', and probably many of the numerous hillforts along Meinhard's route formed some sort of township, where cult meetings were held. It has been thought that rents were somehow paid to the hillforts. Some of the larger hillforts even showed tendencies to urbanise, the fortified hill being surrounded by 'service' agglomerations of crafts and trade (proto towns).[11] There are many gaps in our knowledge which prevent us from deciding categorically between inherited, elected or assumed forms of leadership, ranks of warriors, supply systems etc.; but otherwise, on point after point the East Baltic territory was obviously similar to the model of chiefdom society (above, Chapter Four).

Antiquarians know of more than 40 hillforts in the Latvian part of the Daugava valley alone, which may indicate that the river was not all that easy to control. In a wider spatial perspective, the valley region was a focal point of interest for several neighbouring nations with distinct ethnic differences.

The land close to the estuary on the northern banks was in the hands of the Finno-Ugrian Livs. Their nearest neighbours on the southern bank were the (ethnically) Balt Semigalians, speaking a totally different language. Their major settlement area began behind a swampy forest belt, and stretched over a vast territory into today's Lithuania. Further upstream on the south side followed the Selonians. On the opposite, northern, shore they faced the Latvians proper (in medieval sources often also called Latgalians) all of whom were Balts.

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[10] HCL X:10, XIV:5. According to HCL XIV:8 Kaupo fought a battle along with his *gener* ('relative by marriage, son- or brother-in-law') Wane and his son Bertold.

[11] Dopkewicz 1933 p. 15ff.; Kahk and Tarvel 1997 pp. 23–28; Žulkus 1999b p. 137f.; Auns [ed.] 2001; on cult cf. Biezais 1975; on the forming of township units (*vakuses*) in Estonia cf. also Lang 2000 pp. 279ff., 285ff. (English summary pp. 364–67); cf. Ch. III:3.

In the southwest, on the shores of the Gulf of Riga and further south along the coast, there were also the Curonians, who spoke a Balt language (but included a Finno-Ugrian minority); and the Finno-Ugrian Osilians, who could check traffic on the Gulf of Riga from their large island. The latter two were not dwellers on the Daugava, but interested parties.[12]

Other frequent visitors to the valley were the Lithuanians, for whom it was a target area for winter raids. Traditionally, Scandinavians had also come; they may even have established a colony or two in the area, but little of that was left in the fading 12th century.[13] However Henry mentions that Danish and Norwegian traders were present in Meinhard's time. The Germans were genuine newcomers in this environment.

Into a 'preservative kingship' as well?

Until this time, the peoples of the Daugava valley had been under some influence of ongoing processes in the Russian realm, as the early twelfth-century *Nestor's Chronicle* claims; so the pope recognised it, seeing Meinhard as his representative *in Ruthenia* in a letter of 1188.[14] This was why the monk went straight to Polotsk, where an independent princely power had his seat at a strategic node on the upper Daugava, close to a short overland passage to Smolensk on the Dnepr.[15] Around lay the core principality, the *volost* in later terminology, where the true *Polotsane* lived. Prince Vladimir, however, had some formal standing in the entire valley. Even the Livs, *adhuc pagani* paid him *tributa*, says Henry.[16] We can thus easily identify the land of the Livs as a Polotsk-Russian *skattland*. The prince of course was an Orthodox Christian, but the Westerners accused him (and

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[12] Latvijas Vēstures Atlants p. 14f.; Ligi 1995; Kahk and Tarvel 1997 p. 23ff., Žulkus 1999a pp. 11ff., 31ff.

[13] Tõnisson 1974 p. 170ff.; Baltische Lande I, 1939b p. 272 (P. Johansen).

[14] LECUB I:9.

[15] Norrback 1918 p. 7; cf. Oxenstierna 1998 p. 22. For the motives for the embassy to Polotsk, cf. further Hellmann 1989b p. 21ff.

[16] HCL I:3. On the extension of the Polotskian realm, see particularly Mühle 1991 p. 223ff. In the words of G. Stökl (1965 p. 105) the principality of Polotsk was free of an earlier Kiev dominance by the end of the 12th century, with Kukenois and Gertzike being bases of footing (*Stützpunkten*) in Latvian territory, indicating a forward move in the direction of Daugava's estuary.

Russians in general) for not carrying out Christian mission with the
same fervour as they did themselves.[17]

This was a rather ethnocentric observation. From the Polotskian
side, a westward process *was* at work, striving for higher political
and religious integration. Among the Latvians, the closeness to Russia
was manifestly felt. In the hillforts of Koknese and Jersika, petty
kings carrying Russian or Russified names governed. Their hillfort
seats were surrounded by multi-ethnic, proto-urban conglomerations,
including Orthodox churches.[18] Christian Orthodoxy was spreading,
slowly but surely, hand in hand with Russification. Meinhard—had
he kept his eyes open on his eastbound way—would have noted
early steps directed towards formation of a Russian-type Daugava-
valley kingdom.[19]

Polotsk by that time was an impressive settlement with a (possi-
bly over-estimated) 7–8000 inhabitants living around a palace and
a stately Sophia cathedral.[20] Upon his arrival Meinhard was received
by the prince, who obviously took him for an ambassador, which
he may have been officially. The canon asked for permission (*licen-
cia*) to build a church in the land of the Livs. The prince said yes,
and offered suitable gifts.[21]

This was how it had all started, at least according to the main source
for the period. Within a couple of decades, a state of the new
European type—Livonia—was emerging on the East Baltic coast. It
began to count its history from the debarkation of Meinhard on
Livic soil. Did he know that this was to be the huge result of such
a humble beginning? Was he acting according to a master plan?
His astonishment over Polotskian misconduct may then be of a

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[17] HCL XVI:2. For the issue in general, see Müller-Wille [ed.] 1997, II, the arti-
cles by Tarvel (1997 p. 57ff.), Caune (1997 p. 69ff.), Mugurēvičs 1997 p. 81ff.,
Zemitis 1997 p. 97ff.

[18] Henry states (HCL X:3) that Koknese was *castro Ruthenico*, and according to
the context, subordinated to Polotsk. See further Hellmann 1954 pp. 46ff., 49ff.,
155ff.; Auns 1998 p. 259f. The prince of Jersika, governing with hereditary rights,
ceded his realm to the Church of St. Mary in Riga in 1209, only to receive it as
a fief from Bishop Albert's hand in the next moment. His title is *rex* even in the
diploma (LECUB I:15), but it is likely that he had previously been a vassal of the
Polotskian prince.

[19] I claim this in spite of Radiņš remarks (1998 pp. 180f., 186f., cf. though
p. 182).

[20] Mühle 1991 pp. 203ff., 234.

[21] HCL I:3.

rhetorical nature, or even a construction in retrospect. Whether they were Finno-Ugrians, Balts or Russians, in the eyes of a twelfth-century West European visitor, these people were very much the Other. Here is a narrative that answers perfectly to the requisites of a discovery report.[22]

The reporter

Heinrici Chronicon Livonie (HCL) is the main source for this dramatic, fast and decisive process. It often offers an eyewitness quality. Its author seems to have come to Latvia in 1205, after which he worked for some years in the entourage of Bishop Albert, before becoming the first vicar of Ymera (Papendorf) in northern Latvia where we find him still alive in 1259. His parishioners were Latvians; he spoke their language and comments upon them with paternal benevolence. The amazing history of the military conquest, the Christianization and the eventual forming of the Livonian state was written in the years 1225–27. Whether the work had been commissioned by his superiors or not, it emerges as a success story of the main achiever of all these results. It is a monument in honour of the nation's builder, Bishop Albert.[23]

The text reveals its author as a good-humoured, energetic and loyal person. He provides many examples from the *Vulgata*, and has some knowledge of the Christian classics, but his biographers often add that his scholarship may have been a bit shallow. Henry took an active part in warfare and made dramatic sea journeys over the Baltic. He even attended the Lateran Council of 1215, and participated in many negotiations, not least as an interpreter. He walked through large parts of northwest Estonia as a baptiser of the masses after they had suffered a military defeat; furthermore he became close to the papal legate Cardinal William of Modena, whose visit to Livonia in 1225–26 he describes, and with which he assisted.[24]

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[22] As a classical moment in the Europeanization history of the Baltic Henry's narrative of Meinhard's activities has inspired great scholarly interest. For some recent overviews, see Hellman 1989a pp. 9–30; Hellmann [ed.] 1989; Nielsen 2000; Selch Jensen 2000 pp. 68–88; Selch Jensen 2001 pp. 121–37.

[23] This I claim despite Bauer's suggestion (1959 p. XIX) that Henry disliked Bishop Albert. It honours him anyway.

[24] Johansen 1953; Bauer 1959 p. IXff. On the Scandinavian interest, see KL s.v. Henrik af Letlands krönika, P. Johansen.

While he might have been a Latvian by birth, it may only be said that he worked for and together with the Western conqueror, while at the same time he was the spokesman for his Latvian parishioners, often against other indigenous peoples. The northern Latvian environment, the vast marshlands, the barely penetrable forests and the grey hazy Baltic sea landscape were his literary homeland.

At the end of the work Henry makes a declaration of content, saying that *hec paucula conscripta sunt* . . . 'this insignificant work' has been written *rogatu dominorum et sociorum* . . . 'at the demand of superiors and companions', to celebrate the victory over paganism: 'But nothing is added to that which we have seen with our own eyes, which is almost all of it, and what we have not seen with our own eyes, we have been told by those who saw and took part'.[25] This, of course, does not prevent his text from offering the usual problems with narrative sources of the period.

It was foremost commissioned to suit some ecclesiastical purpose, and several events that he relates are clearly to be read as *exempla*. As for leanings, Henry had a very high opinion of the Church of Riga, which—according to Paul Johansen—he regarded as a realisation of *civitas Dei*. He sometimes volunteered criticism of other contributors to the cause, notably the Brethren of the Sword, whose brutality displeased him.[26] He was also quite reserved towards Scandinavian competitors, and a sharp critic of pagan aggression, often however blended with disarming glimpses of everyday life.

Henry's narrative style is much more simplistic than that of Saxo, with whom a comparison otherwise would lie close at hand. This does not automatically make him less accomplished. Whereas the Dane adhered to archaic ideals, the Ymera pastor was more a modernist of his day. His attitude has some basic resemblance to the mendicant orders, which at the time were beginning their rapid distribution over the entire continent; particularly perhaps to the Dominicans, with whom his foremost idol Cardinal William was already an intimate ally.[27] The way he narrates his events remains

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[25] *Nichil autem hic aliud superadditum est, nisi ea, que vidimus occulis nostris fere cuncta, et que non vidimus propriis oculis, ab illis intelleximus, qui viderunt et interfuerunt* (HCL XXIX:9).

[26] HCL XV:7; Blomkvist 1999 pp. 10–13.

[27] I thank Tore Nyberg, Odense, for this observation, who however a bit too modestly attributes it to G.A. Donner (1929 p. 88, cf. p. 8f., pp. 14–17, 64–67, 408ff.). Cf. KL s.v. Dominikanorden, J. Gallén.

so comparatively open, and his leanings are often so obvious, that not only the pictures, the marker-spotting, but to some extent even the explanations he suggests are worthy of consideration, although of course not uncritically so. The narrative may have its preconceptions, as we shall soon see, but it offers direct contact with the Great Unknown that lay ahead of the early Europeanization agent.

When the story began in the 1180s, the reporter himself had not yet arrived on the scene. The moment of discovery, and the decisive first steps taken by the grey-haired monk and his handful of helpers which fill up Henry's first and second books are basically retold from hearsay. From the point of source value they are not as 'hot' as the rest of the book, the events of which Henry was a minor co-agent himself. But they remain by far the closest chronologically, and their general bias is easily judged; it is a version told in the bishop's circle in early thirteenth-century Riga. The middle-aged writer Henry had in his youth met and talked to many of the main actors of these heroic days, and he had definitely seen the places of the events only a few years later.

Markers of observant presence are there from the very first sentences. Going through them, we get an immediate taste of the rich possibilities and moderate difficulties which his text presents. The chronicle begins with an eloquent reference to the general problem of pagan confusion; remember Rahab and Babylon, exclaims the author, but Divine providence has in *nostris et modernibus temporibus* . . . 'in our own present times' made the Livs wake up and 'attend service'. The references to Biblical patterns are there, but also a marker of personal awareness, the presence of a chronology. This is not, it says, at least not only to be a Biblical interpretation. In the next sentence he turns to the main actor of Book I: *Fuit vir vite venerabilis et venerande caniciei* . . . 'there was a man of venerable repute and respect-inspiring grey hair'. This is how we encounter Meinhard. The description could well suggest an eyewitness' memory—that Meinhard's hair was not blond, brown or black, but he had some hair, and it was grey. However, it may also paraphrase an existing holy text, and we cannot rule out that we are served a stereotype of a wise old Christian champion.[28] But then—we are still among

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[28] Reflecting on the same expression Hellmann (1989b p. 17 [note 18]) points out

the very first lines of the work—Henry turns to Meinhard's flock. The very first to be baptised were Ylo, the father of Kulewene, and Viezo, the father of Alo.[29] Thus we are right in the social context of Henry's writing, in which Kulewene and Alo were obviously notable persons.

Other discovery reports

Chronicon Livoniae is not the only preserved description of the German discovery of the East Baltic territories, but the others are of more limited value, either because of their shortness, later date or leanings. I will merely highlight a few. The description of the conversion of the Livs provided by Arnold of Lübeck is short but valuable, since it is an independent contemporary report from an author with his observation post in the well-informed trade port, where he is thought to have been abbot at the monastery of St. Mary and St. John. His version of the events fills a chapter of the *Chronica Slavorum* (ACS), which he finished shortly after 1209;[30] hence it is even older than Henry's. I will return to it in due course.

Some comparative information may also be obtained from the (*Ältere*) *Livländische Reimchronik*, the (Older) Livonian Rhyme Chronicle from the end of the 13th century. Its comparatively late date makes it of little use as a source of additional knowledge to back up or falsify Henry's narrative, but as its author writes in the interests of the Teutonic Order, which might give us the benefit of an alternative perspective, it is still worth noting. The text is relatively independent of other known sources. At the beginning, it provides what is lacking in *Chronicon Livoniae*, namely an overview of the situation in Balticum prior to the great changes. It is put in the mouths of Brother Theoderic and Kaupo; the former was an energetic Cistercian who had worked close to Meinhard, and the latter we already know

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that the texts thought to have provided the topos also have the word *senex* following *caniciei*, adding that Meinhard was no *senex* to Henry or he would have said so. Hellmann remarks: 'Here by the way the limit is shown for this kind of information in topoi or quotation.' Good enough, but we cannot build any claims on words which Henry did not write. Meinhard may have been *remembered* as a grey-haired old man, the image of his later years. Henry obviously arrived in Livonia only 8–9 years after the death of the bishop and talked to many of his former companions.

[29] The quotations are from HCL I:1,2,4.
[30] ACS V:30.

as a prominent Liv. These two men were received in audience by
Pope Innocent III shortly after 1200, and certainly long before the
anonymous author's own birth.[31] The description of the various tribes
that the German knights were to encounter deserves comment.

We hear of the high-minded and powerful Lithuanians (*littowen*),
as well as the populous and dangerous Semigalians (*semegallen*), and
of the Selonians (*selen*), blind to every kind of virtue. In the same
way the Curonians, Osilians and Estonians (*kuren, öseler, eisten*) are,
with elaborate variation, attributed various threatening stereotypes—
with the one you lose life and goods, by the other you get plun-
dered, while the third one is illimitably populous. Regarding the
Latvians the author was more confused, as I have already discussed
at length (Chapter Three), but even they are described as a threat
to the Christians when gathering their army. Only the Livs offer a
lighter picture, since almost all of them had adopted Christianity.[32]

We do not need a long consideration of the author's aim. He
sketches a threat that should not only justify the rampaging of the
Teutonic knights but also give it a glorious nimbus. The coarse pro-
paganda picture of the *Reimchronik* recalls the various peoples who
(with the sole exception of the Lithuanians) were to become the sub-
jects of Livonia. As a matter of fact most of them were already sub-
jects when the anonymous chronicler painted his threatening picture.

To modify the influences of chronicles, with their heavy load of pro-
paganda, another group of sources may be helpful: the so-called
Peasant Law Codes. As noted, these are preserved from the last
period of Livonia's existence (i.e. the 16th century) and are written
in variations of the German language. A few seem to preserve quite
old forms of jurisdiction, even though the problem of their validity
for one period or another remains a difficult one, and they have in
fact been very little used by previous researchers.

The most pristine or 'old fashioned' of these legal collections was
probably valid in Latgalia, while the (apparently) second-oldest overtly
claims to be valid for Curonia, Semigalia and Selonia. These texts
are known as LP and KP in the abbreviations introduced by their
most recent editor E.L. Nazarova. According to her, LP may reflect
the early thirteenth-century situation, while KP as we know it may

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[31] Tarvel (*sine anno*) p. 179ff.; Hellmann 1989b p. 25f.
[32] LRC vv. 20–81.

be considerably later. In my analysis of their rules on matrimony and inheritance, I was able to show that LP and KP derive from the same legal system, even if the preserved version of KP has been revised several times compared to the more genuine LP. In both cases the evidence leads back to the legal system current among the Livs at the beginning of the 13th century. It is likely to have co-opted traditional oral law which may have been influenced by Scandinavian, Russian and German law over the years. While these older versions were preserved in other regions, the law code of the Livs proper is preserved only in comparatively late and much more Westernised revisions. For other parts of Livonia, rather later and hence also more modified versions have been preserved, among which I have quoted that belonging to Ösel/Wiek (SP to Nazarova).[33]

Overall, the source situation regarding Europeanization on the banks of the Daugava differs greatly from that of the previous areas of investigation. Possessing a long, contemporary narrative text is a sign of extreme source-opulence in a Nordic context, the advantage of being conquered by a highly literate administration. The problem here will be the reverse of what applied to Kalmarsund and Gotland: in this case we can depart from an already-established, more or less official version of the sequence of events. My task will be to question it, test it, read it from other angles than the one intended by the author and to be particularly observant as to the attitudes of the indigenous peoples.

2. *The Process of Europeanization in the Daugava Valley*

The land of the Livs in the 12th century—A state of the research

The place where Meinhard disembarked, and to where he returned from the embassy to Polotsk to live the rest of his life, was an area

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[33] Ch. III:4. For the three mentioned texts, see Nazarova 1980 pp. 171ff., 175ff., 199ff. Nazarova's (1980 pp. 43–47, 53ff.) discussion of LP also suggests that LP as we know it is a renovation of older rights issued in the 1320s. A notice in Herman of Wartberg's chronicle in the year 1324, says that the newly-elected Master of the Order Reymarus Hane *eciam Livonibus et Lettonibus quasdam ordinationes et statuta inno-vavit.* (HWCh s.a. 1324 [p. 54]). She supposes that its renovation was a consequence of the introduction of feudal legislation (*Lehnsrechte*), and suggests the renovations were made to appease the Livs and Latvians during a period of external pressure.

of land which today is covered by Greater Riga. The twenty-first century townscape dominates the estuaries of no less than three large rivers, the Gauja coming from the hills of northern Latvia (once called *die Livländische Schweiz*); the Lielupe collecting the many waters of Semigalia and delivering them to the sea in a broad sweeping bend; and in the middle, the majestic Daugava coming directly from the watershed, where all the great Russian rivers depart in their various directions. On this side of the Baltic, discharging waters usually have to confront strong coastal currents. The clashing waters continually remodel the shoreline, forming new sand barriers and new depressions for the river waters to negotiate.

A fundamental enquiry into the material life and social conditions of the society into which Meinhard and his helpers entered is Evald Tõnisson's case study *Die Gauja Liven und ihre materielle Kultur 11. Jh–13. Jahrhunderts*, which appeared in Tallinn in 1974. It offers a careful analysis of the archaeological sources from the Gauja district, followed by an interpretive discussion which is valid for Livic society in general. The ordinary Liv was a free peasant, Tõnisson states. The arable areas were seen as his chief riches. The slash-and-burn technique was known to him but this practice was receding; instead he used a two-field system where one part was kept in fallow. He combined this with cattle-breeding.[34] He cut meadows to get winter fodder and the manure was spread over the fallowed land. Agricultural technology was gradually improving through the adaptation of iron to the tools, for which Martinsala (Holme) by Daugava stands out as an innovation centre. On the whole, the level of agriculture described rather resembles what we hear of from contemporary Scandinavia.[35]

One of the first anecdotes told by Henry of Latvia may help to clarify the level of technology met by the first missionaries. It is a story of Brother Theoderic, the Cistercian who began as Meinhard's chief assistant and ended as Bishop of Estonia. This man had an early assignment among the Gauja-Livs of Thoreyda, a place name which is thought to mean Thor's Garden. There he was threatened by the locals: *eo quod fertilior seges ipsius sit in agris eorumque segetes inun-*

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[34] Cattle are often referred to in descriptions of plundering raids and as in pre-Christian Scandinavia, Livs made animal sacrifices (HCL XIV:4).

[35] Tõnisson 1974 pp. 163–68; cf. Moora and Ligi 1970 pp. 3–23; Kahk and Tarvel 1997 p. 22ff.; Blomkvist 1999 pp. 24–30.

dacione pluvie periret[36] . . . 'because his crops grew much better in the fields, whereas their own were destroyed by too much rain'. If this wasn't a miracle, which Henry (or rather his informant, probably Theoderic himself) is most certainly implying,[37] I would suggest that he had tried to introduce the art of ditching to Thor's Garden. This, in turn, allows us to see the missionary coming from the lower Daugava with an ironclad spade or two in his luggage. After all, he was a Cistercian.

The lowland by the Daugava estuary was almost unpopulated, being too sandy and swampy for agriculture. It was used by the nearest villagers—some 30 km inland—for fishing, cattle-breeding and bee-keeping, the latter being a major industry in this part of the world. Further inland a quite prosperous countryside opened up along the riverbanks,[38] which was where the main settlements were found. In the Late Middle Age these regions were to become one of Europe's leading exporters of grain. It has been suggested that some over-production already existed in the 12th and 13th centuries which was bartered in the East.[39] However, up to the 16th century, most of the billowy plains which can be seen nowadays were covered with forests.[40] The land of the Livs was a rich country, but to what extent its potential had been realised remains an interesting question.

Friedrich Benninghoven, the German specialist on the early phases of East Baltic Europeanization, briefly states that an autarchic sur-vival economy prevailed during pre-German times.[41] The statement may have something to do with his adaptation of Rörig's *Unternehmer-theorie*, which he endeavoured to prove in the case of Riga.[42] In this theory the situation before the arrival of the entrepreneurial consortium

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[36] HCL I:10; cf. Löwis of Menar and Bienemann 1912 p. 9.

[37] Theoderic was known to have performed several miracles, see Johansen 1955 p. 104f.

[38] Benninghoven 1961 pp. 19–27.

[39] Ahvenainen 1963 pp. 11ff., 36ff.; Kahk and Tarvel 1997; Moora and Ligi 1970 pp. 5–33.

[40] According to HCL IX:11, travelling between Lennewarden and Yxkull brought you *in nemore densissimo (iuxta viam Memeculle)*.

[41] Benninghoven 1961 p. 20ff.: 'What the Liv needed for his daily life, he is likely to have made himself'.

[42] The intention is already declared in Benninghoven's (1961 p. 17f.) introduc-tion; cf. Paul Johansen's preface in Hellmann 1954 (p. 7).

was of little importance, since it was thought to have had a negligible influence on what was to follow. However the existence of some brisk trade was a precondition even for Meinhard's mission. The interest of other parties in seizing some of its flow of honey, wax, cereals and perhaps furs is obvious.[43] What raises some doubt about whether the locals were much involved in the business is the close pattern of hillfort territories mentioned above. Were they small, closed autarchies? A home-made feudal development? They may have been so during previous stages of their development, but as we shall see, a more dynamic development had opened them to the moveable stratum of the Baltic a century or two earlier.

Nodes and proto-urban congestions

Whereas the Gauje, as the river is called in Latvian, was an artery for the particular province bearing its name,[44] the Daugava had the potential of a main trade route. Previous research on its urbanisation process is dominated by Benninghoven's magisterial *Rigas Enstehung und der frühansische Kaufmann* (1961). He suggests that trade in Meinhard's time was conducted at exactly the place where the city was to be founded in 1201. Basically from intensive reading of Henry's text, he identifies the components of a good natural infrastructure; a broad field close to a fine natural harbour, from which at least two roads led to the settlements of the Livs.[45] On this spot there was an abandoned hillfort, the monument of a Vendic micro-population,[46] discussed above (Chapter Six), and there was some Livic settlement,

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[43] Benninghoven 1961 pp. 20–22; Radiņš 1998 p. 185ff. Generally on local trade in the East Baltic region, Niitemaa 1952 p. 226ff.; Moora and Ligi 1970 p. 23ff.

[44] It wasn't much of a shipping route. The name is said to derive from Livic *kuiw* 'dry', 'thin' indicating the quick sanding of the river berth (Löwis of Menar and Bienemann 1912 p. 12).

[45] Benninghoven's (1961 p. 26) description: 'a spacious field with a deserted hillfort and a frequently-used harbour, where there were lodging quarters or a 'haus' for meetings, some tendency to the development of a fishermen's village. All of this was connected to the Livic settlements in the vicinity by at least two roads, and it was militarily contested all the time'.

[46] HCL X:14. Benninghoven (1961 p. 25) does not credit the Vends with any importance in the emergence of Riga. I see them originally as a trading community. The localisation of a small colony of foreigners at such a natural trading site can hardly be interpreted in another light.

which he identifies as a fishermen's village. The Germans also had several buildings, including a large hall suitable for banquets.[47]

However Benninghoven's work has a serious problem, which it shares with many urban histories of its time, in that it is based almost exclusively on written evidence. These sources are in general solidly Eurocentric, while the scholar himself, working in Germany, did not even have the opportunity to visit the area. Of course these circumstances were outside Benninghoven's control and make his efforts even more admirable, but together with the theory to which he adhered, they have helped to bias his conclusions regarding the level of development before the more massive influx of Germans from 1200 onwards.

Archaeological sources do not carry the same ethnic one-sidedness. Several older settlements have been spotted in the Riga area,[48] containing Vendic as well as Livic characteristics, both previous to the foundation of Riga. In the early days, there might have been a church.[49] Apparently there was no great ethnic separation in early Riga. In fact, even the early documents allow a more integrated picture than Benninghoven liked to visualize. As early as 1211 Bishop Albert had found that his walled first town foundation—the immediately developed core settlement towards the Rige rill—was surrounded by an even faster-growing suburb. In this year he was compelled to rope in a large area for the new cathedral's resident chapter in that same suburb. The expropriated tofts *quas ibidem Livones seu Teutonici habuerant, recompensatione aliarum arearum seu certo pretio comparavimus ab eisdem* . . . 'which Livs or Germans had there, we have compensated with other tofts or bought from them at just price.'[50] This mixed settlement of Germans and Livs ('businessmen' rather than the fishermen Benninghoven described) obviously fits the picture of a 'familiar joint venture'[51] as presented by Henry much better than that of a superior entrepreneur's consortium.

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[47] We know about the house because several *seniores terre*, notably Asso, Anno and Kaupo had been invited to drink *ad locum Rige*, where they were locked into a house (*in una includuntur domo*) and forced to accept baptism (HCL IV:4). Cf. Bengtsson 2000 p. 33ff.

[48] In all fairness it must be added, mostly after the publication of Benninghoven's work.

[49] Caune 1997; cf. Radiņš 1998 p. 181; Ciglis et al. 2001 p. 48f.

[50] LECUB I:21.

[51] From the year 1223, Henry tells the story of a *mercator christianus* . . . 'a Christian

Another problem of Benninghoven's study is its underestimation of the level of turnover in other pre-German centres in the area. If we go on to study the lower Daugava valley as a whole, we easily observe one place that showed dominating traits in the late Viking period. This is the magnificent hillfort of Daugmale on the fairly steep southern bank of the Daugava, which is nowadays dammed up by the Rummel rapids to serve a power plant almost on the edge of Greater Riga. Daugmale is not mentioned by Henry at all, at least not by name, but it has been studied by archaeologists since the 1930s. The stronghold is thought to have its roots in the Bronze Age, but I will simply summarize its position in the 11th and 12th centuries, when the old fortification functioned as a nucleus around which several suburban settlements were grouping.

Daugmale's status as a Viking-age proto-urbanisation site seems uncontested. As an international emporium it seems to have flourished particularly in the 11th century, and by then probably belonged to the Semigalians. In the 12th century its ethnic status has been seen as a more open question. In an interesting effort at synthesis, the Latvian archaeologist Arnis Radiņš suggests that Daugmale was a component in a Scandinavian trade network which stretched all the way up to Polotsk, where (according to the PVL) an independent Scandinavian chief called Ragnvald (*Rogovold*) lived. The latter had come over the sea and hence was independent of the Rurikids, even if he was later to be overrun by them. In Radiņš' vision, the Scandinavian grip from the West loosened, and since new Polotskian efforts also failed, 'from the 10th–12th centuries the Daugava route remained under control of the people living in the area of its lower course'.[52] The hypothesis is compatible with my suggested interpre-

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merchant', who was staying *in domo Estonis in Saccala* . . . 'in the house of an Estonian in Sakkala'. The next sentence makes clear that the guest was a German, which indicates that trade continued on a familiar basis. It is however made ambiguous by the following testimony that the host killed his guest. The story is presented as a miracle; later the Estonian's wife gave birth to a son carrying all the wounds of the German, *et apparent cicatrices ad hunc diem* . . . 'the scars of which are still to be seen until this day' (HCL XXVI:10). We must thank the murder and the miracle for this brief glimpse into the daily routines of commercial life, which underlines the point that business still had to be done according to local customs, with little advantage from the superior knowledge of continental entrepreneurs.

[52] Radiņš 1992; Radiņš and Zemitis 1992, Radiņš 1998 (quotation from p. 188). For the narrative of Rogovold, see Norrback 1919 p. 53; Oxenstierna 1998 p. 68f. Among the finds at Daugmale a beautifully sculpted weaving weight with an ele-

tation of the presence of Vends in the Daugava estuary, but doesn't take into account the fact that Polotskian influence seems to have recovered during the 12th century, when it reached beyond Daugmale all the way to the coast.

When Daugmale was deserted remains an open question. According to archaeology, it may have been as late as around 1200. By that time it was no longer the sole dominating trading place. This was made clear by a gigantic excavation project launched in the 1970s to clear the way for the power plant at the end of the Daugava rapids. Large areas of cultural landscape were laid under water, which was compensated for at least to some extent by archaeological material that is still far from penetrated. The project leader Evalds Mugurēvičs has presented a brief survey of its observations. Beginning in the 10th century, Livic expansion on the northern banks of the river established a line of settlements only a few kilometres apart, from Ikšķile (Yxkull), Kābeles and Lipši in the east, to Salaspils (Kirchholm), Mārtiņsala (Holme), Rauši, Vampenieši and Abranti by the Rummel. These settlements, says Mugurēvičs, varied from two to five hectares, and showed traces of homesteads, often ordered in rows some 8–10 m apart; he estimates that they each had some 150–200 inhabitants. Even if these places were agricultural communities, the finds reveal first-class crafts and indications of trade with Russia, as well as with Scandinavia and increasingly with Western Europe.[53]

It was in places like these that Meinhard's missionary activities began. He settled down in Yxkull, and the trading place which Henry calls Holme was his second arena of operation. His decision places them as important centres on the lower Daugava, to which a Europeanization agent using peaceful means had to come in order to 'get things done'. They may have been places where, as a foreigner of some standing, he was welcome to stay, which amounts to much the same thing. Neither Yxkull nor Holme are compared to towns though. Henry calls them *villae* and points out that before Meinhard's arrival the inhabitants of Yxkull *municiones nullas habeant . . .*

gant, quite late, runic inscription is noteworthy. The infuriatingly corrupt text contains the words *runar thesar* ('these runes') and must have been made by a Northerner, but the stone is local. Saxo Grammaticus mentions an important town *Dunam urbem*, which is likely to bear at least some link to Daugmale.

[53] Mugurēvičs 1983 pp. 171–78. cf. Ciglis et al. 2001 p. 47f.

'had no fortifications'.[54] Henry's text even conveys an indication of
their population size. It is said that Meinhard succeeded in having
half the inhabitants of Yxkull baptised.[55] This statement proves infor-
mative when we later see that his more militant successor Bertold
forced around 100 individuals in Yxkull, and some 50 in Holme to
accept the sacrament.[56] If we accept that some let themselves be
baptised in the meantime, and that Bertold might not have caught
everybody, both places stand out as being rather large for villages.[57]

The criteria of trade are particularly thick at Holme, some 20 km
closer to the estuary.[58] The name indicates that it had a Nordic
background. The fact that it was located *in medio fluminis* . . . 'in the
middle of the river'[59] answers perfectly to the Scandinavian mean-
ing of the word. The settlement's core was on a small island close
by the longer island called *Insula Longa* (*Dole*, Germ. *Dahlen*), close by
the rapids of Rummel. The position is characteristic of Viking-age
establishments in foreign countries: as far into the populated coun-
try as they could penetrate in a seaworthy sailing or rowing ship.
On the northern bank, a corresponding Livic village was also named
Holme.[60] In this important agglomeration Meinhard at first succeeded
in baptising six individuals: Viliendi, Uldenago, Wade, Waldeko,
Gerweder and Vietzo. These names are suggestive but difficult to
assess. At least Gerweder might be of Scandinavian origin (*Dierfr*?).[61]
The hillfort of Spoliškalns nearby is thought to have had a bigger
concentration of inhabitants and may have been the political centre

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[54] HCL I:5.

[55] HCL I:6.

[56] HCL II:7.

[57] Henry once or twice lets the classical word for town (*urbs*) slip in with respect
to Livic settlements; as in HCL IX:11, talking of Lennewarden (a hillfort and dis-
trict centre) and of Yxkull.

[58] HCL I:7; cf. Biezais 1969, Benninghoven 1965 pp. 1–36.

[59] HCL II:4.

[60] This place was later known as Kircholm, where a Swedish/Polish battle was
fought in 1604.

[61] HCL I:7. A known eleventh-century merchant with East Baltic contacts had
this name; the owner of a famous copper casket for a pair of weight scales, found
at Sigtuna with an inscription saying that Diarfr got these scales from *sêmskum manni*
(a man from Semigalia [or Samland]), S.B.F. Jansson 1963 p. 58f. Later we will
hear of a prominent inhabitant of Holme called *Ako*, which is similar to the
Scandinavian *Aage*, *Åke*. Cf. Hellquist 1922 s.v. Åke. In a personal communication
Professor Mugurēvičs has said that the Scandinavian influence is confirmed to some
extent in the artefact material.

before Europeanization. Another concentration has been traced in Laukskola, which comes close to 10 hectares in two building groups, together with a large grave field.[62] All these settlements were found on the northern bank of the river and were chiefly Livic.[63]

The commercial climate

Occasionally Henry of Latvia lets some light fall on Livic institutions and political organisation. When there is talk of recalling the Germans' rights in the territory, he mentions that this would need a decision at the *collecta Lyvonum universitas*, a regional *thing* or diet congregation, which suggests that at one time this body had also decided that they should be allowed to come.[64] We have heard that the Livic *seniores* were remembered as law-makers, and will hear of them acting as official representatives in negotiations with the prince of Polotsk. We have also found a cluster of localities involved in proto-urban activities in the latter part of the 12th century. On the brink of Europeanization, the lower Daugava shows the character of an extended emporium. As a mark of its importance, its weight unit *talentum livonicum* (lispund) was adopted and spread over a large part of the Baltic Rim.[65]

Taken together, the traits of societal organisation we have registered on the Lower Daugava somewhat resemble those found on Gotland. The friendly relations between German merchants and the Livs indicate a trade-political agreement, the equivalent of what is called a trade peace in other sources.[66] We may remember that the Liv—like the Ölander and the Gotlander—was mentioned particularly for being free from customs in the oldest preserved town code of Lübeck, which may even be seen as a receipt for concessions given to Lübeckers and other Germans in the lower Daugava emporium area. In theory at least, this might have been the *Rucia* to

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[62] For the name element *lauks*, possibly of Balt-ethnic extraction, see Žulkus 1999b, pp. 141–43.

[63] A general outline of this immense project was given by the project leader in Mugurēvičs 1983; cf. Radiņš 1998 pp. 178–85. Professor Mugurēvičs is preparing a monograph on the Holme site within the CCC project.

[64] HCL II:8. Baltic peoples (Curonians, Estonians) are said to have enjoyed peace on Gotland (HCL VII:1, XXX:1; Johansen 1951 p. 75; Benninghoven 1961 p. 20f.).

[65] HCL XVIII:5; S.O. Jansson 1936 s.v. lispund.

[66] KL s.v. Handelsfred, H. Yrwing; Melnikova 1997; cf. HCL VII:1 & passim.

which Henry the Lion had sent a *nuncius* offering peace and free trade in Lübeck.[67] Even so, it took some time before the Germans won the leading role here as well as on Gotland. The chronicler, who otherwise mentions little that hasn't to do with the German advances, lets us know that there were also Danes, Norwegians and *singuli populi* visiting the area.[68]

In the 1211 privilege by which Bishop Albert expressed his gratitude for the help given by merchants in converting the pagans, his thoughts went first to the Gotlanders (*praecipue Gutlenses*). Henry of Latvia related a recent incident the bishop may have had in mind when particularly pointing to the Gotlanders; an attack on the Estonians which was inspired by the coming of *mercatoribus et theutonicis aliquantis de Gotlandia . . .* 'merchants and some Germans from Gotland' in 1208.[69] Although Henry's expression indicates that this particular group of merchants was non-German or ethnically mixed, this cannot be read as a statement that indigenous Gotlanders had played a leading role. It conveys the important information that the Livonian authorities did not at this time differentiate between ethnic Gotlanders and Germans settled on the island. This further indicates that the issue of *Deutschtum*—clear in the documents from 1225 and on—had not yet fully emerged in 1211, not even for a major ideologist like Bishop Albert. The principal sentence of the privilege runs:

> This is why, in respect of their good deeds, we agree to the demands that they have imposed on us: We thus concede the merchants visiting the Daugava and other Livonian ports eternal exemption from customs.[70]

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[67] HCS 86; HUB I:223, LübUB I:32. The exemption from customs, already mentioned in Ch. VI:4 might be referred to the policy initiated by Henry the Lion.

[68] HCL I:11. No good definition can be made for the *singuli populi*. However it seems that with the exception of Gotlanders, Swedes were by now outmatched, due to their ongoing trade-political crisis. According to archaeological analyses the Scandinavian impact may have been very high in some of the riverside settlements. The proportion of ornaments of Scandinavian origin in excavated grave fields at Salaspils and Laukskola has been estimated to 70% in the 11th–12th centuries (Ciglis et al. 2001 p. 41f.).

[69] HCL XII:6.

[70] *Hinc est quod eorum devotioni respondentes a nobis postulata duximus indulgenda: Concedimus igitur mercatoribus, Dunam et caeteros portus Livoniae frequentantibus perpetuo telonii libertatem* (LECUB I:20).

The quoted lines tell us two important things about trade on the lower Daugava. That it was free from *landesherrlichen* (princely) taxation, and that it could be conducted anywhere. This was ten years *after* the foundation of Riga, the first western European town in the East Baltic, and still we do not see any urban protective measures introduced.

This raises the question of whether the privilege of 1211 reflects the pre-Riga situation, in which the Duna was not only a river but also an emporium. This in turn requires us to consider obvious similarities between the situation here and what we have ascertained previously in the Kalmarsund area and on Gotland. We may wonder if *Dunam et caeteros portus Livoniae* is a parallel to 'the coast of Gotland' and whether the chain of incidents we have been following is a second version of the much less known series of events which began on that island some half a century earlier, when 'foreign tongues began to be heard'.[71]

Looking for additional knowledge, a natural first thing to do is to take a closer look at Bishop Albert's privilege of 1211 in the light of previous study of the Artlenburg and Jaroslav privileges (Chapter Seven). We have already seen that the Gotlanders are particularly honoured as addressees of the 1211 privilege, as they were in the two earlier ones, even if other merchants are included in the conditions as well. The content has been subdivided into eight parts:

Whether (1) the exemption from customs in the 1211 privilege reflects the more archaic pre-German situation cannot be decided; nor can we know if this applies to (2) the exemption from the 'God's sentences' of duels and carrying iron, nor (3) the right to save what one could from one's own wrecked ship. However we can state that 'God's sentences' were practised by the Livs, and that their neighbours the Curonians (at a much later date) had a bad reputation for not allowing the salvage of shipwrecked goods, and that all three items had been on the agenda in known previous trade regulations of the 12th century.

The right (4) for guests from the same town to maintain internal jurisdiction, as long as it didn't involve citizens of another town, is clearly a more modern item in the Baltic environment; as is discussed

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[71] Niitema 1949; Yrwing 1978, 1986.

above. Here in the east Baltic periphery people still had to reckon
with *illos, qui ad nullam civitatem habent respectum . . .* 'those who didn't
belong to a town', over whose cases the bishop's judge was said to
decide (exactly what Henry the Lion had offered the Gotlanders in
his realm in 1161). The principle seems to be that those who adhered
to the same foreign law and were represented on the *Dune* by a
proper organisation, were allowed to take care of themselves, but
the episcopal judge remained in case of appeal. According to the
following article, (5) the guests could not organise a *guilda communis*
(common guild) without the bishop's consent; as was concluded above,
this was a clear warning against too much communal autonomy.

   The statutes regarding coinage are even more interesting from a
Gotlandic point of view: (6) coins struck in Riga should be 4½ mark
deniers to a Gotlandic mark pure silver, they should be 'white' and
dativi, and the moneyer was entitled to two *oras* (öre), which suggests
that visitors could have their own money minted. Furthermore, (7)
the Riga denier should have the same worth as the Gotlandic deniers,
but could look different. Economically, Gotland was indeed close.

   The last item of the privilege (8) states that manslaughter is under
a fine of 40 marks, whoever the victim (*sine differentia*) and whoever
the offender (*unus vel alter*), which inspired the bishop to end with a
Bible paraphrase: *Quod quis iuris in alterum statuit, eodem et ipse utatur . . .*
'the rights you claim of others, you should apply to yourself as well.'[72]
This may be a reprimand to the Gotlandic law which demanded
higher expiation for the killing of Gotlanders than others (if it was
indeed established at that date); it was definitely a reprimand to those
who may have wanted to reduce the status of the conquered Livs.

Thus we can easily place the 1211 privilege. It offers the freedom
from customs that Henry the Lion introduced in Lübeck; the atti-
tude against 'God's sentences' that was probably taken by Duke
Henry and the Swedish king and *jarl* a decade or so later;[73] the early

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[72] LECUB I:20. The rural Gotlanders may be found among those who didn't
belong to a town, but Gotland in many cases was treated as the equivalent of a
town.
[73] According to LECUB I:54, 1222, after having received complaints, Pope Honor
III forbade the Brethren of the Sword and *alii quidam advocati et iudices . . .* 'and some
other bailiffs and judges', from sentencing the iron ordeal on the indigenous people.

position taken on Gotland regarding shipwrecks; the western European idea of urban autonomy in internal matters; the very ancient principle of the sovereign's protection for country traders; the limited rights for Western merchants to organise a communal body, which might have existed on Gotland at that time, and finally the same 40 marks fine for manslaughter as Henry the Lion had accepted in the Artlenburg privilege—although the rule was of non-German origin and probably already valid among guests on Gotland.

Bishop Albert's privileges seem like a summing up of what had happened so far in international law on the Baltic. They act as proof that the early privileges had really been brought by the merchants to the markets in question, and produced there together with claims of mutuality, and that these claims had been conceded at times. It underlines the merchants' contribution to the forming of a Baltic unity. As discussed in Chapter Seven these rules were to be remembered as *jus Gotorum*, alternatively *jura Gotlandiae*, which makes it conceivable that most of its collection had already taken place on the coast of Gotland. On the other hand this particular privilege places a remarkable stress on the equal worth of all men. This is its original contribution, fully in the spirit of *Christianitas* as a common human denominator. Unfortunately, this was to be a dead end in East Baltic development.

The nameless harbour

An occasional notice in Henry's chronicle tells of the stern prohibition against *omnibus Semigalliam mercationis causa frequentantibus(...) portum ipsorum . . .* 'everyone visiting Semigalia's harbour for the purpose of trade'. Blockades, interdicts and abolitions were frequently used in the trade politics of the day, but this one had its background in a papal bull which brother Theoderic had procured from the Curia. A blockade that threatened by means of a papal ban was an extraordinary event in a Baltic setting. The chronicler explained that later the merchants *communi decreto . . .* 'in a joint decree' had decided to support it as well, and he who dared to transgress it ran the risk of losing goods and life. So there was a double security regarding the political correctness of this decree, which arouses some suspicion, particularly since we do not know of any merchant corporation bearing jurisdictional competence from this early date.

However, when the city (of Riga) had stood for two years (i.e. 1203), some men wanted to break the promise. They were at first admonished *a mercatoribus omnibus* . . . 'by [the community of] all merchants', which they disregarded. They were then attacked by the other ships, when *in nave sua Dunam descendunt* . . . 'they were going down the Daugava'; whereupon two individuals *gubernatore videlicet et ductore navis, (. . .) crudeli morte peremptis* . . . 'the ship's helmsman and the pilot were gruesomely killed' and *alii autem redire coguntur* . . . 'the others were forced to return'.[74] This short and unclear message is interesting, since it could reveal something of the mercantile and ethnic tensions following the German incursion.

The main problem is, I think, (1) why were these stern methods and the underhand mobilisation employed? However the most discussed problem has been (2) which Semigalian harbour? and a further and enlightening aspect would certainly be (3) which merchants? In the second question, opinion is divided between those who think the harbour must have been by some hillfort up the Lielupe,[75] and those who argue that it can be no other than Daugmale.[76] The first and the third questions I have not seen discussed at all.

I think this incident becomes clearer if seen in connection with another early event which is recapitulated in Henry's first book—the rather amusing story of the Semigalians' fury at the newly-built fortress at Yxkull:

Eo tempore Semigalli, pagani vicini, audita lapidum constructione, ignorantes eos cemento mediante firmari, cum magnis funibus navium venientes, putabant se stulta sua opinione castrum in Dunam trahere, sed a balistariis vulnerati dampna reportantes abierunt.	At that time the Semigalians, pagans nearby, having heard about the stone construction but not knowing that they were cemented with mortar, appeared with long ropes with the foolish intention to pull the fortress into the Duna. They were, however, wounded by the crossbow shooters and retired.[77]

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[74] HCL IV:7.

[75] The commentary to Bauer 1959 p. 20. Benninghoven (1961 p. 22 with further references) understands a *portus Semigalliam frequentantium*, an unspecified harbour for those who went to Semigalia. In 1283 a treaty was made between the Teutonic Order and the Bishop of Curonia *de portibus maris,* in which a Semigalian port was assigned to the order (LECUB 373). This might deal with potential fisheries and is no definite proof of a Semigalian trading port.

[76] E.g. Radiņš 1998 p. 189.

[77] HCL I:6.

We are told that these pagans were *vicini*, close neighbours, which clarifies that they were operating from Daugmale or nearby.[78] In this case there can be no suggestion of a long transport via Lielupe, yet they had ships at their command, which strongly indicates that Daugmale was still functioning around 1185–90. There must have been significant reasons for the Semigalian displeasure with the building on the Livic side of the river. Probably they had realised that the stronghold in question was already impeding Semigalian (or Semigalian-bound) shipping to and from the upper Daugava, or could be used to do so in future. The Yxkull station may have been used to collect or tax trade items coming from Latgalia and Russia.[79]

Let us return to the incident in 1203. The statement that the blockade-busting merchants were captured on their way downstream might of course indicate that they had departed from Riga in order to get out of the Daugava and into the Lielupe. The harbour should then be searched for in the Semigalian inland district or at some recent establishment near the mouth of Lielupe, organised by the Semigalians after the appearance of the Holme castle. However there is no express mention or known archaeological evidence of any patrolling or watch station by the Lielupe mouth. A difficulty with this interpretation of Henry's rather guarded information is that the capital punishment would have been carried out before the crime was committed. From this point of view, the story would be more convincing had they been caught coming down the Daugava after having visited Daugmale.

There is another aspect to this. The need of a papal bull would have been much more understandable had the merchants been fellow Christians who belonged to some other political faction than those in command of Riga. Maybe they were. There are many traces of Scandinavian trade with Semigalia, and not only in Daugmale; I have already referred to a runic inscription on one of the islands in lake Mälaren about a certain Sven 'who often sailed/to Semigalia/his

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[78] The following paragraph (HCL I:7) mentions *vicini Holmenses*. In fact the people of Holme lived farther from Yxkull than those of Daugmale.

[79] See further Hellmann 1954 p. 112ff. A perfect parallel would otherwise be the Bohus *fästning* (fortress), constructed by the Norwegians in Göta älv, with the ability to impede Swedish traffic.

dear *knarr*/around Domesnäs' and to a beautiful pair of weighing scales owned by a Sigtuna merchant, who had got them from *semskan mannum*. There is also a subsidiary story in *Ingvar's Saga*, which describes Semigalia as a Swedish tributary land.[80]

Henry mentions Danes, Norwegians and other people in the Daugava estuary together with the Germans shortly before 1200, but they do not occur after 1203; nor does the trade on *portus Semigallorum*.[81] What if the ship's helmsman was a Scandinavian, and the pilot a subject of the Polotskian prince (all according to the Novgorodian model)?[82] The argument which would have convinced the pope to abolish trade with Daugmale or any Semigalian port would have been that it would threaten the *great* Catholic enterprise in the area— the one operated from Riga. It would thus foretell the later prohibitions on trade with pagan peoples, the most prominent of which forbade merchants *de gudlandie partibus* . . . 'from the Gotlandic countryside' to sell weapons, horses, ships and supplies to the Ingrians and Carelians in 1229.[83]

In conclusion

In his survey, Mugurēvičs points out that while the terminology of written sources classifies the settlements along the lower Daugava as either villages (*villa, dorp*) or hillforts (*castrum*), it is only the place where Riga was to be built that is mentioned in a way that suggests a (modest) trading place (*locus*). This, he says, gives a false impression, since to judge from finds of imported material, coins, weighing scales and weights, the entire area was involved in trade. He also stresses the multi-ethnic and peaceful character of the many local settlements, 'where Curonians, Semigalians, and Latgalians were represented alongside with the Livs'.[84]

The peaceful nature of these open and mercantile villages may agree with the idea, stated later by Radiņš but quoted above, that

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[80] On *Yngvars saga viðforla*, see Davidson 1976; Hofmann 1981; Shephard 1982–85; M.G. Larsson 1990; Pálsson and Edvards 1989; Latvakangas 1995 p. 82ff.

[81] HCL IV:7, cf. I:11. S.B.F. Jansson 1963 pp. 53f., 58f.

[82] Cf. Goetz 1916 pp. 106–110, p. 57f.

[83] DS 253, 254; Yrwing 1978 p. 129.

[84] Mugurēvičs 1983.

the inhabitants kept control over the lower Daugava, where—again according to Radiņš—'the local traders began to take on a more and more active role in the trade activities and went on long voyages to the east and west.'[85] Radiņš does not produce any evidence in favour of this extension of his hypothesis, and this may be difficult to find in purely archaeological sources. With equal justification the answer may be that seafaring Vends and Scandinavians had been gradually amalgamated into local society, by being *familiaritate conjuncti.*

This situation changed in 1201 when Riga was founded on the northern side of the lagoon-shaped estuary.[86] As in several other cases, archaeological research and a re-evaluation of the written source material has shown that 'European' cities were usually founded in existing commercially 'hot' areas, often at the cost of previously established operators. Many of the half-urban villages upstream stagnated and were in due course given over to Riga itself.[87] We have already met several cases where the foundation of a *Rechts- und Ratstadt* of Western type was combined with measures directed towards its predecessors and more rural competitors; I have pointed to variations of that theme regarding Lübeck, Kalmar and (particularly complicated) Visby. Around 1225 the German merchants achieved a degree of power on the Baltic Rim that they had never had before. The key event was the avowal of autonomy to Lübeck, which had immediate consequences in Visby and Riga and effects that gradually spread like rings on water over the entire Rim. The *jus Gotorum* of Riga was quickly turning into a German town code. The old Baltic form of trade was swiftly being marginalized for the benefit of a continental trading system, controlled by proto-capitalistic merchant dynasties, sitting in, needing and using a network of self-governing Western European towns.[88]

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[85] Radiņš 1998 p. 188.
[86] Benninghoven 1961 p. 28ff., cf. 22ff.
[87] Benninghoven 1961 pp. 36ff., 41ff., Karte 3.
[88] LECUB I:75, I:77. See Blomkvist 1997 pp. 56–62.

3. *In Search of the Local Reaction*

A Europeanization agent at work

In this section I will look into Henry of Latvia's description of the gradually escalating drama of conflicting aims that was staged in the basin of the lower Daugava from the arrival of Meinhard to the formation of the first Livonian polity. A discovery report of *Chronicon Livoniae's* density and richness offers the chance to establish chains of events as a method for identifying the Europeanization agent at work and observing Livic survival strategies by noting what they reacted to. An effort to follow the give-and-take development over the first years of German expansion in the lower Daugava-region can be made.

Having obtained permission in Polotsk, Meinhard decided to construct his first church at the village of Yxkull, some 45 km upstream on the Daugava. His credentials there were probably established by the German merchants' contacts, and possibly by some tokens offered by Prince Vladimir. In the first year, the missionary spoke to the inhabitants of Yxkull about their lack of defence, and promised to give them this if they decided to become God's children—*si filii Dei censeri et esse decreverint.* We understand that he described the advantages of holding a castle built to Western standards, in which they could stay safely at home instead of hiding in the forests when the Lithuanians appeared.

This may be a classical missionary opening—the 'development-aid gambit'. Clearly the Livs were interested, but they entered into it cautiously. Negotiation, agreement, exchange of promises and confirmations followed, but nothing was given away for free. Nevertheless, *Placet et promittitur et, ut baptismum recipiant, iuramento firmatur . . .* 'They agreed and promised that they should receive baptism, confirming it with oaths'.[89] The description has a rather business-like atmosphere, and the Augustinian canon had to deliver the goods before the Livs would pay up. So Meinhard imported *lapicide* (stonemasons) from Gotland, whereupon the Livs again confirmed their readiness to accept the faith, and some more people (*pars*

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[89] HCL I:5.

populi) were baptised before the building started.[90] We can follow the cautious procedure—partial delivery/partial payment—according to which the agreement began to be fulfilled.

The Livs were obviously experienced in the game, and so, we can trust, was Meinhard. Thus far we can safely follow our reporter, but the description ends in a more sordid anticipation. When the castle was built (*facto castro*), the entire community (*universitas*) would be baptised, as they had promised—*licet mendaciter*, Henry adds. 'But this was a deceitful promise.'

The last few words should make us wary. Henry is obviously preparing to accuse the Livs of not fulfilling their part. However, Meinhard got at least something out of the deal; the fact that some years later he supported the building of a second fortified church (or castle) should be proof enough. This second project was in Holme. According to Henry, it was begun after Meinhard had become a bishop (i.e. ca. 1190).[91]

By building these two castles of unprecedented defensive capacity in the area, he was becoming (apparently without opposition) co-holder of the dominating strategic sites on the lower Daugava.[92] At least, he was at Yxkull, as Henry explains: *Quinta pars castri sicut a predicatoris surgit expensis, sic eius cedit proprietati, ecclesie fundo ab eo primitus comparator . . .* 'The preacher had borne the costs for a fifth of the castle, which then was his property, after first having bought the toft for the church'.[93] To judge from the text, he was never denied his part-ownership of the castle, to which he returned in moments of need.[94] Thus, we can add another detail to our picture of the negotiation climate, namely that of established and respected property

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[90] HCL I:6.

[91] HCL II:4.

[92] This aspect has been stressed by Radiņš (1998 p. 188): 'both of the castles mentioned were situated at places important for the control of the Daugava route'.

[93] HCL I:6. For the problem of where Meinhard (who as an Augustinian was obliged to live in poverty) obtained the money, cf. Hellmann 1989b p. 22f. Meinhard might not have been involved financially in the enterprise of Holme. In the following events we will find clear evidence that this castle was in the hands of the locals, until the Germans conquered it in 1206 (HCL X:8–9). For the series of events, cf. Hellmann 1989b p. 22ff.

[94] E.g. HCL I:11 according to which Meinhard in a critical position *transit Ykeskolam et in domum suam recipitur*. However, it later fell into the hands of a German military vassal, Konrad von Meyendorf, who happened to pass by with his followers: *Quam urbem firmissimam cernentes et vacuam, quondam ab episcopo Meinardo edificatam, visum*

rights which included foreigners—even those who where actively working to spread a foreign religion.

Signs of approaching confrontation

After some ten years of Christian progress, Meinhard and his companions had achieved good results, peacefully and within the framework of Livic society. Many Livs had been baptised, churches were being built, yet he was (according to Henry) complaining. The Livs acted *oblita iuramenti . . .* 'forgetful of their oaths', and all of them were not baptised; on the contrary some of them 'thought that they could remove the baptism that they had received in water, by washing themselves in the Daugava, and thereby return it to Germany'.[95]

Other complaints say that the Livs were stealing Bishop Meinhard's belongings, beating up his servants (*colaphizata familia*) and even plotting to ban him from the country (*de finibus exterminare*).[96] These are no doubt sordid deeds, but quite vaguely presented. This may signal that it was true in some technical sense (if not, the author would have been free to lie more categorically), but we know no details.

The governing mentality among the Livs Meinhard first met was their openness and welcoming attitude to strangers. Another obvious trait seems to have been one of juristic caution. As long as Meinhard operated within the limits of his legally achieved property rights, he was fully accepted. Germans were thus received into the Livic community and even permitted to conduct their missionary work. In addition, willing locals were allowed to accept baptism. The Livs were also open-minded or unsuspecting enough to let Meinhard seize a large degree of local power through the procedure. He was part-owner of a castle; the priests in the land (*clerici*) were his sub-

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est eis indignos esse tanta munitione Lyvones, qui licet baptizati, tamen adhuc rebelles erant et increduli. (HCL IX:11) 'And when they saw that this castle, that Bishop Meinhard had once built, was quite strong and vacant, they thought that the Livs were not worthy to have such a castle, since they remained unfaithful and rebellious, even though they were baptized.' Later, in the formal peace that Bishop Albert proclaimed after the victory over the Daugava Livs, the Livs were totally excluded (*penitus excluduntur*) from Yxkull castle (HCL IX:13).

[95] *baptismum, quem in aqua susceperant, in Duna se lavando removere putant, remittendo in Theutonia* (HCL I:9, cf. II:8; IX:8).

[96] HCL I:9.

ordinates. At his cathedral a minor chapter was organised, following St. Augustine's rule. It appears that he also had a multi-headed personal *familia*, and he held a respected position among the winter-resident Western merchants.[97] Meinhard thus displayed means of power to a degree that some local potentates might have envied.

Manfred Hellmann has maintained that all this was done on Meinhard's private initiative, supported only by the merchants of Gotland and Lübeck, as neither *ecclesia* nor *Reich* were consolidated enough to support him in those days.[98] If so, it is a confirmation of the power already attained by the merchant organisation. However this judgement may be exaggerated, as the project was certainly backed by the Church of Bremen. If we assume a Livic perspective however, we can easily see how Meinhard's suggestions, at first perhaps sympathetically received, were soon followed by the more pressing demands of Christianity. The Livs had no intention of obeying these, and the negotiation climate may have cooled down. At this point, I think, the merchants would have begun to show reluctance, whereas the agents of spiritual Europeanization saw a situation ripe for action.

Even though Henry's first and second books are formulated as a pamphlet against the Livic mentality, it is not difficult to read between the lines that theirs was a comparatively law-respecting, peaceful and tolerant society for its time. When Meinhard was dying, he summoned all the *seniores* or 'elders' of *Lyvonie et Thoreide* to ask them whether they wanted a new bishop, to which they *communiter* answered *magis se episcopo et patre gaudere velle . . .* 'that they very much wished to enjoy a (new) bishop and father'.[99] The words are Henry's of course, but they allow us to see the immigrant preacher of a foreign religion in a highly respected position at the end of his life.

His successor Bertold, however, soon brought a crusaders' army to the site of present-day Riga. He was met by a Livic force, whose spokesman asked him why he was threatening them. A condensed dialogue is cited, which clearly illustrates the attitude of both camps:

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[97] HCL I:9, 11.
[98] Hellmann 1989b p. 28ff. The underlining of Meinhard's private initiative has grounds in Arnold of Lübeck (below), but need not be taken literally; it is rather the build-up of a hero portrait.
[99] HCL VI:14.

> The bishop answered that the reason was that they returned to pagan-
> ism as frequently as dogs did to vomit.
> The Livs again: 'This argument, we must reject. You should dissolve
> your army and return in peace to your episcopal see with your fol-
> lowers. There you should call those who have already accepted the
> creed to service, and you may convince others to accept it with words,
> but not with swords'.[100]

But this rather reasonable suggestion was turned down, and a vio-
lent battle followed, in which one of the victims was the second
bishop himself. Thus the Livic strategy of compromise towards evo-
lutionary Europeanization met the clashing crusade ideology that
Bernhard of Clairvaux had imposed on the Rim half a century
before. The period of peaceful expansion came to an end and the
military conquest of the East Baltic region began.

Not even an unguarded first reading of Henry's narrative could hide
that the Western penetration had begun in a comparatively open,
business-like and legally-regulated society. Recalling that Henry's
chronicle began with a declaration of German-Livic friendship, the
problem of how, by whom and for what reason the peaceful expan-
sion of Christian-Catholic influence was suddenly transformed into
a violent clash assumes great significance.

   Henry is not very outspoken about the complications. Instead of
becoming wholehearted Christians after having watched the com-
pletion of the towers of the castle of Yxkull, the parishioners turned
against their shepherd, he says. We can see that Meinhard thought,
or at least argued, that by having the castles built he had fulfilled
his part of the agreement. The Livs, we are told, had not. But had
they really promised to become 100% Christian, with all the con-
sequences and conditions a man like Meinhard would attach to such
a conversion? This is a classic ethnocentric attitude;[101] and since we
do not have the Livs' version of what they had promised to do, and
what—in their belief—Meinhard had promised to do, we are left
with guesses.

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[100] *Respondit episcopus causam, quod tamquam canes ad vomitum, sic a fide sepius ad paga-*
nismum redierint. Item Lyvones: Causam hanc, inquiunt, a nobis removebimus. Tu tantum remisso
exercitu cum tuis ad episcopium tuum cum pace revertaris, eos, qui fidem susceperunt, ad eam ser-
vandam compellas, alios ad suscipiendam eam verbis non verberibus allicias. (HCL II:5.)
   [101] Cf. Bitterli's (1993 p. 29) catalogue of typical ethnocentrisms in colonial
encounters.

But even if invited to listen to a lengthy Livic argument, it is not at all certain that we would understand the full complexity of the confrontation. Livic society may have been open and welcoming to a degree, but even the first reading may have conveyed a feeling that their spokesmen may not have been understood in the way they intended. In Henry's text we are following a culture clash between two very differently structured societies. Both parties had strong reasons, involving outlook and honour, for doing and saying what they did. These aspects may have been difficult to define for Europeanization agents and indigenous re-agents alike, but there is evidence to show that the problem had begun to dawn on the leading strategists behind the Christianisation project in Livonia. Consulting this evidence may help us to understand what was going on.

It lies in a letter from Pope Innocent III to Bishop Albert in 1201. The latter had recently taken over the Livonian project. The pope offered him advice which may summarize some major mistakes made by Albert's predecessors. The document is of great general importance, in as much as it introduces a socio-psychological perspective into Catholic universalism. It was in due course added to the *Decretalia* of *Corpus Iuris Canoninici*.[102] In brief it says:

> (1) Whatever order or observance and clothing a cleric belonged to, whether he was a monk, a regulated canon, or member of any other rule, they must all carry but one kind of clerical attire when evangelising, in order not to split the converts into different parties.

> (2) The neophyte Livs had, from a Christian standpoint, different rules of matrimony, and did not respect the rule forbidding marriage to relatives and in-laws. The pope particularly condemns the custom of marrying 'the widows of their brothers'.[103] The suggested papal strategy was to show moderation. For the time being, with some reserves, such marriages should not disqualify baptism. After having become Christians however, they could not enter into such marriages.

> (3) Ecclesiastical rents should be levied with moderation and with consideration of the entire situation, in order to improve the converts'

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[102] LECUB I:13. For the dating, see Brundage 1973 p. 315 with further references.

[103] Pope Innocent's informant was probably Brother Theoderic, who had visited Rome shortly before. HCL I:10 contains a story of him trying to baptize a severely ill Liv from Thoreyda. This effort was stopped by *mulierum proterva—pertinacia* . . . 'the fresh stupidity of the women', cf. HCL XXVI:8 for similar circumstances in Estonia.

> knowledge of the creed, and they should always be allowed Holy
> Communion on the proper festive days and in their dying moment.[104]

This papal advice reveals that the criticism and moralisation over
the behaviour of the Livs which Henry of Latvia offered to his read-
ers may be turned against the missionaries themselves. A second
reading of Henry's text becomes urgent. To what extent might it
also convey the Livic point of view? We will do well to keep these
papal warnings against internal splits, insensitivity to local customs
and greed as a kind of reading glasses.

'in unum regulare propositum et honestum habitum . . . conformetis'

In his letter to Bishop Albert, Pope Innocent writes: *discretionem ves-
tram monemus . . . quatenus . . . quod inter vos monachi sunt et canonici regu-
lares, vel alii etiam regularem vitam sub alia distinctione professi, pariter in
unum regulare propositum et honestum habitum , quantum ad hoc spectat officium,
conformetis, ne nova ecclesiae Livoniensis plantatio . . . sanguine rubricata, vel
leve in vobis scandalum patiatur . . .* 'we admonish your wisdom that if
there are monks and regular canons or some that live under another
specific regulation among you, that you conform yourselves into one
regulation and wear one sole uniform and well-considered costume,
in order that the new plantation of the Church of Livonia shall nei-
ther be coloured red by blood, nor be transformed into a scandal.'
This caution against the risk of splitting the converts we may call
an early warning. The notice is the earliest indicator of this in the
written material.[105]

If differences in preaching had caused splits among the converts
during the period of peaceful mission, this was a meek foreboding
of what was to come under the following military conquest. In the
first years of the 13th century a conflict emerged that was to haunt
Livonia during its entire history as an autonomous polity, encom-
passing a controversy between the bishop, later the entire Livonian
episcopate, and the Brethren of the Sword, later the Teutonic Order.

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[104] LECUB I:15 (1199?).
[105] Immigrant *rutheni* had to be converted through Latin Baptism in order not to
create worries among converts (LECUB 55, 1222). This is the firm one-interpreta-
tion-principle of Rome; the Livs may have been drawn towards the less demand-
ing Orthodox side.

Henry at times showed that he disliked the Brethren's brutal ways, but even if this opinion was shared by his seniors in Riga, that cannot be the sole or even main reason for the struggle.

Benninghoven has shown that the person who organised the Brethren of the Sword was not Bishop Albert, but the Cistercian brother Theoderic, and that it had been constituted at a time when Albert was absent. The reason for the order's tense relationship with the bishop may not have been as simple as his disliking a creation that was not of his own making, but he was definitely not willing to tolerate it as an autonomous power which would demand compensation for the war machine that it provided. He might have liked them better if they had chosen to remain within his *familia*.[106] However, there could be other reasons for Albert's acceptance of the *fait accompli* with mixed feelings. According to Benninghoven, Theoderic may have acted with papal consent, even though the degree of papal involvement remains unclear: 'It will never become fully clear, from the sources we know now, whether Innocent himself in some secret audience had given the impulse to instigate a new knight order'.[107] In the proclamation for the crusade of 1204, however, Pope Innocent praised Bishop Albert for gathering an order for laymen following the rule of the Templars—i.e. the Brethren of the Sword—to fight against the Barbarians alongside the spiritual orders of Cistercians and Augustines.[108] Again the clever psychologist, but perhaps he was underestimating the problem.

It is possible that the main reason for the internal struggle among Europeanization agents reflected a pattern of controversy already encountered elsewhere, namely the differences in aim between agents of the core area and semi-periphery respectively.

As we have seen, Albert was the nephew of Archbishop Hartwig II of Bremen. He would have represented the interests of that North-German church province as long as his uncle lived, but then shifted

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[106] Benninghoven 1965 p. 53f.

[107] Benninghoven 1965 p. 44; LRC vv. 590–606.

[108] *tres religiosorum ordines, Cisterciencem videlicet monachorum et canonicorum regularium, qui, disciplinae insistentes pariter et doctrinae, spiritualibus armis contra bestas terrae pungent, et fidelium laicorum , qui sub templariorum habitu, barbaris infestantibus ibi novellam plantationem . . . resistant . . .* (LECUB 14; Benninghoven 1965 p. 39ff.). There is a certain similarity between these expressions and Innocent's reflections on splitting tendencies ca. 1199, which supports the idea that the pope may have been personally involved in the foundation of the order.

his ambitions to his great plan of establishing a Christian state in the East Baltic. The Brethren of the Sword on the other hand were recruited from an area of Germany that was much more involved in the core area development, an area *von Soest über Waldeck bis nach Kassel*, involving an entrepreneur like Bernhard zur Lippe and the Cistercian monastery of Marienfeld. Physical evidence of this connection has been pointed out in the trapezoidal urban foundations in Kokenhusen (Koknese), Wolmar and Fellin. According to Benninghoven, the order and Bernhard zur Lippe were the spiritual fathers of these Livonian so-called *Städte auf dem Schilde*, that were planned like Lippstadt and some other foundations in southwest Germany. In addition the first foundation of Riga was organized from small and middle-sized towns and cities in the church province of Bremen, whereas the influx of major long-distance merchants leading to quick urban growth was a later affair. As we found in Visby, these new burghers and trade guests were of a clearly more advanced category, with their footing in the European core area. The Brethren of the Sword developed a very intimate relationship with this group, to the extent that several merchants and people of bourgeois background were co-opted into the order.[109]

All this suggests that the German discovery of Lower Daugava was an affair of contradictory ambitions. A semi-peripheral one emerging from northwest Saxony was perhaps inspired by hopes of securing a more substantial church province for the see of Bremen, but was later more dedicated to organizing the young plantation as a Livonian state. This is not to classify Bishop Albert as a provincial. His competence and outlook were as good as anyone's at the time, but his aim was different. The Brethren of the Sword apparently represented the internationalism of the Catholic World-system, inspired by the papal wish to have one representation in the East Baltic mission field, appearing 'in a uniform and well considered costume'. Ideologically they sprang from the Cistercian tree; Bishop Bertold, Theoderic and Bernhard zur Lippe were all Cistercians. What has characterised core area representatives in several previous instances is their access to superior military technology, combined with a disinterest in making compromises. This may tell us why Henry of

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[109] Benninghoven 1965 pp. 44–51, p. 206ff.; Hucker 1993 pp. 55–73. cf. Christiansen 1980 p. 98.

Latvia was rather restrained in his affection for them; and as for the Livs—this was even less what they were prepared to accept.

'in matrimoniis contrahendis dispar est ritus Livonorum'

It appears that the clash between Catholic matrimonial regulations and the local marriage customs was an even greater danger to the enterprise, since the missionaries were up against nothing less than the indigenous family structure. The *ritus Livonorum in matrimoniis contrahendis* . . . 'Livic custom of entering matrimony', wrote Innocent III in his quoted letter, does not respect the canonical limitations on marriage *in consanguinitate vel affinitate* . . . 'in blood and in-law relationships':

> and they used to marry the widows of their brothers indiscriminately, (in order) to hold these back from the goods that they have been proposed, and none of them will believe (in Christ), unless you permit them to keep the widows of their brothers.[110]

Finding an understanding for this in Mosaic law, the pope allowed the habit for the time being, as well as marriages entered before baptism between relatives of the second and third degree. He also allowed new marriages to be entered from the fourth degree, until Christianity had settled more firmly.[111]

A couple of passages in the *Chronicon Livoniae* can serve as directly connected additional knowledge. Henry retells a story of the first neophyte, whom Brother Theoderic had managed to convert in the Thoreyda (Gauja) district in northwest Latvia. This Livic man had been wounded and had promised to undergo baptism if the missionary could cure him. The narrative develops in a lively spirit: *Frater autem herbas contundens nec tamen herbarum effectum sciens* . . . 'The (Cistercian) brother ground the herbs however without knowing their effect', while praying to the Lord and thus succeeding in his effort. This made another man who was ill (*infirmus*) ask for baptism. *Quem*

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[110] *et relictas fratrum indistincte sibi consueverint copulare, propter hos a bono proposito retrahantur, cum nec quidam eorum voluerint credere, nisi relictas fratrum eos pateremini renitere* (LECUB I:13).

[111] For blood and in-law relations in Mosaic law, see Mitterauer 1990 pp. 41–85. Cf. Sjöholm 1988 p. 112. When this letter was written, the canonical rule allowed marriage only from the 7th degree and beyond. At the Lateran Council of 1215 it was changed to the 4th degree.

mulierum proterva prohibet pertinacia a sancto proposito. . . . 'whom the obsti-
nate obduracy of the women hindered from fulfilling the holy inten-
tion'. However when his illness took a turn for the worse, *vincitur
muliebris incredulitas . . .* 'the false belief of the women was overthrown',
and the man was baptised before he died; upon which (the narra-
tive ends) another neophyte although seven (German) miles away
was able to see how his soul was taken to heaven by angels.[112]

The reference to female resistance indicates that the Cistercian
brother had tried to introduce canonical marriage rules as well; and
that the consequences for the women (it is not clear whether the
plural form indicates polygamy or some form of 'sisterly' support)
would be the loss of their nuptial gift. For the significance of the
problem, we may recall that the oldest peasant rights with their roots
in Livic law had the principle that a man taking a wife should hand
over all his property to her.[113] What Livic man would like to see his
sister-in-law walk away with all the property that belonged to the
family or clan, and what Livic woman would risk having a presti-
gious and economically safe marriage dissolved because of a creed
imposed by foreigners? This experience, perhaps with similar ones,
would have induced Theoderic to present the problem to the pope.
Canonical limitations which began to be articulated in Carolingian
lay society of the 9th and 10th centuries at first forbade intermar-
riage down to the seventh degree of kin; the Lateran Council of
1215 changed it to the fourth. As is pointed out in Innocent's let-
ter to Albert, *consanguinitas . . .* 'blood relation', and *affinitas . . .* 'in-law
relation', were counted alike. Re-marriage with a brother of her late
husband was thus considered as incestuous as if the woman had
married her own brother.

In his innovative discussion of incest and marriage, David Gaunt
underlines that rules of incest are culturally decided in the first place,
while worries regarding genetic damage have been exaggerated,

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[112] HCL I:10. See HCL XXVI:8 for an Estonian reference to the phenomenon,
connected to the 1223 insurrection. Cf. Bauer's commentary (1959 p. 7); Benninghoven
1965 p. 24. The latter's reference to HCL XXX:1 as a proof of Osilian polygamy,
bride-selling and bride-theft seems less relevant, since it deals with women captured
during a raid in Sweden.

[113] The translation of *bono proposito* is not entirely clear; but read in the perspec-
tive of LP 10 it could refer to the goods a husband had given the wife by the mar-
riage. The surviving brothers were then afraid that the widow might leave the
household together with the family goods of their defunct brother. See also Ch. III:4.

although they can cause problems in some situations. According to Elman Service, the taboo against in-and-in marriage arose long ago in the segmented society of bands, where the prime function of marriage was to establish alliances. To marry a close relative would be to marry into a band that was already one's ally. Alternatively, as Gaunt points out and as Christer Winberg reinforced later, an in-and-in marriage preference has much to do with family property strategies. This has been corroborated by these scholars with Swedish evidence from the Early Modern period.[114] The existence of a strategy similar to the latter alternative is clearly stated in the papal text, namely keeping within the family or group goods—*bonum* does not distinguish *immobilia* from *mobilia*—that the wife/widow had been given or promised upon entering the marriage.

The information on Livic marriage conveyed here has been commented on as a proof of the tactical flexibility of Innocent III,[115] but as far as I have seen, only in passing as an indication of the East Baltic family and gender system(s). However the custom of 'conserving' the widow[116] within the family into which she married, by having her re-marry to a brother of the deceased, is quite well-known to cultural anthropological scholarship under the name of levirate marriage. The reverse custom, called sorarate marriage, also exists. According to Service, the principle demonstrates 'the fact that primitive marriage is a form of alliance between groups rather than simply between the two persons who marry'.[117]

The conclusions drawn from LP (Chapter Three), Brother Theoderic's empirical evidence and Pope Innocent's letter don't necessary contradict Service's assessment, but at the same time they imply the existence of a pre-Christian matrimonial code which put a powerful sanction into the hands of women. This seems to stress property rather than alliance, but nothing prevents these from being two sides of the same coin; a woman may have entered marriage as a token of friendship between two clans, and the gift would further have

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[114] Gaunt 1983 pp. 211–241; cf. Service 1975 p. 62f.; Duby 1985 pp. 33–35; Winberg 1985 p. 40f.

[115] Brundage 1973 pp. 313–20; Nielsen 2000 p. 101f.

[116] The expression 'conserving the widow' is here used anachronistically. It belongs to Protestant times, when a junior priest could sometimes obtain a vicarage only by 'conserving' the widow of its previous holder.

[117] Service 1975 p. 63.

secured it, binding the husband firmly to her. We have already
received the impression that the Livs had a solid business-like atti-
tude in most of their doings.

As for family and kinship systems, my heuristic approach in Chapter
Three found many contradictory traces, which have been far too lit-
tle discussed in previous research. Discovery reports relating to Latgale
and Curonia respectively provided a peaceful, possibly matrilineal
'Latgalian' image with female-dominated agriculture, possibly of the
slash-and-burn type; and a warlike, clearly patrilineal Curonian image
with sedentary agriculture. Both however apparently showed a uni-
lineal type of family system. Comparing them to Kaupo's example
quoted above, it is worth noting that the word *cognatus* 'cognate' lit-
erally means a relative on either side, paternal as well as maternal.
This suggests yet another, bilateral, family system within three neigh-
bouring East Baltic regions. Whether Henry misunderstood or con-
cealed the true nature of Kaupo's entourage[118] or if bilateral and
unilineal family systems existed side by side in this east-west border
region remains an open question.[119]

   However, the custom of 'conserving' widows looks rather point-
less in a bilateral family in which the lineage group is diffuse and
constantly rearranged with every new marriage. Instead the levirate
marriage clearly suggests that we have encountered a form of uni-
lateral family system. In such a system, lineage tends to be more
clear-cut and the responsibilities much more collective. Unilateral
family systems may be either patrilineal or matrilineal. The phe-
nomenon that Innocent's letter describes may be patrilineal, in which

   [118] The expression *cognati et amici* might have been a formula to Henry, poten-
tially mirroring conditions in eastern Saxony from where he is thought to come.
Cf. the expression *societate et amicicia*, in Herbordi dialogus de vita s. Ottoni I:42. If
in its origin the family system of the hillforts had been unilateral the *amici* . . . 'friends,
allied' may have had the specific meaning of allies through exogamic marriage
alliances. For marriage as the basis of alliances, see Service 1975 pp. 61–63;
Hermanson 2000 pp. 9–12, 88ff. & passim.
   [119] Cf. Plakans' (1987 p. 173f.) comments on the 18th–19th century East European
demographic patterns such as 'low marriage ages, low rates of local population
turnover, and the remarkably high mean of co-residential group sizes that have
been found with great regularity.' However he finds that the East Baltic provinces
demonstrated great eclecticism: 'in the same community, household complexity could
be produced by lineal relatedness of married co-resident couples in some house-
holds, and affinal relatedness in others; such a mixture of principles evidently never
occurred in the Balkans.' For other examples of 'eclectic' family systems, see Ladurie
1982 pp. 43–73; cf. Hareven 1991 p. 101ff.

a woman marries into the clan of her husband and is able to leave it for her original lineage as a widow, if not re-married. This situation however does not comply with the statute in LP, where precaution is taken to hinder the male from leaving; this would be more compatible with a matrilineal alternative (or even a bilateral one). We clearly need additional knowledge to proceed, but there seems to be little of that, at least for a long time.

The conversion and implementation of canonical marriage rules in the East Baltic, which had begun magnanimously with a papal letter, obviously took time to mature. It may be exactly this moratorium which explains why most Livonian peasant rights do not have any rules at all regarding matrimony and inheritance. Apart from LP and KP, the two most traditional code texts, only the radically modernised one for Ösel-Wiek does. Should we believe that the indigenous subjects of Livonia didn't follow any rules in these very central human affairs? Probably not; it is likely that the 'natives' followed their traditional rules as far as they could.

The culture clash over matrimonial matters which the first missionaries brought into Balticum, and which Innocent III hoped to mollify by a tactical compromise until Christianity was better settled, arose again at a diet of 1422, when the various *Landesherren* had begun to cooperate more closely. Ordinary German vassals and rectors were ordered to introduce some elementary Catholic practices among their non-German subjects. In this text, three points are made about matrimony:

> (1) Men and women wishing to live together shall be married by the rector of their parish, before they begin *sich mit den anderen vorgadderen*, or at the latest 14 days afterwards, and they shall be observant of any eventual consanguinity or in-law relationship of the parties so that their wedding is not forbidden.

> (2) Any wedded man or woman is forbidden to leave the spouse, and if somebody does and escapes into another lordship, he shall be returned to his former one and to his betrothed; and if he has already wedded again, he (or she) has to pay with his (her) neck.

> (3) No non-German *wiiff edir maget* . . . 'wife or virgin' may be carried away by force; he who does so shall pay with his neck together with *alle synen medehulpern* . . . all his helpers.[120]

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[120] Akten und Recesse I:299.

These clauses clearly show the issues at this much later date. The first indicates that the indigenous people still made their marriage arrangements without involving the Church; the second that couples tended to dissolve without proper divorce, through repudiation or defection; the third that the problem of bride-seizure had been established. To what extent these customs may be seen as a marker of a lingering unilateral family system cannot be defined, because in the 15th century there was another social entity to consider: the feudal manor, involving a degree of serfdom and 'protection' respectively. However, the legislators foresaw that even women could break away, which connects to previous discussion of their economic autonomy.

   Even if the 1422 statute is a normative source, the behaviour it endeavours to regulate is so elementary from a Catholic standpoint that it suggests the conquerors had given up the idea of implementing the Catholic gender and lineage order until this time. This implies that these matters remained as dangerous to meddle with as they had been to the early missionaries. It offers a clear indication that we have found a central aspect of the indigenous survival strategy. Writing at the end of the 16th century, Balthasar Rüssow—a Protestant priest born in Reval (Tallinn), the son of an Estonian goods hauler—drew a scathing picture of 'the good old days' in Livonia. Nowhere was life lived more sinfully than here, he says. Matrimony did not exist. When a peasant's wife became old or ill, he cast her off and took a new one. If admonished, they might answer *es wäre eine alte Livländische Gewohnheit* . . . 'this would be a traditional Livonian custom'.[121]

However, the critics must have grossly misunderstood these customs. Surely the original intention had not been to cause anarchy. It is likely that what we have found is discovery reports describing indigenous people who tried to maintain their own social order, regardless of Catholic codes. The Latgalians, who provided the original instance for this discussion in Chapter Three, had a reputation for peace-loving humility and lived isolated in the forests. Also, Latvian women gave thirteenth-century Western observers the impression of behaving in an extraordinarily manly fashion. This was a significant

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[121] Rüssow [ed.] 1845 pp. 69ff., 71. On his family background, see Johansen 1996 p. 115ff., cf. pp. 234ff., 243ff. & passim.

detail, which made me look for additional information on the Livonian and particularly the Latvian gender systems.

Hypothetically, what I found suggests that women living under LP had fundamental responsibility for agriculture. This may correspond well with the slash-and-burn technique and the handful of traces found which might indicate a matrilineal system. In the present chapter we have encountered levirate marriage among the Livs, in which women again appeared in a strong economic position. These observations may to some extent be compatible with those regarding the Latgalians. In both cases the markers indicate a unilateral family system, but regarding the Livs the patrilineal alternative seems most likely.

Gradually, however, the functional reason for these unilateral marriage systems must have disappeared as their impact on lineage associations and property rights began to weaken in the Europeanized feudal world. The original indigenous customs may then have become disturbed or even distorted by the demands of Europeanized lords. The defection of men and women from their families, which Rüssow presented as an old *Gewohnheit*, was probably not a normal trait under the conditions for which the system was established. Europeanization may have succeeded in destroying the pre-European system without implementing a new one. This could explain the obvious social disorder among the non-Germans which the articles of 1422 tried to correct.

'egestatem adventus sui causam esse improperabant'

Livic frustration over tithes and rents is clear in Henry's text right from the beginning. It seems that neither the ardent missionaries nor the genius of Pope Innocent fully realized to what extent greed shown by Europeanization agents collided with the Livs' mentality and sense of justice.[122] The mirror that Henry directed towards Livic society has given me reason to characterise it as comparatively open, business-like and legally regulated. These traits connote trading societies and could be seen as markers of a situation similar to that found on Gotland. On the lower Daugava too, we shall have to look for processes of opinion-forming and decision-making among people who

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[122] HCL II:6, IV:4.

were already to some extent involved or even integrated with
Europeanization agents. Since vested interests were involved on both
sides, controversies tended to be guarded or even disguised, and ide-
ally searched for negotiated compromises.

Henry relates an anecdote that allows us to glimpse this market
culture at work. One spring in the 1190s, Bishop Meinhard had
begun to distrust his achievements and wanted to return to Gotland.
He departed from Yxkull to join the 'winter-sitting' merchants down
at Riga (not yet founded) who were preparing for departure. This
caused some worry among the Livs, who anticipated greater German
pressure if Meinhard was to leave. After discussions with the mer-
chants (*mercatorum concilio*), which to some degree dealt with the prob-
lem of raising an army, the bishop resolved to stay and returned up
the river, while the merchant fleet left for Gotland and Europe.
Entering Holme on his way back, he was drawn into new discus-
sion by the hypocrite inhabitants: *Ave rabbi, et quo precio sal aut wat-*
mal in Gothlandia comparetur, inquierunt[123] . . . 'Greetings Rabbi, and to
what price, they asked, are salt and *vadmal* (homespun) sold on
Gotland?'

Whether the Livic merchants really quoted the words with which
Judas betrayed Jesus can be doubted. If they did, it would testify to
Meinhard's pedagogical success, but Henry may have included the
words to accentuate the spirit in which the greetings were given.
However, in asking the typical questions of a trading community the
inhabitants of Holme were clearly heckling their bishop for his rather
obvious speedy return. A very central trait of a market culture would
be continued dialogue. Whether authentic or not, the anecdote indi-
cates that the inhabitants of Holme had understood the bishop's
game and were signalling what they thought about it to him. Even
if they teased their antagonist, this indicates that they were still in
favour of a peaceful solution.

To what extent are the fundamental values of Livic society revealed
to us through Henry's text? Can we isolate any principles that were
not negotiable?

We can begin by looking into one of the anecdotes emanating
from Bishop Theoderic. These tend to be livelier than other narra-

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[123] HCL I:11.

tives, suggesting that in his case Henry functioned more like a medium, faithfully reproducing the original story. As noted, Theoderic's first field had been Thoreyda, among the Gauja Livs. He was threatened with being sacrificed to their gods (*diis suis*) because his crops grew better than theirs, but in the end was saved by a judgement of God. Henry's style becomes very concentrated when relating: *Colligitur populus, voluntas deorum de immolatione sorte inquiritur. Ponitur lancea, calcat equus, pedem vite deputatum nutu Dei preponit . . .* 'People congregated, they asked the gods whether to sacrifice. A lance was put down, the horse went forward, and it started, due to God's wish, with the foot giving life'.[124] The ill will of the Gauja Livs who wanted to kill the missionary for having a better harvest[125] is given no particular explanation. Had pagan intolerance or jealousy infuriated them?

I doubt this; we have seen the Livs accepting Christians in their midst. To some extent this demonstrates a freedom of creed, limited of course by the structures of Livic culture, as the story of Theoderic seems to illustrate. I believe the chain of events which forms the narrative of Bishop Bertold reveals where the mental border lay. He came twice, the first time in peace (or rather reconnoitring), the second time leading an army.[126] He began his first visit by summoning to the church of Yxkull *meliores tam paganos quam christianos . . .* 'the better people, pagans as well as Christians', and offering them drinks, food and gifts, which at first they gratefully (*blande*) accepted. But later, when he was consecrating the Christian cemetery of Holme, the unpleasantness began. Some thought of burning him with the church, others plotted to strike him, others to drown him, *egestatem adventus sui causam esse improperabant . . .* 'accusing him, that poverty had been his reason for coming'. This, I think is clear enough language. The *quid pro quo* mentality of the Livs could not easily accept people who charged them fees for commodities they had not asked for.

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[124] HCL I:10.

[125] Another time, he was accused of eating up the sun, *propter eclipsim solis, que in die Iohannis baptiste fuit.* It was in the year 1191 that an eclipse occurred on Midsummer's Eve (June 23). But that was in Estonia, and we are not told anything more about this extraordinary incident.

[126] According to a papal letter (LECUB I:14) 'the Devil in awe that some of them have been Christianised, has inspired the pagans living around to annihilate these results, all Christians in Saxony and Westphalia to defend them, unless the heathens do not agree to peace. All pilgrimage may be directed to Livonia.'

Bertold's second visit resulted in his death on the battlefield. The
year was 1198, and the place was the great field on which Riga was
to be built. When the day was over, the crusaders were able to dic-
tate the conditions. The Livs of Holme and Yxkull *saccerdotes per cas-
tra suscipiunt* . . . 'had to accept priests in the castles' and promised
annone mensuram de quolibet aratro . . . 'a measure of corn from each *ard*'
for their support. This is again a clear statement that the contro-
versy had an economic aspect, which the Livs would rather wage
war against than accept.

Upon that, the crusaders went home. *Manent clerici, manet navis una
mercatorum* . . . 'The priests remained, one single merchant vessel
remained', Henry concludes, writing to show us innocent trust on
the German side, and a new build-up of tension from the side of
the deceitful Livs:

> Hardly had the wind caught the sails, when the perfidious Livs came
> running out of their *saunas* into the Daugava saying: We hereby remove
> the water received in baptism and thereby Christianity itself, using the
> river water. We thus leave the creed we had accepted, and send it
> after those who have left for Saxony.[127]

In the following lines another detail is given. According to Henry,
one of the returning Germans had cut a human face (*quasi caput
hominis*) into a tree. This, he says, the Livs took for the god of the
Saxons, and feared it would cause pestilence and shortage of water.
So they brewed their traditional mead which they drank together
(*cocto iuxta ritum medone combibentes*) and held a council at which it was
decided to build a raft. On this they put the head *cum fide chris-
tianorum post recedentes Gothlandiam per mare transmittunt* . . . 'and sent it
together with the Christian faith after the receding fleet over the sea
to Gotland'.[128] Beyond Henry's leanings, these scenes offer a glimpse

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[127] *Iam vela ventus depulit, et ecce perfidi Lyvones de balneis consuetis egressi Dune fluminis
aqua se perfundunt, dicentes: Hic iam baptismatis aquam cum ipsa christianitate removemus aqua
fluminis et fidem susceptam exfestucantes post Saxones recedentes transmittimus* (HCL II:8). The
custom of washing off Christian baptism was countermanded as late as in 1422;
see Akten und Recesse 299:1. cf. note 2, with references to older acts of prohibition.

[128] It may be that Henry has one or two details wrong in this description; it oc-
curred before his arrival. According to recent ethnological observations (e.g. Gottlund
1986 p. 233ff.) heads cut in trees, so-called *mieskwa* were pertinent to the inland-
Finnish cult. In the 12th century it may well have belonged to the Baltic Finnish
Livs as well, and the meaning of the act may thus have been totally the opposite.

of Livic spiritual culture, in the bathing and mead drinking which builds up a rather moderate form of ecstasy that never really leaves behind its rational *quid pro quo* mentality.

The few notions of ceremony and social rules we get from the early texts tell of a clearly pagan society in which collective eating, drinking and sauna baths played a part. Not much is said about Livic religion, but according to the papal letter they worshipped dumb animals, leaf trees, clear waters, green herbs and unclean spirits.[129] Henry also tells us that Thor was worshipped among the Finno-Ugrian tribes.[130]

These customs were distinctly different from those belonging to the Catholic World-system. The latter were conceived and formulated in the 11th and 12th centuries and constituted part of the ideological luggage brought by Europeanization agents to their respective frontiers. Thus it is more of an affirmation than a surprise to meet almost the same problem discussed in connection with seventh-century Anglo-Saxons in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Otto von Bamberg's preaching to the Vends in the 1120s, or an accusation against the Irish in Gerald of Wales' quite demonising discovery report of around 1185. 'They do not yet pay tithes or first fruits or contract marriages. They do not avoid incest.—Moreover, and this is surely a detestable thing, and contrary not only to the faith but to any feeling of honour—men in many places in Ireland, I shall not say marry, but rather debauch, the wives of their dead brothers.'[131]

The compromising Liv

The problem of why the East Baltic peoples failed to reach a compromise with the more aggressive Europeanization agents who began to fill up their trade ports around 1200 is shown in the fate of the one indigenous person who tried to secure it. His name was Kaupo, and he was clearly an aristocratic person, one of the leading men

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[129] LECUB I:13. This letter may be based on Theoderic's (and Kaupo's) personal reports to Innocent.

[130] Cf. Biezais 1975 pp. 323f., 341, 316ff. I think we can assume that the early missionaries used every opportunity to condemn the forms of Livic behaviour that they found improper, and that the Livs had begun to feel irritated.

[131] BEH I:27:5; Vita Prieflingensis II:21–22, Herbordi dialogus II:18; Giraldus Cambrensis Ch. 98. I am quoting the translation of O'Meara 1988 p. 106.

from the Livic region of Thoreyda, where he had at least two hill-forts under his command. Henry of Latvia once calls him *senior et quasi rex* . . . 'alderman and a kind of king'.[132]

This notable person enters the story under the auspices of Albert, third Bishop of Yxkull and founder of Riga. Shortly after his arrival and anxious for quick results, he invited the most prominent men among the Livs *ad potacionem* . . . 'to a drinking party'. All of a sudden, his guests—one of them Kaupo—found themselves locked in and blackmailed to leave around 30 of their sons as hostages to the bishop. They were forced to accede to this for fear of being taken to Germany themselves.[133] This was indeed a very different opening from Meinhard's. It was a *putsch* of extraordinary arrogance, which would at once have told the indigenous leaders that the new Christian bishop did not regard them as masters of their own land. The necessary precondition for success must have been that Germans were in control of the place where it happened, and that their ships were close at hand, which indicates that the incident was staged in the German quarters where Riga was soon to rise.[134] Later we are told of a son of Kaupo called Bertold, who thus bore the name of two prominent Europeanization agents: the bishop who first brought a Western army into the land of the Livs and a master of the Brethren of the Sword. Kaupo's son was a military man like his father, who fought and fell in Kaupo's own following, trying to avert an Estonian incursion into northern Livonian territory.[135] It might have been he who was sent as a hostage to the bishop and baptized as a member of his household.

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[132] HCL VII:3, cf. below. On his wealth and position, cf. Moora and Ligi 1970 pp. 35ff., 74ff.; Tõnisson 1974 p. 172f. Having written this text thanks to a remark by Lars Hermanson, I was made aware of an article by T.K. Nielsen (2000 pp. 89–111) in which Kaupo's fate is described. There it is presented as an example of how a series of pagan cultures over time succumbed to a violently expanding Christian Europe (p. 109). The article is erudite, but fails to problematise the missionary endeavour, and sees its progression very much the way Henry of Latvia saw it. It thus produces the unsuspicious statements on Albert's first aggressive period in Livonia; that it 'was characterised by great problems with the pagans living in the vicinity' (p. 94).

[133] HCL IV:5.

[134] The plausibility of this is further strengthened by the following paragraph, which describes how several Livs show the bishop the best site for founding a town (HCL IV:5).

[135] HCL XIV:8. On pagans changing names when baptised, cf. Moora and Ligi 1970 p. 85.

In the summer of 1203 Brother Theoderic, whom Henry depicts as a troubleshooter and activist for the Cause, was sent to report to the Holy Father in Rome, accompanied by Kaupo. Together they travelled through *magna parte Theutonia . . .* 'large parts of Germany' before arriving in Rome, where the missionary *apostolico exhibeat*—the words bluntly mean 'displayed to the pope'—his travelling companion.[136] We recall that Theoderic had done his early missionary field work in Thoreyda, where he must have lived under Kaupo's protection, or at least at his mercy. Now the roles had changed. However, Pope Innocent was very benevolent, *de statu gencium circa Livoniam existencium multa perquirens . . .* 'asking much about the conditions of the tribes that lived next to Livonia'. From this a later source was inspired to dramatise Kaupo's answers, which I have quoted above. Graciously the pope gave him 100 *aureos* (gold coins), while Theoderic was rewarded with a prestigious Bible copied by the beatified Pope Gregory's own hand.[137]

Theoderic's task was to report the outcome of the first crusades against the Livs, and the bewildered Kaupo was obviously presented as a token of its presumed success. From this we may get the impression that he was somehow representative; it is in this connection he is called *quasi rex*. To the historian, the scene has a strong presentiment of later colonial practice, in which captured chieftains were brought home as showpieces to royal European courts.

In September 1204, Brother Theoderic and Kaupo reappear in Henry's narrative, *a Roma redeuntes . . .* 'coming back from Rome'. They arrived with a fleet of three ships full of pilgrims (i.e. military volunteers), and when they disembarked, it was to find the newly-built city in full crisis. At last, the clash had begun.[138] In late winter the following year, the Livs were still making a vigorous effort to throw the Germans out, not least in Kaupo's own territory of Thoreyda. Henry relates an episode in which the dreaded Lithuanians were passing through the Livic lands, and were allowed in to take their quarters in Kaupo's own hillfort.[139] This implies that Kaupo's foothold among his own people was being undermined. We soon hear that he

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[136] More on this remarkable tour in Johansen 1955 pp. 103–5.
[137] HCL VII:3. The Bible would have been written by Gregory I.
[138] HCL VIII:2.
[139] HCL IX:1–3.

after coming home from Rome had become the most loyal person, and due to persecution from the Livs, he had taken refuge in the town, and lived among the Christians almost the entire year.[140]

Banking on a new alliance with the Semigalians, the Germans launched an expedition to Thoreyda in 1206. For this Kaupo was designated commander (*dux*). Thus he was returning to his native land heading a German army, the majority of whom were some 3000 Semigalians—arch-enemies of the Thoreyda Livs—under their prince (*princeps*) Vestard. Furthermore, directing half the strength against his closest neighbour at the aristocratic level, a *senior* called Dabrel, Kaupo set out to reconquer *castrum suum, in quo erant cognati et amici sui adhuc pagani* . . . 'his own hillfort, in which his relatives and friends lived, who were still pagans'. Seeing the approaching army, many of them fled into the forests and mountains nearby, but the Christians charged over the walls and got hold of and killed almost 50 of the defenders, upon which they took *res omnes et spolia multa*, and finally burned down this property of their commander. The defenders of the other hillfort were warned off by the smoke and stood out a day's siege, *comfortabat enim eos Dabrelus, senior ipsorum, et animabat* . . . 'since their alderman Dabrel inspired and cheered them up'. After this the entire host returned, plundering along their way, to a camp by Riga. Here the spoils were shared, after which the bishop discharged the Semigalians.[141]

In outline, Kaupo's participation in a campaign against his own homelands, as leader of a German-Semigalian joint venture, can hardly be doubted. It follows a quite credible inner logic,[142] and the references to local topography are entirely trustworthy.[143] Furthermore, by this time Henry had arrived in the country and his detailed description may well be that of an eyewitness. Even so, we may easily have second thoughts about it. Henry tells us all we need to know

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[140] *Nam ipse, postquam a Roma rediit, fidelissimus factus est et propter persecutionem Lyvonum in civitatem fugerat et mansit cum christianis fere per totum annum illum* (HCL X:10).

[141] HCL X:10.

[142] Turning against the self-appointed German leadership, the Livs gave their traditional competitors from Semigalia the chance not only to strike a blow against their neighbours, but also to rise in the esteem of the Germans, and for the latter to get a strong ally in an hour of need.

[143] Löwis of Menar and Bienemann 1912 p. 43ff.

to realise that Kaupo not only turned traitor against his own people, but even against his own *familia* and *clientela*, in the end leaving his own property to plunder by their traditional enemy. From the perspective of his Livic compatriots, Kaupo must have committed treachery.[144] With even greater justice he could have exclaimed, 'Is not the land that we devastate our land and the people that we conquer, our people?' as the Saxon vassals did during the Vendic crusade, according to Helmold (Chapter Four). Yet the *scriptor* leaves this information without any further remarks.

Thus the narrative is hard-boiled in the sense that we are given the outlines of a complete personal tragedy, total treason or sacrifice, without the slightest suggestion of how the reader should interpret it. Should it also be read in some other sense than the historical, perhaps as allegory or tropology? If so, to whom or what does it refer—Judas Iscariot or Jesus Christ? If so what of Dabrel's case, the only one in this context to which Henry gives a Biblical connotation?[145] After the German victory, Henry relates that the people of Thoreyda were accused of having deserted Kaupo, killing many, destroying his entire estate by fire, appropriating his arable fields, ruining his bee-trees and of having instigated war with the *Rigenses*.[146] Thus, Kaupo stands out as an archetype of deprivation through Europeanization. However, when Henry speaks of him, Kaupo is praised for his *fidelitas* and untiring efforts as a champion of Christianity,[147] so we can probably trust the author's words that it is *this* virtue which he wishes to make an image of.

Later in the story, we meet Kaupo again and again defending the northern parts of the Livonian lands, an undertaking to which he brings his own retinue, to which is usually added a general command

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[144] Moora and Ligi 1970 p. 50ff.; cf. e.g. ÖgL E 30; ÄVgL U § 4 and other Swedish provincial codes; see further KL s.v. Majestätsförbrytelse, P.-E. Wallén et al. However Moora and Ligi (1970 p. 81) point out that some of his followers may have converted with him, and that the action might have been a domestic showdown.

[145] First Book of Kings 4:9; in which a Philistine encourages his people to fight in order not to become servants of the Hebrews.

[146] HCL X:13. To this, Henry adds the strange commentary: *Unde pax eis denegatur; et merito, qui filii pacis esse nescientes, pacem omni tempore disturbabant . . .* 'Which is why they were denied peace, and justly so, because they didn't know how to be children of peace and always broke the peace'.

[147] So in 1217: *Caupo eciam fidelissimus, quia prelia Domini simul et expeditiones numquam neglexit* (HCL XXI:2).

over 'loyal Livs'. In 1210, *Caupo cum omnibus cognatis et amicis suis et Lyvonibus fidelibus*, when he came to the rescue of Riga, under siege by the Curonians.[148] Together with three others, one of whom was Dabrel, he was mentioned as *senior terris . . .* which may reflect a German attempt to institutionalise a Livic elite. In 1211 we hear of *Caupo cum Lyvonibus universis . . .* 'with all the Livs'.[149] This reveals that he had been re-established among his countrymen, and had made amends even with Dabrel, after the Germans had got the upper hand. A notice quoted above might indicate that his restitution among his countrymen was on the agenda at the peace negotiations of 1206. The reading conveys the impression that he was making a career of sorts, reaching the status of 'top of the Livs' according to German ranking in these years.

From the viewpoint of a survival strategy , it is interesting to find that in 1212, when a controversy broke out between the Brethren of the Sword and some local Latvians of Autine (over bee-trees that the latter claimed were stolen by members of the order), Kaupo was the Latvians' leader. The conflict escalated rapidly. An effort by the bishop at negotiation (*placitum*) failed, and the entire indigenous population of Latvians and Livs *inter se coniuraverunt et gladium calcatione coniurationem suam pagano more confirmaverunt . . .* 'swore a mutual oath which they confirmed according to pagan custom by touching swords'. Certainly, Henry was quick to add that Kaupo had loudly promised never to recede from Christianity and was only endeavouring to bring the cause to a happy ending with the bishop, but his hillfort was now burnt again one night—by the folk from Riga. This incident Henry passes over in obscure terms.[150]

After this, Henry makes no references to Kaupo for five years, until in 1217 a huge incursion of Estonians occurred. It was said to have been a gathering of 6000 men, who also expected aid from Russia. A mobilisation was needed, and all the military resources available on the German side came forward. What I find interesting is the way Kaupo is presented, as one of the most revered notables: Count Albert of Lauenburg mustered his knights and squires;

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[148] HCL XIV:5.
[149] His campaigns against the Estonians are mentioned in HCL XIV:10, XV:2,7 and XXI:2. The latter says that he never missed an expedition.
[150] HCL XVI:3.

the Master of the Sword's Brethren his; the Abbot of Dünamünde, Bernhard zur Lippe, and even the Dean of Riga headed their respective followers, and there were Livs, Latvians and *Caupo eciam fidelissimus*. This time the latter rode to his death, an incident to which the *scriptor* devoted a short chapter. In his last moments Kaupo sincerely confessed his Christian belief and died, *divisis primo bonis suis . . .* after having distributed his goods (not necessarily all his goods, as Bauer suggests) among the various churches of Livonia. According to Henry, the two most distinguished Germans, Count Albert and Abbot Bernhard, mourned him with the others. Henry concedes that his body was burnt according to pagan custom, but his bones were buried in (the church of) Cubbesele.[151]

I have not found Kaupo mentioned in any of the charters published in the *Liv- Esth- und Churländisches Urkundenbuch*, while many of the high-ranking Germans whom he met (according to Henry) occur where they ought to have been. The visit to Rome in the company of Theoderic would to some extent be confirmed by the Bible which Pope Innocent presented to the missionary. According to Bauer, the volume would have been preserved in the cathedral of Riga into the 16th century. However there is no mention of Kaupo there either, although he appears as an idealised convert-hero in Caesarius von Heisterbach's *Libri VIII miraculorum*[152] and in the *Älteren Livonischen Reimchronic* (the latter dependent on Henry). It is thought that his name is recalled in the place-name Cubbesele (Kipsal). There seems no real reason to doubt that we have a rough description of his external circumstances. The problem is in the finer lines of Henry's drawing: what might Kaupo's strategy have been?

Having considered the portrait of Kaupo in the HCL, I see foremost an indigenous warlord with a strong personal power position, due to his traditional command over relatives and friends; at the same time he was slightly more accomplished than his peers and may have been troubled by a sense of general responsibility for his people's future. Thus, he reacted rationally to Bishop Albert's atrocities, trying to enter negotiations with this aggressive Europeanization

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[151] HCL XXI:2–4. It seems that Kaupo's Christian loyalty was a precious thing to Henry, even if Kaupo himself had had second thoughts.

[152] Wirth-Poelchau 1984 pp. 481–98; cf. Gnegel-Waitschies 1958 p. 20; Nielsen 2000 pp. 103–05.

agent, probably using Theoderic as an intermediary. This in turn
led him to the journey through Germany to Rome, as the first per-
son at his level of society to see what the Livs were actually up
against. This is likely to have been one of the German aims in send-
ing him. Kaupo chose to continue along a difficult middle way,
which his countrymen clearly interpreted as high treason. Even after
his standing among them was restored, this must have remained a
shadow, and we can clearly read between Henry's lines that the
Germans hardly trusted him either. In the long run unable to main-
tain a balance, at the end of his life he sided with the Germans. It
is worth noting that two of the most prolific Balt-German noble
houses, Ungern-Sternberg and Lieven, later saw themselves as his
descendants.[153]

Perhaps like Starkodder by Saxo, Kaupo was a go-between; like
that purely fictitious saga character he was a rather tragic figure,
bound by his destiny. If his fate was a logical outcome of the unbal-
anced struggle between two different worlds, the role for which his
position to some extent predisposed him was not that of the saviour
of his country. If his portrait signifies anything, it would be the almost
unknown problem of Teutonification of the Livic *seniores*.[154]

The absent overlord

At the beginning of the chapter, Grand Prince Vladimir of Polotsk
appeared as a peripheral actor. When Meinhard disembarked on the
shores of the Daugava, this prince held some rights over the Livs.
Not only did they pay him tributes, but his supremacy was recog-
nised by the Germans, as Meinhard's first steps clearly testify. Before
establishing himself among the Livs, he journeyed to Polotsk to obtain
the formal consent of its ruler to establish a church in their terri-
tory.[155] I have previously compared the political ties between Polotsk,
the Livs, Latvians and other Daugava peoples, with those existing
between a Scandinavian king and his *skattlands*.

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[153] Tõnisson 1974 p. 172. The rich Balt-German genealogy has a fascinating field
here. Tõnisson however remains sceptical, and credits their results at most with *ein
Körnchen Wahrheit*.

[154] Cf. Moora and Ligi 1970 pp. 84–93.

[155] On Meinhard's motives for requesting Vladimir's permission, cf. Hellmann
1989b pp. 20–22.

Having obtained permission, Meinhard returned to the Livic lands. His next step was surprising; at least it must have been to the Grand Prince. The church that Meinhard began building was far from the *Kaufmannskirche* that was the most likely object of his petition. The building he erected at Yxkull was more of a fortress, with few equals on the Baltic Rim at that time. What he had told the Grand Prince we will never know, but quite soon he let his mask fall, demonstrating that his aim was nothing less than to convert the Livs to Catholicism. Within a few years the Yxkull church was elevated into a cathedral, since Meinhard had been promoted to episcopal dignity by Hartwig II. Pope Clement III ratified his elevation in September 1188.[156] The activities in and around the fortified church of Yxkull thus suddenly represented spiritual, material and potential territorial claims in the interests of the Church of Bremen, which as yet were probably quite vague, at least to the Livs and their Polotskian overlord.

The Polotskian position is further elucidated some years later when its ruler made efforts to restore his supremacy. In Bishop Albert's fifth year (1203), Henry tells us, the Grand Prince of Polotsk unexpectedly appeared with his army (*exercitus*) at Yxkull, whose 'unarmed' Livonian inhabitants promised *ei pecuniam daturos* . . . 'that they would give him money', which Vladimir accepted and continued down to Holme. There, the castle was manned by Germans who shot at his horses with crossbows so that the Russians *propter sagittas* . . . 'due to the arrows' couldn't go over to the island.[157] Even if Henry insinuates that the expedition was a surprise and the payment of money an extraordinary gesture, the measures undertaken by the Russians must have strongly resembled the way they had maintained their previous supremacy, particularly if the payment of tributes had fallen behind.[158] In fact they hadn't given it up at all, either formally or mentally.

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[156] LECUB 9,10.

[157] HCL VII:4. We are later (X:12) informed that the Russians *artem balistariam ignorant, arcuum consuetudinem habentes* (not knowing the technology of crossbows, had traditional bows).

[158] That the Polotskians were making a routine tax collecting tour is confirmed by ACS V:30: *rex Rucie de Plosceke de ipsis Livonibus quandoque tributum colligere consueverat, quod ei episcopus negabat* . . . 'the Russian king of Polotsk, now and then used to collect tributes from these Livs', cf. below.

This was made clear in 1206, when representatives of *senioribus Lyvonum* were detected in Polotsk by Theoderic, now abbot of the recently-founded abbey of Dunamünde and the bishop's emissary to the court of Polotsk. The Livs were clearly negotiating *ad expellendos Theuthonicos de Lyvonia . . .* 'to expel the Germans from Livonia', and Vladimir had agreed to send an armed levy (*expeditio*) on everything that could float with the spring flood (*impetu fluminis Dune*) to Riga. Having bribed a princely councillor to leak the story, and a poor man (perhaps a small-scale trader is indicated) from Holme to take a letter of warning to the bishop for half a mark of silver,[159] Theoderic confronted the Grand Prince. The latter changed tactics: *Remittitur abbas et cum eo Ruthenorum legati cum verbis pacificis diriguntur in dolo, ut auditis hinc inde partibus inter Lyvones et episcopum, quod iustum esset, decernerent et hoc ratum haberent. . . .* 'The abbot was sent back, and Russian spokesmen were sent with him, falsely using words of peace. These men would listen to the arguments of the Livs and of the bishop, and then decide what was right'.[160]

If we lay aside the bias, the story is that the Livonian *seniores*, acting as an institutional body, had sent representatives to complain to the lord of the land about how Christian mission was conducted. After all it was on *his* permission the Catholics had begun it. Bishop Albert, sensitive to danger, had sent his troubleshooter Theoderic in the same direction to take counter-action. The Grand Prince, however, emphatically demonstrated his royal supremacy by submitting the parties in the conflict to his delegated arbitrator.[161] This of course meant that he declared himself to be the sovereign of both parties. The first point to be made about the creation of Livonia is that it was not undertaken in a political vacuum; it did not bring multi-regional government into the East Baltic area as a novelty, but at the cost of a previously-existing preservative government. Whether its motives were pure and its outcome successful or not, the undertaking was fundamentally an act of aggression, a conquest.

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[159] HCL X:1–2. These items are remarkable since Theoderic claimed to have been robbed of the honorary gift of an armoured war horse (*dextrarium cum armatura*) sent by the bishop to the prince.

[160] HCL X:3.

[161] Henry says (HCL X:1) that the bishop intended to establish *amiciciam et familiaritatem Woldemari regis de Ploceke, quam antecessori suo Meynardo exhibuerat . . .* 'the friendship and familiarity that the king had shown his predecessor Meinhard'. Thus, the present prince was the one who had greeted the first German missionary two decades earlier.

The fatal rivalry

The Livs had been *familiaritate coniuncti* with the German merchants, they enjoyed freedom of customs should they choose to go to Lübeck, and they favoured Meinhard's building projects in Yxkull and Holme. The Semigalians had tried to destroy at least one of these buildings. As pointed out by Radiņš, the two castles he had built were closing Daugmale into a trap. When eventually the Livs tried to expel the Germans, however, the Semigalians sided with the latter. Henry of Latvia explains this as an inherited animosity against the Gauja Livs, but why not against the Livs as a whole? After all, they hadn't helped the Daugava Livs to get rid of the Germans either, although the Germans had blockaded their harbour. Did they blame the Livs for the blockade, or did they wish to win a position close to the Germans instead? For some time efforts were made at German-Semigalian cooperation, which were condemned as unsatisfactory later on, from a Christian point of view.[162]

How can we explain the indigenous peoples' reluctance to cooperate politically with each other? At its roots we may find the differences of ethnicity. Speaking completely unrelated languages, Livs and Semigalians surely saw in each other *the* Other. So did Livs and Latvians, with much less hatred, but the Livs and Semigalians were literally rivals; two nations trying to make use of their advantageous positions on either side of the lower Daugava, probably both at first under the protective umbrella of Polotsk. The German strategy was to make friends with the Livs, just as they had made friends with the Gotlanders a little earlier. The later Semigalian willingness to assist them in subduing the Livs may seem unimaginative but also indicates that, so far, involvement with the Germans might have looked enviable in the eyes of neighbours.

It is worth mentioning that neither Livs nor Semigalians are described as plunderers in the sources of the period. Even if there is much criticism of them in the texts of the conquerors, their profile is different from that of the Osilians and the Curonians, who were operating along the trade routes like Vikings, or the notorious Lithuanians who conducted yearly plundering raids as soon as winter made land communications easy. These observations make it

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[162] HCL XII:3.

meaningful to distinguish tentatively between passive trading peoples
and active plundering ones in Balticum.[163]

Overall we find in the Lower Daugava valley a situation similar to
that of Kalmarsund. There too, the king was largely absent, at least
until Birger Brosa was established as a viceroy of sorts from the coast
of Östergötland down to *Ölands södra udde* (the southern point of
Öland). There too, several nationalities appear as interested parties,
more or less as on the Daugava. The difference which arose with
the appearance of the Germans is also to some degree comparable
between the two areas. While the grand princes of Polotsk and the
kings of Sweden had good reason to create peace between their
dominions, to consolidate them and try to unite them into a more
state-like form, the German policy—also for good reasons—was to
favour one part, whether this was the independence of Ölanders and
Gotlanders from Sweden, or the Livs from Polotsk. This was done
at the cost of others, as the fury of the Semigalians illustrates.

We may conclude that the Daugava basin had been an interna-
tional market zone, with goods gathered from a wide inland area.
Christian merchants could attend—this is quite important to stress—
under certain conditions even before the German mission began.[164]
This underlines what previous scholarship has observed regarding
the physical rationalisation of many free trading places into one,
firmly controlled large town. There is an added mental distinction:
Europeanization in these cases cannot be seen primarily as an influx
of new technology, smart organisation and high culture, but as a
takeover of power. Technological, organisational and cultural factors
were clearly an asset to the Europeanization agents who were able
to establish a European polity at the outlet of the Daugava, and in
due course a European state to surround it, but the superior knowl-
edge was used—not introduced. In this there is little difference from
observations made in the Kalmarsund area and on Gotland. The
differences which exist, we find in the cultural contexts.

Before being Christianised and coming under a few aspects of
international law, these may have been considered insecure places

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[163] There is, as far as I know, little firm evidence in favour of Radiņš idea that
Semigalians were active traders. Why should they be, since people of many nations
were willing to come to the Daugava estuary?

[164] Mugurēvičs 1983 pp. 171–178. The Livs had nearly the same position as the
Gotlanders had in relation to the Svea king.

to visit, exposed to the whims of local potentates. In the Kalmarsund area and on Gotland, matters were regulated to some degree in the twelfth-century privileges. There might have been something similar on the lower Daugava as well, a 'Pax Polotskana' which maintained a fragile balance in the complex political situation in which several ethnic groups were competing. In the period surveyed here, the Polotskian overlordship was proven to be of limited importance. This would mean that foreign merchants were entering an environment where authority was less clear, but on the other hand, the scope for private political enterprise was considerably broader.

PART IV

TOWARDS A CONCLUSION

The Quest for Strategies of Survival

THE CATHOLIC WORLD-SYSTEM AND THE MAKING OF BALTIC RIM STATES.
POLITICAL AND NATIONALISTIC REACTIONS TO THE COMING OF EUROPE IN SWEDEN AND LIVONIA

1. *Network Interaction versus Territorial Nationalism*

The difference between the World-system explanation and the feudal one

The long 12th century was characterised by a growth process, an *A phase* to the economist. Everything was improving; slaves were freed and sent out into the woods to build their own homesteads, new technology was gradually paying off, and longer chains of exchange brought new and interesting products even to peasant cottages. In addition, peasants were glad to defend a stabilising monarchy which tried to rule by law rather than have all and sundry fighting each other, with petty chieftains raising resources by whatever means necessary. The mainstream explanation model that has been dominant from the 1970s through to the 1990s stresses local support production, appropriation, and the fear of and capacity for violence as driving forces.[1] Applying a World-system explanation to these and similar descriptions means that more weight is given to the moveable strata of society.

By confronting the moveable forces of society with land-controlling and coercive ones, we return to the discussion of dynamics between network and territory, or abstractly between win-win arrangements and the alternative of maximum appropriation by the strongest. We should not expect to find either of these principles in pure form, but as blends dominated by one or the other. The use of raw power has costs and risks which are different from those of conducting transactions in a market. In theory, both are to some extent exchangeable,

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[1] This perspective has its roots in Marxism (e.g. Anderson 1975 p. 18ff.), yet it is widespread among authorities of various convictions, such as Duby, Bois and Tilly.

approachable as they are by cost-benefit type analyses. I believe recent research has been too focused on the coercion alternative; medieval power holders—whether feudal or commercial—may after all have understood the wisdom of 'not killing the goose that lays the golden eggs'.

My theoretical picture, called the Catholic World-system, presumes that the long 12th century European core area involved its peripheries in a system of spatial division of labour. The core area elites may not have known that this was their objective, but they were certainly aware of their superiority in theology, jurisdiction, urban and land-use organisation as well as in technological matters, which they intended to trade dearly for raw materials and semi-manufactured commodities produced for next to nothing in the peripheries. In concrete terms they were building up two international systems, *ecclesia* and *mercatura*, which penetrated the borders of existing Christian polities, and continued expanding centrifugally. Unlike the hitherto omnipotent empires, their dominance was *in principal* achieved without the active use of violence, due to the unifying and organising endeavours of the Reform Papacy in close cooperation with the centralised religious orders, and the emerging networks of towns and cities forming a functioning commodity market.

According to the model, these two trans-national systems emerged together and the expansion of their respective networks was intertwined. The regional analyses above have confirmed a connection between these two dimensions that was more than occasional. Together they were to cover a multinational area that stretched far beyond any empire in this part of the world.

Feedback from the regional experience

Contrary to the choice of a macro-level theory, my socio-economic analyses so far have been applied to the lowest meaningful spatial level, that of regions. Only there can the scanty sources be brought together and confronted with geographical realities in an intensive discussion of *histoire totale*. Only there can a detailed hypothesis of actual development be launched to match the model. Of course there is no question of testing the model as such, only of testing whether it provides a plausible explanation for the sources we possess.

The detailed studies in Chapters Six–Eight of the Kalmarsund area, Gotland and the Daugava valley have shown a strong yet irreg-

ular advance of Europeanization on the Baltic Rim during the long 12th century:

- a general confrontation in the 1120/40s, along the trading routes and elsewhere, between the traditional power holders and indigenous Europeanization agents, which seriously disturbed all the previously existing multi-regional polities;
- a second round around the 1160/70s featuring the competition between two fairly harshly centralised states, Henry the Lion's Saxony and Valdemar I's Denmark;
- a third round gradually developing from the spectacular fall of Henry the Lion in 1181, apparently leaving Denmark in unchallenged dominance. In fact the German impact grew continuously, due to an influx of merchants from the core area parts of western Germany, and to missionary activities channelled through the Church of Bremen.

Over the entire period a new urban network was laid out which on the continent had its roots as far back as Cologne and Soest. It was channelled via Schleswig at first and later Lübeck, towards the Danish isles and Kalmarsund, Gotland and Novgorod or Livonia, later also spreading along the Vendic and Swedish coasts. This is to say that the Europeanization agents, rather than challenging the old kingdoms of the North, basically searched for a way to circumvent them by establishing their bases in the peripheral outskirts of these realms.

In the *Kalmarsund* area, the first two of these Europeanization waves were felt as a series of clashes between advancing agents of the New system and defenders of the Old. So far most were natives of the Baltic Rim; not so thoroughly reformed Catholics as well as quite syncretistic (hence tolerant) Christians and more or less tolerant pagans on both sides. After the destruction of Vendic society in the 1140/60s, East-Baltic Osilians and Curonians appeared as relatively non-compromising opponents. The Swedish impact remained weak around Kalmarsund, and a few signs indicate that the locals enjoyed growing prosperity and rising independence as a consequence. This is even more obvious in the case of *Gotland*; after some initial skirmishes, the Gotlanders found a way to balance the various foreign influences and integrate them with their own cherished constitutions. As for the *Daugava valley*; very little can be said before the 1180s, when the German element appeared in a combined mercantile and missionary approach and the area suddenly became enlightened by

the most detailed written source material of the three regions. From 1200 onwards we also obtain pictures from other East-Baltic tribes. In these territories—*Latgalia* and *Curonia* were my examples in Chapter Three—we seem to meet an entirely different world, which offers impressions of more pristine, segmented societies and chiefdoms.

The third wave of Europeanization, carried by merchants and missionaries, was clearly the fruit of a coordination of Christian powers, thus answering beautifully to the Catholic World-system model. Without the existence of such a system, the comparatively poorly-defended activities couldn't have been established at all. After a couple of decades the missionaries in particular felt that they had not achieved very much. According to their rhetoric, the indigenous peoples were untrustworthy, and hence paganism became a super-ordained issue. In fact the Livs in particular were actively trying to adjust their very matter-of-fact and business-like culture to the new situation at their own pace, when suddenly they were overrun by this new phase of Europeanization, specifically the crusades which began in the last years of the 12th century. The operational alliance between the Papal Curia and broad social layers within the Roman-German Empire, and the acceptance of it by the Scandinavians, marks it very clearly as a World-system project. Even if the Catholic World-system did not basically depend on military conquest, it could resort to the use of violence, particularly when ideologically motivated and canonically sanctioned.

Unlike the original World-system model, my Catholic application is provided with a double perspective which also accounts for the survival strategies which had to be developed at the receiving end of the process. Using a simple rationalisation I reduced them to two main groups, conceptualised as nationalism and ethnification. I also saw a possible model application, combining these concepts with the concentric disposition of World-systems. Nationalism tended to be a natural reaction in the establishing kingdoms of the semi-periphery, where personal relations, mutual economic involvement and political projects among the limited elites tended to overlap. A strengthening of ethnicity might be a natural reaction among the smaller segmented or chiefdom societies that theoretically would be found in the full periphery.

The regional analyses have clearly confirmed that the survival strategies are vital objects of study in this context. However the case

studies show that revitalisation of ethnicity was far from an early option. The first regions to be 'discovered', such as the Kalmarsund area, Gotland and Livonia, were attracted by the greater independence and rising opportunities that advancing Europe brought them. These three were threaded like beads on the necklace of the Golden Diagonal sea route, which (as I have tried to show) was largely opened to foreigners through strategies resembling a revolution. To some degree and for a fairly short period of time these areas were 'liberated' from the previously dominant multi-regional polities to which they had been tributary lands. The advancing agents of Europeanization were prudent enough not to challenge the old Viking Age kingdoms too explicitly, but instead to associate with their subordinates, the *skattlands* which in some cases could do well on their own. This eventually puts the focus on the preservative kingdoms that had emerged out of the Viking Age. What did Europeanization do to them?

Europeanization and the making of states and nations: the cases of Sweden and Livonia

Above, I have briefly sketched the transformations leading to centralised statehood in Saxony and Denmark, together with the failed effort to do so among the Vends. The case studies of the Kalmarsund area and Gotland have shown glimpses of a Sweden more or less falling apart in the 1120–40s, but gradually recovering through a sort of nationalistic reaction; this of course was quite different from nationalism of the post-French-revolution era. The establishment of Sveabod on the southern tip of Öland is but one of the scattered markers of such a reaction. The Gotlandic development demonstrated a gradual strengthening on the one hand of *Deutschtum* (Germanness), and a Gotlandic national feeling or ethnicity on the other, which ended in a civil war. The case study of the Daugava valley revealed a similar process, where 'liberation' from previous political entanglements through a concentrated series of events turned into a German-Livonian clash, and eventually to the creation of the crusader state of Livonia.

In this chapter I shall, again departing from narrative sources, focus on Europeanization and the subsequent *change qualitative* it caused in political and constitutional matters.

In the case of Sweden the search for national-level discovery reports will begin with Adam of Bremen, in Livonia from Henry of Latvia. These two authors worked at the extreme ends of the long 12th century, but both treated the indigenous political system from the perspective of approaching Europe, since both had insight into the way central decisions were made. They are thus discovery reports in a gathered form, like reports acquired at headquarters. Other *scriptores* will be quoted too, as will less eloquent sources in the quest for additional knowledge.

2. *Adam of Bremen and the Making of Sweden 1050–1200*

A kingdom beyond the horizon

Adam's *Gesta Hammaburgensis Pontificarum* is an exploration undertaken by a schoolmaster at his desk, putting together small pieces of evidence which he came across by talking to people who had been there, by reading their reports to the archbishop, consulting the classic authorities, and organising it all to support the interests of the institution which he served.

The title of his work refers to Ansgar's foundation of a missionary-bishop's see in Hamburg in the 9th century. At the same time it is an indication of intent: in reality it was the Church of Bremen that took up long-forgotten ambitions connected with the name of the other city, to spread Christianity in the North.[2] It seems beyond doubt that the *Gesta* was written with political intent in a period when Pope Gregory VII was threatening to create a separate Scandinavian church province. Adam greatly over-stresses the importance of German mission. In fact the Scandinavians were to a large extent already Christianised, due to contacts with Russia, England and even with the Lotharingian reform movement. Adam's book is largely a pamphlet in the investiture struggle, written on behalf of

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[2] On April 24, 1047, Pope Clement II corroborated the supremacy of Bremen over *episcopos in omnibus gentibus Sueonum [seu Danorum nec] non eciam in illis partibus quae sunt [a merid]ionali Albiae usque ad fluvium Pene et ad fluvium Egidose' (DD I:1 492)*. On January 6, 1053, these privileges were improved considerably by Pope Leo IX *'episcopos in omnibus gentibus Sueonum seu Danorum, Noruuechorum, Islant, Scrideuinnum, Gronlant et universarum septentionalium nationum nec not etiam in illis partibus Sclauorum etc.* (DD I:2 1). On October 29, 1055, these were confirmed by Pope Victor II (DD I:2 2).

his two consecutive chiefs, the notorious Archbishop Adalbert and his successor, the more serene Liemar, who was the very worthy spokesman of the imperial church policy.[3] We need to bear these political motives in mind while reading Adam's text. They provide a source critical warning, as well as a key to its interpretation, and we should be grateful, since they are also the reason Adam decided to write his *Gesta*.

Among many things he was to 'discover' a kingdom which, he says, covered the entire 'northern shore' of the Baltic. Stray rumours of it had occasionally transpired, but he was the first to give a more systematic description. He calls the country *Sueonia* (with varieties of spelling), but he also uses the form *Suedia*, which seems to carry a wider meaning. The current interpretation is that Sueonia stands for the *Svear* in the proper exclusive sense—the lands or *landskap* surrounding Lake Mälaren, whereas Suedia represents the commonwealth of other tribes or lands that somehow belonged to it, among which Adam particularly features the *Gothi* (*Götar*). Suedia is the form that will filter into other vernacular languages, as Schweden, Sweden, la Suède.[4]

The actual description of Sweden is concentrated in ten chapters of Book IV. Adam indicates that Svend Estridsen was a chief source, and he quotes the king of the Danes directly, claiming that he (Svend) had learnt the great width of the country the hard way, serving for twelve years in the retinue of King Anund-Jacob. It takes two months to pass through it, the Danish king said. Later Adam mentions another main source, Bishop Adalvard the younger, who had been appointed to Sigtuna; failing to get established there, he withdrew to Skara, from where he was called back to Bremen for having violated canonical law.[5] Thus we can judge that Adam had quite good sources for knowledge of his subject.

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[3] H. Janson 1998 pp. 31ff., 49ff., 105ff.

[4] Nyberg 1984 pp. 312–23; Körner 1992 pp. 53–59; H. Janson 1998 pp. 108ff., 113ff., 119ff., 304ff.; Sundqvist 2000 pp. 61–65. Hallencreutz (1993 p. 44f.) however suggests that Sueonia stands for the mythical pagan realm centred at Uppsala, while Suedia represents the emerging Christian nation. Generally on Adam's geographical understanding of the Baltic Rim, see e.g. Nyberg 1984 p. 308ff., Nyberg 1986 p. 24ff.; Ambrosiani 1985; Søndergaard 2001 p. 56ff. On the integration of the Götalands, cf. Andrae 1960 p. 114f.; Lindkvist 1988 pp. 15–25.

[5] DS 22; Smedberg 1983 p. 60f.; H. Janson 1998 pp. 108–110, 119ff.

A first reading of the ten chapters brings descriptions of the country's wealth—the arable soil, the advantages for animal husbandry, the rivers and forests. Turning to the inhabitants, it tells of their simplicity in spite of riches, dwelling on their deplorable polygamy and lack of proper, i.e. Catholic, marriage, yet with stern laws against adultery, rape and plunder. It tells of great hospitality towards travellers and of open minds: even bishops were allowed to attend their diets called *warph*. The Swedes were furthermore said to be great warriors on horseback and at sea, and Adam reports that they tended to dominate their neighbours. The kings were of ancient lineage, yet their power depended on the will of the people. Thus they rejoiced in being equal at home, but going to war they obeyed the king or whoever the king had sent to lead them. The Swedes, Adam was glad to report, had by collective decision declared the Christian God to be stronger and more stable than others.[6]

These characteristics are followed by a survey which mentions the diocese of Skara, whose traditions went back to the beginning of the 11th century, when the first Christian king Olof Skötkonung—wishing to remain Christian—had settled in Västergötland. In those early days the Skara bishop's field of activities included Östergötland, Finnveden and Värmland. Adam also thought he saw a diocese over the famous Saami, in Hälsingland.[7] The last five chapters contain what was to become particularly famous; Adam's description of the pagan ritual said to be still conducted at Uppsala, and Adalvard's plot to destroy the facilities there, which King Stenkil averted with diplomacy.[8]

In brief, this is how the country is featured in the chapters which claim to be a presentation. Other information is hidden elsewhere in the text, but this must be what Adam particularly wished to pre-

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[6] ABG IV:21, 22.

[7] ABG IV:23–25; cf. Nyberg 1984 pp. 314–17; H. Janson 1998 pp. 113ff., 119–29. The provinces mentioned are Västergötland and Östergötland. Adam refers to their population as *occidentales* and *orientales* respectively and to the regions as *Westragothia* and *Ostrogothia*. Other mentioned 'tribes' are *wermilani*, and *finnedi*. All four belonged to the church of Skara; the *skridfinnar* (Saami) belonging to *Hälsingland*. A missionary bishop had been sent to them, from which Adam draws the optimistic conclusion that they had also been Christianised (which actually took until the early modern period). From ancient authorities he quotes the Rhipean mountains, where Amazons, Dogheads, Cyclopes etc. live. He also mentions in passing three *civitates*: Birka, Skara, and Sigtuna. For the events at Sigtuna, cf. DS 22.

[8] ABG IV:26–30.

sent, the actual 'geography'. I shall not dwell on the source critical aspects, which are well known and quite obvious.[9] Adam highlights what the mission of Bremen has achieved, what its representatives tried to achieve but unfortunately failed in, and the threat which thus remains at Uppsala, which is only a day's journey from Sigtuna, as he is well-informed enough to tell us (actually 40–50 kms, depending on which road you choose). If we set aside the interesting details about Sigtuna and Uppsala, this is obviously not much of a description of Sueonia. It is far more a survey of those other parts of Suedia where the Church of Bremen claimed some success. Adam's geography of Sweden proves to be a vision of what he wished to see. Whether the stereotypical characterisations of land and people have much value is difficult to assess. Much of it may be as true as such generalisations can be, but some traits certainly seem to be idealised, in the old tradition of contrasting primitive purity among potential converts with our own people's ruin by culture.

Some related knowledge

There is little point in trying to assess whether Adam's generalisations are good or bad in stressing, say, the role of animal husbandry, the degree of democracy or relative military strength. There is, of course, a huge body of archaeological material to take into account, in addition to a broad, ongoing discussion on these and related problems. This mainly seems to prove that the material remains too small to allow the problems to be settled effectively.[10] Since the matter would fill a book of its own, I will limit my present task to an investigation of what picture Adam actually made for himself, and what part of it he wished to convey. This can be done by putting his picture into the perspective of other 'geographies'.

One source in particular invites comparison: the nutshell geography of Sweden presented in *Heimskringla*, written around 1225–30 by Snorri Sturluson, who had visited Sweden in 1219. Snorri's description is found in two 'excursuses', a rather brief one in the *Ynglingasaga*, and the fuller version in the *Olaf's saga*. The former tries to sketch

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[9] H. Janson 1998 p. 169ff.
[10] I refer to Hyenstrand's (1996) and Hagerman's (1996) books, as examples of the breadth a full discussion of the problem would require.

the pre-historical situation of the period in which the described events belong, but the latter is written from a contemporary perspective, remarking on the central position of Uppsala in past heathen times. The main *blot* (sacrifice) for the king's peace and victory had been held there, in connection with *þing allra Svia . . .* the diet of all Svear, and a week-long market. To this gathering 'they come from the entire country',[11] Snorri continues, adding that the diet and the market remained, slightly modified, when Christianity was introduced.

From this, he enters on a broad survey of all the regions of Sweden, beginning with Västergötland, on which he possesses excellent information. He goes on to explain the features of each diocese. Like Adam, Snorri distinguishes between the regions around Mälaren, *Sviþióð* itself, and the *Sviaveldi*, signifying the entire realm. During this survey, he returns to Uppsala's position a second time (indicating undigested influences from another source) stating that it is 'the site of the king's chair', and 'the archbishop's chair', and from it derives the name of the king's domain, which 'they' call *Uppsala öd*. After having carefully painted this background, he stages the scene of a *þing* at Uppsala, in which an arrogant king is shown the will of the people by their spokesman, the idealised hero law-speaker Torgny, whom I have already quoted.[12]

Erland Hjärne points out that this survey specifically reflects the situation of 1164–70, suggesting that Snorri, true to habit, probably just slightly revised a written source similar to the letter founding the Swedish church province presented in Sens, August 5, 1164, which probably emanated from the new archiepiscopal see at Uppsala itself. He used other written sources as well, and during his 1219 visit had had the opportunity to discuss their content with educated contemporary Swedes.[13]

Taking into account that Snorri presents a picture on two time-levels, there are remarkable similarities to Adam's description. Both

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[11] *soekja þeir—um alt land.*

[12] Heimskringla, Ynglingasaga K. 33–34; cf. 36–45; Ól. Helg. K. 77, 80. On the transition of Uppsala from pagan to Christian centrality, see below.

[13] Hjärne 1952 p. 103ff. Snorri's ambivalence as to whether Uppsala was a royal see or had ceased to be one supports the hypothesis that he has drawn from written sources. In fact, the kings' see at Uppsala was dissolved in successive donations to the archbishopric and the chapter, the last of which was concluded in 1200, cf. Rahmqvist 1986 p. 261ff. For an interpretation of lawman Torgny's speech, see above Ch. IV:2.

present Sweden as a divided realm, consisting of an enlightened, Christian and 'modern' Götaland, and a 'traditional' pagan land of the Svear—although Snorri has a greater fascination with its 'democratic', constitutional traits. Both present Uppsala as its centre, and Snorri's description of the pagan meeting does not conflict in any way with Adam's, other than his personal attitude towards it. The difference is that Christianity had made considerable advances since 1075. Snorri can tell of no less than three new dioceses in the Mälar valley, a definite sign that the entire kingdom was won for Europe. Another difference is that Snorri is able (or willing) to present a fuller and more detailed administrative-geographic description. However there is no reason to believe that Adam's more nebulous description refers to a much smaller or very differently structured territory.

Both these aspects can be compared to the earliest administrative description of the *civitates* and the *Nomina insularum de regno Sueuorum*, a catalogue of 'cities' (bishoprics) and 'islands' (regions) in the Swedish kingdom, known in medievalist discourse as 'the Florence document'.[14]

This Florence list was introduced to Scandinavian research in the early 20th century and has been much discussed since. Its position is to a large extent clarified by a series of studies which appeared around 1960: it is no 'document' and has no legal status, but constitutes a survey of some sort; a list of papal income sources, a simple geographic handbook, or (as Wolfgang Seegrün suggests) an overview of a *Primat*. The preserved version was written by a scribe associated with Pope Calixt II (1119–24). It was probably written in connection with the First Lateran Council in 1123, when Archbishop Adalbero of Hamburg-Bremen raised the question of Hamburg's rights to Scandinavia. Adalbero's approach was a prompt reaction to the Concordat of Worms in 1122, which had reconciled the German *Reichskirche* with the papacy. A Saxon source relates that Pope Calixt during *bonae conversationis . . .* 'a pleasant conversation' had spontaneously ordained a *clericus* in Adalbero's company to a bishopric over the Swedes. According to Kumlien, this lucky man in the right place at the right time was a certain Siward, who later styled

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[14] The 'document'—Codex Ashburnham 1554f. 77v, 78r, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence. For a good description of it, see Kumlien 1962 pp. 263–69 (with facsimile photographs).

himself 'Bishop of Uppsala'. Kumlien saw in him the original author of 'the Florence document'.[15]

The list of provinces is as detailed and competent as Snorri's, stretching from Värend (Guarandia) in the south to Hälsingland (Helsingia) in the north, from Värmland (Guarmelande) and Väster-götland (Gothica occidentalis) in the west, to Gotland (Guthlandia), Finland (Findia) and Estonia (Hestia) in the east—all according to the mainstream identification of the names. The noteworthy difference to Adam is its detailed survey of the Svea region. This is stressed even more in the list of *civitates*, which presents no less than four bishoprics around Mälaren (Eskilstuna, Strängnäs, Sigtuna and (Väster) Aros.[16] On top of that, there was Siward, the newly-appointed Bishop of Uppsala. Even if Sigtuna and Eskilstuna were soon to disappear as bishoprics, we can understand that the transformation of pagan Uppsala into an archbishopric must have been a bit more complicated than Snorri suggests.

My point is that the discoveries reported by the Bremensian *magister* Adam around 1075 and the Icelander Snorri around 1225 describe a relatively unaltered political and social system, in which however Christianity had clearly been able to expand its position and replace the paganism of Uppsala with an independent archbishopric. Even if we make allowances for Adam being an eager modernist who preferred to write about the successful spread of Christianity and its remaining challenges, and for Snorri being a stern conservative who idealised the backward (decentralised) elements in the Swedish constitution which he wished to promote, this still testifies to a remarkable consistency. What is more, many of these characteristics—the popular democracy, the weak, politicised kingship, the loyalty in *ledung* and warfare—were already there in the fragmentary picture of the Svear in the 9th century which can be put together from *Vita Anskarii* and King Alfred's *Orosius*.

The reasonable compatibility of Adam's and Snorri's versions, written at the opposite extremes of the long 12th century with the Florence document in between clarifying their differences, forms a

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[15] Kumlien 1962 p. 284ff.; Seegrün 1967 p. 134.
[16] Johansen 1951 p. 88f.; Gallén 1958; Palmqvist 1961, Kumlien 1962, cf. Hallencreutz 1996. From H. Andersson (1971 pp. 21–23, 125–28) we may conclude that *civitates* means episcopal sees.

fairly solid basis for interpreting Sweden as a slowly-developing, conservative and historically-rooted, powerful and robustly-governed freemen's democracy, which confirmed itself through the *blot* cult held at the ancient *hov* at Uppsala; and into which Christianity had to sneak on foot from Västergötland. At least one might think so.

Some historiography

After being hotly debated by early twentieth-century scholars, the above description became the settled synthesis by the middle of the century. In pre-historic times the *Svearike* had formed itself around Mälaren, in which Birka was a focal point. Later Birka was to some degree replaced by the Christian proto-capital of Sigtuna. It is not really known when and by what methods the realm grew, but it involved first the Göta lands and then Norrland. A series of crusades in the 12th and 13th centuries rounded it all off by adding Finland.[17]

Around 1980 the basis for these conclusions began to be questioned. Did twelfth- and thirteenth-century Sweden after all constitute a socio-economic system; were the activities more integrated within its borders, than with any other area? C.G. Andrae studied the aspects of grain measures and details of monetarisation and concluded that the realm could not have been brought about by market forces. Later Henrik Klackenberg confirmed that such an aim would hardly have been within reach, but that the monetarisation process worked gradually in this direction. By 1300 some unification had been achieved.[18]

A radically new picture was then presented by Thomas Lindkvist, Bibi and Peter Sawyer, Åke Hyenstrand and Maja Hagerman, to mention some leading names. Leaving out different shadings of opinion, these scholars all underline the ephemeral, rather disorganised nature of Sweden before 1250. It is seen as a later developer than its Scandinavian neighbours, and they imagine a society of petty kings or chieftains rather than a kingdom. Not until Knut Eriksson (1167–95) would an element of central control have been established,

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[17] For the mid twentieth-century consensus, see Rosén 1962 pp. 85–102, 115ff., 184ff. with ample further references. A fine effort to capture the entire twentieth-century historiography in brief is made by Hyenstrand (1996 pp. 9–20).

[18] Andrae 1985; Klackenberg 1992.

and only with Jarl Birger II (ca. 1247–66) is the outline of a state seen, where a ruling class organised a system of internal acquisition (as Lindkvist would have it). Only then did Sweden begin to qualify as a European state, the eventual success of which he puts as late as 1320.[19]

Many of these scholars also tend to say that *Götaland* was the birthplace from which the *Svearike* was born. Going particularly far in that direction, the Sawyers suggest that the eleventh- and twelfth-century kings were chiefly Götar and that Sigtuna functioned as a bridgehead for the control of the Mälar valley. Peter Sawyer argues that this may have been following a form of agreement with the Svea chiefs, who would rather have had an outsider as their king than concede higher rank to one among themselves.[20] The Svear continued to be divided between Christianity and paganism, which in Sawyer's view undermines the idea of a united kingship with the Götar in the 11th century; there was possibly some overlord domination, but no efficient royal power. Another of the Sawyers' ideas is a vision of dominant Danish influence, raising a barrier against the expansionism of the Götar in the southwest, and causing them to expand towards the Svear instead.[21] Departing from a chiefdom society, in which some form of unstable kingship had begun in the 11th century, this new explanation model outlines an elite of political entrepreneurs in Götaland who—under the auspices of what is here called Europeanization—took the transformation into their own hands.

However, the re-evaluations have presented us with a new problem: if Götaland was the birthplace, what were the Svear, and why was the end result a *Svearike*? The new interpretation has rather too hastily disposed of many circumstances that directly contradict the idea of Götaland's dominance.[22] The recent works of Henrik Janson and Olof Sundqvist are particularly devoted to aspects of this problem,

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[19] Sawyer 1985a, 1991; Sawyer and Sawyer 1993 p. 59f.; Lindkvist 1988, 1998 pp. 292–303; Hagerman 1996; H. Janson 1998; Sundqvist 2000; Löfwing 2001.

[20] We shall see below that Saxo Grammaticus claims the opposite.

[21] Sawyer 1991 p. 46ff. & passim. Löfving 2001 goes even further, chiefly on theoretical considerations. His work came to my attention during the final revision of this book, and has only been considered in a preliminary way.

[22] Selinge 1985 pp. 41–79; Ambrosiani 1985; Blomkvist 1993 pp. 60–62, H. Janson 1998 p. 317 and the note 1081.

in their very different and partly contradictory efforts to understand the pre-1164 role of Uppsala, which will be treated later in the chapter.

In my view, the change around 1100 has been over-radicalised. It should not be seen as *the* great step from chiefdom to state. More weight should be allowed to what may be called the empirical political material of the Viking Age, and the possibility that there may have been a long experiment in some form of preservative kingship around Mälaren, directed towards the east rather than to Västergötland. This may still have been pagan or syncretistic around 1100, when some of the pagan traits might well have hardened as a militant survival strategy against the challenge of Christianity.

These considerations noted, it is now time to penetrate deeper into the world of Adam's *Gesta*. His official description of Sweden was very much coloured by the aim of his work, but the impression becomes different when we delve into the verbal pictures and anecdotes of which his web was woven. On a second reading of Adam's glimpses of Sweden as fragmentary 'discovery reports' delivered around 1075, I find that the recent and now widely accepted reevaluation of the birth of Sweden is in need of some vital correction.

A second reading: the foundation of a Birka diocese—and other telling mistakes

When in the 1050s Bremen's energetic Archbishop Adalbert appointed his first suffragan to the Svear, he was a late starter in an already ongoing game.[23] This is revealed by many striking details in Adam's narrative, but for me none stands out more clearly from the second reading than the tragi-comic story of the foundation of a Diocese of Birka.[24] The monumental ignorance that is demonstrated by this effort reveals in a single flash the juristic spirit of Adalbert's expansion policy; particularly that he was in fact a new competitor who

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[23] ABG IV:20, Schol. 94, 126, 127, Hallencreutz 1984 p. 376f.; H. Janson 1998 p. 118, note 395; for a survey from a Continental point of view, see Seegrün 1967; for a comprehensive sketch of the same, see Holtze 1990 pp. 21–23.

[24] To avoid misunderstandings of the method I must state that where the 'first reading' is restricted to the ten chapters giving Adam's comprehensive 'official' picture of Sweden, the 'second reading' (looking for significant details) has penetrated the entire text.

was trying to get the upper hand over the rest of the field by claim-
ing that he was in possession of ancient first rights. After all, among
other treasures in the library of Bremen cathedral was Rimbert's tes-
timony that Ansgar, their first archbishop, was also the first mis-
sionary to the peoples in the north.[25]

Historical claims, in turn, imply historical studies. Some clever
individual must have been sent into the book chamber in order to
penetrate the *Vita Anskarii* and whatever else could be found regard-
ing political-legal information on Sweden and the rest of the lega-
tion area. These studies and the policy reasoning in Bremen are well
reflected in Adam's work, and his *Gesta* is of course the peak achieve-
ment of these studies. However, this period is also often seen in con-
nection with at least some of the problematic so-called Hamburg
falsifications.[26]

Whoever undertook these studies obviously quickly realised that Birka
was the place where past Hamburg-Bremen archbishops had done
their most heroic deeds—the deeds to which their eleventh-century
claims for a Baltic Rim mission territory could best be tied in hopes
of legitimacy. Consequently, Adam relates Ansgar's visits to Birka
and what came of them,[27] and it is thanks to him that we hear
about Archbishop Unni's journey to Birka some 100 years later,
where this Christian champion died in September, 936.[28] Adam refers
to Birka in several contexts, providing geographical and topograph-
ical information, some of which cannot be found in the *Vita Anskarii*.

Thus he reports that Birka is *oppidum Gothorum in medio Suevoniae . . .*
'the town of the Götar in the middle of the land of the Svear', not
far from the famous temple of the Svear, called Uppsala. It is situ-
ated where a bay of the Baltic or the Barbarian Sea goes to the

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[25] RVA; cf. particularly L. Weibull 1948 pp. 167–73, pp. 177–89. That Ansgar
was the first Christian missionary is, of course, a statement in need of modification,
cf. Seegrün 1967 pp. 14–18; Staecker 1998, p. 203ff.

[26] Reincke 1960; cf. L. Weibull 1948 p. 177. The continuity back to Archbishop
Adalvard's activities implies that Adam's work was hardly written so *ad hoc* to the
conflict of the 1070s as Janson maintains.

[27] ABG I:15, 21.

[28] *Ubi est portus sancti Ansgarii et tumulus sancti Unni archiepiscopi, familiare, inquam, hos-
pitium sanctorum nostrae sedis confessorum.* ABG Schol. 127, cf. I:15, 26; 62: . . . *cetera
quidem membra sepelierunt in eodem oppido Birca, solum caput deportantes Bremem . . . Obüt
autem peracto boni certaminis cursu in Scitia, anno dominicae incarnationis 936. . . .* On Annales
Corbienses as a potential source, see Hallencreutz 1984 p. 376.

north and forms a harbour, which is frequently visited by the barbarian peoples living around the sea, and since it is often threatened by pirates, it is protected by submarine defence systems around the inlet from the sea. *Ad quem stationem, quia tutissima est in maritimis Suevoniae regionibus, solent omnes Danorum vel Nortmannorum itemque Sclavorum ac Semborum naves aliique Scithiae populi pro diversis commerciorum necessitatibus sollempniter convenire* ... 'Since this place is the most secure harbour on the coast of the Svear, many ships of the Danes, Norwegians, Slavs, Sembs and other Scythian peoples commonly gather there for various trading negotiations'.[29]

With its memories of Ansgar and Unni, and considering all the peoples who used to gather there, Birka would be an ideal place for a Bremensian *suffraganus*, and Adam when retelling these things gave Birka the exalted title of *metropolis*. Already an abbot called Hiltin had been consecrated as first bishop of Birka, under the name of Johannes. He spent some years in Sweden, but apparently failed to establish a bishopric at his appointed see. It is not told why.[30] We can imagine that Hiltin sealed his lips about the unsuccessful mission.

However we should not be surprised, since excavations have demonstrated that Birka was declining as early as the 970s. Only a few finds *may* be of a slightly later date, but even if this is the case, they wouldn't constitute an extant town.[31] This underlines that the Bremen Church was indeed a novice in the Svea mission. Acting on obsolete information, its archbishop had sent Hiltin on a 'mission impossible'. The episode had happened some time before Adam's own appearance in Bremen. The mysterious part is that even though Hiltin had come home and resumed his duties as an abbot,[32] the dream was kept alive. When writing the *Gesta*, Adam himself seemed to believe for a while that Birka still existed, and he refers his knowledge to what Archbishop Adalbert had told him personally. However, one of the *Gesta's* so-called *scholies* seems to preserve the moment some time after 1075 when they got things right in Bremen. Bishop

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[29] ABG I:60 (quoted), 61, 62; cf. Nyberg 1984 pp. 321f., 330; Hallencreutz 1984 p. 370ff.

[30] ABG III:77, IV:20, cf. Schol. 94. The understanding of Hiltin's appointment to a bishopric in Birka has varied greatly. Cf. Johansen 1951 p. 88f.; Hellström 1971 p. 63ff.; Smedberg 1983 p. 60 with further references; Pernler 1977 pp. 49–51 with further references; Nyberg 1986 p. 29ff.; Hellström 1996 pp. 111–13.

[31] Clarke and Ambrosiani 1991 p. 75.

[32] In 1069 he witnessed a charter together with i.a. Adam.

Adalvard the younger, who failed to establish himself at Sigtuna, *etiam occasione itineris divertit Bircam, quae nunc in solitudinem redacta est, ita ut vestigia civitatis vix appareant . . .* 'had taken the opportunity to visit Birka', where he had found the place 'so devastated that there are hardly any traces of the town left'. He was unable to find St. Unni's grave: *nec tumulus sancti archiepiscopi Unni inveniri potuit.*[33]

These entries allow two conclusions, the consequences of which (to my knowledge) have not been fully observed previously. In the first place, the concrete observations on Birka with a non-Rimbert provenance cannot have been recent when Adam was writing, i.e. provided by Bishop Hiltin-Johannes or King Sven. The lack of up-to-date knowledge on Birka's desertion means that they must be of a much greater age. They are also quite good. That the town was situated on a bay of the sea is correct information,[34] the pole-works around the harbour have been archaeologically proven, and it is quite probable that the various foreign peoples mentioned had indeed visited the town. But who could have provided these details? The last Bremensians (before Adalvard) to have seen Birka were, as far as is known, the follower(s) of Archbishop Unni, who brought the latter's head home to be buried in the cathedral around 936.

The second conclusion follows on Adam's claim that Birka was a town of the *Gothi* (or modern Swedish *Götar*) in the middle of Sweden, which has caused much controversy in Swedish research, since it could be interpreted as meaning Birka was situated in Götaland, instead of being identical with the great urban site on Björkö in Mälaren (in the heart of Svealand), or alternatively that the Götar were a *Herrenvolk* in control of the foremost town of the Svear.[35] But when confronted with another entry, in which Adam links Birka with the Old Testament prophecy of Ezekiel, heralding God's fire that was to come over certain attackers on Israel, namely *Gog, Magog and his troops from the far north*, and *the Island-peoples*, the meaning paradoxically becomes clearer.

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[33] ABG Schol. 142. This suggests that Adam may have written the Gesta over an extended period of time, but there may be other explanations as well: for instance that he couldn't decide how to handle recent information that apparently contradicted the Vita Anskarii.

[34] Mälaren remained a bay well into the 13th century, see Ödman 1987 p. 69ff.

[35] Cf. Nyberg 1984 p. 338f.

Some authors, said Adam, assumed that this prophecy came true with the Gothic conquest of Rome, but when he himself considered that these Goths had been *in Sueonia regnantes* . . . 'holding power in Sweden'; and when furthermore he realised (as was then generally believed) that this entire area consisted of islands, he concluded that the prophecy might be applied to Sweden, *cum praesertim multa predicta sint a prophetis, quae nondum videntur impleta* . . . 'in particular because much was foreboded by the prophets that does not seem to have happened yet'.[36] He appears to argue that since it was already established by ancient authorities that Ezekiel's prophecy referred to the Goths, it might well refer to the Goths living in Sweden, since Sweden 'consisted of islands'.

The core of the narrative is thus the myth developed in the Mediterranean world (notably by Jordanes and St. Isidore of Seville) regarding the origin of the Gothones who conquered Rome and Italy. Its aim is far from distinguishing between the Svear and the Götar, but rather to present a discovery that the Götar still existed in eleventh-century Sweden, indistinguishable from the Svear as an alternative aspect of the same *regnum*. This is also how Bartholomeus Anglicus (working in Magdeburg around 1240) understood the discovery. He quotes St. Isidore of Seville directly, pointing out that this erudite Visigoth had argued that Magog was Jafet's son, and that the *Gothos* or *Gethas* had populated *maxima pars Europe et Asia*. Bartholomeus adds, directly or indirectly following Adam, that they were still in possession of great territories, and that *Suecia* was a kingdom *a qua tota Gothia . . . hodie nominata*, a somewhat obscure expression which roughly says that Sweden was the modern name for all *Gothia*.[37]

To be able to relate a North European diocese to the Bible was indeed a scoop according to mainstream scholarship of the day. The connection between Magog's army, prophesised to come from the far north to endanger Israel, and the *Visigothi* causing havoc to Rome in 410 may have been shaky, but it had already been established

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[36] ABG I:26. The reference to Ezekiel in ABG I:26, the associations with classical Latin texts and the consequences for ABG I:60−62 are pointed out by Nyberg (1984 p. 314f.) and by Hallencreutz (1984 p. 364f.), in the latter case with a reservation that seems unnecessary. Cf. also Sundqvist 2000 p. 105.

[37] Bartholomeus' text, quoted after Tunberg 1922 pp. 36f., 40f. On St. Isidore, cf. Söhrman 1998 p. 940 with further references.

beyond reproach by various authorities.[38] For Adam to identify the
Gothi alive and well in Sweden, within the mission field of Hamburg-
Bremen, must have been a quite astonishing achievement, and to
claim that Birka was the town of the *Gothi* in the middle of Sweden
added ideal historical merit to what it could already boast of as an
asset to the Hamburg-Bremen church province.

Adam's use of Ezekiel's prophecy is certainly noteworthy. Less
than four centuries later, the idea of a magnificent Gothic past would
emerge as the main theme in Swedish history writing, and remain
thus for many hundred years.[39] As late as the 19th century, *Göticism*
was still the ideology around which the Swedish nation gathered in
moments of despair. This means that the strong nationalistic history
movement in Sweden can thank an observant eleventh-century church-
man in Bremen for their best ammunition—perhaps Adam himself.[40]
But there may be more to it than that.

The construction of Göta rike

Adam tended to idealise Götaland, and hold it forth as a contrast
to Svealand. One reason for his benevolence must be that the dio-
cese of Skara had been founded successfully in the early 11th cen-
tury, from where mission had soon been extended into Östergötland,
while in Svealand, success had been minimal to date. Establishment
of a clear reference to the Gothic myth in Adam's *Gesta* is a further
reminder of the upgrading in recent scholarship of the role played
by the Götar in the formation of the Swedish realm. Could the
importance ascribed to the Götar in the following period also be a
desk-construction? Could the real contribution of the Götar have
been much less than has been argued recently?

After being expelled from the Svear, Olof Skötkonung had been
allowed to settle in Västergötland. Close to 1080, history is said to
have repeated itself when King Inge I took refuge there during the

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[38] On the role of the Bible in medieval scholarship, see Artz 1967 pp. 39ff., 64ff.,
225ff.

[39] See most recently Aili, Ferm and Gustavsson (eds.) 1990 p. 286ff.

[40] H. Janson has pointed out to me that Adam acts in a similar way when in
ABG II:21 he claims that the west Slavic Winuli(s) in past times *dicti sunt Wandali* . . .
'were called Vandals'. I gratefully agree that this reference confirms that the *mag-
ister* was interested in identifying classically famous Barbarian peoples in Bremen's
mission field.

rebellion of Blot-Sven.[41] Västergötland was clearly a bridgehead for Europeanization in the 11th century; but did it have the other components needed to challenge the kingdom of the Svear? Was local power consolidated enough, and were there as many centres as necessary? Would the Västgöta chieftains that recent research has credited with so much actually have possessed the organisational structure and the necessary ideology to challenge the Mälar valley?

Comparatively little research has been done in this field, as far as I know, and it cannot be done here without breaking the limits of the task. Instead, I pose these questions rhetorically to prepare for yet another question: Could this be the context in which the Gothic myth becomes important? In connection with this, it has been little noticed that Adam's *Gesta* is not the only contemporary text in which this remarkable 'discovery' can be found.

The oldest preserved piece of direct communication between the Roman Curia and a Swedish king is a letter issued by Gregory VII in 1080. According to the title of the preserved copy, it had been dispatched *ad Regem Sueciae* and addressed to *I. glorioso Sueonum regi*.[42] Following circumstances already mentioned, it would have reached King Inge I in Västergötland. Having called for a representative of the Swedish church, Gregory in a second letter mentions conversations with the Swedish Bishop 'R'. However, the pope addresses this letter of 1081 to *Visigothorum Regibus I & A*.[43] This is not only a recognition of the probable *pro tempore* address of King Inge and possibly a co-regent (either (H)alsten or (H)åkan)[44] but also another clear

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[41] DS 25. The detailed story of King Inge's retreat to Västergötland and subsequent revenge on his pagan usurper Blot Sven is found in the list of kings, added to late copies of the Hervararsaga, see Ellehöj 1965 p. 105. A similar narrative is found in the Orkneyinga Saga. It has been suggested that the information was brought to Iceland by Markús Skeggjason, who had been skald at the court of Inge I (Ahnlund 1945 p. 316 note 4; Ellehöj 1965 p. 85; P. Sawyer 1991 pp. 36–38). Recently, however, H. Janson (2000 pp. 181–94) has given several good arguments for its being of a chiefly literary nature. According to a probably fourteenth-century *Vita*, thought to be based on notices of high age, the rebellion forms the background to the martyrdom of St. Eskil (SRS II p. 389ff.). Eskil's martyrdom is authenticated by Ælnoth, not later than 1124 (Lundén 1944 p. 3).

[42] DS 24. Seegrün 1967 p. 93f.; cf. Janson 1998 p. 106f. & passim for further literature

[43] DS 25. Seegrün 1967 p. 95.

[44] Hallencreutz (1992 p. 167) has however the opinion, that the title might not refer to a co-regent but to all future kings of the realm.

reference to the Gothic myth, since Gregory chooses to write the name of the people—*visigothi, visigothae*—the way it was written in classical times with reference to the host that punished Rome in 410.

This remarkable expression by the reformist pope has not been much discussed. Sten Lindroth noted it, and debates whether it may reflect some surviving tradition of the Visigoths in Sweden. To Peter Sawyer it is 'a learned association that unfortunately complicates the discussion considerably', while C.F. Hallencreutz states, or rather understates, that a pun is intended: *Götar* has made the pope think of Goths. Birgit Sawyer has stressed that it would be wrong to translate it as *västgötarnas konungar*, since it is more an expression of the period's learned speculations on the *Götar* as akin to the Visigoths of the Continent. Hallencreutz in particular has returned to the expression several times and come up with several suggestions: the pope may have got information on ethnic conditions in Sweden and emphasized the directives of his letter by a rhetorical association with the ancient Visigothic kings.[45]

As far as I know, the *reges Visigothorum* in the papal letter of 1081 have never really been considered from the perspective of Adam's suggestion a few years earlier: that the Swedish *Götar* were not only the *Gothi*, a glorious yet threatening people who came from the far North to establish their rule upon the ruins of Rome, but also a *topos* of the Biblical people of Magog.[46] Whether Gregory was familiar with Adam's text is an open question, but he may have heard arguments from it, as Adam's superior, Archbishop Liemar, was one of Gregory's most respected opponents. They had met at Canossa in 1077, in Gregory's moment of triumph, whereas Adam's work, apart from the *scholies*, appears to have been finished in 1076.[47] However, we do not particularly need Liemar to establish a link between the *Götar* and the Curia, since the letter itself provides one: one person who would have known about these things was of course Bishop 'R', who had acted as King Inge's envoy to the Holy Father. Whether the pope had previously heard rumors of the discovery of

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[45] KL s.v. Göticismen, S. Lindroth; P. Sawyer 1991 p. 24; Hallencreutz 1993 p. 73; Hallencreutz 1996 p. 126f.; cf. Hallencreutz 1992 pp. 166–68; B. Sawyer 1995 p. 82f.

[46] Hallencreutz (1992 p. 167 note 58) has observed the coincidence, but leaves it at that.

[47] Janson 1998 pp. 49–104; cf. Seegrün 1981.

the *Gothi*, or 'R' announced the news to him, it is likely that they discussed this important scholarly achievement.[48] The change of addressee on the second letter, and the creative way Gregory wrote the name of the discovered people, clearly indicates that the great pope had somehow taken to the classical connotation. The tradition and repute of the *Visigothi* were also upheld in his days on the Iberian peninsula, where according to Ingmar Söhrman they 'became an emblematic concept of the Reconquest'.[49] By this date, barbarian connotions had given way to visions of a noble stock of militant Christians, which may have given His Holiness an inspired thought.

Who was the mysterious Bishop 'R'? The only candidate, quite plausible as such, is a certain Radulvard of Skara of whom little else is known.[50] What topics might they have touched on other than speculating on the identification of the *Götar* with the ancient Goths? Heinrich Holze in particular has shown that the letters of 1080–81 belong to the period when Gregory launched his most radical ideas of *regimen universale*, suggesting papal dominance over secular kings.[51] They express satisfaction at the Gallican church being invited to preach in Sweden. They teach that *sacerdotium* was to advise *regnum*, and that the latter, i.e. secular government, should take care of peace and justice. In the second of his two letters, he shows knowledge of the ongoing pagan reaction in Sweden, and he stresses that government should guarantee the material survival of *sacerdotium* and further diocesan organisation, tithes and support of the poor. The tenor of the letter to *reges visigothorum* is hence the formation of proper Christian states. Therefore it is possible that, in Gregory's conversations with 'R', the idea of a *Göta rike* was born.

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[48] I agree with Hallencreutz (1992 p. 167, 1996 p. 127) that 'R' has provided the pope with ethnic information. However the point is not the existence of Götar in the North, because there were also Jutlanders and Gotlanders, but their link with the texts of Jordanes and Isidorus (and from the latter back to Ezekiel), and the observation of their analogy with the Biblical 'people of the islands', made by Adam. The pope's reference suggests that he has accepted the connotations, at least in parts.

[49] Söhrman 1998 p. 939. I thank Ingmar Söhrman, Göteborg, for introducing me to this aspect.

[50] Seegrün 1967 p. 95; Hallencreutz 1992 p. 167; Hallencreutz 1993 p. 73.

[51] DS 24, 25; Seegrün 1967 pp. 87–97; Holtze 1990 p. 24f.; Hallencreutz 1992 p. 164; Sundqvist 2000 p. 271f.; cf. Breengaard 1988 pp. 90–103.

Additional knowledge: Swedish 'Götar' before Adam?

Given this hypothesis, it is time to look for additional knowledge. I shall leave out the much-discussed problem of the real origin of the Goths, and also the notion that they came from 'the island of Scandza (or Scandia)', preserved in Jordanes' *Getica*. Nevertheless Jordanes' narrative, compiled in the 6th century, obviously contains genuine information on the Scandinavian peninsula, mentioning more than 20 different tribes, among whom the *uagoth, gauthigot* and *ostrogothae* can be found, as well as the *suehans*. The impression is that of a patchwork of tribal units, some bigger, some smaller, with no genuinely multi-regional polities.[52] It is important to note that this Mediterranean idea of a distant homeland in the north left no trace of having been taken up as a basis for nation-building propaganda in northern Europe—until Adam (or someone) discovered it and saw its potential.

Even where Gothic peoples are mentioned in a few Dark Age texts produced in northern Europe—most notably in the Old English poems of *Widsið* and *Beowulf*—we have no way of saying whether they point to Jutlanders, *Väst-* or *Östgötar*, or *Gutar* (Gotlanders), or an area around the southern Baltic such as the Vistula estuary, which seems to be the localization of the Goths according to *Widsið*. It is not disputed that the Goths were one of the great ethnic groups which constituted the Free Germania of late Antiquity, and provided some of the manpower for the incursions into Rome. However we cannot claim that those who still bore that venerable name in the Viking Age appeared as a single nation or worked together politically in a more organised way. On the contrary they had begun to be drawn into the early kingdom-constructions of upstart Danes, Svear and possibly even Norwegians[53] although þorbjǫrn *hornklofi*, a pre-Christian skald said to have served in the *hird* of Harald Finehair,

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[52] Svennung 1967; Svennung 1972; Alonso-Núnez 1987, cf. Alonso-Núnez 1988 pp. 47–64; Hyenstrand 1996 pp. 39–44.

[53] The Jutar were clearly part of the Danish Kingdom, known to have made a border treaty with Charlemagne (Ch. III:2). Gotland belonged to the Svear according to Wulfstan (Ch. VII:2). As for Västergötland, the certain *terminus ante quem* for its belonging to Sweden is connected to the reign of Olof Skötkonung (early 1000s). There is, however, an uncertain interpretation of a ninth-century runic stone, which might indicate an existing affiliation to Uppsala (SvR Vg 119 [particularly pp. 217–19]. For the classical texts, see most recently Hyenstrand 1996 pp. 39–44, 154ff.).

refers to his master once as the *andskoti Gauta* . . . 'enemy of the Götar'.[54]

Returning to Sweden, we lack evidence of any particular Göta identity in political matters before the time of Olof Skötkonung and the formation of Skara's diocese in the early 11th century. þorbjørn's stanza cannot prove the existence of a Göta polity in Harald's time, and Snorri's ideas cannot confirm its involvement with a ninth-century Swedish realm. Nor can the appearance of a couple of Gothic kings or the terms *regnum gothici* in the fabulous pre-historical part of Saxo's *Gesta* tell us anything about the pre-historical political situation.

One of Saxo's mythical Göta kings is said to have turned to King Frotho (Frode) of Denmark when threatened by the Swedish king, suggesting *se ac regnum percipiendae opis gratia dediturus* . . . 'that he would give himself and the realm away in gratitude for rendered help'. The Danes sent a Prince Erik to defend him, who won and subsequently also became King of the Swedes. *Nemo ante ipsum Sueticorum regum Erici nomine censebatur, ab ipso autem in ceteros vocabulum fluxit.* . . . 'Before him no Swedish king was called Erik, but from him the name was transferred to the others.'[55] The denial of ancient Swedish tradition to the name borne by the recently-canonised national saint of Sweden makes it plausible that the anecdote paraphrases the twelfth-century calamities of *Svear* and *Götar*.[56] In the later Norse sagas, such as *Gautrek's saga*, we also hear of Göta kings and kingdoms.[57]

Around 1000 Ottar Svarte, an Icelandic skald serving in the *hird* of Olof Skötkonung, wrote the *Óláfsdrápa sœnska*, in which that king was recorded as being ruler of the Svear (*Svía gramr*). In the so-called *Høfuðlausn*, however, he laments the loss of *Gauta døglings*, which obviously refers to the same ruler.[58] Contrary to recent observations, it

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[54] DN-IS Glymdrapa 7, þorbjórn hornklofi; Heimskringla, Har. Hårf. K. 13–16. According to Heimskringla the epithet has to do with Harald's conquest of Bohuslän, until then a part of Västergötland, which Snorri in turn considered a part of the Svea realm already at that date. Cf. Einar Helgason skálaglamm, Vellekla 30, 31.

[55] SGD V:10:1–2. Incidently, we know of a heathen Svea king called Erik, who (according to RVA 17) after his death was considered a god by some (around 845).

[56] SGD V:10:1–2, VII:3:1, VII:6:1, VIII:11:1. cf. also Heimskringla, Ynglinga saga K 34: Proposal for a wife to Ingjald (Illråde) called Gauthilda, great-great granddaughter of *Gaut er Gautland erviðkent*.

[57] Cf. Gautreks saga K. 1, 2 (*var Gautrekr til konungs tekinn yfir Gautland*, etc.).

[58] Sawyer and Sawyer 1993 p. 58f.

may be that the formation of the 'Swedish' Götar as a specific polit-
ical entity took its momentum from this very period, stimulated by
the emergence of the diocese.

Even considering the lack of sources from this and previous peri-
ods, it is worth noting that the Götar are conspicuously absent in
the few remaining texts which first describe or hint at the existence
of multi-regional polities in the Baltic, which apparently began in
the 8th century and followed on the spread of a network of proto-
towns. Most of these texts were issued in connection with the first
mission inaugurated by Ansgar in the 9th century; the *Vita Anskarii*
is the outstanding example. As Adam did, we can also consult
Einhard's *Vita Karoli,* in which many nations are said to surround
the Baltic, with particular mention of *Dani, Sueones* (whom we call
Nortmannos), *Sclavi, Haisti* and others, among whom the *Welatabi,* also
called the *Wilzi,* are the foremost. We may also look at the more
widely-known narratives of Othere and Wulfstan in King Alfred's
Orosius, which allow us to see Norway at least as a geographic entity,
and both Sweden and Denmark as some sort of multi-regional poli-
ties. Neither mentions a people called *Gothi* in southern Sweden.
Othere rather ostentatiously claims that it is *Sweoland* which lies oppo-
site Norway to the south 'on the other side of the moors', and he
mentions a Gotland, which from the circumstamces must mean
Jutland. Wulfstan also mentions Gotland, meaning present-day Gotland.
He also describes *Weonodland* and *Eastland.*[59] Although not definite
proof, this absence in the earliest missionary and geographical texts
should have a cooling effect on the hypotheses.

Knowing this, we can go to another source material that is often
overlooked in this context. This is a series of privileges said to have
been issued by ninth- and tenth-century emperors, popes and arch-
bishops, many of which were published under the early numbers of
the *diplomataria.*[60] One reason for overlooking them is that many have

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[59] RVA & passim; EVK cap. 12; KAO, book 1 (ed. Sweet 1883 p. 17ff.). The
text also contains summaries which do not seem to be quoted from Othere or
Wulfstan, in which are mentioned Danes, Svear, Northmen, Cwenland, Scride
Finnas and so on, but no Götar. Einhard's Haisti and Wulfstan's Eastland might
refer to the Pruzzian people and land respectively.

[60] For all references and a commentary (in Latin), see Regesta Pontificum
Romanorum.

been proved to be false, which (perhaps too easily) has allowed a
general shadow of suspicion to fall over the entire series. Nevertheless
several are considered genuine. Regarding the rest, we must take
into account that much of the problem concerns (1) small manipu-
lations to copies of true documents, and (2) the venerable age of
these manipulations. Some may date from the 10th century, while
many have been thought to belong to the studious reign of Archbishop
Adalbert (1043–1072). Others belong to the middle of the 12th cen-
tury.[61] Even as manipulated or entirely made-up texts, they belong
to the oldest written sources for the history of the Baltic. For some
problems they should be quite valuable. So what do they reveal?

  According to a letter issued in autumn 831 (the preserved version
is thought to be genuine apart from a few interpolations) Christian
mission should be conducted *in omnibus circumquaque gentibus Sueonum
siue Danorum necnon etiam Slauorum uel in caeteris ubicunque illis in partibus
constitutis . . .* 'among all the surrounding peoples, the Svear as well
as the Danes and also the Slavs and those who may live elsewhere
in those regions'.[62] This formula may be genuine. This is further
confirmed by a document of May 31, 864, preserved in the registry
of Pope Nicolas I and thus not one of the Hamburg falsifications,
according to which the Bishop of Bremen should bear archepisco-
pal dignity *super Danos et Swevos.*[63]

  In letters chronologically following this, the list of peoples grows,
perhaps as a result of expanding mission, but mostly due to eleventh-
or twelfth-century manipulations of the genuine texts. It includes Nor-
way, the Färø islands, Greenland, Hälsingland, Lappland (*Scrideuindie*)
and, as we have already seen, the Slavs. Even in manipulations which
may date from Adalbert's days or later, there is no mention of
Götaland,[64] though it appears completely surrounded by neighbours
that are mentioned in the context. This previously neglected cir-
cumstance further underlines that Götaland's appearance as an eth-
nicity with proto-national aspirations is more likely to have been a
secondary achievement to the discoveries and considerations of Adam,
Bishop 'R' and Pope Gregory.

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[61] Reincke 1960 pp. 57–78. Seegrün 1976 pp. 5–13; 101ff.
[62] DD 25.
[63] DD 117.
[64] This list appears with variations in many of the falsified letters (e.g. DD 39,
42, 163). In 1133 many of these are referred to in genuine papal letters, reinstat-
ing supremacy in Scandinavia to the archbishop of Hamburg Bremen (ST I:46).

The Göta independence movement and the twelfth-century civil wars

Let us return to the situation in Sweden around 1081 when Bishop 'R' returned from Italy, bringing the second papal letter to the two political entrepreneurs Inge and 'A', who may not have liked being reduced to kings of the *Västgötar*, but might have been interested to know that, as Visigothic monarchs, they could count upon exalted repute in Catholic Europe.

King Inge soon recovered control over Svealand and Uppsala, and re-started a successful government that is well-reviewed in all the remaining sources. He expanded the territory in the west, pre-served the law and respected it himself, they say; and seems to have built up political alliances that were to influence the entire Baltic for decades after his death.[65] In his time Sweden gradually overcame initial obstacles on the route to membership of Catholic Europe. Inge I is thought to have died around 1110, to be succeeded by his two nephews Philip and Inge II, sons of his brother (and possibly co-regent) Halsten. Philip died in 1118, and Inge II probably around 1120–25. It was in the new circumstances which followed his death that the idea of a Göta kingdom occurred in a broader context.

As we have seen, these ideas were conceptualised and possibly dis-cussed in educated circles around 1075–80. Now they were turned into political action; what we see in the 1120s may be classified as the outbreak of a Gothic rebellion or war of independence. From now on we find repeated expressions of a political body of Götar quite successfully challenging the supremacy of the Svear. I stress that I make no further claims than those stated above, that these were networks of people rather than territories. It is a period of extreme source scarcity in Sweden, and what we know or may deduce about the state of the kingdom is thanks to passing comments in sagas and histories from neighbouring countries, together with some texts of papal origin and of course with the help of archaeology.[66]

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[65] Inge I is the common denominator of most marriage liasons binding together Scandinavian and Russian dynasties in the early 12th century. This in no way con-tradicts the opinion, planted by Saxo (SGD XIII:1:4) and frequent in modern lit-erature, that his daughter Margareta actively encouraged the ties between her Swedish family and her new Danish relatives. Like her sister Christina in Novgorod, her own person testified that the practice had begun in the previous generation.

[66] After Gregory VII:s bulla of 1081, references to Götar/Götaland are made by Ælnoth (an English monk writing a legend of St. Knud *rex* between 1104 and 1124),

The story has to be peeled out of its context with the meticulous care that is always required when applying a detail-pro-toto technique, yet it leaves wide gaps open to interpretation.

According to the so-called List of Kings (*kungalängd*), added to the manuscript of *Äldre Västgötalagen* with similar lists of the province's bishops and law-speakers, the king elected by the Swedes to succeed Inge II was a certain *Rangwaldaer konongaer*, who was slain by the Västgötar. The source claims that he was *baldaer oc huxstor* (epithets suggesting that he was a 'Hotspur'), and that he rode to *karllaepitt* (probably indicating Karleby, an old centre in Västergötland)[67] without requesting safe conduct, and suffered a shameful death there. The text, which has an advocatory nature, also describes the profitable period which followed as a result: *styrðhi þa goðhær laghmaðþær. wæstrægöt-landi. oc lanz höffhengiær. oc waru þa allir tryggir landi sinu* . . . 'and the land was governed by Västergötland's good law-speaker and the chieftains of the land, and everyone was safe in his (own) land'.[68] According to Sawyer, the law-speaker leading this separatist policy was Karl of Edsvära, mentioned in the parallel list of law-speakers as the 'father of the land' and in some sources also as *jarl* or even king.[69] Again, I make no claim as to the constitutional nature of this Västgöta *frond*, whether it functioned as legitimate authority in a fixed territory or as a more or less private elitist network.

The many strong pro-Västgöta observations in the List of Kings make it likely that the source reflects propaganda in favour of a political 'liberation' of Västergötland. Its genre is that of a miniature chronicle. According to Bolin it was compiled in Västergötland during the period 1238–50. He has noted that the comments on the respective kings follow three different patterns: the more recent ones, coming after Ragnvald, give only individual details on how they died. The two older groups differ in the way information on them has been sought, but the kings are all judged according to their zeal and

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and in an archival remark, mentioned above, regarding a lost bulla to Emperor Henry from Calixt II mentioning *episcopatu Suecia, Gotlandiae, Norvegiae* from around 1123. The aim cannot have been to point out Gotland; see Pernler 1977 pp. 46ff., 55f.

[67] Identified thus by the 15th century historian, Ericus Olai, SRS II:1 p. 42; cf. Bolin 1931 p. 144.

[68] ÄVgL ed. Schlyter p. 298f.

[69] P. Sawyer 1991 p. 38f.

ability to maintain law and their respect for the constitutional rights of Västergötland.[70] If we accept Bolin's observation of these structural peculiarities, it is even possible to point to Ragnvald's fate as a sort of watershed in the text, as indeed it must have been in the history of the region. The 'older' parts can be read as a preparatory justification for the slaying of Ragnvald, the king who had failed to respect the rights of the land, and the later part as underlining that kings die in many mysterious ways.

The killing of the elected king is also touched upon by Saxo, who adds other dimensions to the story. He points out that the right to elect the king lay with the Svear, but that on the death of the old king (obviously Inge II) the Götar had usurped this right and elected the Danish prince Magnus Nielsen. The Svear, who did not intend to give up their age-old right to a less important people (the Götar), maintained their authority by declaring Magnus' election invalid and choosing a new king, who was in turn slain by the Götar (this would be Ragnvald), after which Magnus came to power after all.[71] The story is referred to several times in Saxo's narrative.

It is thus mentioned by Knud Lavard, in his great plea of innocence, when accused of having violated his duty to King Niels by assuming royal status among the Obodrites: *Esto vocari me regem; en, filium tuum Magnum nuper apud Gothiam regii cultus et nominis insignibus potitum comperimus* . . . 'As for calling myself king; haven't we recently heard that your son Magnus has attained royal title and dignity in Götaland', Knud asks rhetorically, and goes on to argue that since he himself had now attained a similar status among the Vends, shouldn't Niels be doubly glad to have two kings subordinated to

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[70] Generally on the source, cf. Bolin 1931 pp. 141–60. Bolin suggests that it shows greater devotion to Sverker's lineage, than to that of Erik, whose members are described as conquerors. Accepting this, E. Lönnroth (1959) adds that it is sympathetic to the so-called Folkunga programme, the rather anti-European ideology that was gaining a powerful following among the provincial aristocracies. In the first part of the 13th century, they were able to put their candidates on the throne, not bothering however whether they were Eriks or Sverkers. According to Lönnroth, the major part of the Kings' List may derive from around 1220; cf. P. Sawyer 1991.

[71] SGD XIII:5:1. *Interea Sueticarum partium rege absumpto, Gothi summam, cuius omne penes Sueones arbitrium erat, Magno deferre ausi, alieni privilegii detrimento dignitatis sibi incrementa quaerebant. Quorum Sueones auctoritate contempta, veterem gentis suae praerogativam in aliquanto obscurioris populi invidia deponere passi non sunt. Igitur antiquae dignitatis speciem intuentes, titulum iniusta collatione praereptum novi regis electu cassarunt. Qui mox a Gothis trucidatus, morte Magno imperium cessit.*

himself.[72] Surely composed by Saxo around 1200, the rhetoric must be read from the perspective of Danish events, such as the decline of imperial vassalage at the end of the 12th century.

In general, Saxo treats the claims of the Götar with a very light hand, often describing them with ridicule. In the saga part of the *Gesta* he tells of two Danish princes who became bitter rivals. Their rivalry was fuelled by that of their wives, *quarum altera Suetiae rege Sywardo, altera Karolo Gothiae praefecto orta fuerat* . . . 'of which the one descended from King Siward of Sweden, and the other from Karl, the commander of Götaland'. The two women *crebra nobilitatis contentione rixantes* . . . 'always quarrelled over which one of them possessed the highest rank'.[73] We have previously heard of the weak and hopeless king who gave his wealth away, providing little support for the Götar's claim to a realm of their own. Saxo's anecdote rejects it totally by the clear distinction in title—the ladies may have quarrelled over rank but *Gothia* was no realm, just a territory held by another king's representative. The Göta rebellion is reduced to *rixae muliebris* . . . 'female squabbles'.

One reason for Saxo to play down the attempts of the Götar to establish their own kingdom may have been his generally negative attitude to King Niels and his son. Another aspect is whether he was familiar with the localisation of the Gothic myth to Götaland in Sweden, and whether this could explain his judgement here. As a glorious myth identifiable with a neighbouring country, it was a direct threat to his own programme of putting Denmark on equal terms with Imperial Rome. It might even insinuate a repetition of the havoc of 410. I think we must assume that he had some knowledge of it. Before Saxo, the English-born Danish monk Ælnoth (1104/24) equalized the *Gothi* with the *Swethi* from a Danish perspective, complaining of their poverty, barbarism and inborn roughness. However he also stated *Ab aquilone enim, ut per prophetham dominus commemorat, pandetur malum super faciem universe terre* . . . 'That from the north, as the Lord remarks through the prophet, evil spreads over

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[72] SGD XIII:5:10. The continuation runs: *Mihi quoque si par apud Sclaviam fortuna favisset, certe binis regum obsequiis uti iucundum ducere debueras idemque tuae quod meae fortunae incrementum existimare.* See also SGD XIII:7:8.

[73] SGD VII:1:2. A remaining problem may be whether Saxo in fact suggests that the saga-figure of Karl was a *praefectus* on behalf of the *Danish* monarch (cf. SGD VII:3:1, VII:6:1).

the World', which could be a reference to Ezekiel. It seems possible that the new-found status of the Götar was already considered a very bad joke in Denmark.[74]

If harmonized, the two sources indicate that the series of events began when King Inge II died. He may even have fallen foul of an assassination plot, since according to the List of Kings he was *firi giort með ondom dryk i östrægötllandði* . . . 'done away with by an evil drink in Östergötland'.[75] However, the Götar went on to present a candidate of their own, and the call was sent to Magnus in Denmark. His mother was Margareta 'Fredkulla', which made him a grandson of Inge I and thus a suitable candidate. The intention may have been to put him on the throne of Sweden, but if so this was not accepted by the Svear. For some reason Saxo, otherwise no admirer of the Swedes, thoroughly acclaimed their primacy over the Götar and their unquestionable right to elect the king. The Götar murdered Ragnvald, the new king-elect of the Swedes, in Västergötland; the List of Kings accuses him of having committed a formal error, perhaps revealing more about that particular source than of what actually happened. The successive murders of Inge II and Ragnvald are not associated in the List, but together they convey the tense atmosphere of the period.

After this the 'Göta movement' clearly turned into a war of independence. The crown Magnus is said to have accepted was, like Knud Lavard's, a new one, and a *Göta rike* of some sort had obviously been declared. Furthermore, through the mouth of Knud Lavard, Saxo claimed that dependence to Denmark was intended. For reasons we do not know, Magnus got himself involved up to his neck in internal Danish and Vendic struggles, and clearly did not answer

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[74] VSD p. 82f. Isidorus' *Etymologiae*—providing the Biblical connotations—may have been known in Lund during Saxo's time (cf. KL s.v. Isidor av Sevilla, L. Gjerløw and J. Raastedt, see also Artz 1967 p. 193), and Saxo certainly knew Adam's work (KL s.v. Saxo, I. Skovgaard-Petersen; cf. Johannesson 1978 p. 334). Half a century after Adam, Lambert of St. Omer claimed Gothic heritage for the Normans (*Gothi sunt Nortmanni*), see KL s.v. Gesta Danorum, Gothorum et Hunorum, N. Lukman. This attribution suggests that Lambert was inspired by the alleged Gothic origin in Scandinavia. Their Swedish identification was known to Bartholomeus Anglicus in Magdeburg around 1240.

[75] I see no reason to suspect a particular party for this murder, nor does the source itself. The one solid fact is that this very partial Vestrogothic propaganda text indicates that Ostrogoths did it. Suspicion falls in all directions.

the Gothic summons in any substantial way. Some scholars have assumed that Magnus did indeed establish his government in Götaland for some time, which is contradicted by the fact that his name is unknown to the Västgöta List of Kings.[76] Instead the period of inter-regnum occurred, at least in Västergötland, which the author of the List recalled as an ideal state; during this time Karl the law-speaker may have contemplated assuming the kingship of the new realm.[77] The harmonized reading of course constitutes a mere possibility.

Independent of the List of Kings and Saxo, only a handful sources reveal anything at all about Sweden of the 1120s. Together they convey a picture of a country in deep crisis. One obvious problem was remaining or revitalizing paganism, and a violent showdown with Christian forces which led to its definite defeat. The Kalmar *leiðangr* incident in 1123/24, implying Vendic, Norwegian and per-haps Danish interference on Swedish territory with crusading pro-paganda, has been treated at length in Chapter Six. Perhaps following closely upon this event, Ælnoth uttered his criticism of Svear and Götar alike for being barbaric, rough and keeping their Christian faith only as long as their fortunes were good; if the gales of mis-fortune blew against them—*siue terre infertilitate, aerisue siccitate aut pro-cellarum densitate, seu hostium incursione uel ignis adustione* . . . 'either the earth doesn't bring harvest or heaven its rain, or enemies attack them or fire strikes'—they turned against the Christians, trying to expel them from the country.[78]

Finally we must consider the remarkable *Vita* of St. Botvid. Its preserved version, at best from the second part of the 13th century,

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[76] Cf. Smedberg's (1983 p. 61) suggestion that Bishop Henry of Sigtuna, who fell at Fotevik 1134, may have been an accomplice of Magnus and was hence com-pelled to leave Sweden after 1131.

[77] The chronology is difficult. Saxo puts Magnus' advance in the period before his marriage to Richiza of Poland in 1129 and (in Knud Lavard's speech) before Knud's own kingship (*t.a.q.* 1127?). According to Bolin (1931 p. 149f. note 35) Magnus would have been in power in Västergötland in 1121. Hermanson (2000 p. 112f.), who also believes that he took control in Götaland, however puts his rule to 1127–28. Knud Lavard was murdered on Magnus' behalf in the beginning of 1131. Magnus himself was killed at Fotevik in 1134. It has been suggested that Sverker became king of Sweden in 1132 and he was clearly in power in 1135 (P. Sawyer 1991 p. 38ff.).

[78] VSD p. 83; in KL s.v. Knud den Hellige, T Gad suggests it was written ca. 1122. Of course these harsh words might reflect not only the provocative claims of a Biblical topos for the Götar (from a Danish perspective), but also the renewed claims on Scandinavia from the Church of Bremen (below).

may be a fairly light revision of a twelfth-century original,[79] and it offers a description of the period of unrest together with an exact dating.

After his dead body had been recaptured among the skerries on the coast of Södermanland, Botvid, a country landowner of Södermanland, was buried in a private church at Säby (Salem) which had been built to commemorate St. Alban by a man called Hermundus. There his corpse rested for about nine years, during which time the Lord made innumerable miracles in the name of Botvid. We are offered a report of these problematic years from within:

> Then almost everywhere in the realm of the Svear paganism ruled, except among a few Christians that so far stayed in hiding for fear, since the persecution against Christians had become so great that they had killed a monk by name of Erik at a diet in Flottsund, the corpse of whom had been brought to Tälje to be buried. Also bishop Eskil was stoned; he who rests in the *civitas* of Strängnäs, where his *sedes* seems to have been. During the years when Botvid's body rested in this grave, such a great fear spread in the realm of the Svear, among the infidels, and particularly in the buildings where they where gathering, that they started to dance and tear themselves into pieces, and they couldn't be cured by anyone unless they became baptized, praying to St. Botvid for help. And thus all sacrificial groves and temples were cut down and destroyed. During these years and at those places where the superstitious worship of demons had been carried out, churches were built.

> In the meantime, while such miracles happened, his (...) brother at first built a wooden church at their inherited land, but when Christianity improved a very dignified stone church was erected. And when the wooden church was ready, two bishops, Henry of Uppsala and Gerder of Strängnäs *bonae memoriae*, consecrated it to the honour of God and St. Botvid. (...) This happened in 1129. In the year 1176 the stone church was then consacrated to the honour of St. Mary, St. Botvid

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[79] We know from independent sources that the cult of Botvid was conducted in the Mälar valley before the end of the 12th century. Most of the text has been considered to be very ancient in character, showing little influence from later models of composition. According to T. Schmid (1931 pp. 102–14; cf. Lundén 1944 p. 13ff.; KL s.v. Botvid, O. Odenius) it was probably conceived in connection with the translation of St. Botvid into the costly stone church of Botvidakyrka (today Botkyrka), dated by the text itself to 1176. The thirteenth-century editor may have had the 'washing' of the manuscript from unsuitable associations and connotations, e.g. regarding the formation of dioceses.

and All Saints by Stephen, Archbishop of Uppsala and William, Bishop of Strängnäs, in whose diocese this church stands, glorified by miracles.[80]

This is as close a report as we will find on the last struggle of paganism during the silent decade of Sweden's long 12th century. Apparently it mirrors a revitalization movement among the Svear, when ancient practices were brought to a last hectic life before the old pagan shrines were destroyed, and (to judge from remaining placenames) in many places replaced by Christian churches. To what extent can we trust it?

To begin with, the narrative is clearly localised to the land of the Svear surrounding Lake Mälaren. The placenames Tälje and Flottsund indicate a link from the Route of Kings right into its heartlands. This link is also described in Adam's *Gesta*, in a passage explaining sea routes and distances, where Tälje is mentioned together with Birka/Sigtuna and Uppsala (Flottsund had to be passed during the last stage towards Uppsala). It has further been suggested that the martyr Erik is identical with a *Hericus peregrinus*, also mentioned by Adam, who said that his head was cut off while preaching among *Sueones ulteriores* . . . 'the farther Swedes', indicating a possible link with an incident in the times of King Stenkil.[81] Also of uncertain date is the martyrdom of St. Eskil, who according to Ælnoth was an Englishman like himself, even if Eskil's own *Vita* connects it with the

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[80] *Circumquaque etenim per totam fere Sveciam paganismus tunc erat, præter in paucis Christianis, qui adhuc tunc temporis præ timore latitabant. Nam tanta persecutio Christianorum facta fuerat, ut Monachum unum, Ericum nomine, in communi placito in Flótasund occidissent, cujus corpus Telgas translatum et sepultum est. Beatus itaque Eskillus Episcopus, lapidibus obrutus, in Strengienensi civitate, ubi sedes ejus esse videbatur, occubuit. Dum autem corpus b. Botvidi in sepulcro iacuit, tantus timor atque tremor per totam Sveciae patriam per annos supradictos homines infideles invasit, et maxime in domibus conviviorum suorum, ita ut saltantes seque ipsos conscindentes a nullo poterant curare, nisi se permitterent baptizari, invocantes auxilium b. Botvidi: et ita factum est ut omnes luci et delubra succissa sunt et confracta. Per illos, ut supra diximus, annos et illis locis ecclesiæ Dei sunt ædificatae, ubi superstitiosa dæmonum cultura colebatur. . . . Interea dum ibi tanta miracula agebantur, . . . frater ejus ecclesiam a principio trabeam in patrimonio ipsorum construxit, ubi christianitate augente, lapidea ibi valde honesta ædufucata est. Peracta igitur ecclesia lignea, duos Episcopos, bonæ memoriæ viros, Henricum scilicet Vpsalensem et Gerderum Strengienensem, advocaverant, ett ecclesiam illam in honore Dei et S. Botvidi consecraverunt. . . . Hoc igitur factum est anno Domini M.CXXIX. Anno igitur Domini M.C.LXXVI. ecclesia lapidea in honore S:tæ Genetricis Dei, Mariæ et S:ti Botvidi omniumque Sanctorum a primo Archipræsule Vpsalensis ecclesiæ, Stephano, et a bonæ memoriæ viro, Wilielmo, Strengienensi Episcopi, in cujus parochial ipsa ecclesia consistit, consecrata est et miraculo decorata.* (Vita Sancti Botvidi martyris. SRS II 1828.)

[81] ABG IV:29, cf. III:54; Sundqvist 2000 p. 321.

pagan uprising around 1080.[82] Thus the text of Botvid's *Vita* puts events together as if they all belonged to a single long holy struggle against the evil forces in this otherwise perfectly concrete landscape. Everything is compressed into the nine miraculous years when the holiness of Botvid came true.

Nevertheless the text is well informed about these eleventh-century events in a way that suggests an independent tradition, again indicating the great age of its conjectured original. Obviously Botvid lived at a time when the mission by Englishmen was still active, and he is said to have been baptized during a trade voyage to England. At two points the text seems to explain away an older structure of bishoprics, the one we know of through the Florence document of the 1120s. It states that Eskil belonged to the bishopric of Strängnäs, when in fact he was so strongly linked with the bishopric of Tuna that the place was to assume the name of Eskilstuna. One of the bishops who translated the relics to Botkyrka is said to have been Henry of Uppsala. No such bishop is known; we have another name for the bearer of the title in those years, but the last bishop of Sigtuna was indeed called Henry, he who died in 1134 after having been expelled from Sweden.[83] That Botvid reaches his martyrdom through a Vendic prisoner of war whom he wishes to send back to his country as a missionary is also a marker; Vendic 'aggression' towards Christian powers characteristically belongs to the first half of the 12th century, when the Vends began to be demonised in contemporary Christian texts (cf. Chapter Three).[84]

The context in which the original version of Botvid's *Vita* was produced may be indicated in a papal letter of 1231, confirming that *Ecclesiam beati Eskilli martyris & pontificis de Tunae . . .* 'the church of St. Eskil the martyr and Bishop of Tuna' had been handed over to the Johannites by Bishop W(illiam) of Strängnäs, while the donation had been confirmed by Archbishop S(tephen) of Uppsala, King K(nut) and Jarl B(irger Brosa), the latter being the patron of the church.[85]

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[82] VSD p. 83; SRS II:389; cf. Lundén 1944 pp. 3–13. Gerder of Strängnäs is otherwise not known.

[83] Chron. R: XV; cf. Lundén 1944 p. 16.

[84] It should be said that the text answers to many of the criteria for an acceptable 'discovery report' by containing much data, names etc. with no obvious function within its own logic, such as realistic details and precision in geography (cf. Ch. III:1).

[85] DS 839.

We have seen that Stephen and William were active in the inauguration of the stone church later known as Botkyrka, in the year given as 1176, which was certainly also under the auspices of the government of Knut and Birger. The writing of the 'early' *Vita* that sometimes shines through the retouching of a later hand probably occurred under the same auspices, and hence was old enough to have drawn on genuine recollections of the silent decade half a century before.

Overall, considering the poor visibility that lingers over the period, this suggests that we should put some trust in Botvid's *Vita*, at least as a reliable witness to the atmosphere which this period left in the collective memory a generation or two later. It was a clear recollection of a deep social crisis which ended dramatically in full Christianisation. Apart from the few hints in narratives widely separated from these events (*Vita Botvidi* being by far the closest), we also possess independent confirmation from within. According to general dating, this is the period (1120–30) when the erecting of rune stones was definitely abolished among the Svear. As I understand these late rune stones, they are monuments to the syncretistic solution which Adam says was reached in the 11th century, according to which the Christian God was considered to be *primus inter pares* among the traditional gods. After some time many of these stones were mortared into the new stone churches, which indicates a form of secondary 'full Christianisation' of ancient family monuments.[86]

With all its deficiencies as a historical source, Botvid's story is *the* narrative of these events that we possess. The political background obviously lies in the Götalandic liberation movement that becomes visible around the same time. Who oversaw the destruction of pagan shrines and the building of Christian churches the narrative doesn't say, apart from wishing us to believe that it was the influence of God channelled through Botvid, but it seems evident that there was also room for some Europeanization agents from the near south.

Sverker—founder of a new dynasty

The long-term winner of the chaotic 1120s was to be the founder of a new royal dynasty. Saxo tells us:

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[86] Gräslund 1994 pp. 117–31; see also T. Zachrisson 1998 pp. 159–62; cf. Segelberg 1983 pp. 45–57; I. Jansson 1987.

> Meanwhile, the Svear elected a certain Sverker as king, a man of
> mediocre birth, born among the Svear, not because they held him in
> particular esteem, but because they refused to be governed by a for-
> eign man, since they who were used to serving one of their own, found
> it undignified to serve a foreigner.[87]

As always with Saxo, we may suspect some skilful double intent with
this piece of information, but it is interesting to note this early ref-
erence to a nationalistic reaction. It must be remembered that Magnus'
mother belonged to the ancient Swedish royal lineage, and what
Saxo implies is that Magnus' characteristics (his Danishness in speech
and behaviour) had made him too foreign to be a popular king with
the Svear. This observation may surprise readers of modern history
books, in which (contrary to the nineteenth- and early twentieth-cen-
tury patriotic discourse) nationalism has often been abolished from
the twelfth-century agenda altogether.[88]

   Sverker I may have been of mediocre birth, but apparently he
was no mean ruler. During his 25 years in power, internal peace
was established and efforts seem to have been made to restore the
Nordic-Baltic alliance system of King Inge.[89] After the first, possibly
turbulent years, some very distinct reforms began to be undertaken.
The demise of the episcopal see in Sigtuna and the inauguration of
a bishop in Uppsala has already been mentioned, and soon a remark-
able stone cathedral began to be built amid the burial mounds of
Old Uppsala. Also in his time, the *ledung* was established or restored,
as is seen from a previously-mentioned event in the year 1142 known
from a Russian source. Added to this was the establishment of the
first Cistercian monasteries in Sweden after direct contacts with
Citeaux in 1143.

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[87] SGD XIII:10:0. *Interea Sueones, (...), Suerconem quendam, mediocri inter Sueones loco
natum, regem constituunt, non quod illum tantopere diligerent, sed quia externi hominis imperium
recusarent, cervices indigenam ferre solitas peregrino duci submittere formidantes.*
[88] It may reflect a reality. A similar problem is stated in Sverre's saga, when in
the 1170s representatives of the *Birkebeinar* pay their respects to Jarl Birger Brosa,
at the time residing in Götaland. Since his wife was the daughter of a Norwegian
king, they asked him to set up one of his sons as leader of their cause and sup-
port him with an army so he could be made king of Norway. Birger answers that
his sons are still too young: *Oc ma ec ængom her hæðan lypta. þvi at ecki þola Noregs
menn. at gautzer her riði a land þeira...* 'And nor can I conscript an army for that
purpose, since the Norwegians wouldn't stand for a Gothic army riding in their
own land.' (Sverris saga K. 9; cf. Vendell 1885 p. 10).
[89] Cf. Chs. VI:2 and VII:2.

It appears that the jarlship authority emerged during the rule of Sverker or soon after. The title is of course well known in earlier sources, indicating a magnate, but in the middle of the 12th century it emerged as a princely position similar to a viceroy, with particular duties regarding the *ledung* and special rights in the coastal districts.[90] Sweden also resumed minting, beginning on Gotland around 1130–40 (potentially outside royal control) and continuing in Västergötland around 1150, but (according to our present knowledge) not until around 1180 in the Mälar valley, with three different yet mathematically related currency systems.[91]

As a climax to these achievements, the opportunity to establish a Swedish church province emerged. In 1152–54 the papal legate Nicholas Breakspear, soon to become Pope Hadrian IV, made an inspection tour of the Scandinavian countries and approved the emancipation of the Norwegian Church.[92] He had the corresponding authority for the Swedish case but, Saxo tells us, since *Sueonibus et Gothis de urbe et persona tanto muneri idonea concordare nequeuntibus, certamini decus negavit rudemque adhuc religionis barbariem summo sacrorum honore dignatus non est* . . . 'the Svear and the Götar were unable to agree upon which city and which person were suitable for such an establishment, and finding the conflict undignified he thought this rugged and, in religious matters, still barbarian people unworthy of the highest ecclesiastical honour'.[93]

The Danish *scriptor* adds a snapshot of the deplorable state of the Swedish realm. It lay open to Svend Grate's greed *tum ob senium imbelliamque Suerconis, tum ob factiones inter eundem et plebem recenter ortas (nam Ioannem agrestes contionantem occiderant), arbitrabatur* . . . 'partly because Sverker was old and disinclined to war, partly because conflicts had recently occurred between him and the people (thus peasants had killed [his son] Johan when he was officially addressing them)'.[94] In

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[90] Ahnlund 1945 p. 326f.; Hjärne 1946, 1947; Fritz 1971. King Magnus Henriksen's brother, Ragnvald, may be pointed out as potentially the earliest recorded jarl of Sweden. The source is Heimskringla. The dating of the reference to February 3, 1161 according to Ahnlund (1945 p. 326 note 3) 'ought to be considered extraordinarily certain'. The earliest chartered evidence occurs in 1164, under the regime of Karl Sverkersson, when the jarl's name was Ulf (DS 49, 50, 51).

[91] K. Jonsson 1995 pp. 43–61; cf. K. Jonsson 2000 pp. 911–914.

[92] Cf. Kaufhold 2001 pp. 115–117.

[93] SGD XIV:11:1; cf. DS 38, 820; ST I:38–39; Palme 1959 pp. 128–32; Seegrün 1967 pp. 166ff., 171ff.

[94] SGD XIV:11:3. cf. SGD XIV:10:0 according to which Johan had abducted

his later years, Sverker experienced the fate of many radical reformers, that of not being appreciated and forgiven by all.

The ability to carry out these reforms shows not only strength and control, but also denotes Sverker I as a Europeanization agent. Who was he, and from where did he derive his authority? These questions are impossible to answer satisfactorily, but a few points may be noted. Saxo says that he was of the Svea nation and that the Swedes had chosen him for nationalistic reasons.[95] Several other sources, all later but geographically better placed and in possession of convincing details and names, state *han war cornubæ sun .i. östrægötlandi . . .* 'that he was the son of *cornubæ* in Östergötland'. It seems feasible to link his ancestry to a particular parish church called Kaga, in the prosperous western part of that region, which suggests that his career somehow originated close to Inge II, who had made this wealthy district a gravitational point.[96]

However, what demands attention regarding Sverker's private life are his marriages to (1) Ulvhild, the former wife of King Niels, and to (2) Richiza, widow of the latter's son Magnus and divorcee of Valodar of Minsk. For better or worse, our witness is Saxo:

> At first, Sverker proposed by proxy to Ulvilda from *Noricum*, whom Niels had married after the death of Margareta, then she was secretly taken away from her husband and Sverker joined her in marriage. With her he begot, as had they been married, the son Karl who ruled in Sweden after him.[97]

It is thus claimed that Sverker abducted Ulvhild during the lifetime of King Niels, which is sensational enough. Then, *occiso Magno, Kanuti*

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the wife and sister of Karl, *praeses* of Halland, and brought them to Sweden, which to Saxo was King Svend's motive for invading the country.

[95] Saxo repeats his opinion that Sverker was of a Svea lineage in another context. Having told of his murder, he says: *Ea res Kanutum solandae matris gratia Suetiae superiora petere coegit . . .* 'This induced Knud to go to upper Sweden in order to console his mother' (SGD XIV:17:2). He has had access to good information, as much as Absalon was involved in bringing Knud back into the centre of Danish politics (SGD XIV:17:3–4), but the expression may be influenced by the same source as Knýtlinga saga (K. 111), where Knud is said to have conveyed his fiancée, a daughter of Sverker, *ofan af Svíþjóðu*, which however is a geographically less clear expression.

[96] Ahnlund 1945 pp. 338–51.

[97] *Hic Suerco Ulvildam Noricam, quam Nicolaus in matrimonium, emortua Margareta, receperat, amatoriis primo legationibus sollicitatam, mox viro furtim abstractam, ad suum usque connubium perduxit. Cuius coitu pro coniugio usus, Karolum ex ea, qui et post ipsum in Suetia regnabat, suscepit* (SGD XIII:10:0).

mater coniugio obvenit . . . 'after the death of Magnus [Nielsen], Knud's mother [Richiza] became his [Sverker's] wife'.[98] The indication is clearly that Sverker had been deeply involved with this branch of the royal Danish dynasty in his early days.

The chronicle of Roskilde tells a story of another young Danish dynast, Olaf Haraldsen, who managed to escape the extermination of competitors that followed Erik Emunes victory at Fotevik in 1134:

> But when his father and brothers had been caught, Olaf mixed with peddlers and pilgrims and escaped in their style of clothes to King Sverker of Sweden and asked him for help. When Sverker had been told the whole story how his (Olaf's) father and brothers had been killed, he received him at his court [*curia*] in the hope for something good in return from him in future, and gave him most benignantly a part of his realm for his support during the lifetime of Erik.[99]

Even if Olaf's father Harald Kjesa was a brother of Knud Lavard, he had sided with Niels and Magnus by that time, and it was as the son of one of their allies that Olaf turned to Sverker for help.

The ambivalent portrait drawn here and by Saxo is a clear sign that Sverker and his dynasty were politically 'delicate' in twelfth-century Denmark. With some justification he was regarded as a partisan,[100] and it seems likely that he somehow rose to the position of eligibility for the Swedish crown through the Danish father and son whose wives he was to marry successively.

When the Danish civil war was reactivated in the middle of the century, Sverker remained a force to be reckoned with. His position was now that of Knud Magnusen's stepfather, 'King Knud' according to the *Knýtlinga* saga. Both Saxo and *Knýtlinga* tell of Knud's escape to Sverker after his defeat by Svend at Viborg in 1151, but their stress is different. According to *Knýtlinga*, Sverker offered his stepson territory in Sweden, whereas Saxo's story is that *pro comparandis alimentis, quicquid illic praediorum possederat, venditaret* . . . 'to buy food he had to sell some property which he owned'. Furthermore,

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[98] SGD XIV:4:9.

[99] *Olaus uero, capto patre et fratribus, mendicis et peregrinis se sociauit, et sic eorum uestibus indutus ad regem Swethie, nomine Sweriki, peruenit et supplex ab eo auxilium pecijt. Qui postquam totam seriem cognouit, qualiter pater eius interfectus fuit et fratres, sperans aliquid boni ex eo futurum in sua* [curia] *eum suscepit et partem regni sui omnibus diebus Herici ad necessaria benignissime condessit.* (Chron. R: 17)

[100] He was obviously instrumental in Olof's attempt to grasp the throne of Denmark around 1139, see Seegrün 1967 p. 142f. with further references.

Sverker's son Johan sang a satirical ballad about Knud, and Saxo, somewhat prophetically, concluded that the Swedes gladly received refugees, but soon tired of them. However the relationship is probably better illustrated by the fact that Knud was promised one of Sverker's daughters in marriage. When the other Danish royal contender Valdemar I married Knud's half-sister Sophia, Sverker became Valdemar's stepfather-in-law, and it is said that Knud and Valdemar thereafter refused to participate in Svend's assault on Finnveden and Värend in the winter of 1153.[101]

Sverker thus remained deeply involved in Danish affairs, which has coloured his reputation in Danish sources. His role in Sweden is clearer. He took it upon himself to Europeanize the country. By doing this, he rejected the idea of establishing a new kingdom of Götaland. Although an Östgöte by birth, he chose to maintain the age-old Svea name of the realm, together with the magic connected to its ancient centres and customs. Even if he didn't have any sagas written—at least that we know of—Sverker obviously saw value in preserving the old political structures while transforming them into something modern and up to date.

The opposition

By 1153 Sverker obviously no longer held full control. According to Saxo, there was opposition at the highest level, right in front of the visiting cardinal. Animosity over the archbishopric existed between Götar and Svear, Saxo says. It may also have been connected to the rise of a rival dynasty, later known as 'the lineage of Erik', which combined a strong position in Västergötland with interests focused on Uppsala. Others believe the ongoing civil war in Denmark spilled over into Sweden.[102] Even if the various anecdotes are difficult to interpret, it is clear that Sverker's last years were darkened by a rising storm. It ended with his murder. Saxo again:

> About the same time [1156–57] King Sverker asleep in the night was killed by the servant who kept watch over his bed. This crime was however punished quickly and justly by Heaven. Shortly afterwards Magnus

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[101] SGD XIII:10:0, XIV:4:9, XIV:5:2–4, XIV:10:0, XIV:11:1–3, XIV:14:3–4, XIV:16:10; XIV:17:2–4; Knýtlinga saga kk. 108–111, cf. k. 93.
[102] Cf. most recently Hagerman 1996 pp. 332–35, 338ff.; Hermanson 2000 pp. 193ff., 209ff., particularly pp. 212–16.

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[Henriksen], who had made the servant commit the crime because of his furtive desire to be a king, was punished with death for his criminal intent in his fight with Sverker's son Karl, whom he had deprived of his father and whom he wished to deprive of his royal power.[103]

The List of Kings is of a slightly different opinion, saying that it was Sverker's *haestae swen* . . . 'horse groom' that killed him *iulae otto. sum han skuldi till kyrkyu farae* . . . 'on Christmas morning, as he was preparing to go to church'. It adds that he was buried at Alvastra, the monastery he had founded.[104] The latter story has a saintly touch of martyrdom to it, which at least looks like a worthy ending for the individual who, however his achievements are judged, was in office when Sweden overcame its reluctance and was irreversibly Europeanized.

The murder was followed by a complicated power struggle, which saw several meteor-like careers leading to the Svea throne—St. Erik (Jedvardsson), Magnus Henriksen (a son of the Danish prince Henrik Skatelar) who had a Swedish mother and was a descendant of the Stenkilian dynasty, Karl Sverkersson and possibly others. They occupy the annals for a year or two, only to vanish due to violent death.[105]

Magnus Henriksen had obviously been staying at Sverker's court. Several sources not only accuse him of Sverker's assassination, but that of St. Erik as well. He may have held the throne for some time before being toppled by Karl Sverkersson.[106] The notorious reputation of Magnus Henriksen may to some extent be due to nationalistic sentiments, not least in later hagiographic texts for St. Erik.[107] Some sources say that Magnus was defeated by Karl Sverkersson at a battle in Örebro (on the road from Svealand to Västergötland), and one account gives the year as 1161.[108] Karl's reign was short

[103] *Eadem fere tempestate Suerconem regem servus, qui cubiculo eius praeerat, noctu dormientem occiderat. Quod scelus divinitas haud segnius quam iustius ulta est. Nam parvo post tempore Magnus, qui occulta regnandi cupiditate servo peragendi facinoris auctor exstiterat, in eo conflictu, quo filium Suerconis Karolum, quem patre spoliaverat, regno etiam exuere gestiebat, sceleratae machinationis poenas morte persolvit.* (SGD XIV:17:2)

[104] ÄVgL ed. Schlyter p. 298f.

[105] Bolin 1931 p. 141ff.; Ahnlund 1945 p. 318ff., pp. 326–28; Ahnlund 1946; Kraft 1945 p. 230ff.

[106] ASMÆ: 19. Annales 1160–1336.

[107] Lundén 1972 p. 55ff.; KL s.v. Erik den helige, T. Schmid, et al.

[108] ÄVgL ed. Schlyter p. 298f.; ASMÆ: 19. Annales 1160–1336. Cf. however Ahnlund 1945 p. 326f.

too, but showed traits of continuity from that of his father. Most important was the fact that during his rule Uppsala was inaugurated as an archbishopric, an event connected to resolving the struggle between the Svear and the Götar.

St. Erik, the larger-than-life hero of a conventional *Vita*, remains a nebulous character, yet we know that he was worshipped in Uppland before the end of the 12th century, after his son Knut achieved control of the realm in or after 1167. In the 1170s Knut's regime was made indisputable by a successful co-government with Jarl Birger I Brosa. Stability was achieved that was to last well into the 13th century.[109] It could be argued that Knut was the actual founder of the new dynasty, known as the *Eriska ätten* (the lineage of Erik), whose male members competed for the throne with those of the *Sverkerska ätten* until the middle of the 13th century.

Scholars have been at odds to discover an ideology or policy for the Sverkers and the Eriks respectively, whether they represented Papal Reformism vs. Church Nationalism, acted in favour of Danish vs. Norwegian alliances, or represented Västgöta or Östgöta particularism. Individuals did, but the families did not in the long run. We could say that Sverker I acted like a clear-cut Europeanization agent. By contrast, Knut Eriksson's and Jarl Birger's government formed a more nationalistic foreign policy, through efforts at expansion in the East and attempts to check the Danish expansion of Valdemar and Absalon, and by seeking some understanding with Henry the Lion and encouraging Sverre's rebellion in Norway.

The 'rescue' of Uppsala

Ea tempestate cum Othinus quidam Europa tota falso divinitatis titulo censeretur, apud Upsalam tamen crebriorem deversandi usum habebat eamque sive ob incolarum inertiam sive locorum amoenitatem singulari quadam habitationis consuetudine dignabatur . . . 'In those days a certain Woden was falsely considered to be of Divine nature all over Europe. He used to stay at Uppsala, which he for some remarkable habit appreciated either

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[109] Gallén 1998 pp. 23–33, cf. for surveys of research, Carlsson and Rosén I 1962 p. 123; KL s.v. Erik den Helige, T. Schmid et al.; SBL s.v. Knut Eriksson, H. Gillingstam; Sundqvist 2000 p. 331f.; cf. the survey of Hagerman 1996 pp. 281–358. For the problematic DS 41 (ST I:41), cf. Bååth 1905 pp. 10ff., 123f.; Westman 1915 p. 161ff.

because of the inertia among its inhabitants or because it was a beautiful place to inhabit'.[110] These words constitute Saxo's unwilling recognition of Gamla (Old) Uppsala's authority in pre-historic Scandinavia. The ancient shrine, the orgiastic rites, the sibylline answers, the general diets and markets held there, the impressive and extraordinarily large grave field and the fact that the kingdom was centred there all used to fascinate long 12th century *scriptores*. I have quoted Snorri at length on the subject. Monuments like these marked the length of time at particular places where memorable events took place and became ritualised. The structures at Gamla Uppsala serve as 'petrified rituals'.[111]

Just as it had been to the pagan Svear, Uppsala became the spiritual centre of Christian Sweden, and when the cathedral was moved to its present site in the 13th century, it was under the condition that it should keep its name. When in the following text I mention Uppsala, it is thus the Old place I have in mind—the ancient meeting place which was to become the seat of Sweden's first archbishops.

To previous researchers the transformation from pagan shrine to centre of a Catholic church province has not always been considered a great problem, since the Sweden which emerged out of the long 12th century was considered to be a Christianised version of the Viking-age pagan or semi-Christian *Sviariki*. The royal see was in due course donated to its bishops, later archbishops.[112] The king's domain all around the country continued to be called *Uppsala öd* throughout the Middle Ages, and the connection of kingship with Uppsala retained a certain perpetual quality, which is particularly obvious from the issue of coins stamped *Rex Upsalie* in the middle of the 13th century.[113]

Against the background of more recent Göta hypotheses it stands out as a rather remarkable feature, which in turn has brought

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[110] SGD I:7:1.
[111] Bradley 1993 pp. 1–5, 45–49, 91ff. I thank Dag Widholm, Kalmar, for recommending this book.
[112] It is probably due to the transformation of the ancient king's court to a bishopric that the terms of Uppsala king, Uppsala öd etc. became obsolete. Rahmqvist (1986 p. 254ff.) means that the change occurred when the archbishopric was established in 1164 at the latest. However, it must have begun when the bishopric was transfered from Sigtuna.
[113] KL s.v. Rex Upsalie, N.L. Rasmusson.

forward two new doctoral theses discussing Uppsala's role within 'a
Sweden created by the Götar'. Janson's *Templum Nobilissimum* (1998)
launched the bold hypothesis that Uppsala was a Christian centre
in the days of Adam,[114] whereas Sundqvist's *Freyr's offspring* (2000),
assumes 'that the public pagan cult at Uppsala had lapsed in the
first decades of the 12th century at the latest'. Although mainly res-
ident in Götaland, according to Sundqvist the kings understood the
traditional and symbolic value of the ancient shrine, not least since
he sees a 'Svea aristocracy . . . strong enough to claim that the reli-
gious centre of Sweden had to be located at Uppsala, and not at
Linköping or Skara'.[115]

A problem common to both authors is that Christian symbols had
been widespread in the Mälar valley and around Uppsala since the
12th century; despite great differences, both of them defend the idea
of cult-continuity. Certain circumstances may show the events in
another light. As we have seen, ca. 1123 four bishoprics already
existed around Mälaren; one of these was Sigtuna, quite close to
Uppsala. This indicates that by this time Uppsala was either still
'pagan', devastated or insignificant. It may be far from conclusive,
but it makes Janson's hypothesis difficult to uphold.[116] However, there
is a third way of explaining the ambivalence among the Svear, namely
as an expression of syncretism; we recall that Adam described a sit-
uation in which the Svear had accepted the Christian God, yet not
abolished the old pagan ones. This seems quite a likely reception
strategy, not refusing what the Europeanization agents offered, but
attempting to make it compatible with the customs and practices on
which their heartfelt identity rested.

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[114] H. Janson's (1998 pp. 257ff., 299ff.) hypothesis has—I think rightly—been
rejected, cf. Sundqvist 2000 pp. 101–06. However, Janson definitely has a point,
bringing forth the (according to Adam) headless Bishop Osmundus as a represen-
tative of the Gallican Reform Church. He was obviously the one who prevented
the establishment of the Bremensian see at Sigtuna. Osmundus seems to have been
an Englishman of Scandinavian descent, spending his old age at Ely (Hallencreutz
1984 p. 373ff.; H. Janson 1998, 119ff., 169ff. & passim). Even later English mis-
sionaries were active in Svealand, among which the martyr Eskil is comparatively
well documented (Lundén 1944 p. 23ff., cf. 15ff., 29ff.).

[115] Sundqvist 2000 pp. 85–128, 274ff., 278.

[116] If Uppsala had become a significant Christian centre already in the 11th cen-
tury and was seen fit to be the archbishopric in 1164, how come it was not a bish-
opric according to the Florence document? This looks as if its rise above the others
was somehow due to pagan merits.

Something like this may be the essence of Adam's story of King Olof Skötkonung, who had to settle in Västergötland after refusing to officiate at the *blot* festivities. Despite this, we know from archaeological finds that he coined money at Sigtuna, and from an Icelandic stanza that he led expeditions towards the East.[117] Of his successors, more or less Christian kings like Anund-Jacob, Edmund and Stenkil either officiated at Uppsala or at least allowed the pagan rite to continue, but we are also told that Inge I tried to abolish the custom and had to take refuge in *vestra Gautland* for a while. Even if the saga tradition relates that he fought back successfully we cannot be sure that this meant the extinction of paganism in Uppsala.[118] As mentioned, the Christian but snake-ornamented rune stones were erected until 1125–30, and the last enthusiasts of this habit were grouped in the area around Uppsala.[119] Whether Inge I and his successors Philip and Inge II may have been *Uppsala konungar* in some of their activities, at least to some of their subjects, we have no means of saying. It may seem unlikely, since the family had already founded a monastery; but that was in Östergötland, in a different mental climate.[120] Thus most indices point to the interregnum and the rule of Sverker as the crucial moment for a definite Christian victory in Sweden.[121]

What may be stated with some certainty is that the dynasty of Sverker was founded by a new man who did not even bother to try to construct a heritage from the legendary royal lineages. For him to suggest descent from the old gods was useless. He claimed his regal charisma on entirely different, Christian, grounds. Why would

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[117] DN-IS s.v. Óttarr svarti, *Óláfsdrápa sœnska*.

[118] Even if the saga tradition of the usurper Blot-Sven may be more of a literary construction, a pagan rebellion around 1080 is confirmed in other sources, such as DS 25 and in Ælnoth's narrative of the martyrdom of St. Eskil (VSD p. 83), written in the early 12th century. Cf. SRS II p. 389ff.; Lundén 1944 pp. 23–28.

[119] Gräslund 1994, see particularly figure 25C.

[120] Cf. however L. Weibull 1948:I pp. 345–48; Ellehöj 1965 p. 85ff.

[121] A rather dubious source, which Kumlien found reasons to accept however, says that in 1138 *Suerchr I jecit fundamenta templi Cathedralis Vpsalae, & cum opere vetusto III. Deorum paganico, ab Yggemundo igne purificato & Sanctificato conjunxit* . . . 'Sverker I laid out the foundations of the cathedral at Uppsala, and joined it with the old construction of the 3 pagan Gods, which "Yggemundus" had purified and consecrated by fire'. (Kumlien 1967 pp. 3, 9 [texts in facsimile], p. 48ff.; cf. Bonnier 1991 pp. 88ff., 100f.). Recently however, H. Janson has presented convincing arguments that it is a deliberate falsification (2001 pp. 41–60). In my view, this makes much better sense for the series of events that we know of.

such a person attempt a solution which resulted in cult continuity in Uppsala? Sverker, himself in all likelihood an Östgöte, could have been suspected of being more in favour of a Götaland location for the archbishopric when the internal dispute broke out over the person and place for a national church province in 1153. The point is that by letting himself be elected as a king of the Svear instead of the Götar (where he surely had his power base) he not only 'mended' the old kingship concept, but also reached a compromise with the unwilling Svear, thereby gaining access to their traditional institutions such as *Uppsala öd*, the *ledung* and the traditional name. In addition he opened up a historical dimension in his project of nation-building.

The person who capitalised on the Uppsala heritage was his upstart competitor in the 1150s, Erik Jedvardsson—or perhaps those who soon afterwards claimed the latter as a saint. Erik may have led opposition at the 1153 meeting, which according to some annals was held in Linköping. It was he who was buried in the patron's position in the middle of the cathedral that was being built at Old Uppsala, although his opponent and presumed murderer Magnus Henriksen actually carried the blood of the ancient dynasty in his veins. What is certain is that the cult of St. Erik explored a form of Uppsala-nostalgia, which Sundqvist rightly points out.[122] However there is another problem with the founding of Uppsala's diocese, namely its link to the struggle between Bremen and Lund about the primate of Scandinavia.

According to the so-called Saxon Annalist, Archbishop Adalbero of Hamburg-Bremen went to Rome for his *pallium* in 1123. He was the first church leader of Bremen to do so in a long time, due to the investiture struggle which had cost Bremen its supremacy over Scandinavia. Obviously he was attending the first so-called Lateran Council, which was celebrated in March that year. During his personal reconciliation with Pope Calixt II, Adalbero brought up the issue of the extension of his church province. The Saxon Annalist says that not only did the pope reinstate the rights to evangelise *quosque terra ad oceanum versus partes illas extenditur* . . . 'as far as the land reached towards the Ocean in these directions', but spontaneously

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[122] Sundqvist 2000 pp. 318ff., 351f.

and courteously he also ordained the accompanying clerk to a bishopric in Sweden.[123]

This literal reading was questioned by Wolfgang Seegrün, who suggested that the Saxon Annalist had confused the archbishop's journey to Rome in 1123 with another in 1133. The Annalist's narrative ends with the information that Adalbero was accompanied back by a cardinal, who was to explain to the Danish bishops that they had to obey the man from Bremen as their Metropolitan. Seegrün found no cardinal appointed to the North in 1123, but found a certain Cardinal Martin in the vicinity of 1133, when a proper *bulla* had been issued to the effect that the Church of Bremen should have its supremacy restored in all Scandinavian countries.[124]

As mentioned, the career clerk was probably Siward, Bishop of Uppsala, who according to several sources lived in Germany from 1134–57, ending his life as the abbot of Rastede monastery in Oldenburg. Previous to Seegrün's critique, Kumlien had read the Annalist's narrative at face value, finding Siward's appointment to have occurred in 1123, and further suspecting him of being the author of 'the Florence document'.[125] Seegrün has no other suggestion for the clerk's identity.[126] His dating of the occasion, however, makes it unlikely that Siward ever reached Uppsala, since he is said to have acted as a *vicarius* for Adalbero in 1134, and was later (1137–38) active in the diocese of Mainz, before entering the monastery of Rastede. Since then, A.O. Johnsen has presented a find that Siward was recorded in the *necrologium* of the Benedictine fraternity at the cathedral of Canterbury, confirming some unclear hints in German sources that he was of British (Irish-Scandinavian) descent.[127]

Seegrün's argument for dating some of the relevant text to 1133 has been efficiently criticised by Christensen.[128] The context suggested

[123] *His ita actis, in hoc quoque domnus papa honorem sibi audaxit, quod quendam bonae conversationis clericum, qui secum Romam venerat, Suethis episcopum ordnavit* (MGH SS VI: 1123 [p. 759]; here quoted from Seegrün 1967 p. 209).

[124] Seegrün 1967 p. 209f.

[125] Kumlien 1962 pp. 279ff., 284ff., 287f.

[126] Seegrün 1967 p. 137.

[127] Smedberg (1983 p. 63) puts Siward's Uppsala period to 1131–34, which would be possible under the condition that the bishop of Sigtuna, suffragan of Lund, had been forced to leave for his sake, which however seems unlikely on the grounds that Siward, too, seems to have been expelled. Johnsen (1981 pp. 29–38) sees Siward in Uppsala in 1133–38/40, which cannot be upheld at all.

[128] A.E. Christensen 1976 p. 41ff.

by Kumlien therefore remains more likely. Conditions for a spon-
taneous papal goodwill gesture are far more plausible in 1123, at
the reunion after the long dissent, when the restitution of Bremen's
former supremacy is certain to have come up. There is even some
confirmation in an archival notice in Hamburg which says that Calixt
II sent a *bulla* to Henry V regarding the bishoprics in Svealand,
Götaland and Norway.[129] As for the fate of Bishop Siward, this ver-
sion also gives meaning to a confused reference to expulsion by
pagans in the Rastede chronicle, brought forward by Kumlien and
Johnsen. Kumlien is quite convincing in his argument that Siward
had to leave his church around 1130 during the last struggle for the
values of paganism, the likelihood of which I have already pointed
to.[130] This is further confirmed by the fact that Henry, the last Bishop
of Sigtuna who died on the battlefield of Fotevik in Skåne in 1134,
had been *expulsus de Swethia . . .* 'thrown out of Sweden' according to
the Roskilde chronicle.[131] If it was not by his rival Siward, who was
then in Germany, it was probably a consequence of the last strug-
gle for paganism.

It appears that what made Uppsala suitable as an archbishopric was
its links with pagan cult and Viking-age kingship. The former would
signify the victory of Christianity over paganism, the latter a conti-
nuity of *Sveariki* into the Catholic realm of Sweden. The idea of such
a transformation had matured from one originating in Bremen, tried

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[129] *Confirmatio Calixti pontificis ad Henricum caesarem de episcopatu Sueciae, Gotlandiae, Norvegiae* (ST I:30; cf Seegrün 1967 p. 133f.). n.b. the annalist's expression, quoted above, that the Church of Bremen was entitled to preach as far as the land reached out into the Ocean. cf. that Pope Honor II sometime between 1126 and 1129 sent a legate *a latere* to investigate the cause for dissent between Adalbero of Hamburg and Asger of Lund. (DD I:2 49). When Pope Innocent II issued several bullae restoring Adalbero's Metropolitanate over the three Scandinavian countries and their tributaries in 1133, he furthermore described a legal process going back to the days of Calixt; and it is particularly stated that it is the bishops of Denmark (Asger included) that have failed to respect the decision. However, as pointed out by A.E. Christensen (1976 pp. 40–45), the bullae were issued by Pope Innocent under impe-rial pressure, and Adalbero was left to realise them as best as he could.

[130] Kumlien 1962 pp. 284–87. Uppsala's own tradition of its early bishops men-tions *[s]euerinus, nicolaus, sueno, sanctus henricus martir qui fuit tempore beate erici*, and *kop-mannus* (DS 3834, cf. SRS III:2 p. 97; for more recent literature, see Sundqvist 2000 p. 274 note 41. It has been suggested that Severinus is a distortion of Siwardus (Kumlien 1962 p. 287; cf Seegrün 1967 p. 137 note 191).

[131] Chron. R: XV; cf. Saxo who mentions *Henricus Sueticarum partium pontifex* (SGD XIII:11:11).

for the first (?) time by Adalward the younger in the 1060s, and per-
haps again by Inge I around 1080. The bishopric of Sigtuna, on
the other hand, we find in the 1060s already in the hands of the
proto-reformist Bishop Osmund. An un-named predecessor or suc-
cessor of his has been discovered archaeologically, and we know from
the last holder of the office, the exiled Henry who died in 1134,
that his master Archbishop Asger of Lund supported the reform
papacy in various ways.[132]

Since one of the few clear details about Sverker I is that he was
benevolent towards church reform, he seems an unlikely person to
'rescue' the cult continuity at Uppsala. But as Siward was probably
made Uppsala's bishop as early as 1123, he may have already estab-
lished himself at the site of the burial mounds in the lifetime of Inge
II, or under the auspices of Ragnvald, the first victim of the Göta
rebellion. My idea is that he tried to convert to Christian purposes
a pagan shrine which had been deserted or losing importance since
the 1080s, thereby activating surviving paganism in the vicinity, which
is why both Siward and Henry of Sigtuna had to leave the territory
north of Mälaren rather hastily. When the rebellion had been crushed,
the bishopric north of Mälaren was moved to Uppsala. Whether
Sverker put his heart into the matter or not, the only obvious cir-
cumstance in favour of the former pagan grove, apart from Uppsala
nostalgia (still potentially dangerous?) was that due to an old mis-
sion strategy practised in Bremen since the 11th century, combined
with a stroke of sheer historical whim, an exiled bishop of Uppsala
was still walking around in Germany.

Working out a unionistic constitution

In the latter part of the 12th century a solution was reached in
Sweden which to some extent disarmed the controversy of the Svear
and Götar. Its nature is indicated in the document of 1164 pro-
claiming the establishment of a Swedish church province, in which
the king is addressed as *filii nostri caroli illustris regis sweorum et gotho-
rum* . . . 'our son Karl (Sverkersson) the illustrious king of Svear and
Götar', while the bishops and Jarl Ulf are ascribed to *regni illius*. The

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[132] Christensen 1976 p. 45ff.

Swedish kingdom is thus considered a double monarchy. This Solomon-
style balance was probably worked out by Pope Alexander III,
Archbishop Eskil of Lund, and the first Swedish archbishop, Stephan,
in an understanding with Karl Sverkersson, who immediately adopted
the practice.[133]

In most cases the realm continued to be referred to as that of the
Svear, but officially and until quite recently (well into the 20th cen-
tury) it remained the kingdom of the Svear *and* Götar (to which the
Vends were a strange and much-discussed later addition). As the
archiepiscopal see, Uppsala also continued as a national shrine, and
we have already heard from Snorri that it remained a place for large
gatherings, notably the so-called *Distingen* (in late February, continu-
ing until modern times) that in the latter part of the 12th century
were completed on May 18th with St. Erik's mass. The king's elec-
tion rituals also continued in Svealand, but a ceremonial constitu-
tion was worked out regarding the lawful ascending to the throne
and to the royal rights, which conceded some influence to the other
lands. This is clear from the *Äldre Västgötalagen*, which says: 'the Svear
have the right to take a king and to reject a king'. Attempts to
explain this passage as a secondary insertion[134] must be rejected since
the principle is confirmed independently by Saxo.[135]

A formalised *Eriksgata* tour was held through the Svea lands and
the two large Götalands in order to have the election confirmed.[136]
Thus the ceremonies and rituals of the Mora stone close to Uppsala
upon which the elected king was hailed, and in Uppsala itself, were
symbolically extended over all the most powerful lands of the realm,
in a constitutional balance that was worked out with some wisdom.
After admitting that the election prerogative belonged to the Svear,
the old Västgöta code continues: 'He shall travel with hostages down
to Östergötland. Then he shall send men here to *aldragöta þings*'. We
may note the full parallel to the *thing* of all Svear, referred to by
Snorri. A little further down follows the crucial point: 'Then *All Göta
Thing* shall be gathered to meet him. When he comes to the *thing*,
he shall swear to be faithful to all the Götar, and not to break the
just law of our land. Then the law-speaker shall first deem him king

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[133] DS 49, 50; cf. DS 51 and many following charters.
[134] Sjöholm 1988 pp. 206f., 296ff.
[135] Cf. DS 32, 37, 38.
[136] For a survey of research, see KL s.v. Eriksgata, G. Hasselberg.

and then the others whom he asks about that.'[137] The *Eriksgata*, then, is basically a ritualised peace treaty between the Götar and the Svear, defining the new national core area.

Another component in this extraordinarily well-balanced system of power-sharing is the *jarl's* office. We hear of *jarls* who were invested with certain aspects of government from around 1160. The title could thus be offered to a potential competitor, who would then have an interest in supporting the kingship. The origin of jarlship as a princely title may thus go back to the Göta rebellion. Saxo makes use of another extraordinary title, *prefectus* 'of the Goths', mostly with reference to age-old saga events, but also in connection to two historical persons. In a survey of what became of the children of St. Knud Rex, he says that one daughter was married to Ericus, *Gothorum praefectus*.[138] According to Lars Hermanson, his office in Götaland might belong to 'the interregnum following upon the death of Inge II some time at the beginning of the 1120s', perhaps as a representative of Magnus Nielsen. Contemporary to Sverker, Erik was to live his later life in Denmark, in a princely position connected to Falster.[139] However,

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[137] ÄVgL R:1. The author of this law was Eskil, Snorri's informant, who was the eldest brother of Jarl Birger II, who was born an Östgöte (cf. E. Lönnroth 1959 p. 16ff.; Sundqvist 2000 p. 283ff.).

[138] The widowed queen brought their son back to her *patria* (Flandres); two daughters were left in Denmark, *ex quibus Ingertha Folconi, Sueticae gentis nobilissimo, nupta Benedictum Kanutumque filios habuit üsdemque mediantibus Birgerum, qui et nunc exstat, Suetiae ducem, cum fratribus suis nepotem accepit. Verum ex Caeciliae matrimonio Ericus, Gothorum praefectus, Kanutum cum Karolo procreavit . . .* 'of whom Ingrid was married to Folke, belonging to a very noble Swedish family, having the sons Bengt and Knut, and thus becoming a grandmother to Birger Jarl (duke), who is still alive, and to his brothers. Whereas Cecilia, in her marriage to Eric, the commander of the Goths, gave birth to Knut and Karl . . .' (SGD XI:14:16. For a related text, see ASMÆ: 23. Chronica Visbycensis 815–1444.) For the genealogical discussion see particularly Gallén 1985 pp. 58–64.

[139] Hermanson 2000 pp. 138–40. A *praefectus Gothiae* occurs also in SGD I:4:13. The term *praefectus* cannot have been used here in its later meaning as a synonym to *advocatus*, bailiff (cf. Fritz 1972 p. 82f.) but in a more exalted sense, for a person who was a power holder in his own right, but formally held a king's commission due to a peace compromise or in a form of alliance. A potential parallel may be found in the title claimed around a century later by Magnus Bengtsson: *legifer Ogostorum (!) prefectusque Kalmarn(iensis) . . .* law speaker of the Östgötar and bailiff of Kalmar' (LübUB II:1 126). Magnus' role in south-eastern Sweden equalled that of a German margrave. He was also a descendant of Ingrid and Folke through one of Birger Brosa's brothers, see Blomkvist 1979a pp. 203–09; Ferm 1990 pp. 98–100. Another parallel, suggested to me by Lars Hermanson, is *Tuph dux* mentioned in ABG III:12 as an aid to Svend Estridsen on his way to power around 1047, often

elsewhere Saxo titles Birger Brosa *praefectus Gotiae*,[140] suggesting that
it was another term for jarlship.

Whether or not the existence of a *Gothorum praefectus* merely reflects
ideas discussed in Absalon's circles or has a concrete background, it
points to the need to find a constitutional solution to the Götar's
claim to a kingdom of their own. Making it a 'prefecture' of *Svea
rike* would probably not have satisfied the activist Götar, since this
meant continued formal subordination to the Svear. The solution
was that the king would receive two realms, the Svea and Göta
lands, and he would give up a portion of his authority to the *jarl*.

In conclusion it may be said that the Swedish model for legitima-
tion of government was remarkably well-developed in a ceremonial,
symbolic and systematized way. Norway and Denmark show only
attempts at something similar. The most likely explanation for this
difference might be to refer it to later Swedish sources. Being recorded
in greater detail only in the 14th century, the Swedish constitution
may have profited from a longer gestation. The basic components
are difficult to date, and they are clearly of different ages. However
it should be noted that most of this ceremonial construction is already
found in the Older Västgöta code, from the middle of the 13th cen-
tury or before, and that other components are confirmed by Saxo
and Snorri. It may have been ritualized 'in the landscape' before
being recorded in the codes.

The older components and the character of cautious peace-keep-
ing between the Svear and the Götar make it likely that the begin-
nings of this ceremony go back at least to the emergence of the
Uppsala archbishopric in 1164 and the construction of the Swedish
double monarchy at about the same time. The *Eriksgata* is of the
same spirit as the other compromise arrangements of that period.
These circumstances suggest that the makers of the constitution were

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interpreted as a 'jarl of Götaland' in the commentaries. According to a note in
Schmeidler's edition (1917 p. 152) this idea goes back to Johannes Steenstrup, *wohl
nach nordischen quellen*. However the sole basis of it may be that Svend had got his
support from Sweden.

[140] SGD XIV:54:16. Cf. Gallén (1985 p. 60f.) who suggests the mentioning of
Karl Sunesson as jarl in Västergötland in 1137 as a reason why Erik was then liv-
ing in Denmark. Erik's son Karl was married to a daughter of Archbishop Eskil (!)
and was to hold a jarlship in Halland, where he was confronted by a son of King
Sverker in a personal feud.

at pains to load it with historicism, and probably also that some tra-
ditions and myths for these places existed which they were able to
build on.

The most likely time for the system to have been inaugurated is
the co-regency of King Knut and Jarl Birger I, when there was
peace long enough for it to settle. The term *Eriksgata*—never satis-
factorily explained—for the newly-elected king's progress through the
core area of the realm, would then refer not only to the compo-
nents of the royal name par preference *eju rikr* . . . 'one governs', but
would also launch St. Erik as the *rex perpetuus* of Uppsala and the
nation. It was probably practised when Sverker II succeeded Knut
quite peacefully in 1196, when this younger Sverker showed his grat-
itude by a large donation of royal land to the regular chapter of
(Old) Uppsala.[141] Even if we will never know the full story of the
emergence of the medieval Swedish constitution, it seems very likely
that several important steps were taken in the 1160–70s period.

The remaining importance of economical conjunctures

The mythical Mediterranean pre-history of the Swedish Götar would
have mattered little if Västergötland had not benefited particularly
from a quicker general progress of Europeanization during the late
11th and early 12th centuries. The area seems to have been drawn
into direct or indirect contact with the Low Countries in the 11th
century, which led to the rise of the trading town of Lödöse on Göta
älv, launched around 1100 as a competitor to the Norwegian town
of Kungahälla further downstream. The border controversy with
Norway in the days of King Inge probably had something to do
with this. From the second half of the 11th century the sea routes
from Friesland to Ribe, Schleswig, and the Viken area, as well as
via the ports of East Anglia to Norway, all grew rapidly in importance.

The Schleswig Rim, the Belts, the Sound and Kattegat became
re-distributional links to the interior of the Baltic, to which the Göta
älv and Väner region was easily attracted. The successful establish-
ment of a Catholic diocese in Skara paved the way more efficiently
than in Svealand. Västergötland was suddenly the most dynamic

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[141] SBL s.v. Birger Brosa, N. Beckman; SBL s.v. Knut Eriksson, H. Gillingstam;
Rahmquist 1986 p. 261ff.

region of the hitherto mostly East-oriented Swedish kingdom. The extraordinary dense cluster of very early, rather small stone churches which covers Västergötland's central plain offers the best corroboration of this.[142] The mental division between the two major parts of the kingdom is also illustrated in the distribution of the Eskilstuna sarcophagi, the characteristically aristocratic burial monuments erected in the 1050–1100 period in the regions south of Mälaren, particularly on the rich plains of the two Götalands. The same mental separation between Uppland and the more southern areas emerges clearly in the successful foundation of a series of twelfth-century monasteries in Götaland, while the only contemporary effort north of Mälaren was very short-lived. The first phase of Europeanization in Sweden advanced slowly but surely overland via the Götalands.[143]

During the latter part of the 12th century, however, Baltic trade regained some of its lost influence on the structuring of the Swedish realm. This time conjunctures radiated from focal points in the south such as Schleswig and the recently Germanised Lübeck. After Kalmarsund and Gotland these influences reached Östergötland, which developed as the paramount power centre in the realm, leaving Västergötland behind. In the middle of the 12th century its core area seems to have been the plain stretching from Linköping towards Skänninge, Alvastra and Vadstena on the great Lake Vättern. The last kings of Stenkil's dynasty were connected to this area as founders of the first monastery in Sweden, the nunnery of Vreta.

This was also the native land of Sverker I, who encouraged the foundation of the monastery of Alvastra, the first Cistercian abbey in Scandinavia, in 1143.[144] Settled in the same area we find the powerful Bjälbo lineage, from which were recruited the two *jarls* called Birger who played leading roles as stabilising factors in maintaining the realm—until Jarl Birger II set up his son Valdemar as a king,

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[142] On the development of Västergötland in the 11th and 12th centuries, see e.g. Wideen 1961; Svahn 1964; C. Weibull 1967; E. Lönnroth 1963 p. 94; Klackenberg 1991; H. Andersson 1983; H. Andersson 1991 pp. 42–44; H. Janson 1998 pp. 119–129.

[143] E. Lönnroth 1959 p. 13ff.; Lindkvist 1988. Roslund 1997 pp. 291f., cf. 283f. For the Eskilstuna sarcophagi, see Lundberg 1997.

[144] Westman 1915 p. 46f.; E. Lönnroth 1940 p. 50ff.; Ahnlund 1945 p. 319f.; Kraft 1945 p. 230ff.; Ahnlund 1946 p. 139ff.; Rosén 1949 pp. 133f.; H. Schück 1959 pp. 43f., 47ff.

staging a full Europeanizing conquest of the Mälar valley in 1247–51. He decapitated the leading aristocrats, imposed modern taxation and started to erect castles, probably founded Stockholm and certainly invited Lübeckian merchants to live there. Birger also hosted the epochal synod at Skänninge in 1248, at which Cardinal William of Sabina (formerly of Modena) issued statutes that implemented the essence of the reformed *ecclesia*.[145]

The shift in conjuncture from west to east is a major explanation of how these regional tensions were eventually solved. Instead of a continuously dominant Götaland, as sketched by the Sawyers and others, I think we must see a comparatively newly-awakened 'Göta movement', originally stimulated by the discovery (plausibly around 1075) of its potentially great ancient pan-European connotations. But at that time, the repute of the *Gothi* or *Gothones* was much greater by the shores of the Mediterranean than in the North.

3. *Henry of Latvia and the Making of Livonia*

The continued dependence on Chronicon Livoniae

Henry of Latvia's narrative of the German discovery of the Livs soon develops into a story of the making of the crusader state of Livonia. To read his account is to be guided through a dramatic case of *change qualitative*, even if it also means that my methodological effort to distinguish between the Europeanization process of regions and that of multi-regional polities in this case is overtaken by the dynamism of development. The regional analysis in Chapter Eight gave a fortaste of how the Lower Daugava very quickly developed into the bridgehead for a much bigger project.

In a first reading the early missionary activities of Meinhard were followed. According to the *scriptor*, Meinhard worked in a kind of symbiosis with the German merchant collective that was operating in the area. The geography of these events is restricted to Yxkull, Holme, the *locus* of Riga where the merchants had their headquarters, and through the mediation of Theoderic to Thoreyda and the

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[145] S. Carlsson 1953; E. Lönnroth 1959 pp. 23ff., 30ff. See most recently the substantial biography of Jarl Birger II by Dick Harrison (2002). However it reached me too late to be considered in the present study.

Gauje district. Using peaceful methods, both Meinhard and the mer-
chants built up positions of strength within Livic society. Second
readings were applied with other source combinations in order to
classify the indigenous society, which was business-like and tolerant,
not unlike that on Gotland. However tensions increased and the sec-
ond bishop, Bertold, launched the first German crusade towards the
Lower Daugava.

Why did step-by-step peaceful development suddenly turn into
confrontation? According to Henry, the Livs proved ungrateful and
untrustworthy. Additional knowledge provided by a long letter of
advice from Innocent III to the young Bishop Albert reveals that
the missionaries provoked them in many ways. The pope pointed
out that the missionaries were split into fractions which furthered
rather than quenched internal unrest. They were overambitious in
demanding tithes and benefices and were insensitive in administer-
ing the canonical marriage rules. This led them into open conflict
with the indigenous gender and family systems which could only
escalate into chaos. These warnings were psychologically clear-sighted
and intelligent, but the way they were heeded, if they were heeded
at all, only added to the escalation.

Arnold's version

Without contradicting Henry's story very much, Arnold of Lübeck's
short description of the same historical process fills up some holes
in its logic. With regard to the conversion of the Livs, the Lübeck
scriptor reports having seen *multos cooperatores existere, alios peregrinando,
alios sua conferendo, ut seges Christi fructuosa consurgeret* . . . 'many helpers
take part, either by going there as pilgrims, or by giving contribu-
tions to the cause in order to make the field of Christ fruitful'.
However, Arnold also comments on the recruitment of 'colonists'
from Germany in a way that recalls other texts we have discussed,
which in turn helps us to understand what was going on.

> And since the place, due to its fertile earth is affluent in all good
> things, it has never lacked Christian immigrants to the colony nor
> planters to the young Church. The land, namely, gives rich harvests
> everywhere, it provides a wealth of grazing lands, it is crossed by rivers
> and it is suitable also for fishing and lumbering.[146]

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[146] *Et quia idem locus beneficio terre multis bonis exuberat, nunquam ibi defuerunt Christi cul-*

Obviously these words reflect recruitment propaganda. Arnold was much closer to these things than Henry, and around 1210 he still believed that Livonia was on the way to becoming a new German territory through the mechanisms of the crusader's 'double reward', the rescue of one's own soul, and the grabbing of pagan land.

Arnold also confirms that the founder of the mission was Meinhard, who for several years had been going there in the company of merchants and noted an interest in Christianity among the Livs. It is interesting to learn that before settling at Yxkull, Meinhard was already an experienced campaigner in the Livic field. As an Augustinian canon he was of high ecclesiastical standing, and his role would hardly have been that of a mere chaplain to the merchants. The impression conveyed is more that of an expedition leader and spokesman. In Arnold's version, he turned to Archbishop Hartwig with a plan for their conversion, which the archbishop and chapter accepted, whereupon he was appointed their representative. To increase his authority in the field he was given the rank of bishop.[147]

When these activities began around 1182[148] two situations could have created the need for a skilled clerical diplomat among the *hansas* sent out from Lübeck into the Baltic: (1) missionary and crusading activities had been undertaken in the East Baltic territories by Sweden and Denmark since around 1170; (2) in 1180–81, Henry the Lion was deprived of his political standing in northern Germany and had to go into exile. This blow struck in the interests of Frederick I left a political vacuum in northwest Germany, where the archbishops of Bremen offered the only legitimate replacement, and where the kings of a united Valdemarian Denmark presented a forceful alternative.[149]

I believe Arnold may have been right in saying the plan was based on Meinhard's information and evaluation. Whether or not he was backed by the Church of Bremen when he undertook his first journeys is unclear, but the project very soon became a priority for Hartwig II and his chapter, who by then must have realised that

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tores, et novelle ecclesie plantatores. Est enim eadem terra fertilis agris, abundans pascuis, irrigua fluviis satis etiam piscosa et arboribus nemorosa. (ACS V:30)

[147] According to Arnold, Meinhard founded an episcopal see at Riga in 1186. However Henry's version that the first see was at Yxkull is confirmed by a papal letter of 1188 (LECUB 9).

[148] Hellmann 1989a p. 19f.

[149] Hellmann 1989a p. 21 & passim.

the hope of getting back their ancient Scandinavian suffraganes had failed after the establishment of national church provinces in Norway and Sweden. As several researchers have pointed out, the Livonian project even became a family enterprise for Hartwig's kin.[150] Arnold's version thus provides us with a more coherent understanding of Meinhard's early interest in establishing his legitimacy, shown not least by his embassy to Polotsk.

The peaceful, constructive character of Meinhard's work is confirmed, and Arnold offers an idealised picture of his successor Bertold, in sharp contrast to the murderous character described by Henry. Arnold claims that the second bishop was working in Livonia even before his advancement to the episcopate, and that he had been 'presented' by the Livonian congregation before coming to Bremen for the investiture, an event Henry touches on without mentioning the name of an *electus*. Back in Germany, Bertold stands as a strong advocate for the crusade, enforced by a (not preserved) concession from Pope Celestine that it would weigh as much as a campaign in the Holy Land.[151] In Arnold's words:

> Hence a great host of prelates, clerics, knights and merchants from all of Saxony, Westphalia, and Friesland—poor as well as wealthy—gathered in Lübeck, where they acquired ships, weapons and supplies, and from there they immediately continued to Livonia.[152]

Henry's negative picture of Bertold was clearly influenced by Theoderic. The influential activist described by Arnold suggests that he may have been an accomplished politician, eager to advance beyond the achievements of Meinhard.

The last part of Arnold's story is devoted to Bishop Albert, described as a young man of excellent lineage and unusual maturity. His talent in obtaining support from many powers, his systematic build-up of institutions, his peace settlements with various tribes and fatherly leadership in general is described as a prelude to the invasion from Polotsk. 'The king of Polotsk', Arnold says, 'now and then had

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[150] E. Christiansen 1980 pp. 93–95; See also Gnegel-Waitschies 1958 pp. 36–44; Hucker 1978 p. 63, pictures between pp. 48–49; Hucker 1989b p. 58ff.

[151] For a biography of Bertold, see Hucker 1989b, pp. 39–64.

[152] *Fit igitur de tota Saxonia, Westfalia vel Frisia prelatorum, clericorum, militum, negotiatorum, pauperum et divitum conventus plurimus, qui in Liubeka comparatis navibus, armis et victualibus Livoniam usque pervenerunt.* (ACS V:30)

tributes collected from the Livs, which the bishop denied however, whereupon the former made several violent attacks on the country and on the city.'[153] The narrative ends with the ominous internal conflict approaching between the bishop and the order.[154]

I find Arnold's description well-balanced and in command of a better insight into the larger ideological and political movements of the era than that of the Ymera pastor; this is simply what one might expect from his position and standing in the metropolis on the Trave. But Arnold cannot match Henry's eyewitness experience. The chief narrative on the making of Catholic Livonia remains his *Chronicon Livoniae*. The foundation of a Christian state was the topic he wished to record, and he was eager to demonstrate that it was a deed of the German nation. I quoted him in Chapter Eight saying that he had undertaken the writing at the request of his betters and peers in order to celebrate the victory over paganism. And indeed it is a *Festschrift*, but as is usual in works of that category, the real story may to some extent be read between the lines. A weak spot in the series of events that may be called 'the making of Livonia' was their conspicuous lack of legality.

The traditional Russian claim on East Baltic territory

Arnold may be correct in saying that the Livs had expressed an interest in Christendom. It would have been a natural consequence of expanding trade with an impressive Christian counterpart. We recall that Swedish emissaries told Emperor Louis the Pious in the 9th century that many of their people wished to take on Christianity, and that their king would benevolently permit the coming of priests, while the narrative of the Christianisation of Gotland in the *Guta saga* says that traders took an interest in it in foreign lands and wished to invite priests. Like the Gotlanders, the Livs were tributaries to a preservative monarchy. What made their case more complicated was their belonging to a Russian principality. As far as we

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[153] *Siquidem rex Rucie de Plosceke de ipsis Livonibus quandoque tributum colligere consueverat, quod ei episcopus negabat. Unde sepius graves insultus ipsi terre et civitati sepe dicte faciebat.* (ACS V:30)

[154] ACS V:30.

know they sent no embassy to Bremen, for example. The message was brought back by Meinhard, who also opened official contacts in Polotsk. Polotsk was a Christian polity in the sense that the grand prince and his entourage were Orthodox believers, as were many of his subjects. But Christianising the inhabitants of his *skattländer* did not have a very high priority. The idea might have been not to risk the functions of the commonwealth by showing intolerance, a clear characteristic of preservative kingship.

We can perhaps look at the realm of Polotsk as an embryo of the emerging White Russian nation, but also as one of several Russian centres from which an aggressive political entrepreneur could gather a large territory. In the late 12th century one of its extensions stretched all the way down to the Daugava estuary. In the river valley, the Polotskian commonwealth had two outposts, the westernmost in Koknese just above the Livic borderlands,[155] the other focused in Jersika further up, some 190km from the coast. Both were Christian towns of the Russian type, displaying churches and hillforts suggestive of embryonic Kremlins, where petty kings lived who held princely rights over large parts of Latgalia. Their names and nationality are disputed. Henry wrote them as Viesceka (corresponding to Russian Vjatshko) of Koknese and Wissevalde (Russian Vsevolod) of Jersika; it has been argued that they may have been of Latvian nationality, which is possible. The Livs, who obviously enjoyed a more republican-style constitution, paid regular tributes to Polotsk; even Meinhard had asked the prince of Polotsk for *licentia* before establishing himself at Yxkull. Hellmann assures us that this remained the legal basis for German mission in the early days of Albert's episcopate.[156]

Bishop Albert's great coup

The German build-up had begun within an existing multi-regional polity, the rather loose and laissez-faire dominance exacted from Polotsk. German trade had been followed by mission, which in turn led to a quick coup-like establishment of Catholic organisation. Only then do we see signs that the Livs began to raise objections, which

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[155] In the summer of 1203, when Vladimir of Polotsk was gathering his tributes among the Livs, Prince Wissevalde of Jersika had been plundering just outside Riga.
[156] Hellmann 1954 pp. 112ff., 131; Auns 1998 pp. 259–61.

indicates that they had accepted the Catholic build-up as long as it didn't violate Livic customs. As soon as the ultimatums of Christianity were revealed, the Livs began to oppose further development, and to consider whether they should force the Church to leave the territory. This rejection became the Catholic/German pretext for a military invasion of Livic territory, forcing baptism and ecclesiastical rents on the indigenous population. But, as previous Scandinavian crusading experience had shown, this had little effect if the coercive powers soon returned home.

Remarkably quickly, however, the Germans were able to shift to a more efficient system. From the beginning, this change of approach was legitimised by Catholic crusading, drawing from experiences in the Levant and from the previous penetration of the Vendic lands. The German undertaking surpassed its Scandinavian competitors with apparently little effort. The champion of this invasion was Albert, third and last bishop of Yxkull, and the first of Riga. He created an epoch in Baltic history, as the founder of Riga[157] and the Dünamünde monastery,[158] promoter of the Brethren of the Sword,[159] and indeed the maker of the Livonian State.[160]

All this was set in motion more or less immediately on Albert's arrival in 1200. The situation quickly deteriorated into a deadlock. The Germans were pumping in *peregrini* (pilgrims, here meaning voluntary workers and soldiers, often followers of a nobleman).[161] Riga was built and populated by German burghers and the Brethren of the Sword were forming. It was more or less peaceful; the Germans still had at least some friends to trade with. Yet tensions were building up and nothing was decided.

Then pilgrims and the Sword's Brethren began to ride through the land. Somehow they got hold of the hillfort of Lennewarden and the immediately surrounding territory.[162] They came all the way to Ascheraden, close to the eastern 'border' of Livic territory. The Livs

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[157] HCL V:1–2, VI:2.
[158] HCL VI:3.
[159] HCL VI:4; Benninghoven 1965 p. 37ff.
[160] G. Gnegel-Waitschies' (1958 pp. 56ff., 82ff., 122ff.) biography of Bishop Albert treats all the aforementioned aspects.
[161] See LECUB 83.
[162] HCL V:1, IX:8, 13.

looked more and more askance at them, and the traditional com-
mercial friendship ebbed away. In 1205, Henry reports, Riga suffered
a food shortage. The situation was saved by a priest, Daniel, who
came from Gotland *cum duobus coggonibus, impletis usque ad summum
annona et similibus*[163] . . . 'with two cogs, loaded to their utmost with
corn and such things'. Taking into account that Gotland was barely
able to provide cereals for itself, and was freed from episcopal tithes
for precisely this reason,[164] this is a remarkable piece of information.
In a flash it highlights the vulnerability of Albert's operation, and at
the same time the efficiency and resources at the disposal of these
Europeanization agents which enabled them to succeed.

It would, I think, be very premature to call the Livic-Polotskian
reaction an 'uprising', since it was the established and until then
generally-recognized regime which was trying to expel an external
aggressor who had some internal footing. The decisive moment came
in 1206 when Vladimir of Polotsk, acting on the complaints of Livic
seniores, decided to demonstrate who was sovreign of the country by
summoning the quarrelling subjects—on one side Bishop Albert, on
the other, senior representatives of the Livs—to an arbitration. The
day and place were proclaimed,[165] but as perhaps foreseeable, the
bishop turned the invitation down. It simply was not done, he said
(according to Henry) that a prince, however unimportant, came to
meet the emissaries appointed to him.[166] So the Bishop of Yxkull
claimed to be a *Landesherr*. This was indeed an act of usurpation; a
definite break with the attitude that Meinhard had taken, and it was
done on no formal grounds. A year later, however, Albert made an
effort to regulate his secular position, by—as Henry cautiously states—
turning to the empire.[167] The intended arbitration became a mobil-
isation instead, at which all kinds of Livs gathered, together with
some Lithuanians. A civil war began.

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[163] HCL X:9. Perhaps these experiences form the background for the legend of
a flour-chest miracle which LRC (vv 458–80) attributes to Bishop Meinhard, who
around 1280 was considered to be a saint. Cf. Hellmann 1989a p. 25f.

[164] DD 104; GL 7:2; see further Blomkvist 1995 p. 218f.; Blomkvist 1997 p. 50.

[165] May 30, 1206, *iuxta flumen Wogene* (Ogre).

[166] HCL X:4.

[167] Because, Henry says, he could not expect help from any king *ad imperium se
convertit et Lyvoniam ab imperio recepit.* (HCL X:17). Due to Livonia's extant subordi-
nation to the Papal Curia this was of course quite a problematic initiative. The
headline of the short chapter even uses the word *donatio*, gift. (*De donatione Lyvonie
in imperium.*) I will turn to its juristic and political significance below.

It emerges that Holme was the focal point of the Livic movement. Henry puts the entire blame on *seniores de castro Holme*, and particularly on a certain *Ako princeps et senior eorum*. The Germans coming up from Riga used their superior military competence to literally smoke their Livic opponents out of the castle. They also got their hands on Ako, who was decapitated and whose head was presented to the worried bishop as a comforting gift. The rest of the opposing *seniores* were sent to Germany, to see and learn what they were up against.[168] The remaining action against the Gauja Livs was led by Kaupo, one of their own leaders who had sided with the Germans (see Chapter Eight). The expedition was also supported by Vestard, prince of the Semigalians, who had brought the immense strength of 3000 men, because, we are told, *Semigalli inimicicias semper habentes contra Thoredenses . . .* 'the Semigalians were always hostile towards the people of Thoreyda'. The Christian victory appears to have been quite easily won.[169] And then, much too late to achieve anything, the grand prince of Polotsk appeared, trying in vain to recapture the castles of Yxkull and Holme, yet abstaining from attacking Riga itself.[170] Adding a technological aspect to the confrontation, Henry claims that this was because some Livs had told him that *omnem campum et omnes vias circa Rigam repletas esse ferreis claviculis tridentibus . . .* 'the entire field and all roads around Riga were full of caltrops', and they showed some of them to him saying that they would penetrate the feet of horses as well as men. All in all, the grand prince cut a poor figure, but he might still have seen the problem as an internal quarrel among subordinates.

During the following winter the Livs bargained for peace.[171] Its conclusion should be seen as the formal birth of the new polity. From then on the Germans were recognised by the indigenous people as being at least a component in the government of the territory.

The Germans demonstrated this by immediately starting to delimit parishes and build churches across the Livic nation, including among

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[168] HCL X:1–9.
[169] HCL X:10.
[170] HCL X:11–12. Hellmann (1954 p. 125f.) points to the appearance of a Danish fleet in the East Baltic area as the reason for Vladimir's quick retreat. See also Benninghoven 1965 p. 75.
[171] HCL X:13.

some Latvians living nearby to the north and the small group of
Vends among the latter.[172] At the same time, the *officium advocacie in
iura seculari* was installed. The job of these advocates was to ride
through the parishes of a province, to judge in *causas et lites hominum*,
punish theft and robbery, to restitute unrightfully taken goods and
to show the Livs a just living. These civil servants are described as
bailiffs and judges at the same time. Henry claims that this Christian
custom was appreciated at first, but later came into bad repute in
the hands of lay judges who worked *magis pro burse sue* . . . 'mostly
for their own purse'.[173] Nevertheless, elementary administrative struc-
tures of a Western European type had been formed.

At a council in Riga in 1208 among the *seniores et discreti viri* who
were cooperating in the state-making project, it was furthermore
resolved that it had been a mistake to make alliances with pagans
in order to fight other pagans. Instead, the more ideologically-sound
principle would be followed of only joining the already-Christianised
Lyvonibus et Leththibus in operations against the surrounding pagans.[174]
This was to be the rule, and as such it was to have far-reaching
consequences.

It is sometimes maintained that this was the beginning of a peace-
ful amalgamation of these two ethnic groups. There are signs indi-
cating that the Livs and the Latvians were beginning to see themselves
as members of a new nation, a political dimension that crossed some
of the ethnic and linguistic barriers. Together they formed the rank
and file of the Livonian military host in the continued fighting against
other neighbours, thus becoming co-agents in the Europeanization
process.

And it is a fact that Livs and Latvians have co-existed ever since,
whether under German, Swedish or Russian leadership, without any
major internal controversies within the larger territory that came to
carry the name Livonia, but in some sense also laid the foundation
for the nation of today named after the Latvians. However the indige-
nous inhabitants were not the only party that might have wished to
express an opinion on what had occurred.

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[172] HCL X:14.
[173] HCL X:15, XI:4.
[174] HCL XII:3.

The day at Jersika

As we have seen, the making of Christian Livonia was in fact a rebellion staged by Bishop Albert, who was claiming sovereignty for himself. Grand Prince Vladimir of Polotsk reacted by claiming the event to be an internal conflict between his German and Livic subjects, over which he declared himself willing to arbitrate. Since Bishop Albert failed to appear, German-governed Livonia had by and large constituted itself. In the words of Hellmann, Albert was no longer a missionary who preached Christianisation according to an obtained *licentia*, but an equal *princeps*; sooner or later this meant an *Entscheidung machtpolitischer Art*.[175] Even if Arnold of Lübeck claims that several Polotskian attacks were made on Lower Daugava, Henry of Latvia relates merely the rather pointless expedition of 1206; he may be the greater authority in the matter.[176] This would indicate that the grand prince still was not very much alarmed. It is a fact that he quite passively let his western strongholds fall into the hands of Bishop Albert.

The way Henry of Latvia describes it, the German advance had begun as a mere incident. Some over-enthusiasm in the forces of an episcopal vassal had led them to overpower the local prince, Viesceka, and keep him as a prisoner. Bishop Albert was said to have been much ashamed by this violation, which led him into direct contact with Viesceka. This ended in a friendship treaty according to which the prince gave up half of his *castrum* (hillfort), while the Bishop *mittit cum eo viros strennuos XX cum armis et equitaturis suis, milites, balistarios nec non sementarios ad castrum firmandum* . . . 'sent with him 20 strong men with their weapons and horses, knights, crossbowmen as well as bricklayers to strengthen the fort'. As the German experts *ad opus suum exirent et ad edificationem castri lapides in fossato exciderent* . . . 'went to work breaking stones in the foss for the building of the fort' the prince's men attacked them *nudos stantes in operibus suis interficiunt* . . . 'as they were standing unarmed doing their work and killed them', whereupon the prince, obviously failing to get strong enough support, burnt down his stronghold and escaped to Polotsk, never to see it again. Bishop Albert confiscated half the rights connected to

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[175] Hellmann 1954 p. 123f. Cf. Benninghoven 1965 p. 71ff.
[176] Benninghoven (1965 p. 86) says that 'precisely in the years 1207–11 Vladimir showed remarkable passivity towards the advancing 'Latins' of the lower Daugava.

the principality and put another of his vassals there, thereby mak-
ing a considerable conquest.[177]

Soon after this event the bishop turned against the more distant
Russian petty king Prince Wissevalde of Jersika in a straightforward
assault against an Orthodox Christian neighbour. However in Henry's
narrative Wissevalde is accused of being *christiani nominis et maxime
Latinorum semper inimicus* . . . 'a great foe of Christ's name and partic-
ularly of the Latins'. In control of a strategic place for crossing the
river, he was particularly accused of having helped the Lithuanians,
whether they were going to Russia or Livonia and Estonia.[178] The
German contingent headed by the bishop took Jersika by surprise.
The episcopal forces captured Wissevalde's wife, the daughter of a
Lithuanian chieftain, although the prince escaped across the river
into Selonia. In contrast to the cautiously-motivated goodwill and
legal correctness by which the bishop is said to have got control of
Koknese, Henry's description of the German behaviour in the other
Russian town is blunt:

Sedit itaque die illo omnis exercitus in civitate, et collectis spoliis multis de omnibus angulis civitatis tulerunt vestes et argentum et purpura et pecora multa et de ecclesiis campanas et yconias et cetera ornamenta et pecuniam et bona multa tollentes secum asportaverunt, deum benedicentes, eo quod tam repente eis contulit victoriam de inimicis et aperuit civitatem absque lesione suorum (HCL XIII:4).	Thus the entire host stayed that day in the city. After having collected much spoils from all angles of the city they gathered clothes and silver, purple and much cattle. And from the churches they brought bells, icons and other ornaments, money and much movables with them, praising the Lord for having given them victory over the enemies and opening the city without any losses of their own.

The aftermath is described in one of the oldest preserved Livonian
charters, which is unique in referring to *regnante glorissimo Romanis
imperante Ottone*, the universal authority of the Emperor Otto IV, who
had received his papal coronation in the same year. The event is

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[177] HCL XI:8–9, XII:1, XIII:1; LECUB I:18. Cf. Hellmann 1954 p. 129f.

[178] According to HCL XIII:4 he was later compelled to accept as peace condi-
tions not to join forces with the pagans (Lithuanians), nor to fight the Latin Church
with their help, nor to lay waste *terram Ruthenorum tuorum conchristianorum* . . . 'the land
of your Russian fellow Christians'.

also covered by a discovery report from Henry. I will follow the charter, which was given at the cemetery of St. Peter's in Riga in the year 1209 in the presence of an extraordinary congregation of prominent nobles, clerics, knights (pilgrims as well as local residents), merchants, Germans, Russians and Livs.

Summoned to Riga, the Orthodox prince had found reason to hand over his town of Jersika, which he held with hereditary rights, with all its territories and properties as a donation to the Beatified Virgin Mary. Those of his subjects who had been Christianised by the Germans were handed over to the bishop together with their rents and properties. They were assigned to the hillforts (*urbs*) of Antine, Zessowe 'and others that were converted to the Creed'. *Deinde praestito nobis hominio et fidei sacramento, praedictam urbem cum terra et bonis attinentibus a manu nostra solempniter cum tribus vexillis in beneficio recepit . . .* 'After having given us homage and committed the sacrament of the Creed, he was given the aforementioned town (Jersika) with all its lands and all that belonged to it in beneficium from our hand, together with three standards'.[179]

B.U. Hucker points out that the charter expresses a swift and full acceptance of the new and previously controversial emperor, despite the fact that Albert had approached his Staufer opponent in 1207. Hucker furthermore demonstrates that Otto, the son of Henry the Lion, was developing a considered Livonian policy, and that Albert was manoeuvering quite consciously towards international recognition of his state-making project. According to Hucker the consigning of standards to the prince of Jersika had the specific meaning of investing him with a *Fahnlehen* ('banner-fief'), in the same way as the German king gave *Fahnlehen* to his most high-ranking vassals, the *Reichsfürsten*.[180] This was a very definite way of marking Livonia as an independent state, made legitimate by belonging to the empire under the protection of St. Mary.

Another interesting transaction is related by Henry of Latvia, namely that Wissevalde chose Bishop Albert as his 'father' (*in patrem eligens*), which has been explained as a form of spiritual subordination based on familial principles, according to a Byzantine custom

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[179] LECUB I:15; HCL XIII:4.
[180] Hucker 1987 p. 50ff. For *Fahnlehen* as a regal competence of High Justice (*Hochgerichtbarkeit*) symbolised by the handing over of a Blood Standard (*Blutfahne*), see Sprandel 1994 p. 142.

spread among some princely families. Hellmann claims that the activities in Koknese and Jersika were fully within the frames of feudal law, and that the double vassalage wouldn't have offered any offence to the Grand Prince of Polotsk, which he claims the Russian prince would have known.[181] That, of course, can be only a formal aspect. Clearly Albert was using a blend of political aggression and feudal-legal technicalities to further destabilise what was left of Polotskian influence over Latvia. But the point is that Wissevalde had allied himself with Lithuanians, which provided Albert with an element of *Realpolitik* that the Grand Prince of Polotsk couldn't really complain about.

Even if Albert's political project was going well, he may not have had the unanimous support of the Germans in Livonia. A serious rift was opening with the emerging Brethren of the Sword. This is mainly presented as a struggle for independence by the order, connected to its wish to realise the potential of the military conquests it was making. But this may be an opinion formed after the outcome of the events. The order had strong support in Germany and in Rome. In many centres of Europeanization, power holders were throwing worried glances in the direction of Riga; and clearly in these early years it was Albert's activities that caused most anxiety.[182] Obviously it was damaging to trade as well.

Polotsk had no trading traditions like Novgorod. It had been a fairly peripheral component in the urban system of Rus, which apparently had allowed for the establishment of an independent Scandinavian dynasty there in the late 10th century, the existence of which is reflected in the narrative of the destruction of Rogvolod by Grand Prince Vladimir in the PVL. By the dissolution of Kievskaya Rus it had obviously regained some independence and was, at least for a while, the dominant centre of a political network tying together cities like Vitebsk, Smolensk and Minsk. But so far it had failed to assume a dominant commercial position, at least towards the west. For centuries the Lower Daugava, and particularly Daugmale, had functioned as an area for export and import in which Semigalians as

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[181] Hellmann 1954 pp. 131–33.
[182] Benninghoven 1965 pp. 75–120. We have mentioned the papal mandate of 1213 to leading clergymen on Gotland to protect the interests of the Order, particularly against the activities of the bishop.

well as Livs would have acted as middlemen. All in all the Daugava line was open to many destabilising factors that its Polotskian overlord so far had failed to overcome. But he may have had hopes of doing so.[183]

Against this background we can better understand the gist of a discovery report belonging to 1210, which Henry presents under the title: *De pace facta inter regem de Plosceke et Rigenses perpetuo . . .* 'Of a perpetual peace concluded between the king of Polotsk and the people of Riga.'

Nam missus est Arnoldus frater mili-cie cum sociis suis ad regem de Ploceke, si forte pacem recipiat et mercatoribus Rigensibus viam in terram suam ape-riat. Qui benigno recipiens eos affectu et pacis tranquillitate congaudens, licet in dolo, misit cum eis Ludolfum, virum prudentem ac divitem de Smalenceke, ut Rigam veniens, que iusta sunt et paci-fica, retractet. Qui postquam in Rigam venerunt et regis voluntatem aperuerunt, placuit Rigensibus, et facta est pax per-petua tunc primo inter regem et Rigenses, ita tamen, ut Lyvones debitum tributum regi persolvant annuatim vel episcopus pro eis. Et gavisi sunt omnes, ut eo securius cum Estonibus et aliis gentibus bellare valeant. Quod et factum est. (HCL XIV:9).*	Then Arnold, a brother of the order, was sent together with his escort to the king of Polotsk to find out if he accepted the peace and would open the way into his realm to the Rigan merchants. He received them kindly and was inclined to have peace, but cunningly he sent Ludolf, a prudent and rich man from Smolensk, with them to Riga, in order to negotiate a just and favourable peace. When they came to Riga and told about the will of the king, the Rigenses agreed and for the first time a perpetual peace was concluded between the king and the Rigenses, on the condition that the Livs should pay their tribute annually to the king or the bishop should pay for them. And all were delighted because thus they could more securely fight against the Estonians and other peoples. And so it happened.

Particularly noteworthy in this episode is that alternative elements in the western colony seem to be grasping the initiative from Bishop Albert. There is the embassy led by a Sword's Brother, the focus on the opening of trade relations, and the sour comment on a deceitful plan which is unspecified yet connected to the achievements of

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[183] See particularly Radiņš 1998 pp. 178–90.

the shrewd Polotskian negotiator, a merchant of Smolensk with a German-sounding name. Henry's typically guarded objection may be connected to the truly remarkable fact that the peace conditions also implied that Bishop Albert had been compelled to recognise Grand Prince Vladimir's sovereignty over Lower Daugava. The clause that tributes were to be levied from the Livs or paid for them by the bishop probably implies that the bishop had accepted becoming Vladimir's vassal, rather than risk the reinstatement of a direct relationship with his flock.

   This event suggests that the burghers of Riga, backed by the trading guests, had come to an understanding with the Order with the aim of making Bishop Albert modify his state-building efforts. We can suppose this had begun to be an embarrassment to trade, which is why another political fraction showed their dissatisfaction by agreeing a peace with the Polotskian grand prince. The interest group that took action we can define as consisting to a great extent of core area representatives, even if our *scriptor* preferred to blame the shrewdness of the Polotskian negotiator.

We can hardly trust Henry to tell the full story of these events. Political caution may have prevented him from being too outspoken at times, and he may not have been fully informed of all the intrigues going on. Not only were general European interests clashing with more local North German ones, but military priorities collided with the interests of mercantile trade and Christianisation. For the land-hungry there was the chance to conquer land, but Novgorodian, Pskovian, Polotskian and Lithuanian powers were involved in complicated strategies above the heads of the ordinary Livic-Latvian population.

   However it appears that Bishop Albert took the hint. In the autumn of 1210 a mediation was held between the bishop and the Brethren of the Sword, in which the order was awarded a third part of Livonia and Latvia and the relationship between the two parties was regulated in detail. This was only the first in a succession of treaties that gradually established the order as a constituent part of the emerging state.[184] The following year the bishop issued his first trade privilege, which stated that the shores of the Daugava should function

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[184] LECUB 16, 17; cf. LECUB 18, 19, 23, 25 etc.

more or less as an extension of Gotlandic conditions.[185] He couldn't fight his most accomplished countrymen and maintain an offensive foreign policy at the same time.

In 1212 a remarkable discussion was held in Jersika, to which the Prince of Polotsk invited his supposed vassal Bishop Albert. In many ways it appears as a turning point. Again it is Henry of Latvia who provides the story:

> Meanwhile the king of Polotsk sent a message and asked the bishop to come to him in Jersika on the stated day and place to answer about the Livs who were previously his tributaries and to negotiate about preparing a secure way on the Daugava for the merchants, and renewing the peace so that they would be able to easier resist the Lithuanians. The bishop brought his men with him and king Woldemar[186] with the Brethren of the Sword and the seniores of the Livs and Latvians and went up to meet the king. And with him went merchants in their ships and all of them were in armour to prevent an ambush of the Lithuanians from every part of the Daugava. And when they came to the king they began to negotiate about what justice demanded.
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> But the king asked the bishop, now in polite words, then in rude threats, to give up baptizing the Livs, and claimed that he had the power to either baptize his servants, the Livs, or leave them unbaptized. It is namely the custom of the Russian kings that when they have conquered a people, they don't subject it to Christendom, but only to pay them tributes and money.
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> But the bishop obeying God more than men, the divine power more than the secular according to what he himself taught in his gospel, said: Go, teach all peoples and baptize them in the name of the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit. And therefore he firmly stated that he should not give up what he had begun nor neglect the preaching that was laid upon him by the pope. But he did not prohibit the king from having his tributes, according to what the Lord says in his gospel: Give the emperor what belongs to him, and God what belongs to him, since the bishop himself too at times had paid the rate to the king for the Livs. But the Livs did not want to serve two lords, the Russians and the Germans, and asked the bishop repeatedly to liberate them completely from the Russian yoke.

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[185] LECUB 20; cf. Ch. VIII:2.

[186] King Woldemar (Vladimir) was a Pskovian prince whose daughter was married to Bishop Albert's brother Theoderich von Buxhoeveden. Woldemar held an office that Henry calls *bailiwic* over the western Latvians.

But the king did not acquiesce in these justified reasons but was infuriated and threatened to burn all the forts in Livonia and also Riga itself and ordered his army to get out of the fort, and pretending to begin war with the Germans he ordered all his people to go to the field with their bowmen and began to go against them. Then all the men of the bishop with King Woldemar and the Brethren of the Sword and the armed merchants proceeded bravely against the king. And when they met with each other, Johannes, the priest of the church of Holy Mary and King Woldemar and some other persons went straight between the battle-arrays and admonished the king not to trouble the young Church with his wars in order not to be troubled himself and his people by the Germans who were all forceful in their armour and had a great desire to fight with the Russians. Frightened by their braveness the king ordered his army to retire and went to the bishop and venerated him by greeting him as a spiritual father; similarly he was received by him as a son. And they spent some time together and talked diligently about everything that had to do with peace.

Thereupon the king, perhaps inspired by God, left the whole of Livonia free to the bishop to affirm a perpetual peace between them both against the Lithuanians and against other pagans, and the merchants should always have a free way on the Daugava. And after this the king with merchants and his whole people went up the Daugava and returned to his city of Polotsk with joy. But also the bishop went down together with all his men and returned with still greater joy to Livonia.[187]

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[187] HCL XVI:2. *Rex interim de Plosceke mittens vocavit episcopum, diem prefigens et locum, ut ad presenciam ipsius aput Gercike de Lyvonibus quondam sibi tributariis responsurus veniat, ut et sibi colloquentes viam mercatoribus in Duna prepararent securem et pacem renovantes facilius Letonibus resistere queant. Episcopus vero assumptis secum viris suis et rege Woldemaro cum fratribus milicie et senioribus Lyvonum et Lettorum ascendit in obviam regi. Et ibant cum eo mercatores in navibus suis, et induerunt se omnes armis suis, precaventes insidias Letonum ex omni parte Dunae. Et venientes ad regem ceperunt ea, que iustitia dictabat, cum eo retractare. Rex vero modo blandiciis, modo minarum asperitatibus episcopum conveniens, ut a Lyvonum baptismate cessaret, rogavit, affirmans in sua esse potestate, servos suos Lyvones vel baptizare vel non baptizatos relinquere. Est enim consuetudo regum Ruthenorum, ut quamcunque gentem expugnaverint, non fiedi christiane subiecere, sed ad solvendum sibi tributum et pecuniam subiugare. Sed episcopus magis deo obediendum iudicavit quam hominibus, magis regi celesti quam terreno, secundum quod ipse in evangelio suo precepit, dicens: Ite, docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nominee Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Et ideo ab incepto desistere neque predicationis officium a summo pontifice sibi iniunctum negligere constanter affirmavit. Sed neque regi tributa sua dari prohibebat, secundum quod Dominus in ewangelio suo iterum ait: Reddite, que sunt cesaris, cesari et, que sunt Dei, Deo, quia et ipse episcopus versa vice quandoque eundem censum eciam regi pro Lyvonibus persolverat. Lyvones autem nolentes duobus dominis servire, tam Ruthenis videlicet quam Theutonicis, suggerebant episcopo in omni tempore, quatinus eos a iugo Ruthenorum omnino liberaret. Sed rex verborum iustis rationibus non acquiescens, tandem indignatus est et omnia castra Lyvonie simul et ipsam Rigam se flammis tradere comminatus exercitum suum de castro iussit exire et cum Theuthonicis bellum inire simulans ordinavit omnem populum suum in campo cum sagittariis suis et appropinquare cepit ad eos. Unde viri omnes episopi cum rege Woldemaro et fratribus milicie*

Bishop Albert was able to reap the harvest of the World-system internal mediation network, which had reduced tensions with the order after involving many of the Catholic leadership, Pope Innocent included. And he, Albert, was once more in charge. Against Grand Prince Vladimir's Old system attitude that he had regal rights to decide whether his subjects should be Christianised or not, Albert produced a perfect New system response. The crusaders' mandate derived directly from God and was not to be compromised. The grand prince's futile worldly rights he could concede, since this was written in the New Testament.

This was the canonical part of the event, which separated right from wrong. It was followed by a political aspect, containing a sensational claim from the Livs that they would rather serve Albert than Vladimir, and an open demonstration of strength which ended in a political victory for the Germans. Eventually Albert succeeded in making the grand prince accept all his points and, as Wissevalde had done before him, the Polotskian grand prince greeted Albert as his spiritual father and let himself be received as a son, meaning that the positions had been completely reversed. Both parties went home happy, Henry claims, but the bishop and his men were a bit happier than the Russians.

What had actually caused the sensational outcome of the day in Jersika is not told by Henry; maybe he didn't know. However, some years later Vladimir prepared a new war expedition against Livonia which was interrupted by his sudden death. Henry later pointed to this as one of several proofs that God was holding his hand over the Livonian state-building project.[188] But to get away with all this

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et mercatores indutis armis suis audacter regi in obviam processerunt. Et cum congrederentur, Iohannes, ecclesie beate Marie prepositus, et rex Woldemarus cum aliis quibusdam inter media agmina transeuntes regem commonitum habebant, ne bellis suis novellam turbaret ecclesiam, ne ipse cum populo suo turbaretur a Theuthonicis, qui erant omnes fortes in armis suis et habebant desiderium magnum cum Rhutenis pugnandi. Quorum audaciam veritus rex exercitum suum redire iussit et transiens ad episcopum et tamquam patrem spiritualem salutans veneratus est; similiter et ipse tamquam filius ab eo receptus est. Et commanentes ad tempus verborum interloquutionibus omnia, que pacis erant, diligenter inquirebant.

Unde tandem rex dei fortassis edoctus instinctu Lyvoniam totam domno episcopo liberam reliquit, ut pax inter eos perpetua firmaretur tam contra Letones quam contra alios paganos et via mercatoribus in Duna semper libera prestaretur. Et his peractis rex cum mercatoribus et cum omni populo suo Dunam ascendens et reversus est in Ploceke civitatem suam cum gaudio. Sed et episcopus cum omnibus suis maiori gaudio descendens, rediit in Lyvoniam.

[188] HCL XIX:10, XXV:2.

in 1212, the bishop must have been able to show a bright and promising future to his newly-aquired spiritual son. Could this have been a promise of favourable commercial privileges? Might he have offered political support to improve the standing of Polotsk in the Russian arena, or could the Polotskian have been offered a Western-type kingship, granted by the pope? The clearly important role played by the Smolensk merchant Ludolf in the negotiations of 1210, and the amalgamating interests of the Order and the leading Riga merchants, suggests that commercial aspects may have carried weight. Therefore we must try to evaluate the opportunities from the White Russian perspective.

The Russian market

The mechanisms of the medieval Russian output market are a well-known theme to economic historians. After the Viking-age conjunctures, characterised by the westward flow of Samanid silver, a flood of western gold and silver accompanied by comparatively advanced technological products (cloth included) poured into Russia as payment for the much-demanded Russian commodities: furs, wax, hemp (for rope-making), tallow (for soap-making) and linen, together with silk and drugs from Asia. The internal gathering of these commodities was to a large extent built on exchange and tribute collection from production groups living under very simple, harsh and archaic conditions. It covered vast distances and had a political element; the position of Novgorod, the most senior of the Russian emporia, was built on its political command and communication expertise in its vast northern territory.[189]

During the Viking Age the transportation westwards of Russian commodities followed the Route of Kings along the coast of Sweden, probably to a great extent on Varangian ships. However we have seen that around 1120 the royal Russian dynasty was seeking partnership with the most advanced of Europeanization agents among the Scandinavian leaders, forming 'the Russian sisters' alliance'. This led to more frequent Novgorodian active trade on the Baltic using the Golden Diagonal via Gotland. Parallel to this, the 'liberation' of Gotland opened the way for the New system of trade carried by the

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[189] Attman 1944; Bolin 1953; Benninghoven 1961 p. 66f. & passim.

Nemtsy. However the Svear, and from the 1190s the Danes, responded by sending expeditions (sometimes poorly masked as crusades) into the Gulf of Finland, taking control of the sea route along the coast of Estonia and Finland and the passage into the Neva. In 1188 the Novgorodians entered into a bitter conflict with the Varangians that continued through the 1190s. Only in 1201 was peace made with a Varangian delegation who came overland to Novgorod.[190]

From this perspective, in the privilege of 1191/92 it was rational to make the *Nemtsy* and their spearhead the Gotlanders the most favoured trading partners in the Volkhov metropolis. Even if in this context the word *Nemtsy* was far from its modern meaning of 'Germans', it must be understood to signify the modern continental, Gotland-based New system of trade. The word is clearly used to distinguish this trade from that of the Old system, which was maintained by the *Variazi*, the Varangians. The ongoing Varangian war must have disturbed trade relations with the *Nemtsy* and the Gotlanders too.[191] This may be one of several reasons for the Gotland and *Nemtsy* traders to focus on another outlet from the Russian interior, the Daugava, clearly seen around 1180. Trade exchange on Livic soil ran smoothly up to a limit, but the politically much looser situation carried the potential of a more advantageous solution, that of an emporium entirely in *Nemtsy* hands. And the period when peace was reached with the Varangians coincided with the beginning of a new phase of Europeanization in Balticum, the launching of Catholic crusades towards the Lower Daugava.

From a White Russian perspective this offered an opportunity to develop cities like Polotsk and Smolensk into Russian commodities centres, and thus dethrone Novgorod from its position as chief emporium for the *Nemtsy* trade. In Novgorod they may not have believed in any impending danger, but one bad sign was that the privilege of 1191/92 failed in its high ambition of becoming confirmed again and again by the reigning princes. Another sign was that the *Paraskeva Pyatnitsa* . . . 'Friday's church' belonging to the guild of *zamorskye kuptsy* . . . 'transmarine merchants' on the market field in Novgorod's

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[190] Cf. Chs VII:4,5; VIII:1–3.
[191] As for political events from the 1190s, the First Novgorodian Chronicle focuses on a series of plunder expeditions towards various neighbouring territories, some against Finno-Ugrian tribes; there are also clear indications of tensions in the relations with Polotsk, see Rahbek Schmidt 1964 pp. 60–67.

commercial side (mentioned above in connection with St. Lars in Visby) was reconstructed in a grander, characteristically Smolenskian style in 1207. What we *know* is that a trade peace was settled for the Daugava, but only in 1229, after the death of Bishop Albert. Nor was Polotsk in the lead any more.

A treaty issued by the Grand Prince of Smolensk, Mstislav Davidovich, reveals that in the year when Bishop Albert of Riga died (1229) he had sent his 'best priest' Jeremias and the good man Pantelej to Riga, and from there to the Gotlandic coast, in order to confirm the peace. This was done, and a document was issued in the presence of many merchants, representatives of Gotland itself, Riga and several cities, most of which were in the core area of western Germany. Thus the German victory in Livonia was followed up by the organisation of a new economic network, in which inland Russia, led by Smolensk, adapted itself to the new power order in the Baltic. The treaty is written as a mutual agreement that was to protect the *Latineskii* in Smolensk and the *Rousy* in Riga as well as on the coast of Gotland. The articles foresee Russian active trade. Among other things it is stated that conflicts within the Russian community in Riga or on the coast of Gotland would be solved by the community itself. As a Latin merchant was allowed to go to other areas in Russia, so could the Russian go from the coast of Gotland to the Trave.[192]

From the perspective of the Catholic World-system, the Western success in Livonia awoke an interest in further exploitation of the gigantic Russian hinterland. The immediate confirmation is the Smolensk treaty of 1229, negotiated and confirmed mainly by core area merchants with a new Russian party, as eager as they were. A papal letter exists, the meaning of which seems never to have been properly understood. Honor III wrote to unnamed Russian princes and asked whether they would be interested in converting to Catholicism.[193] This belongs to the aftermath of Cardinal William's expedition. In the years following 1225 there were obviously great

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[192] Goetz 1916 pp. 231ff., 254, 266.
[193] Goetz 1916 pp. 230–304. The treaty is confirmed by 18 merchants, representing (in this order) The Coast of Gotland, Lübeck, Soest, Münster, Groningen, Dortmund, Bremen and Riga; cf. Johansen 1965 p. 128 note 39. LECUB 95.

expectations for future expansion up the Daugava; the evident symbol of this is the remarkable St. Lars' of Visby. The ambitions of Smolensk to maintain active trade are illustrated in a new treaty of 1250.[194]

During this period, however, relations with Novgorod had clearly stagnated. A series of wars were fought between Livonia and Novgorod, and at times also between Sweden and Novgorod.[195] At the end of the 1250s Alexander Nevskij made peace with three German-Gotlandic emissaries, the *Nemets* Sivord, the Lübecker Didrik and the Gotlander Olsten. During this process the Jaroslav privilege of 1191/92 was again brought out and confirmed and improved, particularly with articles regulating security in the respective trading areas and on the routes to and fro. It appears that the traditional position of Novgorod as the chief Western trading partner was restored from this time.[196]

Henry senses victory

Concurrent with the reaching of terms with Polotsk, the colonial campaigns continued well into the 1220s. The Livs and the riverside Latvians being pacified, the main target was now the Estonians. This was another predictable, uneven and violent series of events, little different from that which we followed among the Livs. However the involvement of various external parties may have been deeper. It seems that Novgorod and Pskov put up a much stronger defence of their traditional interests in Estonia than the Polotskian overlord on the Daugava, but we must remember that the sources are unevenly preserved and quite often ambiguous. However the *First Novgorodian Chronicle* tells of several expeditions into Estonia during these years which involved confrontations with Germans; so does Henry of Latvia.[197]

In 1219 the Danes interfered, grasping all the regions of northern Estonia and thus taking control of the entire southern coast of the Gulf of Finland. In 1220 the Swedes made their attempt to occupy the Wiek area, which the Osilians denied them. The intrusion of other missionary projects were 'friendly' actions undertaken

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[194] Goetz 1916 p. 305ff.
[195] Benninghoven 1965 pp. 369–82 & passim; Lind 1991 pp. 269–95.
[196] Goetz 1916 p. 72ff.
[197] Rahbek Schmidt 1964 pp. 73, 79f., 86 etc.; HCL XIX:10, XX:3, 7–8 etc.

by World-system fellows, which disturbed both Bishop Albert and
the Brethren of the Sword and involved them in an even more com-
plicated power game than before. Henry had greater difficulties than
ever in balancing his sentences.

However the cause to which he was devoted miraculously sur-
vived all threats and conspiracies. *Sic, sic maris stella suam semper cus-
todit Livoniam; sic, sic mundi domina terrarumque omnium imperatrix specialem
suam terram semper defendit; sic, sic regina celi terrenis regibus imperat. Nonne
imperat, quando reges multos contra Lyvoniam exacerbavit*, he exclaims, para-
phrasing a well-known hymn to St. Mary. 'So, so watches the star
of the sea over her Livonia; so, so the Mistress of the World, the
Empress of all countries her own country; so, so governs the Queen
of Heaven over worldly kings. Did she not rule, when she punished
many kings that fought against Livonia.' This splendid apotheosis is
followed by a catalogue of all the enemies of German-ruled Livonia
who have proved unsuccessful: Vladimir of Polotsk, several grand
princes of Novgorod, Wissewalde of Jersika, Viesceka of Koknese,
even the Swedes *numquid audebo dicere* . . . 'if I dare to say it', even
the Danish king *si dicere fas est* . . . 'if that may be said', and of course
many Lithuanians, the notorious Ako of Holme, many Latvians,
Osilians, Rotalians, name after name. No one fought against Livonia
without losing.[198]

No end to history

*Annus bisdecimus septimus antistitis extitit, et iam Lyvonum terra tranquilla
pace silebat* . . . 'this was the twenty-seventh year of the bishop, and
now the Livonian land enjoyed the tranquility of peace'. Henry of
Latvia's narrative ends in a glorious spirit of success and achieve-
ment, with a description of not only a peace, but also of a great
victory for the *Rigensium et Theuthonicorum* . . . 'the Rigans and Germans'.
*Et miserunt omnes nuncios suos cum muneribus suis in Rigam, tam Rutheni
quam Estones Maritimi et Osiliani, Semigalli et Curones nec non et Letones,
querentes pacem et societatem eorum* . . . 'and they all sent their messen-
gers to Riga bringing gifts, as well the Russians, the Estonians of
Wiek, the Osilians, the Semigalians, the Curonians and not least the
Lithuanians, all asking for peace and good neighbourly relations'.

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[198] HCL XXV:2.

All were received and given peace, *et siluit terra in conspectu eorum* . . . 'and the land was resting under their eyes'.[199] It is a beautiful moment of a happy ending, which allows Henry to let his epic qualities loose in a description of how everybody returned from their hiding-places and started to rebuild the country, which, he stated, had been at war for forty (!) years.

In this year, 1225, Livonia's position was also regulated by the visit of William of Modena, the papal legate. In describing his entry with a great entourage *in Dunam* and his reception in Riga, Henry even offers us a geography of the achievement. The legate rejoices with his hosts over the spread of God's vineyard, *ut ramos suos ad decem dietas usque in Revelis extenderet vel alia via in Plescekowe vel iuxta Dunam usque Gerceke totidem alias dietas se dilataret, que et episcopatus quinque iam distinctos cum episcopis suis haberet.* . . . 'that its rich branches stretched ten days' marches all the way to Tallinn, or along another road to Pskov or along the Daugava as many days' marches up to Jersika, and that it already contained five delimited dioceses each with their own bishop'.[200] It is worth noting that the description does not hesitate to cross the border into the Danish conquests in northern Estonia,[201] or even to stretch into Russian territory. Before this representative of Catholic universalism, Henry presents a Christian state in the making.

It has been suggested that Henry of Latvia's chronicle may have its artistic end in the majestic peace of Book XXIX, rounded off in its eighth chapter with the return of Cardinal William to Gotland and concluded by the word *Amen*. The ninth chapter is a postscript, containing remarks on the chronicle itself and on the author's motive for writing it. For some reason however, he was to add yet another book, a narrative of an expedition to Osilia in 1227, which might have appeared even more conclusive to him.[202] However this proved to be of limited significance, since the fighting over that island was to continue for some fifty more years. That Henry's eagerness to add this further success ends in something of an anticlimax is worth contemplating. There is no end to history.

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[199] HCL XXIX:1.
[200] HCL XXIX:2.
[201] This may have to do with the more or less privateering behaviour of the Sword Brethren in that area, see Christiansen 1980.
[202] HCL XXX:1–6; Bauer 1959 p. XVIff.

Additional knowledge: the evidence of the charters

Compared to the case of Sweden, the genesis of Livonia was brief and dynamic. Many people took part who were not only able to read and write, but were also motivated to report it in writing. In particular contrast to Sweden is the number of charters preserved, more than a hundred from the period covered by Henry's narrative:

Preserved charters older than or contemporary to *Chronicon Livoniae* (−1227)

Period/issuer	Papal (& legates)	German	Domestic Livonian	Total
−1200	7	4	1*	12
−1210	2	–	1	3
−1220	29	2	6	37
−1227	38	4	12	54
Total	76	10	20	106

* Issued by the elected *livonum episcopus* still remaining in Germany.
Source: LECUB: Regesten 1–111. False and misdated ones excluded.

An immediate impression is that these 106 documents are likely to provide the backbone of the greater politics of the Time/Space around which Henry's flesh and blood narrative was formed. A closer look reveals that almost all of them belong to his mature years. They stand out as a parallel phenomenon to his conception of *Chronicon Livoniae*. The overwhelming bulk of the charters were issued by the successive popes, by Bishop Albert of Riga and by Cardinal William of Modena, which suggests that they contain the official version—authored by Henry's masters themselves. On the other hand they were not intended to synthesise the development, but remain as evidence of occasional leftovers from the events, including one or two expressions of some other opinion which is likely to broaden our vision.

Thus we learn that there had been an attempt to establish a missionary bishop in the East Baltic area previous to Meinhard. A group of letters emanating from Pope Alexander III and Abbot Peter of Celle (Montier-la-Celle, by Troyes) tell of efforts to install a missionary bishop named Fulco in Estonia. What is worth noting is that these documents are directed to princes, churches and people of the Scandinavian countries. This was hardly accidental, since the pro-

ject emerged at the time of the schism between Emperor Frederick I and Pope Alexander III.[203]

The establishment of Meinhard as head of an *Ixcolanensem Episcopatum* said to be situated in Ruthenia was recognised by Pope Clement III in 1188, who also confirmed that it belonged to the church province of Bremen, together with the dioceses of Lübeck, Schwerin and Razeburg. Five years later Meinhard is addressed as *Livoniae gentis episcopo* by the new Pope Celestine III, who grants him discretion to act upon his own judgement.[204] Only a few letters reflect the drastic change of policy following Meinhard's death, which led to the first military campaigns and the clash of cultures following their early victories.[205]

The first preserved truly domestic Livonian issue doesn't appear until 1209. This means that all the dramatic events which led to the making of the Livonian realm have Henry's narrative as their main witness. The earliest preserved charter is Bishop Albert's reception in homage of Prince (*rex*) Wissewalde of Jersika, who immediately got some of his territory back as a fief.[206] Another early act is Albert's bestowing of privileges for trading guests in the summer of 1211, motivated by the help they and *precipue Gutlenses* . . . 'particularly the Gotlanders' had rendered during the conversion of the pagans.[207] The same summer, he provides a building plot for the new cathedral chapter *ad locum, ubi extra murum civitatis Livones habitationem habebant* . . . 'in a place outside the city wall, where the Livs lived', as the first in a series of charters illustrating the swift progress of Riga.[208] Some documents reveal somewhat bewildered contacts with Russians, from which the construction of a common Other can be felt.[209]

Many letters from the following years illustrate the controversy that broke out between bishop and chapter on one side and the

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[203] LECUB 2–8; cf. DS 55–59; L. Weibull 1941 p. 90ff.; on Fulco, see Johansen 1951 pp. 89–94; E. Anderson 1989 pp. 267–71; for the state of the papal-imperial controversy around 1170, see Jordan 1973a pp. 146–50.

[204] LECUB 9–11.

[205] LECUB 12–14.

[206] LECUB 15.

[207] LECUB 20.

[208] LECUB 21, 56; cf. 48, 53 for other practical arrangements.

[209] LECUB 55, 66, 97.

Order on the other.[210] Some documents deal with the right to create new bishoprics in conquered territories, which in the beginning was denied the local potentates, to the advantage of Archbishop Anders of Lund. Independent of this, a nice series of letters mark the rise of Brother Theoderic—Henry's informant, said to be a personal friend of Pope Innocent—to become Bishop of Estonia in 1213.[211] Other documents reveal the Imperial Roman(-German) interest in the newly-conquered territories.[212]

Of great importance is a short uncompromising *bulla* of Innocent III declaring in 1213 that the Church of Riga, like the new diocese in Estonia, shall be submitted to no other metropolitan right.[213] What a blow for the archbishops of Bremen! For the time being, the Curia trusted no one to govern the new plant.[214] Thus Pope Innocent III encouraged the abbey of Dünamünde, and even in one case the Abbot of Gutnalia and two Gotlandic provosts, to check episcopal activities for the protection of the order and the converts.[215] In these measures we sense the strengthening of core area control. However the next pope, Honorius III, permitted the Bishop of Livonia to institute new bishoprics 'in the districts of Livonia and in surrounding regions'.[216] Hence Albert's semi-peripheral stance was defended. This letter may provide one reason why eventually the entire country was called Livonia.

As in Henry's narrative the production of early charters reaches a climax with the visit of Cardinal William of Modena in 1225–26,

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[210] LECUB 16–19, 23, 25, 27, 38, 60, 70 etc.

[211] LECUB 22–27, 29, 43, 45, 47, 51, 65 etc.

[212] LECUB 64, 67–68, 90.

[213] LECUB 26. This of course was a blow to the Church of Bremen. Later the archbishops and chapter of Bremen were given stern warnings not to hinder pilgrims on their way to Livonia (LECUB 41, 44, 57, 96). However, Bishop Albert denied a separate archbishopric as well (LECUB 47).

[214] Cf. particularly LECUB 57.

[215] LECUB 27, 28, 30, 31. Papal communications state that the converts are personally free (LECUB 71, 97) and that the prohibition against the iron ordeal includes them (LECUB 54).

[216] LECUB 40, 61–64. Albert uses this concession (after Theoderic's death) to create a new Estonian diocese in Tartu for his brother Hermann, and to submit him to Riga's authority (albeit not allowed to build up a church province). The arrangements must also be seen in the perspective of the Danish conquest of northern Estonia, the formation of a Reval's diocese (cf. LECUB 49, 50), the Swedish incursion in Wiek, where Hermann had originally been appointed (but never been), and the subsequent 'liberation' of the area by the Osilians (above).

to whom all the contesting parties (of whom there were many) seem
to have come with their claims. Clearly he willingly and forcefully
expressed his judgement in all kinds of cases.[217] The *Chronicon Livoniae's*
standing as a source is enhanced by the fact that many of the indi-
viduals who figure in its anecdotes are mentioned in these contem-
porary documents.

Additional knowledge: the development of jurisdiction

We have heard Henry's version of how, immediately upon victory,
the Germans began to subdivide the country into parishes. The new
polity was rebuilt from the base up by the introduction of adminis-
trative structures of a Western European type. We recall Henry's
opinion that the indigenous population favoured the new order ini-
tially, but began to dislike it due to the greed of the lay judges.

The description suggests that the organisation of secular order was
superimposed upon society in the same way as Christianisation, but
this may not have been entirely the case. I have already discussed
the existence of peasant law codes in Livonia which to some extent
may reflect rules of conduct that were current before the arrival of
the Germans. According to the preamble of LP, the most old-fash-
ioned of these texts, it titles itself *dye vornehmlichen Rechte vonn denn
Bischofen von Leyflannd vnnd vonn Rittern Gotz, vnnd vonn denn deutschenn
unnd olden Leyfflenderen* . . . 'the most important rights [given] by the
bishops of Livonia, and by God's knights,[218] and by the [ordinary]
Germans and the *oldenn Leyfflenderen*', the latter clearly indicating the
Livic *seniores*.'[219] When these rights were given is not mentioned, but
Riga formally became an archbishopric in 1251–53, and the Sword's
Brethren were dissolved in 1236/42 (which is less significant, since
'God's knights' may indicate their followers as well), but the contri-
bution of the Livic *seniores* to the decision process makes it appear
even older. It is difficult to fix a terminus ante for the *seniores*' dis-
appearance as an important power in the state.

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[217] LECUB 69, 72 and thereafter passim (until LECUB 89).
[218] In the first place denoting *Fratres milicie Christi de Livonia*, the Brethren of the
Sword, and possibly also the later Teutonic Order.
[219] This peasant right is known in two almost identical copies from the 16th cen-
tury. Both are written in Middle-Low German without any particular structure. The
first editor von Bunge subdivided the text into 25 articles.

A similar trio of power holders are mentioned in a 1229 trade treaty with Smolensk as guarantors of free sailing on the Daugava: *Piskoup Rizkii, mastr Bozhkh dvoryan, i vsi zemlederzhtsi* . . . 'the Bishop of Riga, the Master of God's knights (Brethren of the Sword) and all lords of the lands'.[220] In a treaty with a Russian counterpart, the latter could still signify or at least include the *seniores*. The expression *dye vornehmlichen Rechte* ought to indicate in principle the same common *ius* and *pax* mentioned in connection with the events of 1208.[221] Also in principle, they must have been in demand from the moment when the *officium advocacie in iura seculari* was established in 1206.[222] So the roots of these rights at least go back to the very first years of Livonian state formation, and to some extent further.

Several of the older law codes contain similar preambles. KP claims to be *Dasz gemeine Land-Recht, wasz die alten bevilliget in Cuhrland durch die gemeine Herren und Ritterschaft in Lieflandt*, while the oldest code that Nazarova believes was valid among the Livs (LEP *Redaktsiya K*) mentions the bishop, God's knights, and 'the oldest Livs'.[223] However another version of that law code, *Redaktsiya R* of the LEP, offers an interesting variation. It claims to be the right *wie das von den eltesten liwen vor burgrecht gehalten und von den Bischofen in lifflant ratificiert worden* . . . 'as it was held by the aldermen of the Livs as a castle's right and was ratified by the Bishop of Livonia'.[224] Thus it contains a Late Medieval/Early Modern Livonian history vision, according to which the ancient Livic *seniores* were feudal lords executing *burgrechte* in their hillforts before the arrival of the Germans, who accepted and ratified it. The statement is not necessarily 'more true' than the other version. It is of interest as a blunt expression of the belief that these rules were of indigenous origin, which for a long time scholars have had difficulty accepting.[225] It certainly makes sense for a conqueror

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[220] Goetz 1916 § 38 Nr. 34. Whether the latter refers to German bailiffs, as Goetz is inclined to believe, or to indigenous leaders is not clear. An agreement on free sailing on the Daugava was made with the Prince of Polotsk as early as 1212 (HCL XVI:2).

[221] HCL XII:6.

[222] HCL X:14.

[223] KP Pr, LEP Redaktsiya K Pr (Nazarova 1980 pp. 175, 178). As pointed out by Arbusow (1924–26 p. 8f.) the Curonians were given 'all Livic rights' by the Master of the Teutonic Order in 1267.

[224] LEP Redaktsiya R (Nazarova 1980 p. 185).

[225] This opinion was not shared by Arbusow (1924–26 p. 7) who held a very low opinion of the pre-German development among the indigenous people, and found these law texts purely German in character.

to preserve as much as possible of the indigenous laws, and the par-
ticipation of *seniores* in the original law-making commission is a likely
confirmation that this was the case among the Livs around 1206/08.

As mentioned above the latest editor of these law codes, E.L. Nazarova,
attributed the most old-fashioned of the preserved peasant rights to
the Latgalians, calling it LP in abbreviation. She suggests that the
law code of the Latgalians was developed comparatively early, due
to influences from *Russkaya Pravda* received in the principality of
Jersika.[226] In doing so she adheres to a general trend in Soviet schol-
arship of seeing quite strong feudal influences radiating from Kievskaya
Rus into Balticum.[227] LP would, she thinks, have been codified in
German translation after the 1212 insurrection of the Livs and west-
ern Latvians of Autine and Idume, in the first place for use among
them, but in due course brought back eastwards by the conquering
Germans.[228] The participation of Livic leaders in the law-making
process, while Latvian ones are unmentioned, is offered two alter-
native explanations: either an existing law code for the Livs was used
as the pattern, or Livic *seniores* who were loyal to the Germans assisted
as advisors.[229]

Nazarova's effort has brought a better understanding of these
sources. However her rejection of alternative reasonings may be a
bit too dependent on her own hypothesis.[230] She has felt compelled
to see Russian influences being established in Latgalia before spread-
ing westward, becoming settled as Livonian law by the new German
administration before spreading eastward again. The major problem
with this suggestion is that LP indicates a Livic origin, since it claims
to have been issued by German power holders and the Livic *seniores*
together. Similar preambles occur in other peasant rights, which

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[226] Her proofs are found in LP §§ 6, 8, 18, 22.
[227] See Moora and Ligi 1970.
[228] HCL XVI:3–5.
[229] Nazarova 1980 pp. 43–47.
[230] The 1272 notice actually orders the bailiffs of Semigalia to judge *nach dem
rechte und des gewohnheit des landes to Letlant und to Eistlant* . . . 'according to the law and
custom of the lands of Latvia and Estonia' (LECUB 430), which was Arbusow's
reason for attributing B I (Nazarova's LP) to the Order, since it was the only power
that was present in both territories (Arbusow 1924–26 p. 8f.). To my mind the
importance of this notice is rather that it states that the law codes were divided
according to nationalities (Latvians, Estonians, Semigalians) and not according to
the different holders of the land (archbishop, Teutonic Order).

could indicate that they were *all* thought to come from a single com-
mon root, having been established in some original treaty in the
early days of the Livonian state.[231]

The development may not have been as complicated as Nazarova
thinks. The first Livonian law code was probably accepted, as the
preamble claims, by the early German leadership and the Livic chief-
tains on the lower Daugava. It may well have contained some Russian
influences spread from Polotsk over the years; the Polotskian tribute
lord may even have held courts of appeal on his occasional visits to
the Lower Daugava valley. In any case, the original regulations that
were written down were probably to a large extent traditional oral
Livic law. As Nazarova suggests, the territory within which it func-
tioned did grow with the expansion of the state. This is in fact clearly
stated by Henry of Latvia, who says that after accepting Christian
baptism, the Livs, Estonians and Latvians *eodem jure et eadem pace omnes
simul gauderent . . .* 'all equally enjoyed the same law and the same
peace', for which the Latvians were said to have been particularly
grateful.[232]

Well before 1272, however, it had become necessary to make
exceptions or amendments in order to make it work among the
Latvians and Estonians. These modifications were probably not due
to any particular feudal modernity of Latgalian society,[233] but on the
contrary to some more ancient conditions that may have prevailed
there. The modified law code may still have been known as Livic
or Livonian right, since in 1267 the Curonians were compelled to

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[231] Arbusow (1924–26 p. 4f.) follows a much more conservative line of argument.
Since they mostly picture the peasantry as free owners of their homesteads, they
belong to the 14th century, since in the 15th century these old rights began to be
changed through statutes, recesses and *Einigungen*; similarly Kirchner 1954 p. 9f.

[232] HCL XII:6.

[233] I certainly don't deny that Russian culture was spreading down the Daugava,
but I contest the idea that it was of a very strong feudal character. As I have sug-
gested elsewhere, it tended rather to conserve the old (Viking Age) order. Among
the articles of LP in which Nazarova sees feudal modernity, two (§§ 6,8) deal with
combat games (*jm Dustern, Speel*). I agree that this indicates the presence in this
society of youngish men who don't have to work in the fields all day, and who
maintain some martial attitudes. But it doesn't make them feudal or aristocratic; I
see them as warriors in a tribal context. Of the other two rules, one deals with
pawning (§ 18), and the other with 'persons joining their goods in a sale' (§ 22),
which recalls the *felaga* that are sometimes mentioned on Scandinavian rune stones.
Nazarova (1980 p. 53) is compelled to declare that the extinction of Latgalian aris-
tocrats had made these rules obsolete at the beginning of the 14th century.

accept all Livic laws, while the KP we know shows great similarity to LP. The use of such terminology would be a part of the process through which the Livic tribe gave its name to the entire state of Livonia. In the land of the Livs the original law code disappeared into a revised version that some scholars have placed in the early 1300s, but Nazarova thinks is older, since it does not reflect the growth of feudal dominance very much (LEP). What is absolutely clear is that in 1272 the Latvians and Estonians were governed by a law code that differed enough from the Livic one for it to be called a law code of its own.

The differentiation between *Stadtrecht*, *Landrecht* and *Lehnrecht* was a normality to continental Europe, and their introduction into the conquered territories a natural consequence of the European victory in the East Baltic territory. Here, most of the Germans were to live under urban law of basically German origin, and the lay vassals were to live under feudal law, which was essentially also of German origin, even if the oldest preserved feudal code is that of Valdemar and Erik, valid for the mainly German vassals of Danish Estonia.[234] The rest of the population were subject to peasant rights. Thus the adaptation of different jurisdictional systems for different social categories, itself a normality, came to divide various ethnic groups, with a built-in potential to develop a medieval equivalent to the apartheid system.

Summing up the making of Livonia

The *Chronicon Livoniae* has proved to be a lively narrative, which at its best provides sharp pictures from the remarkable period when the Livonian state was born. The additional material even suggests that its presentation of the series of events—early trade contacts, some local interest in Christianisation, the subsequent failure to establish a canonically acceptable Catholic Church organisation merely by negotiations, motivating the change of policy—could be trusted to some extent. From 1200 on, the claiming of German/Catholic prerogative (not unlike Columbus' claiming of Hispaniola for the sovereigns of Castile in 1492), followed by the swift build-up of

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[234] Altlivlands Rechtbücher 1879.

institutions in the Riga area and the pumping in of military resources, ended successfully in what could be called preliminary recognition of a Christian state by its rather flabbergasted subjects. This cannot be entirely wrong as an outline description of the general development. We have also noted the reaction (or failing) on the side of the established multi-regional polity, the realm of Polotsk. It is often forgotten that the establishment of a Western state on the Daugava banks was not undertaken in a political vacuum, but at the cost of an Eastern polity at more on less the same formal level, at least, as that of Livonia and Sweden, with which comparison is intended.

An obvious result of my reading is the observation of a wide difference as to zeal, dedication and efficiency between the winning and losing parties in this contest. The cause—so our sources suggest—must be searched for to a great degree in the mental gap between the two or three clashing cultures. But this may not be the sole answer, since there were obvious differences in technology and resources as well, and in the constraints put on the respective parties by socio-economic structures. From the somewhat 'neo-functionalist' perspective of the present study, the latter differences may have had a decisive impact on the formation of mentalities as well. After all, the Catholic Germans and the Orthodox White Russians were *both* conquerors from rather distant homelands—the latter more so if you measure in cost and transport time rather than in mere miles. Metaphorically speaking, Bremen/Lübeck and Polotsk formed opposite ends of a far-reaching transport system, in which the field of energy had recently switched direction.

The present chapter has confirmed that the countries 'discovered' in Sweden and along the Daugava were varieties of preservative kingship. Step by step, the agents of the New system infiltrated them and took them over through a combination of persuasion and force. Were they thus transforming them into *states*?

4. *The Making of Two European States?*

Reconsidering the problem

When the long 12th century began on the shores of the Baltic, there appears to have been around thirty autonomous entities, even if many of them merely adhered to moderate claims from some 'great

king' and the superstructure remained unclear. By the end of the 13th century, the number of shore owners had been drastically reduced. If we overlook two or three unclear areas—the Neva estuary, the so-called Samogitian shore (Curonia), and maybe the northernmost part of the Bothnian gulf—all of it was in the hands of four Catholic polities. The Europeanization process had reached very evident and polarised results. The long 12th century was a period in which the Old Baltic powers defended but by various degrees questioned their Old orders, only to give them up in the end to convert them into a European context. But as I have said from the beginning, what came out of it varied greatly. Considering the problem of why some territories were able to form their own European states while others were not, Sweden and Livonia are ideal objects for comparison.

The two territories had already shared experiences long before the coming of Europe. For periods of time which are difficult to frame, at least some parts of Curonia, Estonia and Finland had been components in an alliance system known in the sources as the Svea realm, Suedia etc., which also involved lands that would more decidedly become parts of Sweden, such as the Kalmarsund area and Gotland. In the 11th century, we know definitely that Suedia also comprised the Göta lands, although the influence was weak or non-existent in the district of Göta älv, where Danish-Norwegian influence must have been greater at times.[235] With reservation for contested borders, I suggest that around 1100 all these territories had been *skattländer*, tributary lands that handled their own internal problems domestically, paid some formally-negotiated dues (tributes, hostages, supporting troops, safe conduct, trading rights) to the Uppsala king, who would be expected to defend his dominance with arms should they try to break up the arrangement one-sidedly—just as Rimbert's Chapter 30 describes.

Turning to the area where Livonia was to be established we find somewhat similar arrangements. A vaguely White Russian realm, centered in the Polotsk area, reached down the Daugava. The Polotsk dynasty was gradually trying to establish an independent polity, breaking away from the Kievskaya Rus. To what extent these Polotskian grand princes can be compared to the Uppsala kings, and to what

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[235] Cf. H. Janson 2001 pp. 65–79; Lindkvist 2001 pp. 11–17.

extent they were mere governors for the Kievskaya Rus dynasty will
be left outside the present discussion. To some degree they were
exacting (or at least claiming) princely rights all the way down the
Daugava. In the latter part of the 12th century, the Livs at the river
estuary were clearly their subjects. This dominance might in the long
run have produced a new nation, had it been allowed to develop.

Some comparative observations

The European discoveries of Sweden and Livonia may look quite
different. Certainly the sources differ in quality, and the issues vary
slightly, but some interesting parallels are clearly to be seen. Beginning
with the approach of European agents, we find an obvious similarity.

Europeanization in a serious sense seems in both cases to have
begun with the establishment of a bishopric in a remote part of the
existing realm. The diocese of Skara was founded in the early part
of the 11th century, obviously by consent of the sitting Svea king,
Olof Skötkonung. Almost two centuries later, the establishment of a
Catholic church at Yxkull was conceded by the ruling Grand Prince
Vladimir of Polotsk, which was immediately turned into a bishopric
by the Bremensian and papal authorities. Even though this com-
pares the convert king of a basically pagan Sweden with the Orthodox
ruler of a Christianised people, whose tributary lands remained pagan,
the parallel is there. Both rulers conceded the preaching of Catholic
Christianity, probably wishing to improve relations with the rising
European complex.

We can observe the parallels between the first approach of Euro-
peanization agents up the Göta älv to Skara, and up the Daugava
to Yxkull (Ansgar's efforts belong to another context altogether, with-
out living traditions). In the Daugava valley we see that their com-
ing had begun with the expansion of trade. The rapid emergence
of two competing towns in the eleventh-century Göta älv valley, the
Norwegian Kungahälla, and the Swedish Lödöse, suggest that trade
and mission appeared hand in hand there too. In both cases expan-
sion occurred in areas where the central power was weak and might
be contested by neighbours.[236] The Västgötar had a problem with
reaching the sea, due to the Norwegians and Danes. And the king

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[236] Rytter 2001 pp. 33–48; Medeltidsstaden 21 and 73 p. 41f.

of Uppsala might have had problems with all three. It appears the Livs had similar problems with the Semigalians (who are known to have had trading contacts with the Mälar area), and the prince of Polotsk may have feared all of them. The official royal consent could have been given in the hope of stabilising the situation in these remote areas, and in the trust that this generosity would be repaid by other services.

In both cases (again with a considerable time gap) efforts were made to organise new polities of a more Western character, beginning in the previously-established remote dioceses. My analysis of the Göta movement suggests some inspiration from abroad, strengthened by the sensational discovery that the legendary Goths were alive and well in the southern parts of Sweden. The attempt to create a Göta kingdom was also favoured by an important conjuncture with its general centre in the Rhineland and the Low Countries. After about 50 years, against the background of the Concordat of Worms in 1122, these ambitions were transformed into open action. The Livonian process had begun similarly for the first 20–25 years; the Livs were very much favoured by commercial developments and on their way to adapting European practices, when German impatience suddenly condensed the procedure into a direct invasion by foreign troops. The time gap was thus reduced, insofar as Livonia emerged as a crusader state as early as 1206–08.

Seeing these similarities, and having so few items from which to form a picture of the Swedish procedure, it is amazing to be able to discuss the Livonian case at such a detailed level. It offers much food for thought. We may ask whether the ambivalent attitude of the Polotskian prince and the Livonian *seniores* is also representative of Swedish kings like Edmund and Stenkil. Bishop Meinhard's offer to build modern fortresses has made me think of the enigmatic castle of Näs on Visingsö, so ideally situated for a king over the two Götalands. We don't know who built it, just that it was quite advanced for its construction date in the first decades of the 12th century.

The ambivalence of ordinary Livs and Svear is evident. Both seem to have been impressed by the strength demonstrated by Europeanization agents. The Svear passed a decision at the diet that the Christian God was powerful and Christian worship should be allowed. Adam tells us this, and more than a thousand rune stones in the Mälar Valley bear him out. But neither Svear nor Livs were willing

to deprive themselves of their old religious traditions. The many complaints about Livic atrocities that suddenly appear in Henry's narrative on Meinhard made me think of the many traditions of martyrdom that are vaguely known from late eleventh-century Sweden,[237] and the fact that as late as around 1130 the bishops of Uppsala and Sigtuna (representing Bremen and Lund respectively) were compelled to flee the country. In comparison, Henry's *Chronicon*, although abundant in rhetorical complaints about the Livs, has very little substantial to tell us about pagan violence; Meinhard doesn't seem to have been exposed to many unprovoked assaults, and it is more likely that it tells us what he might have feared. Quite unexpectedly, the Swedish case seems to have developed into a sharp confrontation in the 1120–40s which was much more violent than the Livic one of 1180–1200. That it was a different matter when (from 1197 on) the Germans broke the peace and invaded the country should not surprise anyone.

However different the two objects of study may look, the analyses bear out that Europeanization was above all a challenge from a stronger party to a considerably weaker one. However neither party was without its power sources, and strong stimuli in both areas suggested that the challenge should be met. The Götar were reconciled with the Svear by the end of the 12th century, while the Livs made amends with the Polotskian prince in order to restore the previous order. The Livonian (German) rebellion was able to defend itself on the battlefield, and this led to the foundation of an entirely new political system. Perhaps surprisingly, the discovery processes of Sweden and Livonia have revealed similar profiles. In both countries, the traditional political order was challenged and people had to choose sides in what may have been civil wars or even revolutions. It is clear that Europeanization provoked a process by which previously preservative polities tended to consolidate into more competitive states. However, this is where the development of Sweden and Livonia began to follow different paths.

Nation-building among peoples without history

Both Sweden and Livonia figure in the present study as 'peoples without indigenous history-writing', a claim which needs modification

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[237] Lundén 1972 passim.

in both cases. Livonia, of course, had an advanced literature belonging to the upper Balt-German echelons. The lack of indigenous Finno-Ugrian and Balt literature must surely be blamed on living conditions and particularly the emerging apartheid situation. Livs, Estonians or Latvians who learnt to read and write were obviously Germanized at the same time. Lithuania was different. There, a learned epic with clear nationalistic ambitions emerged later. Sweden also in due course developed a prolific tradition of history-writing, but very little appeared before 1300.

The great mystery has always been why the Swedes did not develop this genre during the long 12th century, when their neighbours in Denmark and Norway virtually devoured it.[238] We should not imagine that it would have been technically inconceivable. After all any royal budget would have had room for an Icelander or two. There were several long and stable governments during which the necessary psychological climate would have existed, for example under the mature days of Sverker I, or in Knut Eriksson and Birger Brosa's time. The latter in particular is quite often mentioned in Danish and Norse texts, not to mention Jarl Birger II, who is a frequent star guest in the *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar.*

Applying the hypothesis of the use of such literature for religious transition and nation-building, we might argue that Sweden—behind the double shield of Denmark and Norway—remained relatively distant[239] and protected from direct Europeanization for a long time. As a consequence, paganism remained fairly vital among the Svear, as many contemporary writers confirm. Their perspective may even suggest that the final stages of Swedish conversion, of which we know almost nothing, developed into a struggle between Old and New that was harder and more uncompromising than in other Scandinavian countries, and more like the case of the East Baltic countries. The reasons why the Swedes (unlike their neighbours) did not write histories or have them written in the following period may lie hidden in these circumstances. They may thus be ideological.

From the upheaval between Old and New, in those days personified by the struggle of Svear with Götar, first one and then a second new royal dynasty emerged, neither of which descended from the

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[238] See particularly Dahlbäck 1997.
[239] But not as distant as Iceland, where the elite was really eager to take up European culture.

ancient Uppsala kings. Neither did they bother to construct such a
descent. In their case, a literary programme to legitimise an ancestry
from the pagan gods by turning it into history was absolutely use-
less. The golden era of Norse and Danish literature was contempo-
rary with the rise of these two lineages, the Sverkers and the Eriks,
who founded their legitimacy on modern Catholic Christian argu-
ments. When a domestic literature started its humble flow in Sweden
around 1200, it produced only two quite brief ethno-genetic sagas
(both containing claims of autonomy and belonging to peripheral
provinces approached separately by Europeanization agents), but no
less than some twenty *Vitae* and legends of local saints who had sup-
posedly lost their lives during the silent period of the country's his-
tory, reflecting its transformation into a modern Catholic state.[240]

However the resurrection of Uppsala, in which both dynasties were
involved, made me consider the problem a second time: in the end
they obviously found that they couldn't do entirely without national
symbols and the image of a shared past. The Eriks in particular had
a taste for Uppsala nostalgia. It appears they were unexpectedly
assisted in this wisdom by the Bremen strategy of converting the
pagan shrine into a Christian centre, which resulted in the coinci-
dence that a bishop of Uppsala was alive in Germany in the days
of Sverker and St. Erik.

The Swedish solution—state formation as a compromise

The backward and slowly Europeanizing Sweden that we find dur-
ing the long 12th century must be understood from the perspective
that it already had an ancient history, which had not been entirely
devoid of governmental principles and political order, or even con-
stitutional forms. These may have worked well at times, but in the
period 1050–1150 they gradually fell into a deep crisis.

My conclusion is that Sweden was an old preservative realm which
had already existed in some form—not least as an impression of
affinity—for many centuries. For a considerable time the Götar had
probably also been drawn into its territory. However the general
turn of conjunctures around 975 changed conditions particularly in
Västergötland, confirmed in the 1010s by the establishment of Skara's

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[240] Cf. Lundén 1972 pp. 15–100.

diocese. Olof Skötkonung's retreat into this region need not be taken
literally, but rather as a technical solution to the incompatible demands
he was up against. He may have remained the leader of pagan *blots*
at Uppsala, yet performed his duties as a Christian king in Väster-
götland. It is also likely that paganism was radicalised and turned
into the anti-Christian movement that Adam and other sources describe.

The discovery of Sweden coincided with the scholarly discovery
of a potential claim to exalted international status for the Götar as
an incarnation of the ancient Goths. For the Swedish kings of the
period this may have been equal to winning a lottery, but it also seems
to have given some core area strategist—probably Gregory VII—
the idea of setting up a Göta kingdom to fight the intolerable vicious-
ness of the semi-pagan Svear. Gregory VII's two letters to Sweden,
as well as contemporary ones to other monarchs, were in fact basic
instructions on how to govern for the new member-states of Catholic
Europe. What Gregory began was very much the implementation
of a vision of *civitas Dei*. When addressing the second letter to *reges
visigotorum*, it may have floated through his mind that the achieve-
ment looked more feasible in a realm that reckoned its descent from
the grandson of Noah, than in one whose founding fathers were
Woden and Frey.

In any case, a very serious rift emerged within the Swedish realm
in the 1120s, when the Götar claimed the right to form a kingdom
of their own. The result seems to have been a long period of chaos,
ending in an entirely new political landscape.

Thus the silent years in Swedish history after the dynasty of Stenkil
had expired and before Sverker had established his version of order
were probably the opposite of 'no news is good news'. Instead it
may have been a period of intense civil warfare, a final confronta-
tion with paganism among the Svear. When Snorri a century later
described a stable and conservative Sweden, he may to some extent
have seen what his literary purpose made him wish to see. The
country had undergone dramatic change. The key figures in this
were clearly Sverker who, after having defeated the old structure,
started to rebuild it on modern European grounds, and the co-regents
Knut and Birger, who found a way to reconcile Catholic universal-
ism with the self-image, national traditions and diverging interests of
Svear and Götar. Their line was continued in the 'Folkunga pro-
gramme' during the 13th century, until a strong and centralised
national kingdom was introduced by Jarl Birger II.

The chaotic 1120s and the period 1156–67/72 in the middle of the century has too often been allowed to overshadow the fact that twelfth-century Sweden also enjoyed long periods of governmental stability, during which a new solution was worked out. The Swedish case suggests that state formation was a form of compromise, part submission to and part rejection of Europeanization. Control remained in the hands of indigenous dignitaries, and the forces of *civitas inter-mixta* began to function almost immediately. The Livonian case is much more complicated.

The Livonian solution—strategies of non-integration

Much as Livonia was an achievement of Europeanization, it was also a carrier of its inherent diseases. In the early days (1202) it was presented as the land of St. Mary, *Marienland*, an equivalent of Palestine, which was the land of the Son, and as such a property of the Papal Curia. However, we know that Bishop Albert 'gave' Livonia to the emperor.[241] According to Ernst Pitz this should not mean that Livonia was turned into a *Reichslehn*, German territory. It represented subordination only to the universal, imperial power and not to the holders of German kingship. Furthermore Albert's initiative to invest the prince of Jersika with a *Fahnlehen* is an indication that his aim (at least around 1209) was to establish an autonomous state under imperial protection.[242] In practice, Livonia became a union of separate principalities. Each bishop was a prince in worldly matters, and 'the Order'—from around 1240 the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order—was another quite independent principality. The bishops of Riga were always *primus inter pares*, even after the extension of the union into Pruzzia. From the 1250s they were manifestly archbishops, which meant that Livonia-Pruzzia had become a church province of its own.

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[241] The bestowals of *regalia* on the Livic episcopate and on the Brethren of the Sword are testified in LECUB 64, 67, 68, 90.

[242] See foremost Pitz 1971 p. 31ff.; Hucker 1987 p. 51f. See also Hellmann 1985 pp. 61–71; Hellmann 1989; Hucker 1989c; and not least Tarvel 2000 p. 307f. (I thank Professor Tarvel very much for sharing his insight in these matters with me.); cf. the somewhat older discussion in Niitemaa 1949 p. 47ff. & passim; Kuujo 1953 p. 20ff.; Hellmann 1954 p. 209ff.; Wittram 1954 p. 16ff.; Benninghoven 1965 p. 75ff. & passim; Christiansen 1980 pp. 89–99.

After the debacle of the Brethren of the Sword in 1236–42, war-
fare was soon taken up again by the Teutonic Order. On the rele-
vant map in *Latvijas Vēstures Atlants*, the recent historical atlas published
in Riga, blue arrows indicating campaigns and conquests spread in
all directions across the territory from the thirteenth-century city; to
Curonia in 1267, Osilia in 1270, Semigalia in 1272 and 1290, and
to the interor of Latgalia in 1279.[243] Livonia was a frontier, a rolling
Catholic-European fringe zone towards the Russian Other, until in
the end it reached a territory which appeared so vast, deserted or
economically uninteresting that the zest for expansion ebbed away,
and a mostly stable political as well as cultural border was estab-
lished with the still-pagan Lithuania and Orthodox Russia.[244] This
last expansion period of the German crusading effort had an even
greater similarity to the Early Modern discoveries on non-European
continents, since on entering these areas that were less welcoming
or slightly remote from the main sea and land routes, the conquerors
encountered societies that were relatively unaffected by previous
Western influences. Some aroused fear; others amazed the Germans
by their Otherness.

However this phase is much less known than the penetration of
Livic society. The light shed by Henry of Latvia on the early devel-
opment is quenched, and what we are offered is far from compa-
rable. We are thrown back into a situation familiar from Swedish
research areas, where the discovery reports have to be sought with
sophisticated (and circumstantial) argumentation, and what we can
find remains fragmentary: the laconic texts, distorted traditions and
'frozen' colonial attitudes of the Livonian state that were to be the
outcome of the discovery. We enter into a very complex scholarly
domain, which few have considered without revealing strong emotions.

The conquest and speedy Christianisation brought several ethnically
different peoples together under the new German-speaking rulers.
The *Undeutsche*, as they were to be called, to some extent entered a
process of integration, insofar as the internal rivalries that had been
obvious to Henry of Latvia gradually tended to decrease. These steps

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[243] Latvijas Vēstures Atlants p. 15; E. Christiansen (1980 p. 97ff.) gives a con-
cise account.
[244] Bielenstein 1892; Lotter 1989; Wallerström 1995 pp. 154–71; Selart 1998 pp.
134–38.

towards integration remained hesitant, however. The obstacles were huge as well as varied, and the German elite was clearly uninterested. The amalgamation of ethnic groups certainly did not involve them. Why this was so is a major problem that as far as I know has never been properly studied. This is not the place to do so, but since the Balt-Germans' self-image has an impact on 'the Livonian solution', I shall comment on their probable reasons for abstaining from a nation-building programme.

Paradoxically, they first had to become Germans themselves. Although they arrived in large groups, they came from different and still quite autonomous parts of the Roman-German territories. Certainly they were a socially heterogeneous group. At home these priests, merchants, and pilgrims had belonged to different social strata. Having safely landed in Livonia, most either stayed in the towns, lived in the ranks of the Sword's Brethren (later the Teutonic Order), or settled down as vassals (landholders).[245]

An important difference between what happened in the lands of the Vends and the Pruzzians south of the Baltic is that no influx of German peasants occurred. The only substantial immigration of peasants into Livonia was the Swedish one in the northwest districts of Estonia later in the 13th century.[246] This situation, which was obviously unintended,[247] had a great impact on the development of Livonia. Even if some of the indigenous peoples began to Germanize, the German element remained small.[248]

There is a further aspect to the problem, which has been brought up in German historiography with respect to the *Reich* itself. As shown not least by Joachim Ehlers, a national consciousness, *Deutschtum* or German-ness, in reality hardly existed in the 11th and even the 12th centuries. According to this school of thought, which is now widely accepted, political unity had to come first, while nationalism applied to supra-regional polities had to be built. The varied imperial and royal titles and the remaining powerful regionalism—evident in constant 'rebellions'—demonstrate the slow progress.[249]

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[245] Ehlers 1996b p. 344ff.; Thomas 1990; Hucker 1993.

[246] Johansen 1951; cf. Jakobsson 1980.

[247] Jakobsson 1980 pp. 69ff., 127ff., 145f.; Hucker 1993 pp. 67–69. For efforts to recruit German peasants to Curonia, see Bartlett 1994 p. 125.

[248] Particularly important for the demographic problem is Niitemaa 1949 pp. 49ff., 70ff., 211ff. & passim; Moora and Ligi 1970 p. 84ff.; Bünz and von Hildesheim 1995.

[249] Here the medieval nation is not thought to be ethnically decided, but rather

Contrary to this, discussion on the spread of German-ness across the Baltic has for a long time been determined by an older scholarly belief in the existence of a German *Wir-gefühl* since the Early Middle Ages, even if Rörig's ideas of a swift takeover by *Kaufleute des Römischen Reiches* operating in *Königsschutz und Königsfrieden* have been modified by Paul Johansen, Klaus Friedland and others.[250] In the light of Ehler's argumentation, the people gathering to conquer the East-Baltic territories may not have seen themselves as Germans at all.

The first pilgrims to Livonia in 1197–98, according to Arnold of Lübeck, were Saxons, Westphalians and Friesians. The first preserved summons for military aid to Livonia, from 1199, is directed to all Christian believers *in Saxonia et Westphalia*. A similar one from 1204 is addressed to the leaders of the Church of Bremen. In 1211, when in all likelihood Arnold was busy writing his chronicle, Bishop Albert issued privileges for the merchants, foremost the Gotlanders, although having read Henry of Latvia we believe that the majority of helpers were actually 'Germans' living on Gotland.[251]

From this perspective it is worth noting that in Henry's *Chronicon Livoniae* of 1225–27, the people on whom he focuses are presented with few exceptions as *teutonici*, 'Germans'. The Latvian priest stands out as a champion for a Germanism movement of his day. However he does not stand alone. The impact of core area parts of Germany was increasing, having accelerated in the 1210s when the Church of Bremen was forced out of Livonia. As shown in Chapter Seven the German-speaking elements succeeded around 1225 in obtaining a special legal position as 'Germans', which was later repeated elsewhere in Scandinavia.

Schichtenspezifik, it was a 'nation of and for its nobility', see Ehlers 1996 pp. 344ff.; 399ff., 401–04; cf. Pitz 1971; Zientara 1997. T. Reuter has made a fruitful comparison of the eleventh-century German *Reich* and England, demonstrating the much greater difficulties involved in endeavouring to unite Germany, compared to England. The latter was always easy to dominate, thanks to its good communications.

[250] Johansen 1940–41; Friedland 1988 p. 64 passim; Kattinger 1999a pp. 138–41, 165ff. etc.

[251] ACS V:30; LECUB 12, 14, 20. Henry rarely mentions a helpful Gotlander (cf. however HCL XIV:1), whereas he is eager to point out their reluctance to favour the common Christian cause (HCL I:13; VII:2; XXX:1). We ought not to trust Henry blindly in these matters. As for Bishop Albert's privilege for trade guests, 'foremost the Gotlanders', we find it to be valid not only for visiting city burghers, but also for traders who don't belong to any city.

From being Saxons, Westphalians, Holsteiners or Friesians, in Livonia as well as on Gotland and elsewhere in Scandinavia, they emerged as Germans. They united around their Western technological competence and some unity of Catholic values, but probably mostly through the Otherness and 'untrustworthiness' of the indigenous peoples. That the Livonian Germans began to view themselves as representatives of a common cause was a victory for the World-system aspect of the development. However, the achievement became an early step as well towards the establishment of a German ethnonationalism, which characterised the later history of Livonia, in which classification into *Deutsche* and *Undeutsche* became a tool for exercising power.

The triumph of the Germans (or Catholic Europeans) was overwhelming, but the outcome was in many ways far from a success. All through its existence Livonia was to be haunted by intrinsic tensions. Peace between military order and clergy collapsed almost with the emergence of the polity in the first decade of the 13th century, and was never to be restored entirely. More often than not, the politics of the Teutonic Order were opposed to those of the bishops, and the climate of cooperation was often poor, with a crippling effect on the development of Livonian statehood.[252] Despite its technological superiority, administrative proficiency, ideological zest and excellent contacts on the Continent, can this divided political unit, lacking a *civitas intermixta*, a proper centre or a formal system of solving controversies and making mutually valid decisions be seen as a *state* at all? Hardly, so what was it?

In spite of Bishop Albert's endeavours, there was a complete failure to build a nation in the long run. Instead Livonia became an arena in which two entirely different groups of people lived together; a tiny, foreign elite, and a grey mass of barely Christianised 'barbarians', separated by apartheid, constantly suspicious of and from time to time confronting each other. The original aim of Christianization gradually failed. In the failure to establish a functional state and the failure to merge into a nation, the European making of Livonia produced one of the first examples of a social entity that was later to be well known around the globe—the transmarine colony.[253]

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[252] E.g. Benninghoven 1965 p. 77ff.; Jakobsson 1980 pp. 25ff., 39ff., 46f.
[253] The only competitor for first place ought to be Ireland. The crusader states

5. *From Blackheads to Uncle Tom:*
Three Livonian Paradoxes for Colonial Consideration

The impact of the long 12th Century on European World-colonisation

To what extent was the discovery of the Baltic a colonial experience? Did it have an impact on Early Modern colonialism? My reason for asking this question has nothing to do with the colonial projects that would be launched from Denmark, Sweden, Prussia and even from the Duchy of Courland in days to come. What I find interesting is its logical continuation: what is the burden of a colonial past? How deeply can it affect the outlook of younger generations? How lightly can it be disposed of when independence is achieved? My ambitions in formulating this problem are humble; the answers to questions like these are not to be found in the long 12th century texts. What I am searching for is an opening towards the more profound reasons for studying a distant historical process such as the long 12th century; some current interest in the reverberations of the past.

Urs Bitterli, the eminent Swiss specialist on early modern colonialism, has pointed out some chief 'mistakes' by which Europeans aroused animosity within indigenous communities of America, Africa and Asia between 1500 and 1800. The main point of discord was always their greed for land, he says. 'Europeans who wished to acquire land did not understand, and did not want to understand, the cultural conditions governing such transactions'. Aspects of this attitude were already present when Meinhard approached his parishioners in Yxkull in the 1180s, and it is richly represented in the stock of early Livonian charters.

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in the Levant were not built up with any particular technical or organisational superiority, nor were they maintained by apartheid. Even if the conquest of Balticum was initiated as a direct imitation of the crusades in the Mediterranean, it got its character from the ongoing 'frontier' movements around the emerging states, where region was added to region with the help of agrarian colonisation, urbanisation and integration in the victorious realm, in some cases by banishment through assimilation of the indigenous populations (cf. Davies 1990; for the crusader states in The Holy Land, cf. Prawer 1972). The difference is related to the transmarine character, which forcefully resisted agrarian colonisation from the conquerer; this more or less enforced an 'ethnification' of the intercourse.

Another problem, Bitterli continues, was European intervention in internal disputes, by which a previous equilibrium was destroyed for their own advantage. In my view, this could be a comprehensive analysis of the entire discovery phase in the Baltic. We have followed this strategy down to its details in the Daugava valley, and potentially in the twelfth-century Göta movement in Sweden. As in fifteenth-century West Africa, where the Portuguese networks of mission and commerce provoked disturbances, even peaceful approaches had disastrous effects, according to Bitterli. Livonia could be added to the catalogue, and in addition to the examples I have presented, we will find a rich seam in Niitemaa's great study of the problem of *Undeutsche* in the policy of Livonian cities. Another of Bitterli's points is that Europeans often upset indigenous tribes by negotiating with 'the wrong person', who lacked necessary competence; and by supporting 'loyal' chieftains. The fate of Kaupo, the compromising Liv, is a textbook example of the latter. There were also clashes due to discrimination. The indigenous people were looked on as savages, and became demonised for exacting cruelty;[254] I have shown examples regarding Curonians, Osilians and pagans generally.

It is evident that the Discovery of the Baltic was conducted to some extent in the spirit of later colonialism. Some of these tendencies seem to have been general, but others occur particularly in the making of Livonia. To be fair, some of Bitterli's points seem to be common to any encounter between 'We' groups and the Other, which can easily take on a malevolent twist by being linked with racism. A problem indicated in some texts early in the book is a recurring one, namely for what reason and on whose behalf these attitudes were already present in the discovery of the Baltic. We must return to the role of Catholic reform and the impact of the crusades, both so crucial to the forming of Europe. What did they do to people who were exposed to them? I will give some examples related to the discovery phase on the Baltic Rim.

Apartheid

The invention of apartheid is perhaps thought to be one of the many cruelties of the 20th century. It is not. The South African contri-

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[254] Bitterli 1993 pp. 30–32.

bution was to formulate a robust term for a long-standing Christian practice. The definition is given in its name: to keep various ethnic cathegories apart. The advantage of such a policy may be to lower friction in everyday life between different sets of customs. Its antithesis is assimilation, such as the conquering Germanic tribes gladly allowing themselves to be integrated into various regions of the West Roman Empire,[255] the Varangians disappearing in the Slavonic masses of Russia, or the gradual absorption of the Normans into Anglo-Saxon society. The first method reduces daily frictions with the Other, only to build up more grave misunderstandings, while the second permits accumulated steam to be released, and *may* be rewarded with some mutual understanding in the long run.

The well-understood *realpolitik* of apartheid could be described as limited admittance to privileges and strategic control of power centres. Like any medieval European state forming in the 10th–12th centuries, it carries the idea of a society of differentiated estates, each with its set of suitable (unequal) rights. However apartheid goes a step further by enforcing it through ethnic criteria. The mutual background of theories of social order and racism appears to be found in early ideas that human qualities are inherited.[256]

Apartheid is of course normality in all forms of colonial rule. One of the earliest clear cases is Livonia, which gives us an opportunity to study the phenomenon at its roots. This offers a problem of paradoxical qualities. In the cathedral of Magdeburg this is taken to extremes by a statue of St. Moritz, one of its patron saints. It is a high-quality sculpture from around 1240, in which the noble knight appears with clearly negroid characteristics. Until this time St. Moritz, a late Roman saint connected to the Egyptian town of Thebes, had been portrayed like any other white European saint, but as a result of cultural contacts with Christian Black Africa brought about by the Sixth Crusade (at least Basil Davidson claims so) this statue was given genuine Nubian traits. Davidson sees in this the most significant marker that medieval Europe maintained the attitude 'different, but

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[255] Cf. Pirenne's (1965 p. 13) evaluation of the Germanic assaults: 'The aim of the invaders was not to destroy the Roman Empire but to occupy and enjoy it.'

[256] Joanna 1975 p. 1ff. Race meant *lineage* in the late medieval/early modern discussion. The author writes: *l'hérédité des qualités garantit en effet la supériorité naturelle des groupes sociaux supérieurs, ainsi que l'infériorité congénitale des groupes socieaux inférieurs* (p. 2).

of equal value' on ethnic dissimilarities, a balanced social attitude which a later world was to tear apart.[257] The irony is that Magdeburg was one of the leading centres of the German *Drang nach Osten* mission. Many crusading initiatives leading to the formation of the Livonian apartheid system were taken in the same cathedral.[258]

The effects could also be seen in the major Livonian cities, where brotherhoods of the Schwarzbrüder (Blackheads) played a prominent role during late medieval times. They clearly derived their name from St. Moritz and sported a black 'Nubian' head in their still-famous coat of arms. The *Schwarzbrüder* are known to have functioned as guilds for unmarried trade guests, notably in Riga, Reval (Tallinn), Dorpat (Tartu) and Pernau (Perno). These brotherhoods are not known elsewhere in Europe, nor is the cult of St. Moritz given any prominence in Germany or Scandinavia, with the two significant exceptions of Magdeburg's and Bremen's church provinces. Not surprisingly, he was also highly-respected in the church province of Riga (e.g. as patron saint of the parish church of Haljala).

It has been suggested that the S*chwarzbrüder* organization emerged during the period of conquest and Christianisation. However, no more is known than that Blackheads served in episcopal castles and in those belonging to the Teutonic Order during the 14th century.[259] The early phase of the organisation clearly belongs in a different context than the late-medieval trade guilds, and may be connected to the phenomenon of the *peregrini*. When the reception of pilgrims was regulated by William of Modena in 1226, they seem to have been seen as a sort of voluntary working force at the disposition of the established masters of the land for any kind of jobs. After a ship had landed, the bishop was to have ten days of pre-selection, with the right to enlist ten of them *ad usos suos et castrorum suorum* . . . 'for his use and for [the maintenance of] his castles', and thereafter the dean of the chapter, the master of the order and even the burghers (*civibus*) of Riga could select workers in *obsequium in castris et operibus suis*. It was added that if some pilgrims wished to conquer a pagan territory and subject it to Christianity, they might do so after tak-

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[257] Davidson 1984 p. 45f.

[258] According to Holtzmann (1920 pp. 180–83) even Henry of Latvia was a son of Magdeburg.

[259] Kala, Kreem and Mend 1999 pp. 61–63, with further references.

ing advice from the previously-mentioned three agents of European-ization.[260] Thus at first the Blackheads of Livonia may have been a symbol of crusading occupation and compulsory Christianisation.

In this, as in many of the social forms brought about by the universal claims of the Catholic Church, some rather tragic inadvertency has been inserted. Racism is a clear denial of Catholic universalism, but the spread of Christianity by the sword's mission brought about racism.[261] Eva Kärfve, observing a similar streak of tolerance in the slightly earlier nobleman-poet Wolfram von Eschenbach, makes a noteworthy distinction. To her it is a question of one aristocracy recognising (or wanting to recognise) its own 'brilliance' of noble birth, bravery and refinement in a foreign one; Wolfram's tolerance does not involve ordinary people.[262] I think this is a fully justified remark. It would be a natural, legitimising measure of a new elite which was trying to build up an identity. Add the crusader's double reward which allowed him land that had been in the hands of the pagan whose soul he had saved,[263] and instead of tolerance, it encouraged an attitude of contempt towards the indigenous population, which was beginning to be seen as an inferior race, if seen at all.

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[260] See LECUB 83. The fact that the late medieval Blackhead brotherhoods had other patron saints and chiefly recalled St. Moritz as their naming saint and the motive for their well-known heraldic symbol, pointed out by Kala, Kreem and Mend (1999 p. 62f.), is an indication that these items had been inherited or revived from some older organization to which the bachelor guild was related in some sense.

[261] In a recent article Villads Jensen (2000 pp. 8–29) sides with the fashion in crusading research which doesn't moralise over the use of violence or suspect the participants of having cynical motives, but believes in and investigates the personal religious motives of the participants. This way of problematising the phenomenon is, of course, entirely different from my own view, that the crusades by and large served the core area's purpose of directing the domestic abundance of violent conflicts towards a common enemy, and thereby adding a periphery to the Catholic World-system. The difference need not be incompatible however, since a dogmatic and intolerant society, as reformed Catholicism to a large degree must have been, often seems capable of bringing forth a sacrificial spirit among its subjects. Villads Jensen (2000 p. 23f.) furthermore rightly points out, that the foundation of crusader states shifted much of the ideological balance in favour of the periphery. The point about apartheid and racism is one of its aspects.

[262] Kärfve 1997 p. 47f. In the case of Wolfram, it is respect for Muslim 'heathens'. In his epic novel Willehalm has the sentence: 'Isn't it a shame, that heathens are butchered like cattle?' The question proves to be rhetorical: 'A great shame, I say.' Quoted from Kärfve 1997 p. 42.

[263] Lotter 1989 pp. 269, 276ff.

Technology

An interesting part in the development is played by the Westerners'
application of their superior technology. Catholic Christianity is
thought to have provided a favourable cultural climate for the devel-
opment of technological innovation, and White in particular has
added that there was a tendency to see these advances as gifts from
God with a purpose.[264]

If we return to Henry of Latvia's chronicle, we find technology
used at first as a means to reach the heart of the natives, but it
soon begins to generate conflict instead. We recall that when Meinhard
had built his first castle, he expected the entire community (*universi-
tas*) would allow themselves to be baptised. Their failure to do so
became a basis for further conflict. Similarly Brother Theoderic's
mission in Thoreyda involved superior technology and know-how in
keeping the arable land watered without drowning it. The informa-
tion is too condensed to reveal the circumstances, but we are told
that it took a miracle to save him from the death penalty.

Sometimes the technological superiority provided by the Europeans
may have been seen as an asset by the Livs as well, in as much as
it raised their position in the competition with their neighbours, the
Semigalians. This is illustrated by the story of the Semigalians' fury
at the newly-built fortress of Yxkull. Not knowing that it was cemented
with mortar, they appeared with long ropes and tried to pull the
fortress into the Daugava.[265] However, West European technology
was soon to strike against the Livs as well, when Bishop Bertold
brought an army of crusaders into the country equipped with the
most sophisticated weapons of the period.

It appears that development was headed towards a paradoxical
dilemma. The Europeans wished to bring Christianity to the poor
Baltic heathens with the help of technological superiority. The recip-
ients resented the religion of the Europeans but were impressed by
their technology. Technology and religion somehow had to merge.
We only need to listen to the following description in order to see
that this was Henry's opinion.

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[264] White 1978 pp. 217ff., 250.
[265] HCL I:6. *Eo tempore Semigalli, pagani vicini, audita lapidum constructione, ignorantes
eos cemento mediante firmari, cum magnis funibus navium venientes, putabant se stulta sua opinione
castrum in Dunam trahere, sed a balistariis vulnerati dampna reportantes abierunt.*

In an incident in 1205, some Christians had been caught in a trap by a host of Lithuanians. Among the Christians was a knight called Konrad, whom they asked to charge against the more numerous enemy:

> As customary for a knight sitting on an armoured horse and being armoured himself, with a handful of Germans that were present, he charged against the Lithuanians. However these, terrified by the splendour of the armour and by the fear that God spread among them, fled in all directions.[266]

Many of Henry's anecdotes confirm the hypothesis that superior Western technology tended to become an instrument of God, used by Him to achieve His goals. In another story we are given a description of how God's hand punished the Semigalian heathens through the medium of a *balista*, a catapult machine. Henry speaks of it with considerable respect: *machinam magnam* in comparison to other *minores ceteraque instrumenta*. We have reached the winter of 1220, when the Europeans were beseiging Mezotne in the middle of Semigalia, *castrum villamque, qui erat in circuitu* . . . 'the hillfort and the village which surrounded it'. We are thus told that this was not only a large hillfort, but also a sort of town. The siege continued for many days, and the description of the activities is detailed. We get to know the buildings of the fort, a rather impressive timber-construction on a partly artificial hill.[267]

The machine had been brought by the entourage of no lesser person than the Duke of Saxony, who was present in the capacity of a pilgrim.[268] *Fit ipse dux rector machine* . . . 'The duke himself was the guide of the machine'. A description of a religious experience follows:

> *he shot the first stone*, which crushed their protruding watch tower and the men that were in it;
> *he shot the second*, and the palisade and its supporting timber construction fell;
> *he shot the third*, and three thick logs in the defence wall broke, and wounded the men . . .[269]

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[266] HCL IX:3. *Qui more militari tam in equo quam in se ipso bene loricatus cum paucis qui aderant Theutonicis Lethones aggreditur. Sed ipso nitorem armorum istorum abhorrentes, Deo eciam timorem immittente, ab eis ex omni parte declinant.*

[267] On Mezotne, cf. Jarockis 2001.

[268] Cf. Hucker 1993 p. 66f.

[269] HCL XXIII:8. *proiecit lapidem primum et erkerum ipsorum et viros in eo comminuit;*

And of course the Semigalians had to give in. They succumbed to baptism, and promised never more to violate it.

Francis Sejersted says that in our day 'technology has become something it never was before, a form of culture; it has forced its rationality on society'. It is, he continues, 'shaping our patterns of thought and our myths. It creates new symbols of opportunity, new utopias of perfectly efficient and artificial man-made societies.'[270] He may be absolutely right, except in his chronocentric opinion that the phenomenon is so very new.

In the long 12th century Christianity spread to the outskirts of Europe very much through the means of superior technology. The point is not so much that Catholicism inspired technological advances. But church-building and the theology of crusade and justified warfare, combined with the belief that there was a chance to avoid future Purgatory by personally taking part, all created an extraordinary market demand for new techniques in building, armaments, and in most other areas. Catholic Christianity was a great consumer of superior technology.

At some point the two began to amalgamate and became almost indistinguishable; the saving of souls, one's own as well as the Other's, became equal to the administration of superior technology. In some respects this was clearly a dangerous route to go down. It opened the door to the Faustian spirit; we might even argue that this was *it*. It opened the door to the practice of ruthlessness in the name of religion, and once again to a European feeling of God-given supremacy over other ethnic groups.

The voice of the people

Before ending this section, I must return briefly to the young Riga-German medical student Basilius Plinius, who in 1595 wrote a poem in which he visualized the German acquisition of Livonia some 400 years earlier as a 'Columbian encounter' between highly-developed and organised Europeans and a bunch of terrified savages. The many reports from the Americas that circulated in Europe in his day obvi-

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proiecit secundum et plancas cum lignis munitionis in terram deiecit; proiecit tertium et arbores tres magnas munitionis perforando constringit hominesque ledendo concutit.
    [270] Sejersted 1999 pp. 38–49, particularly p. 43.

ously aroused some feelings of *déjà vu* regarding a territory like Livonia. This suggests either that the result of a centuries-long process was much the same as a short and brutal one, or that approximatively the same forces and methods had been at work in both cases.

It is noteworthy that Plinius allows himself compassion for the approaching fate of the natives, which demonstrates that the sixteenth-century discourse on European colonisation may in some ways have been more complex than its continuation between the 19th and 21st centuries. To some extent this could be traced back to the 'Black Legend' in the writings of the Dominican Bartholomaeus de Las Casas, who built on first-hand information from the American mission field.[271] Unintentionally this book placed ammunition in the hands of the Protestants and brought Iberian counter-attacks as well. Shame and worry over the treatment of various aborigines was obviously discussed on the streets of Riga.[272] Plinius' poem contains such remarkable lines as the following: *Libertas ô vestra fuit tranquilla Liuones, Felices posthac scire fuiste iuuet....* 'The quiet freedom you had, O Livs, You shall remember your lost happiness.' To utter such words, Plinius thought it better to bring forward a spokesman for the Livian people. It was no mean figure he vizualised for the purpose:

Duna pater caput attollens e gurgite rubro	Daugava's father, raising his head from the deep,
Vt videt hanc pugnis pectora lata quatit	and sighting the ship, beats his breast with his fists
Concutiensque caput iunco, barbamque lapillis	and shakes his barnacled head, thickly-maned
Contextam, attonitâ talia voce refert:	with seaweed, combs stones from his hair, crying:
Quid non visa mihi prius haec vult machina?	What does this heretofore unseen machine want?
quidnam Portat ab externis gens peregrina locis?	Why does it bring strange people from abroad?
Nĩ frustra augurium docuit pater; aduena nostris	Not in vain, my father foretold that a foreigner
Imponet rigidum gentibus ille iugum.	Should cast a heavy yoke on our people.

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[271] Matby 1971.
[272] Cf. Damianus a Goes (1540) 1915. Goes had been a Portuguese emissary in both Vilna and Sweden.

The river god has come to suggest a strategy for the Livs. At first
he summons them in hasty despair to take up arms and force the
foreigners, who will bring them only *seruitium* and *tristiciam*, to leave
their shores. On second thoughts, the river god finds it far better to
let fate take its course: *Sed contra quis fata valet pugnare?* (Why fight
against one's destiny?). Through a strategy of acceptance the Livs
will find three-fold consolation in their future German-dominated
status:

    (1) *Subtractis referant quod meliora bonis* . . . 'What they take, they will
        replace with much better goods',
    (2) *Relligio*[!] *vestras syncera docentibus illis / Lustrabit mentes, efficietq[ue]
        pias* . . . 'After they have taught you their true religion, it will enlighten
        your minds and induce piety',
    (3) *Qua stabulum steterat scelerum, sibi templa scholasq' / Musis cum socijs extruet
        alma Themis* . . . 'Where an evil house stood, temples and schools/
        will be built by high Themis aided by the Muses'.[273]

In reward they will share Western European technology, enjoy the
mental profoundness of Christianity and the civic institutions of
'Western' origin which the renaissance student-poet allows heathen
muses to erect. Even if Plinius sees it all in a cheerful and rather
unorthodox way, this again recalls the soul-saving and subduing ide-
ology of medieval origin that was to excuse all exploitation of for-
eign continents. The river god is not a true spokesman of the Livs,
but like so many others later on, a tool in the hands of the colo-
nial power; in spite of his image as a natural force, he is, I'm sorry
to say, an Uncle Tom!

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[273] Basilius Plinius 1595 p. 17.

CONCLUSIONS AND COMMENTS IN RETROSPECT. THE COMING OF THE CATHOLIC WORLD-SYSTEM AND THE BALTIC RIM REACTION

1. *Discovery*

The Baltic Rim as an object of discovery

Looking back at the series of events that made the Baltic Rim a part of Europe, I find two inter-related questions quite decisive: which attitude characterised the discovery of the Baltic? What was it like being Europeanized? In spite of their simplicity, these questions cast a shadow far into the future of these countries and peoples, and to Europe and even the world as a whole.

Firstly, the Europeanization of the Baltic Rim in the long 12th century (1075–1225) was not unique. Parallel processes were going on in East Middle Europe, on the Iberian Peninsula and the British Isles, together with attempts that were to fail in the Levant. The centrifugal core area expansion in many directions was motivated not only by military capability, but also by a certain world-view and some calculated aims. Hence the penetration of the Baltic world was a characteristic event of its time. But characteristic of what? I suggest that the answer is related to an outlook of discovery.

The Continental penetration of the Rim saw the emergence of attitudes that were to reach their full maturity during Early Modern European colonialism in other parts of the world. This in turn brings us to the second question. If the Discovery of the Baltic was characterised by uneven encounters leading to cultural subjugation, as Early Modern colonialism frequently was, what did it mean to the indigenous peoples of the Baltic Rim? Hence I have made the *reception* of the newly-arriving, dominant culture the focus of this study, in the same way several modern world histories do for colonialism.

The above questions also problemize a historical process that tends to be treated like a success story by all parties involved. Expressions of gratitude and pride for having been Europeanized are frequent in Baltic Rim learning, literature and rhetoric, which suggests that

the history of these events have been put to secondary use—nation building, culture struggles, ideology production—many times over the centuries. Critical approaches at the roots of the tradition complex may be useful to the climate of debate, not least by inviting critical discussion of the meaning of Europeanization, similar to the ongoing debate about colonialism and decolonisation at the level of world-history.

In a technical sense Europeanization agents did discover the Baltic world during the long 12th century. Words to that effect can be read in the sources of the time. The Rim had in practice been sealed off from western European influences by its own Viking-age expansion, and when Europeanization agents began to approach it, they were in fact entering *alter mundus,* consisting of *latissima regna* that so far were *fere incognita,* to quote Adam of Bremen once again. Even so the term discovery must be understood in a broad and somewhat metaphoric sense. My interest lies neither in pioneering voyages, nor very much in the technology and know-how they brought, but in their approach to the indigenous people and the latter's way of life, which repeatedly they found old-fashioned and in need of reform. The situation shows a definite similarity to the great discoveries of the 15th and 16th centuries. The metaphor thus refers to the intrinsic connotations of that better-known period, which should not be disregarded just because the Rim integrated with the Continent and in due course became European itself. Hence the Discovery perspective has been my way of problemizing Europeanization.

The long 12th century Europe as a Catholic World-system

My first concern was to assess a theoretically consistent picture of expanding Europe; a model of the paramount forces in operation, and the outlooks that governed them. Over the years, many scholars have satisfied themselves by claiming that medieval Europe and 'the Occidental spirit' emerged as a culture or perhaps a civilization, often without much effort to define or explain its nature. However the problem has been raised quite often in recent research, with a clearer ambition to identify the causes and mechanisms behind it. This has meant that the discussion has been restricted to a handful of decisive variables, but so far without reaching a fully comprehensive model that would account for the give and take development in the core area as well as on the Rim.

According to Charles Tilly, attitudes of coercion and militarism were behind it all; the states of Europe were formed and formed again through a constantly ongoing power game. The 'Tilly model' certainly points out an important element, but hardly the 'maker' of Europe. What kept these nations *together*, apart from mutual hatred, we might ask. The theory disregards the obvious dynamics of the period, such as the demographic, land-use and even economic *per capita* growth, which can hardly be explained by power contests and warfare alone. Economic historians like Guy Fourquin or E.L. Jones present exchange as a uniting factor, tending to see Europe as an emerging economic system, which cannot explain all the rich aspects of cultural and mental unification. Along with scholars like Jaques le Goff and R.W. Southern, we certainly have to bring the diverse aspects of the Catholic Church into the picture; the powerful ideological programme developed and carried out by its reformers since the middle of the 11th century, the rising universalism leading to missionary achievements and crusades, the parallel explosive growth of monastic life, of scholastic argument, and the emergence of universities.

In his influential book *The Making of Europe*, Robert Bartlett brings all this into the picture, but by stressing the exodus character of the movement and rejecting the idea of a centre-periphery mechanism keeping it together, he leaves 'the foundation of an expansive and increasingly homogenous' Europe a fairly open question. Coming closer to a formula demonstrating what actually 'made' Europe, the development economist Depak Lal has made an interesting attempt, pointing to the great political importance of the Catholic leadership from the time of Gregory VII onwards. Building his historical case on the foundations laid by Southern, he sees the law and orderliness created by the trans-national expansion of Catholic institutions and dogma as an unintentional factor releasing the mechanism of economic growth. By taking an ideological lead, establishing cultural unity on a politically-divided continent, and establishing peace and order along the trading network, the papal revolution provided the infrastructure for the Western economic dynamic.

This attempt ropes in the main forces that actually made an entity out of Europe. On the other hand it leaves unexplained the problem-complex of why it remained an entity with extraordinarily antagonistic tensions between its components, problems of the kind Tilly raised.

I believe the most all-round answer to the problem is found in the simple geography-of-dominance approach laid out in the much discussed World-system model, namely in its classical version by Wallerstein and Braudel. However, it had to be modified to become a tool to consider in addition the stances actively taken by re-agents to Europeanization, which is why I worked aspects of deprivation theory into it.

Even if Wallerstein and Braudel construed this model for solving other scholarly problems, it shows a striking resemblance to the actual conditions of the long 12th century. The spatial requisites of the model are there: a core area in a corridor uniting northern Italy to the Low Countries; a semi-periphery more or less surrounding it from southern Italy, Spain, western France, England, southern Scotland, northwest Saxony, Denmark, southern Norway (in a cultural sense including parts of Iceland), southern Sweden, eastern Saxony, central Poland, Bohemia, western Hungary, and a surrounding periphery (although incomplete) in the outer, far from Europeanized areas in Galicia, Asturia, Leon, the Basque lands, Gascony, Brittany, Wales, Ireland, the Scottish Highlands, the Atlantic islands, northern Scandinavia, Finland, the East Baltic countries, and the rest of Eastern Europe. I am reckoning with a periphery that wasn't characterised entirely by a command structure (as Braudel and Wallerstein find necessary), accepting also areas that were subordinated merely in an economic sense, in remote places that were not easy to subdue in other ways.

Its most important quality is the distinction it makes from empires (and states). According to Wallerstein's theoretical criteria the core area of a World-system achieves control without having to resort to their method of military conquest and politico-administrative centralism. And the long 12th century launched a system of domination which did not necessarily or solely depend on violence or coercion, but allowed for voluntary agreement and mutual advantage, by means of spatial division of work or functions. However a certain level of common order was required, which was not often achieved without indoctrination, development of discipline, political pressure and implementation of new legislation. Due to the role played by the Church reform movement, I called my version of the model the Catholic World-system. This gives concrete meaning to hazy concepts like Civilisation and Culture, by pointing to the somewhat more subtle domination and disciplinary processes which aim at winning over opponents rather than conquering them.

The World-system model puts more weight on the moveable strata of society than models which stress local support production, appropriation, and the capacity for and fear of violence as driving forces. Movements of people, goods and values within the Catholic World-system were not restricted to trade exchange, but appeared in all forms of transferences within the multi-national organisations of the period: the secular church organisation; the monastic and military orders; work migrations; pilgrimages, and to some extent in the form of inter-state transactions for armament purposes or high-status gift-exchange. Confronting the moveable forces of society with the land-controlling, coercive ones, we enter a discussion of dynamics between network and territory. We should not expect to find either of these principles alone, but in a blend dominated by one or the other. The use of raw power has costs and risks which are different from those of conducting transactions in a market. In theory, however, both are to some extent interchangeable, approachable as they are by cost-benefit type analyses.

Agents of Europeanization—an unintended alliance of 'ecclesia' and 'mercatura'

The leading makers of Europe were the activists of the church reform movement such as Gregory VII, Bernhard of Clairvaux and Innocent III with their thousands of helpers, and the main operators of long-distance trade. It has long been known, but rarely studied as a joint problem complex, that both these core area categories were establishing networks of land-controlling nodes answering to the spatial requisites of the World-system model.

In their opposition to the political leadership of the Roman-German Empire and various other kingdoms, the reformist popes resorted to highly centralised organisations. Above all this meant the Catholic secular Church itself, hierarchically organised from the Roman Curia all the way down to the local vicar. In the beginning, however, the secular Church was often firmly under worldly control, which is why other helpers (such as spiritual orders) proved to be very important. Their most intimate associates, the Cistercians, began their expansion process around 1100, and by the middle of the century they were already represented in most provinces of the core area and semi-periphery. In the 13th century an even quicker expansion process was carried out by the mendicant orders of Dominicans and Franciscans, seeking towns and cities for their establishments.

The only match for ecclesiastical organization in the long 12th century was the parallel development of the trans-national commodity market, which was built according to the principle of central-place hierarchy, with a handful of competing metropolises at the top. These included cities such as Venice, Florence, Genoa, Paris, Cologne, Bruges and perhaps a few others, which all had an economically-subordinated pyramid of cities and towns covering their respective *Um-* or *Hinterland* all the way down to the local peddler. The urban system, of course, was not a rigid command structure like that of the *ecclesia*, but it was ruled by laws or regularities of output and demand that were quite as stern as any papal dogma. On the other hand it was less constrained by ideology, which allowed the commodity market to reach even beyond Europe.

This remarkable parallelism of *ecclesia* and *mercatura* has been far too little discussed in previous research, but in fact it follows from a quite simple spatial regularity, sometimes addressed as the *lex parsimoniae*. This 'law of thriftiness' got to work as soon as the priest settled down as close to his parishioners as he could get, and the merchant built a house as close to his suppliers and customers as he could afford. From then on, a hierarchy of most-suitable-places began to emerge, by and large based on the effects of transport economy. The really good places emerged from the fact that the more prominent functionaries of *ecclesia* and *mercatura* soon found that they had to camp together. This of course happened at different times in different parts of what was to become Europe. As far north as the Rhine/Danube border areas, there was a quite impressive Roman governing legacy; in fact the hierarchy of church provinces and bishoprics was derived from *civitates* and *provinciae* of Late Antiquity. To the north of the *limes* an Early Medieval legacy of trading places, chieftain's residences and centrally-located meeting places for land's diets, *things* and *veches* played a similar although humbler role.

Ecclesia and *mercatura* dominated different sequences of the development. It is well known that bishops and communities of sedentary monks and nuns by and large were the ones who largely upheld urban life during the Early Middle Age. Of course some dependent craftsmen, and perhaps a merchant or two surrounded these institutions, but the great influx of these categories into urban nuclei seems to have begun only in the 11th century, soon to be followed

by demands for the political autonomy of towns. So far we are talking chiefly of the core area. Can it be a total coincidence that church reform, which demanded immunity from worldly rulers, began more or less at the same time? Most cities and towns remained dominated by ecclesiastical institutions well into the 13th century, even if princely ones began to compete with them. The rise of *mercatura* into actual leadership is a much later matter, perhaps a consequence of the much-discussed crisis of the 14th century, at least much later than the limits of the present study. The extremely interesting and perhaps controversial conclusion to be drawn from their parallelism in a theoretical sense is that by definition they assume the role that the traditional World-system model has admitted to capitalism.

The relationship of Catholic Christendom to capitalism adheres, of course, to the vintage discussion of the impact of Protestant ethics on its development, introduced by Max Weber. However it must be said that the amalgamation of interests between *ecclesia* and *mercatura* was scarcely a previously-planned project. The irony of the situation is that *ecclesia* and *mercatura* had not been on very good terms so far. One inheritance from Antiquity was a feeling of contempt among all sedentary elites for the merchant; he wasn't living on the land, Aristotle had said so himself, and Christ had forced the dealers out of the Temple, *Nullus christianus debet esse mercator.*

   The reform movement was animated by the hope of establishing the vision of *civitas Dei* in the real world, which anticipated a rebellion of some sort against all-dominating worldly government. In the long 12th century this was represented by the German-Roman Empire, and the kingdoms of France, England, and Sicily, among others. In this insurrection, perspectives of eternity, redemption of the soul, liturgy, ethics and morals, were all successfully raised against traditional regal rights and the feudally-organised power structure—and also against the sins of commercial life, such as avarice and rapacity. However success lay to a large extent in the communicative capacity of the reformists to tie up enemies of the monarchs in alliances, which lamed the feudal structure of the empire in particular. Somewhere among these activities, cooperation with the transport capacity of long-distance merchants emerged as a practical necessity, something far from foreseen by St. Augustine.

The re-agents and their survival strategies

An important component in the making of Europe is the way it was received in the peripheries. To realise the extent of the problem we must be prepared to accept that its reception may have differed greatly from the way it was offered. Agents of Europeanization— whether they defined themselves as churchmen, crusaders, merchants, Lombards, Saxons or Frisians—were easily grouped together under a concept of Otherness by the indigenous peoples, just as the *Nemtsy*, 'the dumb ones', became a collective expression for them in Orthodox Russia. It is likely that a majority of recipients saw their finely-differentiated activities as a single, compact and highly humiliating invasion. If the agent was a native, if he was well-known as an indi-vidual or category, of course the issue became more complex. My examples suggest that the passage into the Catholic World-system became smoother if he succeeded, but he ran an increased risk of coming out of the process marked as a traitor.

Even so, re-agents made a lasting contribution to the Catholic World-system. Their answers to provoking approaches, their survival strategies—in short their creativity—were the factors that balanced its result. The aspect of reaction should not be seen primarily as adaptations to core area action, but rather as survival strategies offering gradually harsher and more uncompromising resistance. The formula was presented in the following display:

World-system hierarchy	World-system survival strategies
Core area	Popular resistance and niche opposition
Semi-periphery	State formation and nation building
Periphery	Closing society and ethnification

In a World-system which has succeeded in becoming a functional entity, kept together by division of labour, ideology and culture, and bringing recognised advantages even to the inhabitants of the periph-eries, such opposition (more or less in the sense of Hegelian dialec-tics) is likely to result in improvements to the system itself. Hence antithetical tensions between dominant and dominated groups would emerge as mutual dependence, producing better conditions in gen-eral and mutually respectful images of the other as long as the sys-tem holds. It seems likely that any emerging multinational 'culture'

or 'civilisation' such as the medieval making of Europe would have recollections of such 'good old days' as a necessary ingredient; in short, memories of a period of general growth.

Very soon after the first experience of diminishing returns, however, the mechanisms of deprivation are likely to present themselves. We will find them even in the core area where the gains of systemic expansion are very likely to be unevenly distributed among the inhabitants. This is a step towards the forming of a class society, where the lower strata of *laboratores* by and by find themselves in social opposition against the rich and mighty. I predict that socially-defined conflicts were in due course exported to the peripheries, but they have been difficult to find within the time constraints of the present study. It seems more likely that sentiments of class-bound social opposition remained embedded in nativistic or revitalizing reactions until the system had become fully established. Who could tell, was my example, whether the great Livonian insurrection in 1343 was of a social or an ethnic nature? The same goes even for the Engelbrekt insurrection in Sweden in 1434–36, which can be and has been interpreted in trade-political, socialistic and nationalistic terms. In these revolts, all of these reactions occur. The creation of social classes in the peripheries and the parallel introduction of what historical materialists call the feudal mode of production is seen here as a property of expanding World-system subordination.

My hypothesis of nationalistic and ethnic reactions being a kind of super-ordained umbrella strategy has so far been confirmed. The comparatively centralised and hierarchically-ordered multi-regional polities which emerge in the semi-periphery do look like efforts to reach some form of compromise with the supra-national trends of the epoch. I pointed out a number of technical and practical reasons for the elites of smaller semi-peripheral polities to cooperate, rather than involve themselves in the liberation struggles of the two aforementioned 'internationals'. For a multi-regional area to form into a state, however, an earlier political system answering to what I have called a preservative kingdom might have been a prerequisite within which nationalistic reactions could be cultivated.

In the full periphery, such preliminary efforts to establish multi-regional government were thought to be missing almost by definition, even if rather haphazard multi-regional systems like the polity of Polotsk were to be found. In such environments, my hypothesis

suggests, feelings of deprivation might take the form of ethnification, a word used to signify a more total realization of an Us-versus-Them perspective through the development of special ethnic markers such as clothing and language. Theoretically such a society might be much more inclined to reject proposals for Europeanization, and thereby be driven to answer it by confrontation. However this part of the hypothesis has not been fully confirmed, and in fact all my case studies show that compromise has been sought initially. The reason why clashes were more frequent and uncompromising in the full periphery must be more complex. My East Baltic cases suggest that it may have been intrinsic to the system on the agents' side. Here to a greater extent they were direct representatives of the core area internationals; they had no interest in making compromises which left room for structures with the sole purpose of causing friction to core area dominance, since (as they might have felt) complete victory was within reach.

2. *Implementation*

The treasure trove of discovery reports

With the Catholic World-system action/reaction model as a tool, I turned to the actual investigation of the long 12th century change processes on the Baltic Rim. The first problem to tackle was the extremely stray, dispersed and uneven condition of written source material. On top of that, charters and other first-hand materials are almost always an expression of Europeanization, and what little remains would show a biased picture. Certainly the epoch has produced a remarkable stock of history works within the German, Scandinavian and Slavic cultures, but source critical scholarship has shown these texts to be more *belles lettres* than historically fact-packed reports. And their relation to Europeanization is not without complications.

So far the works of Svend Aggesen and Saxo Grammaticus, as well as those of Snorri Sturluson and all the other Icelanders, have been chiefly studied as phenomena *per se* in a canon of national literature, but they were in fact parallel phenomena to the writings of Adam of Bremen, Helmold von Bosau, Henry of Latvia and some of the Russian chronicles. Just like the charters, they may have played

a role in the process of Europeanization, as instruments of the political stance taken by the *scriptores* and particularly by their respective patrons. Whatever these authors were writing about, they must all somehow be commenting upon the great changes going on in their lifetime. But as has been stressed recently by the German literary historian Klaus von See in the case of Snorri, they may not all have been in favour of it.

To use their statements for modern critical history writing will remain quite problematic. Being written as *exempla* of religious or royal conduct, as political pamphlets or for entertainment, these texts always leave the scholar with a source critical problem. Where he or she wishes to use the narratives to confirm an event, the logic of a political development, or the character of an idividual, the texts are usually not to be trusted. However quite often they provide observations of eyewitness quality which could be developed as they are— as verbal *snapshots*. Carlo Ginzburg has pointed out that these passages may be conscious pieces of *ekphrasis*, a method used since Antiquity to achieve credibility by painting lively, detailed pictures. It is an important observation, but it scarcely reduces the value of such texts for purposes like mine. If a picture is made to convince contemporary readers it has to come very near to the truth. Certainly such verbal pictures in texts inspired by and commenting on the process of Europeanization would be material in which we may see the Other. Hence they might be used as best-possible replacements for discovery reports.

In this way, without having to contradict previous evaluations of these texts very much, I found a new way of making them useful, by treating them as picture-archives rather than coherent narratives. It felt like a treasure trove. Somewhat inspired by the works of Ginzburg, I saw a method bordering on hermeneutics within reach: a collection of such verbal pictures may be 'read' or interpreted in the same way one would try to understand distant relatives in— say—America, by skimming through their photo albums, with their odd written notices. A critic may intervene that this is what medievalists do all the time, when we compare our specific observation with a general and somewhat floating synthesis. I agree. What I claim as (more or less) new in this approach is the systematic use I put it to. Hence I brought it to three analytical levels, which may be called the encounter, the series of events and the outcome.

The encounter—establishing an Old and a New system

The first test of the method—trying to establish some general diagnosis of the encounter between Europeanization agents and the indigenous re-agents—was made through a fairly heuristic approach, simply by looking at the pictures (contemporary texts chosen on the grounds that they seem to convey eyewitness qualities) and trying to resolve what the encounter was all about. I decided to analyse as many descriptions of encounters as was needed to establish a more decided hypothesis as to their nature. By looking for markers of Europeanization and of indigenous reactions to it, I drew the conclusion that it was a clear case of *qualitative* change. In all aspects of life the old way of doing things was replaced by a new one, amounting to a kind of 'spoil system'. This observation seemed to confirm that Europeanization indeed meant a clash of uneven cultures, which in turn seemed to further justify the discovery approach. This hypothesis has been continuously tested all through the book.

The initial survey (Chapters Three to Four) yielded a handful of sharp contrasts, for example between the mobilised conscriptions of the Scandinavian *ledung* fleet and the military vocation of the German knighthood, between the *skattland* arrangements of preservative kingship and the systematic integration of Europeanized conquests. I concluded that the discovery phase contained an intense struggle, spread over most aspects of society, between an Old (Eastern, Viking-age) system and a New one, representing the Catholic World-system. Similar binary oppositions have continued to appear in later chapters, and I can present the following richer—yet far from complete—list.

Old system (Autonomous Baltic society 1075)	New system (Europeanized Baltic Society 1225)
Preservative kingship	*State*
– Not centralised, but loosely held together by a king	– King (head of state) dominating service aristocracy
– Hillforts (chiefly east)	– Mortared castles
– *Ledung* fleets (chiefly west) and regional levies	– Armoured cavalry based on service duties
– Network alliances of *skattland* (tribute lands)	– Conquest and handing out land to *locatores*
– Jurisdiction by God's will and *thing* assemblies	– Jurisdiction by law, judge, jury, evidence

Diffuse social structure	*Well-defined hierarchy*
– Not egalitarian, but badly defined aristocracy	– Monopolised political power
– Deified nature, shamanism, magic, heroism	– Rational, Catholic 'high-tech' culture
– Runic scripture in the vernacular (Scandinavia)	– Latin-specialised writing
– Lambskins, rough homespun	– Coloured cloth, velvet, silk, etc.
– Relative gender balance	– Consolidating patriarchal structure
Society a web of personal bonds	*Systematized hierarchy with fixed positions for all*
– Tribal/local paganism, tolerant Christianity	– Monolithic Christianity
– Heroic gods, triumphant Christ	– Suffering Christ
– Chieftains, freemen and slaves	– Aristocracy, clergy, burghers, freemen, peasantry
Local aloofness	*National horizon*
– Local groups competing with each other	– Systematized rents to king, aristocracy and church
– Hoarding riches and conspicuous consumption	– Expansionism, 'transform riches into *men*'
– *Blot* celebrations, mobilisation	– Christian feasts, routine adherence and control
– Followers (oath sworn? organised in *clientelæ*?)	– National subjects, parishioners, manorial dependency
Networks and nodes	*Networks, nodes and territory*
– Autonomous *vi* places, king's emporia ('wik' places)	– Autonomous or partly autonomous towns
– Exchange of regional specialities and luxury items	– Longer chains of exchange and mass commodities
– Value (weight silver) economy	– Monetary economy
– Small ships and crews sworn by oath (*fartekja*)	– Large ships and crews by salary relations
– Country trade, xenophobia and need of protection	– Urban *Umland* control and economic dominance
– Moveable stratum of Varangians, Vikings etc	– Hanseatics, pilgrims, mercenary soldiers

From this, it becomes clear that the autonomous Baltic Rim to some extent already had a system which functioned on national and international levels. Europeanization did *not* bring its advanced civilisation to virgin lands or wilderness. Instead, for better or for worse,

it brought the option of *change qualitative* to most countries. (Figs. 14 and 15) Its agents approached a world where a particular culture was dominant as a legacy of the Viking Age, providing an impetus among the indigenous people to match the challenge, either by sheer importation and plain imitation, or by efforts to improve the indigenous tradition. Violent rejection was in most cases a later, often provoked and desperate phenomenon.

The series of events and their timetable

My second approach was to try to establish how Europeanization was implemented in a concrete sense. To do this, I had to find research areas where I could follow the process over time. Considering their relevance for the overall problem and the conditions of their source material, I settled for three regions (in the original sense of the word as major components of a 'kingdom') along the Golden Diagonal sea route: the Kalmarsund area, Gotland and the Lower Daugava. The regional discovery processes presented in Chapters Six to Eight describe the basic mechanisms at work.

But clearly these regions, even if they were central to the expansion of Europeanization agents, could not account for 'the game of all forces'. The study also had to approach the level of realms, which led to a final comparison of change processes in political systems, comparing the cases of state-making in Sweden and its neighbour Livonia in Chapter Nine.

The aggregated result of these comparisons on both levels has resulted in an integrated and relatively consistent vision of the Europeanization of the Baltic as the implementation of a Catholic World-system, counteracted by forceful, indigenous survival strategies. The system in its early days was willing to incorporate these, but later failed to do so, due to the rising impact of direct core area interests.

Until 1100 the Baltic Rim was Pre-European: Around 850 the European Continent was cut off from influencing the Baltic Rim (which it had done occasionally before) by a strong Eastern conjuncture, while at the same time the Catholic Continent underwent weakening exchange and political collapse. Parallel preservative kingdoms emerged in Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Kievskaya Rus in the interests of the broad moveable stratum of society. This is not to say that these
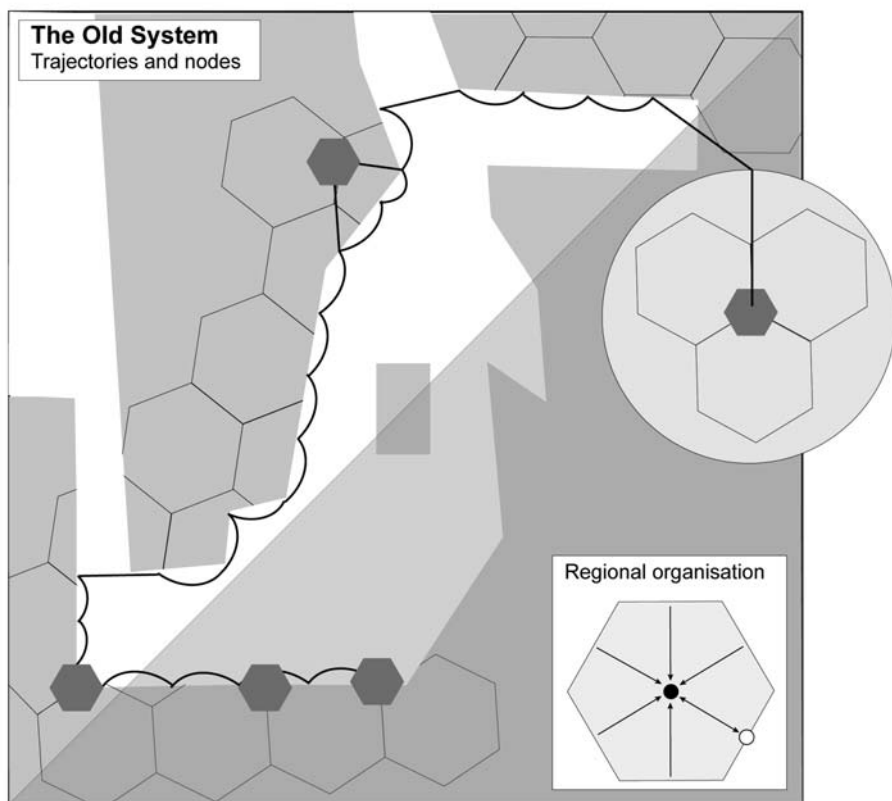
Fig. 14. The Old System, nodes and trajectories.
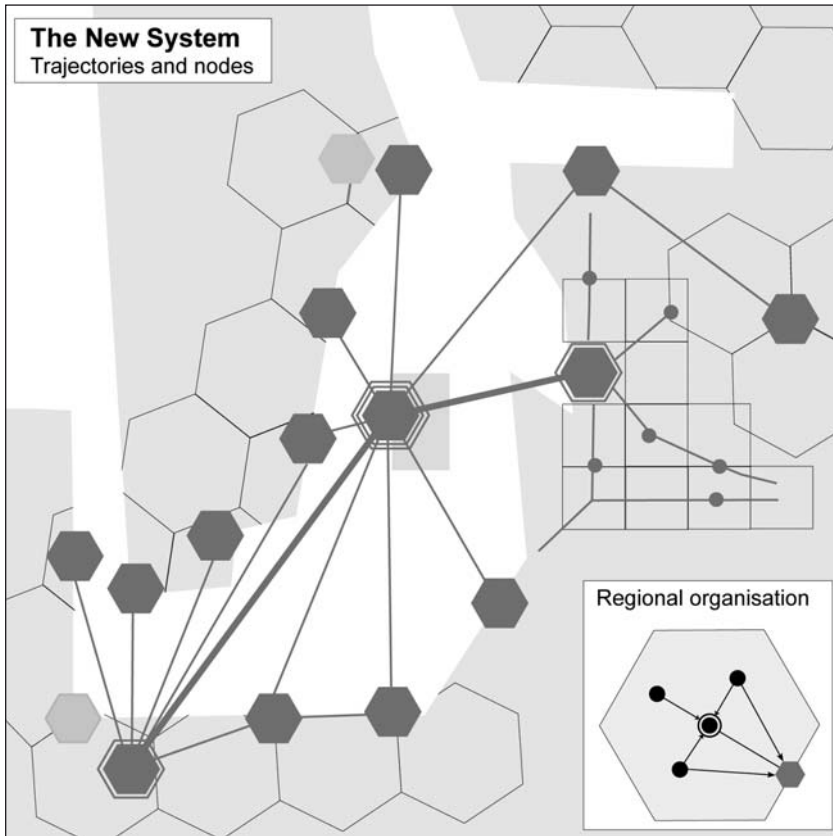
Fig. 15. The New System, nodes and trajectories.

peoples lived basically by commerce or plunder, merely that the resources of the landscape remained fairly dormant.

However, something negative (exactly what is unclear) happened around 975 to the East-directed network in Russia, which soon thereafter ceased to be of importance. At the same time, the western European economy recovered, together with the political system. As a reflection of that, Christianity was suddenly accepted in a number of northern and eastern countries. These were quick effects of changing conjunctures passing through the already existing moveable stratum. The deeper consequences were halted for a good century, to some extent by internal struggles on the Continent. This, as I see it, was the critical period in the formation of the Catholic World-system. By the end of the 11th century the old Baltic Rim structures came under manifold attacks. Not only did Catholic Europe expand towards the north at that time, but in almost all directions.

1075–1140: Europeanization by semi-peripheral proxies: A sensitive prognosis maker in late eleventh-century Saxony like Adam of Bremen felt the coming of a new era in Continental relations with the Rim. Those who travelled through the emporia of Schleswig, Alt-Lübeck, Wollin and others would have found confirmation in the sharp rise in the number of merchants gathering there, and in ongoing public construction works. The Church of Bremen was already sending missionaries, and had succeeded in founding a few bishoprics in the North, even though these ventures were risky and subject to drawbacks, not only from pagan insurrections, but also from the ongoing controversy with the popes, whom the archbishops fought on behalf of their emperor.

This had made the reform popes establish direct contact with the recently-Christianised realms east and north of Germany, where previous work by missionaries from other ecclesiastical centres made the claims of Bremen easy to question. A major drawback from Bremen's point of view, but hardly from that of Europeanization enthusiasts in general, was the inauguration of an archbishopric in Lund in 1103–4. The Scandinavian kingdoms and the large fleets they could muster still remained the masters of the Baltic. Western European merchants who wished to engage in Baltic trade had to operate from the ports and according to the rules of the indigenous powers. The well-known 'Route of Kings' (crossing the waters of three established realms) remained the main link for bulk transportation between the

western Continent and the Russian landmass in the 11th century. During the 12th century, however, the middle sea route via Gotland gained enormous importance, becoming a 'Golden Diagonal' across the sea.

From 1120–40, a series of vaguely inter-related clashes occurred among the old Baltic Rim powers. One occurred in Denmark; another in the Vendic territory; a third when the Götar staged a rebellion against the probably still part-time pagan Svear, and a fourth was the civil disturbance (or rebellion) which made Novgorod break away from Kiev. These controversies have usually been discussed as civil wars, which of course they were, but their synchronic occurrence and mutual impact points to a more systemic background. They suggest that 'the Battle of Europeanization' had begun in the West Baltic area, and somehow concurrently in Russia.

The rulers of Novgorod allied themselves with Knud Lavard, Duke of Schleswig, and Sigurd Jorsalafari, King of Norway, reinforcing the alliance by offering marriage with two Russian princesses, which is why I have named it 'the Russian sisters' alliance'. The opposing alliance may be called 'the Richiza league', since its major pawn was a Polish princess of that name. As a token of friendship between Boleslaw III of Poland and King Niels of Denmark, she was married to the latter's son Magnus; her second marriage was to Prince Volodar of Minsk, and her third to King Sverker of Sweden.

Probably in connection with this, a multinational confrontation occurred in the Kalmarsund area, a key passage to the northeast Baltic. In the enigmatic *Kalmarna leiðangr* of 1123 or 1124 we see reflections of a struggle between the old East-oriented trade system and the new one inaugurated from the southwest. Also I pointed particularly to the sequence on Knud Lavard in the *Knýtlinga* saga, which outlined how his Novgorodian marriage enabled him to tie the two systems together. This is not necessarily a historical record of what happened, but, as I see it, a skilful condensation of the particular role played in the early phase of Europeanization by Knud Lavard and the policy which he represented.

These observations of an ongoing battle along the Baltic sea routes tell of a situation entirely different from what we encounter later; a situation where trade was operated regardless of religious creed, where Vends and Russians were important actors in the Baltic, sur-

viving traits of the Old eastern Viking-Age system. But it was also a situation into which the Catholic World-system had introduced itself, making friends with some indigenous parties.

In my opinion this was when Gotland achieved its particularly free position within the Svea realm, as a parallel phenomenon to Novgorod's breakaway from Kiev, and possibly also to the emergence of the principality of Polotsk, which stretched out towards the Daugava estuary. Schleswig, Gotland and for a while Novgorod formed a chain of core area outposts, created in the spirit of World-system expansion. I have noted a few remarkable indications that this first wave of Europeanization was actually initiated from the East, yet involved some of the most evident Europeanization agents of Scandinavian extraction—Knud Lavard and Sigurd Jorsalafari. This, then, was Europeanization administered by indigenous authorities who found reason to work as proxies for the spread of the Catholic World-system.

1140–1220: Struggle of core area and semi-periphery: The core-area attempts to penetrate the Baltic took a new, more active turn in the period 1140/80. This development phase was to a large extent linked to the appearance of Henry the Lion. The Welf duke was a charismatic personality, who created an epoch in the Europeanization process by superimposing core area qualities onto the Baltic Rim. He succeeded in taking personal control of what was until then the rather divided Saxon duchy and was able to launch a comprehensive North German policy regarding the Baltic. The build-up of a strong Saxon state is furthermore likely to have impressed its neighbours, and should be seen as an incentive for the efforts at centralisation which soon followed in Denmark.

Henry made his debut on the Rim as one of the leaders of the joint Catholic crusade on the Vends in 1147. Drawing on previous German research, I was able to show that this large-scale project represented uncompromising core area ideology which stemmed from Bernhard of Clairvaux. It completely destroyed an ongoing integration process between Vendic chieftains and their North German counterparts. Core area forces and resources began to make their presence felt at the cost of semi-peripheral power holders. In a similar spirit Henry took a new grip on trade, forcing Count Adolf of Holstein to give up his hold on Lübeck and organising its definite foundation in 1158–59. According to some famous lines by Helmold

of Bosau, not only was a modern European city being built, but immediate diplomatic action was also taken to secure its markets.

Approaching Denmark, Sweden, Norway and 'Russia', the Saxon duke was obviously interested in taking over the trading system in which Knud Lavard had engaged three or four decades before. However his approach was different. Whereas Knud had been eager to tax trade, Henry invited it for free, which shows that Henry was prepared to earn his income from other sources than customs. The difference reveals that Knud Lavard, for all his innovative ambitions, still had his feet in the Old system, whereas Henry the Lion personifies the New.

Saxo Grammaticus elucidates the main difference between the two systems in one inspired stroke of the brush. He claims that 'the Saxons, after having occupied some foreign land, at once begin to cultivate and colonise it; and not being satisfied by winning honour and tributes, set out to expand the territory of their empire, in efforts to realise the advantages of victory, by keeping what they have won'. The Danes on the other hand 'conducted war with another intention: not to conquer the land of their enemies, but to further trade in mutual peace since it mattered more to them to save what belonged to them than to deprive others of their properties'. Denmark (that's what he argues) continued to use its fleets to arrange a chain of *skattländer* (tributary lands) along the sea routes, to keep the trade networks open and without much interference in their domestic arrangements. This was clearly the Old system. Europeanization had brought another system, introducing more efficient transport facilities and the means to link their network to the bulk production of wide territories; it meant sharing out conquered land among vassals and servicemen who could bring in colonists from the over-crowded villages of western Europe, to clear the land and build new German villages in the territory; the New system *in nuce*.

The German expansion north of the Elbe was at least formally an outlet of Imperial Germany, based on Henry's feudal obligations to Emperor Frederick I. Their relation deteriorated however, and was definitely broken in 1181. The incident may easily be seen from a World-system perspective, in fact as an indication that the *Reich* was adjusting to such a perspective. In spite of his personal core area character, Henry had gone very far towards creating a semi-peripheral state, putting its interests before that of his imperial (core area) overlord. No compromise was offered; Henry was removed

from his crown fiefs in a neat, legal and perfectly World-systemic way. However there was no one to take up his unique position, which considerably weakened the German policy concerning the Baltic.

In the ecclesiastical field, the Catholic World-system placed rather efficient limits on the imperial effort. The archiepiscopal sees in Bremen and Magdeburg, once set up to be the headquarters of expansion, suffered a long series of defeats. As representatives of the *Reichskirche*, they were constantly deprived of the gains of their missionary activities by the Papal Curia, which preferred to help national church provinces in the more independent countries surrounding Germany. In the terms of the World-system model, we may claim that more genuine core area forces repeatedly overran the efforts of North-German semi-peripheral powers.

As early as 1170 Denmark emerged—extraordinarily quickly—as a fairly Europeanized power. The manner in which this happened was similar to Henry's achievements in Saxony and connected in various ways. The series of civil wars had produced King Valdemar I as the sole victor in 1157. He remained in German-Roman fealty, and hence gradually took control of the Church; a great symbolic achievement was the beatification of St. Knud *dux* (Knud Lavard, Valdemar's father) in 1170. Valdemar finally succeeded in replacing the reform-minded and Cistercian-friendly Eskil with his own personal friend Absalon as Archbishop of Lund in 1177. Thereby another version of a centralised state was achieved. The disappearance of Henry the Lion opened the way for a Danish takeover in the Vendic territory. The great power period of the Valdemars culminated in the conquest of northern Estonia in 1219, where Tallinn offered a position of strength from which traffic on the Gulf of Finland could be efficiently checked, and thus also a potential Russian staple.

To illustrate the general Scandinavian attitude, I have gone into two preserved long 12th century texts, one Norse, the other Danish, which tell of the symbolically-loaded ancient (or apocryphal) Battle of Brávellir, thought to be a Nordic culture apotheosis or cosmography. My analysis has generated three conclusions: (1) That the contemporary flourish of literature looking backwards into the supposedly great Nordic past must to a large extent have been an effort at inner encouragement and mobilisation during a deeply-felt crisis, (2) that the ruling elites in the Scandinavian countries felt compelled

to meet the challenge of Europeanization by adapting to it in their own regime and with their own symbols, and (3) that the 12th century (at least in Denmark) saw the hope of great compensations in the 'wild east' of the Baltic. The classical problem of why the Swedes, unlike their Scandinavian neighbours, did not produce any histories in this period is given a new explanation, arising from its particular brand of Europeanization under the auspices of two competing yet new royal lineages with no need to make amends to the pagan past.

1180–1225: Build-up and quick triumph of the core area: From 1180 onwards—paradoxically in the absence of a centralised political power—the first substantial German breakthrough occurred on the Rim, in an economic and demographic sense. The one German institution that was to be entirely successful was the (proto) Hanseatic trade network. Contrary to a long-rooted scholarly claim, I show that the establishment of Saxon trade on Gotland and in the Daugava valley actually became visible in concrete evidence at the exact moment when Henry the Lion was removed. Soon it was followed by the first missionary efforts in the East Baltic area, and around the same time by the first clear markers of German presence in Novgorod, in companionship with the Gotlanders. All this shows that the ideas once put forward by Fritz Rörig regarding a royal-imperial backing of German trade are utterly wrong. German trade expanded in a period when the monarchy was severely weakened in this area; instead it collaborated intimately with the missionary effort. Balancing between the papal and imperial frameworks of power, it could profit thanks to the *de facto* existence of a World-system.

In the years around 1225, a series of blows struck the Danish realm. In 1223 it lost its two leaders (King Valdemar II was kidnapped, Archbishop Anders was struck by disease) and it was decisively defeated in 1227 by a North German coalition. From now on the city of Lübeck emerged not only as a commercial centre, but also as a growing political entity; to some extent it filled the political vacuum left after Henry the Lion, particularly after joining forces with Hamburg in 1241.

The outcome—different kinds of state in semi- and full peripheries

The discovery of the Baltic ended in the implementation of the Catholic World-system. We have studied the various steps in this

process and found that in principle it followed a straightforward logic of ambitions growing with raising power and legitimating its own ends. (1) It had begun with trade, which called for some European immigration, subsequent efforts at penetration through negotiations, and gradual implementation of international trade law. These first steps were followed by efforts to monopolize trade through political means. (2) The rising Western impact led to (or reinforced existing) urbanisation of the most strategic sites, which was followed by further influx of western European burghers wishing to implement west European town codes and urban autonomy.

Taking their time, (3) the Westerners began infiltrating the institutions of power of their host country, often with the help of Christian mission and the introduction of the Catholic Church organization and monastic orders, followed by demands for Christian universalism, including tithes and other ecclesiastical taxes. Previously preservative kingdoms gradually transformed into states. Europeanization *per se* was not the maker of the European state system, but a challenge that made existing realms strengthen their regimes, often by application of modern 'European' institutions on a *civitas permixta* basis. If this succeeded, the Discovery phase had come to an end, and the area was added to the semi-periphery.

If all this proved insufficient, (4) Europeanization agents turned to Christianisation by political threat or crusade expeditions (formally since 1147). The preservative kingdoms of the Rim, while modernizing into states, assumed the role of Europeanization agents themselves and appeared as competitors to the agents with a core area background. They tended to keep conquered pagan lands under slacker conditions reminiscent of the former tribute lands, and the sharper ideology of crusade was also directed against semi-peripheral tendencies to maintain alliances between tolerant-Christian polities and tolerant-pagan groups. This was the second wave, by which core area invasions led to military conquest, occupation of strategic sites, and establishment of preliminary Western polities. To reward the military leaders, west European feudal principles were implemented. This superimposed a new ownership structure upon the indigenous peoples, who gradually found that they had lost their freedom.

In the end (5) Europeanization brought a new economic system, characterised by greater integration of towns and cities with their *Umland*, often coinciding with colonisation projects in previously deserted woodlands, sometimes through influx of west European

peasants who gradually tended to incorporate or push the indigenous ones aside.

The solution ending in indigenous state-formation was reached only to the west of the Baltic. Before long, the Scandinavians were forming their own European-type states, while (with the exception of the Lithuanians) the Balts and Finno-Ugrians were overrun by foreign invaders who crushed ongoing efforts at creating greater polities in a Russian context. This suggested that an east/west comparison would reveal a decisive factor for one development or the other. Hence I brought Sweden and Livonia into comparison, two of the states which emerged as a result of Europeanization and also two neighbours facing each other from opposite shores of the Baltic.

So why did close neighbours strike off into radically different roads to Europeanization? One obvious answer is that they were different in themselves. I have found evidence suggesting that not only the basis of economy, but also the family systems were radically different. In Sweden, freeholders remained a social force, enfiefment of landholdings did not really exist, and even the *frälse* aristocracy divided their landed property in inheritance between brothers and sisters. At least in the central regions people lived in bilateral nuclear families, on single homesteads or in small villages. Among the East Baltic peoples unilateral family systems seem to have dominated, sometimes with matrilineal traits, and sometimes forming extended families that were often grouped together in a kind of chiefdom society structured around hillforts. These observations, however, are relatively preliminary and in need of further studies.

Another answer is that Sweden and Livonia were offered different options, a fact that is connected with the two distinct waves of Europeanization established above. The first wave developed as change within the structures of the Old system, introduced chiefly by those indigenous neighbours who had got a trifle more of the New stuff than the others—hence Europeanization by proxy. The relatively long traditions of preservative kingship in Sweden were of obvious importance when in the 1120s–1150s its time was ripe for Europeanization. This became evident when the indigenous Europeanization agent, Sverker, chose to maintain the ancient structures of the kingdom after ascending the throne; and when a meticulous double-monarchy constitution was worked out in the post-1164 period to take advantage of Svea and Uppsala nostalgia in a commonwealth

by that time dominated by the Götar. The Polotskian polity had no comparable tenacity vis-à-vis the Daugava valley. It may have been a more recent construction, and little had been done to bridge its multi-ethnic split.

The second wave of Europeanization came directly from the core area. It was administered by its institutions and agencies, and was characterised by ideological awareness and technological superiority to a much higher degree. A lack of moderation and impatience for their efforts to pay off immediately characterised the accelerating Europeanization process in the East Baltic area around 1200. The striking forces were mobilised from all over Germany and beyond, the method of doing it was the crusade. Noblemen and their followings came to serve as pilgrims for a while, a few remained as vassals, but no peasant colonisers ever came. The whole operation was indeed *mercatura* and *ecclesia* working hand in hand to bypass the competition from Danes and Swedes, run down the indigenous opposition in the Daugava valley and neutralise the influence from Polotsk. The foundations were then laid for a new trade-political order in Russia, which may not have come out as expected, yet brought Novgorod into the new order as well, at least as far as *mercatura* was involved.

This meant in practice that while Sweden was consolidated through a series of civil wars, Livonia was created by core area invasions. In a technical sense it might seem a small difference, but it had some important consequences. When ultimate demands were being made, the Svea kingdom was already on its way into state formation, with an existing church organisation run by an indigenous priesthood, in which case the acceptance of various World-system rules was a sufficient compromise. Sweden was left to settle its problems domestically, which may have endangered internal trust, but inspired front-region disclosure of national identity. The consensus-type choice of spatial continuity between Old system and New system institutions (exemplified by the 'rescue' of Old Uppsala) is an obvious symptom. The making of Livonia was to be influenced by crusading ideology, which meant a drastic change of policy among Europeanization agents, from seeking friendship and functional arrangements through negotiation, to ultimate demands for submission. The founders of the Livonian polity showed little interest in the cultural heritage of the natives, which thereafter was transformed to a latent nativistic undercurrent.

The Swedish case bears out the hypothesis that state formation was a compromise: part submission, part rejection of the core area. Control remained largely in the hands of indigenous dignitaries, and the principle of *civitas intermixta* began to function almost immediately. The Livonian case is much more complicated. It was to a large degree an implantation directly from the core area, and remained much more advanced than Sweden as regards technological innovations and warfare. However it failed completely in building a nation, apart from processes set in motion among the 'Un-Germans'. However the mechanisms in favour of semi-peripheral compromise were at work in the young plantation of Livonia as well. Some of the invaders, notably those that like Bishop Albert of Riga had their roots in northern Germany, seem to have been in favour of establishing a centralised state, only to be counteracted by forces with a stronger core area orientation, like most large-scale merchants and the Brethren of the Sword. This is my way of understanding the internal conflict that emerged almost immediately upon the making of Livonia, which *mutatis mutandis* was to haunt the polity all through its existence. Instead Livonia became a country where two different breeds of people coexisted: a tiny, European elite, and a mass of barely Christianised 'barbarians' kept in apartheid. They distrusted each other profoundly, and from time to time confronted each other, so the original aim of Christianisation gradually failed. In World-system terminology this is quite clearly periphery.

The North Sea and the Baltic were (and are) an integrated trading area, and basically also a mediterranean zone. Relative to the Catholic World-system, it provides a major system of sea routes binding a segment of the core area (the Channel coasts, the Low Countries, the Rhine valley) together with the large peripheries of Norrland, Finland, Carelia, Russia, Latgalia, Pruzzia and Sembland, in which some of the most attractive commodities of the twelfth-century trade were collected: furs, wax, honey and amber. To the World-system core area this offered the possibility of reaching cheaply exploitable peripheries by the superior means of ship transport, rarely achieved elsewhere until the Portuguese exploration of the South Atlantic began in the 15th century. This presented the peoples of the Rim with a particularly dramatic and decisive process of Europeanization, from which they emerged as dependants of core area institutions and its culture in general. In that sense, at least, the Discovery of

the Baltic stands out as a small-scale rehearsal of what was to come in the Early Modern period.

3. *Survival Strategies*

Reaction to Europeanization as a historical force—theoretical reflections in retrospect

All through the long 12th century the old Baltic powers were defending their old ways of living, trying—sometimes successfully, sometimes in vain—to prepare them for a compromise. This also meant questioning some of their traditional habits, which ended in efforts to 'improve' them. One way or another all their efforts were absorbed by the Catholic World-system. The present investigation has dealt with many aspects of the process, but to observe and consider the fragile traces of indigenous reaction was always its ultimate aim.

The pressure on indigenous communities to adapt to the European lifestyle and ways of doing things concurs with the phenomenon (materially and mentally) which I have called the reception problem. Its central aspect is the subsequent choice of survival strategy, which no people could avoid making—to take a stance in the dilemma, whether to resist or accept the suggested adaptations. Chosen spokesmen may have worked it out in good democratic order, self-appointed power-holders may have done it in secluded conclaves, despotic autocrats may have consulted their gods or made their decision in their bathtubs; whatever decision they reached, it was sure to have an impact on their future, both immediately and in the long run.

Even if acceptance brought material wealth, it meant cultural subordination. The choice was to determine their collective identity for a long time: to trust or distrust one's countrymen; to use one's talents, profitably or not, in the opening of new opportunities instead of being paralysed and entering into 'path dependence'. It involved self-image, and the weight of carrying the image of the Other, whether European or Eastern.

How did they reach their resolutions? My presupposition has been that all active forces, the dominating as well as those dominated, were pursuing their own interests rather than fulfilling some historical determination. In forming my conclusions I have to some extent

had Bordieu's approach in mind, thinking that upon the arrival of Europeanization agents, indigenous re-agents would have debated between themselves and privately in their minds what to do; not entirely freely, but under the constraints of their given attitudes and mental and material resources, as well as their livelihoods. I have shown that groups who were allowed to integrate the qualities of Europeanization with their traditional culture and self-image were less likely to withdraw and turn to desperate reaction.

The conclusion easily reached through a Bordieu-approach underlines the importance of leaders with a positive leaning towards the indigenous culture in achieving a more harmonious transformation and reaching some compromises. The historicism we have met in all Scandinavian countries obviously plays a role in this context, not least as a driving force in nation building. Another important aspect congruent with this approach deals with the capital of knowledge on the forces of Europeanization within a community. In this respect the result indicates great differences, and the accumulated experience of the Viking-age past may have given the Scandinavians an advantage. However regional analyses have shown clearly that regions along the Golden Diagonal (Gotland included) tended to greet the Europeanization agents as a means of liberation, only to become fundamentally deprived in the longer perspective.

I have also toyed with a more playful way of discussing the consequences of encounters, namely through game theory. This basically mathematical method of analysing conflicts is usually presented in abstract formulas, page up and down. Such operations are not for humanists, but like Bordieu's model, it is based on real people who are acting rationally, with limited information, within their given environment. In applying an elementary game theoretical perspective, the scholar is invited to formulate the particular dilemma that inhabitants of various Baltic Rim regions were up against. With these theoretical tools in mind I will attempt to systematise a few alternative strategy choices into socio-economic models. In doing this I will consider tentatively the following criteria as potential components in the decision-making processes of indigenous Baltic Rim regions:

- degree of access to the sea routes
- support capacity
- knowledge of Continental Europe
- identification of political dilemma
- sense of deprivation

Outlines of strategy forming—a tentative sketch

I must begin by sorting out those societies who were not really affected by the impact of Europeanization at this time. These were people who enjoyed an autarchic way of life. Autarchy is likely to prevail where there is plenty of land and a high degree of regional self-support, allowing the population to manage without exchange if need be. Such a society would maintain the equilibrium of its population, it would be mobile to some extent, and develop no urbanisation. This might be the hunter-gatherer Saami people of the Far North, or the slash-and-burning inland Finno-Ugrians or (treated in the present study) the forest-living Latgalians.[1] In these cases exchange occurred; the produce of hunting was even of great importance to long-distance trade. However, these peoples were independent and for a long time quite beyond control. Initially, and through the entire long 12th century, forested Latgalia was not even peripheral, but a very distant satellite which was also influenced from the east.

Having settled this, we turn to regions which came under direct influence from the emerging World-system, and thus under pressure from Europeanization agents. I discern at least three different regimes of (1) passive exchange, (2) active exchange and (3) plunder.

1. *Regimes of passive exchange* automatically arose among people inhabiting areas where commodities and strangers tended to gather by themselves, where officials and chieftains were forming an elite (perhaps with immigrant merchants), where emporia tended to urbanise and where, regardless of agrarian preconditions, it was possible to have an income from supporting and/or taxing trade. Such societies could enjoy economic benefits of scale and accumulate experience in dealing with strangers.

We have met these conditions around Kalmarsund and the Lower Daugava, and to some extent on Gotland, but that island was fundamentally different and I will save it for a later category. An early dilemma around Kalmarsund may have been: how can we join expanding European trade without disturbance from other powers that take an interest in the Sound? The chosen policy seems to have

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[1] I don't include those Latvians living close by the Daugava, where hillfort towns like Jersika and Koknese were probably important mercantile collection entrepôts for the interior.

been to use their *skattland* status to remain friends with everyone, pagan Vends, Estonians and Curonians included. During periods when the Swedish central power was weak, they might have contemplated leaning on the Danes, but this would provoke the Swedes into retaliation as soon as they recovered, making it a dubious strategy in the long run. Better try to balance on the latitude of independence that *skattländer* were entitled to. When the Swedish political grip was tightening in the 1170s, Europeanization took a new turn, leading to the foundation of Kalmar. From there, lesser trading places of the region began to be repressed. A new dilemma presented itself: how can we enjoy political stability without being overrun by bigger operators? The indigenous country dwellers couldn't achieve this and were gradually transformed into a relatively feudalised *Umland* of Kalmar, although Öland maintained a slightly higher degree of freedom than the mainland.

The dilemma of the Livs was similar. While in the Kalmarsund region the conclusion is an interpolation between a few high-level documents and the results of intensive landscape-interpretation, the Livic case is provided with a wealth of discovery reports that allow us glimpses of daily life with several sharp details. These would be of interest to all the comparative cases, which makes them worthy of a more thorough description:

> The open, welcoming business climate of pre-Europeanized Livic society has been accentuated. Its stress on legality, respect for property rights and tolerance as to cult, together form a consequent strategy for receiving Europeanization agents in the shape of merchants. Clearly their visits were seen as advantageous; bringing good times, opulence, new technology, new strengths vis-à-vis their neighbours and the often absent overlord. Since we can trace a similar attitude in the much sparser material from Gotland and the Kalmarsund region, it seems that this somewhat 'liberal' outlook is a common Baltic Sea trait, perhaps a fruit of the *skattlands* becoming more independent. This strategy in turn allowed the Europeanization agents to circumvent the old preservative kingdoms, that of Denmark to some extent, of Sweden clearly and in due course those of Novgorod and Polotsk. When this happened, the strategy grew more successful each day.
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> The Livs were prepared to compromise a long way in order to preserve this state of affairs. To accept a Catholic missionary in their midst was a minor concession, even his becoming a bishop and their land a diocese of the Church of Bremen was accepted. Perhaps they were unaware of the full consequences, but they gradually saw that the foreigners claimed not only total submission to the religion they

had brought, but also a previously unknown taxation for the suste-
nance of its priests—and were prepared to bring an army to imple-
ment the claims and in the end to seize the country as a whole. Even
so we see the Livs sticking to their strategy as long as it could possi-
bly serve a purpose, and longer still, keeping the dialogue up with the
Europeanization agents even when aware that the latter were con-
spiring against their hosts. How else can we explain the tragedy of
Kaupo, trying to appease the bishop even after being treated with
extraordinary arrogance and forced to act against his own kin?

    To understand the survival strategy of the Livs, we must realise that
it also contained an inner, more hidden line of defence. It is made
visible in markers revealing an internal culture of mutual trust, for
example in pictures of sauna-bath and mead-drinking colloquies, lead-
ing to rejection of Christianity and the washing away of baptism. The
Livs clearly entertained a 'double standard' in their relations to Europeans;
so did the Svear, as well as several Vends we have encountered in the
text. This is where Giddens' front region/back region' dichotomy
becomes helpful: the trade guests were kept in the front region; as a
formal 'disclosure' or openness the Livs allowed them a church or two,
whereas among themselves the Livs maintained a 'secret' life in the
back region 'enclosures' of their society. It seems likely that internal
trust was very much the function of these gatherings, as were the *blot*
gatherings among the Svear.[2] The point of no return occurred when
the missionaries wished to tear up the activities at these fundamental
(back-regional) social institutions, from which their inner strength derived.

Compromise tended to be the ordinary answer to peaceful approaches
from the discoverer. Even if the indigenous opinion was essentially
negative, the response would be disinterest, a kind of diplomatic
avoidance rather than confrontation, which seems to have been the
last resort. Yet I have seen it reached in several of my case studies.
The Livs seemed utterly paralysed by the appearance of crusaders,
and it was many years before they took adequate action. Obviously
they didn't know enough of their opponents. However, when European
rule had been established, this was somehow revenged. It seems that
all the aspects of the indigenous society which the conqueror didn't
understand—the sauna gatherings just mentioned, the maintenance
of a huge 'lower' mythology, the unilateral family system and many
other matters, were turned into a secret 'language' of the domestic
culture.

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[2] Cf. Sigvatr þórðarson's (Austrfararvísur, DN-IS A I 223–75; B I 213–54)
description of a group of Norwegians being shown away from a Swedish sacrificial
blot feast.

2. *Regimes of active exchange* lay near at hand for people with access to the sea routes, whose arable land was scarce. Consequently, they were inclined to try new approaches, among which production for sale and rural shipping easily emerged as alternatives. Here, organisers of production and shipping tended to form an elite, some urbanization might take place at the export depots, and there were ample opportunities for people not only to learn about circumstances in larger societies, but also to adapt them to their own interests. The prime example of this type is Gotland.

The Gotlanders had been active traders all over the Baltic and beyond throughout the Viking Age. In political matters they had submitted to the Svear, enjoying the fairly free position of a *skattland*. When people speaking with foreign tongues began to arrive, the opening dilemma must have been: how to develop this island into a great international market, without mainland authorities taking too much of the revenue. A strategy leaning on World-system forces for breaking away entirely was obviously put to the test in the 1120–40 period. However it was not carried to its ultimate consequence; the 'contract' was soon renewed with the Swedish king and *jarl*, and the island also became a part of Linköping's diocese. Thus the *skattland* status was secured under almost autonomous conditions, a policy that was to be successful for a good 150 years. Another example of a similar dilemma is probably presented by the Vends, merely touched upon in the present investigation. Their choice of strategy was different, and clearly in the direction of ethnification and sharp opposition.

On Gotland, however, two opposing dilemmas presented themselves in the period 1225/50. That of Visby was: how will we maintain our position as the centre for Hanseatic trade in the east, when the Continental-German towns have direct connections to Novgorod and Riga and our own rights as a city are practically non-existent in the Gotlandic freemen's republic? And that of the countryside was: how will we maintain our control of Gotland as a market place and a centre for long-distance trade, when it's no longer absolutely necessary for the Continentals to use us, and even our own urban nucleus is plotting against us? So it came to a civil war, and in this case the Swedish king took it all. However, Gotland's full integration as an ordinary nation-state province belongs to the Early Modern period, begun during Gotland's Danish period and completed after being returned to Sweden in 1645.

3. To form a *regime of plunder and warfare* would appear an attractive alternative for a society where population tended to surpass the carrying capacity but where commerce did not come spontaneously, especially if trade had flourished previously. In that case people might try to plunder, conquer or create tributary neighbouring areas. In such a society, those who were able to mobilise, equip and lead expeditions were likely to form an elite. Certain 'consumer towns' might emerge while contacts with the outer world naturally would turn hostile. However, the concept of plunder might be subdivided into at least two different types:

Pillage, swift moveable, parasitical bands, coming from poorer and weaker regions (perhaps autarchic ones), waged predatory raids on greater ones. They might easily be classified as criminal in the eyes of Europeanization agents. The description recalls particularly the Osilians and Curonians. Their dilemma derived from not receiving many invitations to trade, yet having access to the sea routes. So they developed a form of aggressive warrior-culture, which would give them leadership status among pagan neighbours; they might resort to ethno-nationalistic pressure, as in early stages of multi-regional polity-formation. On the other hand we have found traces of peace-agreements with other nations. It remains an interesting problem, whether these obviously dedicated warrior-peoples were following a different strategy under German rule than did the Livs or Latvians. I have touched upon a few indications which seemed worth discussing (particularly among the Curonians) but not enough to express a more definite opinion. Instead I hope to come back to the matter at a later date.

Tribute raiding. The old preservative kingdoms would typically continue their *skattland* policy until they were deprived of its advantages by development. If so, they would probably seek compensation in exploitative expeditions ransacking more disorganised neighbours. If they had access to the sea routes they would try to retaliate against merchants' shipping, perhaps trying to levy passage customs. This is an obvious picture of the Svear of the mid 12th century. Some traces of it might even remain with the Danes, and *mutatis mutandis* it fits the regime of Polotsk and even Novgorod as well, not to mention the Lithuanians. These peoples would hardly look upon themselves as plunderers, but rather as nation-builders striving for long-term domination over adjacent regions, maintaining their traditional *skattland* rights, as was claimed in the scene Snorri depicted from the diet of all the Swedes at Uppsala. Furthermore, they would gratefully mask themselves as crusaders, and protected by their remaining military capacity take on a rudimentary conquest-and-colonisation policy. If they were successful over time they would gradually emerge as states.

Overall, reactions in existing preservative realms were already strong towards the early approaches of Europeanization. Violent conflicts seem to have involved almost the entire Baltic Rim from 1120 onwards, between polities as well as within them. For holders of vested interests in the Old system, an instinctive choice of strategy would have been to defend the existing order, which is another way of saying that the Viking heritage was quite important, mainly to power groups dominating already ancient kingdoms. The immediate reaction of early Europeanizers among their subjects—Götar and Livs are prominent examples—was to use the New system to get the upper hand against the old masters. Hence the first to be disturbed by Europeanization were the dominant powers, such as the Svear and the Polotsane. They were encountered primarily as power holders, but secondarily also as homes of anti-European thinking, paganism and/or schismatic Christianity. Even if each conflict had its individual cause, the sum of them becomes an extended, overall struggle for and against Europeanization

By supporting the development of the Golden Diagonal as the main trade artery, Europeanization agents helped to release a chain of border trading areas and tributary lands from the control of the traditionally all-powerful kingdoms. The survival strategy of these peoples tended to associate them with the core area programmes. However deprivation came to all of them at a later date, in the shape of steeply rising demands from the side of core area agents, or from gradually recovering kingdoms.

The demands of Europeanization cut like a knife through the countries around the Baltic during the long 12th century. It was a struggle in which Europeanization agents had superior technical and economic resources; its official aim was to spread a new religion, Christianity, and in connection with that a new system of loyalties, which I have called the Catholic World-system. I have found little resistance to the material aspects of Europeanization among Baltic Rim natives. The peoples of the Rim often showed great interest in learning their secrets. The resistance was against Christianity as a world interpretation and the Catholic World-system as a world order, and perhaps above all against the roles and positions that people were allocated within the system, as unskilled labourers or deliverers of raw materials. All great conflicts in the Baltic area during this period may be viewed from the perspective of West European expansion, even if West Europeans were not actively involved in all of them.

At the same time, however, basic structures were laid out for the future. Some of these were concrete, administrative and practical adaptations to the new European order, from the building of churches, cathedrals and bailiffs' castles, the organising of parishes, dioceses, and political power centres, road systems, towns and states, to the acceptance of a new social order, allowing for larger, less transparent mechanisms of responsibilities and rights, and getting the colonisation of the great forests in motion. All of these implementations had mental and cultural consequences. Many of these reforms remained fundamental until the industrial revolution. Others still exist, sometimes in disguise, cherished now as natural attributes of identity and cultural heritage. It is easy to see that the period laid the foundations upon which all later Baltic Rim polities have been built.

As for the psychological long term residue of dominating foreign influences upon indigenous populations, I have quoted established theories claiming that even relatively advanced countries might be lamed by it into historical pseudomorphosis or path dependence, expressions hinting at a collective, national *longue durée* loss of creativity. For the present aim I found Putnam's distinction useful between the vertical command structure that a foreign conqueror might establish, where information travels only in the top/down direction, and the more horizontal, democratic-type societies of trust, where people are allowed to do their best under certain controls, which encourages them to involve their surroundings in what they are doing. The great advantage in Putnam's approach is that by the application of game-theoretical reasoning he is able to derive the various types of indigenous action from rational behaviour under given circumstances.

The Swedish case confirms that by being able to convert within one's indigenous regime, acceptance of a foreign culture is by and large conceivable, and may well lead to full-scale integration with the major civilisation in the end, with very few feelings of deprivation—maybe just a vague inferiority complex, such as Esaias Tegnér expresses in his often-quoted *Sång den 5 april 1836*:

All bildning står på ofri grund till slutet	All culture is dependant in the end
Blott barbariet var en gång fosterländskt	Barbary alone once came of native soil

The Livonian case is again more complicated, even paradoxical. The effects of its apartheid regime were not destructive to the climate of

trust in the long run, but rather the opposite, which was admirably shown in the 'Singing Revolution' around 1990. It would seem the mechanisms of maintaining mutual trust have functioned during the relay of various foreign regimes which have dominated Balticum— be it through sauna baths, mead-drinking, lower mythology or whatever other activities.

If a case of paralysing path dependence could be identified, this would paradoxically be among the descendants of the conquerors, living in wealth through the centuries yet ever more isolated from its sources, until in the end they were 'asked to leave' through the instrument of great land reforms, when the Baltic nations reached their independence in 1918–20. They were definitely forced to escape during the final phase of World War II. This proves even more instructive when we consider that the ethos of the Teutonic Order, of which the German-ness in the East Baltic was so largely a fruit, was derived from the very same ideological centre which in Putnam's view was responsible for the vertical social climate in southern Italy, namely the court of Frederick II.[3] In its characteristically paradoxical way, the East Baltic case suggests that there are more varieties of path dependence and societies of trust than have so far been discussed.

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[3] The fourth High Master of the Order, Hermann von Salza, achieved this. An operator on the highest political level, he brought the order from its previous Mediterranean and Middle European fields of activity into Pruzzia around 1230. He was the architect of its constitution, and the one to initiate its amalgamation with the the Livonian Order. At the same time he continuously attended the court and campaigns of Emperor Frederick II, as an advisor and friend. Caspar 1924; Hubatsch 1976 pp. 49–56; Kluger 1987; Arnold 2001 pp. 145–55; cf. Grundmann 1988 p. 276ff.; Nowak 2001 pp. 157–68.

ABBREVIATIONS

AHR	American Historical Review
BHT	Bebyggelsehistorisk tidskrift
DHT	[Dansk] Historisk tidskrift
DJH	Den jyske historiker
FFT	Finska fornminnesföreningens tidskrift
Fv	Fornvännen
FHT	[Finsk] Historisk tidskrift
GeoA	Geografiska annaler
GotA	Gotländskt arkiv
HGBll	Hansische Geschichtsblätter
HistA	Historialinnen Arkisto
HTSk	Historisk tidskrift för Skåneland
JbGMOD	Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands
JBS	Journal of Baltic Studies
JEA	Journal of European Archaeology
JFA	Journal of Field Archaeology
JFH	Journal of Family History
JGO	Jahrbücher für die Geschichte Osteuropas
JMH	Journal of Medieval History
JPE	Journal of Political Economy
KTH	Kungl. Tekniska högskolan
KVHAA	Kungl Vitterhets- Historie- och Antikvitets-Akademien
KVHAAH	Kungl Vitterhets- Historie- och Antikvitets-Akademiens handlingar
LSAK	Lübecker Schriften zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte
NAR	Norwegian Archaeological Review
NHT	[Norsk] Historisk tidskrift
NM	Numismatiska meddelanden
NNÅ	Nordisk numismatisk årsskrift
NoB	Namn och bygd
PT	Personhistorisk tidskrift
RGA	Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde
SEER	Slavonic and East European Review
SEHR	Scandinavian Economic History Review
SHT	[Svensk] Historisk tidskrift
SJH	Scandinavian Journal of History
SKÅ	[Svensk] Kyrkohistorisk årsbok
SSLF	Skrifter utg. av Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland
STÅ	Svenska turistföreningens årskrift
TTH	Tidskrift för teknikhistoria
UUB	Uppsala universitetsbibliotek
ZAGAS	Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie
ZGSHG	Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte
ZGW	Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft
ZHF	Zeitschrift für historische Forschung
ZOF	Zeitschrift für Ostforschung
ZRG	Zeitschrift für Regionalgeschichte
ZVLGA	Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde

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DN-IS = Den Norsk-Islandske Skjaldedigtning. Ed. Finnur Jónsson. Bd 1. København and Kristiania 1908–1912.

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DP = Derevenskoe pravo. Teksty livonskikh pravd i perevody ikh na russkiy yazyk. See Nazarova 1980, pp. 171–218.

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